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# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

Vol. II. Aug.—Jan. 1882.

CONTAINING ARTICLES FROM

Nos. VII—XVII. Dec. 1845—Jan. 1848.

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*"No man who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by those who, not contented with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new positions to the world: and, were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long as in that notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away."*—MILTON.

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# SELECTIONS
FROM THE
# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

## THE MAHRATTA HISTORY AND EMPIRE.

BY SIR HENRY LAWRENCE, K.C.B.

1. *Illustrations of some Institutions of the Mahratta People, by William Henry Tone, Esq., formerly commanding a Regiment of Infantry in the service of the Peishwa.* Calcutta, 1818.
2. *Elphinstone's Report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa.* Calcutta, 1821.
3. *Jenkins's Report on the territories of the Rajah of Nagpore.* Calcutta, 1827.
4. *History of the Mahrattas, by James Grant Duff, Esq., Captain, 1st or Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, and late Resident at Satara.* Longman, London, 1826.
5. *The Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for* 1841 *and* 1842.

SCARCELY more than a twelvemonth has passed since our pages contained a brief outline of the leading events of the last few years in the Punjab, and furnished a catalogue of atrocities which to many readers, especially to those in Europe, may have appeared unduly coloured and exaggerated. It is difficult to understand how any country can escape absolute depopulation when scourged by such calamities, and we shrink with horror from the details of individual suffering involved in these wholesale butcheries. There is, however, a pertinacious vitality in *mankind*, that rallies from the most tremendous slaughter of *men*. The Sikhs are not the only people

> "Whose morning dawn was with blood o'erspread,
> Their evening-fall was a bloody red;
> Their groans were heard on the mountain swarth;
> There was blood in the heavens and blood on the earth."

Such is the train of thought suggested by perusing the works, the titles of which stand at the head of this article. Before using them as authorities it will be only courteous briefly to introduce the authors and our readers to each other.

We have disinterred from the back shelves of our library, the worm-eaten pages of Jenkins's and Elphinstone's valuable reports. Such state documents are too little read. They afford better lessons of Indian statesmanship than half the more pretending publications of the day. Grant Duff's volumes should be in the hands of all who desire acquaintance with the Mahrattas. He lived among them for years, understood their peculiar character, and, without any pretension to commanding talent, seems to us to have combined the chief qualifications

necessary to a good Political Agent. He was industrious, impartial, and benevolent. He was not, moreover, a mere book-worm. He studied men and manners in the camp, the cabinet, and in the peasant's field, as well as in the dusty records of his office. He examined the past that he might understand the present; and such we consider to be the duty of every Indian official who would not be led by the nose by his assistants, European or native. Research of this kind has, however, its besetting dangers: it tempts men to become mere devourers of indistinct manuscripts, and it is apt to lure them into the wide waste of speculation, where, mounted on the hobby of some favourite theory, they challenge and combat the strongest evidence that will not take the road they themselves have chosen. Grant Duff escaped these temptations: he was eminently practical. His book is written with the candour and gentlemanliness of the accomplished soldier, combined with the kindliness to be expected from a disciple of Mount Stewart Elphinstone. If the minute details of some portions of the Mahratta history in some measure fatigue the reader, he is rewarded by the fullest information on the character of a very peculiar people, too generally believed to be as the Sikhs, a modern sect, or, like the Pindarees, to have been mere bands of marauders, instead of being one of the oldest races of the Indian peninsula. The record of that portion of Mahratta history that came under Grant Duff's personal observations, appears to us to possess the rare merit of thorough impartiality. Each topic and individual is treated manfully but courteously. Truth was his grand object. He sank no point by which it might be ascertained or illustrated; but, while doing so, he uniformly treated his opponents with unassuming candour. Elphinstone's statements both in his history and official report, agree with those of Grant Duff. Rushton's *Gazetteer* is a treasury of information to those who can separate the wheat from the chaff; but the winnowing is rather a formidable task. We should gladly welcome another series, more leisurely compiled than those for 1841 and 1842. Our Government offices teem with records which, under moderately judicious editorship, would incalculably enrich such a work.

Besides the above authors we have gleaned information relative to the Mahrattas from other writers, who advert to them directly or indirectly. Mill's notice of them is singularly meagre and unsatisfactory, and not always accurate. Gleig evidently *means* to follow Duff, but occasionally embellishes his authority in a way that might have passed in "the Subaltern," but is unbecoming in an historian. Wilkes and Orme throw much light on those portions of Mahratta history which they treat of; and the same may be said of "Scott's Dakhan."

"Waring's History of the Mahrattas" makes much pretension, which is very scantily fulfilled. We have been more edified and amused by Mr. Tone's seventy-six modest pages than by Waring's quarto. "Broughton's Mahratta Camp" is unpretending and interesting, and brings before us Mahratta manners and Sindhia's Court. Hamilton's notices of the Mahratta country in his *Gazetteer* are extremely valuable. Sutherland's brief sketches are excellent. The Mahrattas and their country were little known when Rennell wrote; his notices are therefore scanty and inaccurate.

This enumeration of authorities, at the outset, will excuse us from perpetual references. With their assistance, we now proceed to offer to our readers a brief sketch of early Mahratta history, down to the time when the several states of Poona, Berar, Baroda, Gwalior, and Indore branched of; when, following the diminished fortunes of the junior branch of the Satara family at Kolapoor, we shall hastily glance at the recent military operations in that and the Sawunt-waree country.

Maharashtra, or the country of the Mahrattas, is, according to Hindu geographers, one of the five principal divisions of thd Deccan,* or, country south of the Narbadda and Mahanaddi rivers. The limits of Maharashtra are variously given: Mahommedans seldom troubled themselves about geographical questions, and it was long after they had overrun the different provinces of India, before they enquired respecting their original divisions. Mahrattas, indeed, are seldom mentioned by Mahommedan writers until the deeds of Shahjee, and his son Sivajee, brought their countrymen prominently to notice. When the historian Ferishtah alludes to the Mahrattas he calls them "the Hindus," "the Bergis," meaning by the first appellation the population, generally, in contradistinction to their Moslem conquerors; by the second, designating them marauders.†

Two points of the Mahratta history have, however, been

* The Deccan of the Hindus comprised the whole Peninsula south of the Narbadda and Mahanaddi, but Europeans have adopted the Mahommedan definition, and limit it to Telingana, Gondwana, and that portion of Maharashtra above the Western Ghats, being generally the country between the Narbadda and Kistna rivers.

† Mr. Elphinstone states, at page 457, volume 2 of his History of India, "the word Mahrattas first occurs in Ferishtah, in the transactions of the year A. D. 1485, and is not then applied in a general sense." This is an error. It strikes us, we have repeatedly seen them mentioned at earlier dates. By a hasty reference we have now found three such references. A. D. 1342, Ferishtah, as translated by Dow, says, "He at the same time conferred the government of Doulutabad and of the country of the *Mahrattors* upon Cuttulech, his preceptor." Page 289, volume 1. Again, at two places, in page 320 of the same volume, "Sirvadon, Chief of the Mahrattors" is mentioned. In Scott's translation of Ferishtah's History of the Deccan, among other inmates of "Feroze Shaw's Zenana," in A. D. 1398, are noted, "Rajpootees, Bengalees, Guzratees, Telinganees, *Maharattins*".

recovered by the mazes of antiquity. Ptolemy tells us that, in the second century there was a large city called Tagara, one of the principal marts of the Deccan, or country of the south, well known to the Greeks, and frequented by Egyptian merchants, 250 years before Christ. Its exact position has been the subject of controversy. Mr. Elphinstone considers that the site has yet to be ascertained, while Grant Duff places it on the Godavery, about fifty miles below Pyetan,—supposed to have been the Paithana of Ptolemy. Learned natives recognise the name of Tagara, and Grant Duff alludes to ancient deeds of grants of land engraved on copper plates, styling its monarch "the Chief of the Chiefs of Tagara." The second fact is, that a conquering sovereign, by the name Salivahan, whose era begins A. D. 77, and is the one now ordinarily used in the Deccan, ruled in the Mahratta country. He is said to have subdued the famous Vikramaditya, king of Malwa, but this could not have been the case as there are 135 years between their eras. The capital of Salivahan is recorded to have been at Pyetan on the Godavery.

The foregoing seem to be the only facts that can be gleaned from the mass of legendary accounts regarding Maharashtra, and its many petty independent states, antecedent to the inroad of the Mahommedans, under Alla-ud-deen, in the year of our Lord 1294. At this time, Jadow Ram-deo Rao was king, rajah, or mayhap only "chief of the chiefs." He was at least sovereign of an extensive country, though there were at the time several other chiefs in Maharashtra independent of his authority. Jadow Ram-deo Rao ruled at Deogurh, the modern Doulutabad. His conquerors, astonished at his wealth and power, styled him King of the Deccan. The plunder of his capital supplied Alla-ud-deen with the wealth which enabled him to usurp the throne of Delhi.

To make our subsequent historical details intelligible, it will be requisite briefly to describe the position and features of the Mahratta country. Mr. Elphinstone's History of India gives the following boundaries of Maharashtra:—On the north, the Sautpoora range of hills, from Naundode, near Baroach, on the western coast, to the source of the Wurda river. On the east the Wurda river, which, taking a south-easterly course, joins the Wyne Gunga, south-west of Chanda. On the south the boundary is a waving line, running past Beder and Kolapoor to Goa; while the western limit is the line of coast from Goa to Damaun, and thence inland to Naundode.

The trapezium enclosed within this outline, covers about one hundred thousand square miles, and is estimated to contain between six and seven millions of inhabitants. Some portions

of the country are thickly inhabited, but large tracts are desolate, or very thinly peopled, giving as the average of the whole, scarcely above sixty to the square mile.* The most marked feature of the country, whose boundaries we have defined, is the Syhadree range of mountains, commonly called the Ghats. They run along the western coast of India, at an average distance of thirty-seven miles from the sea: their summits are from three to five thousand feet in height, rising abruptly from the west, and supporting a table-land which averages three thousand feet above the sea, and slopes gradually towards the east. This range divides Maharashtra into three great tracts, the Concan, the Concan-Ghat-Mahta, and the Desh (Des), or country to the eastward of the high-lands. The Concan is that portion of the country which lies between the Syhadree mountains and the sea, and extends in a long narrow strip from the river Taptee, at Surat, to the Portuguese town of Goa. This division varies in breadth from twenty-five to fifty miles, and contains about twenty thousand square miles, or one-fifth of all Maharashtra. The Concan is a very rugged country, "interspersed with huge mountains and thick jungles; intersected by rivers and numberless rivulets." Some portions, however, especially near the coast, are remarkably fertile. Towards the Ghats the country is wild and picturesque in the extreme, the jungle verdure there is perpetual, and vegetation most luxuriant.

The table-land above the passes is called the Concan-Ghat-Mahta, or Concan above the Ghats. The highest part of the Syhadree range is that which immediately faces the Concan. The breadth of this chain of mountains is about twenty or twenty-five miles, including the space from the summit of the ridge facing the Concan, to the termination of the branches on the east side; the whole intervening space being designated Concan-Ghat-Mahta.† The area will thus be equal to rather

* Mr. Tone, who was an officer in the service of the Peishwa, says, "I believe it may be safely asserted that through the whole country (Bengal and Behar excepted) one acre in fifty is not cultivated." He wrote in 1818, and doubtless alluded to the country around Poona where he had served; but even there, and distracted as the Peishwa's territory had been, we consider his statement to be above the mark. The Satara and Poona lands now bear a far different aspect; indeed, wherever British influence extends, and common care and intelligence is exerted, the change is soon extraordinary. We have, in more than one quarter, seen cultivation doubled, nay trebled, in a single year.

† The general elevation of the Bombay Sanatarium in that portion of the Syhadree range called the Muhabaleshwur hills is 4,500 feet above the sea; the highest summit is 4,700; the height above the subjacent country in the Concan, is 4,000 feet, and above the general level of the Deccan, at its eastern base, 2,300 feet. The average breadth of the table-land on which the settlement has been established is eleven miles and a half, and the average length, eleven miles.

more than half that of the Concan. The whole tract from Joonere to Kolapoor is fairly populated, and the valleys are well cultivated. The people are hardy and patient, and under Sivajee made excellent soldiers. The Mawulees (or Mahratta inhabitants of a portion of the table-land and valleys called the Mawuls) were the main instruments of his rise. North of Joonere, the valleys are less cultivated, and are occupied by Bheels and Coolies who were all plunderers, but many of whom have been reclaimed. The summits of the hills are frequently crowned with huge basaltic rocks, forming natural fortresses of great strength. Many of them have been improved by art, and from the earliest times these mountain fortresses have been considered among the strongest in India. Mr. Tone says, "I have counted, in a day's march through Candeish, nearly twenty fortresses, all in sight, in different directions." Often as the majority of these places have changed hands, they have seldom been taken by main force. Many contain springs of pure water; all have reservoirs, and, in native warfare, their weak garrisons could defy powerful armies. Gold or stratagem, treachery, famine or a *coup-de-main* usually gained them; it was reserved for the British to carry by storm in open day such places as Panalla, Samungurh, and Manogurh. The third great division of Maharashtra is the Desh, or Des, being the open country eastward from the foot of the Ghat-Mahta. The Desh is by no means an unvaried level, but becomes less broken as it recedes easterly. It is intersected by four chains of mountains running east and west. The Sautpoora, Chandore, Ahmednugur, and Mahdeo hills; the first being the northern boundary of Maharashtra, the last lying to the north of Satara. The general aspect therefore of the Mahratta country is hilly. The valleys are well watered, but indifferently cultivated. Five great rivers, the Narbadda, the Taptee, the Godavery, the Deema, and the Kistna permeate the country.

The mass of the inhabitants are Hindus* separated, as elsewhere in India, into the four great classes, but as usual, innumerably subdivided. The Brahmans have long almost monopolised all civil and military offices; though while thus secularly employed, they forfeit the veneration evinced towards those who devote their lives to spiritual concerns. They com-

* "The Hindus" are too generally considered, or rather talked and written of, as one race, much as half-enlightened Indians believe all Feringhis (Franks) to be one people: their ignorance may be excused, but Englishmen should understand that, between the Hindu of Tanjore, Mysore, Bengal, Oude, Maharashtra and Rajputana, there is quite as much difference in language, customs, forms and features as obtains between Russians, Germans, French, Spaniards, Italians and Englishmen.

menced as servants; they now command in almost every Mahratta Durbar. The name of Mahratta is applicable to all the inhabitants, but Grant Duff states that "amongst "themselves a Mahratta Brahman will carefully distinguish "himself from a Mahratta. That term, though extended to "the Koonbees, or cultivators, is, in strictness, confined to the "military families of the country, many of whom claim a doubt-"ful but not improbable descent from the Rajputs." He might have added that all over India the Mahratta chiefs are considered to be Sudras of the three great divisions, husbandmen, shepherds, and cowherds. Mahratta women are well treated; those of rank are generally veiled, but it is little if any disgrace for them to appear uncovered. Scott Waring witnessed the wife of the Peishwa, Bajee Rao, practising her horse; and Mr. Tone says, at page 9, "I can affirm having seen the daughter of a Prince making bread with her own hands, and otherwise employed in the ordinary business of domestic housewifery." Widows usually perform Sutee with the bodies of their husbands, unless when they have infant children, or are themselves called to govern, which has so often happened of late at every Mahratta court. In such cases the veil is, in a great measure, relinquished. The widow having then to counsel with men, and even to go into battle, forgets that she is a woman. Within an area of 100,000 square miles, there must doubtless be great variety of form and feature, but the Mahrattas generally may be considered small, active, well-made men. For Hindus their features are coarse. They are hardy, persevering, and abstemious. The cultivators and shepherds are frugal, patient and industrious, and possess as many good qualities as can be expected from a people whose country has for centuries been a battle-field. They have the cunning incidental to their condition; to a race who have long lived on the defensive, who have been accustomed to be squeezed, and who have learnt to pay nothing that could not be enforced. The notions of Mahratta chiefs and soldiers are, for Indians, peculiar. They have none of the pride and dignity of the Rajput, Sikh, Jat or Patan, and little of their apathy or want of worldly wisdom. The Mahratta considers plunder and profit to be the object of war; for this he will undergo fatigue, privation and danger, but he has no notion of endangering or sacrificing his life on a mere punctilio. Mr. Elphinstone, after strikingly shewing the points of difference between the sentiments of Mahratta and the Rajput, affecting even the outward appearance of the two nations, remarks, "there is something noble in the carriage "even of an ordinary Rajput; and something vulgar in that

"of the most distinguished Mahratta. The Rajput is the most "worthy antagonist; the Mahratta the most formidable enemy; "for he will not fail in boldness and enterprise when they are "indispensable, and will always support them, or supply their "place by stratagem, activity, and perseverance."

The village system prevailed in great purity in Maharashtra; all the accessible land in the country was portioned off into villages, the boundaries of which were defined. The arable land was divided into fields, and every field was *named* and registered. The majority of the cultivators were hereditary occupants (meerasdars), who could not be ejected as long as they regularly paid the assessment on their fields. The Government servants in charge of circles of villages were called Deshmukhs, and their accountants Deshpandyas; the first answering to the Talukdar or Zemindar, the second to the Canungo of Hindustan. There were also a class of farmers of the revenue called Khotes. One or other of the above would occasionally take advantage of circumstances, and usurp the lands over which they had been appointed mere Collectors. During a period of anarchy, and under native rule, such persons effected in Maharashtra what in a time of peace, and under a British Government, was deliberately accomplished in Bengal; shewing that hasty, though well-intentioned legislation may affect the rights and welfare of a people even as much as the worst tyranny. Every village was a miniature commonwealth. Each had its establishment of officials. The Patell, or headman, was usually a Sudra; he held an office nearly corresponding to the Punch, Mokudum, or Lumberdar of the N. W. Provinces. He superintended the cultivation and managed the police. Disputes that he could not adjust were referred to a punchayet of "the inhabitants best acquainted with the circumstances." The Patell's clerk was termed Koolkurnee; he was usually a Brahman, though occasionally as, in Hindustan, of any other caste. His office corresponded to that of Patwaree, or record-keeper.* There was likewise the Mhar, or Dher, being the Goreit, Bolahar or Dowaha, that is, the scout guide and watchman of the village. Then there were the handicraftsmen and others, few of whom are now found as public servants in villages under British administration, but who are all over India recognised as remnants of the primitive village system, and used to be paid by land assignments. Though in the Concan, as in Bengal, the Khotes,

* The Patell and Koolkurnee are terms introduced by the Mussulmans. The original Hindu appellation of the former was Gaora, or, if the village manager, Gramadekaree; the Kalkarni was designated Gramlekak.

or farmers of the revenue, and the Pergunnah chiefs have generally transmitted their office to their sons, and superseded the village maliks; in the Ghat Mahta, each village has still its Patell and Koolkurnees.

Ten years ago Colonel Sutherland pronounced the Berar (Nagpore) and Satara Governments, the best native administrations in India, implying that their demands were the lightest on the cultivator. The injunction of the Shaster, that the Prince should only take one-sixth of the crop, is every where disregarded; where payments are in kind, three times that amount, or half the crop, is more usually exacted; it is a lenient administration that demands only one-third from irrigated and good lands, and one-fourth from dry and poor soils. As elsewhere, there are other petty but vexatious cesses, and the customs system among the Mahrattas, as in other parts of India, is a fruitful source of annoyance to traders, yielding little corresponding profit to the rulers. The cultivators are divided into two great classes, Meerasdars, or hereditary occupants, with certain proprietary rights, and Ooprees or tenants-at-will. "All property, or shares of hereditary "right in land, or in the district and village establishments, "termed under the ancient Hindu Governments, *writtee*, is "now best known throughout the Mahratta country, by the "name of *wutun*; and the holder of any such enjoys, what is "considered very respectable, the appellation of wutundar." Vol. I. p. 43, *Grant Duff.* So much are rural honours valued, that the fractional portions of the office of Patell were often sold at high prices; each holder of a portion designating himself Patell. When the monarch of an empire, Sindhia clung to what he called his hereditary Patellship.

Of the nine* existing Mahratta States, none, except Sawunt-waree, a petty chiefship, can claim any antiquity

* They are 1. Gwalior or Sindhia's Country.
2. Indore or Holkar's ditto.
3. Berar or Bhonsla of Nagpore.
4. Baroda or Ghaekwar.
5. Satara or the lineal descendants of Sivajee's son Sumbajee.
6. Kolapoor or the lineal of Sivajee's second son Rajah Ram.
7. { Dhar.
8. { Dewas, are petty chiefships held by two of the oldest of the Mahratta families "the Powars."
9. Sawunt-waree,—properly Waree, a small state dependant on Beejapore, the chiefs of which are called Desaee, Desmukh, or Sawunt, *hence*, Sawunt-waree.

There are also many Jagirdars, more or less powerful, some holding direct from the British Government, others depending on Satara, Kolapoor, &c.

Absorbed into the British Territory—
1. Poona, or the Peishwa's Principality.
2. Tanjore, or the territory of Venkajee, brother of Sivajee.

Satara ranks from 1664. Kolapoor, from a younger branch of Sivajee's family that separated in the year 1729. The rest are formed from later acquisitions granted to Military Commanders, chiefly by the Peishwa, to be held in subordination to the Empire, but which never paid allegiance to Satara, and a very brief one to Poona. All the principalities, except Satara, Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree, are beyond the limits of Maharashtra; and except about Nagpore, where there are a few Mahrattas, the ruling classes in those countries are as much foreigners as are the Mahommedans in Oude, or the English in Calcutta.

With this brief general sketch we now proceed to our historical notice. In the year 1294 Alla-ud-deen, the Governor of Oude and nephew of the Khiljee king of Delhi, Jelal-ud-deen, without asking the sanction of his uncle, moved across the mountains and forests of the Vindhya range, and, after a toilsome and dangerous march of 700 miles through hostile countries, reached the El Dorado of Deogurh. His force consisted only of 8,000 men, a small army for so formidable an undertaking, but as large a one as its bold leader could have fed on such a route. Ramdeo Rao Jadow, the Mahratta prince of Deogurh, negotiated terms, but his son broke the treaty, and drew on his country doubly severe terms. Large cessions of territory were made, and the victor carried back with him the accumulated treasures of centuries. Thus enriched, Alla-ud-deen returned to Delhi, only to assassinate his uncle, and seize the imperial throne. During the reign of Alla-ud-deen almost all Maharashtra was subdued, but on his death the Mahrattas recovered the greater part of their territory, and endeavoured to regain Deogurh.

Its Mussulman garrison was, however, relieved by the Emperor Mubarik, who took the Mahratta leader Hirpal Deo, prisoner, and caused him to be flayed alive. Several insurrections occurred. The Emperor Mahomed Tughluk, among other wild schemes, endeavoured to remove all the inhabitants of Delhi to Deogurh, the name of which place he changed to Doulutabad, intending to make it the seat of Empire. He had partially executed his merciless design when the Deccan fell from his hands, to be recovered after nearly four hundred years by Aurungzebe, only to remain a nominal appendage of the Mogul Empire for less than the term of a single life, and then to be for ever rent from the Delhi throne.*

* Aurungzebe only completed the conquest of the Deccan in the year 1687, and Nizam-ul-Mulk became independent in 1723. Thus the Moguls had a troubled and exhausting occupancy of thirty-six years in reward for centuries of exertion and incalculable expenditure of life and treasure.

The rebellion of the fugitive nobles,—who, in the year 1344, fearing the royal treachery, rose on their guards, slew them, fled to Doulutabad, and there, electing one of their own number, a simple commander of a thousand horse, as their king, raised the standard of rebellion,—belongs to the record of the Mahommedan empire in the South ; but without a brief notice of the circumstance the Mahratta history would be unintelligible. The rebels agreed on a plan of warfare which has ever been the favourite one in the Mahratta country. A portion of the allied force under the new King, Nazir-ud-deen, defended Doulutabad, while the other chiefs acted on the communications and supplies of the besiegers. The Emperor divided his force accordingly, and himself prosecuting the siege, he sent a strong force against the field detachments.

The Delhi Empire never was at peace. It was especially troubled during Mahomed Tughluk's reign ; and now, when he had nearly reduced Doulutabad, he was urgently called away by an insurrection in the North. The confederates emboldened by his departure gained courage ; they were joined by many Mahratta chiefs, and, under Zuffir Khan, one of their own ablest leaders, gave the Imperial general battle, slew him and gained a great victory. Nazir-ud-deen came out from Doulutabad to meet his victorious army, but observing the influence that Zuffir Khan had obtained, wisely resigned the throne in his favour. Zuffir Khan had originally been the slave of a Brahman, who treated him kindly and foretold his future rise. The new king changed his own name to Alla-ud-deen Husein Kangoh Brahmani, in gratitude to his old master, whom he appointed his treasurer. Thus originated the name of the Brahmani dynasty.

Alla-ud-deen commenced his reign in the year 1347. His rise was mainly caused by the succours afforded by the native (Mahratta) chiefs to whom he was not ungrateful. His dynasty lasted about 150 years. Maharashtra was, at his accession, divided into petty principalities. Every holder of an inaccessible hill or deep jungle was a ploygar, literally a rebel. The new sovereign subdued the weak among those in the plains, and conciliated others by grants of lands, or by the confirmation of their possessions. By such means he made himself master of almost all Maharashtra, except part of the Concan-Ghat-Mahta, which his successors did not succeed in conquering until a century later. During this period there were several insurrections, but chiefly induced by Mahommedan officers. The Mahratta chiefs were generally faithful.

In 1396 the terrible famine designated " the Durga Dewee"

commenced, and lasted for twelve years, depopulating large tracts, and leaving traces of its effects for forty years after. The inhabitants of whole districts were swept away; village land-marks were lost; their boundaries were forgotten, and, when the periodical rains returned, and endeavours were made to restore cultivation, the whole country was discovered to be in one mass of disorder. The polygars had increased in all directions; the hill forts formerly reduced by the Mahommedans, and abandoned in the great dearth, were now held by banditti, who infested the country and destroyed the returning hopes of those who had escaped nature's terrible calamity. Great efforts were made during successive years to repeople the villages and to reduce the hill forts. No rent was demanded for lands during the first year of fresh occupation, and only a tobra (horsebag) full of grain for each bigah during the second year. But little was effected until, by a systematic plan, the robber forts were reduced throughout the Syhadree range. An able commander by name Mullik-ul-tijar had great success. He subdued the whole Ghat-Mahta, and carried his arms into the still unconquered part of the Concan. He besieged and obliged a rajah, whose surname was Sirkay, to surrender, insisting on his embracing Islamism. The Mahratta consented, but deluded the Moslem into a previous expedition against the Rajah of Kondan, whom he designated his hereditary enemy. A detachment of 7,000 Mahommedans started under the immediate orders of their commander, and, guided by Sirkay, as to an assured victory, were led into an ambuscade and every man massacred. The Deccanees, Hindu and Moslem, have always been noted for such wiles of warfare.

Mahommed Shah, the second Brahmani monarch, divided his kingdom into four turufs (or quarters), to each of which he appointed a Governor, or turufdar; but as the empire extended by conquests from the rajahs of Telingana, Beejanugur, Orissa and the Concan, it was found necessary further to sub-divide the management of the country, separating each of the former divisions into two. Several arrangements were also made with a view of securing the fidelity of the local governors, but they all failed. Mahommedans can conquer, they cannot retain. There seems to be something in their creed and customs opposed to permanency and to good government. The sub-division into eight governments took place in the year 1478, and only eleven years afterwards, Adil Khan, the governor of Beejapoor, the founder of the Adil Shahee dynasty, declared his independence: soon after, four other Chiefs assumed the purple. Only

three* of these states, formed from the extinction of the Brahmani dynasty, were in existence when the Mahrattas rose into notice. The revolutions in the several Mahommedan states of the Deccan all aided the eventual emancipation of the original inhabitants. The majority of the forts, especially in unhealthy parts of the country, were held by Mahrattas, sometimes as hired soldiers of the Mahommedan government, but more frequently as jaghirdars and hereditary defenders of the soil. In all times of weakness or of tumult these garrisons called Gurhkuris made their own terms; they either threw off the yoke altogether, or joined the party or pretender that offered the best terms. Deshmukhs, Dessaes and other rural chiefs also, whether they acquired authority by birth, or as Collectors of revenue, or as military leaders holding lands in wild and secluded quarters, all made their harvest of Mahommedan dissensions and of Moslem pride and ignorance. From these Chiefs are descended the present "Mankurees," literally great men, many of whom, though reduced to poverty, claim superiority to the present mushroom monarchs of their race, and pay them very unwilling homage

Except the Sawunt-waree family and the Powars of Dhar and Dewas, the princes of the present day are men of yesterday, descended at best from petty village officers. The Holkars were shepherds, and Mulhar Rao, the first leader of the name, for years grazed his uncle's sheep in Candeish. The Sindhias were of a higher, though broken family, so that Ranoojee, the modern head of the clan, served the second Peishwa as a common Bargir, and report says, even carried his slippers. Damajee Ghaekwar and Pursojee Bhonslay were stirring leaders who rose from the ranks and occupied and bequeathed to their descendants the countries they were sent to plunder or to manage. Ballajee Wishwannah Bhutt, the first Peishwa, was hereditary accountant of a village in the Concan, and was originally employed as a common revenue Karkoon or clerk. The family of Powar were Deshmukhs of Phultun in the sixteenth century; and the Sawunts were, even earlier, Dessaees or Deshmukhs of their present country of Waree, near Goa, and rose into importance, under the kings of Beejapoor during the war with the Portuguese.† Bhonslay

* The Beejapoor, or Adil Shahee,
Ahmednugur, or Nizam Shahee,
Golcondah, or Kootub Shahee.

† Hamilton erroneously dates their origin from the time of Sambajee the son of Sivajee.

was the original name not only of the Waree family, but of the respective founders of the Berar (Nagpore), Satara and Kolapoor houses, though only the two latter were related to each other. We will now briefly trace the history of their common ancestors.

Babjee Bhonslay was hereditary patell of several villages near Doulutabad. He had two sons, the elder named Mallojee, the younger Wittojee. Mallojee Bhonslay was an active, stirring soldier, and was employed under the banner of Lookhjee Jadow Rao, a Mahratta chief of rank in the Beejapoor service. Mallojee having been for several years childless, engaged the services of a celebrated Mahommedan saint in his favor. A fine boy was in due time born, and, in gratitude to the saint was called after him, "Shah," with the adjunct of respect, "jee." Thus in the year 1593 was born Shahjee the father of Sivajee. Mallojee by an act of extraordinary impudence, took advantage of a jocose speech of his leader Jadow Rao on the occasion of the Hooli saturnalia, and procured the unwilling acquiescence of that Chief to his daughter Jeejee's betrothal to his son Shahjee. Mallojee's opportune discovery of a large quantity of treasure reconciled Jadow Rao, and enabled him to purchase the rank of Commander of 5,000 horse, with the titles of Rajah, from the weak and venal court of Ahmednugur, upon which the nuptials between the young couple were celebrated. Mallojee's good fortune was attributed to the auspices of the goddess Bhowanee, who prophesied that one of Mallojee's race should become a king, re-establish Maharashtra, protect Brahmans, and the temples of the gods; and that his posterity should reign for twenty-seven generations. With his new title, Mallojee received charge of the forts of Sewneree and Chakun, and of the Pergunnahs of Poona and Sopa.

The Deccan monarchies were at this time constantly assailed by the Moguls. The Mahratta chiefs played their own game during these contentions. As a specimen of the times and of the value that was attached to their alliance, we may mention that Shahjee's father-in-law, Jadow Rao, having deserted the Ahmednugur standard in the year 1621, was rewarded by the Emperor Jehangir with the rank and authority of Commander of 15,000 horse. He did not long enjoy his honors. Nine years afterwards he desired to return to his allegiance, was inveigled into a conference within the walls of Doulutabad, and there murdered. On this, his widow, a woman of masculine habits, with her followers and many of her connexions, for ever abandoned the cause of the Nizam-shahee monarchs.

Shahjee, who had now succeeded his father and was recognised as a bold and able leader, followed the example of his mother-in-law and received the rank of a Commander of 5,000 horse with a suitable jaghir. He was, however, soon disgusted, and offered his services to the Beejapoor Government to act against the Moguls who were then effecting the conquest of the Ahmednugur state. His offer was accepted, and he soon obtained the distinction of being considered the most active and dangerous enemy of the Imperial arms. Doulutabad however fell to the Moguls; its minister became a pensioner, and its monarch a prisoner. Shahjee did not lose courage. He proclaimed another prince, assumed the management of the remaining Ahmednugur territory, and soon recovered a great portion of what had been lost. In the year 1635, Shah Jehan was at length excited by the audacity of Shahjee to make a great effort to reduce both him and his supporters. An overwhelming force, in four divisions, moved against them, and the Deccanees were beaten at all points. The Beejapoor king then agreed to pay a tribute of twenty lakhs of pagodas; and, the forts of Shahjee being captured, he petitioned for re-admittance into the Imperial service. This was refused, but he was told that he might enter that of Beejapoor.

In the year 1627 Sivajee had been born in the fort of Sewneree, close to the town of Joonere, fifty miles north of Poona. Three years afterwards, to the great displeasure of Jeejee Bye and her friends, Shahjee married a second wife, Tuka Bye Mohitey, by whom he had a son called Venkajee. He had a third son, Suntajee, whose mother was a dancing girl.

In the year 1637, the Beejapoor Government entrusted Shahjee with the post of the second in command of an expedition into the Carnatic. On his departure, he left his family and his Poona Jaghir in charge of a Brahman named Dadajee Konedeo. The Agent was an able revenue officer and a faithful servant. He recovered the broken districts, encouraged agriculture, and by good management, greatly increased the prosperity of his charge. Shahjee's services in the Carnatic obtained for him a grant of several of the valleys called the Mawuls of Concan-Ghat Mahta in the neighbourhood of Poona; these he likewise placed under the Brahman's care. Dadajee found their hardy and simple inhabitants in the utmost penury, scarcely clothed, and barely able to defend their wretched huts from the wild beasts of the forest which daily increased on them. He took many of the Mawulees into his service, gave advances of seed grain to others, and by

demanding no rents for nine years, and then establishing very light assessments, recovered a considerable portion of country. It is pleasant to find in the dark catalogue of India Rulers an occasional Dadajee Konedeo. Would that there were more such as he among our own ranks! Men who lived for their duty, for the improvement of their respective charges, and not simply for the accumulation (even though it be honestly,) of so many thousand Rupees to take with them to Europe.

The men of business in Maharashtra were Brahmans. It was no part of the duty of a soldier to bend to the work of a scribe. Dadajee gave his master's son a good education, according to the notions of the times and the country. Sivajee could never sign his name, but he was an excellent horseman and marksman. He could use the matchlock as well as the bow, and was master of the different kinds of swords and dagger used in the Deccan. He was also instructed in the rules and observances of his caste and in the popular parts of Hindu mythology. He loved to hear the "Kuthas," or tales, in verse or prose, of the gods and heroes of antiquity; he delighted in martial exercises, and he hated the Mahommedans, as Hannibal hated the Romans. While a mere boy he joined some plundering bands in the Concan-Ghat-Mahta; and taking a fancy to the rude Mawulees, was often absent for whole days with parties of them, on plundering and hunting excursions. He thus became familiar with the defiles and paths of the rugged country around Poona, and attached to himself the most daring of the wild inhabitants. He marked the positions of the strongholds in his neighbourhood, and early determined to seize one of them. As peace now existed with the Moguls, and the Beejapoor army was employed in the Carnatic, the hill forts, generally neglected, were guarded even more slenderly than usual. Sivajee took advantage of this neglect: he bribed the Killadar of Torna, near Poona, to yield the place to him, and then wrote to the Beejapoor court, offering increased rent for the surrounding district, and protesting that he had nothing in view, but his sovereign's advantage. His statement being backed by liberal bribes to the courtiers, he was allowed for several years to pursue his own schemes unmolested. Treasure was found at Torna; and its discovery of course attributed to Bhowanee, the tutelar goddess of Sivajee's family. Arms and ammunition were purchased, and within three miles of Torna he erected, on the mountain of Morbudh, the fortress of Rajgurh.

Sivajee now advanced step by step; one stronghold after another fell into his hands, and with them the command of the

circumjacent territory. These continued successes at length alarmed the weak Beejapoor monarch, who could however hit upon no better expedient for reducing the rebel son, than to decoy and imprison the loyal father, then usefully employed in the Deccan. Bajee Ghorepuray, another jaghirdar, was the tool chosen for this act of treachery: he invited Shahjee to his house, and then had him seized. It was sufficiently well known that he was guiltless of any connexion with Sivajee; but it was believed that the son, whom the royal arms could not reduce, might be brought to yield, if the torture and imprisonment of his father was the alternative. Shahjee was accordingly confined in a stone dungeon, the door of which was built up, and he was informed that the single remaining aperture should be closed if his son did not submit within a certain period. For four years Shahjee remained a prisoner, and eventually owed his release to disturbances in the Carnatic and to the king's fear that Sivajee, who had opened communications with the Emperor Shah-Jehan, would offer his allegiance to the Moguls. On releasing his prisoner, the king permitted him to return to the Carnatic, first binding him not to avenge himself on Bajee Ghorepuray. Shahjee agreed to the terms. He verbally complied with all the demands made on him, but he did not forget that his brother of the faith had invited him to his house, and there seized his guest and delivered him to Moslem bonds. He was therefore no sooner clear of the toils than he wrote to Sivajee, "If you are my son, punish Bajee Ghorepuray of Moodhole." This is the only record of communication between the father and son during many years. Well did Sivajee execute the vindictive order. He watched Ghorepuray's movements until the year 1661, when, finding a fitting opportunity, he pounced upon his victim, slew him and many of his family, and plundered and burnt their village. Shahjee was loud in acknowledgment of the pious deed, and soon after, came from the Carnatic to visit his son, and thank him in person for his filial conduct.

During his father's incarceration, Sivajee had been comparatively quiet, but no sooner was Shahjee released, than his son successfully resumed his unscrupulous efforts for effecting the conquest of the entire Ghat Mahta and Concan. At this time (1656,) Prince Aurungzebe was his father's viceroy in the Deccan, and was entering on those intrigues with the celebrated Meer Joomleh, the minister of Golcondah, which led to the direct interference of the Moguls in that state; and which ended in the entire reduction of Golcondah, and the admittance of Meer Joomleh into the Mogul service.

The Mahommedan power in the Deccan was fast approaching its close, but the wily, and occasionally sagacious Aurungzebe, little thought that, while undermining and gradually absorbing the Mussulman principalities there, he was only clearing the field for a more powerful rival,—that he was preparing the way for "a people of fierce countenance," whose banner, within thirty years of his own death, should wave over the walls of Delhi, and whose leaders should soon after be levying contributions from Lahore to Tanjore.

Beejapoor was at this juncture, in the throes of dissolution; it had lately very narrowly escaped the clutches of Aurungzebe, and was distracted by a factious and treacherous nobility, under the weak administration of an infant king. An effort was, however, now made to put down the insurrection of Sivajee; a large force was collected, and Afzool Khan, an officer of high rank, appointed to the command. He was a bold but arrogant man, and boasted, at taking leave, that he would bring back the rebel in chains to the footstool of the throne. Afzool Khan, however, knew the strength of the country in which he was employed and gladly listened to the humble messages of Sivajee, who, affecting only to desire peace, disclaimed all thought of opposing so great a personage as the Khan. The Moslem was deluded, and sent Puntojee Gopinat, a brahman in his employ, to arrange with Sivajee the terms of the Mahratta's submission. The envoy was received with all honor, and Sivajee conducted himself during the first interview with great humility. During the ensuing night, the rebel leader secretly visited his guest's quarters, and, addressing him as his spiritual superior, appealed to him as a brahman, in favor of his own cause, which he stated to be that of the Hindus generally. Sivajee urged that he had been called on by the goddess Bhowanee, herself, to protect brahmans and kine, to punish the violators of temples and to resist the enemies of religion. These arguments were seconded by large promises, and the interview ended in Puntojee's entering into a scheme for assassinating his master. Accordingly, the brahman returned to the Mogul camp to report that Sivajee was in great alarm and ready to surrender, if he could only receive a guarantee of his personal safety from the mouth of the Beejapoor commander. The deluded Khan fell into the snare. The place appointed for the meeting was a space, cleared for the occasion, at the foot of the fort of Pertabgurh. *One* road through the jungle was cleared; all other avenues were closed. A force was told off to attack the Beejapoor main army, when the death of Afzool Khan should be announced, by a signal q

five guns from Pertabgurh. Parties were also so disposed as to cut off whatever escort might accompany the victim. Two persons only were let into the secret of the dark deed about to be perpetrated.

Sivajee prepared for the death grapple, as for a religious though desperate deed. Having performed his ablutions, he placed his head at his mother's feet and besought her blessing. Then, attiring himself with a steel chain cap and hauberk under his turban and cotton gown, he concealed a bichwa, or crooked dagger, under his right sleeve, and placing on the fingers of his left hand a wagnuk,* he leisurely proceeded down the hill to the interview. Fifteen hundred troops escorted Afzool Khan; but he was requested by the traitor Puntojee to halt them, when within a few hundred yards of the base of the hill, lest Sivajee should be alarmed and decline the interview. The Khan accordingly advanced armed simply with his sword, and attended only by a single soldier. Sivajee, too, was accompanied by one attendant, and as he approached the place of interview, repeatedly halted as if in alarm. To give him confidence, the traitor brahman begged that Afzool Khan's follower might fall back. The chiefs then advanced and being introduced by Puntojee, gave each other the usual oriental embrace.† Sivajee, while his right arm was round the Khan's neck, with the left, struck the wagnuk into his bowels. Afzool Khan feeling himself wounded, pushed the assassin from him, and attacked him sword in hand. The chain armour of Sivajee resisted the blow, and, before the Khan's single attendant could step up to his support, the chief was slain, and his brave servant, refusing quarter, shared his fate. The signal was forthwith given; the ambuscades rushed out, few of the escort escaped and it was only through especial orders, sent by Sivajee, that the slaughter of the main body of the enemy ceased.

The success of this abominable scheme established Sivajee's power: the plunder of the Beejapoor army provided him with military equipments as well as with treasure; and the fame of the exploit encouraged his friends and terrified his foes. He fulfilled his promise to the traitor Puntojee Gopinat, who received the stipulated reward and afterwards rose to high rank

* A steel instrument with three crooked blades, like tiger's claws, made to fit on the fore and little finger.

† How unchanged are Asiatics. Nearly three thousand years ago "Joab said "to Amasa, Art thou in health my brother? and Joab took Amasa by the beard, "with the right hand, to kiss him, but Amasa took no heed to the sword that was "in Joab's hand; so he smote him therewith in the fifth rib, and shed out his "bowels to the ground." 2 Sam. xx. 9, 10. Joab's weapon must have been something like a wagnuk.

in the Mahratta service. A hundred years afterwards the descendant of Puntojee paid the penalty of his ancestor's perfidy on the very spot where the traitor brahman had betrayed the confiding Beejapoori.

Another effort was however soon made against Sivajee. A force, twice the strength of that lately sent under Afzool Khan, was employed under Seedee Johur. Sivajee's light troops devastated the enemy's country while he threw himself into the fort of Panalla. The Seedee prosecuted the siege for four months, during the worst season of the year. The post was still tenable, but all the approaches to it were occupied, and Sivajee felt the error he had committed in thus allowing himself to be encaged. But, treacherous himself, he knew whom he could trust. He asked for terms and proceeded, slightly attended, to one of the enemy's batteries to negotiate a surrender. He thus threw the Seedee off his guard, and during the ensuing night, descended the hill, at the head of a chosen band of Mawulees, passed the besieger's posts and was well on his march to the fort of Rangna before his flight was observed. When the fact was ascertained, he was sharply pursued, and was overtaken at a defile within six miles of the fortress. He left a party of his Mawuls under command of Bajee Purvoe, who had formerly been his enemy, with orders to hold the pass until a signal from the Fort of Ragna announced his own safety. The orders were obeyed, the post was held, but at the cost of the life of the generous Purvoe. Sivajee himself thus escaped, but many of his forts were captured, and the Mahrattas would have suffered more severely, but for the court intrigues that caused the removal of the brave Seedee from the command of the invading army. This was however an expiring effort on the part of the Beejapoor Government; the revulsion expedited its own fall; while Sivajee, bending to the storm he could not brave, quickly recovered his temporary losses and was soon again in the field with fresh strength.

At this time (1662), the Sawunts, or lords, of Waree offered, if supported by the Court, to reduce the rebel, but they were soon abandoned by their weak paramount and the whole of their own territory was subdued by Sivajee who, however, restored their Deshmukhee rights, and by his judicious treatment soon attached them warmly to his cause. He occupied Sawunt-waree with his own troops, and drew their infantry to fight his battles in distant quarters. Sivajee was now master of a long line of sea coast. He built ships and commanded an advantageous treaty from the already degenerate Portuguese of Goa, who supplied him with guns

and naval stores. The successful rebel had now become a powerful Prince. Through his father's timely mediation, he was admitted to treat with the Beejapoor minister, and was recognised as master of a tract of country more than 250 miles in length, averaging 50 miles in breadth and in parts extending 100 miles eastward from the sea. He also had at command a devoted army of not less than 50,000 foot and 7,000 horse.

Being at peace with Beejapoor, Sivajee next turned his arms against the Moguls. For a time the Mahrattas were unsuccessful; many forts fell into the hands of the enemy, who established their camp at Poona. Sivajee was not slow to take advantage of their position, and to use his own knowledge of its localities. Understanding that the Mogul commander, Shaisteh Khan, occupied the very house in which he had himself passed his boyhood, Sivajee determined to cut him off in the midst of his guards. Accordingly, with twenty-five favourite Mawulees, the Mahratta Chief entered Poona at night, passed through the Mogul troops, wounded Shaisteh Khan, slew his son and many of his personal attendants; and then leisurely retreated, lighting his torches in defiance as he ascended the hill of Singurh, in the face of his pursuers.

In the year 1664 Shahjee was killed by a fall from his horse. He died in possession of large jaghirs including the whole territory of Tanjore, to all which his younger son Venkajee, who was on the spot, succeeded; Sivajee reserving the assertion of his own right until a favourable opportunity should offer. In January of that year, having effected the requisite arrangements and gained perfect information as to localities, he made a feint of attacking the Portuguese settlements at Bassein and then, at the head of four thousand horse, made a dash on the rich city of Surat, systematically plundered it for six days and leisurely carried off his booty to the fort of Raigurh. The Dutch and English factories only escaped. Their small garrisons stood on the defensive and by their gallant bearing, created a very favourable impression on the minds of the Moguls as well as of the Mahrattas. Shaisteh Khan had been recalled and the great Jey Sing in conjunction with Dilere Khan was now employed against Sivajee and carried on the war with unusual energy. Sivajee incautiously threw himself into the strong fortress of Poorundhur, which was reduced to extremity and the Mahratta was induced to trust to Jey Sing's guarantee and surrender himself. Sivajee's conduct seems unaccountable. At no time had he been so strong, and dissension was rife in the Mogul camp. Poorundhur might have fallen, but Sivajee would not have been himself if he

could not have effected his own escape. Rajah Golab Sing's conduct at the present day in the Punjab seems much akin to this; unscrupulously cutting off all who trust him, he is constantly trusting himself in his enemy's hands. Man is every where unaccountable, but he who has to deal with Asiatics can least calculate, with certainty, on the future by the past. He must be prepared for every vagary, for the violation of the plainest dictates of prudence during peace, for the neglect or breach of all the rules of strategy during war. He may reasonably expect *that* to be done which should not be done, *that* to be neglected which should be effected. No European diplomatist or soldier is so likely to be ensnared as he who, having taken the usual precautions, feels himself secure. The treaty signed, the picquets doubled, neither can be regarded as a guarantee of safety. Certain eventual destruction may await the enemy's move; he may be assured of it on *all* rational calculations, but the goddess Bhowanee or some other Deity or Demon may have promised success—the day of the Feringees may have passed, and the infatuated wretches rush on destruction. Their desperation then *is* dangerous. Rashness, nay madness, has succeeded in striking a blow where the best plans have failed. Indian officials should ever be on the alert.

Sivajee at once surrendered twenty forts, with the territories attached to them, and trusted to the fidelity of Jey Sing to be secured in possession of the remainder of his conquests as a Mogul fief, as well as for sanction to spoil the Beejapoor territory. Aurungzebe generally confirmed Jey Sing's arrangement and invited Sivajee to court. He accepted the invitation, but previously assembling his officers, gave them strict orders as to their conduct during his absence, warned them not to obey any order sent by himself, unless it was brought by certain messengers, and then at the head of 500 choice horse and 1,000 Mawulees, proceeded with his son Sambajee to Delhi. Aurungzebe, though possessing considerable ability, was a very short-sighted politician. It was foreign to his character to keep his word; or even to break it in a straightforward manner. He might have at once put Sivajee to death; he preferred to degrade him, probably with the intention of eventually taking his life, or when sufficiently humbled, of employing him like Jeswunt and Jey Sing, as a tool of his own policy. Sivajee was accordingly received contemptuously, and when his bold spirit revolted, he was placed under surveillance and made to expect the worst. He soon decided on the course he should pursue, and found an ally in Ram Sing, the son of Jey Sing, under whose charge he was placed.

Indignant that his father's engagement should have been violated, he aided the prisoner's flight. The circumstances of Sivajee's escape concealed in a basket are not among the least romantic of his actions. He returned to the Deccan and soon recovered all his lately ceded possessions.

The first exploit now performed was the recovery by escalade of the strong fortress of Singurh, which among others had fallen into the enemy's hands. The fort is situated on the eastern side of the great Syhadree range, and is nearly isolated, being connected only by narrow ridges with the Poorundhur hills, while north and south it has a continued acclivity, often almost perpendicular, of half a mile. The summit is capped by a huge black rock, forming a craggy precipice, more than forty feet high and two miles in circumference. This rock was girdled by a stone wall, with towers at intervals, and was strongly garrisoned by a select body of Rajputs under a leader of renown. Having ascertained that, in the confidence of their own prowess, and of the strength of their fastness, the garrison had become negligent, Sivajee consulted Tannajee Maloosray one of his bravest officers, as to the best plan of surprizing the place. Tannajee replied that, if permitted to take his own younger brother and 1,000 selected Mawulees, he would engage to seize the fortress. His offer was accepted. A dark night was selected for the assault. Having received their orders at Rajgurh, the Mawulees separated, and by different paths, known only to themselves, proceeded to the rendezvous in the vicinity of Singurh. Tannajee then divided his men into two parties, one to storm, the other to support. He selected the most precipitous point of the rock, and by means of rope ladders, led his advanced party, one by one up the precipice. Scarcely three hundred had ascended when the garrison were alarmed. The challenge of the formost sentinel was answered by an arrow, and the bowmen then plied their weapons in the direction where they perceived, by the lights, that the garrison were collecting. A desperate conflict ensued, and the Mawulees were gaining ground, when their leader was slain. They then fell back and were on the point of retreating by the fearful path they had ascended when Tannajee's brother, Sooryajee with the relief, appeared, rallied the fugitives and upbraided them for deserting their Chief, saying "will you leave your father's corpse to be tossed into a pit by Mhars?" He added that the rope ladders were destroyed, and that now was their time to prove themselves Sivajee's Mawulees. In an instant the tide was turned and with a deafening shout of their battle cry, "Hur Hur Mahadeo," they returned to the charge and were

soon in possession of the fort. Of the Mawulees, nearly one-third were killed or wounded, and five hundred of the Rajputs with their commander were found dead or wounded.

Sivajee was hardly consoled for the loss of his gallant officer by the capture of the important post. When congratulated on the success of his arms he sorrowfully replied, "The den* is taken, but the lion is slain; we have gained a fort, but alas! I have lost Tannajee Maloosray!" Sivajee, who as he paid his soldiers regularly, was chary of gifts, on this occasion gave every surviving Mawulee a pair of silver bangles, and rewarded the officers proportionally.

A new tide of conquest had now opened on Sivajee; again, fort after fort fell before his arms or finesses. The city of Surat (October 1670) was again plundered; and for three days, at the head of 15,000 men, he leisurely squeezed all who had any thing to yield. The English factory, as before, defended themselves. Hearing of the approach of a Mogul army, Sivajee suddenly decamped, leaving behind him a letter for the inhabitants in which he demanded a tribute of 12 lakhs of Rupees as the price of exemption from future plunder. Such was often, with the Mahrattas as with the Sikhs, the origin of their territorial acquisitions. They plundered the weak, and gradually assumed a proprietory right in all they had the power to destroy or molest. Their visits were commuted for *chouth*, or a fourth of the produce to be paid as protection, or rather exemption money; gradually the stronger party appointed their own collectors, and, step by step, assumed the government of the lands they had originally wasted. This year, we first hear the word *Chouth*. The large town of Kurinja being plundered, a regular agreement was taken from the local authorities to pay one-fourth of the yearly revenue; in consideration of which they were not only to be exempted from plunder but protected.

Sivajee's attention was now turned to the sea as well as the land, and his exertions were unremitting on both elements. He sought either to expel the Portuguese from the coast or to reduce them to the condition of tributaries. His troops, who had hitherto rather harassed than attacked the Moguls and had been formidable chiefly in forests and fastnesses, began to meet the Emperor's troops boldly in the plain and daily with increased success. His usual tactics were to affect retreat; to draw on the Mogul horse in their usual tumultuous disorder, and then, either to lead them into an ambuscade or, suddenly

* Singurh, lion's dwelling.

rallying his apparently broken parties, to return to the offensive, and, by repeated attacks on the broken squadrons, to sweep all before him. The Mahratta and also the Sikh horsemen were long famous for such manœuvres, and so prevalent is this Parthian policy not only among the Mahrattas, but throughout Indian warfare, that it is not unusual, as at the battle of Assaye, for gunners when ridden over by cavalry, to lie quietly down till the torrent has passed, and then to rise and turn their guns on the squadrons that have overwhelmed them.

In 1673, Sivajee, after a siege of several months, captured the fort of Satara. The place had been long used as a state prison: its captor little anticipated that it would be the dungeon of his successors, whence they would be released and reinstated by the English traders with whom, in their merely mercantile character, he now first became acquainted. Sivajee, who had long struck coins and styled himself Maharajah, was in June of this year formally enthroned. He was weighed against gold, the whole of which being then given to the brahmans, sharpened their wits for the discovery that the donor was of high Rajput descent.

Aurungzebe's attention had been for some time withdrawn from the Deccan by the disturbances arising from his revival of the Jezia or Hindu capitation tax, a measure which transformed the Rajputs from faithful dependants and followers into stout rebels. Rajah Jeswunt Sing had died at Kabul, fighting the Mogul battles. He was rewarded by an attempt to convert his children by force, but this outrage on his family, together with the Jezia, drove the Rajputs into a hostile confederation which occupied the Emperor for two years. In the year 1676 he again felt at liberty to turn his attention towards the Deccan, and at this time he seems to have believed that his schemes for weakening the several kingdoms in that quarter had taken effect.

The Mogul influence had for some time been paramount at Golcondah: there was, what was called, a close alliance with Rajapoor; and even Sivajee now found it his interest to pay temporary tribute. Having determined to proceed to the Carnatic and oblige his brother to yield (according to Hindu law) half their father's inheritance, he came to an understanding with the king of Golcondah, and took the politic step of offering a sop to the Mogul commander to spare his possessions during his absence; jocosely comparing his paying tribute to giving oil-cake to his milk-cow, by which "she would produce the more milk." In 1676-7 he proceeded on his expedition at

the head of 30,000 horse and 40,000 foot, but Venkajee soon found the inutility of opposition, and agreed to divide the revenues of Tanjore and his other districts, on which peace was concluded between the brothers. After an absence of eighteen months, Sivajee returned to Maharashtra and was soon again in hot hostility with the emperor.

The Moguls, having now thrown off the mask towards both Golcondah and Beejapoor, appeared before the latter place. The Regent called urgently on Sivajee for aid. He gave it effectually, cut off the Mogul's supplies, and obliged them to raise the siege. His reward was the abrogation of the Beejapoor rights of sovereignty over all the conquests he had at different times made. During this campaign Sivajee's son, Sambajee fled in discontent from his father to the Mogul commander Dilere Khan, who proposed to Aurungzebe to set him up as a counterpoise to Sivajee, but the Emperor declined to take a step that would virtually recognise, and thereby strengthen the predatory system. Dilere Khan being soon after displaced, avenged himself by conniving at Sambajee's escape. The latter returned to his father and received partial forgiveness, but was detained at large in the fort of Panalla.

Scarcely were the terms of the engagement with Beejapoor concluded when Sivajee's earthly career closed. His last illness was caused by a swelling in the knee-joint, ending in fever that carried him off on the 5th April 1680, in his 53d year. Few conquerors have effected so much with equal means. Long disowned by his father, and unaided by the local chiefs, until by his own stripling arm he had rendered himself independent, he died the recognised ruler of a territory fifty thousand square miles in area; his name was dreaded from Surat to Tanjore, and in every quarter, between those remote points, his bands had levied contributions and tribute. The Mahommedan yoke was now for ever broken in Maharashtra. The long dormant military spirit of the people was roused, to be quelled only in the entire disruption of that system on which it had risen. The genius of Sivajee emancipated the Mahrattas; succeeding chiefs by neglecting the policy which had aggrandised their founder and adopting an organization which they could never perfectly master, precipitated the state to a second downfall.

Our brief sketch will have shewn the line of tactics that Sivajee pursued. Personally brave, he never fought when he could fly, or when stratagem or treachery could effect his object: but whatever was his design, he weighed it deliberately, gained the most accurate information on all necessary points, and then, when least expected, pounced upon his prey. The

heavy and slow moving Moguls must have been sadly puzzled at encountering such a foe. Many stories are told of the terror his very name inspired. He was feared both as a soldier, a marauder and an assassin. His own dagger, or those of his emissaries could reach where his troops could not penetrate; no distance or precaution could keep his prey from him. The old Jaghir system under which the Mahratta chief served the Deccan kings was a good foundation for the regenerator of his country to work upon; but it must be remembered that it was not with the chiefs that Sivajee commenced operations, but with the despised and half-starving peasantry of the Ghat-Mahta and Sawunt-waree. It was when Sivajee had gained a name, and had himself become a *chief*, that chiefs joined his standard. It is ever so in India. There is always ample material abroad to feed the wildest flame of insurrection, but not until it has assumed a head, will those who have a stake in the land join it. They will talk, they will write, they will plot, but seldom, unless in instances of great infatuation, when misled by false prophets, will the chiefs of the land join an insurrectionary move, so long as their own *izzut* has not been touched.

During Sivajee's whole career, he cannot be said to have enjoyed, or rather suffered, one single year of peace. He seems from the outset to have declared perpetual hostility against all who had any thing to lose. His pacifications or rather truces, were but breathing spaces, to enable him to recruit or collect his means, or to leave him unshackled to direct his whole force in another quarter. Aurungzebe played into Sivajee's hands by his timid and suspicious policy. The Emperor was incessantly changing his commanders, and feared to entrust any one of his sons or generals with means sufficient to quell the Deccan insurrections, lest the power so deputed should be used, as he himself had used it, to the usurpation of the throne. Thus distrusted, his children and officers managed the war with Sivajee as with Beejapoor and Golcondah, for their own aggrandisement. They fought as little as they could, while they plundered and received bribes as much as possible.

There was thus much in the times, and there was still more in the condition and *feeling* of the country, favourable to Sivajee. His cause was, or appeared to be that of the people. They had long groaned beneath a Mahommedan yoke, and some openly, all secretly, hailed a liberator of their own blood, caste, and country. It was this strong feeling in his favor that enabled him to procure the excellent intelligence for which he was noted: his spies were in every quarter, in the very zenanas

and durbars of his enemies, and always gave timely warning of all designs, and full information of the weak points against which to direct his enterprises. With all these advantages it may seem more surprising that Sivajee's rise was not quicker than that it made the progress we have shewn ; but it must be remembered that the Mahratta chiefs were never unanimous, that few ever joined the founder of their empire, that Sivajee's officers and soldiers were the creatures of his own genius, and that for many years the majority of his troops were infantry, excellent in their own strong country, but ill adapted for foreign conquest. Above all, there was the prestige of antiquity and of power around the Mahommedan thrones, and especially around that of the Great Mogul. In no quarter of the world does so much respectful fear attach to long-established authority as in India. If there is little veneration for sovereignty, there is abundance of awe. Loyalty and patriotism we put out of the question ; but in every case of insurrection the majority of chiefs and men of war, of all castes, will first offer their services to the established power to fight either for or against their own kindred and country ; and it is only when refused employment that they flock to the newly displayed banner. The middle and lower classes act differently ; their sympathies will be with their fellows, but they will naturally be cautious to conceal their feelings until the progress of events and the conduct of the contending parties afford some clue to the probable result of the struggle. Thus Aurungzebe might originally have commanded the services of all that were then considered the fighting classes of Maharashtra, but his suspicious temper, fearing to admit Hindus into his ranks, and even refusing the services of the Deccan Mussulmans, drove them into the ranks of his enemy. The Mahommedan Government in India had, in short, lost its tact, elasticity, and vigour : luxury had sapped the Moslem strength and deadened their one solitary virtue. Their hardihood declined, and with it their empire fell. Sivajee was the first to take advantage of the imperial decay, and his example was soon followed in every quarter of India.

Sivajee early established a strict military system. His Infantry, as already stated, were originally recruited chiefly from the Concan and Ghat-Mahta. The Hetkurees of the former were good marksmen, but his chief dependence was on the Mawulees, or inhabitants of the mountain valleys. He employed the latter on all undertakings requiring cool courage and hand-to-hand work. They never failed him. The usual arms of both were a sword, shield and matchlock, but a bow was substituted for the matchlock of every tenth man, as being

useful in ambuscades and night attacks. The cavalry were of two classes, Sillidars or men bringing their own cattle, and Bargeers who were mounted on horses of the state. A select body of the latter, forming a third and very important class were designated the Pagah or household troops. Individuals of this body were mingled with the Sillidars and ordinary Bargeers to overawe them, and act as spies on their conduct. Horse and foot of all ranks were hardy, active and abstemious. Camp equipage was unknown among them : a single blanket in addition to their light coarse vestments completed their wardrobe, and a small bag of parched grain sufficed for their commissariat supplies. Thus furnished, the infantry would for days and days thread the defiles and jungles of their wild country, and, by paths known only to themselves, appear where least expected ; while the cavalry, supplied with small saddle bags to hold such grain or plunder as they might pick up, swept the country at the rate of fifty, sixty and even eighty miles within twenty-four hours. The grand secret of Mahratta hardihood was, that chiefs and officers shared equally in the privations of their men. A picture was once taken of the Peishwa Bajee Rao by order of his enemy the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, as he chewed his dinner of parched grain, sitting on his horse with all his baggage under him, and his long Mahratta spear stuck in the ground by his side, while he thus took his repast.

Plunder and profit formed the object of all expeditions, the test, and in Mahratta eyes, the only proof of victory. During Sivajee's life, all plunder was public property. It was brought at stated periods to his durbar, where the man who had taken it was praised, rewarded or promoted.

> " Then lands were fairly portioned ;
> Then spoils were fairly sold :
> The *Bargees* were like brothers
> In the brave days of old."

Sivajee had sense enough to perceive how much he should personally gain by the punctual payment of his army. The pay of the infantry varied from three to ten Rupees per month, that of Bargeers from seven to eighteen, and of Sillidars from twenty to forty. All accounts were closed annually: assignments were given for balances on Collectors, but *never* on villages. Cows, cultivators and women were exempt from plunder. Rich Mahommedans and Hindus in their service were favorite game. Towns and villages were systematically sacked, and where money or valuables were not forthcoming, Sivajee would take promissory notes from the local authorities.

He shed no *unnecessary* blood ; he was not cruel for cruelty's sake, but on these occasions of plunder he mercilessly slaughtered and tortured all who were supposed to have concealed treasure. An Englishman, captured by Sivajee at Surat, reported that he found the marauder, surrounded by executioners, cutting off heads and limbs.

The mountain fortresses were the key-stones of his power. His treasure, plunder, and family safe, he could freely move wherever an opening offered. His garrisons were under strict discipline, and were composed of mixed classes as mutual checks. All were told off to such duties as were respectively suited to their habits. Brahmans, Mahrattas, Ramoosees, Mhars and Mangs were in every Fort. The whole were called Gurhkurees, and were maintained by hereditary assignments of rent-free land in the neighbourhood. The Ramoosees, Mhars and Mangs were the scouts and intelligencers ; the Mahrattas formed the garrison. All relied for their daily bread on the charge of their post ; it was, in Grant Duff's words, " the mother that fed them."

The rainy season was usually the holiday of the Mahrattas ; the Infantry took their ease, the Cavalry horses grazed at will on the rich pasture lands,—and as often as possible on those of the enemy. This was however a busy time for Sivajee and his confidants. They now made their enquiries and spied out the land for the ensuing campaign. At the autumnal Dussera, the scattered bands were collected ; the Bhugwa Jenda, or national flag, was unfurled, and the wild marauders poured like a torrent over the country. Under penalty of death, not a woman was taken into camp,* and, unfettered and unencumbered, Sivajee's bands struck the severest blows at points most distant from the places where they were expected.

It is only justice to state that this extraordinary man, while devastating other lands, was not unmindful of the duty he owed to his own subjects. In his conquered territory, and where the inhabitants had compounded for security, he was kind, considerate and consequently popular. He usually took two-fifths of the crop and protected the ryot in the enjoyment of the remainder. He set his face altogether against the farming and assignment system, now, as formerly, so prevalent throughout the Mahratta and other native states. In civil cases he employed Punchayets, the best if not the only resource in countries where official honesty is uncertain. Punchayets may decree

* In this and in some other matters the English might with advantage take a leaf out of Sivajee's book. Endless trains of cattle and camp followers constitute *a very* weak point in our military system.

wrongfully; but, under efficient superintendence and such checks as are easily applied, they will administer quicker and more substantial justice, among a rude and simple people, than the most strait-laced courts. The truth or falsehood of nine out of ten cases that are tried in Cutcheries, and that may long enough puzzle the wits of strangers, is well known in the adjoining villages. It needs, therefore, only that interested parties be prevented from being members of Punchayets, that such courts be open, and as far as possible, that suits be decided by them at a single sitting, which may be effected in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred.

To assist in the management of affairs, Sivajee appointed eight principal officers, the chief of whom, or Prime Minister, he designated Peishwa, an ominous name for his descendants. Among his countrymen and admirers, Sivajee is still spoken of as an incarnation of the Deity, to which opinion his deeds of blood and treachery are no drawback. Mahrattas consider that political assassination is wise and proper, and that necessity justifies murder.

Sivajee was small of stature and of dark complexion. His countenance was intelligent and animated, his eyes piercing, his frame active rather than powerful, and, as already mentioned, he was master of all the weapons commonly used in his country. Scott Waring calls him a good son to a bad father, but he does not shew that there was ever any intercourse between them; and, as we have shown, the only proof he gave of dutiful regard was in the destruction of his father's enemy; unless indeed it be considered an act of filial piety that he seized his parent's jaghir in his absence, and by his rebellion against Beejapoor occasioned Shahjee's long and cruel imprisonment. On the whole, we may pronounce the founder of the Mahratta Empire to have been *the* man of his day in India: greater than any of the Mahratta chiefs who succeeded him, and unrivalled since, even by Hyder Ally or Runjeet Sing. Sivajee could not only conquer and destroy, but he could legislate and build up. There is the germ of civil organization in his arrangements; and had he lived the ordinary period of man's life, he might have left to his successors a united and well-established, principality. He died suddenly, and with him his empire may be said to have expired.

Sivajee left immense treasure. The amount has been variously estimated, but always in millions of pounds sterling. Heaped together in his coffers at Rajgurh were the dollars of Spain, the sequins of Venice, the pagodas of the Carnatic, and all the various goldmohurs of the different quarters of India, with

innumerable kinds of rupees of every shape and stamp. But all his spoil, the harvest of more than thirty years of crime and blood, of restless nights, of ceaseless and unseasonable marches, did not bring peace to the owner, nor save his son from a fearful death; it did not preserve his successors from the prison his own hands had prepared, nor his people from being split into factions that soon sealed their own destruction.

Sivajee had four wives; two survived him, of whom one performed Sutee; the other, having intrigued to raise her own son Raja Ram to the *guddee*, was put to a cruel death by her step-son Sambajee, who executed all the parties concerned in this scheme for his supercession.

Once established in power, Sambajee shewed, indeed, a soldierly spirit in the field, but his government was lax, cruel and corrupt. His troops plundered the husbandmen with impunity; and this relaxation of discipline, though it attracted a large accession of daring and dissolute adventurers to the Mahrâtta standard, yet proved a bad preparation for meeting the formidable power that was coming against them. Aurungzebe was now employed in the final conquest of Golcondah and Beejapoor. When the absorption of those two kingdoms had been effected, he pushed the Mahrattas more closely, and, after some desultory operations, at length by a bold stroke, such as Sivajee had so often struck against the Moguls themselves, seized Sambajee, while in a state of intoxication, at an outpost slenderly guarded. Aurungzebe offered his captive life on condition of his becoming a Mahommedan. "Not if you give me your daughter," was the bold answer of Sambajee. Stung by the insult, the Emperor caused him to be cruelly mutilated and then beheaded.

Sambajee's *life* might have injured the cause of his people: his cruel death, in the words of Grant Duff, "aroused their vengeance without alarming their fears." Rajah Ram, the surviving son of Sivajee, was now declared Regent, during the minority of his brother Sambajee's son. The boy was however soon after taken prisoner by the Moguls, and was kindly treated by the daughter of Aurungzebe, who familiarly called him Sahoo or Shao,* his name being Sivajee. For a time the tide continued against the Mahrattas, but far from being

* Among the elegant English misnomers of Indian words was that of Shao Raja whom the Bombay factors of his day designated "the Sow Roger." The ignorance as to all that concerns India to this day in England is great, but some light has broken on our countrymen, since, in the year 1764, Guthrie, the Maltebrun of his day, thus described the Mahrattas and their country: "Mahrattas are a kind of mercenaries inhabiting the mountains *between* India and Persia." Maltebrun following Tone is generally correct.

disheartened, their energies were rather thus drawn out. Raja Ram, after making arrangements for Maharashtra, and for the re-assemblage of his friends around the "Bhugwa Jenda," or national flag, when fortune should be more propitious, took refuge in the Carnatic. On the plea of his nephew's captivity, he assumed the government in his own name, was enthroned, distributed the usual presents, and made extensive grants of lands including much that was not in the actual possession of the Moguls, but more that had never belonged to his predecessors.

After a brief but eventful career, Raja Ram died of fatigue, caused by long exposure when escaping from Zoolfikar Khan, the ablest, though one of the most venal of the Mogul officers employed in the Deccan. He had besieged Raja Ram for seven years in the fort of Ginjee, and when *obliged* to take the place, gave the Raja due notice to escape. On other occasions Zoolfikar acted with sufficient energy: within one period of six months he is said to have marched in pursuit of the Mahrattas 5,000 miles, and, in this space of time, to have engaged them nineteen times. In the year 1700, one month after Raja Ram's death, Satara was captured by Aurungzebe. Raja Ram left two sons, Sivajee and Sambajee, the former being the elder was, though an imbecile, placed on the *guddee*. He was only ten years old, but his mother, Tara Bye, was a woman of energy and the virtual ruler. She moved from fort to fort, encouraging her son's adherents, while in five different directions, his troops kept the field under able officers.

Aurungzebe was now at the head of his own army; and successively captured the principal strongholds of the Mahrattas. Torna was carried by escalade, sword in hand, during the night: all the others were won by gold. Several were retaken within the year, and the Emperor's hold on any of them lasted only while a strong force remained in the neighbourhood. The climate, the difficulty of bringing up convoys, the feeling of the people, all were against the Moguls. But while the Mahratta fortresses were thus temporarily yielding and their country falling a prey to the Mogul, their own predatory bands were daily extending the influence of the Mahratta name. For a third time they levied contributions on the city of Surat and plundered Burhanpoor, while their squadrons simultaneously ravaged Malwa, Candeish, Berar and Guzerat.

The Mogul system, with all its pageantry, was rotten at the core. The royal presence, or the occasional effort of an able and honest officer, might gain a brief success; but what could one old man, bowed down with the weight of ninety years, with centuries of care and crime on his brow, perform? One who,

though he had long exceeded the usual span of life, now felt he was approaching the hour of his own long account. Nor could the empire be upheld by chiefs and generals who had never been cordially trusted, and whose success, on behalf of their master, would, in his eyes, be little less than treason, entailing on the victors disgrace, if not death. Most of them therefore were in the pay of the Mahrattas. They allowed convoys to pass into the fortresses they besieged and occasionally even fed the garrisons themselves. So far from protecting the royal districts from plunder, the Mogul army connived at, if they did not aid in, their devastation; and the more far-seeing chiefs, collected and husbanded their resources, and quietly awaited the struggle they perceived must follow the Emperor's death. Worn out with disease, and vexed by the ill success of his measures, Aurungzebe now allowed himself to be almost persuaded by his favourite son Kaum Buksh, to recognise Mahratta independence and to pay the Surdeshmukhee (ten per cent.) on the revenues of the six Soobahs of the Deccan. Their insolence and daily increasing demands alone prevented the fulfilment of the compact. Feeling his end approach, Aurungzebe moved on Ahmednugur; his army was attacked and defeated on the way, and the aged and dying Emperor narrowly escaped falling into the hands of his enemies.

Aurungzebe's last march was made. He died at Ahmednugur on the 21st February 1707, and left the heritage of his manifold crimes to his three sons. To the measure of their respective ability they followed his example. Two soon fell in civil conflict, and the eldest, Sultan Mauzum, succeeded to the distracted and already dismembered sovereignty under the name of Shah Alum.

The release of Shao, the son of Sambajee, had been more than once proposed as a counterpoise to the party of Raja Ram's family; but, although as a preparatory measure Aurungzebe had caused the youth to be united in marriage to two influential families, he had always hesitated to carry out the scheme. On the death of the Emperor, Shao fell into the hands of Prince Azim Shah, who released him when he was immediately joined by many influential persons, and early next year (1708) seized Satara. Daood Khan, the Mogul Deputy in the Deccan, also supported him. Thus countenanced, Shao's cause was on the ascendant, but young Sivajee, or rather his mother, Tara Bye, had still a strong party. During the monsoon of 1709, their partisans cantoned at Kolapoor, and the next year, Sivajee determined to make that town and the neighbouring fort of Panalla the residence of his Court. In

the year 1712, the young Prince died of small-pox, when Ramchundur Punt, the ablest supporter of the Kolapoor party, removed Tara Bye from the administration, placed her and her son's widow in confinement, and seated Sambajee, the son of Rajis Bye, the younger widow of Raja Ram, on the *guddee*. Next year, Shirzee Rao Ghatgay of Kagul, a name infamously notorious in modern Mahratta history, joined the party of Sambajee and henceforward acted as a partisan of Kolapoor, or under the banner of Cheyn Kulik Khan, better known as the great Nizam-ul-Mulk, who was now Mogul viceroy of the Deccan, and who, wishing to weaken the Mahrattas by internal dissension, favored the Kolapoor party.

In the year 1714 Ballajee Wishwanath, the ancestor of the Rulers of Poona, was appointed Peishwa, and received a grant of the Pergunnah of Poona, and the fort of Poorundhur. Raja Shao was already a cypher and his Minister the real ruler of the Mahrattas. The latter now took the first step towards the dismemberment of the empire by encouraging every Chief at the head of an army to administer the country he occupied or commanded. The Peishwa thus gained temporary partisans, but the Satara Raja soon lost dependants. Unlike his father and grandfather, Raja Shao acknowledged himself a vassal of Delhi; and while in the actual receipt of tribute from the Mogul officers, he affected, in his transactions with them, to consider himself merely as a head Zemindar or Deshmukh of the Empire.

During all this time the distractions at Delhi were clearing the way for Mahratta aggrandisement. Ten thousand of them, under Ballajee, accompanied Syud Hossein Ally, the Viceroy of the Deccan, to take part in a struggle against the Emperor. Ferokhsere lost his life in the contest, and the Mahrattas remained at Delhi till they had obtained from his successor Mahommed Shah, grants of * revenue and privilege which not only confirmed them in their own possessions, but authorised their inquisitorial interference in every province of the Deccan. The minute intermixture of territory and the coparceny system that divided districts and even villages between rival authorities, was a sufficient curse to the people as well as loss to the Mogul, but this legalisation of the Mahratta demands

* The year of Mahommed Shah's accession in 1720, forms an important era in Mahratta history. The Imperial Grants they then obtained acknowledged their claim, first to the *Chouth*, or fourth of the revenue of the six Soobehs, Aurungabad, Berar, Beder, Hyderabad, Beejapoor, and Candeish. Second, to the *Surdesk-mukhee* or tenth in excess of the Chouth; and thirdly to the *Suraj* or sovereignty of the sixteen districts possessed by Sivajee at the time of his death. Thus was the Mahratta aim of years gratified.

on the reserved territory was a virtual cession of the whole. It subjected the country to the double tyranny of two sets of tax-gatherers—"that which the locust left, the canker-worm devoured."

Bajee Rao succeeded his father Ballajee Wishwanath as Peishwa. As able an administrator as his father, he was a better soldier. Against the opinion and advice of more timid counsellors, he advocated extending the Mahratta conquests into Hindustan. Under his banner in Malwa in the year 1724, we first hear of Ranoojee Sindhia, Mulhar Rao Holkar, and Oodajee Powar: the two first, the founders of their families, and the last, the regenerator of his, and the founder of the Dhar principality. Already did the ambitious Peishwa look to a universal Mahratta Empire. He promised the Raja that his flag should wave from the Kistna to the Attock; and alluding to the Moguls, "let us strike" said he, "at the trunk of the withering tree, the branches must fall of themselves." All the ability and experience, however, of old Nizam-ul-Mulk, now again the Mogul Viceroy in the south, were employed to baffle the Mahrattas and evade their claims. This he perceived was to be best effected by fanning the flame between the rival cousins of Kolapoor and Satara, and throwing his weight into the scale of the weakest, Sambajee. In the year 1727 he stopped all payments, pending, as he said, a settlement of the Mahratta sovereignty. The usually pacific Shao was roused to action. The Nizam endeavoured to excuse himself by declaring that he only meant to relieve the Raja of his overbearing minister, the Peishwa. Shao would listen to no terms; hostilities ensued, and the Kolapoor troops were subsidised by Nizam-ul-Mulk. The Satara party, whose cause was managed by the Peishwa, gained the day, which will appear the less surprising when it is known that Sambajee and his ministers each sought to obtain the handling of the Nizam's subsidies, not to enable them to meet the enemy but to employ the cash for their own private debaucheries.

Nizam-ul-Mulk was not the person to continue a losing game; he therefore patched up an arrangement and abandoned the cause of Kolapoor. Sambajee, left to his own resources, was in the year 1729 so utterly defeated as to be obliged to yield his claim to the Mahratta sovereignty to Shao, and to accept a Principality, comprehending, with certain reservations, the tract of country between the Warna and Kistna rivers on the north, and the Toongbuddra on the south. The treaty now made was offensive and defensive, and provided for the division between the parties of such conquests as might conjointly be

made to the south of the Toongbuddra. But there never has since been any cordiality beetween the Kolapoor and Satara Chiefs, or rather between the former and the usurpers of the authority of the latter ; for, within two years of the abovementioned compact, the Peishwa Bajee Rao completely defeated the Ghaekwar and his other rivals in a decisive battle near Baroda, which left him the virtual head of the Mahratta sovereignty.

From this year (1729) we date the separation of the Kolapoor Principality from that of the elder and Satara branch. The lieutenants of the latter, or rather of the Peishwa, proceeded in a bright but brief career, while the Kolapoor Chiefs, holding aloof from the upstart servants of their family, proceeded in a course of piracies and petty warfare with the Dessaees of Waree and the Jaghirdars around them. The last time the armies of the Mahratta Empire acted together was in the year 1795 at Kurdla, where Nana Furnuvees, the clever but timid minister of the Peishwa, induced Sindhia and Holkar, the Ghaekwar, the Nagpoor Raja and almost all the Jaghirdars to combine against the Nizam. On this occasion the Mahrattas brought into the field 140,000 men, horse and foot.

The Peishwas had long been the mayors of the Satara palace. They received their Khillats (dresses) of investiture from the imprisoned descendants of Sivajee, but they were virtually monarchs of the Mahratta confederacy. The submission obtained from the founders of the several rival Principalities was certainly loose enough from the beginning ; but they *did* allow, in theory, the same superiority to the Peishwa as he conceded to his puppet of Satara. A double government, an imperium in imperio, has long been the fashion of India ; prejudices and old associations are thus sought to be soothed, and the fact is overlooked or forgotten, that a rallying point is thereby left to their enemies by those in power. The good sense of more than one of the Peishwas led them to think of ending the farce, but a timid policy prevailed. The ruler of Poona continued to call himself the servant of the Raja of Satara whom he kept a prisoner, and the Chiefs of Gwalior and Indore, retaliating on the former, plundered and insulted him at will, while styling themselves his Lieutenants. A decree could have been obtained from the effete King of Delhi in favor either of Sindhia or the Peishwa, and would have carried as much weight in India as did Pope Zachary's in Christendom when the second Pepin obtained his sanction to place Childeric in a monastery, and add the title of King to his mayorial designation.

Henceforward we follow the fortunes of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree. In December 1760, Sambajee the last lineal descendant of Sivajee died without issue, when his widow adopted a boy called Sivajee, and conducted the government in his name. The Kolapoorians were, at this time, not content with plundering and levying *Chouth* on shore, but they engaged in piratical expeditions along the western coast. In the year 1765, the British Government sent an expedition against them and reduced the ports of Malwan and Rairee,—the former place belonging to Kolapoor, the latter to Waree. The connexion of Kolapoor with the Nizam was generally maintained, and, in the time of the Peishwa Mudhoo Rao Bullal, caused the loss of several districts, which were however recovered by the Raja taking part with Rugonath Rao during the period of his authority.

In the year 1766, Malwan and Rairee were restored, on condition that the Kolapoor Raja should indemnify the British Government for all losses and expenses, and that the Dessaee of Waree should enter into a new treaty. The piracies of these petty states were then for a few years suspended, only to break out more violently than ever. In the year 1789 fresh operations were contemplated against them, and only suspended out of consideration to the Court of Poona, whose dependant the Raja of Kolapoor was erroneously supposed to be. The Mysore war then occupied all the attention of the British, and the pirates worked their will until the year 1792, when an armament was fitted out against them. An humble apology was however accepted, and a treaty concluded, by which permission was obtained for the establishment of factories at Malwan and Kolapoor. None of these measures, however, were of any avail to check the system of piracy which continued until the year 1812.

The petty states at Kolapoor and Waree were at war during nearly twenty-three years, on a foolish quarrel regarding some royal privileges obtained for her husband Kem Sawunt, by Luximee Bye a niece of Mahdajee Sindhia. Lord Minto, then Governor-General, was solicited to aid Kolapoor, but he declined interfering. The Peishwa was less scrupulous, and sought to take advantage of the contest to subjugate both states. Acting under his orders, one of his officers, Appa Dessaee, obtained possession of Chickooree and Menowlee, and endeavoured to establish his own authority over Sawunt-waree. The infant Sawunt was strangled, but Phoond Sawunt the next heir, taking advantage of the temporary weakness of the Poona

commander, expelled him from the country and seized the government.

During the first Mahratta war with the English the Kolapoor troops were not found in the ranks of their countrymen, but their system of piracy and petty plunder continued. In the year 1812, therefore, when the British Government was settling the affairs of the Mahratta country, it was determined at length to put down the long-permitted piracies of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree. Stringent measures were adopted; the Raja at once yielded, consented to a new treaty, and was, in return, guaranteed against the aggressions of all foreign powers. Phoond Sawunt was at the same time obliged to cede Vingorla, and engaged to suppress piracy under penalty of being also deprived of the forts of Rairee and Newtee. Some mercantile engagements were at the same time concluded.

Soon after the ratification of these arrangements, Phoond Sawunt died, and Doorga Bye became regent. Regardless of the British guarantee, she immediately attacked Kolapoor and seized the fort of Burratgurh which had formerly belonged to Waree. The old lady would listen to no remonstrances and withdrew only on the advance of a detachment of the Madras army. She still, however, continued refractory, and though no retaliation was permitted on the part of the Kolapoor troops, the British were at length obliged to enter the Waree territory, and in the year 1819 completely reduced it. Certain cessions were then exacted as security against future misconduct, when the British troops were withdrawn, and Sawunt-waree, in its reduced limits, left independent.

During the last Mahratta war, the Kolapoor Raja heartily espoused the British cause and was rewarded by the restoration of the two districts of Chickooree aud Menowlee, already referred to, yielding an annual revenue of three lakhs of rupees. In July 1821 the Raja was murdered in his palace, by a chief whose jaghir he had resumed. During the disturbances at Kittoor in 1824, the conduct of the Kolapoor authorities was very suspicious, and in a matter of dispute with Sawunt-waree, the young Raja infringed the treaty and refused to abide by British arbitration. In this affair he was decidedly wrong, and he ought to have been punished. In our dealings with Native States it is as unfair to overlook palpable breaches of engagement, as it is cruel to stretch or twist dubious questions. The homely adage "get an inch and take an ell" nowhere better applies than among Indian rulers. The first encroachment is the precedent for succeeding ones. The smallest infraction

of a treaty should be promptly noticed ; timely reproof may stop a career of ruin. We are quite aware that it is from no ungenerous motive that such admonition is often withheld ; but we are not the less satisfied that a little trouble at the outset, where differences arise, might often avert broils, and eventual absorption. Most Native chiefs are mere children in mind, in the ways of the world ; and as children they should be treated, with affectionate sympathy, but with systematic firmness. Grant them the most liberal construction of their respective treaties ; but whatever that construction be, explain it clearly, and enforce it strictly. Slips should not pass unnoticed, but severity ought to be reserved for cases of obstinate contumacy. Such policy would convince all concerned, that their amendment and not their destruction was the desire of the lord paramount. After a certain career of vice or contumacy, the offender should be set aside, and replaced by the nearest of kin, who gives better promise. One man should not be permitted to ruin a state ; nor in any case should the paramount benefit by the error of the dependent. Were some such principles as these steadily acted on, less would be heard of the bankruptcies and distractions of tributary and subject states.

In the year 1825, the Raja was, more questionably, interfered with when desiring to resume Kaghal, the jaghir of Hindu Rao, the son of the notorious Shirzee Rao Ghatgay. Both the father and son had long abandoned the Kolapoor service for that of Gwalior. Our right of interference referred only to *externals*, and we had no *right* to meddle, even by remonstrance, in domestic matters. Such slippery handling of engagements on our part, irritates Native princes and affords them pretext for bad faith. In December 1825, the Raja's misconduct obliged Government to march a force into his country, when a new arrangement was negotiated, stipulating for the reduction of the Kolapoor army, *attention to the advice of the British Government*, and the non-molestation of Hindu Rao and certain other Jaghirdars. Such a treaty could hardly have been expected to stand, nor did it. Princes do not relish unsought advice, any more than other individuals, especially if it be such as they are pledged to take. It was, we believe, Colonel Sutherland who rightly called the obligation to take counsel "a withering clause ;" its very nature, indeed, is to provoke irritation and opposition, and *to entail* eventual coercion. At any rate, it is useless to provide that advice should be taken without specifically entering on the face of the engagement the penalty for neglect. The matter then becomes plain and all parties can calculate their game. The treaty

under notice, was scarcely signed before the Raja broke through all its provisions. Instead of reducing his troops, he increased them, and seized the possessions of the guaranteed Jaghirdars. Twice during the year 1827, a British force was assembled for the purpose of bringing the Raja to reason. In the month of October the troops moved on Kolapoor, when that fortified town, though occupied by between 2 and 3,000 Arabs and Sindhians, immediately surrendered. New terms were then dictated, restricting the Kolapoor army to 400 horse and 800 foot exclusive of garrisons. Chickoree and Menowlee were resumed, and certain jaghirdars, whom the Rajah had molested, received perpetual instead of life guarantees. The forts of Kolapoor and Panalla were occupied by British garrisons at the Raja's expense. He was also mulcted 1,47,948 Rupees for damage done to his neighbours; and territory yielding 50,000 Rupees was retained until the amount should be liquidated. A Minister was also nominated by the British Government, which retained to itself the power of removing him and appointing another. This last measure was as inefficacious at Kolapoor as it has been every where else.

In the year 1829, the Governor of Bombay visited Kolapoor, and then proposed to withdraw the garrisons from that town and Panalla; but the measure was deferred, because the management of affairs had at that time fallen into the hands of an inimical Dewan. This person was removed, and his sovereign was warned, that if it should again be found necessary to send troops to Kolapoor, they would be permanently saddled on him. The Raja was a man of considerable, though misdirected, energy and ability. He quickly threw off the shackles of the British Government and systematically disregarded every provision of the treaty. His army was increased to nearly ten thousand men; and, having no funds to pay them, having lost his best districts, having no field of plunder or piracy open to him, his finances fell into the most deplorable disorder. The troops were seldom mustered more than once a year; the men lived where they liked, and, being always a twelvemonth or more in arrears, were permitted great license, and became, as might have been expected, a mere mass of marauders, dangerous only to their own Government. In the Civil department there was the same reckless improvidence as in the Military. All the ancient titles and offices were kept up, and the same state affected as when the Kolapoor family had arrogated Mahratta sovereignty. Centralization was the order of the day. Every Chief, every official of any rank, resided in the city of Kolapoor. There were not less than

twenty-one Mamlutdars to manage the revenue of a tract of country not exceeding 2,500 square miles and scarcely yielding a clear income of five lakhs of Rupees. All these Mamlutdars constantly remained at Kolapoor and acted by deputy. The Durbar was therefore a scene of perpetual intrigue and chicanery, varied only by the lowest debauchery. Every Indian city is more or less a sink of iniquity: among them Kolapoor became a bye-word for foulness, for corruption and ill-faith. Forgery and fawning were the steps to favor. Almost every Chief and officer was, like the sovereign, loaded with debt; their estates and villages were mortgaged to money-lenders, and the Raja himself subsisted from day to day only by squeezing his officials, and by anticipating the revenues of the state. We have said that the Raja had ability, we may add, that his mind seems to have been tinged with insanity. In his saner moments, he was intelligent and energetic; occasionally, even just. He daily held open Durbar where all had admittance. Petitions were received, summarily discussed, and disposed of without appeal. The Mamlutdars and courtiers were thus checked and their illicit gains generally reverted to his own coffers. The highest officers were to be seen in chains one day, and the next raised to greater honors: allowed their full swing for a time, and then imprisoned, tortured and mulct. Strange as it may appear, such practices do not prevent scrambles for place now in India, any more than they did in olden times in Europe. Mahrattas, indeed, seem to enjoy such a troubled sea of politics. It offers a fair field for their peculiar abilities. They prefer, even more than other Indians, a mere nominal salary with the dim prospect of perquisites, to a fair and limited remuneration. It is astonishing how men become accustomed to live with their heads in their hands. It is now in India, as it was centuries ago in Greece and Rome. The Kolapoor system, however, had peculiarities of its own. So desperate had become the fortunes of the Chief, and of the court myrmidons, that the great majority were reduced to depend for their daily bread on the palace bounty; nearly a thousand of these minions fed daily at the Durbar, and were reduced to the condition of mere personal retainers. Stranger still is the fact that with such a head and such instruments, the condition of the country was not wretched. The secret lay in the Raja's vigorous despotism. An open Court, with summary cruel punishments kept down crime. While the city and the palace were filled with iniquities, the villages flourished; few, if any, fell into disorder, and, when the Raja's career ended, little waste land was to be found within his principality. His offences thus lay

in prodigality, in personal debauchery and in expending double or treble his income, rather than in unduly squeezing his cultivators. His last act was that of a desperate gamester. Shortly before his death in the year 1839, he affected to proceed on a pilgrimage to Punderpoor, but the whole was a mere scheme to plunder certain wealthy parties on the Kistna. For this purpose, his ragged army was nearly doubled, every effort was made to raise immediate funds, and even the family jewels were pledged with this unholy object. Death cut short the project, and then cannon and other munitions of war were found concealed in the carts that were to accompany his train. On the Raja's death his eldest son the present Chief, then a minor, was placed on the *guddee*, and a Regency was formed by order of the British Government, consisting of his mother, his maternal aunt, and four Karbarees. The two ladies, of course, quarrelled. The British political agent, on paying a hasty visit to Kolapoor from Belgaum, finding them in warm contention, judged it politic to leave them so, considering that he should most effectually hold the Durbar in check by countenancing both. Within six months of the agent's departure, the aunt, who went by the title of Dewan Sahib, being the more energetic and more unscrupulous of the two, got the better of her kinswoman and assumed the whole powers of government. Her supremacy, thus acquired, was acknowledged by the British authorities, though the step excluded the mother of the minor sovereign from all authority.

We return to our sketch of Sawunt-waree affairs. The measures taken in 1819 were soon found ineffectual to protect the British frontier from plunder. The Waree Government was unable to subdue or restrain its own turbulent Chiefs; and the British authorities were constantly annoyed by the distractions of this petty chiefship. In the year 1822, the Dessaee then in his twentieth year, was ousted from all authority by his Ranees, supported by an influential Minister. So great at length, became the disorganization of the country that, in the year 1836-7, the British Government was obliged to interfere, and to send a force to occupy the forts of Mahdogurh and Naraingurh and the town of Waree. The Dessaee, thus relieved from his domestic persecutors, was delivered over to a *guaranteed* Minister. He, of course, soon quarrelled with his monitor, but his complaints being attributed to the influence of disreputable favourites, he vainly appealed to the British Agent (the Collector of Rutnagirry.) A formidable rebellion ensued, which it required a British detachment to quell. In 1838, troops were again called out, being the fourth time, that

armed interference had been employed in Sawunt-waree within nine years. Phoond Sawunt, who has within the last twelve months again given so much trouble, was then in arms, plundering the Waree villages and threatening the British frontier. The Dessee thwarted all the efforts of this rough-riding Minister to put down the rebellion, and accused him of being in league with the rebels. The British Government, tired at length of fighting the Dessaee's battles, assumed the direct management of the country, until such time as there should be a probability of his governing it well. Mr. Spooner, a Bombay Civil Servant, was placed in charge of the territory, but had a very up-hill game to play. The country, one of the very strongest in all India and in many parts believed to be inaccessible to regular troops, teemed with malcontents. While many had real grievances, some feared the indispensable reductions incidental on the new arrangements; and others dreaded the substitution of a strong Government for their old system of misrule. All could plot, and even fight confidently, having their friendly jungles to fly to,—a sure refuge in the sympathising neutrality of the border State of Goa. On one occasion, the rebels acquired temporary possession of Waree; another time, they captured the fort of Humuntghar, blockaded the passes, plundered travellers, and attemped to levy the Government revenue. They were not only recruited from the Goa territory, but one of the leaders at the capture of Humuntghar was a Goa Dessaee. A Sawunt-waree Local Corps was at length raised, and a new Governor having arrived at Goa who was less friendly to the malcontents, they were finally put down. Nine of the leaders were condemned to death, but their sentences were commuted to banishment for life. A barbarous execution of a number of prisoners also took place, under the orders of Lieutenant Gibbard, the Adjutant of the Local Corps. He pleaded the orders of the Political Agent, but was himself very properly made to answer for his iniquitous deed, before a military tribunal. Sawunt-waree was thus, as the phrase runs *settled*, but the flame was only smothered, and no sooner did disturbances break out in Kolapoor, than the Waree people were again up, and the son of the Dessaee was himself in arms.

We have now brought our sketch down to the period of the late disturbances in Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree. The united area of these two states does not exceed four thousand square miles, and their joint nett revenue, after deducting jaghirs and rent-free lands, scarcely amounts to seven lakhs of Rupees. But as already observed, the whole tract, especially Sawunt-waree,

is a remarkably strong country, combining, within a small area all the strong points of mountain and jungle fastnesses. The inhabitants, moreover, though poor, are hardy and lawless, and still bear in mind the exploits of Sivajee's favourite Mawulees and Hetkurees.

Predatory habits, formed during centuries of anarchy, are not to be changed in a day. British supremacy has, throughout India, restricted the field of plunder and of warfare, but sufficient time has not yet elapsed materially to alter the feelings and associations of the children of marauding times. We have taken from the lawless their hunting grounds ; we have prohibited their spoiling their neighbours, but we have neither given them an equivalent, nor allowed them an outlet for their energies. We have not even rendered their own homes secure. The guaranteed Princes, who can no longer array their followers for foreign raids, must turn their hungry energies against those very followers. Money they *must* have to feed their own luxurious lusts. If they cannot plunder strangers, they must harry their own people. The rule holds good throughout India. The instances among Native states where the cultivator is certain of reaping what he has sown, and of being called on to pay only what has been previously agreed, are most rare. Indeed, they are to be found only in some few states of very limited extent, where the reigning chief, being a man of probity as well as of ability, sees with his own eyes, hears with his own ears, and setting aside Ministers and Agents, looks after his own affairs.

The Southern Mahratta states afford a good illustration of our argument. They have experienced all the inconveniences of a strong supremacy without participating in its advantages. The British ægis has been thrown over the Rulers and Ministers of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree, while no effectual measures have been taken to enforce their doing their duty to the governed. It cannot, indeed, be denied that these territories have been most egregiously mismanaged. Countries that have been repeatedly in arms within a short term of years, *must* have grievances. Half armed, hungry men do not give their throats to the sword for mere amusement. Men do not, for ever, love to struggle in a hopeless cause. We may then fairly infer that there *has been* abuse, and as both Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree have, during several years been, in a manner, directly governed by British Agents, we are obliged to attribute the maladministration which has entailed so much expense of blood and treasure, to our own ill-digested schemes ; to the affectation of holding aloof, while, we were daily and hourly

interfering in the most essential manner, through Native Agents, by placing in the hands of Native underlings, powers that no Native of the present generation has head or heart to bear. With a British Superintendent in Sawunt-waree, and a Native Agent in Kolapoor, acting as Minister, as Regent, as factotum, under the Political Agent at Belgaum, neither of the disaffected states can be considered as having been under a domestic administration; but our Government is as distinctly responsible for their bad, as it would have been entitled to the credit of their good management.

Sawunt-waree offers a notable proof, that the sword alone cannot sustain an Anglo-Indian administration. Martial law had long prevailed, the country had been harried; some malcontents had been justly condemned, other unfortunate men had been butchered. The Native Government was wholly suspended; the management was entirely in our own hands, and yet, no sooner had troubles arisen in Kolapoor, than it became certain that Sawunt-waree would rise. The worst expectations were realised. With scarcely an exception, every Chief in the country took up arms, and forty of them, with their personal followers, driven from their fastnesses, are now in the dungeons of Goa, rather than surrender to British clemency. There is something very lamentable in all this, and it calls for no ordinary enquiry.

The circumstances of the Kolapoor outbreak are different. We have already noticed the dissensions among the members of the Regency. The supremacy of the Raja's aunt was not of long continuance, and more than one change preceded the late outbreak. At length, a few months before the insurrection commenced, Dajee Krishen Pundit, a Brahman, who had risen from a subordinate position in one of our civil offices, was placed at the head of the Regency. Within a month of his accession to power, his two co-adjutors were dismissed by the Political Agent for peculation, and the Pundit monopolised the combined powers of Minister and Regent. Dajee could not have been a notoriously bad man; the probability is, he was both able and moderate. But unlimited power has turned wiser heads than are to be found among the underlings of an Anglo-Indian *cutchery*. We accordingly find that Dajee neither bore himself meekly, nor was content to follow those two golden maxims, to let well alone, and to endeavour to make the best of local, even though bad, materials. He seems to have forgotten that he was a foreigner among a wild and a proud people, who could only be managed peaceably by and through their own countrymen; that if he did not employ the

Natives, they must and would oppose him; and that they could not remain neutral, and indubitably would be either his co-adjutors or his enemies. Nevertheless, Dajee *did* make many changes, and *did* provide for his Brahman kinsmen.* He moreover, not only checked the abuses and illicit gains of the Mankurees and other chiefs, but by touching their dignity made himself personally offensive; there can therefore be little doubt that, though few of them openly engaged in the insurrection, the majority instigated and encouraged the acts of the rebel Gurhkurees and refractory Sebundees. The former, we have already explained, were the hereditary holders of the hill forts that dot the Kolapoor country. From father to son, they had lived and died at their posts, and were supported by certain lands dependant on their respective charges. To interfere with arrangements which had existed since the days of Sivajee, if not before his time was, any thing but prudent; nor can we perceive the policy, any more than the justice, of irritating the hereditary soldiery of this wild country. The immediate cause of offence was the appointment of Mamlutdars (revenue officers) to manage the Gurhkuree lands. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that the Gurhkurees resented the removal of their own immediate agents, and the doubling up of appointments by which the charge of their affairs was made over to Mamlutdars who managed the adjoining districts. This measure, as they supposed, affected their honor, and placed them at the mercy of strangers. We are far from believing that the Bombay authorities had any design to mulct the hill garrisons; there was, therefore, the less excuse for trifling with their feelings, it may be their prejudices, by appointing people to do for them what they preferred doing themselves. We need hardly add that no stranger Mamlutdar *could* have been appointed to whose fingers a portion of the proceeds of the Gurhkuree lands would not have adhered.

In July 1844 the flame broke out; the garrisons of the strong forts of Bhoodurgurh and Samungurh, refused to admit the

* We have no desire to run down Dajee, on the contrary, we look on him as a favourable specimen of an Anglo-Native agent. Had he been *better* or *worse*, matters would have turned out differently. Had he leagued with local oppressors, had he gone hand in hand with the plunderers and tyrants he found around him, his reign would at least have been longer. Had he been a "faultless monster" he might have saved the state. But in all such cases, the difficulties in the way of a Native agent are immensurably greater than what would face a European officer. An ordinary Englishman may do a hundred things that the best and purest Native dare not attempt. The latter, too, has his peculiar advantages. Each has his fitting place; and the grand point of skilful Anglo-Indian administration turns on the judicious blending of the double agency. Europeans and Natives may, conjointly, build up, what either, acting singly, would mar.

Mamlutdar appointed to manage their lands. Dajee Pundit for a long time endeavoured to cajole the recusants, and eventually sent two of the principal officers of the state to cajole them into submission. The Gurkhurees were firm, and refused not only to admit any Mamlutdar except of their own selection, but required the guarantee of the Naiks (Chiefs) of the five Regiments of Sebundees at Kolapoor as security for their future good treatment. The very positiveness of the poor creatures seems to bear testimony to their having experienced wrong, and their fear of further injury. Dajee Pundit was desirous of granting their demands; but the Political Agent forbad any concession to men with arms in their hands; and, hearing in September, that the malcontents had levied contributions in their neighbourhood, recommended that a force should be sent against them.

It is to be regretted that before the British functionary counselled recourse to arms, he had not done something more than communicate with the malcontents through Native agents; that, in short, he had not himself visited the scene of disorder. We have little doubt that he might have entered either Samungurh or Bhoodurgurh with perfect safety, the former being only a long morning's ride from Belgaum. Or, supposing that he could not have proceeded thither in person, why not have called in a deputation from the recusants to state their grievances? This question may rouse the yells of fire-and-faggot politicians. "Visit or receive, men with arms in their hands!" they will say. We reply, yes, decidedly so as long as no overt act of hostility has been committed, and while there is reason to believe that the disaffected are moved by real, or even supposed, wrongs. It is not the fashion we know to argue thus,—the more the pity,—and the greater the necessity that our voice, feeble though it be, should be raised in the cause of humanity and of truth. Unfortunately, British Indian history abounds with instances where the neglect of so simple an act of justice has cost us dear, both in blood and credit. Whether, we ask, is it more creditable to grant terms to men in arms, *before* or after they have used those arms? The historical reader will be familiar with cases of Civil and Military revolt, and will have observed, that in the great majority of instances, all that was at first humbly craved, and forcibly demanded only when redress had been refused, was finally conceded *after* blood had been shed. Are we always to slay, in order to prove our stength? Far better to relinquish so sanguinary a dominion! This is one view of the case,—that justice should *first* be fully done, and that we should

enter on no quarrel with dirty hands. We may however meet the coercives on their own ground, and entirely deny the necessity, at the present day, of brute force to vindicate our honor. Whatever may have been the case fifty years ago, a preliminary fusilade is not now requisite to prove that our measures of mercy are voluntary. Who, in his senses, ever doubted that the British Government *could* coerce the Gurkhurees and capture their forts? Who ever denied that the Barackpoor Divison could annihilate the unhappy 47th Bengal N. I.? There *have* been instances where prompt and rigid austerity was perfectly justifiable; but, for one such emergency, a dozen have occurred where early moderation, combined with firmness, would have been the true course of policy.

Acting on the Agent's recommendation, the Bombay Government issued instructions that a detachment, amply sufficient to effect the pacification of the disturbed districts, should move from Belgaum, the Head Quarters of the southern division of the Bombay Army. With whom the selection and strength of the field force rested, we are not exactly aware. It consisted of 1,200 men. including two Companies of European Infantry, one Company of Native Rifles, a few Irregular Horse, and sixty Artillery men with four mortars, two howitzers and two nine-pounders. One hundred labourers also accompanied the Engineer Officer as Pioneers. The whole were placed under command of Lieut.-Colonel Wallace, 20th Madras N. I. This small detachment though in Division Orders on the 12th September, did not march till the 16th, and arrived opposite the Fort of Samungurh, thirty miles distant, on the 19th of the same month. The strength of the fort lay chiefly in its position on the summit of a scarped rock; its walls were found to be from twenty to sixty feet high, and between one and two miles in circuit. The hill on which the fort stands is however commanded by an adjoining rock; the place was wretchedly equipped and garrisoned by only three hundred men, and might, probably, have been seized by a coup-de-main, the first day. It is obvious, however, that if the fort was not thus to be captured by a sudden attack, there was not much hope of the success of a detachment scarcely exceeding 1,000 bayonets and unaccompanied by battering guns. Fifty mortars might have settled the matter in a few hours: the fire of four could only have afforded amusement to the garrison of so extensive a position. On the 20th, Colonel Wallace took possession of the hill, commanding the fort, and the next day commenced shelling, but with little or no effect. On the 24th, the pettah

was carried by storm, and no effort was wanting, on the part of the British Commander, to reduce the fort ; but, he soon found himself helpless, and applied for reinforcements and battering guns. The distance from Belgaum does not exceed thirty miles, and yet, the guns, being impeded by heavy rain, did not arrive for more than three weeks, by which time much of the moral effect of the military movement had been lost, and the Gurkhurees had recovered confidence and recruited their numbers.

On the 22nd September the garrison of Bhoodurgurh sallied out upon the Kolapoor troops sent against their Fort and drove them off with loss. Alarm now spread, and fears were expressed for Rutnagiry, Vingorla and even for Belgaum itself ; at which last place sudden and novel precautions were taken sufficient to indicate alarm and to provoke attack. When shall we gain experience and learn to be always on the alert ? In the words of Washington, " to organise all our resources, and to put them in a state of preparation for prompt action " * * * " to endeavour by unanimity, vigilance and exertion, under the blessing of providence, to hold the scales of our destiny in our own hands." Reinforcements were now ordered from various quarters towards the disturbed districts, and on the 8th October General Delamotte, by order of the Bombay Government, assumed command of the troops in the field. On the 11th, four battering guns reached Samungurh, and were placed in position, and by the evening of the next day a practicable breach was effected. When the guns arrived, Mr. Reeves, the Commissioner, allowed the garrison the opportunity of a parley to state their grievances ; but he soon found that the Gurkhurees only desired to gain time, in expectation of support from Kolapoor, where, in the interim, the Sebundees, encouraged by our supineness, had risen in open revolt, and seized and confined the Minister Dajee Pundit ; and where, in fact their leader, Babajee Thirakar had assumed the Government. Affairs were therefore allowed to take their course, and shortly before daylight on the morning of the 13th, the place was stormed and carried with little opposition. During the day, Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram accompanied a Wing of the 5th Madras Cavalry under command of Captain Graham and cut up a large body of malcontents who had collected in the neighbourhood with a view of supporting the garrison. Colonel Outram had joined General Delamotte's camp the day before the storm, in a political capacity, and henceforward, wherever employed, threw into all proceedings that moderation, energy

and ability, which have every where so strongly marked his career.

To save further bloodshed, the Joint Commissioners Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram, now offered, with certain exceptions, an amnesty to all who would immediately return to their allegiance. Few, if any, accepted the terms ; a strong presumptive proof that the unfortunate men had real grievances. The day after the capture of Samungurh, Colonel Outram with Colonel Wallace and 500 men of his Brigade proceeded to Kaghal, one march from Kolapoor, with the view of procuring the release of the Minister who was imprisoned in the Fort of Panalla, as well as of supporting the Raja and well-affected chiefs against the disorderly troops and their disloyal leaders. The movements of the Head Quarters under General Delamotte were more dilatory and less decided. He did not leave Samungurh until the 20th October, and then hesitated a long time whether to move on Kolapoor or Bhoodurgurh, the garrison of which last place had on the 10th October plundered the British pergunnah of Chickooree, and robbed the local treasury. Whatever was to be done, should have been done quickly ; expedition was every thing, and had a second blow, such as that at Samungurh, been speedily struck, in *any* direction, the probability is, that the insurrection would have been subdued.

There seems at this time to have been disunion in the counsels of the authorities, but their exact nature has not transpired. Government, evidently, was very ill informed as to the nature of the outbreak, or the means most likely to quell it. Like most other insurrections, it had in the first instance been mismanaged and trifled with ; its dangers were then exaggerated ; troops were poured into the country under hap-hazard commanders, and it was only at the last stage of proceedings that efficient means of tranquillization were adopted. On the 24th October, after much negotiation, and not until Colonel Wallace's detachment had been strengthened Dajee Pundit was released and the young Raja of Kolapoor with his aunt and mother and the majority of his chiefs left the city and joined the British camp. The movement had been strongly opposed by the Kolapoor troops, about 500 of whom under Babajee Thirakar, finding their wishes defeated, absconded and joined the Bhoodurgurh malcontents. Babajee may be regarded as the leader of the rebellion. He had imprisoned the Minister, usurped the government, and instigated the raid on Chickooree. He and certain other principals were,

therefore, excepted in an offer of amnesty which was held out to such as should return to their allegiance; but, strange to say, when, General Delamotte *did* at last appear before Bhoodurgurh with every means of speedily capturing the place, he admitted the garrison to a surrender; and actually allowed himself on the evening of the 10th to be detained for several hours at one gate, while Babajee Thirakar with his party escaped from another. Thus was the flame spread, rather than extinguished; for Babajee immediately moved to the still stronger fortress of Panalla, where the Kolapoorians imagined that as in olden time, a long, if not permanent, stand could be made against all comers.

On the 25th November, General Delamotte appeared before Panalla, where, Colonel Ovans, the Resident at Satara, was now imprisoned. This officer, who had lately been appointed Special Commissioner in the Southern Mahratta country to the supercession of both Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram, had been waylaid on the 17th November, while incautiously travelling by dak with a very slight escort from Satara to Kolapoor, and carried prisoner to Panalla. We pretend not to know the reason of Colonel Ovans' appointment, but after carefully comparing all we have heard on the subject, it is our belief that the Bombay Government, already in no good humour at the long continuance of hostilities, were at this time irritated by Colonel Outram's refusing to accept the permanent charge of the Kolapoor country, and therefore at once accepted the resignation, which he volunteered only on the expiration of hostilities. This must have been the real motive that actuated, perhaps unwittingly, the authorities, though they may have likewise disapproved of some particular measures he had pursued. We see at least no other mode of accounting for the act. The rumours and assertions circulated by a portion of the Press at the time must have been erroneous regarding the man who was selected to go to Kolapoor when affairs *looked black*, was offered the permanent civil management *when they looked blacker*; was then employed as a Military Commander in putting an end to the war; and has since the termination of hostilities been nominated to the charge of the Political and Military relations at Satara.

Whatever may have been the cause of Colonel Ovans' deputation, his career was thus summarily cut short, and the political management in the field remained in the hands of Mr. Reeves and Colonel Outram. Strenuous endeavours were made by the Commissioners to effect the release of Colonel Ovans,

whom the malcontents vainly tried to make the means of ensuring their own safety. All their overtures were, however, disregarded; they were desired to release their prisoner and surrender at discretion, or stand the consequences. They did release him, hoping thereby to obtain terms of surrender, but they soon discovered their error.

On the 27th the Pettah was captured; and on the morning of the 1st December, the batteries opened. The same afternoon the breach, being reported practicable, was stormed and carried in gallant style. Some of the garrison endeavoured to escape into the adjoining Fort of Pawungurh, but were so closely followed by the British troops, that this second fortress fell into our hands the same day. Babajee Thirakar and some other ringleaders fell in the storm, and *many* prisoners were captured by the parties of troops judiciously placed in the plain around.

On the 5th December, Colonel Wallace with a Light Force proceeded against Rangna, seventy miles distant. He reached it on the 9th, the same day carried the Pettah, and the following night placed two guns and two mortars in position: their play, during the next day, caused the enemy after dark to evacuate the fort, and fly into the Sawunt-waree jungles. The principal fortresses of Kolapoor having thus fallen, their Gurkhurees being slain, imprisoned or dispersed, and the country being full of British troops, there was now a temporary lull; but it soon appeared that the theatre, only, of hostilities had changed, and that the war itself was as far as ever from a conclusion. Two thousand of the Waree people, under Phoond Sawunt, and Anna Sahib, the son of the Dessaee, who were at this time devastating the Concan and stopping the roads, were joined by the fugitive Kolapoorians. From the nature of the country the military operations now became more difficult. Wherever an enemy can be approached, there is little cause for alarm. The strongest fortress or best intrenched position, if relied on, renders the occupiers the more certain prey. It is but a question of time; the result is certain. In a rocky, jungle country, however, abounding in deep, damp ravines, and in forest-covered hills and dells, and occupied by an acclimated people, the case is very different. In all such miasmatic localities, as long as malcontents are satisfied to fly to-day, to starve to-morrow, and altogether to live or die as the beasts around them, they may long baffle the operations of regular troops under ordinary Commanders. And thus it was that the Sawunt-waree people acted; and thereby created, even beyond their

own immediate limits, more alarm than their wretched means should have been permitted to do; but the fact is, that our regulars are as little adapted for jungle fighting as were Aurungzebe's heavy Northmen to cope on their own ground, with Sivajee's light Mawulees and Hetkurees.

Troops employed in mountain and jungle warfare require something more than mere bull-dog bravery. Coolness, tact, activity and a general acquaintance, at least with similar localities are as necessary in the leader, as is some adaptation of his men to the enterprise. Soldiers that will fearlessly mount a breach, silently stand in array to be mown down by artillery, or unflinchingly hold their ranks to repel repeated charges of cavalry, will falter under a dropping fire from unseen foes. Men must be familiar with rock, ravine and jungle, to fight well among them. It is curious how ill we generally make our selections from our ample and varied resources—employing grenadiers as bush-rangers, and keeping riflemen for garrison duty—pushing into the front of battle men who are fit only for the Invalids, and keeping the young and active soldiers of every rank comparatively in the back ground. We generally get so well out of our scrapes that the waste of blood and treasure is too little considered; and few lessons are gained from past experience.

Fortunately for Government, the man they wanted was at hand. Colonel Outram who was now, about the end of December, at Bombay, with the intention of proceeding to Europe, at once forgot past neglect and past injuries, and came forward to rescue the Government from their difficulties. He volunteered to return to the seat of war, and there organise and lead a light corps. Nobly did he fulfil the large expectations that were now centred in him. Within a fortnight he was again in the field, the soul of all active measures; his very advanced guard driving before them the half-armed rabble that had kept three brigades at bay.

Never was the magic power of one man's presence more striking, than on Outram's return to the seat of war. It might seem invidious were we to dwell on the panic that then prevailed at Vingorla and Waree, but the slightest glance at the proceedings in those quarters will shew that the insurgents had inspired a ridiculously formidable idea of their own importance. All communications had long been cut off; the posts were brough *by long sea* from Malwan to Vingorla, and many of the inhabitants of this latter place nightly took refuge in boats in the harbour. The troops were harassed with patrolling duty,

yet the neighbourhood was rife with murders and robberies, the perpetrators of which sent insulting messages to the authorities. On one occasion a religious meeting was dispersed by a wag suddenly calling out that the enemy were upon them. Vingorla, be it remembered, stands in an open country.

At Waree, matters were if possible still worse; there the troops remained as in blockade, not a soul venturing beyond the lines. All outposts were called in and the malcontents permitted to consider themselves masters of the field. When the garrison was reinforced by the arrival of the 10th and a part of the Bombay Native Infantry the authorities determined to occupy the gorge of the valley of Seevapoor, in which lay the villages of the insurgent Phoond Sawunt, and thus cut off this focus of rebellion from the less disturbed districts. The scheme was a good one, but failed from the manner in which its execution was attempted. A detachment of two hundred sepoys set out; they were *sniped* at from the jungle and one man was wounded, when instead of closing with the enemy, they took post in a sort of enclosure, and were soon beset by increased numbers. A reinforcement of two hundred men joined them, but the combined force, after losing twenty killed and wounded, retreated to Waree. This success, of course, increased the confidence of the insurgents whose insolence was not restrained even by the arrival soon after of Her Majesty's 2nd Regiment. They gave out that they were tired of thrashing sepoys and wished to try the metal of the "*Lambs*." They soon obtained an opportunity of proving their metal, but the sight of that fine corps was too much for their nerves. The Europeans were then kept idle, first at Waree, then at Dukhun-waree, and full scope was given to the activity of the enemy.

At this juncture, Outram landed at Vingorla, where, picking up two or three excellent Officers, he pushed on to Waree, and thence towards Seevapoor. From this date, the 14th January, matters took a turn; hitherto the three brigades had been playing bo-peep with the enemy, and from the tops of the Ghats, examining through telescopes, the stockades below, which the Commanders did not think it prudent to attack. But now, at length, a decided movement was announced for hemming in the rebels in the valley of Seevapoor. Twelve hundred men were placed under Outram, with orders to beat up the low ground from Waree towards the forts of Munohur and Munsuntosh; Colonel Carruthers, with a brigade, was to occupy the Seevapoor valley on the other side of the ridge

on which those forts are situated; while Colonel Wallace was on a given day to descend the Ghats, and it was reckoned that his troops, dove-tailing with those under the immediate command of General Delamotte, would complete the encirclement of the rebels. This is not the time or place for commenting on Colonel Wallace's descent of the Elephant Rock, and premature attack on the open village of Seevapoor. That officer probably thought that he acted for the best, but we doubt whether disobedience to orders can ever be so viewed. Without any disparagement of his personal courage, we cannot help thinking that Colonel Wallace manifested a very contradictory estimate of the enemy's strength. If they had been as formidable as he considered them, then his descent of the rock, exposed to such a foe, was absolute infatuation. Nothing but their weakness and cowardice could justify the risk. But if the foe was so contemptible, he could have easily taken the route *he was desired*, driven them from stockade to stockade, *at the time ordered*, and thus completing the chain of operation, have probably ensured the apprehension of every individual rebel Chief. Much have the merits of Colonel Wallace's case been debated, but we cannot perceive how he could have expected to escape a Court Martial, though he may have reckoned on ensuring an honorable acquittal from the nature of his offence. There seems, however to us, no more resemblance between his disobedience at the Elephant Rock and Nelson's at Copenhagen, than there is between the fame of the two offenders. Judgment having been already pronounced on Colonel Wallace by a military tribunal, we should have avoided referring to his case, could our narrative have been otherwise rendered intelligible.

To return to Colonel Outram. No communication was practicable between the troops above and below the Ghats, and he was left with his small band to his own resources, without definite orders, and with very scanty supplies, to carry out the most difficult operation of the campaign. Merrily and confidently he advanced through the wild sylvan scenes never before trod by European foot. The ears of his people were now daily saluted by the echo of the artillery on the overhanging Ghats, sounds which could only be supposed to indicate "the tug of war" above, and loss of ribbons and laurels to those below. But such fears were soon relieved by finding that the firing was only Colonel Wallace's long practice with extra charges from the summit of the Elephant Rock at the village Seevapoor, some three miles distant in the Concan below.

Each day Outram found points of his route stockaded by the enemy, but they never made a stand, the advanced guard and skirmishers being generally sufficient to disperse the wretched rabble. At length, on the 20th of January, a combined movement was ordered upon the high peak to the west of Munsuntosh. The main attack was to be made by Colonel Carruthers, who, supported by a portion of Colonel Wallace's brigade, was to carry some stockades in his front, and then move up the Dukhun-waree or Seevapoor side of the ridge, while Colonel Outram was to make a diversion from the Shirsarjee or Gotia valley. This last detachment performed their part ; but, on reaching the summit of the peak, from which an extensive view was commanded, no sign appeared of either brigade. They saw the stockades which Colonel Carruthers was to have attacked, but which being now taken in flank were abandoned, the enemy flying to Munsuntosh, within eight hundred yards of which fort Outram established a post. Colonel Carruthers' brigade had been prevented by the nature of the country from taking their full share in the operations of the day. The next morning another combined movement was made on the village of Gotia, immediately below the forts ; again the nature of the country favoured Outram, the advanced guard of whose detachment captured the village with all its stockades, though very strongly situated.

From these brief details we may infer how easily the war might have been terminated, months sooner, by more decided measures. The enemy had only to be reached to be routed. The troops, both Bombay and Madras, were ready for their work, but a spirit of undue caution and delay prevailed at Head Quarters.

We cannot understand how it happened, but Colonel Outram was now left unsupported to carry on operations against Munsuntosh. One of those accidents which no human foresight can obviate, frustrated his attempt to gain that fortress by a coup-de-main. He carried three stockades below the fort, attempted to blow open a gate, failed, and was driven back with considerable loss. He held his ground, however, high upon the ridge, retained possession of the stockades, and was on the eve of again storming the fortress, when the enemy evacuated not only Munsuntosh, but the adjoining fort of Munohur. Outram had skilfully thrown out parties to command the debouches from the south and south-west faces of the forts, leaving the remaining portions of the cordon to be filled up by the brigades. Colonel Wallace however failed on his part,

and thus suffered the rebel Chiefs, who had all been encaged, to escape over the Sisadrug ridge, close to one of his posts, into the Goa territory. Outram followed hard upon their track, had several skirmishes, took many prisoners, and on one occasion, nearly captured the Chiefs. Again he scoured the wild country beneath the Ghats, encouraging the loyal, and beating up the disaffected villages. The nature and value of his services during the operations we have glanced at, are not to be measured by the actual opposition experienced or loss sustained, but by the estimate formed by other Commanders of the obstacles and enemy to be encountered, and by the fact that the rapid and skilful movements of his small detachment, terminated in a few days, an organised opposition which had for six weeks kept at a bay three brigades, differently handled. The total silence of Government, and the non-publication of any opinion regarding the Sawunt-waree operations, might at first sight lead to the inference that Outram's management gave as little satisfaction as did that of his fellow Commanders. But the promotion since bestowed on him, amply proves that Government took the same view of his conduct throughout the campaign as did General Delamotte, Colonels Brough and Wallace, and indeed all his comrades. Outram's is an almost isolated instance of a man receiving not only civil promotion but brevet rank, without his good fortune exciting jealousy; a remarkable exception, only to be explained by his rare qualities as a soldier, and his conciliatory demeanour as a man.

The tone of our remarks upon Colonel Outram may savour of partial panegyric to those of our readers who have not followed out his career as we have done. No personal feelings, however, can mingle in our praise of a man whom we have never seen, and whom we know only by his public acts. Those who have watched his course, will probably concur in our eulogiums; indeed, any unprejudiced man, reading the despatches published during the war, the proceedings of Colonel Wallace's Court Martial, and the discussions which they elicited at the three Presidencies, must acknowledge that every affair in which Outram had a voice, was carried out with an energy and promptitude, very unlike the procrastinating indecision perceptible elsewhere. He arrived at Samungurh,—the fortress was carried forthwith; and (what so rarely happens in Indian operations) the success was immediately followed up by despatching Captain Graham to disperse the enemy's covering force; a work which that officer ably accomplished. Again, in the despatch published by the Bombay Government, we see

Outram mentioned as "the man, who volunteered his services, "and was among the foremost who entered the fort of Panal-"la." The reader has only to contrast the whole conduct of his detachment, from the 16th of January to the conclusion of hostilities, with any other operations of the campaign, and he will bear us out in the opinion that he was the soul of every decided measure.

If our narrative has kept to Colonel Outram's detachment, it is for the simple reason that they appear to have had all the fighting to themselves. No discredit thereby attaches to the troops under the other Commanders who were always ready for action, and who, when opportunity offered, as at Samungurh and Panalla, behaved with the accustomed gallantry of the Madras and Bombay Armies.

We must wind up this hasty, though perhaps prolix, sketch of Sawunt-waree affairs. By the capture of Munohur and Munsuntosh the strength of the insurrection was broken. The strongholds of the rebels were taken, their boldest leaders slain or captured, and all others to the number, as already stated, of forty, fled for shelter to Goa. Outram was then again called on to act the diplomatist. His parties still followed up the remaining small marauding bands, while he himself proceeded to Goa, and by the union of firmness and conciliation induced the Portuguese authorities to remove their *sympathisers* from the frontier, and to substitute a cordon of such troops as would prevent the Goa territory being made the place of ambush from which the insurgent should at discretion devastate Sawunt-waree. And now we may be permitted to congratulate Government on their selection of such a man as Colonel Outram to the important duties of the Satara Residency. Our satisfaction would be increased could we persuade the authorities to give him such assistants as he can trust at Satara and Waree, and place him in authority at the central post of Kolapoor with combined powers as Resident, Commissioner, and Military Commander.

Improved arrangements, we are aware, have already been made. The Anglo-native Agent at Kolapoor has been replaced by an able British officer, and in Sawunt-waree there could not be a better Local Superintendent than the officer lately appointed. Captain Jacob is, like Colonel Outram, a good soldier as well as an able and conciliating Civil officer. Such are the men required; men who, personally despising danger, are forward in the hour of action, and reckless of their own blood, are chary of that of others. In no quarter of India are

such men more appreciated than in the Southern Mahratta country, where their names alone are worth Regiments. They will preserve peace if it is to be preserved, and if the sword must be drawn, will carry on war, so that it shall speedily end in permanent and prosperous tranquillity.

After more than six months of military operations, and the employment of nearly ten thousand troops, in so insignificant a corner of India, peace has been secured, or, more correctly, war has ceased. Let us now by honestly and carefully looking into past abuses and errors, and by not too rigorously judging those who have been driven or reduced to misconduct, secure the future tranquillity of the country. This can be effected only by a *permanent* system of good management *consonant to the spirit of the people.* We should remember that rude tribes are not ripe for refined institutions, and that it is better to work on quietly, slowly, and surely, than to risk new convulsions by sudden, even though beneficial changes. The people of Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree have, we believe, been partially disarmed and many of their fortresses have been dismantled. Both these measures should be completed. Broad military roads should also be constructed to intersect these territories in all directions and the jungle cleared at least a hundred feet on either side. Such operations will involve present expense, but they will prevent future sacrifices. No country, such as that under notice, can be reckoned secure until those responsible for its peace have facilities for quickly reaching its most remote corners at all seasons of the year.

Half a dozen good officers under such a man as Colonel Outram might, in a few years, wipe away the reproach that is now attached to our name in the South Mahratta country. Under their supervision, all real rights and immunities would be clearly defined and speedily established, and all imaginary claims dismissed. A revenue system would be organized calculated to protect the cultivator from undue exaction, and a scheme of police might be enforced that would make the rock and the bush too hot for marauders. The Mankurees, Chiefs, and Jaghirdars would settle down into their places. The Raja of Kolapoor and the Sin Dessaee of Sawunt-waree, would each, also, find his level; they would respectively be the pageants that mild, meek sovereigns in the East, who have the good fortune to possess *wise and virtuous* Viziers, usually are. They would be treated with respect, and they would profit by the amelioration of their territories. The labour, the responsibility, and let us not forget, *the honor of all improvements*, would belong to the

British officials, who eschewing the fiction of a double government, putting aside all screens of Dewans, Ministers or Karbarees, would openly stand forward as the avowed managers of the country, on behalf of the ruling power.

The readers of this journal will observe that we distinguish between the cases of these Mahratta States and that of Oude, where every measure short of superseding the King has been fruitlessly tried. Our relations with Kolapoor and Sawunt-waree stand in a different position. We have ourselves been for years the managers of these countries: the present disorganisation has been matured before our own eyes, and in our own hands; we should therefore nurture our charge until its health is thoroughly recruited, and restore full sovereignty to the legitimate Princes if we can then find among them any whose characters will justify that measure; otherwise we must continue to be the direct managers, and persevere in a course so manifestly advantageous to the hereditary Chiefs themselves. No pains should be spared to explain to them the eventual intentions of Government in their favour, and they should be as clearly informed, that intrigue or treachery will, at once and for ever, forfeit their thrones. Free personal communication on the part of the European Superintendents with these Princes, and constant, though not intrusive endeavours to enlighten their minds, may gradually effect much. But whatever be the result, the British Government will have done its duty, and the good administration of the country will have been secured, either in our own hands or in those of the hereditary rulers.

We are quite aware of the difficulties in the way of our scheme, and of the tact that will be required to carry it out, but we are not the less confident of the result, if the superintendence of affairs is entrusted to the hands we have suggested. Intrigue, nay rebellion, may at first arise; but it will not be repeated, if summarily and decidedly dealt with. As our scheme admits of no *just* cause being given for insurrection, and provides that determined malignancy shall receive no quarter, we can perceive no likelihood of the arrangement meeting with prolonged opposition. It is the spasmodic tyranny of weak rulers that invites continual attack. The Government that is one day oppressive, the next cowardly, and the third day frantically vengeful, may fairly calculate on insurrections on every emergency. The British administration of the present day happily acts in another spirit, and the East India Company has only, where legitimate openings offer, to carry among the ryots of its protected Princes some portion of the benevolence

that now influences its dealings towards its own subjects, and protected India will soon assume a new aspect. Blessings will then be poured out in many a rich plain and fruitful valley, where curses are now plentifully showered on those who have, unwittingly, given over the husbandman, the strength and marrow of the land, bound hand and foot, to the tender mercies of his irresponsible tyrants.

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NOTE.—The deliberate opinion we have formed of Colonel Outram, has in no respect been altered by the perusal of that florid romance, entitled "the Conquest of Scinde" concocted by the Governor of Guernsey from facts and fictions furnished by the Government of Scinde. The foregoing remarks were written before the appearance of Colonel Outram's letter to General Napier; a letter that was not needed to set "the Bayard of the Indian Army" (as Sir Charles Napier in an inspired moment happily designated him), right in the eyes of the Indian public. Still less do they require a further vindication of his conduct, though they will welcome every item of information that he may feel justified in giving We fearlessly assert that every right-minded man, acquainted with the progress of events during the year 1842, not only acquits Colonel Outram of the absurd and contradictory charges alleged against him by the Napiers, but recognises in his conduct throughout Scinde transactions both Civil and Military, the spirit of a soldier, a gentleman, and a Christian. We may hereafter have the gratification of sketching the career of this much-abused man, who, with a singularly conciliatory and kindly disposition, had the fortune to incur the hatred of two first rate haters (Lord Keane and Sir Charles Napier): men, too, who fully appreciated his good qualities, till his manliness and honesty thwarted their own views. In the year 1838, Outram carried to Affghanistan a character such as could not be paralleled by any officer of his standing in India. His services during the first Affghan campaign were second to those of no officer then and there employed. Had he remained in the Ghilzee country or at Khelat many of our disasters might have been averted.

But it is by his civil management, first, of lower Scinde, and then of both the Upper and Lower Provinces and of all Belochistan, that Outram has won our highest admiration. When the European inhabitants of Calcutta trembled for our Indian empire; when, in the highest places, men grew pale at the evil tidings from Affghanistan, Outram held his frontier post with a firm hand, a brave heart, and cheerful tone that *ought* to have been contagious. Vigilant, conciliatory, and courageous, he managed, with his handful of troops, not only to prevent the Ameers from taking advantage of our disasters, but to induce them to aid in furnishing supplies and carriage for the relieving, then considered, the retreating army. The merits of his exertions on that occasion are little understood. He obeyed, as was his duty; but he did not the less clearly perceive the ruinous tendency of the Government orders. He had the moral courage to sacrifice his own immediate interests by stemming the then prevalent tide of cowardly counsel. James Outram in one quarter, and George Clerk,—a kindred spirit,—in another, were the two who then stood in the breach;

who *forced* the authorities to listen to the fact against which they tried to close their ears, that the proposed abandonment of the British prisoners in Affghanistan would be as dangerous to the state as it was base towards the captives. These counsels were successfully followed : the British nation thanked our Indian rulers, while, of the two men, without whose persevering rèmonstrances and exertions Nott and Pollock might have led back their armies, without being permitted to make an effort to retrieve our credit—Clerk was slighted, and Outram superseded. As cheerfully as he had stepped forward did Outram now retire, and again when his services were required was he ready to act in the field, in willing subordination to the officer who had benefited by his supercession.

The Napiers accuse Outram of jeopardizing the British Army in Scinde : this is mere nonsense. His negotiations, followed up by Sir Charles Napier's acts, were sufficient to endanger his own life. They did so, and nothing but his own brilliant gallantry and that of his small escort rescued them from the toils. The British Army was able to take care of it itself. Had Outram, however, when deputed to Hydrabad, been permitted the *fair discretion* that his position demanded ; had he been authorised definitely to promise any responsible terms, his abilities and his character would have secured an honourable peace ; but it was not in human nature that the Ameers should long continue to listen to an Envoy sent to demand every thing and to offer nothing. This was not negotiating, it was dragooning. A British Officer, escorted by a single Company, was not the proper delegate for such a mission. Sir Charles Napier at the head of his army was the fitting Ambassador.

Outram's chivalrous defence of his assistant Lieutenant Hammersly is one of the many instances in which he advocated the right at the peril of his own interests. Hammersly was as brave, as honest-hearted a young soldier as ever fell a victim to his duty. We knew him well, and no one who did so need be ashamed to shed a tear over his fate. He was literally sacrificed *for telling the truth*—a truth, too, that was of vital importance to the beleaguered Candahar army—nay, to the interests of British India. Peace be to the memory of this noble fellow.

# THE PORTUGUESE IN NORTH INDIA.

By Rev. J Long.

1. *Faria Y. Sousa, Asia Portuguese.* 3 *vols.* 12*mo.*
2. *Historical account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, by* H. Murray. 3 *vols.*, 1820.
3. *Os Lusiadas, poema epico de Luis de Camoens. Paris,* 1823.
4. *Indian Orientalis Christiana, auctore Paulino Bartholomæo. Romæ,* 1794.
5. *Histoire Generale de Voyages per T. de Houdt.* 25 *tomes,* 1753.
6. *The History of Christianity in India,* by the Rev. J. Hough, 4 *vols.*, 1846.
7. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, ecrites des Missions Etrangeres.* 26 *tomes. Paris,* 1780.
8. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation,* by R. Hakluyt, 1598. 4 *vols. fol.*
9. *History of Bengal,* by C. Stewart, 1813.
10. *Di Barros, Decadas.* 15 *tomes,* 12*mo. Lesboa,* 1777.
11. *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde, par M. Bernouilli. Berlin,* 1786, 3 *tomes.*
12. *Buchanan, Rev. C. Christian Researches in Asia,* 1811.
13. *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquestes des Portuguais, par J. Lafitau. Paris,* 1733.
14. *Maffæi Historiarum Indicarum Libri,* 1593.

The agency of steam in the present day is breaking down those barriers which isolated and detached nations from one another, and is impressing more strongly on the different communities of the earth the great truth—that however they may vary from one another in consequence of climate, food, institutions civil and religious,—still they form members of the one great human family. Hence one source of the interest of surveying the past, and observing the various links by which the two great continents of Europe and Asia have been more

closely united. Asia the cradle of the arts and sciences, is now receiving from Europe through this intercourse, all the principles of a higher civilization and pure religion. The affiliation of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin, Persian and Russian languages with one another, as well as the close correspondence between the Druidical and Indian mythologies, shew that Europe and Asia have from the earliest times been intimately connected by the two great ties of language and religion. The opinion seems now to be generally adopted, that the plains of Babylonia were the central point from which mankind after the deluge started in separate bodies to people and colonize the earth—one stream proceeding to India—another to China—another to Egypt—and another along the western shores of Asia Minor into Europe across the Dardanelles.

The Phenicians and other nations carried on trade at an early period with the Western coasts of India ; Sesostris marched an army to the banks of the Ganges ; the Persians under Darius maintained commercial intercourse with the Panjab : but it is to the era of Alexander we are to look for the connection which sprung up between Europe and Asia. *Alexander* has long been too much regarded in the light of a mere warrior :—he aimed at rendering his conquests subservient to the advancement of science. Hence for our earliest accurate geographical information concerning India we are indebted to the officers and engineers who accompanied his army ; their itineraries have afforded the materials for the great geographical work of Eratosthenes ; had the life of Alexander been prolonged, the Cape route would probably have been discovered many centuries before the time of Vasco di Gama. As one of Alexander's great objects was to unite his Asiatic and European subjects " he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the elegant writers in that tongue : he resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a hundred of his principal officers in the most illustrious Persian families ; in imitation of them, above ten thousand Macedonians, of inferior rank, married Persian women." He designed to have made Alxandria the centre of commerce, Babylon the seat of government, and Greece the reservoir of arts and sciences ; above all he was a friend to *colonization*, that "by reciprocal marriages and intermixtures, peace and concord might be established between the two great continents of the world"—and yet this valuable system of colonization, which was acted on so successfully by Alexander 2,000 years ago, was

long wont to encounter the most pertinacious resistance from the East India Company, who appeared to maintain the monstrous opinion that *European* settlement in India was a *curse.* Alexander knew full well that colonization was the soul of commercial enterprise.

Alexander proceeded no farther than the Ravi. *Megasthenes* was the first European who beheld the Ganges: he was ambassador from Seleucus to the king of the Prasii, or inhabitants of the Gangetic Valley, who were prepared to oppose the Macedonians on the banks of the Ganges with an army of 200,000 infantry, and 20,000 cavalry. Megasthenes resided several years in the city of Palibothra, probably Patna, or Bhaglipur, and published a description of India which has furnished materials for the statistical accounts of the country given by Strabo, Arrian and Diodorus Siculus. Colonel Francklin in his Palibothra cites Megasthenes' remarks on the Prasii. *Bactria* was the seat of Grecian empire for 130 years, until overthrown 126 B. C. by hordes of Tartars, who poured in on it from the confines of China: the Greek kings of Bactria carried on an extensive commerce with India, and had possession of the country near the mouths of the Indus. The Greek coins which have been found lately in such quantities in the Panjab, Kabul, &c.—the inscriptions on which have been deciphered by the indefatigable labours of Lassen, Prinsep, &c.,—bear witness to the extent of Grecian influence at one time on our North-Western frontier. Wilson's Ariana Antiqua gives drawings and descriptions of all those coins. The Romans by their conquest of Egypt were brought into commercial connection with India and imported from thence spices, pearls and silk. Roman ladies were clad 1800 years ago in Dacca cottons, and Roman ships frequented Satgang, probably the Ganges Regia of Ptolemy.

From the conquest of Bactria by the Tartars to the time of Albuquerque no European power held any sway in India. The *Arabs*, floated in on the tide of Moslem conquest, introduced their literature, language and religion into it: the famous Kaliph, Aaran Al Reschid, the contemporary of Charlemagne, sent Missionaries of the Koran to preach up their creed from the banks of the Ganges to the isles of the Indian Ocean. The Crusades, "a reaction against the Propagandist spirit of the Moslems in the seventh century," broke in on the slumbers of the middle ages, and awoke the mercantile classes of Europe to a sense of the importance of Asia, and poured in a flood of new ideas on the subject of the East. Rubruquis a monk, sent by Saint Louis of France as ambassador to the Great Khan

of Tartary 1253, gave much information to Europe respecting those parts of Central Asia, for which we are now indebted for information chiefly to Russian authors: Marco Polo also co-operated in the same object. The reign of Genghis Khan may be viewed as the era of modern discovery; his conquests opened out the routes of Tartary and induced the princes of Europe to send ambassadors into deserts, hitherto regarded as impenetrable, in order to make alliances.

But the day of India's *isolation* from the great European community was drawing to a close. When Vasco di Gama seized the helm from the hands of his dastardly crew, and steered his ship safely round the Cape of Storms, the death knell of the non-intercourse system was sounded, and from that time forward India was to be increasingly open to European light and influence. Singular that the three nations which held most territorial possession in India, had little territory themselves in Europe! England, which now occupies the throne of Timur, was in the 15th century, "a remote island in the northern Ocean." The *Dutch*, amid their marshes and mud banks, resisted for forty years the power of Charles the 5th and Philip the 2d—two of the mightiest monarchs in Europe—the chivalry of Spain, and the exterminating fury of the Inquisition aided by the Duke of Alva, who boasted that he had put 18,000 heretics to death by the hands of the common executioner during his administration in the Netherlands: as Voltaire remarks, "The Dutch became powerful without possessing much land, rich without having the means to support the twentieth part of their own people, and great in Europe, by labours at the extremity of Asia." The history of no country in the world displays a nobler exhibition of moral courage in defence of national independence, than does that of the Dutch as detailed by Watson in his Life of Philip the 2nd—men who at the siege of Leyden, when asked to surrender by the Spaniards, replied that, rather than do so, they would feed on their left arm and fight with their right,—they let in the sea, flooded the country, and lived on soup made from the hides of animals.

No conquests so great and important had ever been made with *so small a force* as that which the Portuguese brought into India. The Portuguese, a "little body with a mighty soul," occupied territory on the western extremity of Europe, 300 miles long and 100 broad, the population of which even in 1827 amounted to only three millions; as Faria De Sousa, their national historian, remarks, "The narrow bounds of the kingdom of Portugal could no longer contain the greatness of its native hearts: therefore carried on by a glorious boldness, they far extended

their limits, they infinitely exceeded the measure of the first matter : they followed the sun from his setting to his rising and equalled his course." The kingdom of Portugal was founded in 1090 by Alphonso the sixth of Castile, and extended itself in the twelfth century along the shores of the Atlantic Ocean. The Portuguese had chased the Moors out of Portugal, had pursued them into Africa, had conquered Fez and Morocco, and extended themselves along the western coast of Africa, until they had planted the standard of Portugal in Macáo, Diu, Goa, Mozambique, Congo and Guinea. A new scene opened upon them in India : the same century witnessed the fall of Grenada, the last Moorish kingdom in Spain, the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope, and of America by Columbus. But the man to whom the whole human race will ever lie under deep and lasting obligations is *Don Henry* of Portugal. Of royal birth, at an early age he fought against the Moors of Africa, more anxious to subject them to the laws of Christianity, than to the political power of Portugal : his motto was *talent de bien faire ;* he supported his superiority of rank by a superiority of merit : he was well skilled in mathematical science, and retired from the gaiety of the court to a place near Cape St. Vincent, where he pondered over the great subject of maritime discovery : far different schemes filled his head in this retreat than did Napoleon's when in St. Helena. He encouraged a commercial spirit,—hence when the Canaries were discovered under his auspices, he had many cattle placed there to breed : he sent to Cyprus and Sicily for sugar-canes, and to the Archipelago for vines to plant in those islands : he spent much money in the encouragement of learning, and infused a taste for science into the nobility, many of whom he taught at his own expense : his philosophy was practical—for the good of the world. Don Henry began his career of discovery in 1412 : he was ahead of the age : many of the Portuguese nobles objected to his expeditions. Why, said they, should men go on discovery, when there is so much to do in conquering the Moors in Africa, when there is so much uncultivated land in Portugal, when there are so many shipwrecks in unknown seas. Don Emanuel, who trod in the steps of Don Henry, had also a host of objections to meet—that India was too far—that there was danger of exciting all the Mussulman powers against Portugal —and that the expense was too great.

But undismayed by obstacles, the hardy bands of Portuguese adventurers pushed on in their conquest of India. In 1494, the kings of Spain and Portugal divided the Eastern and Western world between them ; the king of Spain took the West beginning with America, the king of Portugal all East of the Cana-

ries ; this treaty was ratified by the Pope. In 1508, the Portuguese flag waved triumphantly from the straits of Gibraltar to Abyssinia and from Ormus to Malacca ; in 1528 Portugal possessed Mangalore, Cochin, Ceylon, Ormus, Diu, Goa, Negapatam, so that as an old traveller remarks, " her commerce and empire of the sea made Portugal the least part of the Portuguese crown." The Moors, who, on the Portuguese arriving in India, had a monopoly of the trade between Europe, India and Africa in their hands, in 1563 could not trade in the Red Sea or Persian Gulph without the permission of the Portuguese, as otherwise their ships would have been captured. Their energy was indomitable : Portuguese women fought bravely at the siege of Diu in 1538, when besieged by the Turks ; no sieges in modern times, not even those during the last Peninsular war, display more courage than the Portuguese exhibited at the two sieges of Diu, with a small number against an overwhelming host of Mussalmans from Egypt : the Portuguese women of Goa sold their jewels to defray the expenses of the war. Goa became their metropolis and was the resort of merchants from Arabia, Persia, America, Cambay, Bengal, Pegu, Siam, Java, Malacca and China.

BENGAL, styled by Aurungzeb, " the paradise of nations," attracted at an early period the attention of the Portuguese. Don Carreri writes in 1695, " Bengal is accounted the most fertile kingdom the Mogul has, by reason of its rivers ; it has a great trade in silk, calico and other stuffs." John Sylveira was the first Portuguese who came to Bengal ; he arrived in 1518, and remained there a long time " learning the commodities of the country and the manners of the people." In 1534, the Viceroy of Goa sent a fleet of nine ships to assist the reigning Nawab against the invader Sher Khan. The Portuguese never established a regular government in Bengal as in other parts of India ; numbers of *adventurers* hired themselves out as soldiers to native powers near the Ganges or turned pirates ; " they lived without law and with much superstition." In 1538 a large body of Portuguese entered Bengal as military adventurers in the service of the King of Gaur—37 years before Gaur, the glory of Bengal, " the seat of a hundred Kings," the abode of pomp and power and splendour for 2,000 years, had yielded to the effects of plague and was reduced to a desert—a second Palmyra. Bernier, who travelled in India in 1655, and has given one of the most faithful accounts of the country, writes, " Bengal is the place of good comfits, specially in those places where the Portuguese are, who are dexterous in making them, and drive a great trade with them. In Bengal there is such a store

of pork that the Portuguese, settled there, live almost on nothing else. Bengal is a country abounding in all things, and it is for this very reason that so many Portuguese Mesticos (half-castes) and other Christians are fled hither from those quarters the Dutch have taken from them: in Ougli there are eight thousand souls of Christians."

The SUNDERBUNDS are a part of Bengal which inflict an indelible stain on the character of the Portuguese. In their present wild, jungly state, the abode of tigers, rhinoceroses and alligators, the seat of malaria, we see the effects of Portuguese piracy co-operating with Mug atrocity. Bernier gives the following statement: "These many years (he wrote 1655) there have been in the Kingdom of Rakan (Arrakan) some Portuguese, and with them a great number of their Christian slaves and other Feringuis, gathered from all parts. That was the refuge of the runaways from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malague, and all those other places which the Portuguese formerly held in the Indies; and they were such as had abandoned monasteries; men that had been twice or thrice married; murderers in a word, *such as had deserved the rope, were most welcome* and most esteemed there, leading in that country a life that was very detestable and altogether unworthy of Christians, insomuch that they impunely butchered and poisoned one another, and *assassinated their own priests*, who sometime *were not better than themselves*. With some small and light gallies they did nothing but coast about the sea, and entering into all rivers thereabout, and into the channels and arms of the Ganges, and between all these isles of the lower Bengal, and often penetrating so far as forty or fifty leagues up into the country, surprised and carried away whole towns, assemblies, markets, feasts and weddings of the poor Gentiles and others of that country, making women slaves, great and small, with strange cruelty, and *burning all they could not carry away*. And thence it is that there are seen in the mouth of the Ganges so many fine isles quite deserted, which were *formerly well peopled*, and where no other inhabitants are found but wild beasts, and especially tigers." This rabble ruined and despoiled all the lower parts of Bengal. The remains of old buildings found in wild parts of the Sunderbunds corroborate this statement of Bernier, as also the fact that, in all the very ancient maps, *cities are marked down in the Sunderbunds;* in the map of Bengal given in the Decadas di Barros, several cities are marked down in the Sunderbunds. Conti, a noble Venetian traveller, about 1450, came to the mouth of the Ganges, and writes that the banks were covered with beautiful cities and gardens.

Fryer, a traveller of 1680, remarks, "the Bay of Bengal being infested as much as the coast by outlawed Portuguese; *the most cursedly base of all mankind which are known,* this *bastard brood* lurking in the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, by the name of Buccaneers." Captain Hamilton who travelled in India between 1688 and 1723 and is a good authority, writes, "the first safe anchoring place in the river, is off the mouth of a river about twelve leagues above Sagor, commonly known by the name of *Rogue's river,* which had that appellation from some banditti Portuguese who were followers of Sultan Sujah, when Emirjemal, Aurungzeb's General, drove that unfortunate prince out of his province of Bengal; for those Portuguese having no way to subsist, after their master's flight to the kingdom of Arrakan, betook themselves to piracy among the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and that river having communication with all the channels from Xatigam to the westward from this river, they used to sally out and commit depredations on those that traded in the river of Húgli." An inundation and subsidency of the land also contributed to the depopulation of the Sunderbunds as well as the piracy of the Mugs. In 1616, the King of Arrakan, having conquered Sundip, devastated the lower districts of Bengal, carrying away into slavery the inhabitants. Bolts, in his "India Affairs," states that the Sunderbunds were abandoned, about 1620, by their inhabitants, in consequence of the ravages of the Mugs; "this tract is extremely fertile and was formerly as remarkably populous."

The Portuguese settled in DACCA, during the reign of Akbar, shortly after they had selected a spot for their residence at Húgli. Dacca had then a population of 200,000 and was the resort of merchants from various parts of Asia. The Portuguese erected a convent, where "they celebrated the divine worship in the midst of that most vast paganism." Manrique, an Augustinian friar, sent in 1612 to the Bengal Mission, states that the maulavis at Dacca endeavoured to terrify the people, saying that God's wrath would be poured out on them, because they "permitted the residence of Kaffres, who eat pork and drank wine, out of pure hatred to Mahommed." When Akbar heard of it, he sent positive orders that the Portuguese should receive no injury of any description; he even offered them an assignment of the revenue on the land, but the Portuguese refused it, as they knew such presents were made with the hope of inducing a greater number of merchants to frequent the place, and if this expectation were frustrated, fresh insults would be poured on them until they would be obliged to leave the

country. In 1590 Cæsar Fredericke, a famous traveller, describes the Nawab of Dacca as " a great friend to Christians." Tavernier (about 1670) mentions that Dacca has " a Church of the Augustinians, of brick, a very stately pile." The Moguls were obliged in 1608 to remove the seat of their Government in Bengal from Rajmahal to Dacca, in order to exercise closer supervision over the Portuguese at the mouth of the river, who were under the command of Gonzales, formerly a common sailor, aided by the Mugs. A number of Portuguese settled in 1666, on lands granted them by the Mogul Governor of Dacca at Feringy Bazaar, a place twelve miles from Dacca. They fixed themselves, in the middle of the 16th century at Seripur, about eighteen miles South of Sonergang ; when visited by the traveller Fitch in 1586, they had the sole authority in that part of the country. There is a Portuguese Chapel at Housanabad in the Furridpur Zillah : 2,148 persons were baptised between 1818-37. Bhowal has a Portuguese Chapel also : 3,208 were baptised there between 1801-37. McCosh, in his " Assam," states there are about sixty Portuguese in Assam, the remnants of Portuguese soldiers, once employed by the Nawab of Dacca : they are Romanists, and each family has some rude image, commonly of the Virgin Mary, cut upon a post and stuck into the ground after the manner of the Hindus ; they pay no more regard to the Sabbath than any of the other Natives ; in dress and habits they are not to be distinguished from the Natives, and sometimes marry Mussalman women ; some are occupied as herdsmen and others as Chuprassies. T. C. Plowden, Esq., who resided at Noacally in the Tipperah District in 1821, wrote that the Christian population residing there are the descendants of the Portuguese, who settled at Chittagong a century ago ; that many of the families are so entirely incorporated with the Natives of the country as hardly to bear a distinguishing mark, except in the name of Feringis or Christians ; " they are of the lowest of the people, are extremely poor : in their manners, habits and condition there is no difference between them and the lower orders of the Natives ; and tho' they profess the Roman Catholic religion, they are entirely ignorant of its doctrines and tenets, and from their long residence among Hindus and Mahommedans are much inclined to their opinions. Some maintain themselves and their families as servants to the planters, zemindars, &c. ; but the most of them are engaged by Talukdars for the cultivation of their lands : a few can read and write the Bengali language ; about two or three are possessed of a small quantity of land."

When Job Charnock settled in CALCUTTA 1689, a number

of Portuguese accompanied him from Húgli ; he gave them a piece of ground of ten bigahs to erect a Church on ; the Augustinian Friars built a Chapel of mats and straw on it, but the congregation having increased in wealth and numbers, a Mrs. Tench had a brick building erected at her own expense in 1700, instead of the straw one which was pulled down ; in 1720, a Mrs. Shaw enlarged it under the direction of the vicar, the Rev. Francisco de Assumpcao ; in 1756 the Chapel was pillaged and the records were destroyed. In 1796 at a public meeting of the Roman Catholics of Calcutta it was resolved to pull it down and to build a larger one. Two rich brothers from Bombay, the Barettos, came forward with liberal subscriptions ; the building cost 90,000, Rs. 60,000 of which was raised by subscription. In 1714 the Rev. Mr. Briercliffe, Chaplain of Fort William, Calcutta, wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who took a deep interest in India measures ; referring to the state of Missions in Bengal he remarks, "the Portuguese have not carried on their religion by means of schools ; but chiefly by bringing up their slaves and servants when young, in their own faith." In 1723 Barbier, a Jesuit, visited Calcutta, and mentions there was a Romish Church there of which an Augustinian was minister. "The King of Portugal has committed to the Augustinians the care of their Christian people in India : *the Pope having granted to the King, as grand master of the order of Christ, the nomination to all the benifices in India.*" Hough's work on Christianity in India gives some information respecting the Portuguese in Calcutta in connection with the labours of Kiernander, the *first Protestant* missionary to Bengal, who settled in Calcutta 1758, 35 *years before Carey came to India.* He was greatly opposed by the Portuguese, who wished to deprive him of the school he had established, in which several Portuguese scholars had become Protestants, being neglected by their own priests ; Kiernander used to preach to the Portuguese twice every Sunday in the Old Church and the services were well attended ; " he was indefatigable in distributing among the Portuguese tracts in their own language, which the Church Missionaries had sent from Tranquebar." Da Costa, a Dominican Friar, who had been Inquisitor at Diu, joined the Anglican Church in Calcutta and proved a useful laborer, as did Sylvester in 1768 : he was an Augustinian of Goa, a missionary of fifteen years' standing ; several other Portuguese priests followed his example. The Rev. D. Brown, Chaplain of the Mission Church, also laboured among the Portuguese ; he supported, at his own expense, a converted priest to labour

among the Portuguese congregation. In 1806 he writes to a friend, "you will be happy to hear the Portuguese congregation is taking root; there are many thousands of this class of people of every description in Calcutta, *in a dreadful state of ignorance and neglect.*"

The *principal Portuguese Church* in Calcutta enjoys the inestimable privilege of having its vicar chosen *by the votes of every Roman Catholic parishioner*, "not an infant or minor or mendicant or insane." May this *inalienable right* of every Christian congregation be perpetuated to them! When the Portuguese were re-established in Calcutta after 1757, the provincial of Goa assumed to himself the power of appointing vicars to Calcutta, who had the management of the funds of the Church; the Portuguese preferred that the vestry wardens should have the management of the funds; on appealing to the Bishop of Meliapur he fixed that the wardens should have the management of them, which has been the case since 1773; but in 1777, the Bishop appointed four *perpetual* wardens. The inhabitants, having previously chosen the wardens by annual election, seeing their privileges thus infringed upon, brought on a law suit respecting it in the Supreme Court, which was decided in their favour in 1783, but cost them 40,000 Rs. law expenses.

The Cathedral *Church* De Rozario was built 1799; *Boitakhana* Church was founded 1809 by Mrs. E. Shaw. Lord Minto was invited to attend the consecration, but sent a letter regretting his being unable owing to other engagements; the founder died 1818, and left a large sum of money to the Church. Dharamtala Church was founded by the widow of De Souza, a rich merchant of Calcutta: it was consecrated in 1834 by the Rev. O. Assumpcao, provisor of the Bishop of Meliapur: it has three altars; the nave is 115 feet long and twenty-seven broad; the entire floor is paved with chinese marble slabs; the Church with the buildings attached cost two lakhs. Calcutta is supplied with Portuguese *Churches:* but what is the state of the Portuguese *people*? One of their own writers states "the lowest ranks of the Portuguese have almost forgotten the sacred name by which they are called." At a general meeting of Roman Catholics in 1835, held in Boitakhana Church, the Portuguese priests were charged with leaving their people in ignorance, illuminating them only with the freaks of the novena, and devoting all their attention to the accumulation of money. Jacquemont remarked of the Portuguese in Calcutta "there is in the figure of this degenerate race an expression of revolting baseness." A writer in the "Bengal Catholic Herald"

of 1841, remarks, "a short time back we were without a single institution of Catholic education with clergy (Portuguese) who had not the ability, if they had the desire, to instruct us in the principle and duties of our religion." In February 1823, the first *English sermon* was preached in a Portuguese chapel; in Calcutta the newspapers of that day contain letters from English and Irish Romanists, urging the necessity of their having Irish priests in Calcutta, as the Portuguese priests were *incompetent* to do their duties and did not *understand English.* The first move made in this moral stagnation was by the appointment of Bishop St. Leger, a man of liberal mind: the Jesuits followed, and the Portuguese are now improving in various respects.

Bishop Heber remarks, "The Portuguese have, during a three hundred years' residence in India, become as *black* as Kaffres; surely this goes far to disprove the assertion which is sometimes made, that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European." It is rather strange that Bishop Heber did not recollect there are few Portuguese of *pure blood* in India: though there are over 5,000 Portuguese in Calcutta, there may not perhaps be ten of them *genuine* Portuguese: we know the case of one Portuguese of highly respectable connections, who having no children, adopted Hindu slave boys, who bear his name: the father of another was a khansama. The great majority of the Portuguese in North India, are merely natives baptised and rigged out in a European hat, shoes, trowsers and coat: the rest are chiefly *half-castes.* It was part of the Portuguese policy to promote marriages between the Portuguese and Indian women. Albuquerque, having won Goa by hard fighting, wished to make it a Portuguese colony and therefore he married his followers, who wished to reside there, to the daughters of Mussalmans and Hindus whom he took prisoners. He was present at many of those marriages; he states his object to be "that the Indians might be united to his nation by affinity, and that there might be no need of bringing fresh supplies still out of Portugal to the depopulating the kingdom." Carreri, who visited Goa 1695, remarks there were few Portuguese there then, as "the Indian women preferred marrying poor Portuguese soldiers." A writer of 1583 states, "the Portuguese in India are many of them married with natural born women of the country, and the children proceeding from them are called Mesticos: those Mesticos are commonly of a yellowish colour: the posterity of the Portuguese being in the third degree, do seem to be *natural Indians both in colour and fashion.*" The people of Cambay have women among

them "much whiter in colour and complexion than the Portuguese women." Though De Sousa states that "the conquerors and conquered joined and united in the sacred bonds of frequent marriage," yet no class have been more despised in India than the Portuguese half-castes. Goaz, an old Jesuit traveller writes, that the half-castes were very much despised by poor Portuguese; even where they married European Portuguese "the stain of having had an Indian mother remains to the hundredth generation." The half-castes under the Portuguese government could be masters of vessels and forts, and in Churches, could be readers but not Provincaux: native Christians could be priests but not religieux. On the other hand, the Portuguese who came direct from Europe, called reinols, despised those born in the country of Portuguese fathers and mothers, called castissos: the reinols only could be Viceroys or Governors of Ceylon, or Archbishops of Goa, or Grand Inquisitors.

The Portuguese now are commonly called by the natives *Feringis*—once an honored name, as it was originally given by the Mussalmans to the crusaders, the chief of whom were Franks: we find it used in India in Bernier's time. *Topi Wallahs* was a name given to the Portuguese before 1723. When persons hear the high sounding names of Baretto, DeSousa, DeCruze attached to various Portuguese in Calcutta, they are apt to imagine that all those who bear such names are of pure blood. Lafitau remarks that many *Hindus* took Portuguese names such as Albuquerque,—for the honor of it, and in order to secure protection. In Congo, an early Portuguese settlement, we find the Portuguese giving Christian names to their converts; they also adopted the Portuguese dress, as do the Chinese Christians at Macao: in Ceylon, the Portuguese of rank used to stand sponsors for the Ceylonese, who were baptised, and gave them their own names, which flattered them very much. In 1610, the Great Mogul had thirty of his nephews baptised by the names of Don Philippe, Carlo, Henrico. Tavernier remarks, "the Portuguese adventurers that passed the Cape of Good Hope, were instantly fidalgos or gentlemen: to their own names of Pedro they added the more honoured title of Don: with their names they also changed their natures, and laying aside their national character, became base and revengeful, making no scruple to assassinate an enemy even at the foot of the altar." Poor people! they thought changing their dress would be changing their nature. The Abbe Du Bois remarks with great justice, "most of the Christian Portuguese in India have no more relation by birth or otherwise to the Portuguese or to any other European nation, than to the Tartar Calmucks.

They are partly composed of half-castes, the illegitimate offspring of Europeans, and a few descendants of the Portuguese: whilst the majority of them are the offspring of *Hindus of the lowest rank*, who after learning some one of the European dialects, *put on a hat, boots, and the European dress*, and endeavour to copy European manners." Fryer, a traveller of 1680, describes the natives of St. Helena thus, "Their speech is broken Portuguese: if they get an old hat with a bunch of ribbons, two white sleeves, or an old pair of long breeches, an unsizable sword to their back they strut or look as big as the greatest Don in Portugal." Orme writes, "The Christians who call themselves Portuguese, always formed part of an European garrison; they are little superior in courage to the lower castes of Indians, and are greatly inferior to the higher castes as well as to the Northern Moors of Indostan; but because they learn the manual exercise and the duties of parade with sufficient readiness, and are called like Europeans, they are incorporated into the Companies of European troops, and *from wearing a hat* those pretended Portuguese obtained among the natives of India the name of *Topasses* by which name all Europeans likewise distinguished them."

*Baranagar*, near Calcutta, was once a Portuguese settlement: *Chandernagar* had formerly Portuguese priests; Paulino mentions that, in 1795, "Chandernagar had formerly a Church under the Jesuits but now under *schismatic* priests;" the schismatic priests were probably Portuguese ones. *Dum-Dum* was supplied up to 1823 by a Portuguese Padri, who did not understand English, and only read mass. Mr. Baretto, a liberal Portuguese of Calcutta, raised subscriptions towards erecting the present chapel of St. Patrick's. The Baretto family built the Church of Madri de Deos, *Serampore*, in 1783: it cost 14.000 rupees, to which Colonel Bie, Governor of Serampore, contributed 600 rupees. Baretto is a famous name. Captain Baretto came to India A. D. 1505: Francis Baretto died Governor of Goa 1558: he was the 19th Governor of Portuguese India, and his remains were received at Lisbon with extraordinary honour by King Sebastian. Andrew Baretto was the twenty-sixth Governor of India.

HUGLI seems to have been one of the first settlements of the Portuguese in Bengal, who came here in the time of Akbar, "The Captains who first came to dispose of their cargoes, raised mere sheds of bambú for their temporary residence. The Emperor hearing of this new people, transmitted orders to the Governor to send a specimen of them up to his court. In consequence of the distance between Agra and Húgli, this

message did not arrive till the Portuguese were gone for that year, at which the emperor in a letter expressed such chagrin, that the Governor fell ill and died in consequence. The utmost diligence was therefore employed next year to gratify the emperor; and a Portuguese Captain of the name of Tavarez went up to Agra. He was treated by Akbar with the utmost favour, and permission given to pitch upon any spot near Húgli, that he chose for the erection of a town, with full liberty of building Churches and preaching the gospel." Barnier states, "that Jehangir suffered the Portuguese in Húgli upon account of traffic, and of his having no aversion to Christians, as also because they promised him to keep the Bay of Bengal clear from all pirates." In Hamilton's time 'tis stated, "The town of Húgli drives a great trade, because all foreign goods are brought thither for import, and all goods of the product of Bengal are brought hither for exportation: and the Mogul's furze or custom house is at this place; it affords rich cargoes for fifty or sixty ships yearly, besides what is carried to neighbouring countries in small vessels; and there are vessels that bring saltpetre from Patna." Purchas who lived in the reign of James the first, writes, "The Portuguese have here Porto Grande (Sundip) and Porte Pequeno (Húgli) but without forts and government; *every man living after his own lust;* and for the most part they are such as dare not stay in those places of better government for some wickedness by them committed." A Jesuit, who travelled in 1597 between Húgli and Chittagong, describes the country as "full of tigers and thieves."

Húgli is famous for the *siege* the Portuguese sustained for three months and a half in 1632 against an army of Moguls; when the Portuguese displayed the most heroic bravery worthy of the days of Albuquerque. DeMello, a Portuguese half-caste, betrayed Húgli fort, by pointing out a track through which the enemy entered; even then the Portuguese fought from the houses within the fort. A Persian writer referring to the attack on Húgli in 1632, writes "parties of Moguls were sent into the district pertaining to the Portuguese with orders to *send all the Christian farmers to hell.*" 10,000 Portuguese were killed in the siege; when the Mussalmans took Húgli they destroyed all the pictures and images which were in the churches, as they had given *great offence to Nour Mehal*, the wife of Shah Jehan, when she was in Bengal. Kassim Khan, the Governor of Húgli, calls the Portuguese *European idolaters*, and the emperor writes to expel the idolaters from his dominions. The chief causes that provoked the Moguls

were, that the Portuguese tyrannically exacted duties from the boats and vessels that passed Húgli: they entirely drew away all the commerce from the ancient port of Satgang—they were in the habit of kidnapping or purchasing young children, and of sending them as slaves to other parts of India: the Portuguese pirates ravaged the eastern parts of Bengal. The "Shah Jehan Namah" mentions that the Portuguese of Húgli obtained grants of land on both sides of the river, and also collected the revenues of them; that by kindness and severity they converted a number of the inhabitants of those districts, and sent them in their ships to Europe: they did this to keep them Christians, and also to profit by them as slaves; they did not confine themselves to their own district, but wherever they could catch the inhabitants *on the banks of the river* they made them *prisoners* and carried them away.

Húgli is described in 1603 as Golin, a Portuguese colony, where Cervalins, a Portuguese, captured a castle belonging to the Moguls, having in it a garrison of 400 men, all of whom were killed except one. Húgli is represented by a writer in Stewart's Descriptive Catalogue as "protected on one side by a river, and on the other three by a deep ditch which was filled by the tide." In the Moguls' time Húgli was the great emporium, being the Bunder or port of the Western arm of the Ganges where the duties on merchandise were collected. Bolts writes, "To Húgli formerly all foreigners in general resorted for the purchase and sale of all commodities in Bengal." Bruton, a traveller in 1632, writes that "Húgli, an *island made by the Ganges*, has several thousand Portuguese Christians in it." Bernier states there were 8,000 in his time.

BANDEL, with its white towers and antique look, strikes the view of every passenger on the stream of the Húgli. On account of the services which the Portuguese, who came to Bengal in 1538, rendered the King of Gaur in those frequent disputes that occurred between rich zemindars, who quarrelled among themselves and with their rulers, the Portuguese got Bandel, built a fort for their security, 1599, of a square form, flanked by four bastions, surrounded by a ditch on three sides and on the fourth by the Húgli. Bandel Church has an endowment of 777 acres of rent-free land, granted by Shah Jehan at the request of Padri DeCruz, one of the Augustinians, who was carried to Agra after the siege of Húgli, and who, when the Mogul offered to grant him any request he would make, solicited his own liberty with permission to reconduct the surviving Christian captives to Bengal. The Augustinians of Bandel are from Goa, and are subject to the Bishop of

Meliapur not to the Vicar Apostolic; the Portuguese in Bengal, like the Jesuits in Pondicherry, have always resisted the *Popes having their ecclesiastical patronage.* The Court of Portugal, ever since the *first establishment* of its dominion in India, has invariably claimed the *exclusive right of ecclesiastical patronage*, and has viewed with great jealousy *any* interference; the Pope, on the other hand, has from the first asserted his spiritual supremacy, and has appointed Bishops in Partibus with the title of Vicars Apostolic, under the immediate direction of the Propaganda of Rome. *The priests of Bandel have never been highly spoken of for their purity of morals;* Captain Hamilton writes, about 1690, "The Bandel at present deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the court of Venus, and they have a *church where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with*, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt, and *a priest to be security for the soundness of the goods.*" When the priests were so bad, it is not surprising that the following remark should be made respecting the people:—"The *lascivious* damsels of this once gay city (Húgli) now slumber under its ruins; when pomp withdrew from hence, debauchery vanished, poverty now stalks over the ground." The profligacy of the Portuguese priests in this country seems to have equalled whatever is told of the corruption among the ecclesiastics in the middle ages, and their *ignorance* is equal to their licentiousness; a writer in the Calcutta Journal of 1823 remarks, "The Portuguese ecclesiastics must be cut off from any intercourse whatever with those under their spiritual charge; since very few of them take the least pains to acquire any of the languages, *English* or Native, generally understood or spoken in Calcutta."

Though, in 1840, the Government of Goa issued an order, confiscating all the property of Goa native Romish priests, who should submit to the Vicar Apostolic appointed by the Pope—yet probably the cause of morals and learning would not suffer by the patronage being taken out the hands of the crown of Portugal, who have in too many cases in India, conferred ecclesiastical offices on men as lecherous as Kulins and almost as ignorant as Sanyiasis. Bandel Church is the oldest Christian building in Bengal: it was erected 1599,—a memorable date as in this year the infamous Don Meneses, Archbishop of Goa, betrayed the Syrians at the Synod of Dampier, crushed their liberties and destroyed their MSS.; the same year the East India Company was formed; and the Dutch traded first to the Moluccas. After the siege of Húgli the Church of Bandel

was pulled down and all the records destroyed, but it was rebuilt by Mr. Soto in 1660. Near it stood the Church of Misericordia founded by the Augustinians, to which an Orphan House was attached: merchants and others going from home committed their daughters to the Fathers of the Church there to be educated during their absence. There was also a nunnery. Mention is made in 1723 of a college of Jesuits at Bandel on the way to Keonta, near the residence of the present Civil Surgeon of Húgli. Bandel Church has three handsome altars, one of which is dedicated to St. Augustin, and also a fine organ; to the North-East of the convent, a splendid hall was built 20 years ago at the expense of Mr. Baretto and other Roman Catholics of Calcutta; it was designed to serve as a sanatarium for invalids. The festival of the Novena is celebrated with great pomp at Bandel every November; visitors flock to it from Calcutta, Chandernagar, and the surrounding neighourhood; it is a great time for pleasure parties to make a trip on the river to Bandel. Georgi wrote, "When Bandel was under the Portuguese King, before it was taken by Aurungzeb, the Christian religion flourished in this city as well as in all the country of Bengal; the hospice of Bandel was formerly celebrated and distinguished, not so much for the size of its buildings, as for the number of religious men and the magnificence of its public schools, but in consequence of the calamities of the times (1760) it is almost destitute of inhabitants except a few." As to Georgi's remark respecting the Christian religion "flourishing in all Bengal," the Portuguese had never more than 25,000 Christians; and as to their beneficial influence, we fear the remark that was made respecting the Portuguese settled in Mozambique and Angola is too applicable to Bengal: "The illiberal spirit of the Government and the nature of their traffic, had the effect of *degrading* the *native tribes* which were in connection with them, and at the same time of effectually repelling the more spirited and industrious inhabitants of the highlands."

The Portuguese had no settlement in Bengal Proper higher up the river than Bandel; in all parts of India their settlements were on the *coast*, as rendering communication easier and enabling them to receive aid the sooner from the mother country.

CHITTAGONG, visited in 1563 by Fredericke, a celebrated traveller, was then "the great port of Bengal:" eighteen Portuguese ships were at anchor there; the King of Arrakan lost 113 vessels in attacking it. The Portuguese designed in 1603 to have had the command of all the Tenasserim coast, Pegu and the Eastern Archipelago, by keeping possession of

Chittagong. Briton, a traveller of 1650, writes, "In Chittagong the Portuguese set up a kind of sovereignty, and associating with pirates and banditti of all nations, owned no subjection to their own prince or the prince of the country, but committed daily robberies by sea and land, and so interrupted commerce, that the late Mogul found it necessary to send an army and extirpate them." The King of Chittagong caused a Jesuit to rehearse the decalogue, and when the Jesuit reproved the Hindus for polytheism, they said they only worshipped the images as the Jesuits worshipped the saints. Manrique, an Augustinian friar, with three others, was sent in 1612 to supply the Bengal missions: he proceeded to ARRAKAN, "the seat of a great Asiatic monarchy, and where the Catholics had established a mission." The King of Arrakan ravaged the Sunderbund districts of Bengal, 1616. In 1609 the Portuguese were driven from Arrakan and took refuge in the island of Sundip, which they conquered, putting the Mogul garrison to the sword, and elected Gonzales, a common sailor, for their chief, who established a government there, having 1,000 Portuguese soldiers, 2,000 native troops, and eighty vessels well supplied with cannon; but in 1616 he was abandoned by his followers, in consequence of his tyranny, and was defeated by the King of Arrakan. In Gonzales' time Sundip was a great resort of merchants. The King of Arrakan sent 1,000 vessels against the Portuguese at Sundip; the Portuguese had only sixteen, yet they defeated the others, at which the King was so vexed, that he dressed many of his Captains in women's clothes. Metthold, an old traveller, writes, "The King of Arrakan married his own sister, thus following the example of the children of the first man." In 1615 the Viceroy of Goa was desirous of conquering Arrakan and sent Don Menezes with a fleet, which Gonzales joined, but they were repelled at the mouth of the Arrakan river. In 1518, Correa, a Portuguese navigator, arrived at Martaban and formed an alliance with the King of Pegu, then very powerful. Martaban was besieged in 1644 by the Nawab of Bengal: 700 Portuguese were at the siege, 60,000 people were killed, and 2,000 temples destroyed. In 1545 four Portuguese vessels captured many ships on the Tenasserim coast, the maritime towns complained to the King of Siam, who sent a Turkish fleet to punish them. Some may wonder how a *Turkish* fleet was sent—but Fredericke, a Venetian traveller of 1586, mentions Sundip as one of the most fertile places in the country densely populated and well cultivated, and that so plentiful were the materials for ship building there, that the *Sultan of*

*Constantinople found it cheaper to have his vessels built at Sundip than at Alexandria!*

In *Pegu*, Hamilton writes, "the Portuguese have a Church, but the *scandalous lives of the priests* and others make them contemptible to the people in general." In 1621 the king of Siam sent an embassy to Goa, desiring that some Franciscans would come and preach: they did so, and the king built a house and Church for them. Louis the 14th sent missionaries to Siam. Martin, a Jesuit writes from Balasore, "the extremity of the world," that in 1699, within the space of twelve months, 100 had been baptized there: a church was built there by Augustinian monks. Much could be written respecting Malacca, taken by Albuquerque from the Arabs, which the Portuguese held for 130 years, and where, in 1528, there were a Bishop and Dominicans; the Jesuits had a noble college with magnificent apartments, where they entertained all strangers and travellers. Much could be stated also respecting the proceedings of the Portuguese in Malacca, Siam and the Arrakan coast, but our subject being North India we cannot enter on it.

The Mussalmans entered Bengal from the Northern frontier; but the Portuguese, Dutch and English from the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese had *no inland possessions in India;* their strength lay as a *maritime* power and almost entirely in towns on the Malabar Coast, in Ceylon and Malacca. Húgli was their chief possession in Bengal, but had little political weight: though Michel Rodrigues the governor of it in 1633 had 7,000 musqueteers and a corps of European artillery men, the Portuguese officers in Bengal were dependent on the government of Ceylon. The Portuguese in Bengal were regarded by their own government as a kind of military adventurers, or in the phraseology of the East India Company, as interlopers: they carried on however a considerable *trade* at one period in Bengal. Macpherson, the historian of European commerce with India, writes, "the India trade of Portugal was conducted without any knowledge of the principles of commerce, for the sole account of the sovereign, in subserviency to a sanguinary system of conquest, rapine and persecution, and liable to be deranged by the caprices of a rapid succession of ignorant, arbitrary and avaricious viceroys." Trade was a monopoly in the hands of the king, owing to the king having at first to fit out expeditions at his own expense—the cost to be defrayed by captures; but the servants of Government became so corrupt, that in less than twenty years after the return of the first cargo from India, the whole profits of the trade and

revenue were absorbed by the profusion of the government servants. In 1587 abuses became so great that Philip the 2nd, made over the trade to a Portuguese company, which was soon superseded by the Dutch, whose hostility was provoked by the bigotry of Philip the 2nd, who prohibited the Dutch trading with Lisbon for India goods. The Dutch in 1595 sent ships round by the Cape, *which sealed the fate of the Portuguese trade:* though at one time the produce and manufactures of China, Japan, Siam, the whole Malabar Coast, Persia, Arabia, Melinda, Sofala were transported to the banks of the Tagus. Every vessel that passed the Persian gulph paid the Portuguese toll at Ormus; Malacca gave them the command of the straits; at Muscat vessels from Africa and the Red Sea paid them a toll of four per cent. Portuguese soldiers, after nine years' service in India, were permitted to engage in trade. De Sousa writes that, between 1579-91, twenty-two Portuguese ships were lost between Portugal and India, owing to the overloading and making them too big—"both faults proceeding from covetousness; the excessive covetousness of the Portuguese keeping the price of spices so high, moved our European enemies to seek them at a cheaper route to India."

Tavernier remarks, that if the Dutch had not come to India, people could not have found a piece of iron in the greater number of the Portuguese factories, all would have been gold or silver, for the Portuguese had only to make two or three voyages to Japan, the Philippine isles, the Moluccas or China, to enrich themselves and to gain on their return as much as 1,000 per cent. on the articles; the very soldiers as well as the captains and governors amassed great wealth in India; the governors of Mozambique, who resided three or four years there, used to bring away 400,000 or 500,000 crowns as profit from their trade with the Kaffres. Carelli mentions that in 1695 only captains or governors decided law suits in India, as Portuguese lawyers would not come to India on account of the little profit to be gained by their profession; the Portuguese merchants then must have somewhat resembled the senior merchants of the East India Company, carrying on trade and practising law at the same time. But Portuguese commerce rapidly declined on the arrival of the Dutch—sturdy republicans—and on the union of Spain and Portugal, when the interests of Portugal were systematically neglected by the *Spanish* Cabinet. In Bengal the trade of the Portuguese must have been considerable; for on Húgli fort being taken, 1632, by the Moguls, the Portuguese offered to pay an annual tribute of four lakhs, on condition of being allowed to trade

in Bengal with their former terms and privileges. The Portuguese were very tyrannical in trading with the natives: they fixed the price of provisions and made the Hindus provide them before others; no stranger was to receive a cargo before the Portuguese. De Sousa observes on this, "it is remarkable, that among all the persons who have gone to the Indies, whether as governors, captains, or merchants, of which sort most of them were in truth, there has not been one that *has raised a family of any consideration*, out of the goods they have got in those parts, either there or in Portugal, though there have been several of them that have got there one, two, three, or four millions: they have for the most part, pursued the ends of a sacrilegious covetousness, committing many acts of injustice to fill their coffers, instead of having any regard to religion: the most of those riches were gained by the unjust means of tyrannies, robberies, and all sorts of insolence." A native remarked respecting them, "let them alone, for they will quickly come to lose that, as covetous merchants, which they have gained as admirable soldiers; they now conquer Asia, but it will not be long before Asia will conquer them." In 1616 the English factors at Surat communicated to the East India Company that "hitherto they had not found it practicable to open a trade in the countries bordering on the Ganges, the Portuguese being in the exclusive possession of the commerce in this part of the Peninsula." Sir T. Roe also pointed out to the E. I. C., that it was unwise to trade direct with the natives of Bengal, the Portuguese having a monopoly in it. In 1633 the English obtained permission from the Mogul to trade, but not on the Ganges, owing to the Portuguese establishment at Húgli: however, in 1681, a sergeant and twenty men were appointed as a guard to the English factory at Húgli. The Portuguese monarchs encouraged trade as the chief object of government, towards which they directed all the power of the kingdom, and roused their subjects to such exertions in the prosecution of it, as occasioned the astonishing rapidity of their progress. But as Voltaire observes, "commerce and the inquisition are incompatible:" the Portuguese introduced the Inquisition into Goa, 1560; when Philip the 2nd wished to establish the inquisition in Flanders, its interruption to trade was one of the principal causes of the revolution.

We now come to a very painful subject—the MORALS AND MANNERS of the Portuguese in the olden time. We entertain no prejudices against them as a nation—we have spent many

pleasant hours in the perusal of their literature, and have admired the heroic deeds of many of their nation in India. Allowance must be made for the state of society generally in Christendom then—but still we must say that the Morals and Manners of the Portuguese in India have been such as to bring the European character into contempt and to prove an obstacle to the conversion of the heathen. On the Portuguese morals and manners we shall simply adduce the testimony of eye-witnesses: much of the evidence we must suppress, as it unfolds such details of gross and abominable licentiousness as are not proper to be submitted to general readers. Baldæus writes in 1650, "The Portuguese of Goa are very idle, seldom apply themselves to any employment, leaving the management of their business for the most part to their slaves,—even the women commit the care of their children to their family slaves; the men frequently marry with natives of the country, yet not so much now as formerly: the men are generally addicted to excessive lust—fornication and adultery being considered among them as errors of little moment." He states the men are very proud, that when they walk along the street, they have three slaves accompanying them, one to carry their umbrella, another their cloak, and another their sword: "they are constantly stroking and setting up their whiskers." He says that syphilis is so common among them, that Portuguese fidalgos or gentlemen do not account it a disgrace to have been afflicted with it twice or thrice in their life time. Tavernier writes, "the Portuguese who come to India have no sooner passed the Cape of Good Hope, than they become *fidalgos* or gentlemen, and add Don to the simple name of Pedro or Jeronimo which they had when they embarked; they are called, in derision, fidalgos from the Cape of Good Hope; but as they change their rank they change also their disposition; the Portuguese inhabitants of India are the most vindictive and the most *jealous* of their women of all the people in the world: as soon as they have any suspicion, they rid themselves *without scruple* of the person by *poison or by poignard.*" Fryer, a traveller of 1685, writes, "Goa is a Rome in India; the laity live with a splendid outsided, vaunting on the number of their slaves, walking under a street of umbrellas, bare-headed, to avoid distaste in not removing their hats; they being jealous of their honour, pardon no affront; to ogle a lady in a balcony is revenged with a *bocca mortis*, or to pass by a fidalgo without due reverence is severely chastised."

A traveller of 1583 thus describes the morals and manners of the Portuguese; "they keep worshipful and beautiful houses,

having from five to twenty slaves in each house; walking in the streets, they strut with a great pride and vain glorious dignity; at mass, when they enter the chapel, the lower orders salute them; if any disrespect is shown they go after the person and *cut his hat in pieces;* if they are filled with revenge they gather ten or twelve of their friends together and *beat a man to death or have him stabbed by their slaves;* a common custom never looked to, or corrected, is to beat a person with bambús, so that he keeps his bed for eight days: they frequently beat each other with bags of sand so as to break one another's limbs—when *visiting*, the person visited comes with his hat to the door, he has his vesture on, and gives him a seat on a stool, but should the stool of the visitor be lesser or lower than that of the person he visits, the visitor takes it as an insult and seeks revenge. In the *marriage* of respectable persons, about 100 friends go to the Church in a procession mounted on horseback, then the bride and bridegroom in a palankin, and lastly the slaves in a train; in returning from Church the neighbours throw from the windows rose-water and comfits on the bride and bridegroom, while the slaves play on instruments, then the bride and bridegroom return to the house, the horsemen run a race in their honour; then after drinking a cup of water, three or four of the nearest relations remain with the married couple and dine with them, after which they bring them to bed; oftentimes they go to bed at least two hours before sunset, not having the patience to stay as long as we do in this country; in *baptism* there is a procession on horseback to Church; persons bear large wax candles covered with roses, with some pieces of gold and silver as an offering to the priest; they return with music and then leaping with horses." The *soldiers* are represented as living ten or twelve in a house, with a slave to wash their clothes for them; fish and water are their diet; they keep one or two suits of silk clothes which serve them all; when one goes out the rest remain at home. The *women* seldom go abroad, and then in palankins, covered with mats to hide them: when they visit they put on very costly apparel with bracelets of gold and rings upon their arms, all beset with costly jewels and pearls, and at their ears hang laces full of jewels; their clothes are damask, velvet, and cloth of gold; *for silk is the worst thing they do wear;* within the house they go bare-headed with a waistcoat called bain, that covers them from their shoulders to their navel, and is so fine, that you might see all their body through it; their food is boiled rice, fish, and mangoes; they eat nothing with spoons

and if they should see a man do so, they laugh at him, they drink out of gurgulettes by letting the water drop into their mouths like the Hindus; the sailors on coming to India consider themselves as masters of ships, and are called by their Captain pilots or boatswains.

St. Francis Xavier states, that he found it more difficult to reclaim the Portuguese than the Mussalmans or Hindus—no wonder. A traveller at the close of the 16th century writes that the Portuguese were very jealous of allowing strangers to see their *wives*, that incest was common among them, that few of the married women were chaste, but kept soldiers as gallants: it was a common practice for husbands to cut their wives' throats on account of adultery, while the wives esteemed it an honour to suffer so for the sake of *love;* the women spent their time in chewing beetle all day. In winter when there were no ships at Goa the people did nothing but sit in their shirts with a pair of leather breeches on, and go and pass away the time with their neighbours; over 500 soldiers died annually in the Goa hospital from syphilis and the effects of profligacy; even the women boasted of being shamefully infected. Tavernier mentions that when he was at Goa women used to beg from him in palkis, sending a slave with their compliments. Knighthood was such a common honour, that even cook boys of ten years old received it. "The Portuguese live very great in India both in their table, clothing and number of slaves that serve them." The Portuguese were so very jealous of their wives on account of their unchastity, that they did not suffer any male friends to live in their houses or even near relations, and when a stranger came to the house the wives and daughters used to run and hide themselves—many women were killed every year by their husbands on account of adultery—"they sat all day before the door, chewing beetle, looking at the passers-by and carrying on intrigues." We fear there is no very great improvement since; the Portuguese ayahs are even now proverbial for their licentiousness. Miss Graham writes in 1810, describing Mazagny, near Bombay, "a dirty Portuguese village, its claim to Christianity is chiefly in the immense number of pigs kept there." "Mahaim has a college of Catholic priests who learn at Goa to speak barbarous Latin, their chief business is that of baptizing the children of Hindu women, to each of whom is given a small premium, but Christianity it seems, ends with that initiation." In 1620 Methold, an English traveller, writes, "Many Portuguese decayed in their estates or questioned in their lives, resort hither (to Bengal) and live here plentifully, yet as banished men, or

outlaws without government, practice or profession of religion; it might be truly spoken of the country *Bengala bona terra mala gens.*" The House of Commons a few years ago designated them as "the black Portuguese of India, a race, the least respected and respectable, and the least fitted for soldiers of all the tribes that diversify that populous country."

Respecting their TREATMENT OF THE NATIVES, we find that even Vasco Di Gama, on taking a Mussalman vessel set it on fire, and the crew perished in the flames; in Calicut he had fifty prisoners hung, and sent their hands and feet as presents to the king of the place. If a native struck a Portuguese his hand was cut off. Natives were not allowed by the Portuguese to equip vessels. Tavernier writes, "The natives of the country of Goa are not allowed by the Portuguese to bear any offices, but only in reference to the law, viz., as advocates, solicitors, and scriveners, and they keep them very much under; though the Portuguese have been offered great sums of money to suffer the natives to wear hose and shoes, yet they will not allow it." The Portuguese took pariahs into their houses, and the contempt the Hindus had for pariahs passed to the Portuguese. A Jesuit remarks that the disrespect paid to the Portuguese passed to all Europeans, who were confounded by the natives with the Portuguese; this induced the Jesuits in Madura to conform to native customs. A Portuguese traveller writes, that many Portuguese supported themselves by keeping slaves, some had twenty, some thirty: many young slaves were sent by their masters to sell sweetmeats and also brought gain to their masters by prostitution. "The insolencies of the Portuguese inclined the Indian nations to receive the Holland rebels into their ports." In 1508 the Portuguese under Almeida took Dabul city; the soldiers snatched the children from the mothers and dashed their brains out against the wall. Portuguese cruelty passed into a proverb, so that the Indians were accustomed when cursing to say "May the wrath of the Feringis fall on you as it fell on Dabul." At Salsette five padris were killed by the natives on account of their making the soldiers pull down their temples. The native chiefs complained that the Portuguese used to take the sons and daughters of the Moors who came to their ports and by force instruct them in Christianity. Carreri, who arrived in Damaum 1695, states that the Hindus and Mussalmans were not allowed the exercise of their religion there. "King Sebastian sent to India monks instead of soldiers, inquisitors instead of generals." As Aurungzeb's iconoclasm paved the way for the fall of the Mogul empire, so did Portuguese bigotry

for the destruction of Lusitanian power in India. *No Mussalman or Jew was allowed to exercise the rites of his religion publicly in any Portuguese settlement in India under pain of death.* In Goa in 1583 the Hindus were forbidden to burn their dead. In Ceylon they pulled down the temples of the Budhists and built chapels with the materials. At Salsette Portuguese missionaries persuaded the government to send troops and demolish 1,200 Hindu temples with their images; afterwards another expedition was sent, through their influence, which burnt all the villages. Padri Berno followed the troops, wielding a club with which he beat down the idols. Salsette was turned into a smoking desert. *John the Third, King of Portugal, allowed the Portuguese to plunder the pagodas.*

As Portugal in the present day, both at home and in Brazil, is the strenuous defender of the SLAVE TRADE, so have the Portuguese in India been: the Sunderbunds, once the residence of a dense and happy population, with its fine cities, now bear witness in their desolation to the slave trade that was carried on by the Portuguese, just as the desert of Bhikanír is considered by Todd to have been reduced to its present state by the Bhatti robbers. As early as 1443 the Portuguese carried on the Slave Trade at the Canary Isles: it was prohibited, however, by Don Henry: in 1520 they carried it on in South America. A traveller describes the Slave Market in Goa in 1583 where "slaves were sold like beasts; the Portuguese did make a living by buying and selling slaves as they do other wares." The Portuguese officers and merchants in India, abandoning themselves to voluptuousness, left all their concerns to slaves: even the Dutch, who had been delivered from Spanish slavery, encouraged slavery through the East: no Portuguese had the principle of Sir T. Roe, who told the Great Mogul he did not think it lawful to make *the image of God equal to a beast.* Bernier writes of their slave-hunting expeditions in the Sunderbunds: "the great number of slaves, which the Portuguese took from all quarters, behold, what use they made of. They had boldness and impudence enough, to come and sell to that very country the old people, which they know not what to do with; where it so fell out, that those who escaped the danger by flight, and by hiding themselves in the woods, laboured to redeem to-day their fathers and mothers, that had been taken yesterday; the rest they kept for their service, to make rowers of them, and such Christians as they were themselves, bringing them up to robbing and killing, or else they sold them to the Portuguese of Goa, Cailan, St. Thomas, and others;—this infamous rabble

impudently bragging, that they made more Christians in one year, than all the missionaries in India in ten." Pinto, who was a notorious slave trader and pirate in the sixteenth century, did not think piracy incompatible with religion; he invoked the name of Jesus when entering on his piratical expeditions.

Respecting the *Portuguese missions in Bengal Proper* little good can be said—"like people, like priest." Bengal was supplied with priests from Goa: and Nicamp, the historian, writes, "the Portuguese filled their seminary of Goa with *malefactors* condemned to banishment; they made missionaries of them, and those missionaries did not forget their first trade." Carreri states, that in the countries bordering on the Ganges, there were 21,000 Christians, divided into eleven parishes, each of which had a curate and vicar, but the laity plunged into all manner of vice, and even the curates led a very dissipated life, were covetous and generally ignorant of the languages and sciences. Except the Jesuits, no Portuguese priest formerly knew any European language but Portuguese. In 1570 the Dominican friars built a fortress on the island of Soler under pretence of building a convent, which they garrisoned with Portuguese soldiers, and several of them fell in defence of it. We have an account of padri Vinegu, who commanded a squadron "at one time appearing in armour, at another in a surplice, and even occasionally baptizing the converts of his sword without putting off his armour, but covering it with his ecclesiastical vest." The Portuguese missionaries near Goa wrote sentences on scraps of paper, which they distributed among the people, representing them as cures for every kind of disease; whenever any article was lost, they recommended it to the cross, to the efficacy of which they imputed its restoration. They even scrupled not to claim the merit of recovering some holy cows lost by a Gentú king and of restoring to him these objects of his idolatrous veneration. An image of the Virgin, richly embellished with jewels, proved of much efficacy. "A fakír eighty years old, who came in from the woods so horrid and sunburnt, that he appeared scarcely human, on being shewn this image, was struck with such admiration, that he solicited instant admission into the pale of the Church."

Even if the Bengal padris led good lives, the example of the Portuguese was sufficient to deter the heathen from embracing Christianity. Vincenzo Maria, a Carmelite missionary, describes the Portuguese come from Portugal, as the dregs of Portugal; the most part a seditious people, covered with crimes, and banished from their country. The Indian-born Portuguese ill-

educated, extremely effeminate, and abandoned to all kinds of sensual indulgence: The slave converts totally incapable of instruction and ferocious in the extreme. In a climate so warm their natural propensity to evil is always on the increase. The men and women live in continual idleness passing all their days together perfectly naked, without the least respect for each other or any regard to the difference of sexes. "Their mode of living is enough to set their bowels in a flame." Goez, a traveller in India about 1650, mentions that the Portuguese at Goa, when in want of rain, take the image of St. Anthony, tie it by the heels and dip it in a well, and when well soaked, take it up and do the same to the image of the Virgin Mary: a leading capuchin at Damaum told Goez that by this means St. Anthony had wrought many miracles, and that a poor woman, who had lost her son one day, went into the Church and took the image of Christ from the arms of the Virgin Mary, saying to the Virgin "if you do not restore me my son I will not restore you yours;" some time after the woman's son was restored safe and sound. The same capuchin told Goez, that a porter, a brother of the Franciscan order, lost the keys of the convent, on which he took the statue of St. Anthony and plunged it head foremost into the well, on bringing it up he found the keys miraculously attached to the neck. Goez mentions that native converts, who were Brahmans, will not marry any other native converts who are not Brahmans, and when the men die the widows do not remarry. No native priest, however, could be a religieux; Goez writes he was surprised to see the image of a *black saint* on the altars, and was astonished *that a black native was not thought worthy of being a religieux in this life, although he be a saint in the next.* We fear that the spirit of the following remarks is but too applicable to the mass of Portuguese in Bengal, that they conform too generally to heathen customs, and in many cases differ little from Hindus except in the topi (hat) and coat. Dr. Buchanan writes "I saw at Trinchinopoly a ruth belonging to *native Christian* (Portuguese) built in the usual manner, with cables to pull it; only instead of the Hindu devices, it had got hell and the devils on the lower part, heaven and the blessed on the higher, and above all, the Pope and Cardinals; the priest is so ignorant that he did not seem conscious of any impropriety in having the ruth." At Manear he met with a Portuguese catechist, who had never heard there was such a book as the Bible. When the heathen saw such ignorance as well as immorality among the professors of Christianity—what must they have thought of the religion they professed, and particularly

when it was enforced by persecution; for Goez tells us "that when the Portuguese find an idol they burn or break it; that they destroyed a tank at Bassein, where the Hindus bathed for the remission of their sins; the persecution of the Portuguese had made many Hindus, Mussalmans and Parsis abandon their homes and live in the dominion of Shah Jehan, where they had liberty of conscience;" and that between Bassein and Damaum there are few natives, the greater part of the village lands being uncultivated. When Cabril set out in 1500 on his exploring expedition to India, there were eight Franciscan friars and nine chaplains of the fleet: the instruction given was to *begin* with preaching and if that *failed*, to proceed to the *decision of the sword*. Dr. Buchanan visited the principal Portuguese settlements in India, and in many of them could not hear of a single copy of the Scriptures. Dr. John, however, mentions in 1809 that "Antonio, a Roman Catholic missionary at Boglipur on the Ganges, had translated the Gospels and the Acts into the dialect of the people of that district." Though some of the Goa Augustinians have given Popes and Cardinals to the Romish See, yet they have never, to our knowledge, given a translation of the Scriptures.

The antiquity of the civilization of *Tibet* and its connection with China has attracted the attention of many writers; Bailly thought Tibet and Tartary were the cradles of art and science, from whence they were diffused to China, Japan, India and Egypt. Tibet carried on great intercourse with China; the Lama has been a tributary to the emperor. Since the expulsion of the Eluths from Tibet, two Chinese mandarins and a Chinese garrison are posted at Lassa. The productions of China were brought, via Tibet, to the banks of the Ganges. Ferishta describes an irruption of the Moguls into Bengal via Tibet. Its lofty mountain range,—which gives rise not only to the rivers of India and China but also to those of Siberia and Tartary—which forms part of that chain that extends from the borders of the Caspian Sea along Persia and Kashmir to Assam and China,—has isolated the people of Tibet; hence the Moguls and other Mussalman conquerors of India regarded Tibet as impenetrable, but the Jesuit missionaries and capuchins did not view it so. The attention of Carpini and Rubruquis was early directed to it; they thought that the famous Prestre John lived in Tibet. The Nestorians, according to Thevenot, sent missionaries to Tibet. Rubruquis met many Nestorian priests in Tartary and describes them as ignorant, drunken, and tending by their conduct to deter natives from becoming Christians; they inhabited fifteen cities in China.

They pretended they had some of the oil with which Mary anointed the feet of Christ, and some of the bread which Christ consecrated

From an apparent resemblance between Lamaism and Romanism—in the dress of the priests; a hierarchy; the notion of an incarnation; holy water; chaunting; processions; monasteries; beads, &c.; the early Romish missionaries to India were of opinion that the Tibetans were Christians. This was the reason that induced Padri ANDRADA to undertake a mission to Tibet; he was residing at the Court of the Mogul, but resolved to penetrate into the recesses of Tibet in order to spread the Christian religion; we have his journal before us, printed in Paris the 4th year of the republic; as it is one of the earliest Missionary journals, and gives a minute account of an interesting country, we shall present an abstract of it. Andrada set out in 1524 by way of Kashmir. When enumerating the difficulties he met with crossing over the mountains of the Himalaya, with the Ganges rolling at his feet, he remarks, "I saw the gentiles brave these difficulties in honour of their gods; among them we found many persons advanced in age, who dragged themselves along the road, which instigated us to overcome all these difficulties for a very different motive from theirs." He met with numbers of pilgrims and many temples richly endowed, having illuminated lamps, and served by yogis whose nails and hair were enormously long; the pilgrims were kissing the feet of the yogis. This reminded Andrada of what he saw two months before,—the Mogul going one day to the chase at Ajmír, met near a vast tank one of those yogis with his hair ten palms long, his nails one palm in length, and entirely naked, the people were kissing various parts of his body; the fakír remained immovable and showed no marks of respect to the emperor, who, on returning from the chase, sent to bid the fakír come to him; the yogi said if the emperor wished to see him he should send a carriage and bearers. The emperor vexed, had him brought on horseback and said, you are either the devil or his likeness; he had his hair and nails cut, and sent him into the street exposed to the derision of the boys and people. When Andrada arrived at Serinagar, the raja enquired where he was going to—he replied, to Tibet to see his brother. The raja then saw his black cassock and asked him what was the use of that; he said to put on mourning in case his brother died. Andrada crossed over the Ganges on a snow bridge, for the snow had covered the river six weeks after his departure from Kashmir; he arrived at Badrinath where he met pilgrims from Ceylon, Bisnagar, &c. The Sitakand there was famed for having had formerly the power

of transmuting into gold whatever approached it. The governor of Badrinath sent to recall Andrada, but he pushed on without a guide "sinking in the snow some times to the shoulder, some times to the breast, generally to the knees;" the best way of travelling he found was to draw himself along the snow, as if he were swimming; he slept at night in the snow, with a cloak thrown over him, though it sometimes snowed so hard that he and two Christian servants, who were lying near each other, could not see one another, and were obliged at times to rise and shake off the snow to prevnt their being buried in it. Andrada's feet, hands, and face were frost-bitten; once a piece of his finger fell off: he felt no pain and only knew it by seeing the blood streaming out: he almost lost his sight, and was twenty-five days without being able to read a letter of his breviary.

After many difficulties, which he encountered in a heroic spirit, Andrada arrived near Tibet: the king sent orders to provide him with every thing he wished for in his empire, and as he heard he came from a far country, he also gave him three horses; when he arrived at Rhodak, the capital, the king thought he was a merchant and expected a present of jewels. Andrada had an audience of the king and informed him that he had come from Portugal, and had undergone great fatigue in order to ascertain if he was a Christian, and that he had come to announce to him the true religion. The Moor that he employed as interpreter did not translate all what Andrada said; he dismissed him and took a Hindu as interpreter: the queen attended the audience; at the second audience the king invited him to come to him when he wished; he sent to him every day a present of sheep, rice, raisins, and grapes. The exhibition of some images of the Virgin and ornamented relics, disposed the king much more favorably towards Andrada, "the king and his courtiers shewed a readiness to accept them to a much greater extent than the mission could supply; from admiring their beauty, the king was easily led to believe that they might serve as charms to secure victory in a war which he was about to undertake. He was then considered by the missionaries as more than half a Christian." As Andrada had to return to the Mogul's court, he went to take leave of the king, who refused to allow him to go unless he promised, with an oath, to return the following year. Andrada consented and stipulated for five conditions which the king granted—permission to preach throughout the Kingdom of Tibet without any obstacle—a site for a Church—not to be required to engage in any commerce—and if any Portuguese merchants should come to Tibet, that he should not be obliged to give them his services—the

king should promise not to believe any of the calumnies of the Moors against him—on the latter stipulation the queen remarked to Andrada, "the Moors are as bad as the religion they profess: we do not permit the Moors to reside within our city; they do their business here in the day." The king on bidding farewell to Andrada recommended him to return quickly, for, said he, you carry my heart with you: he accompanied Andrada to the extremity of his territories, and directed that he should be provided with food on his journey: three days after his departure the king sent him two thousand peaches, brought from a distance of ten or eleven days' journey.

In 1625 Andrada returned from Agra, which he left in June, arriving at Tibet in August. The king came a journey of four days to meet him; he lodged him next to his palace and provided him with every thing from it. On going to a war the king fell at Andrada's feet to pray for his blessing and recommended him to visit the queen every day: on his return from the war he resolved to study the Christian doctrines, after which he promised he would be baptized. This alarmed the Lamas, who stirred up his subjects to rebellion and wished the king to marry another wife, as his queen was favorable to Christianity and sometimes went to church. The Jesuits held several public discussions with the Lamas, who were violently opposed to the doctrine of the Trinity. On the 11th of April 1626, the king laid the foundation stone of a church at Caperingue. Shortly after Andrada's death the Tibetan mission declined, owing perhaps to the difficulties of the work and the calamities which befel the Portuguese power in India. Andrada thought Tibet was a suitable place for missions, as the people were less vicious than those in the plains (tho' the Indians believed Tibet to be a vault thrown over hell) and as it was the gate to a number of other countries speaking the same language. Perhaps he might have propagated the Christian faith throughout Tibet were not, that the Delai Lama, induced Conclu Han, King of the Eluths of Coconor to enter Tibet with a powerful army; the King marched against the Eluths, but was killed; this King, Tsang Ta Han, was either a Christian or wished to become one; he designed to have destroyed Lamaism utterly.

Georgi's Alphabetum Tibetanum, compiled from the MSS. of Tibetan missionaries, gives much valuable information respecting the religion, language and geography of Tibet; though he thought that Tibetan Budhism was Manichaism, that Sakhya, born of a virgin, was Christ, and that Indra, extended on a cross, was a type of Christ. In 1661 Grueber and Donville, Jesuits, travelled through Tibet on their way home from China. In 1716,

Desiderii, a Jesuit, travelled from Goa to Delhi, Kashmir, and Ladak, where he lodged in the cabin of a Kashmír beggar: he had an audience there with a Lama. After seven months' travelling he arrived at Lassa and had an audience of the King for two hours—he thought he could trace up all the Tibetan mysteries to those of the Christian religion. In 1753 the Jesuits were banished from Tibet, as the Brahmans excited a persecution against them; the King favoured Christianity at first, but the fear of the Brahmans made him persecute it afterwards. Georgi writes there was a hospice of capuchins at Lassa in 1760. In 1823 De Floreze, Bishop of Tibet, arrived in Bengal on his way thither, accompanied by an Italian priest attached to the Tibetan Mission: it was stated then that the queen of Tibet had requested of the Pope eighty missionaries of the propaganda for Tibet. In 1820 Mr. Shroeter, a missionary of the Church of England, compiled a Tibetan dictionary, formed from a MS. one in Italian, which a Romish missionary in Tibet had made.

NEPAL also engaged the attention of the Jesuits—men whom neither barriers of everlasting snow, nor the border warfare of petty mountain tribes could repress. The valley of Nepal has "as many temples as houses, as many idols as inhabitants." It was invaded in 1765 by an army of 40,000 Chinese who came within a few miles of Katamandú; the people applied to the British to protect them, and in 1792 Kirkpatrick was sent on an embassy for that purpose. In 1707 the capuchin missions began in Nepal, Bettia and Tibet. Tieffenthaler writes that Patan (where 20,000 Lamas live) Katamandú and Batgao, cities near each other, have churches and hospices, where the capuchin missionaries live. One of those capuchins, Bernini, died 1753 on his way from Nepal to Patna; he translated many works respecting the Brahmans out of the Sanskrit. In 1767 the Rajah of Gorkha invaded Nepal and reduced it under his rule: having killed the Rajah, he gave orders to the missionaries to depart; they were sent to Bettia. In 1661 Grueber and Donville, Jesuits, visited Katamandú: the king was greatly struck at seeing some mathematical instruments; observing through a telescope the fortifications of an enemy appearing quite near, he cried out that all his soldiers must be at once ready for the attack; he was agreeably disappointed when he found the apparent nearness was owing to the glass; the king offered them land and full liberty to preach. Recanete, superior of the Capuchin mission, arrived in Nepal with twenty of his companions: he was well received by the king, who gave him a place to lodge in and proclaimed liberty of conscience to

all his subjects. Paulino mentions Joseph, a Corignano, a capuchin, as author of a dialogue in Urdu dedicated to the rajah of Bettia, also father Pinna, who was director of the Bengal and Nepal Missions, and died in 1747, after labouring thirty-three years in the city of Patan: a monument is erected to him; it has an inscription in Tibetan composed by a Brahman. In 1735 it is stated that "the Apostolic Chamber was so poor and so much in debt, that far from supporting new Missions, it was not in a condition to maintain those already established, the number of Missionaries requisite for the purpose was so great."

The town of *Bettia*, ninety miles N. N. W. of Patna "inhabited by Romanist native Christians, who rear great numbers of poultry and carry them for sale to a great distance," has long been noted as a mission station. Recanete, superior of the Capuchin Mission, was sent with two of his companions to Batagao, in Nepal, in 1735: "the king assigned them a large palace, confiscated from one of the grandees, for their habitation:" he and his companions travelled from Nepal to Bettia. The King heard that they preached a law which it was necessary that he should follow: he therefore sent one of his ministers to bring them from the place where they then were, wishing to hear for himself what they had to say respecting this new law: they explained it to him; the king was so pleased that he wished them to stay, but they told him that the Pope had appointed them to Nepal; the king wrote to the Pope wishing that as "their ministry is entirely charity" the Pope would permit them to stay, "which I shall consider as the highest favour." The Propaganda stated they could not undertake a new mission as they were in debt; the Pope however, sent over some regulars *at his own expense*, with a letter to the king of Bettia returning him thanks and exhorting him "to be the first who should set his vassals the example of embracing the Romish religion;" he wrote also to the king of Nepal giving him the same advice. The first Missionary sent from Rome was Padri Fidel of Arone; he arrived at Bettia 1745, during the reign of Durup Shah; he began to baptize in 1747. The approach of an English force in 1771 having caused the Rajah Kishan Sing to flee from his capital, the lands within the fort of Bettia were given by Sir R. Barker, to the Italian missionary for the support of his establishment: the fort was then very large; the lands have been since almost entirely resumed by subsequent Bettia rajahs; in 1816 the number of native Christians residing at Bettia amounted to adults 322; children unbaptized fourteen; baptized 359. At Churi a

village about five miles North of Bettia is another mission, which was under the charge of an Italian Missionary in 1816: the Christians there were formerly Hindus, of the Newar tribe, who quitted Nepal 1768, on the invasion of the Gorkha rajah; their numbers in 1816 amounted to 114 adults and 131 baptized children, under charge of the missionary at Lucknow.

Father Rimaldow was priest of Bettia in 1816, and was then eighty years old; he was supported from a piece of land and from tithes paid in grain. "He preaches extemporary in Urdu; all the congregation join chorus to the psalms; their singing is good." Tieffenthaler describes Bettia in 1786 as "a populous city defended by a great castle, surrounded by walls, fortified by towers; near it is the temple and convent, where dwell the missionaries of the Franciscan order." In 1767 capuchins came to Bettia, driven out of Nepal by the Gorkha rajah. A writer of 1816 describes the native Christians of Bettia as "an indolent, inoffensive race, with little activity or enterprise, and a high veneration for the priest. They are chiefly occupied in agriculture and rearing poultry, and are not distinguished in dress and appearance from their Hindú neighbours. Upon meeting a European they rarely fail of making their religious faith known to him by a clumsy attempt at a bow, and by vociferating lustily *Muin Christ-hún;* the baptismal names Ameliana, Fausta, Albine, Santa, Diana, Angele, are frequent among the humble Christians of Betta." In 1795 Paulino wrote, "the Italian capuchins have here a famous hospice, and are treated with great respect by the rajah of Bettia and his family. In 1826 the native Christians are described as "having a tolerable knowledge of the life and history of Christ, learned chiefly from pictures hung up in different parts of the Church, representing the particular events in Christian history." There are 3,000 native Christians in Bettia, they were for many years without a resident missionary, but they received one in 1841.

PATNA, the modern capital of Behar, was important as a mission. The Sikhs have a place of worship, and Govind Singh the last great teacher of the Sikhs, was born in Patna; it was also important in connection with the Tibet mission; for in Bernier's time caravans used to go, via Patna, to Lassa, a journey of three months, in order to procure musk, rhubarb; a trade was also carried on from Dacca and Patna, to Tibet via Garakpúr. Shah Jehan having attempted to invade China via Kashmír, the King prohibited travellers passing that way, and they used therefore to go to China, via Patna. A mela is held annually at Patar Ghat: it is frequented by hundreds of Tibetans

and people of Nepal. Paulino mentions a hospice of capuchins being at Patna 1795, and that when the Gorkha King waged a bold war against the rajah of Nepal, the Christians of Nepal fled to Patna. Patna was long the residence of Padri Julio Cesar, spoken of by Martyn and Heber, a bon vivant, now a Bishop. The capture of Rome by Napoleon stopped the pecuniary remittance to the Patna and other missionary stations, and even in 1823 it had not been sent. Tirhút, "the garden of India," has a resident Romish missionary, who visits Baglipúr also, where there is a chapel and congregation: great numbers of Portuguese are in Tirhút, employed chiefly as writers to the Indigo Planters; there is one place entirely occupied by them and called Karanitola.

The late H. Martyn, who, though a Chaplain, was not indifferent to the welfare of the Hindus, drew up a Latin circular, which he sent to the Romish missionaries enquiring respecting their missions; he found that at Delhi there were thirty Christian widows, some children, two or three families, but that through the negligence of the padri there, they were rather Mussalmans than Christians and never met for worship—that at Sirdana there were more than 300 Christians in the service of the Begum Sumrú of whom about 260 were East Indians. At Jypúr there were 100 persons, at Gwalior one family; from other places the accounts were unfavourable. Bernier writes that the Jesuits were in the habit of catechising the children of twenty or thirty families at Delhi, that he was fully persuaded the Jesuits by their instructions, alms and charity make a few converts from the Gentiles, but in ten years scarcely a single one from the Mussalmans. *Lahore* was raised by Humayan from a village to a magnificent city, where the Mogul used to reside; "from Lahore came the treasure of the Portuguese trade, as being the centre of all Indian traffic, and here they embarked their goods down the river to Tatta, whence they were transported to Ormus and Persia; the merchants also passing this way, they drive a great trade on this river for pepper and spices, furnishing those parts of India therewith." Akbar established his new Eclectic sect at Lahore, but being seized with remorse of conscience, he wrote for missionaries to Goa, and in 1589 two, Leighton and Vega, came to Lahore, and were received by Akbar with great respect. Being impatient of speedy success they soon quitted Akbar, but were censured for their precipitancy at Rome. Two new missionaries were then sent to Lahore, Xavier, nephew of St. Francis Xavier, and Pinno: they were well received by Akbar and were fully convinced from their intercourse with him that he was a Christian in judgment and conviction, but would not submit to be baptized. In 1597 Akbar went to Kashmír, ac-

companied by Xavier, but Pinno remained at Lahore, and made many converts. Akbar allowed the Jesuits to build a Church at Lahore, but Shah Jehan caused it to be pulled down; in 1598 Goaz, a Jesuit, was sent by Akbar as ambassador from Lahore to Goa. Leighton and Vega, who came to Lahore 1589, were permitted by Akbar to open a school there, in which they instructed the Hindus in reading and writing the Portuguese language; when Xavier and Pinno came to Lahore Akbar often attended chapel; the Jesuits' Church was frequented by the deserters of the mosques, but in consequence of the fickleness of the people, the Jesuits at first did not administer baptism to any but the sick and the dying. Catrou, in his history of the Mogul Dynasty, gives an account of a baptism on Whitsuntide 1599 at Lahore: the catechumens walked in procession through the streets of the city; an awning formed from the branches of trees defended the spectators from the sun; tambours, trumpets and other instruments preceded the catechumens: the missionaries received the catechumens at the entrance of the Church. A young girl sixteen years old being in the Church demanded baptism: the missionaries inquired as to her knowledge of Christianity and found she had regularly attended Church: a Mussalman noble wished to place her in his haram, but she refused to go; the nobleman brought a charge against the missionary before the judge of having baptized the woman by force, but the girl gave a good account of her faith and was afterwards married to a Christian man. Amanuel Khan, a governor of Lahore, was well disposed towards Christianity.

We now come to the last of those missions which were established in North India under the influence and protection of the Crown of Portugal—the AGRA MISSION patronised by Akbar. Akbar encouraged the settlement of strangers in the country —he applied to the English at Surat for gunners, and obtained from the Portuguese at Goa European doctors and goldsmiths. He founded Agra, and like Romulus, gave every encouragement to strangers to come and settle in it, and particularly to the Portuguese, whom he regarded as "enterprising and courageous men." He established in Agra fifteen maidauns and bazars, eighty caravansaries and 800 public baths, with a magnificent palace, twelve miles in circumference. The Portuguese were there held in great respect; when Akbar's soldiers heard that the Portuguese were coming to fight with them, they thought "they were men dropped from the skies or risen from the bosom of the ocean:" it was Akbar's presence alone that gave them courage to fight with the Portuguese. In 1568 Akbar invited the Portuguese friars to Delhi: he heard that there was a

Christian priest in Bengal and was anxious to learn about the new religion; he sent for him to his capital, received him kindly and expressed a wish to learn the Portuguese language. Hearing that Goa was the centre of Portuguese influence in India, he wrote a letter, wishing the fathers to come with "all the books of the gospel and law:" fathers Aquaviva, Monseratto and Enriques were sent 1579 via Surat, they arrived in February at Futtipúr. Akbar gave them a favourable reception, supplied them with good lodgings, offered them money, "and was much edified by their refusing it." On an image of Christ crucified being presented, he worshipped it in three modes, first bowing like the Mussalmans, then kneeling like the Christians, and lastly prostrating himself as the Hindus do, saying that God ought to be worshipped after the customs of all nations; he was much struck with seeing a fine picture of the Virgin Mary; the Jesuits gave him a bible in four languages, which he kissed respectfully. The missionaries challenged the Maulavis to a discussion before Akbar: both sides claimed the victory; Akbar said he was well pleased with Christianity, though there were some mysteries which appeared to him incomprehensible. After listening to several discussions the missionaries solicited Akbar to embrace Christianity and make it the religion of the nation: he deferred his answer, but one of the courtiers told them his motive was curiosity. At length Akbar sent to tell them that a Molla was ready to leap into the flames with the Koran in his hand—this was to try their faith that they should do so with the Bible in their hand. They refused; the emperor was disappointed and sometimes did not see them for a month together. This disappointment—his curiosity being gratified—together with political disturbances from rebellion breaking out in Bengal and Guzarat, so distracted his attention that they gave up hopes of success; they returned to Goa 1583.

Akbar sent for the Jesuits again in 1593; except that they swelled the pomp of his court and amused him by relics and images which they displayed, they made no impression, and soon returned to Goa, 1595. Akbar sent for them again and expressed a wish to visit their chapel in Lahore: they collected ornaments from every quarter to adorn it and even borrowed some from the Hindús. Akbar was quite dazzled and said that no other religion could produce such brilliant proofs of its divinity. He shewed no partiality for Mahommedanism and even plundered the mosques to equip his cavalry; he worshipped the sun four times every day; the missionaries accompanied Akbar to Kashmír; after his return to Lahore

they attended him to the Dekhan, but seeing no prospect of his conversion they rejoined their brethren at Goa. Akbar's character was a strange compound of inconsistencies: he allowed the Jesuits to preach and baptize and used often to hear them discuss at night for several hours; he gave several youths into their charge to instruct them in the Portuguese language and Christianity, and sent two of his nephews, who were baptized by Corsi, a Jesuit: they then asked Portuguese wives from the Jesuits, but were refused—on which they renounced Christianity. Sir T. Roe thinks it was a stratagem of Akbar's in order to procure Portuguese women for his haram. Akbar was an eclectic, he was fond of the mystical poetry of Jaydeva: like Henry the Fourth of France, he seems to have regarded religion a good deal in a political light. When once asked by his mother to have the bible hung about an ass's neck and carried about Agra,—because the Portuguese, having taken a ship in which the Koran was found, they laid it on the neck of a dog and beat the dog through the town of Ormus—he refused to comply with his mother, saying that the contempt of any religion was the contempt of God,—however Akbar himself turned mosques into stables!

AKBAR'S first favorable disposition towards Christianity was caused by observing the Christian conduct of Antoni Criminal the Portuguese ambassador from Goa to his court: "he became persuaded that such perfect integrity could only be inspired by the true religion: on the recommendation of his ambassador he sent for Jesuit missionaries to Bengal, and in order that he might converse with them very freely he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, in which he succeeded with a facility that was surprising." The Jesuits at Akbar's court were indefatigable, and, in their way, pious men. Aquaviva's life was often in danger from the courtiers, who envied him his influence over Akbar. Akbar at last offered him a guard for his protection: the father gave a reply which was well worthy of a better man, "an apostolic character is sufficiently defended by the confidence which it is his duty to repose in God, he ought rather to lay down his life than reject his trust;" this father though residing at the court of Akbar at Futtipúr, yet slept on a mat on the ground, his food was rice boiled in water. Akbar made a noble remark "that it was by shedding their own blood Christians propagated their faith, but by shedding the blood of others Mussalmanism has prevailed in the east." When asked to become a Christian he made the remark "What change the religion of my fathers! how dangerous for an emperor, how difficult for a

man bred up in the ease and liberty of the Koran." Akbar appointed Monserrat a Jesuit tutor to his son Pahari: one day he began his lesson before Akbar with the name of Almighty God added, "my son," said Akbar, "and of Jesus Christ the true prophet." Akbar at one time dismissed all the women of his seraglio, adored the image of the Virgin and commanded his soldiers to do the same. He adopted the opinion of the Súfís, a Persian sect, which borrowed much of their faith and practice from the Hindus. Jehangír, his son one day remonstrated with him for his liberality of sentiment; Akbar showed him that persons not Mussalmans were numerous and useful in art and science.

The Jesuits possessed great influence at the Mogul court. When Sir J. Hawkins arrived in 1609 as ambassador of England to the Mogul, letters were delivered to an old Jesuit to interpret who opposed the English very much; the Jesuits at Agra corresponded with those of Goa to thwart the interest of the English. The Jesuits had apartments in the palace of Akbar, where they erected an altar and set up a cross; some of the royal family became converts. They did not seem however to have been very successful among the natives: they confined their attention to the Europeans in Akbar's service as "they knew too well the difficulty of converting the proud and sensual Mahommedans, even with the advantage of Akbar's countenance, to look for any success among them when that favour was withdrawn." Sir T. Roe remarks, "I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and truly converted, nor makes a profession, except some few that have been baptized for money and are maintained by the Jesuits:" this shews the nature of Jesuit conversions. In 1606 Maidenhall, a merchant, sent by Queen Elizabeth, arrived at Agra, was favorably received by the Mogul, and was about to conclude a commercial treaty between the Mogul and the Queen of England: "the King sent to two Jesuits being then in great honor, and credit, seeking their opinion, they were in an exceeding great rage and told the King the English were all thieves and did it merely to take the country: that the Jesuits had served the King nearly twelve years and told him the truth." After waiting nearly twelve months Maidenhall was about to return home, frustrated in his plans, as the King and his councillors had turned against him—the Jesuits having given each of the King's chief councillors 6,000 Rs. to oppose him; they even induced his interpreter, an Armenian, to forsake him. Maidenhall then applied himself to Persian for six months to qualify himself for conversing in the vernacular: he had an

interview with the Emperor and refuted the charges; the Emperor was convinced and granted him the treaty. Jehangír professed the liberal opinions of Akbar, and for twelve months had a disputation on religion every night for two hours before the Jesuits; he told them that he would turn Christian if they would cast a crucifix and picture of Christ into the fire and it did not burn; the Jesuits had strong hopes of Jehangír's conversion. Sultan Suja, in the time of Bernier, paid great attention to the Portuguese missionaries. Corryat, an old traveller, remarks, "whereas the Jesuits began in Agra in the name of Bibi Mary, and not of Esa, we might gather that the Jesuits preached more Mary than Jesus." Mention is made of a German Jesuit at Agra about 1660, named Roe, who had paid some attention to Sanskrit. In 1614 a traveller states, "in Agra the Jesuits have a very fair church built by the King; the King allows the chief seven rupees a day and the rest three, with power to convert as many as they can; when by the effect of the Portugals they were debarred of this pay, the new converts brought their beads."

We have now given a sketch of the Portuguese in their settlements in Bengal and their missions both there and in the N. W. Provinces,—though all the missionaries were not Portuguese yet the crown of Portugal threw its protecting ægis round them all. We shall now take a brief survey of the Portuguese in other points.

The PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE at one period seemed likely to have been the leading European one in India. Hamilton remarks about 1700, "along the Sea Coast the Portuguese have left the vestiges of their language; though much corrupted, yet it is the language that *most Europeans learn first to qualify themselves for a general converse with one another* as well as with the different *inhabitants of India.*" In the time of Ziegenbalg the celebrated missionary, Portuguese was used on the Coromandel and Malabar Coasts; he employed it as the *medium of intercourse with natives* until he learned the vernacular. In 1789 when a Mr. Clarke, a missionary, who afterwards apostatised from his profession and became a chaplain, arrived in Calcutta, he commenced the study of Portuguese for the purpose of ministering to the *Native* congregations, *most* of whom spoke this language; Kiernander opened the Old or Mission Church 1780 for service in English *and Portuguese.* As late as 1811 the Portuguese language was used in all the Romish Churches in Calcutta. The arrival of Dr. St. Leger as Vicar Apostolic was the signal for a change: previous to that all the priests were Portuguese and scarcely knew any other language;

even still the service in Bandel Church is in Portuguese. In Húgli thirty years ago Portuguese was spoken to servants. The first labours of the Calcutta Bible Society were directed to publishing the Bible in Portuguese. In 1797 Ringletaube, a Church Missionary in Calcutta, studied Portuguese with a view of being useful among the *Natives*. It is surprising that so accurate a writer as Sismondi should state, that, "in India Portuguese is the language of commerce:" a writer in the *Quarterly Review* for 1814 is equally mistaken, when he asserts, "if in the eventual triumph of Christianity in India a Romish Church should be formed, *Portuguese* will be the language of that church wherever it extends." The most energetic Romish priests now are Irishmen, whose language is English not Portuguese. Though in 1636 Portuguese was the language spoken at Gombron by the people, being introduced by the Portuguese when they had posession of Ormus, and though an edition of the Bible was published for the use of the Portuguese in Batavia and the other isles of the Eastern Archipelago, —yet the doom of the Portuguese language is sealed—English is in the ascendant and is identified with the best interests of humanity and the social and moral welfare of the inhabitants of India. Though Le Bas, in his life of Bishop Middleton, remarks, "the Portuguese language may perhaps be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion throughout the maritime provinces of the East," experience, and the voice of history do not set their seal to the truth of this assertion of Mr. Le Bas. The Romans left traces of their language in England: the Mussalmans in the Persian law terms of the courts of India; but except a few words such as *padri, caste, compound,* little trace, of Portuguese remains in India.

No PORTUGUESE AUTHORS seem to have been produced in India—the same remark is applicable to the Portuguese colonies throughout the world, which can only boast of a Vasconcelles of Madeira and a De Sylva of Brasil. But "the stream cannot rise higher than the fountain"—what has been the state of *literature* in Portugal itself? Before the fifteenth century we have scarcely any Portuguese literature, with the exception of a poem dedicated to Isabella of Castile, in which the writer pays her the compliment—that had she lived in the days of Christ he would have chosen her as his mother, instead of the Virgin Mary! The fifteenth century, the golden age of Portuguese conquest in India, was the Augustan age of Portuguese literature: the two great poets Miranda and Ferreira then flourished, but they are not to be compared with Dante and Chaucer. Montmayor also flourished then, a soldier—and yet

he composed pastorals; the success of the Portuguese in literature was contemporary with their most brilliant actions as a political power; and when the establishment of the Inquisition in 1540 entirely cramped the national energy,—and in the following century deprived them of the energy to maintain their independence against the ambition of Spain, romances and books of chivalry formed the staple of their literature. The Portuguese language owed its origin to the reign of Henry, who founded the Portuguese monarchy A. D. 1095. The Arabic language imparted richness to it; there are 1,400 words in it of Arabic origin. The following remarks originally applied to the Spanish, may to a certain extent be referred to Portuguese also; "the Spanish language is Oriental; its spirit, its pomp and the end that it proposes belong to another sphere of ideas, to another world." Sismondi remarks, "Portuguese literature is complete in every thing but nothing in abundance." Portuguese literature is distinguished for its pastoral poetry. The Lusiad gives a summary of Portuguese history, written to celebrate the glory of the Portuguese in India; it is the only monument universally known of Portuguese literature. Camoens is at once the honour and the disgrace of Portugal; disappointed in love, he became a soldier and wrote poetry: at Ormus he held the sword in one hand and the pen in the other; he spent five years at Macao composing his immortal Lusiad; he returned to Lisbon, where his slave *begged bread for him in the streets;* he died A. D. 1579 in an *hospital.* Though prose and eloquence were little cultivated in Portugal owing to despotism and the Inquisition, yet we have some good historians on India. *De Barros* who died in 1570, "the Livy of Portugal," was three years Governor in Africa and treasurer-general of the Chamber of India, from whence he drew the materials for those memoirs which he compiled by the order of the King. *De Couto* wrote his history in 1615, spent eight years in India, was keeper of the archives in Goa—*Maffœi* was famous for the Latin style of his Indian history—*De Sousa*, who died 1649, chiefly abridged De Barros—*Castagnado went expressly to India to collect materials for his history* and travelled through Portugal for the same cause—*Osorius*, the Portuguese Cicero, wrote the life of King Emanuel—*Albuquerque* composed commentaries "remarkable for their simplicity and modesty."

The PORTUGUESE NOW read a solemn warning to Europeans in India: what Bishop Heber writes of the Portuguese of Dacca is generally applicable to them: "very poor and very degraded." Francklin, who visited Goa in 1786, states that their army amounted to 5,000, two regiments of which were Europeans,

and that the Home Government was obliged to *send* large sums of money annually to defray the expenses of their Indian possessions. Calicut, the great emporium in Di Gama's time, exists no more; the sea has overflown it; at very low water Forbes states he has seen the waves breaking over the tops of the highest temples and minarets, "a few low huts are all that remains." In 1793 a Carmelite monk of Goa was begging in the streets of Calcutta for his convent. Forbes in his "Oriental Memoirs" thus describes Goa, "the streets were faintly traced by the remains of their forsaken mansions: the squares and markets were the haunts of serpents and other reptiles, and the few human inhabitants were priests, monks, half-starved soldiers and low mechanics." Goa is described by another, as "having deserted streets, altars coldly served by an ignorant and indolent priesthood, a population of monks and ecclesiasticals: the lines which lead from one street to another are choked up with weeds and rubbish," *Goa has no trade;* it is a burden on the mother country. None of the Goa priests, 1,000 in number, know Greek or Hebrew. Sismondi remarks, "the vast empire of Portugal in India has long since disappeared, there remain not in the midst of countries formerly tributary but two cities half deserted, where they still keep languishing factories: the great kingdoms in the west of Africa of Congo, Loango, Angola, Benin, and those in the East where they introduced their religion, their laws and language, have gradually withdrawn from their obedience, and are almost entirely detached from the Portuguese empire." In 1827 there were only sixteen printing presses in all Portugal; Coimbra, Oporto and Lisbon, were the only towns where there were bookshops; foreign trade was chiefly in the hand of English merchants; no canals; a navy of two ships of the line, four frigates and some smaller vessels, though in the fifteenth century Portugal had the largest navy in the world. As for the majority of the Portuguese in North India, we fear the remark made by a gentleman on the Portuguese of Salsette is but too applicable to them, "they are wedded to all the absurd ceremonies of the Hindu mythology, of which they are particularly observant on birth days and marriages; they retain in their houses various implements of Hindu idolatry and enter indiscriminately into all the pernicious usages of a deplorable superstition."

The causes of the decline of the Portuguese in India were various. *The forcible union of Portugal with Spain* is prominent: the Spanish monarchs wished to enfeeble Portugal in India; Philip the Second gave the trade of the Eastern Archipelago to the Spaniards, he allowed only five ships to leave

Lisbon annually for Goa, instead of twenty as formerly. Lafitau and De Sousa close their histories with this event, as being the terminus of Portuguese conquest and discovery in India. This Union lasted from 1580 to 1641; during it the Empire of America engrossed the attention of Spain to the neglect of India, and when Portugal regained its independence the national character and spirit of adventure were damped. While Portuguese trade was a *monopoly* in the hands of Government, and no vessel was allowed to sail on the Indian Seas without a passport from the Portuguese governor or Factory, the *Dutch* engaged in the India trade in the spirit of their republican institutions and made it a *national* concern: "the princes were poor but the state rich." The Dutch threw off the yoke of Spain at the time the Portuguese were obliged to submit to it; their free institutions raised Antwerp to be the rival of Venice in commerce. The Dutch captured the Portuguese ships and applied part of the produce to pay native troops, by whose aid they drove the Portuguese from their settlements in India. In 1660 the Dutch had every valuable settlement to the east of the Cape of Good Hope.

Some other causes of the downfall of the Portuguese in India may read an admonitory lesson to the English in India, who, it is to be feared, while they reprobate *Brahmanical* caste, maintain often an *European* system of caste almost as *rigorous* and *exclusive* as the spirit of Kúlinism; the *haughty* and *contemptuous* tone with which too many English shrink from all *social* intercourse with the natives is a painful truth. DeSouza writes of his countrymen, "the ruin of our affairs proceeds from the *little regard* the *great* ones have for the *lesser* sort." Mandelso writes of Goa, "there is scarcely any one here, except tailors and shoemakers, but what are served by slaves,"—we have abolished slavery in India, but let us not look on the natives, as if they were made merely for the pecuniary benefit of a few Europeans in India—let us govern India for *its own sake*, and think it a noble mission to train up the natives to *self-government*, so that *eventually* they may be independent of foreigners. "*The insolencies of the Portuguese* inclined the Indian natives to receive the Holland rebels into their ports." "The Dutch took Ceylon and Malacca from the Portuguese, they were joined by the *natives* excited against the Portuguese on account of their *cruelty*"—the Jews expelled from Portugal submitted to the Dutch plans of conquest, acting on which they deprived the Portuguese of their dominions in India. The late Panjab war has shewn how little affection the natives generally entertain for their English conquerors—mere *military* power may check the just discontent of a degraded

people but it will burst out with more fury at a convenient opportunity. Tavernier remarks, "If the Portuguese had not kept so many *forts*, and if in the contempt they held the Dutch in, they had not neglected their own affairs, they would not be reduced to the condition they are now in."

On the other hand the policy of Albuquerque in cementing a union between the Natives and Portuguese by INTERMARRIAGE has signally failed: the progeny is physically inferior to both father and mother, has the vices of both without their redeeming qualities. Providence—by the laws of propagation and by the Indian climate which "produced an effeminate race of Portuguese in two centuries from Di Gama's time"—seems to frown upon such alliances which form a hybrid race. 'Tis true Alexander encouraged the marriage of his Macedonian troops with Persian women. Baber connected his family by marriage ties with the Hindus; Akbar did the same with respect to the Hindus; but the alliances of Moguls with Hindus and of Greeks with Persians is that of virtually the same race; not so of Portuguese with Hindus;—the effects are visible in the Portuguese of India. Mendelsloe mentions in 1639 that the half-caste Portuguese at Goa "in the third generation become as black as the natives of the country:" this is a singular contrast with the fact that the Canarese women are black, but marrying with whites their offspring is of a lighter colour. The mesticos or half-caste Portuguese "in the 3rd generation differ nothing in colour and fashion from natural Indians." The question is beset with difficulties—in Paraguay the half-castes are superior in physical qualities to the races from whence they sprung—Burnes remarks of the Sikhs, "as a tribe they were unknown 400 years ago, and the features of the whole nation are as distinct now from those of their neighbours as are those of the Indians or Chinese." Some of the Brahmans of high caste are black—many Arabs of pure blood in the middle of Africa are as black as negroes—the Jews of Portugal and of Cochin are very black, though they do not intermarry with natives.

The career of the Portuguese in India is an unanswerable argument in favour of the moral benefits of having an intimate intercourse between Europeans in India and England, and of having India intersected with railroads. The Portuguese are represented by Fryer in 1680 as "wallowing in wealth and wantonness; generally forgetting their pristine virtue; lust, riot and rapine, the ensuing consequences of a long undisturbed peace, where wealth abounds, are the only reliques of their ancient worth; their courage being so much effeminated that it is a wonder how they keep any thing if it

were not that they lived among mean-spirited neighbours." Goez writes that "the Portuguese gentry in India thought it a mark of nobility to be ignorant of writing." The Portuguese became isolated from whatever was virtuous and pure in their own country owing to the *difficulty of communication.* Thus in 1609 vessels left Lisbon with soldiers and merchants on board ; they were *eight months* before they reached Goa, without seeing land during the time ; they lost one-third of their passengers. When men were thus exposed to all the contamination of a heathen country, away from friends, we need not be surprised at the following remarks— Alfonso De Sousa, Governor of India, in 1545 said, "I dare not govern India by men who are so changed from truth and honor,"—"The Portuguese entered India with the sword in one hand and the crucifix in the other ; finding much gold they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets, and not being able to hold them up with one hand, they were grown so heavy, they dropped the sword too ; being found in this posture by those who came after, they were easily overcome." It is mentioned of the very Viceroys, removed from the close inspection of the Home authorities, being appointed for three years,—that "the first year they had enough to do to repair and furnish their houses, and to know the manners and customs of the country, without any further troubling of themselves : the second year to gather treasure and to look to their particular profit, for which cause they came to India : the third and last year to prepare themselves and set all things in order, that they might not be surprised nor overtaken by the new Viceroy when he comes, but that they might return to Portugal with the goods which they had scraped together ;"—so writes an author of 1583.

We cheerfully admit that the crown of Portugal and several of the early Indian Viceroys made the spread of Romish Christianity one of their chief objects. The zeal of the clergy prompted to discovery ; the cross was planted wherever discoverers landed ; three years after the discovery of the Cape route, missionaries were sent from Portugal to India ; when Albuquerque built a fort in Cochin he erected a chapel in it ; the great motive of Don Henry in his discoveries was "the glory of God and the extension of the faith." In 1489 Don John, King of Portugal, promoted maritime enterprise to India with a design of finding out Pretre John, and of forming an alliance with him for the propagation of Christianity ; in 1500 King Emanuel sent an embassy to the King of Calicut ; one of the proposals was to allow five Franciscans to preach the gospel there. Bishop Middleton remarked, after his primary visitation, that "it was

almost impossible to move in any direction in India, without tracing the steps of the Church of Rome. In Tavernier's time there were in Goa, an Archbishop, Dominicans, Augustinians, Cordeliers, Carmelites, Capuchins,—and Jesuits who had five houses. The moral influence of the Portuguese however over the natives was very little. In 1583 a Portuguese, going into a mosque and seeing it empty, asked for the god or saint, the Mussalman replied that "the Mussalmans do not pray to sticks and stones, but to the living God, who is in heaven; that the proud Portuguese Christians and the heathen are of one religion, for they pray to images made of wood and stone, and give them the glory which pertains to the living God." An old writer states, "the Brahmans honour the Portuguese images, as approaching to their own superstition." De Sousa gravely gives an account of an image of Christ on the cross at Goa, which in the sight of all the men there, opened its eyes, repeatedly bled from the temples, and moved its knees! When Di Gama's followers landed at Calicut they observed a splendid temple: as they expected to see the Christians of St. Thomé, they thought it was a Christian temple and fell down to worship the image; but one of them looking up and seeing the image had enormous tusks (Gonesh) thought it best to put in a caveat, "if this be a devil, yet it is God I worship."

The Portuguese started at the same time with the Spaniards on their career of discovery and conquest. The results were widely different. It is true the Portuguese had Mussalmans to contend with and a greater diversity of affairs to occupy them. The Mexicans knew not the use of fire-arms and lived in all the simplicity of their isolated condition—but Portuguese India had no Las Casas to stand up for the rights of an injured race; it had no Paraguay to exhibit as "a triumph of humanity." What could we expect, when the jails of Portugal disgorged their putrid contents on the shores of India, because it was found easier to transport criminals to India than to punish them in Portugal? Even Di Gama on his first voyage took with him ten criminals who had been condemned to death. The Portuguese empire has passed away in India: the Dutch has also declined: the French bad fair at one time for ascendancy under the auspices of Lally and Dupleix. Britain now wields the sceptre. May she administer her rule—not for the mere benefit of a handful of Europeans— but in order to implant the seeds of true religion, a healthy literature, and sound political principles into the minds of the millions subject to her sway! Steam and railroads will tend to prevent the remark of Lafitau

from ever being applicable to the English in India, "the distance of the Portuguese in India from the person of their sovereign, seemed to authorise the most monstrous unchastity, the most enormous rapine, the most crying injustice, covetousness the most insatiable, as also all that which jealousy, hatred and revenge have of atrocious." With all their faults the Portuguese have been pioneers to European civilization in India; they led the way on the Cape route; they afforded a shield to Romish missionary objects; they confronted the Mussalman power in India. It has been remarked that from the time of the Portuguese conquests, the Mahommedans have ceased to extend themselves in any manner. The Portuguese were the first to drive the Mussalmans from the European Peninsula, the first to oppose the Moors in Africa, and the first to check them in India.

The state of India was very different when the Portuguese entered it from what it was when the English proceeded thither. The Portuguese came at the era when Baber ascended the Mogul throne. Some time previous to that, the throne of Jaychand, the last King of Kanauj, was overturned, from which period the grandeur of Kanauj was extinct, and Rajput power, which had so long adorned India with its arts and monuments of civilization, became the spoil of Moslem fury. The kingdom of Bisnagar, now blotted out of the map, was then in its glory; Sanskrit was the court language; nothing was done without the Brahmans; this kingdom in the time of Kosmos, A. D. 537, stretched itself across the whole Peninsula and as far South as Mysore. The crescent is waning: Russia, scarcely in existence four centuries ago, is now stretching the ægis of her power from Constantinople to the Sea of Corea and from the Polar Regions to the territories of Yarkand. All that we can wish for England is, that her power in India may be, like "a fort over a valley, not for destruction, but defence."

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# THE COUNTRIES BETWIXT THE SUTLEJ AND THE JUMNA.

By R. N. Cust, Esq., C. S.

1. *Murray's Life of Runjit Singh.*
2. *Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs.*
3. *Anglo-Indian Treaties.*
4. *Political Relations, N. W. F.*
5. *Life of George Thomas.*

THE Khalsa Army no longer exists, and the integrity of the Punjab, the kingdom created and ably governed by Runjit Singh, has been destroyed. We are now no longer menaced by a licentious army threatening, at every turn of Durbar politics, and factious intrigue, the peace of our provinces: a succession of victories, unequalled in the fierceness of the conflict, and the magnitude of the issue, has lowered the spirit of the last Native power of India, which, though for the space of forty years bound to us only by the brittle chains of friendship and amity, had never before crossed swords with us, but during a period of temporary failure to our arms had proved our faithful ally. Irresistible circumstances, however, hurried on the conflict at a time, when universal peace enabled us to concentrate the strength of our empire, and annihilate the armies of the treacherous invader.

The campaign of 1845-46 will neither be soon nor easily forgotten: it will be remembered by many a widow and orphan, as the era from which their worldly distress commenced —it will be remembered by those engaged in it with feelings of triumph at the bravery and determination exhibited, and with humiliation, when we reflect upon the difficulty, with which the means of our vast empire are made available, and the slender hold, which, after the lapse of nearly a whole century we can be said to have upon India. We have indeed much to be proud of, and much to regret in the events, which have lately crowded one upon the other—pride, at the display of the still indomitable valour of the British soldier—regret, at the number of those gallant men, whose services have been lost to their country. The soldier and the statesman will find no unprofitable lesson in pondering the progress and the issue of the campaign of the Sutlej.

But for the present, we must waive the discussion of this subject. Our remarks apply to the battle-field, not to the battle, and we would draw the attention of our readers to the scenes upon which these stirring events have been passing—the plains of Sirhind and Malwa—the countries betwixt the Sutlej and the Jumna.

From the earliest times, going back to a period of dim tradition, these plains have been the battle-field of India It is here and in the country immediately adjoining the opposite banks of each river that the fights of races and religions have been fought: who shall venture to say how often the rich valley of the Ganges has been lost and won on these plains? —how often the conqueror from the west, once established on the threshold of India, has found himself the irresistible master of the riches and resources of the country beyond? From the days of Alexander to those of Runjít Singh the tide of conquest has flowed through this channel, bringing down a succession of the hardy and fanatical tribes of the west to colonize and deteriorate under the baneful influence of the east:—once, and once only, in the history of ages has the order of things been reversed, and this century has beheld the often-conquered Hindu carrying on these plains in triumph a sufficient trophy from the tomb of the first, the most fanatical, and still most hated of their Mahommedan conquerors.

A cursory glance at the map of Asia will show how justly the plains of Sirhind are, as their name indicates, entitled to be considered the head or threshold of India: the great Himalaya range presents an unbroken frontier on the east from the confines of Arrakan to the valley of Kashmír—on the west the vast desert of Central India extends from Gujarat, and gradually narrowing may be said to terminate in or adjoining our districts of Hurreanah and Bhutteanah. European art and arrangement has in these days rendered this desert a safe and practicable route for a limited force on friendly terms with the countries on both sides, and the caravans of the Lohani merchant have for ages traversed its sands in security; but to a hostile force advancing from the west these deserts present an ample and sufficient barrier. It is only, therefore, through this narrow neck of country, intervening between the line of hill and desert, that India has ever been open to invasion from the tribes inhabiting Central Asia, who had overwhelmed Hindustan with periodical inundations.

We have said that even from the days of tradition these plains have been the battle-field of India, and our readers, learned in the lore of the Hindus, will scarcely require to be informed that our allusion is to the battle of the Kurukhetra, the contest between the sons of of Kuru and Pandu for the throne of Indraprastha, in which the Hindu poet with a vehemence and variety of imagery not unworthy of him, who sang the wars of Troy, asserts, and boldly maintains that the gods themselves took a part, and disguised in mortal garb, directed the battle

of the victors. With that strange inconsistency and garrulousness which distinguishes the Hindu poets, Krishna himself is represented as inculcating moral doctrines of a most diffuse and exalted kind, with his armour buckled on, and all but engaged in the fight. Unknown as the circumstances of these battles may be to the European lords of the soil, insignificant as they may appear to be from their results having perished, they are well known to, and intimately blended with the religion of the Hindus. Let him that doubts repair to Thanesur in these plains, and visit the sacred lake that bears the name of the field, of which it is the extreme corner: let the sceptic see the crowds, that resort to bathe in its holy waters—let him count the gold that is poured into the lap of Brahmans, who swarm there beyond calculation—let him hear one of the learned of their number quote with enthusiasm the lines of the Mahabharata which tell of the valour of Arjuna, and the pride of Bhima Sena,—and he might well suppose from the fervour of the reciter, that the aged man was narrating some victory, in which he himself, when a youth, had gloried to have taken a share. Such, in all ages, and in all climes, is the power of legendary lore,—intensely increased, when associated with religion, and such a religion as Hinduism. The district of Khytul, uninteresting in any other respect, notorious for the wild and savage nature of its inhabitants, unhealthy in its climate, and unfertile in its productions, has, in the eyes of the Hindus, a sanctity not surpassed by any other district in India. Here the devotee wanders from Tirtha to Tirtha in quick succession: he bathes in the waters of the Saraswati, the stream connected with the Goddess of Wisdom. Intensely ignorant as he is of the object of the circuit he is taking, of the events for the occurrence of which the scenes he visits are renowned, he still fancies he derives some feeling of imbibed sanctity, and the satisfaction attending the performance of a pious and edifying deed, in completing the prescribed bathings and purifications at Pehoa and Thanesur in the field of the Kurukhetra.

Who will venture to fix the dates when the battles alluded to above were fought?—daily handed down to us in mystic tradition we take them at the value they may seem intrinsically to possess. There may have been—there must have been many a battle, of which we have no record. Many a brave man may have lived and fought before Arjuna and Alexander, but they had no bard to celebrate their victories, or record their virtues: happy may those be considered to whom this favour has by fate been accorded, and doubly valued by us ought the legends of the early state of a people to be!

We pass over a period of years—may be of centuries, and we arrive at the days of Alexander. This period seems to be one upon which tradition and history meet upon neutral ground, and contend for empire. Who can doubt that the hero of Macedon did really penetrate to the Punjab, that his vessels did in truth ride upon the Indus?—but we see all, as it were, through a hazy darkness—we can neither fix with exactness the site of the cities, which he founded, nor the tribes which he conquered: we can neither recognize the traitors, nor the patriots who fought with or died against the enemy from the west. Antiquarians squabble, and commentators differ as to whether Mooltan was the capital of the Malli, or Porus of the family of the Pouravi, who, as the Mahabharata and the drama of Sacontala tell us, were seated on the throne of India. Be it what it may, a great power penetrated in the third century before our era to the neighbourhood of the Sutlej, but turning off ere they reached the plains of Sirhind they conveyed to Europe the origin of those vague rumours of the wealth, the power, and magnificence of Hindustan, on the threshold of which they had stood, and of the inhabitants of which they had collected some varied and distorted information.

We now pass over, in a breath, a period of thirteen centuries: how many dynasties may have risen, and fallen in that period, if Indian dynasties were then liable to the same vicissitude to which they have since been subject! We have no landmark to direct us, no ray of light to attract our attention between the days of the son of Philip and the son of Sebukhtegin. We may conclude that the peninsula of India, if not free from internal broil, was at least unassailed by foreign invaders. We give up that period to the respective supporter of the Buddhistic and Brahmanical theories:—this must have been the time when those vast structures were raised, which still astonish us, when the Hindu people were governed by sovereigns of their own race and religion: it must have been a time, when the temple was crowded with worshippers, and the shrine heaped with rich presents: these must be the good old days, to which the pious must still look back with regret, when kine were not killed, and when Brahmans were worshipped through the land! But a bitter, an uncompromising, a fanatical enemy to the creed of Brahma, to all who bowed down to wood and stone, had sprung into existence in the deserts of Arabia. The fiery tenets of Mahomed had resuscitated the slumbering energy of the races, which had been once great and powerful between the Euphrates and the Mediterranean, and sent forth hordes of warriors prepared to conquer and die in the name of the

Almighty, the indivisible and the eternal. From the straits of Gibraltar on the west to the mountains which overhang the Indus, from the Oxus to the Nile, the sons of Islam overcame all that opposed them. New kingdoms were established, and new dynasties grasped at sovereign power, till the eleventh century found Mahmoud, the son of Sebukhtegin, seated upon the throne of Ghuzni, and prepared to carry out the bold but unfinished attempts of his father to add the plains of Hindustan to his dominions. Burning with the lust of conquest he assumed the cloak of religion, and started forth on an expedition to plunder and convert. Twelve times did he with different degrees of success pour his hordes into India; and on some occasions over the plains of Sirhind did he carry fire and sword, breathing vengeance against Kings and idolaters, seeking and destroying cities, defacing and polluting shrines. At Thanesur, then the seat of a rich and powerful kingdom, and a place of resort to the pious Hindu from all quarters, was fought, by one of his successors, a great and bloody battle,—and not one only, for a partial defeat of the invader, was merely the forerunner of a more complete victory, which laid open to him the road to Delhi and the other kingdoms of India. Still, Mahmoud was but the rod, his descendants and successors were the destroying serpents. A Pathan monarchy was established at Delhi, and thence ramified over India. But as one dynasty succeeded, or rather destroyed the other,—as the Ghorians, the slave Kings, the Lodis struggled for conquest,—on each, on very occasion, the plains of Sirhind were scoured and ravaged, as the Pathan born in the mountains descended with a fresh horde of needy adventurers to demand his share of the common prey from his more effeminate brethren of Hindustan.

But the success which had attended the irruptions of Mahmoud and his successors, the vast and incalculable wealth in specie and jewels, with which the kingdom of Ghuzni had been enriched, attracted the attention and excited the avarice of a needy and warlike race of warriors, with whom the plains beyond the Oxus were teeming. The first irruption of this people under Zinghis Khan swept like a mighty tempest along the borders of India, and overspread Asia from the Pacific to the Caspian:—but although the mountains of Kabul fell an easy prey to the invader, the rich provinces of India were spared, and the coast of Balin; the Emperor of Delhi became the refuge of Kings and Princes, over whose dominions the tempest had burst. When, however, in the succeeding century a fresh storm gathered from beyond the Oxus, and the invincible Timúr was commencing his career of victory, which was destined to

embrace the Celestial empire on the east, and the Sublime Porte on the west, India was his first and most coveted prey. Nor were there the means of resistance either in the people of the country or their degenerate Rulers to stem the tide of this new invasion. The institutes of Timúr would represent him as possessed of every virtue—his acts stamp him as the perpetrator of every crime, human and inhuman. If the massacre of helpless prisoners, and the licensed plunder and slaughter of unresisting citizens, can hold up the name of any conqueror to the execration of posterity, that conqueror is Timúr, whose course from the Indus to the Ganges was literally marked by carnage and devastation. Content with having displayed his vast powers as the scourge of the Almighty, Timúr made no attempt to establish his dynasty in Delhi, but satiated with the blood and wealth of India, he recrossed the Indus, and entered upon the grand expedition, which stupendous as it was, he executed,—that of planting his standard on the further shore of the Bosphorus. India was left to the government, or rather the misgovernment of the remnant of the Pathan dynasties, till, in the person of Baber, his lineal descendant, arose the star of the imperial house of Delhi, miscalled the house of the Moguls. Baber's own pen has left us an interesting account of his adventures and his wanderings, and we can follow him from the time when he was an exile from his paternal heritage, when he seemed the butt of fortune, and, though often defeated, was never known to despair. We accompany him to the battle of Sirhind and Paniput, where he accomplished the downfall of the house of Lodi, and established his own family at Delhi. Scarcely, however, had the energetic founder of the dynasty, which still occupies the pageant throne of Delhi, breathed his last, ere the sceptre was snatched from the hands of his less gifted son, who was driven into exile across the Indus. Thence returning with recruited strength, the plains of Sirhind again became the theatre of the struggle for empire, and the road by which the hardy but undisciplined sons of the north plundered their way to the capital of Hindustan. The field of Paniput a second time decided the fate of India, and the struggles of the Pathan and the Tartar ceased finally under the able rule of Akbar. This, however, did not bring rest to these devoted regions. Armies were incessantly pouring across them to reduce rebellious provinces, or more completely to bring into subjection half-subdued districts. Sometimes they proceeded to victory—sometimes to disaster.

With the exception of these expeditions the countries between the Indus and the Jumna enjoyed comparative repose during

the reign of Akbar, and his three illustrious successors. It was then that the arts of peace were cultivated, that the stately serai sprung into existence, as it were by the wand of the enchanter, in the centre of the desert plain—it was then that the magnificent cities were erected with their mosques, their tombs, their garden houses, and all the accompaniments of luxury and grandeur, which still in their ruins excite feelings of astonishment and admiration. The plains of Sirhind then became the route, along which the court of Jehangir and Shah Jehan travelled in luxurious pomp from Delhi to the happy valley of Kashmir. The invaluable memoirs of the scientific Bernier give us an accurate and amusing picture of such imperial progresses, and the multitude of miseries and discomforts which attended them. Any traveller in the North-West Provinces can sympathise with him in his woeful description of the "naughty" waters (we quote from recollection) much troubled by the drinking of cattle, and washing of followers: we can feel for him in the dire necessity of eating "the filthy bread of the bazaar," and having his whole day consumed in pitching and striking tents, in knocking in pegs, and abusing servants—in being suffocated with dust, and so shut in on all sides by ropes and kanauts as neither to be able to advance nor retreat. His picturesque descriptions speak for themselves, and shew that the habits of the people of India are still unchanged. These periodical processions of the emperors must have been splendid and stately affairs, but bringing with them devastation and ruin to the villages on the line of march. Even in our own days, with all the system and arrangement of our district jurisdictions, the passage of a Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief is like that of a destroying spirit. The great man is himself only dimly seen in the early morning march, but the camp followers plunder the whole day,—verifying the Persian proverb, that if one egg be required for the Prince, one thousand chickens are spitted by his servants. Redress is vain, as before the morrow's dawn, the camp itself and the means of identifying the parties are gone: if such exists even now what must have been the state of things in the days of the Mahommedan empire? The Kos minars still mark the royal way from Agra to Lahore, and many of the halting places are still distinguishable by the remains of gardens and buildings devoted to the temporary accommodation of the court in its transit. A perusal of the autobiography of Jehangir gives some more particulars of such journeys, as they appeared to royalty itself, and supply us with an amusing anecdote of truly oriental justice which took place by order of the emperor in the gardens of Sirhind. The death of Arang

zebe again brought war and confusion, intrigue and assassination into the north of Hindustan. During the years immediately succeeding, we read of armies advancing to and from Lahore, of the empire being sold for money or purchased by blood. We find the petty district authorities availing themselves of the times to assist their independence, and Pathan, Mogul, and Hindu each seizing what they could lay hold of, and rendering the countries between the Sutlej and the Jumna a scene of anarchy and confusion.

But the attention of all was suddenly directed from objects of selfish aggrandizement, and the instinct of common danger united all once more upon the unexpected arrival of the terrible Nadir. Once more the countries beyond the snowy mountains which bound India on the North-West had sent forth an iron race of warriors, who under one leader swept down with irresistible violence upon the unprotected plains of Hindustan: all the newly raised potentates of India were struck with astonishment at their new and invincible invader. Even far in the Dekhan its influence was felt, and it urged Bají Rao, the Mahratta Peishwah, to invite his bitter enemy the Nizam, to form a general league for the defence of India against a common foe. The plunderer and destroyer swept on to Delhi, and the spot is still shown in the mosque of Rushkun-úd-daulah, where he seated himself to indulge his insatiable bloodthirstiness in the slaughter of the citizens of the first city of the empire.

The stream was too violent to be lasting, and we find that it soon rolled back, and an inglorious death ere long terminated the career of Nadir Shah: but as his invasion gave the finishing stroke to the power of the house of Tímur, so also it brought to a perfection the confusion and anarchy prevailing in the unhappy country whose history we are touching upon. What was its condition? Harried by successive inroads of savage and relentless plunderers, pressed by their nominal rulers, spoiled by the actual invader, the inhabitants had acquired the ferocity of the wild beast:—leaving their fields to be overrun with jungle, they fortified their villages—each man was a soldier in defence of his paternal acre—each well was protected by a tower—each village rendered itself secure by ditches and impenetrable hedges, at least against the inroads of marauding horse. Up to the time of the invasion of Nadir, either from hopelessness, or from indifference, they bore their evils with patience, or at least in silence: but at length the cup of Mahommedan tyranny was full, and the spark was applied which set the whole country in a flame. About the year 1742 the Jat Zemindars, from sheer desperation, took

up arms, and resigning their former peaceful avocations, took to rapine and plunder as a means of existence. This ebullition might, and would in all probability, have been put down by the superiority of skill in arms, which the provincial ruler still possessed, but at this critical moment the revolting Hindus adopted as a bond of union the dormant tenets of Gúrú Govind, which, though crushed, had never been exterminated, and assuming these as their watchword, they found that strength and consistency which religious fanaticism alone can supply.

From this period we date the existence of the Sikhs, as a distinct people, and professors of a distinct religion: from this date they commenced their career of arms, and eventually of conquest. They then entered upon, and finally carried out the great work effected in the south of India by the Mahrattas—the rising of the oppressed Hindu races against their Mahommedan conquerors and tyrants. It was a war of religion and extermination, and unquestionably, but for the interference of a European power in the politics of India, every vestige of Mahommedan rule might have been swept from the country. The struggle for the empire of Hindustan would have been between the Mahratta and the Sikh: and as the Mahratta had so far been the first in the field by the occupation of Delhi, the theatre of the contest would have been these very plains, of which we now write.

It was thus that the precepts of Nanak were adopted by the warrior and the philosopher. Far other was the intention of their peaceful and benevolent founder. Beholding and pitying the miseries produced by fanaticism and religious strife, his object was to blend the Hindu faith and Mahommedan creed into a strifeless compound, and to lead both to lay aside their rancour, and worship the one invisible Being. His peaceful ministry was continued in the persons of his immediate successors; Angad, Amera Dass, Ram Dass, and Arjun: though the numbers of the professors of the new faith increased, still there was nought to distinguish them from the other ascetic and religious sectarians with which India still abounds:—they aimed at no political existence, and in all probability would never have obtained one, had not, in an ill-fated moment, the Mahommedan ruler of the district, from pique, from prejudice, or wanton cruelty, imprisoned and put to death the last mentioned of these teachers. This was in the year 1606. Fired by this atrocious outrage the son of the murdered priest, Har Govind, took up arms, and exciting the passions of his followers, commenced a system of petty reprisals. But what was the

power and means of a few and unorganized Devotees against the consolidated power of the empire of Delhi? Fresh persecution only produced increased hate—the sect was well nigh crushed, its professors were scattered—it would have ceased to exist, had not the murder of Tegh Báhadúr, the son of Har Govind, called forth the talents, the energy, and the vengeance of Gúrú Govind, though the tenth and the last of the successors of Nanak. A man of superior abilities, of enthusiastic eloquence and indomitable courage, Gúrú Govind entirely altered the constitution and habits of his followers. He imbued them with military ardour, and taught them to devote themselves to the pious duty of wreaking vengeance upon the Mussalmans. The aspect of the times was now more favourable; the power of Arangzebe was occupied in the disastrous wars of the Dekhan: the sect grew and multiplied: they opposed, sometimes with success, and sometimes with reverse, such force as the officers of the emperor sent out against them. They established themselves at Anundpúr, Makhiwal, and Chumkour, south of the Sutlej; and, though Gúrú Govind was at length driven from the latter place,—his wife and children being barbarously murdered at Sirhind, while he himself perished in exile,—the cause was not deserted: his disciple and follower Bandah, the Byrágí, took advantage of the confusion and tumult following the death of Arangzebe, and planned and executed the daring deed of the capturing and sacking of Sirhind, the principal city between the Sutlej and the Jumna. Animated with the spirit of demons rather than of men, they wreaked their vengeance to the full upon this devoted city, and encouraged by their success spread their ravages beyond the Jumna into the districts of Seharunpúr. But the strength of the Delhi empire, though weakened by dissension and strife, was still strong against these irregular combatants: the field of Paniput saw them defeated, and, their leader being shortly afterwards taken and barbarously murdered, the flames of this religious warfare were to a certain extent allayed.

Driven like wild beasts before their exterminating enemy, cut down in hundreds, with a price set on their heads, some strong spirits still clung to the tenets of their Gúrú, refused to cut their beards and resume the peaceful life of cultivators, and concealed themselves in the hills to await a suitable time for again wreaking their vengeance. That at length arrived:—the utter annihilation of the power of the Delhi emperor, and the retreat of Nadir Shah in 1742, enabled the Hindu peasantry, exasperated by centuries of oppression, to rise up in great

strength. Assuming the tenets of a faith associated in their memories with deeds of vengeance upon the Mahommedan and successful resistance against the oppressor, they converted the country between the Ravi and the Jumna into a theatre for the struggle of a nation fighting for its liberty, of enthusiasts contending for the unrestrained profession of their peculiar tenets, with that zeal and energy which can only be awakened in such a cause. This was the distinction of their present outbreak from those preceding it under Har Govind, Gúrú Govind, and Bandah:—these were the struggles of religious fanatics alone, breathing vengeance for the loss of their leader, and the oppression of themselves:—to this cause was now superadded the accumulated vengeance and righteous indignation of a people, who had been insulted and persecuted for centuries.

Their strength was now such that they opposed with success the arms of the viceroy of Lahore, and would probably have soon established for themselves some permanent position, when an enemy appeared from the west, whose force of overwhelming magnitude carried everything before it and threw back the progress of the Hindu Revolution for a quarter of a century: this was Ahmed Shah, the founder of the dynasty of Kabul. As a youth he had accompanied Nadir Shah in his inroad into Hindustan—he had witnessed the capabilities of the country to yield plunder, and its inability to defend itself, and he resolved to take advantage of its distracted state, and after plundering Central Hindustan to annex the provinces of Lahore and Sirhind permanently to his dominions. Seven times did he enter these unfortunate provinces, and overrun them like a destroying whirlwind. In his first invasion in 1747, the neighbourhood of Sirhind was the scene of a tremendous conflict between the Mogul and the Abdali. The following year saw the invader return, and in 1751, an engagement took place under the walls of Lahore, after which the power of the Emperor of Delhi ceased even nominally to predominate North of the Jumna. In 1755 the Abdali proceeded without opposition, and took temporary possession of Delhi, but contented himself with making the Jumna the southern boundary of his dominions. But his power, though great, was not consolidated, and one of the Mussalman district-governors, whom the change of supreme power had deprived of his province, invited the common enemy of the faith to avenge him upon his opponent. That enemy was the Mahratta, whose arms were then irresistible from Delhi to Cape Comorin. Ready for plunder, and burning to annex new provinces to the empire

of the Peishwah, Ragonath Rao, son of the late Bají Rao, readily accepted the invitation, and poured across the countries between the Jumna and Sutlej the hardy race of mountaineers, who had fought their way to the north from the fastnesses of the Concan.

Resistance on the part of the Affghan Governor was vain: he was driven across the Indus, leaving the whole country between that stream and the Jumna to be desolated and plundered. Short however was the period of the new rule. Roused by the insult offered to his religion and his power, the Abdali returned with an overwhelming force, and utterly destroyed the power of the Mahratta nation on the plains of Paniput. This was the last great religious battle in India—it was the last struggle between the Hindu and Mahommedan, as on this occasion all the great Mahommedan chiefs of India were ranged under the standard of the northern invader. Great, however, as was the victory of the Mahommedans, they were unable to take advantage of it, and it proved their last and final struggle, for since that date they have ceased to be the dominant power in India.

Twice more, however, did the Abdali descend from the mountains, but it was rather for the purpose of wreaking his vengeance upon his revolting subjects than with any view of permanent conquest. From the date of the battle of Paniput the whole country between the Ravi and the Jumna became the property of the insurgent followers of Gúrú Govind: they now openly collected in plundering bodies, they erected forts, and the fearful carnage and defeat which they suffered in 1762 in the neighbourhood of Sirhind, only exasperated them more deeply, and led to their collecting again in the following year—annihilating the army of the Mussalman governor, and utterly destroying all that remained of the city of Sirhind. Returning once again to avenge this open insult, the Abdali saw that all efforts to retain these provinces were useless, and he retired across the Indus, and, for the rest of his reign and that of his son, the Sikhs remained undisputed masters of the soil.

This extraordinary people originally came before us as the unobtrusive professors of doctrines peculiar for their simplicity, and their peaceful tendency. Excited by the cries of a son breathing vengeance for the slaughter of his father and their priest, we have seen these peaceful devotees take up arms and commence a religious warfare against this persecution. Crushed—crushed to the ground by an overwhelming force, they had betaken themselves to the lair, and adopted the habits of wild beasts,

till the oppression of centuries excited the vengeful passions of the population of a whole country, and urged them to rise against the oppressor, adopting the tenets of a faith all but forgotten, as the watchword of their warfare. We have seen them defeated, and scattered to the four winds, but still returning when the tempest had blown over, and at length—when anarchy had reached its crisis, when the empire of Delhi on the south had been annihilated, and on the north the empire of Kabul was paralysed by internal convulsions,—occupying and portioning out among themselves, as sovereign possessors, the soil for the peaceful possession of which they had struggled as cultivators. Cradled as they were in oppression, fighting only for plunder and existence, led on by no one master mind, ignorant, reckless, dissipated, possessing the solitary virtues of bravery and independence of character, we cannot expect to find with them any system af government or any of the organization which constitutes a state. The coast being clear, there being no ruler in the land, each band of plundering marauders under their respective chieftain lighted, like a cloud of locusts, on the soil. To each Sirdar, to each horseman, his share was allotted; and in that space of ground each individual assumed and exercised rights, to which no term can be applied but that of sovereign. The social structure of the village community remained unchanged, the conquering Singh did not intrude himself into the number of the village shareholders, but he claimed from them, and exacted when he was able, that portion of the produce of the soil, which the custom of ages in India has set aside to the maintenance of government—this share had passed now into the hands of an individual, perhaps a cultivator himself in the adjoining village, but who had relinquished the ploughshare for the sword, and had enrolled himself among the followers of some successful freebooter.

This state of things was too anomalous to last: the stronger swallowed up the weaker—the peasant brethren united, and refused, unless coerced, to pay the share to those who had not the power to exact it. The common enemy having retired, dissensions arose among the liberated chiefs themselves, and a field was found for the display of individual talent and enterprise. So, for the space of thirty years, from 1764 to 1794, though no foreign invader molested these countries, no destroying army plundered the ripening harvests, still feud and internal dissension reigned throughout the land: villages were prosecuting hereditary quarrels with their neighbours. Secure in his gurhi the Sikh Chieftain was sometimes beseiged by the peasants, at another time collecting his share of the produce

with the assistance of hired ruffians. The Zemindars of villages with strong natural defences threw off all connection with their nominal masters, while ambitious and enterprising chieftains were daily, by successful expeditions of plunder, increasing their possessions and reputation. Distinguished among these were the ancestors of Runjít Singh, who were paving the way for the more comprehensive designs of their successor.

Ere we allude to these events, and the influence which the English Government was soon to exert in these countries, we must introduce the history of the last invader, who descended from the mountains of Kabul to conquer Hindustan. Between the years 1795 and 1798 the youthful Shah Zeman, who had but just succeeded to the throne of Kabul, looking upon all the provinces up to the Jumna as his lawful dominions, three times invaded the Punjab and occupied Lahore. It was however the last expiring effort of the chivalry of the west. For 800 years, since the days of Sebukhtegin, these plains had been considered the lawful spoil of the hardy tribes who occupied the mountains, but their lease had now expired, and Shah Zeman was the last of the long line of Mahommedan invaders. Let us pause for one moment, and consider the eventful history of him, whose name has just fallen from our pens. Born the heir to a throne, then the most powerful in the east, brought up amidst the *prestige* of the victories and successful invasions of his illustrious grandfather, who lorded it unrestrained over Hindustan, and had overpowered the united army of the Hindu race—himself during the life time of his father a successful warrior, and the governer of a province,—he seized the first opportunity of re-asserting his claims to the provinces as far as the Jumna, and leaguing with Tippoo Sultan, the distant tyrant of Mysore, he conceived the magnificent project of re-establishing the power of the Crescent in Hindustan, of subduing the rebellious Hindu, and driving into the sea, whence they came, the intrusive Christians. Nor was the project chimerical, nor the danger slight, nor considered so by Lord Wellesley, then Governor-General of India. It was partly with reference to this projected invasion of Shah Zeman, the rumours of which alarmed the Council Board of Calcutta, that measures so decisive were adopted against Tippoo, that half his dominions were rent from the Vizier of Oude as payment of a subsidiary force, and other means of defence devised to defeat the hopes of the youthful invader. Vain hopes! a few years saw him deprived of his kingdom, and his sight—an exile, and a wanderer. For twenty years, the sport of fortune and the sharer of the evil fate of his ill-starred brother Shah Shujah, he at length found a refuge at

Lúdhíanah, and a maintenance from the spontaneous generosity of that very people whose expulsion from India had been one of his dearest objects. As if fate were not content with the vicissitudes of his youth and manhood, he was doomed in his old age to leave his peaceful asylum to return in a species of mock and illusory triumph to the capital of the kingdom, which forty years before had been his own. Ejected thence, he once more returned a fugitive to die in the place of his former exile. Those who saw him in the last year of his eventful life, will not soon forget the blind and aged Monarch, on whose forehead time and care had written many a wrinkle, who in the midst of squalor and poverty seated himself on his old bed as upon a throne, and still spoke in the language, and assumed the air of a sovereign, whose whole troubled life was a memorable example of the instability of human greatness.

But to return to the history of these countries: Although the army of the Peishwah was entirely defeated, and with incredible slaughter at the battle of Paniput, the power of the Mahrattas was in no degree diminished: it seemed to have received new vigour from the blow, and to possess a hydra-headed vivacity. The power of the Peishwah himself was broken, but under the guidance of Holkar, the Bhúnslah, and Scindia, the Mahratta arms still continued paramount in India, and the regular battalions of the latter under DeBoigne, Perron, and Louis Bourquet were in possession of Delhi, and the country up to the Jumna: not did their arms cease there. Every chief of note south of the Sutlej was a tributary to the Mahratta, and we find the youthful Runjít Singh at the commencement of this century, while his power was still scarcely superior to that of a petty Sirdar, entering into a treaty with General Perron, the substance of which was the assistance of a force of regular battalions to establish the power of Runjít in the country, and the payment of a ten-anna share to the Mahratta, of the provinces brought into subjection by such means. This was indeed never acted upon, but the empire of the Mahrattas was acknowledged by Runjít, and indisputable up to the Sutlej,—though the puzzled antiquary will scarcely recognize in "Louis Saheb," the name under which Louis Bourquet is familiarly known among the Sikh states, the formidable Lieutenant of Scindia, the gallant opponent of the English arms at the battle of Delhi. Still more puzzled would the antiquary be, if he heard mention made of the victories of "Jehazi Saheb," of the chief, whom he set up, and the heavy fines which he exacted. If an Englishman, the antiquary would scarcely recognize his own countryman George Thomas,—

a name much dreaded and renowned among the Sikh peasantry. This remarkable man, a sailor by profession, whence his Indian name, availed himself of the state of affairs into which he was thrown, and by dint of perseverance, military skill, and great personal valour, carved out for himself a small principality, and had he had only natives to contend with, would have held it. In him was most remarkably displayed that energy of character which distinguishes the European from the Asiatic. We find him refusing to desert the cause of his friends, daring his foes to do their worst, bringing into subjection a district previously uncontrollable, building forts, casting cannon, and training levies. Appealed to by the widow of Roy Ilias, a Mahommedan Chief, whose territory bordered upon the Sutlej to support her against her oppressors, he marched from Hansi, his capital, to Rai Kote, through a hostile country, being himself in open warfare with the chiefs of the intervening space, whom he defeated more than once in battle. He was the first Englishman on the Sutlej, though to Lord Lake that honor is usually ascribed. What would have been his fate had he been enabled to maintain himself in his principality of Hansi, till by the fall of the Mahratta power he came into contact with the army of his own countrymen, can scarcely be guessed at:—his power fell before the arms of Louis Bourquet, and though permitted to retire to our provinces with the wealth which he had amassed, he died before his arrival at Calcutta. His memoirs, however, which were published at the time, furnish an interesting example of what the energies of an uneducated man can do in the way of carving out a principality.

We have now arrived at the commencement of our own century, and we find the plains of Sirhind, and the country adjoining occupied by independent Sikh Chieftains, each man holding his village, or his district, by the sword—at deadly war with his neighbour, ready to take any and every advantage to improve his position, bound by no feelings of honour, no ties of blood, no sentiments of religion, when his own selfish interest interfered. Still all were nominally or really under the paramount sway of Scindia. The power of that chieftain fell before the arms of Wellesley and Lake, and all the country north of Joudpúr and Jaipúr, were, by the treaty of Surji Argengaum in December 1803, ceded without reserve to the Company. Our right, as successor to Scindia, of supremacy to the Sutlej was indisputable, and was never renounced by us; and had the master mind which then ruled the destinies of India been uncontrolled, that su-

premacy would doubtless have been exerted and maintained. But the timid policy of ignorant, or half-informed men at home blighted the fruit of the victories of our brave men abroad :— only however for the time,—for neither could the sage warnings of the Leadenhall street politicians, nor the prudential measures of Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, hold us back from the supremacy of Hindustan, which circumstances had forced upon us. Accordingly, at the close of the year 1805, we find Lord Lake crossing the plains of Sirhind and Malwa, driving before him the discomfited Holkar, who had left the flower of his infantry and artillery on the plains of Deeg, and of his cavalry under the walls of Futtyghur. Lord Lake pressed on to Lúdíanah, nor did he hesitate to cross the Sutlej, and traverse the district of the Jullundhar Doab : and on the banks of the Beas, he dictated his terms to Jeswunt Rao Holkar, and formed a treaty of friendship with Runjít Singh. Ten thousand men were in those days considered sufficient to oppose any force that could be found between the Indus and the Jumna. Since then times have greatly changed ; and with them men and measures. Under the genius of one Prince, aided by the science of foreign officers, a military power has been allowed to spring up in our neighbourhood of so formidable a character, that, during the past year, twenty thousand men backed by the whole army of the Bengal Presidency and the resources of British India, were required to hold, and without entire success, that line of frontier which Lord Lake's comparatively small force crossed with impunity, and Ochterlony's three Regiments held unsupported nearer than Kurnaul, in defiance of all comers. One veteran hero* has lived to cross the Sutlej, a second time, after an interval of forty years, and to show us right well how the men of Laswaree and Deeg could fight,—where a handful of Europeans were considered sufficient to oppose a host, and it was not deemed necessary for the attainment of victory to approximate in number our opponents.

The commencement of the year 1806 saw our conquering Army fall back from the advanced line of the Sutlej, and our Government, under the influence of timid policy, refuse to exercise those rights of supremacy, which we had fairly won, or extend our protection to those chiefs, who craved it of us in person at Delhi. But there was a shrewd observer intently watching our

* Many of our readers need not be informed that we allude to Major-General Gilbert. This gallant officer crossed the Sutlej with Lord Lake, at Lúdíanah, in 1806, as Baggage Master, and with Sir Hugh Gough, at Ferozepore, in 1846, as General of Division.

movements, a young and successful chieftain, who had convinced himself of our superiority in arms, but was tempted by seeing the backward position which we held, to snatch the rich prize of the territories of the numerous unprotected chiefs of Sirhind and Malwa. This was Runjít Singh. Unwilling to offend the mighty power, which had prostrated every thing from the sea and the Ganges to the Himalayas, he was astonished at finding us uninfluenced by the lust of territorial aggrandizement, which was the one mainspring of his own actions, and he was thus tempted to try how far our forbearance would extend. In the autumn of 1806 he dashed across the Sutlej, under pretence of adjusting some difference betwixt parties, who had referred to him, and after laying hands upon, and distributing among his friends the territories of the defenceless widow of Roy Ilias, he returned in triumph to Lahore. So successful and profitable, both in plunder and reputation, had been this trip, so perfectly unnoticed by the Resident of Delhi, that Runjít was tempted on a similar excuse to cross a second time in the autumn of 1807, and to overrun the whole country with his cavalry, to levy fines from the Chief of Mungmajra, adjoining the valley of Pinjore, and bestow away on one of his followers, the fort and district of Narayangurh almost on the banks of the Sutlej. This last act startled the Council Board at Calcutta, but it is doubtful whether even this would have aroused the offended dignity of the British lion, had it not occurred at the same time, that the supposed designs of the Ruler of France on the North-West frontier of Hindústan urged the adoption of a line of policy, which brought the English more immediately in collision with the Napoleon of the east, as his talents, his sagacity, military skill, and the vast empire, which he gained and ably governed, entitle Runjít Singh to be called. Even then, could he only but have known and played his true game, the Chief of Lahore might have gained, in entire sovereignty, the whole country up to the Jumna, as the price of his friendship with us, and jealous resistance to a common foe from the west. But a third expedition, which he daringly ventured upon in 1808 in spite of the warnings of the British envoy, decided the Government on the course they must adopt, and to one of the brightest ornaments of the Indian service was the duty of carrying out this policy confided. Ochterlony crossed the Jumna at Búrea in January 1809, and followed at an interval by the Army of Reserve under General St. Leger, he established without opposition the post at Lúdíanah, by which our position up to the Sutlej was fully confirmed, though Runjít Singh was allowed by a conci-

liating policy to keep the revenues of the districts, which he had appropriated in his two former expeditions, on condition of disgorging those obtained in his last.

Since those days these plains have enjoyed permanent peace and security from foreign foe and domestic broil. It was soon found out and impressed upon Government, that it was necessary to protect our dependants from the effects of their own evil habits, as well as from the grasp of the invader: they had to be taught to respect the rights of others, as well as to be maintained in their own. The result has proved the soundness of the policy, which led us to advance to the Sutlej. By that step we effectually restrained the ambitious Sikh ruler from interference in the affairs of Hindústan: we laid our hands on and held firmly these plains, which are justly called the threshold of India, and for thirty years we had neither occasion nor desire to advance our frontier or our influence. Circumstances have now changed: but we may dwell with satisfaction on the wisdom of our rulers, which led to our occupying the advanced line of the Sutlej, instead of, as was originally contemplated, falling back upon the Jumna. The inhabitants of the country may also well rejoice at the change of views of the English Government. Cultivation has extended, security of the roads has been restored, the solitary tower is disappearing from the village, or the well, of which it was once the guardian and the oppressor. In those portions held immediately under the English Government, this is more remarkable, as a strong Government, such as our own, is free from those evils which are ever inherent in native ones; but still the thriving condition of the subjects of the Rajah of Pateala, may vie with those of any native potentate in India. Only a few generations himself removed from the plough, that chieftain has feelings and prejudices in union with his people: he is wealthy enough to have no necessity for petty oppression, and to enable him to secure able, if not honest, advisers; and his government may justly be called a paternal one. There may, indeed, be some inconveniences attending our rule, there may be some of our regulations beyond the comprehension of the ignorant chief, there may be some hardships, such as the arbitrary absorption of whole villages into our vast cantonments, under which we can imagine the exasperated Sikh, as he was being turned out of the homestead, valued by him far above the ample price offered for it,—exclaiming with Meliboeus,—

> Impius hœc tam culta novalia miles habebit?
> Barbarus has segetes?

But in the long run the people are the gainers. They are

secured both in property and person, the value of the productions of their soil has increased tenfold, and the country generally has enjoyed the blessing of a continuous peace, which it can scarcely be said to have ever tasted since the days of Mahmoud of Ghuzni.

Such events, as those to which we have alluded, write their own history on the country where they have been enacted: all of the masters, to whom these plains have been subject, have left some trace for good or evil of their occupation. The pious Hindu will find few remnants, spared by the hand of time and man, to recall to him the former splendour of the Princes of the country who first opposed the torrent of Mahommedan invasion; but to him the face of the country, the streams and plains are sacred, and possess an interest which no time can efface, no succession of invaders destroy. To the Mahommedans this whole country teems with mournful reminiscences of the empire and magnificence of their countrymen, lost to them for ever. A taste for erecting costly structures appears to have been one of the great characteristics of the Mussalman power, and at every step the eye rests with surprise upon some magnificent memento of the Emperors of Delhi, or their Satraps. It must however be allowed that these buildings were all erected from motives of selfish luxury, or ostentatious vain-gloriousness. The wide and capacious serai was not raised for the protection of the friendless traveller, or the reception of the wares of the enterprising merchant—the garden was not planted, and the well was not dug for the wayfarer, but for the use of the Emperor and his nobles, when their occasional presence honoured and laid waste the unfortunate villages on the route. The stately dome and cloister, which attracts the eye, was erected for no patriotic, or exalted purpose; it was neither a refuge for the destitute nor a retreat for the learned and wise, nor a receptacle of those arts and sciences by which empires, not liable to vicissitudes of fortune, are erected, and monuments imperishable are raised. For no other purpose than a temporary and vainglorious exaltation of an individual, and an unknown and unhonoured name. Provinces were plundered, and with the sums thus collected, a massive pile of buildings was erected, which has lasted, and will last for centuries. But the name of the builder has often perished—the purposes for which they were erected, have been forgotten: some have been defiled and desecrated by becoming the residence of a race of men, whom their founders hated and detested: others have been destroyed to furnish materials for the buildings of the new lords of the soil.

But the Sikh—the detested Sikh—no stately buildings, no royal cities mark the era of his supremacy, but desolation, ruin, and destruction have ever been the principles of his creed, both religious and political. In the plundering of cities, and sacking of towns has been his chief delight, and the wide extent of ruins that mark the site of many a former metropolis, testify how well he has fulfilled his destroying mission. A wretched village marks the spot where the cruelty of the oppressor was avenged at Sirhind after the lapse of a century, and a large and populous city was sacked and levelled to the ground by wrathful fanatics. Even to this day the pious Singh thinks that he is performing a religious duty in conveying to the waters of the Ganges one brick from the ruins of a city by the hand of whose impious rulers the wife and children of the last of the Gúrús was inhumanly murdered.

As described in the foregoing pages commenced our connexion with the Sikh. With a part of that nation we entered into treaties of friendship; over a part we threw the mantle of our protection, and included them within the limits of our empire. It has been often remarked that the Princes of India, with whom we have contended in arms, have none of them boasted of dynasties extending back further than the commencement of the preceding century. Many, such as Holkar, Scindia, and Hyder Ali, were merely successful military adventurers: others, such as the Nizam of the Dekhan and the Vizier of Oude, were satraps of the empire of Delhi, who had taken advantage of the times to assert their independence. But there is a striking resemblance in the history of the Sikh people to that of our own Indian empire. Both were created under the same influences, and the crisis of their fates happened at the same periods. At the time that the successors of the peaceful Nanak were inculcating their conciliating doctrines among a few and unknown followers, the founders of the Anglo-Indian empire were engaged in the equally peaceful avocations of commerce. At Surat, at Patna, at Húgli, they were wholly engaged in the absorbing occupation of money-making; nor did they dream of empire. Towards the close of the seventeenth century we find Gúrú Govind, organizing his followers into a military confederation, establishing himself in the fortresses of Anundpúr, Makhiwal, and Chumkour, and preparing to meet in arms the delegated forces of Delhi; on the banks of the Húgli oppression was working out the same ends, and at the same time converting the peaceful trader into the energetic soldier. Admiral Nicholson was preparing to commence war with the Subahdar of Bengal,

and Mr. Charnock was throwing up entrenchments at Hidgelee to receive the property and persons of British settlers. The next fifty years were passed by both people in various fortunes, influenced by the personal character of the Government of the province, whom the decadence of the empire had now rendered absolute. But the middle of the century was marked to both people by a tremendous outrage, followed by an immediate retribution. The Sikh still remembers with a lively hatred of his former persecutors the decapitation of the early martyrs in the Shahíd Gunge at Lahore—neither has he forgotten the annihilation of the Khalsa Dul, at the field of the Ghúlo Ghara, near Sirhind; and the finger of execration, still points in Indian history to the Black Hole of Calcutta, and the massacre at Patna.

The outrages were speedily avenged, and the year succeeding each saw, on the one hand, the oppressed and proscribed votaries of Gúrú Govind, exulting over the dead body of their former ruler, and plundering and destroying the fair city of Sirhind—on the other, the victorious Clive on the field of Plassey disposing of the Subahdari of Bengal. These events which happened within a few years of each other were the turning points of the history of each nation. Since then a career of victory has approximated the confines of the two nations, which at the commencement of last century were separated by many a hundred league; and the commencement of the present century for the first time brought the two nations into collision, and beheld a Sikh Chief contending against us with an armed demonstration for the countries between the Jumna and the Sutlej.

A few notices may be added of the military operations which have been carried on in this country since the above period. At that time the line of hills was the boundary on the north-east; but, shortly after, Ochterlony had to take the field against the Gùrkhas, and annex the Rajpút Hill States betwixt the Sutlej and the Jumna. From that time till 1832, little interest has attached to these countries; but the scheme of Lord W. Bentinck to open the navigation of the Indus and its tributaries, and finally the Russophobia which prevailed in the time of his successor, attracted and fixed the attention of all India upon the north-west frontier. The contemplated invasion of the French had urged Lord Minto, much against the policy of the age, in which he lived, to push on the frontier to the Sutlej. Thirty years afterwards, his grandson, Lord Auckland, was induced by similar apprehension of the designs

of the Russians to extend British influence to the confines of Persia. Since that policy was decided upon the countries between the Sutlej and the Jumna have been traversed in every direction by large armies, and the force stationed there has been yearly increased, till during the last twelve month, the flower of the Bengal Army may be said to have been cantoned within its limits. The year 1838 saw the Army of the Indus proceed across these plains to penetrate new regions, and plant the British standard on the walls of Ghuzni. The year 1841 saw another gallant force hurry onward to redeem our national character, and avenge our slaughtered countrymen: the close of that same year beheld the magnificent pageantry and show, with which the Army of Reserve welcomed their gallant companions on their triumphant return. Since then the whole country between the two rivers has been held, and, as it were, in military occupation. And the events which have crowded one upon another during the last few months,—the four bloody battles which have been fought actually within our frontier,—the villages which have been plundered and left desolate,—the fields which have been robbed of their green honours ere yet ready for the sickle,—the oppressions of various forms and incalculable number which have in spite of the precaution of our rulers taken place,—may indeed have caused the old grey-beards, who remembered in their childhood the invasion of the Abdali, and the struggle of the Sikh people for liberty, to curse their ill-fate that they had lived to see the evil days of plunder and confusion, of war and inroads return to their devoted fields.

We write, perhaps, too near the events to judge with impartiality; but if the rulers of this country have ever engaged in a just war,—then this one, into which we were hurried against our wishes, and against what are justly to be pronounced our true interests, may and must be considered such a war. Still, it cannot be said to have come upon us without many a long and loud note of preparation. For the last two years a feverish excitement had prevailed throughout the country, and the anticipation of war had become so general, that it was openly discussed, and private arrangements had been made confessedly in connection with it: it had been wished for and prayed for in every military circle in the North of India. Various statements of a somewhat provocative and inflammatory tendency had also appeared, from time to time, in different journals both at home and abroad. And when it is considered that many of these statements find their way to

Lahore, and the general topics of conversation south of the Sutlej, are conveyed in a garbled form to the ears of a Government, who have no other way of getting at the mainspring of our actions;—when they hear the note of war trumpeted through the land, and are ignorant of the peculiar relations of society with us, and how entirely unconnected with Government are the opinions of individuals and of the press,—can we wonder, that a people, highly sensitive of their national independence, proud of their freedom, which they had purchased with the struggle of a century, fresh from an uninterrupted career of victory, who had seen our arms fail against a foe over which they had repeatedly triumphed, though they could not appreciate the causes which led to our failure,—can we wonder that a people thus situated, and thus excited, with arms and military munitions in their possession, and without the form of a Government to restrain them, should boldly take the initiative and prefer being the assailants to the assailed? Posterity must judge and decide on this momentous question.

These few remarks are penned in the moment of victory before the capital of a country to whose rulers the terms of peace and war are being dictated, and the sincerity of our former friendship is being proved by our fallen foe. But even in the flush of victory at the close of a just war, who can hesitate to pronounce war the greatest of human evils, inasmuch as it is the widest spreader of misery among the human race. Let him who sighs for war, and the glories and distinctions which it brings to the survivor, think only how dearly those laurels have been bought. Let him consider the history of this unfortunate province, for the last seven centuries the theatre of nearly unceasing war; let him reflect upon the scenes of plunder and oppression, which every village on or near the line of march presents—the peasant driven from his rifled habitation and his blighted fields, converted by desperation into a ruffian and plunderer, and finally in many cases cut down as a wild beast. Let him, when the excitement of victory is gone, walk over the field, which a few hours before had been so nobly won, and pause to reflect upon the vast carnage by which victory's ends are consummated:—here, fell the bold dragoon, checked in his impetuous career, as he cleared the embrasured rampart—there, the course of the steady column of infantry is too clearly indicated by the bodies of the slain: here lies, with the cold steel passed through his breast, the gigantic foe, with his outstretched arms and wild-flowing locks still breathing defiance—there, dabbling in his blood, the fair-haired boy of eighteen summers, who had

but just left his native highlands to rot upon a foreign soil. Let him turn from this scene to the hospital, and walk leisurely amidst the hideous lazar house of wounds, and ills, not the spontaneous result of our weak nature, but the offspring of the black passions of mankind: let him consider the blighted prospect of that limbless though still living carcase, but a few hours before exulting in the pride of manhood and strength: let him gaze on that manly countenance, from which the inestimable gift of sight has been for ever withdrawn, and consider to how many, among the two thousand sufferers upon whom his gaze will fall in succession, life has become an incumbrance rather than a blessing,—cut off for ever from their friends and profession, or doomed to return as useless logs to their country. Let him mark the long line of desolation that follows the track of an army: let him listen to the sad tale of the outraged peasantry, and visit the ruined spot from which their household goods, all their worldly gear, the savings of the past harvest and the hopes of the future, have by rude hands been sacrilegiously torn: and, beyond these visible woes, let him consider the destitute case of the orphan and the widow struck down in a few brief moments from affluence to penury—many a wife, whose hopes of happiness in this world are gone for ever, many a son whose position has been altered for life by the premature loss of his parent: let him accompany the harbingers of grief to his native land, and see many an eye glisten, many a heart break, many a fond hope dashed to the ground:—let him think of all this and weigh it against the value of the brevet and ribbon which he has gained, and,—despite the solid advantages to the empire which could scarcely come under his consideration, nor were ever present in his thoughts,—will he not allow that these ephemeral distinctions have been dearly bought, and that war in its mildest form is one of the greatest evils of the human race?

# EASTERN CAPTIVITY.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

1. *Journal of the Disasters in Affghanistan*, 1841-42. *By Lady Sale.* London, 1843.
2. *Journal of Imprisonment in Affghanistan (continued and concluded (by Lieut. Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery.* London, 1843.
3. *Journals kept by Mr. Gully and Captain Denham, during a Captivity in China in the year* 1842. Edited by a Barrister. London, 1844.
4. *The Bokhara Victims; by Capt. Grover, F.R.S.* London, 1845.

WHEN the first stunning effects of that dire massacre in the Kabul passes, with which the year 1842 dawned so portentously upon India, had in some small measure subsided, the public mind turned from the contemplation of that great irreparable calamity, to a present evil of terrific import which filled it with sad forbodings and distracting fears—fears and forebodings, which magnified the evil, because they "could not discern the shapes thereof." A band of British officers and British gentlewomen were prisoners in the hands of the Affghans. The fact was well established; none questioned it. The Englishwomen and children who had accompanied that ill-fated force into Affghanistan, had survived the great national immolation, only to become the living victims of the insanity which had drawn them there. A few English officers, rescued from the wreck of the army as hostages, or spared because they were husbands and fathers, had accompanied the women and children into captivity. They were at the mercy of Mahommed Akbar Khan—of the man, whose name from one end of India to another, was seldom uttered by British lips without the accompaniment of a curse.

Various were the thoughts—various the anticipations to which the knowledge of this event gave birth. Into different channels of speculation and conjecture flowed the apprehensions of the community. Many saw death in the pot. They prophesied that a terrible end was awaiting the luckless captives. The bloody drama which had just been enacted in Affghanistan, was about to be closed by an epilogue as bloody. A crown was about to be set upon the terrible work of destruction by the consummation of another less extensive, but more deliberate butchery. Others beheld, in imagination, their ill-fated countrymen sold into hopeless captivity—outrages worse than death, it was thought, were in store for the female captives;

whilst the gallant souls, who had done their best in that unequal struggle, to uphold the waning character of England, were to be driven, like herded cattle, into far-off lands beyond the frosty Caucasus, to end their days as the wretched heart-broken slaves of insolent Mahommedan task-masters. The heart sickened with unutterable fears; the cheek reddened with burning indignation, as men pictured to themselves acts of insult and barbarity, the most humiliating, the most cruel, ever inscribed in the dark annals of human warfare and human crime.

A few—a very few—were more hopeful. They knew that the captives had been rescued from immediate death, and did not feel assured that they were reserved for a future sacrifice. Not seeing all crime, all cowardice, all treachery, written in characters of blood across the whole length and breadth of Affghanistan, these more sanguine natures ventured to hope that the prisoners would emerge, after a not unendurable captivity, in safety out of the hands of the Philistines—ventured to believe that the little band, who had survived the great national wreck, were destined under Providence to live many years of happiness and freedom, and beneath the shadow of their own vines, to thank God for having made them prisoners of the circumcised foe.

Many and varied, as in this conjuncture, were the anticipations of the community, one common feeling of intense and painful interest filled the hearts of the English in India. Every little scrap of information obtainable from any authentic source—nay, every uncertain rumour, and many such were current—was greedily devoured, hastily disseminated, and everywhere most volubly discussed. The names of the captives—names, in some instances, scarce known before their captivity beyond their own regimental circles,—became familiar as household words. Heroes and heroines for the nonce, they suddenly began to fill an important space in the world's eye, and seemed in a fair way to attain to the dignity of historical characters. Weeks, months passed away, and the fate of the prisoners was still involved painfully in doubt. Uncertain tidings from beyond the Indus, ever and anon came straggling in; intelligence, somewhat vague and unsatisfactory, reached us that the captives had been carried first to one hill fort, then to another; whilst, as time advanced, new names were added to the list, and hope sprung up in the breasts of many, who had not yet assured themselves, that their beloved relatives or friends had perished in the disastrous retreat, and therefore clung to the belief that they *might* be among the number of

the captives. Time brought with it, too, a certain sense of security. The captives had been spared up to a certain point; their case did not appear so desperate as it had been. Such brief communications as had been received from the prisoners themselves, recorded no terrible outrages—expressed no extremity of fears. True, they were exposed to surveillance—the letters might have been read by the enemy; and to complain, might have been perilous. Still, the general impression was that their lot, hard as it unquestionably was, had not so many terrors as the public mind had invested it with at the outset of the captivity. It was no longer regarded as "worse than death;" and men, who had exclaimed in the bitterness of their souls, "oh! would that they had perished with their companions in the passes," now thanked God for having snatched these few sufferers from the vortex of the great destruction.

As the year advanced more certain intelligence of the condition of the prisoners was received in India. Even those who had been from the first most unwilling to believe that an Affghan Chief could abstain from treating his prisoners with cruelty and indignity, were compelled reluctantly to acknowledge that the cup of bitterness and humiliation had not been filled to overflowing. There were, doubtless, some mitigations. The prisoners had not been slaughtered; the men had not been sold into slavery; the women had not been doomed to end their days in the degradation and pollution of a Mahommedan harem. Some even wrote cheerfully from their prison-house; spoke with gratitude of the treatment they had received; they had suffered much; but, for the most part, their sufferings had been inevitable sufferings—not aggravated by the wanton barbarity of their captors. To be sure, all this might be nothing more than a proof of Affghan guile—the craft of avarice, which knows that a living prisoner is worth more than a rotting corpse. Still there was some consolation in the thought, that the captives might be preserved if only for the ransom-money which would be forthcoming on a future day; and good treatment too was something, though wrung from Affghan cunning and Affghan cowardice, and only another proof of the deep depravity of the national character. The worst possible use to which we can put a prisoner is to hang him. The Affghans knew at least thi; much: and had, it was said, enough of the wisdom of the serpent to turn their captives to better account.

The Army of Retribution assembled—for months it was an "Army of Impotence." More than once was a negotiation for the release of the prisoners attempted. First one delegate, then

another, chosen from among the captives by the Affghan sirdars, appeared in the British camp. The prisoners were safe; this was proved upon the oral testimony of one of their own party. It was obvious, moreover, that the enemy had no desire to retain them; that it rested with the British Government to release their subjects from captivity, or, by rejecting all the terms of the Affghan Chiefs, to perpetuate their imprisonment. Various were the opinions expressed in this conjuncture. Some thought, and not unreasonably, that to push on a hostile force into the enemy's country would be to sacrifice the prisoners; others believed that not to advance would be to abandon them to their fate. It seemed easier, if less honorable, to rescue them by negotiation than by force of arms. But other and weightier interests than the salvation of these captives were involved in the great question of advance or retirement; and it was settled at last, irrespectively of their claims, to be considered in the adjustment of the balance. The army advanced on Kabul. The prisoners were removed beyond the reach of the invading force; and again, in the estimation of the public, their situation become critical; they were begirt with peril. What might not be anticipated from the baffled malignity, the despairing vengeance of the barbarian foe?

But soon all India rang with triumphant joy and grateful acclamations. General Pollock had planted the British ensign on the Balla Hissar of Kabul, and the prisoners were safe in his camp. No intelligence had ever been received in India with more universal satisfaction. Every house, every bungalow tenanted by an European, was gladdened by the good tidings of victory; and men met each other with cheerful faces, in the public ways, to exchange expressions of congratulation and delight. The insolent foe had been humbled; our disasters repaired, and the prisoners had been restored to their friends.

Soon the whole truth was known. The history of the captivity was no longer a sealed book. The prisoners were now permitted to speak and to write out; to detail facts and to express opinions, without a thought of the surveillance of an ever-vigilant foe. Many characteristic anecdotes were soon afloat in the social atmosphere. Oral accounts of all that related to the imprisonment and the prisoners were every where current. Detached scraps of information, from time to time found their way into the public prints; and far more rapidly than could have been anticipated, the community were gratified with full and particular narratives of the disasters in Affghanistan and the subsequent captivities, from the pens of two of the

prisoners, who came forward, in their own persons, to declare all they knew to the world. Few works have ever excited a more lively interest than the narratives of Lieutenant Eyre and Lady Sale; few works have been more extensively circulated and more greedily devoured.

In England these contemporary histories were read and quoted; wept and wondered over. In India, they produced other effects. Here the writers were summoned before a totally different tribunal. Their works were now to be judged by men not wholly ignorant of the events detailed in them, not wholly incompetent to form and to deliver correct opinions. They had to run the gauntlet not of ignorant reviewers, but of critics who had learnt in the hard school of experience, to decide upon the claims of these narratives to be regarded as just and impartial histories—of men, who had been actors in the scenes described, whose doings were recorded, and whose merits were canvassed in the pages of the work now before the world.

The result, as might be expected, was a considerable amount of discussion—principally carried on in the public prints—between different members of that little party of released captives, some of whom, believing themselves to have been wronged, now summoned their judges to the judgment seat. These controversies were chiefly carried on openly under the signatures of the parties concerned: but numerous anonymous writers entered the field at the same time, and one at least of the two narratives, was somewhat severely handled by these knowing critics—who knew as much of what had taken place as the writers who had come forward with their green and red octavos—and ventured, therefore, sometimes not very courteously, to set the historians right. It is irksome to our gallantry to be compelled to add that the work which suffered most severely from this critical manipulation was that written by the Lady.

With these controversies we desire not to meddle. To us the personalities of the affair were invested with little interest. Another question of a more general character was discussed at the same time, and of the progress of this discussion we were not inattentive observers. It was now to be decided whether the prisoners had been, as was anticipated, cruelly treated by their captors, or whether the conduct of the Affghan gaolers was not, all the circumstances of the case considered, honorable to the national character—to humanity at large. The question was never fairly settled. The passions of men had not sufficiently cooled down to admit of its fair and temperate discussion as an interesting historical question.

On either side there was a point to be gained, irrespective of the real merits of the question. Both parties had to prove that they had been right—to establish a character for sagacity—to illustrate by a reference to admitted facts, the soundness of their former positions. There was prejudice on either hand to contend against: and it may be doubted whether the facts admitted as evidence availed to move, one tittle to the right or to the left, the foregone conclusions of the controversialists. All were, in truth, advocates—none judges. The balance was never held by a firm and equal hand.

We believe that the time is now present, when all the circumstances of the Affghan war can be considered by reasonable minds without prejudice and discussed without passion. We do not now hear on every side the language of execration; we do not see quiet, sober-minded men lashed into a whirlpool of turbulent excitement, swelling with wrath and indignation, and burning to execute a frightful vengeance on the enemies who had confounded our politics and humbled our pride. We do not hear just and impartial men denouncing, in the same breath, atrocities committed by the enemy, and defending—ay, recommending—the commission of similar atrocities by our own troops. The equilibrium of the public mind, so sadly shaken by the earthquake shock of an unparalleled disaster, is now restored, and even the conduct of our Affghan enemies may be discussed with some approach to moderation and justice.

We doubt not that many, like ourselves, when considering this question, permitted their thoughts to take a wider range than it at first appeared to embrace; and soon found themselves wandering into new fields of enquiry and speculation. The subject of the treatment of prisoners is one well worth regarding in its general aspect; and in truth, we do not know that the conduct in this respect of an individual nation can be fairly estimated, without comparing it with the manner in which other nations of the world are wont to comport themselves in similar conjunctures.

To elaborate such a subject as this, would require the space of volumes; and volumes of deep interest might be filled with illustrations drawn from the many narratives of captivity with which the literature of all countries abounds. Our space is limited, and from the abundance of materials before us, it is necessary that we should make but scanty selections. Still we are not without a hope that enough may be condensed within the limits of a single article to enable our readers to form a correct estimate of the general character of captivity in the

East, and in accordance with this standard, fairly to determine the extent to which the Affghans, as captors, are to be condemned, and our countrymen, as captives, to be pitied.

There is no description of literary work more interesting—none which is read with greater avidity, and which takes a firmer hold of the reader's mind—than those personal memoirs, which embrace a narrative of sufferings experienced during a season of imprisonment. It would require a larger stock of obduracy and indifference than falls to the share of most Christian men, to peruse such narratives without many a heart-throb of sympathy and many a spasm of indignation. The simple naked truth, with the homely minuteness of details with which these memoirs abound, is more touching than the highly-wrought effectiveness of the most artistic fictitious history. The pathos of reality goes straight to the heart. We suffer with the sufferer. We sit beside him on his bed of straw, and share the solitude of his dreary prison-house. Whether we read of the victims of political intolerance—of religious persecution—of personal animosity—or of national contentions; of poets and philosophers, condemned to expiate the offences of free thought in a land of slavery—of patriots, suspected of a hatred of tyranny—of warriors, taken by the insolent foe, and sentenced to a life of pining misery in chains;—whether we commence with Tasso in the dungeons of Ferrara, a poet guilty of too much sublimity of thought and too much fervour of feeling—too passionate in his poetry and his love; or think of Galileo under the ban of Papal tyranny, paying the penalty of that audacity which disperses error and proclaims to the world demonstrable truth; of Cervantes striving to brighten up the gloom of his prison-house, by creating, with the magic wand of the Romancer, ideal shapes of beauty and of mirth, to share his solitude; of our Eliot, philosophising in his tower-cell, the first to suffer in the cause of that liberty, which ere long was too mighty to be put down by the hand of a prerogative king; of Prynne, the victim of a semi-papal hierarchy, scratching "comfortable cordials" on the sides of that damp wall—his Jersey prison-house;—or whether, entering upon later times, we dwell upon the sufferings of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the high-souled negro leader, starving with cold and hunger in his ever-dripping, plashy-cell, on the bleak wilds of Burgundy, sacrificed by painful inches at the altar of Napoleon's despotic ambition; or Silvio Pellico, one of the many victims of Austrian tyranny, scratching fine thoughts on his prison-table, and, lacking other companionship, entering into fellowship with a spider; or Niemcuvitz, suffering for his poor country,

unhappy Poland, pacing his dungeon-floor like a wild beast, until he had worn a sunken road across the hard pavement;—whether we dwell on these, or others like them, such as our own Raleigh, with the long years of imprisonment spent by him in grave studies, writing world-histories when suffered not to look, with fleshly eye, beyond the narrow limits of his dungeon—or Boetius, discoursing on the consolations of Philosophy, which every prisoner needs so much—or Bonnivard, the Genevese patriot, chained to a pillar in the dreary dungeons of Chillon;—of these and other great men and great sufferers—and the catalogue might be swelled to any length—we cannot think without taking an interest in their hard fate, far beyond that which any ideal sufferings, whatever be the pathos with which the romancer describes it, can ever excite;—we cannot but grieve for the oppressed, burn with hatred of the oppressor, and carry with us, long after we have laid down the volume, deeply engraven on our hearts, vivid remembrances of many minute picture-like details of prison-life, which the memory will not willingly let die. The effect of all these narratives is eminently painful. They teach us what imprisonment really is; they teach us that the mild punishment, in which Christian legislators delight, is one which often converts life into so grievous a curse, that death is looked forward to as a deliverance—one indeed, which kills slowly, by inches destroying body and mind, and bringing with it daily terrors, beside which the gibbet is but a holiday spectacle.

To these narratives of European captivity, pregnant with interest as they are, we can only incidentally allude. Our Indian annals are unfortunately but too full of painful prison-scenes—of records of captivity, rendered the more grievous by the added curse of the fell tropical climate, and often by the savagely ingenious barbarity of Pagan or Mahommedan gaolers, who have thought that in refining the tortures to which they have subjected the unbeliever, they have done their gods good service. From these, or rather a few taken almost at random from these, we must draw our illustrations There are many painfully interesting narratives of Indian captivity, which, in the abundance of our materials, we are compelled reluctantly to put aside. Our career in India has been one of warfare and bloodshed; and though victory has, save in a few extraordinary cases, been the constant attendant of our arms, it has rarely been our fortune to engage in a war of any extent or duration without consigning a few of our countrymen to the endurance of all the aggravated horrors of captivity in this burning clime.

The conquest of Bengal by Clive and Watson—an event precipitated by the most notorious of all Indian captivities, the miserable affair of the Black Hole—was marked by the loss of several European prisoners, who were murdered by their inhuman captors;—but of all the military transactions in which we have been engaged since we first ceased to be a party of simple traders, none have presented so many illustrations of our present subject, as the wars in the Carnatic and Mysore with Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultan. The horrors of these captivities are almost unexampled. In the characters of the Mysore Rulers, father and son, the fiercest Mahommedan bigotry was united with a natural ferocity of disposition which made cruelty a pastime; and it may fairly be questioned, whether history can supply a parallel to the character of Hyder Ali. unless it be in the person of his successor. The influence of their wickedness extended far and wide, for everywhere throughout their territories, they were represented by deputies who, in their more limited spheres, exerted themselves to out-Hyder Hyder in the energy and refinement of the barbarities which they exercised upon their victims. Nothing has ever exceeded—perhaps, we may write, that nothing has ever equalled the ingenuity which these wretches seem to have exerted in the application of the most refined cruelty to purposes of human torture. Captivity in all its bitterness was, indeed, tasted by the unhappy men who fell into the hands of these unpitying barbarians. Many, after enduring all the horrors of imprisonment, were put to death by their captors; many, unable to bear up against the sufferings to which they were subjected, found a merciful end to their captivity in death. Few lived to tell the tale of horror: but enough has come down to us, to enable us to form a true estimate of the exquisite sufferings of those who died under the hands of their gaolers; narratives have been written and published, which none can read without a creeping of the flesh.

As a specimen of these narratives, we may not unfitly take a memoir, written by a Captain Campbell, who fell into the hands of Hyder Ali about the year 1780, and who after enduring extraordinary sufferings, escaped to record his miserable experiences in a series of letters written to his sons. Campbell was returning to India by, what is facetiously called, the overland route, because almost the entire journey between the two countries is performed by sea. On his voyage from the Persian Gulph, he was shipwrecked on the South-western Coast of India, and together with a few other survivors, was taken prisoner by Hyder's officers. Among the passengers in

the vessel was a young man named Hall, who shared Campbell's sufferings, but who was less able to bear up against the accumulation of anguish by which he was oppressed and which ultimately destroyed him. The narrative, though disfigured throughout by much execrable taste and false philosophy, is painfully interesting; and there is intrinsic evidence of its perfect fidelity.

Though we admire not the writer, we believe him. Other narratives, as interesting might be selected; but none, which on the whole, will answer our purpose better, as there are none which render us more familiar with the multiform aspects—each one more hideous than its predecessor—which captivity in the East may assume,—none in which are traced more minutely, and with less apparent exaggeration, the unendurable sufferings of an individual prisoner in the hands of a savage and remorseless enemy.

This unhappy man was cast on shore in a state of utter nudity; and in this woeful plight was seized, together with his companions, by some of Hyder's people, to be carried before the Governor of the place. His nakedness distressed him; and a lascar, perceiving his "great concern, tore into two a piece of cloth, which he had tied round his waist and gave him part of it." "This simple act," adds the narrator, "of a poor uninformed black man, whom Christian charity would call an idolater, methought had more of the true and essential spirit of charity in it, than half the ostentatious parading newspaper public characters of London—the slough of purse-proud vanity and unwieldy bloated wealth. . . . . The lower order of people of a certain country, I know, would think a man in such circumstances as I was then, a fitter object of pleasantry than pity." Soon after this, Captain Campbell, having thus paraded the benevolence of the achievement, tells us that he divided his moiety of the Lascar's rag with Mr. Hall. "You may well conceive our misery from this," he says, "if other circumstances were wanting, that such a thing as a rag of linen, not worth six pence, was a very material accommodation to us both."

The food of these wretched prisoners was not much more abundant than their raiment. "For some days," writes Captain Campbell, describing his sad journey into the interior, "we lay in this place, exposed to the weather, without even the slender comfort of a little straw to cover the ground beneath us—our food boiled rice, served very sparingly, twice a day by an old woman, who first threw a handful or more of it to each, upon a very dirty board, which we devoured with those spoons

nature gave us." But their sufferings had only just commenced. In a little while they became the prisoner of one Hydut Sahib, who appears to have been a worthy and congenial representative of Hyder, and to have done his best to render the condition of the prisoners as pitiable as human cruelty could make it. They had need of all their philosophy; and according to Captain Campbell it was exerted not without success:—

"One thing, however, I must not forget, is the fortitude with which he and all of them bore their punishment: it was truly heroic, indeed, beyond all belief. Nothing could surpass it, except the skill and inventive ingenuity which the barbarians exhibited in striking out new modes of torture. My soul sickened with horror at the sight: the amiable Hall could worse support it than his own miseries, and lost all that fortitude, in his feeling for other's misfortunes, which he displayed in so unbounded a share in his own; and often, very often, we found the rigour and severity of our own situation utterly forgotten in our anguish and sympathy for the sufferings of others. Never shall I forget it; never shall I think without horror of the accursed policy and wicked tyranny of the eastern Governments, where every sense of humanity is extinguished, and man, more merciless than the tiger, riots in the blood of his fellow-creatures without cause.

Mr. Hall, notwithstanding the various sufferings both of mind and body which he had undergone, began to recruit, and get a little better; and this circumstance, of itself, diffused a flow of spirits over me that contributed to my support. We consoled each other by every means we could devise—sometimes indulging in all the luxury of woe—sometimes rallying each other and with ill-dissembled sprightliness, calling on the Goddess Euphrosyne to come with her '*quips and cranks, and wreathed smiles*,' but, alas! the mountain nymph, sweet liberty, was far away, and the goddess shunned our abode. We, however, began to conceive that we might form a system for our relief, and, by a methodical arrangement, entrench ourselves from the assaults of grief; to this end, we formed several resolutions, and entered into certain engagements—such as, never to repine at our fate, *if we could*—to draw consolation from the more dreadful lot of others, *if we could*;—and to encourage hope—hope that comes to all; and, on the whole, to confine our conversation as much as possible to subjects of an agreeable nature: but these, like many other rules which we lay down for the conduct of life, were often broken by necessity, and left us to regret the fallibility of all human precautionary systems."

Hall, from the first, had been affected by one of the many cruel scourges of a tropical climate. The dispensations of providence were no less severe than the cruelties of man. Exposure to all the vicissitudes of the season—to heat, damp, and cold, without anything to mitigate their severity—scanty and unwholesome food—anxiety of mind and bodily sufferings—had brought on a severe attack of dysentery; and to render this added curse the more intolerable, the unhappy man, whilst in this distressing condition, was chained to the companion of his sufferings. Campbell and Hall had been yoked together by

their inhuman gaoler,* and no representations, no entreaties could induce the savage wretch to release them from this dreadful bondage. Hall, who appears to have been a man of much delicacy and sensitiveness of mind, suffered more from the thought of the offensive nature of his disease, when thus unable, for a moment, to escape from this enforced contact with his companion, than from the agonies of the complaint itself, and when death came at last, as come it did, it was indeed a deliverance. Campbell, amid the darkness of a melancholy spiritual gloom, thus records the last moments of his poor friend :—

"As it must be much more naturally matter of astonishment that any bodily strength could support itself under such complicated calamities, than that infirmity should sink beneath them, you will be rather grieved than surprised to hear that poor Mr. Hall was now approaching to his end with hourly accelerated steps. Every application that I made in his favour was refused, or rather treated with cruel neglect and contemptuous silence ; and I foresaw, with inexpressible anguish and indignation, that the barbarians would not abate him, in his last minutes, one jot of misery, and that my most amiable friend was fated to expire under every attendant horror that mere sublunary circumstances could create. But that pity which the mighty, the powerful, and enlightened denied, natural benevolence, operating upon an uninformed mind and scanty means, afforded us. Hydut Sahib, the powerful, the wealthy, the Governor of a great and opulent province, refused to an expiring fellow creature a little cheap relief—while a poor Sepoy taxed his little means to supply it : one who guarded us, of his own accord, at hazard of imminent punishment, purchased us a lamp and a little oil, which we burned for the last few nights.

Philosophers and Divines have declaimed upon the advantages of a well-spent life, as felt *in articulo mortis ;* and their efforts have had, I hope, some effect upon the lives of many. To witness one example, such as Mr. Hall held forth, would be worth volumes of precepts on this subject. The unfeigned resignation with which he met his dissolution, and the majestic fortitude with which he looked in the face the various circumstances of horror that surrounded him, rendered him the most dignified object I ever beheld or conceived, and the most glorious instance of conscious virtue triumphing over the terrors of death, and the cunning barbarity of mankind. Were the progress of virtue attended with pain, and the practice of vice with pleasure, the adoption of the former would be amply repaid by its soothings in the dreadful moment, even if it were to accompany us no farther. About a quarter of an hour before he died, Mr. Hall broached a most tender subject of conversation, which he followed up with a series of observations, so truly refined, so exquisitely turned, so delicate and so pathetic, that it seemed almost the language of inspiration, as if, in proportion to the decay of the body, intellect increased, and the dying man had become all mind. Such a conversation I never remembered to have heard or heard of. Its effects upon me were wonderful, for, though the combination of melancholy circumstances attending my now critical situation had almost raised my mind to frenzy, the salutary influence of his words and example controlled the excesses of

* Captain Campbell here says, that they devoured the very dirty board ; but we suppose that we are to set this assertion down to the account of a little syntactical confusion.

my sensations; and I met the afflicting moment of his departure with a degree of tranquillity, which, though not to be compared to his, has on reflection appeared to me astonishing. This conversation continued to the very instant of his death, during which time he held my hand clasped in his, frequently enforcing his kind expressions to me with a squeeze, while my sorrow, taking its most easy channel, bedewed my face with tears. As he proceeded, my voice was choked with my feeling, and I attempted once or twice in vain to speak. His hand grew cold, he said his lower limbs were all lifeless, and that he felt death coming over him with slow creeping steps. He again moralised, thanking God with pathetic fervour for his great mercy in leaving him his intellects unclouded, and the organ of communication (the tongue) unenfeebled, that to the last he might solace his friend and fellow-sufferer. "Ah! Campbell!" continued he, "to what a series of miseries am I now leaving you! Death in such circumstances is a blessing. I view mine as such, and should think it more so, if it contributed, by awakening those people to a sense of their cruelty, to soften their rigour to you; but cruelty like theirs is systematic, and stoops not to the control of the feelings. Could I hope that you would yet escape from their clutches and that you would once more press your family to your bosom, the thought would brighten still the moment of our separation; and Oh! my friend, could I still further hope that you would one day see my most beloved and honoured parents, and tell them of my death without wringing their hearts with its horrid circumstances, offer them my last duties, and tell how I revered them—if, too, you could see my——, and tell her how far, far more dear than——!" Here he turned his eyes toward the lamp, then faintly on me, made a convulsive effort to squeeze my hand, —cried out, "Campbell! Oh, Campbell! the lamp is going out! and expired without a groan."

The situation of the survivor now indeed became most dreadful. The human mind can scarcely picture to itself any thing more horrible. Campbell was chained to a rotting corpse. Putrefaction came on, as in Eastern climes it ever does, with fearful rapidity; and still the inhuman captor sternly refused to listen to the promptings of mercy; but we must here again permit the sufferer to tell his own melancholy tale:—

"It is impossible for me to express to you the agonies of mind I underwent during the rest of the night. In the morning, a report was made to the Commandant, of the death of Mr. Hall; and in about an hour after he passed me by, but kept his face purposely turned away from me to the other side. I patiently waited for the removal of the dead body till the evening, when I desired the Sepoys who guarded me to apply for its being removed. They returned, and told me that they could get no answer respecting it. *Night came on, but there was no appearance of an intention to unfetter me from the corpse.* The Commandant was sitting in his court, administering, in the manner I have before described, *justice!* I called out to him myself with all my might, but got no answer from him. Nothing could equal my rage and consternation; for exclusive of the painful idea of being shackled to the dead body of a friend I loved, another circumstance contributed to make it a serious subject of horror. In those climates, the weather is so intensely hot, that putrefaction almost instantly succeeds death; and meat that is killed in the morning, and kept in the shade, will be unfit for dressing at night. In a subject, then, on which putrefaction had made advances even before death, and which remained exposed to the open air, the process

must have been much more rapid. So far, however, from compassionating my situation, or indulging me by a removal of the body, their barbarity suggested to them to make it an instrument of punishment, and pertinaciously adhered to the most mortifying silence and disregard of my complaints. For several days and nights it remained attached to me by the irons. I grew almost distracted—wished for the means of putting an end to my miseries by death, and could not move without witnessing some new stage of putresence it attained, or breathe without inhaling the putrid effluvia that arose from it; while myriads of flies and loathsome insects rested on it, the former of which every now and then visited me, crawling over my face and hands, and lighting in hundreds on my victuals. I never look back at this crisis without confusion, horror, and even astonishment; and, were it not connected with a chain of events preceding and subsequent to it, too well known by respectable people to be doubted, and too much interwoven with a part of the history of the last war in India to admit of doubt, I should not only be afraid to tell, but absolutely doubt myself, whether the whole was not the illusion of a dream, rather than credit the possibility of my enduring such unheard-of hardships without loss of life or deprivation of senses."

At length, when the corpse was in such a state as to render it a work of difficulty to remove it, in a compact mass of corruption, the fetters were loosed:—

"At last, when the body had reached that shocking loathsome state of putrefaction which threatened that further delay would render removal abominable, if not impossible, the monsters agreed to take it away from me—and I was so far relieved; but the mortification and injury I underwent from it, joined to the agitation of the preceding week, made a visible inroad on my health. I totally lost my spirits; my appetite entirely forsook me; my long-nourished hopes fled; and I looked forward to death as the only desirable event that was within the verge of likelihood or possibility.

One day, my opposite friend (the native prisoner) gave me a look of the most interesting and encouraging kind; and I perceived a more than usual bustle in the citadel, while the Sepoys informed me that they were ordered on immediate service, and that some events of great importance had taken place. From this feeble gleam, my mind, naturally active, though depressed by circumstances of unusual weight, again took fire, and hope brightened with a kind of gloomy light the prospect before me. I revolved a thousand things, and drew from them a thousand surmises; but all as yet was only conjecture with me. In a day or two, the bustle increased to a high pitch, accompanied with marks of consternation: the whole of the troops in the citadel were ordered to march; and the commandant, and a man with a hammer and instruments, came to take off my irons.

While they were at work taking off my irons, I perceived that they were taking off those of the native prisoner opposite to me also. He went away under a guard: we looked at each other complacently, nodded and smiled, as who should say, "we hope to see one another in happier times." But, alas! vain are human hopes, and short and dark is the extent of our utmost foresight. This unhappy man, without committing any sort of offence to merit it, but in conformity to the damnable, barbarous policy of those countries, was, by the Jemadar's orders, taken forth, and his throat cut! This the Jemadar himself afterwards acknowledged to me; and, what was still more abominable, if possible, undertook to justify the proceeding upon the principles of reason, sound sense, and precedent of Asiatic policy."

We cannot afford space sufficient to enable us to pursue this narrative any further. Campbell's sufferings having reached their climax, now began somewhat to abate; the rigour of his captivity, by degrees, relaxed, and he at last effected his escape. The record is one, indeed, of almost incredible suffering—the details, of a most revolting character; and the inhumanity recorded difficult to understand. These prisoners were not even prisoners of war; they were not taken with arms in their hands; they were a set of helpless, harmless men, cast by the elements on an inhospitable shore—their sufferings, endured almost in secrecy, and unknown by their friends, could not have acted as warnings to others. They were tortured, from a mere love of cruelty—seemingly aiming at nothing beyond the gratification of a ferocious lust. It is altogether a singular chapter in the Philosophy of Man.

We now turn to another—or rather to a new section of the same chapter—for we have still the same torturers on the stage—Hyder Ali, his son, and his creatures. The narrative which we have now placed before us, is one entitled the "Captivity, sufferings, and escape of James Scurry, who was detained a prisoner during ten years in the dominions of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Saib." Scurry was a Devonshire boy. He was shipped on board the *Hannibal* in 1780, and had the misfortune to be taken, when to the east of the Cape, a prisoner by the French fleet. With the other prisoners he was landed at Cuddalore, and the French admiral, to his eternal disgrace, delivered over the whole party to the tender mercies of Hyder Ali. In the first instance they were taken to the Fort of Chillenbroom, but were soon moved off to Bangalore. "No butcher ever drove oxen with more cruelty than they were driven." After a march of twenty-one days, they reached their destination, and then the party was divided, and Scurry, with other prisioners, carried off to Burrampur. Here they were for some days fed upon rice, when their gaolers "changed it to *ragee*, the flour of which is nearly as black as coal. This no doubt," he says, "occasioned the death of numbers of our poor fellows, who died in excruciating agonies, which I think would not have been the case if they had medical assistance—but they might as well have asked for mountains of gold, as anything of this nature." Out of this diminished number, however, a small corps of boys was formed—fifteen in number—who were soon associated with other boys from the different parties of prisoners. The whole number—amounting to fifty-two—were then carried off to Seringapatam, where, having been well drugged with majum, they were formally Mahomedanised,

dressed out in Oriental habiliments and formed into a separate company. On the death of Hyder Ali, however, they were incorporated with Tippoo's slave-battalions; and the consideration which had before been shown to them as "Hyder's children," for so they were called, soon resolved itself into brutal and ignominious treatment, of which the following extract contains a sample:—

"Once we were kept without food for two days; and conscious we had done nothing to deserve it, we sallied forth to the durbar (a seat of justice so-called.) in order to exhibit a complaint of our grievances to the killadar; but Abdel Gunney, to whom I have adverted, learning our intentions, was before us, and intimated to the killadar to take care of his person, for that we were coming in a body, and he knew not for what purpose. This alarmed the Governor; and we no sooner arrived, than we were surrounded by a battalion of Sepoys, and our interpreter, Clark, a Lieutenant in the Company's service, who had begun to speak, was knocked down, and beaten in a most shocking manner. While he lay on the ground, they put him in heavy irons, and took him away, nor do I recollect ever seeing him afterwards. All this time we were secured by the Sepoys, who had orders to prime and load, and to fix their bayonets; and all this against fifty-two defenceless boys. Judge of our situation, my good reader, at this crisis! We were seized, and each of us was bound with two new ropes, confining our hands behind us; and, to make us secure, a strong man enclosed our arms, and with his knee, almost dislocated our shoulders; many of us had the marks in our arms for some years after. This done, we were wheeled to the right, then to the left, by the myre, or adjutant, in broken English, who would frequently, in the most contemptuous manner, cry out, "General Matthews,"—"Colonel Bailey,"—"Captain Ramney," and repeat the names of many officers they then had in their custody, of whom I shall very soon give the reader an accurate account. We were hauled in this degrading manner, until I and several more fainted; when I came to myself, we were all seated on the ground. I was bound between two lads, both midshipmen of the *Hannibal*, who told me, when I fell, they fell, with most of the rest; those who did not, informed us that so many falling, they were ordered to sit down. The skin of our breasts was like a drum head, and I am conscious to this day, if it had not been for the humanity of the durga, an officer equal to a sergeant, in slackening the ropes about twelve o'clock at night, very few would have survived till morning. This was done on his part at a great risk: may God reward him for it!

The next day we were ordered to be untied, one by one, and our heads to be again shaved,* which was performed; our ears also were bored, and a slave's mark was put in each of them. This being done, we were prohibited from speaking to each other in English, under pain of severe punishment. We were then marched or led crawling, rather, to our square, where they gave those who could immediately make use of it some food. Here we met every day, more or less, with severe treatment, until the year 1784, when a peace was concluded between the East India Company and Tippoo."

* Not contented with shaving and circumcising the youths, the Mussalmans scalded them in huge coppers, to boil the impurities of their bodies. "The reason assigned for this," says Scurry, "was that we had eaten a great quantity of pork in our time, and were therefore unclean."

Here is another specimen of the manner in which these poor creatures were treated :—

"Shortly after the arrival of General Matthews, Tippoo, thinking his mode of punishment towards those poor creatures who happened to fall under his displeasure, not severe or terrific enough, ordered nine large tiger cages to be made, and placed opposite his kerconah, or treasury. They were arranged there according to his order, and soon tenanted, each with a large tiger. After the death of Colonel Bailey, we were paraded before these ferocious animals, and had an opportunity of seeing them fed once or twice a day ; one of the nine was as black as a coal, the only one I ever saw of that colour. They were all taken in the Curakee jungles, which abound with elephants, tigers, wild boars, panthers, tiger cats, leopards, &c., and lie about twenty miles from Patam, and about ten from Mysore. Those tigers, above stated, were designed for the punishment of high crimes and misdemeanours ; three of his principal officers, namely, his head inche-walla, or general postmaster, his buxey, or paymaster-general, and another were severally thrown to the tigers and devoured in an instant, all but their heads ; for which purpose the tigers were always kept hungry ! these all suffered within the short space of four months."

In 1784, a peace with Tippoo was concluded—many of the prisoners in the Sultan's hands were giving up, but Scurry and his companions, of whom, in all probability, little was known in the British camp, were abandoned to their fate :—

"One morning, we were all sent for in a great hurry, and seated on the ground in front of the palace. An hour elapsed, during which period hope and fear alternately succeeded. A few were quite sanguine that we were going to be released. Vain imagination ! We were escorted under a strong guard to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, where we were separated, and sent to different prisons. The spot I was in, was the fatal place where Captain Ramney and Lieutenant Fraser and Sampson had their throats cut ; and about this period, Lieutenants Rutledge and Spediman were Mahommedanized. The latter cut his own throat between the Mysore gates, and the former, an amiable character, after surviving him about three years, being suspected of correspondence with the English, was sent to Nairandroog, or rock of death, perhaps as unwholesome a spot as any in Asia. If this did not answer the end intended, that of putting a period to his existence, it is highly probable that prison, or the but-ends of muskets did. This Nairandroog was the place to which the afflicted Hindus were sent by hundreds."

During four miserable years, Scurry and his companions continued to bear the burthen of this oppressive captivity, hurried from place to place, often threatened with death, and often on the verge of starvation. Many of the party died ; some were murdered ; and the sufferings of those who lived were such as to make them envy the departed. Tippoo had taken it into his head to provide this battalion with wives, and the young men had all been regularly married according to the ceremonials of Mahommedanism.* This does not seem to have mitigated

* Scurry's account of this transaction is somewhat amusing ; we may therefore give it in a note :—

"We were one day strangely informed, that each of us, who was of a proper age, was to

their griefs; and when at last they contrived to effect their escape, the joy of deliverance was clouded over by the wretchedness of being compelled to abandon their wives and children. On the renewal of the war, the prisoner-battalion affected great loyalty in the cause of the Sultan, and were employed by him in operations against the Mahrattas. Some of them were killed, when fighting with much gallantry, and many of the remainder took advantage of the opportunity afforded by the confused state of the country to make their escape; and after undergoing considerable hardships and privations on the way, arrived in safety in the English camp. These prisoners were principally young naval men—many of them midshipmen, who had been taken prisoners by the French. The entire number of English prisoners, which during the war fell into the hands of Hyder and his son, it would be difficult to compute. Among these were a number of children. Besides the battalion composed of Scurry and his companions—all British youths—there was, we are informed, a company of European boys at Seringapatam, too young to carry fire-arms—the eldest being not more than fifteen. These juvenile captives appear to have excited the sympathies of the ladies of the seraglio, by whom and their attendants the youngsters were kindly treated; but when the British army, under Cornwallis, advanced upon the capital, Tippoo ordered them to be put to death

It would be easy to multiply instances illustrative of the horrors of eastern captivity, under Hyder Ali and his son. We have many volumes of interesting personal memoirs available for such a purpose, but we have found it necessary to make scanty selections; and though it has been our object to quote

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have a wife; for this piece of news we were extremely sorry, but there was no possibility of our preventing their designs. There were at this time a number of young girls, who had been driven with their relations out of the Carnatic, when Hyder infested that country, which he almost over-ran, as already stated. Some of these poor creatures were allotted for us; and one morning we were ordered to fall into rank and file, when those girls were placed one behind each of us, while we stood gazing at one another, wondering what they were about to do. At last, the Durga gave the word. "To the right about face," with the addition (in the Moorish language) of "take what is before you." This, when understood, some did, and some did not; but the refractory were soon obliged to comply. Thus they fed their vanity, by making our first interview as ludicrous as possible, each being by this means supplied with a piece of furniture, for which, however valuable in general, we had neither want nor inclination. When this ceremony was completed, we were ordered back to our square and on our return with our young black doxies, we had the bazar or public market to pass, where the crowed was so difficult to penetrate, as to separate us. This laid the foundation for some serious dispute afterwards, many insisting that the women they had, when they arrived at the square, were not the same they had at first. This scene was truly comic, for the girl, when we understood them, which was many months afterwards, had the same views that we had, and were frequently engaged with their tongues on this score, long before we could understand the cause of their disputes. Our enemies seemed to enjoy this in a manner that would have done honor to a British Theatre. Two months passed on, when the priest came to consummate our nuptials; and the conclusion of the ceremony was as curious as the beginning. The bride and her consort were led to an eminence, with flowers round their necks, and seated; after which, their thumbs were tied together, when the priest muttered something which we could not comprehend, and we were married.

from those narratives, which are probably the least familiar to the majority of our readers, we are not sure that we have selected wisely. They are all very much of the same character, differing only in accidental circumstances—and all go a long way to establish the fact, that there are harder gaolers in Asia than the Affghans.

Working up chronologically to these latter days, we come upon the operations of the British in Ceylon, from the chronicles of which, could we afford space for such ample illustration of our subject, we might derive more than one interesting narrative of captivity in the East. Reverting to an earlier date, there are few prison-histories better calculated to awaken attention and sympathy than that of Mr. Robert Knox, a sea captain, who passed many years in captivity among the Singalese. In more recent days, the captivity of Major Davie stands forth as a prominent illustrative example—but we are compelled to pass it by unnoticed.

The painful interest attending the recent captivity of the prisoners taken by Mahommed Akbar Khan was so greatly enhanced by the distressing consideration, that some of these prisoners were English ladies, that our illustrations of the present subject will, we feel assured, be rendered more valuable by the introduction of one or two narratives of captivity, in which the principle sufferers have belonged to that interesting class. The first instance of female imprisonment which presents itself to us, is contained in the history of Mrs. Fay, who at the close of the last century, published a series of letters from which we made some amusing extracts in the earlier numbers of our journals. Mrs. Fay was the wife of a barrister, who, on her way out to Calcutta with her husband (*they* also attempted the overland route by the Persian Gulf), was cast away on the southern coast, and had the ill-fortune to fall into the hands of some of Hyder's creatures. The narrative of her sufferings is rather amusing than touching. There is nothing in it to raise our opinion of womanly fortitude, little to awaken sympathy or admiration. The party of prisoners were, on the whole, a sufficiently contemptible set—the lady, at least according to her own account, the best of the captive band. We had purposed to have given some extracts from these letters; but it is necessary that we should curtail *some* of our materials, and we have more pleasure in dwelling upon the womanly heroism of a Judson than the fussy impudence of a Fay.

In May 1824, the British force, under Sir Archibald Campbell, was landed at Rangoon. The effect produced

to that which might be looked for from the bursting of a bomb in the market place, when all the people are intent on traffic undisturbed by a thought of war. The invasion, at such a time, was wholly unexpected. No preparations had been made for the defence of the place, and when the alarm note was first sounded, the frighted inhabitants fled hither and thither, in the extremity of mortal fear. The Government officers, who had gained intelligence of the coming danger, as soon as the British force entered the Rangoon river, had issued orders for the apprehension of every *topi-wallah** in the place; and accordingly the missionaries then present, Messrs. Hough and Wade, were seized and cast into prison. The danger which threatened them was imminent. Orders had been sent to the gaolers to massacre the unhappy captives, so soon as the sound of the first shot fired by the British should reach the prison-house, but these men of valour were so unnerved by the noise of the British artillery, that they shrunk cowering into the corner of the dungeon—unable to perform the duty of the headsman. The second round shook the walls of the prison, and the gaolers fled, panic-struck from an abode which seemed about to fall and crush them. After a while the firing ceased and the prisoners, thus left to themselves, were reckoning on a speedy deliverance, when a band of some fifty Burmans rushed into the dungeon, dragged their victims into the open air, tore off all their clothes with the exception of their trowsers, bound their arms behind them with cords, drawn as tightly as human strength and human cruelty could achieve, and "almost literally carried them through the streets upon the point of their spears to the seat of judgment. There they were made to sit upon their knees, with their bodies bent forward for the convenience of the executioner, who was ordered that moment to behead them.†" Mr. Hough, understanding the order given, bethought himself, in this crisis, of turning the alarms of the enemy to good account; he petitioned for a respite, and urged that if he were permitted to proceed to the British fleet, he would "exert his influence to prevent any further firing on the town" The ercession caused some delay. The prisoners were saved. ing the colloquy that ensued, the voices of the speakers suddenly drowned by the roar of the British cannon. ourt was immediately broken up. The judges fled in from the judgment seat, and the prisoners fled, only

vallah is a hat-wearer—in Eastern eyes, the distinguishing mark of an

Mr. Wade.

however, to be recaptured outside the town by the Government people. They were then imprisoned in a "kind of vault," which "afforded only sufficient air for purposes of ventilation;" but on the following morning, the cry of the "English are coming" having been raised, the affrighted gaolers took to their heels, and the British force soon afterwards coming up, the prisoners were rescued, and the irons struck from their limbs.

At this time, two other members of the mission, Dr. Price and Mr. Judson were at Ava. The latter was attended by his wife. Their situation was one of imminent peril. It was difficult to encourage even a faint hope that they would live to be restored to their friends. Humanly speaking their doom was sealed, and it remained only to look for a remarkable interposition of Providence in their behalf. The saving hand was miraculously extended. For nearly two years, the fate of the prisoners was enveloped in doubt and uncertainty. It was impossible to reflect on the fact of their captivity without the most painful emotions. If they lived, they lived but a life of suffering; and charity sometimes almost ceased to wish that they were any longer in the flesh. At length, in the spring of 1826, intelligence was received in the British camp, that the prisoners had survived their captivity, and presently they were delivered up into the hands of Sir Archibald Campbell.

Their sufferings had been intense. Of these sufferings, we have afforded our readers, in a recent number of this journal, some not uninteresting glimpses. But for this, we should have been tempted to borrow more largely from Mrs. Judson's narrative. As it is, we must content ourselves with a few touching extracts, not, as in the article to which we have referred,* to illustrate Mrs. Judson's heroism, but her husband's sufferings and her own.

When the news of the arrival of the British fleet before Rangoon reached Ava, Dr. Price and Mr. Judson were seized and cast into the prison. Writing to the brother of the latter, the author of the narrative now before us, says—

"On the 8th of June, just as we were preparing for dinner, in rushed an officer holding a black book, with a dozen Burmans, accompanied by one, who, from his spotted face, we knew to be an executioner, and a 'son of the prisoner.' 'Where is the teacher?' was the first enquiry. Mr. Judson presented himself. 'You are called by the the king,' said the officer; a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal. The spotted man instantly seized Mr. Judson, threw him on the floor and produced

* Art., "Englishwoman in Hindustan."—*Calcutta Review*, No. VII.

the small cord, the instrument of torture. I caught hold of his arm; 'stay,' (said I) 'I will give you money.' 'Take her too,' said the officer; 'she is also a foreigner.' Mr. Judson, with an imploring look, begged they would let me remain till further orders; the scene now was shocking beyond description. The whole neighbourhood had collected—the masons at work on the brick house threw down their tools and ran—the little Burman children were screaming and crying. The Bengali servants stood in amazement at the indignities offered their master—and the hardened executioner, with a kind of hellish joy, drew tight the cords, bound Mr. Judson fast, and dragged him off, I knew not whither. In vain I begged and entreated the spotted face to take the silver, and loosen the ropes; but he spurned my offers, and immediately departed. I gave the money, however, to Moung Jug to follow after, to make some further attempt to mitigate the torture of Mr. Judson; but instead of succeeding, when a few rods from the house, the unfeeling wretches again threw their prisoner on the ground, and drew the cords still tighter, so as almost to prevent respiration."

Of the general character of the captivity which followed Mrs. Judson writes—

"During seven months, the continual extortions and oppressions to which your brother and the other white prisoners were subject are indescribable. Sometimes sums of money were demanded, sometimes pieces of cloth and handkerchiefs: and at other times, an order would be issued, that the white foreigners should not speak to each other, or have any communication with their friends without. Then, again, the servants were forbidden to carry in their food, without an extra fee. Sometimes, for days and days together, I could not go into the prison, till after dark, when I had two miles to walk in returning to the house.

Oh, dreary prison! at nine o'clock at night, solitary and worn out with fatigue and anxiety, I threw myself down in that same rocking chair, which you and Deacon L. provided for me in Boston, and endeavoured to invent some new scheme for the release of the prisoners. Sometimes, for a morning or two, my thought would glance toward America and my beloved friends there—but for nearly a year and half, so entirely engrossed was every thought with present scenes and sufferings, that I seldom reflected on a single occurrence of my former life, or recollected that I had a friend in existence out of Ava.

The intercessions of Mrs. Judson, who was not incarcerated with her husband, appear to have done much to mitigate his sufferings, but having for a while been rendered helpless by her own condition—for at this time she gave birth to a daughter—her influence declined, and she was soon compelled sorrowfully to write.—"When Maria was nearly two months old, her father one morning sent me word that he and all the white prisoners were put into the inner prison, in five pair of fetters each; that his little room had been torn down and his mat, pillow, &c., had been taken away by the sailors. This was to me a dreadful shock." She exerted herself, but in vain, to procure from the Governor some mitigation of this excessive punishment; and soon afterwards she adds—

"The situation of the prisoners was now distressing beyond description.

It was at the commencement of the hot season. There were above a hundred prisoners shut up in one room, without a breath of air, excepting from the cracks in the boards. I sometimes obtained permission to go to the door for five minutes when my heart sickened at the wretchedness exhibited. The white prisoners, from incessant perspiration and loss of appetite, looked more like the dead than the living. I made daily applications to the Governor, offering him money, which he refused; but all that I gained, was permission for the foreigners to eat their food outside, and this continued but a short time."

A little further on she describes the effects of this rigorous treatment, and the success of her own unwearing importunities:—

"After continuing in the inner prison for more than a month, your brother was taken with a fever. I felt assured that he would not live long, unless removed from that noisome place. To effect this, and in order to be near the prison, I removed from our house, and put up a small bambu room in the Governor's enclosure, which was nearly opposite the prison gate. Here I incessantly begged the Governor to give me an order to take Mr. J. out of the large prison, and place him in a more comfortable situation; and the old man, being worn out with my intreaties, at length gave me an order in an official form; and also gave orders to the head jailor, to allow me to go out all times of the day, to administer medicines, &c. I now felt happy indeed."

Soon after this, the prisoners were carried off to Oung-pen-la; the manner of their removal is thus described by Mrs. Judson, who having been summoned to the presence of the Governor, was absent at the time, after the account of the transaction supplied by her husband:—

"As soon as I had gone out at the call of the Governor, one of the jailors rushed into Mr. J.'s little room—roughly seized him by the arm—pulled him out—stripped him of all his clothes, excepting shirt and pantaloons—took his shoes, hat and all his beddings—tore off all his chains—tied a rope round his waist, and dragged him to the court house, where the other prisoners had previously been taken. They were then tied two and two, and delivered into the hands of the Lamine Hoon, who went on before them on horseback, while his slaves drove the prisoners, one of the slaves holding the rope which connected two of them together. It was in May, one of the hottest months of the year, and eleven o'clock in the day, so that the sun was intolerable indeed.

They had proceeded only half a mile, when your brother's feet became blistered, and so great was its agony, even at this early period, that as they were crossing the little river, he ardently longed to throw himself into the water to be free from misery. But the sin attached to such an act alone prevented. They had then eight miles to walk. The sand and gravel were like burning coals to the feet of the prisoners, which soon became perfectly destitute of skin, and in that wretched state they were goaded on by their unfeeling drivers."

Mrs. Judson set out immediately to follow the wretched band of captives, and on the following morning was re-united to her husband. Their sufferings now were intense. Her husband

in a high fever; her child in the small-pox; herself covered with pustules. And soon after this, anxiety, fatigue, privation, exposure to the climate, and other deteriorating influences brought on "one of the diseases of the climate, which is almost always fatal to foreigners," and for some time, this heroic woman lay at the point of death. The disease, which though not named, nor very clearly indicated by Mrs. Judson, appears to have been the same cruel scourge which destroyed Mr. Hall; it yielded, after some time to opium; but the poor woman was so greatly reduced, that she could scarcely crawl to her mat—"so altered, so emaciated," that her old servant, "the good native cook," on her reaching Dung-pen-la, "burst into tears at the first sight" of her. Of this man's goodness Mrs. Judson writes earnestly and affectionately; and we have no little pleasure in recommending the annexed paragraphs to the attention of those who declare that the natives of India are utterly without gratitude:—

"At this period, when I was unable to take care of myself, or look after Mr. Judson, we must both have died, had it not been for the faithful and affectionate care of our Bengali cook. A common Bengali cook will do nothing but the simple busines of cooking: but he seemed to forget his caste, and almost his own wants, in his efforts to serve us. He would provide, cook, and carry your brother's food, and then return and take care of me. I have frequently known him not to taste food till near night in consequence of having to go so far for wood and water, and in order to have Mr. Judson's dinner ready at the usual hour. He never complained, never asked for his wages, and never for a moment hesitated to go any where, to perform any act we required. I take great pleasure in speaking of the faithful conduct of this servant who is still with us, and I trust has been well rewarded for his services."

During this time, be it remembered, Mrs. Judson had a young infant, for whom "neither a nurse nor a drop of milk could be procured in the village." And then she adds, in her simple, touching style, "By making presents to the jailors, I obtained leave for Mr. Judson to come out of prison and take the little emaciated creature around the village, to beg a little nourishment from those mothers who had young children. Her cries in the night were heart-rending, when it was impossible to supply her wants. I now began to think that the very afflictions of Job had come upon me." They had, indeed; for before she was nearly recovered from the disease which had attacked her at Dung-pen-la and reduced her to a very skeleton, she "was seized with the spotted fever with all its attendant horrors." On the very day of her seizure, however, by a merciful provision of Providence, a Burmese nurse offered her services for the little Maria. The fever raged violently; and

she was again at the very point of death. She was, in fact, so far gone, that the Burmese neighbours who had come in to see her expire, said, "She is dead; and if the king of angels should come in, he could not recover her." But she was saved; after the fever had continued for some seventeen days it began to abate; but before she had began to recover her strength, she heard a report that Mr. Judson was to be sent back to the Dung-pen la prison, in which she had suffered so much, and these melancholy, tidings nearly brought on a relapse. She could do nothing but—*pray*. What could she have done better? Her prayers were answered "The Governer of the North Gate presented a petition to the court of the empire, offered himself as Mr. Judson's security, obtained his release, and took him to his house, where he treated him with every possible kindness, and to which I (Mrs. Judson) removed as soon as returning health would allow." Their sufferings were now nearly at an end. The British troops were marching towards the capital; and the effect of this movement was speedily felt throughout the country. The Burmese Government were panic-struck; and the white prisoners were released. Mrs. Judson thus describes the events attending her restoration :—

'It was on a cool, moonlight evening, in the month of March, that, with hearts filled with gratitude to God, and overflowing with joy at our prospects, we passed down the Irrawaddy surrounded by six or eight golden boats accompanied by all we had on earth. The thought that we had still to pass the Burman camp would sometimes occur to damp our joy, for we feared that some obstacle might there arise to retard our progress. Nor were we mistaken in our conjectures. We reached the camp about midnight, where we were detained two hours; the Woongyee and high officers insisted that *we* should wait at the camp, while Dr. Price (who did not return to Ava with your brother, but remained at the camp) should go on with the money, and first ascertain whether peace would be made. The Burmese Government still entertained the idea that as soon as the English had received the money and prisoners they would continue their march and yet destroy the capital. We knew not but that some circumstance might occur to break off the negotiation, Mr. Judsons; therefore, strenuously insisted that he would not remain, but go on immediately. The officers were finally prevailed on to consent, hoping much from Mr. Judson's assistance in making peace.

We now, for the first time, for more than a year-and-a-half, felt that we were free, and no longer subjects to the oppressive yoke of the Burmese. And with what sensations of delight, on the next morning, did I behold the masts of the steam boat, the sure presage of being within the bounds of civilised life! As soon as our boat reached the shore, Brigadier A. and another officer came on board, congratulated us on our arrival, and invited us on board the steam boat, where I passed the remainder of the day, while your brother went on to meet the General, who, with a detachment of the army, had encamped at Yandaboo, a few miles further down the river. Mr Judson returned in the evening, with an invitation from Sir Archibald, to come immediately to his quarters, where I was the next morning introduced, and received with the greatest kindness by the General, who had a tent pitched

for us near his own, took us to his own table, and treated us with the kindness of a father, rather than as strangers of another country."

Of Mrs. Judson little is known in the noisy world. Few, comparatively, are acquainted with her name; few with her actions; but if any woman, since the first arrival of the white strangers on the shores of India, has on that great theatre of war, stretching between the mouth of the Irrawaddy and the borders of the Hindú Kúsh, rightly earned for herself the title of a heroine, Mrs. Judson has, by her doings and sufferings, fairly earned the distinction,—a distinction, be it said, which her true woman's nature would have very little appreciated. Still it is right that she should be honored by the world. Her sufferings were far more unendurable,—her heroism far more noble, than any which, in more recent times, have been so so much pitied and so much applauded; but she was a simple missionary's wife,—an American by birth; and she told her tale with artless modesty, writing only what it became her to write,—treating only of matters which concern a woman. Her captivity, if so it can be called, was voluntarily endured. She, of her own free will, shared the sufferings of her husband, taking to herself no credit for anything that she did, putting her trust in God, and praying to him to strengthen her human weakness. She was spared to breathe once again the free air of liberty; but her troubles had done the work of death upon her delicate frame, and she was soon translated to heaven. She was the real heroine. The annals of captivity in the East present us with no parallel.

And yet we are not unmindful of the doings and sufferings of others, who in more recent times have entitled themselves to our pity and our admiration Doubtless, in the person of Mrs. Noble, of Lady Sale and her companions in captivity, many heroic qualities were developed. Mrs Noble, who was taken by the Chinese, the vessel which her husband commanded having gone to pieces on a shoal in the China seas when bound for Chusan, underwent cruel hardships, and was subjected to gross insults, all of which she appears to have borne with due Christian fortitude. Her husband and her child perished with the vessel which bore them; but she herself contrived to escape with Lieutenant Douglas, who shared her captivity. In a narrative, which she published in an Anglo-Chinese periodical, she thus describes her landing:—

"We had scarcely ascended the bank, when, on looking behind, we saw a large party of soldiers, a Mandarin, and a number of Chines pursuing us. We saw at once we were betrayed, flight was impossible, resistance as vain. I was leaning on Lieutenant Douglas's arm; he stood boldly in my defence, but

it was of no use, for they struck me several times They then put chains around our necks, hurrying us along a path not half a yard in breadth to a large city, through every street of which they led us. The people thronged by thousands to stare, so that we could scarcely pass. Their savage cries were terrific. From this they led us to a temple full of soldiers, and one of the wretches stole my wedding ring from my finger, the only thing I treasured. Alas! that I was not to keep that one dear pledge of my husband's affection. They then set a table and wrote Chinese, asking whether we understood it. Never shall I forget that temple, their fierce grimaces and savage threats.

Hitherto Lieut. Douglas had been my only friend, and I think I may say that we have been a mutual comfort to each other throughout our sufferings. But we were soon to part; the soldiers bound Lieut. Douglas's hands behind him, and tied him to a post, and in this situation I was forced from him. We took an affectionate leave of one another as friends never expecting to meet again, until we met in heaven. He gave me his black silk handkerchief to tie round my waist, which I shall ever treasure as a remembrance of that truly sad moment. We anticipated instant death in its most cruel form, and I think I could say, surely the bitterness of death is past."

And here is a graphic account of the progress of the prisoners:—

"We must have looked wretched in the extreme, our clothes being much covered with dirt as well as drenched with rain; my hair hung dishevelled round my neck. In this state we must have walked at least twenty miles, and passed through numberless cities, all the inhabitants of which crowded around us, and their hooting and savage yells were frightful. We twice passed through water nearly up to our waist. After having reached a temple, we were allowed to rest ourselves on some stones. They gave us here some prison clothes and food. At night they laid down some mats and a quilt on either side of a large temple. Mr. Witts and the boy took one side, and after a short prayer to my Almighty heavenly father, I lay down but not to sleep; the chain round our necks being fastened to the walls. Would I could describe to you the scene;—the temple beautifully lighted up with lanterns our miserable beds and more miserable selves, all the dark faces of the frightful looking Chinese (of whom I think there were eight), the smoke from there long pipes; the din of gong and other noises, which they kept up all night, were indeed horrid. Long, very long did this night appear."

Mrs. Noble was not confined in a prison, but in a *cage*. She thus describes the manner in which her condition was assimilated to that of a beast in a *cage*. Like Mrs. Judson, she appears to have gone to the only source of consolation:—

"We remained here two days and three nights, taunted and derided by all around us. On the morning of Monday the 21st, they took the end of our chains, and bade us follow them. They put our coats and quilts into small cages, just such as we should think a proper place to confine a wild beast in; mine was scarcely a yard high, a little more than ¾ of a yard long, and a little more than half a yard broad. The door opened from the top. Into these we were lifted, the chain round our necks being locked to the cover; they put a long piece of bambu through the middle; a man took either end, and in this manner we were jolted from city to city, to suffer insults from the rabble, the cries of whom were awful; but my God had not forsaken me, and even then, although a widow and in the hands of such bitter enemies, and expecting death at every moment, I could remember with delight, that

Christ my Saviour had said, "I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live," and through the blessing of the Almighty, I was enabled to sing praises to God aloud. I need not tell you, my dear and much loved friend, how much I thought of my sweet and once happy home, and my dear fatherless child, and how fervently I prayed to that God of mercy and goodness, who had so wonderfully upheld me in all my sufferings, to bless her also.

Death was nothing to me; I longed to be with my Saviour to praise him for ever, and to meet again my affectionate husband and sweet child who were more than life to me."

The prisoners were carried to Ningpo, where they remained for some months, suffering great hardships and indignities. Mrs Noble's chief consolation was a Bible—an "inestimable treasure," sent to her by a friend. They remained for sometime at Ningpo, when they were removed to Chin-hai, and then taken to Chusan and released. We need not pursue the narrative; Mrs Noble appears to have possessed a considerable amount of Christian fortitude, which enabled her to bear up against her manifold trials with patience and resignation. She has not paraded her sufferings; the record which we have is simple and unostentatious; and we doubt not that the story might have been rendered more effective. There appears to have been much untold.

We now turn to the narrative of the Kabul captivity:—On the 9th of that fatal January, when the knives of the Affghans and the terrific cold of the winter-season had done their work upon our force, when thousands of the dead and dying were stretched in that blood-stained snow, and there appeared to be small hope that the survivors would ever reach Jellalabad in safety, Akbar Khan came forward with a proposal to take the ladies and children under his protection, suggesting that the married men should accompany their wives, and that a few wounded and sick officers should join the party. This was acceded to—other wounded officers were subsequently added to the number, and certain hostages, who were given up during the Retreat as a guarantee for the evacuation of Jellalabad, were soon joined to the band of captives. "Shortly after," says Lady Sale, "Pottinger, Mackenzie, and "Lawrence, arrived at the Kúrd Kabul Fort with the Sirdar; "he turned to Lawrence and said that he had a proposal to "make, but that he did not like to do so lest his motives might "be misconstrued; but that as it concerned us more than "himself, he would mention it; and that it was, that all the "married men with their families should come over and put "themselves under his protection, he guaranteeing them

"honourable treatment and safe escort to Peshawur." He added, "that Lawrence must have seen from the events of the day "previous—the loss of Capt. Boyd's and Capt. Anderson's "children,* &c., that our camp was no place of safety for the "ladies and children. Lawrence replied, that he considered the "proposition a most admirable one; and, Skinner coming in "just then, he repeated what had passed to him, who replied, "'this is just what I was thinking of suggesting." On which "Lawrence begged he would go off and get the General's "sanction and bring them all without delay. Major Pottinger "concurred entirely in the expediency of this measure." The General acceded to the proposition, and Lady Sale adds, "There can be little doubt but that the proposition was "acceded to by the General in the two-fold hope of placing "the ladies and children beyond the dangers and dreadful pri- "vations of the camp; and also of showing the Sirdar that he "was sincere in his wish to negotiate a truce, and thus win from "him a similar feeling of confidence." The captive-band thus formed were carried by a circuitous route to Kúrd Kabul, whither Captain and Mrs. Boyd enjoyed the inexpressible happiness of finding that their missing child had been conveyed in safety. The accommodation here was scanty, and the food not very delicate, "mutton bones and greasy rice," but it was the best procurable; and on the morrow they were hurried off through "dreadful scenes" to the Tezeen fort—"the road covered with awfully mangled bodies all naked—numbers of camp-followers still alive, frost-bitten, and starving, some perfectly out of their senses and idiotic, the smell of the blood sickening, and the corpses so thick, it was impossible to look from them, as it required care to guide one's horse so as not to tread upon the bodies." At Tezeen they found another British officer, Lieut. Melville of the 54th. "He "had, in guarding the color of his regiment, received five "severe wounds. He had fortunately seven rupees about "him; these he gave to an Affghan to take him to the "Sirdar (Akbar Khan) who dressed his wounds with his "own hands, applying burnt rags: and paid him every atten- tion."† At Tezeen they were well treated; and on the

* Capt. Anderson's child, which was carried to Kabul, was subsequently restored to its parents. She had been most kindly and tenderly treated, and had attached herself to her rough Affghan keepers. It is observable that throughout the captivity the Affghan Sirdars were all kindness and gentleness to the children; even Akbar Khan was a favorite with these little prisoners, who neither feared nor suspected him.

† Lady Sale's Journal—page 249.

following day they were moved to Abdúlah Khan's fort.* Here "the whole parties were crammed into one room," and "an old woman cooked chupatties for them three for a rupee, but finding the demand great, soon raised the price to a rupee each"—an embodiment *in petto* of the spirit of commerce all over the world The next day they were again on the move, hurried through rugged defiles, up stony hills, and down precipitate descents,—everywhere meeting sad memorials of the frightful carnage attending the retreat On the night of the 14th, they bivouacked *el fresco*, the inhabitants of the fort which they had reached, having refused to take them in, because they were Kaffirs. "We therefore," says Lady Sale, "rolled ourselves up as warm as we could, and with our saddles for pillows braved the elements." The journal-writer adds:—

"Gen. Elphinstone, Brig. Shelton, and Johnson considered themselves happy when one of the Affghans told them to accompany him into a wretched cow shed, which was filled with dense smoke from a blazing fire in the centre of the hut. These officers and Mr. Melville were shortly after invited by Mahommed Akbar Khan to dine with him and his party in the fort. The reception room was not much better than that they had left: they had, however, a capital dinner, some cups of tea, and luxurious rest at night; the room having been well heated by a blazing fire with plenty of smoke, with no outlet for either heat or smoke, except through the door and a small circular hole in the roof."—(*Page* 282.)

The entry of the following day contains these passages:—

"*15th January.*—The chiefs gave us every assistance: Mahommed Akbar Khan carried Mrs Waller over behind him on his own horse. One rode by me to keep my horse's head well up the stream. The Affghans made great exertions to save both men and animals struggling in the water; but in spite of all their endeavours five unfortunates lost their lives.

* * *

A great number of Hindu bunneahs reside at Tighri. We went to the fort of Golab Moyniúdín, who took Mrs. Sturt and myself to the apartments of his mother and wife Of course we could not understand much that they said; but they evidently made much of us, pitied our condition, told us to ask them for any thing we required, and before parting they gave us a lump of goor filled with pistaches, a sweetmeat they are themselves fond of."—(*Page* 282-283.)

On the 17th they reached the fort at Buddíabad, which was destined for their prison-house. It was the most extensive fortress in the valley, in a good state of repair; and the best accommodation it presented was given up for the reception of the English prisoners. Lady Sale thus briefly describes it:—

"Six rooms, forming the two sides of an inner square or citadel, are appropriated to us; and a tykhana to the soldiers. This fort is the largest in the

* During the march they were joined by Dr. MacGrath, who "owed his life in a measure to an Affghan horseman, who recognised him as having shown some little kindness to some of his sick friends at Kabul."—*Lady Sale.*

valley, and is quite new ; it belongs to Mahommed Shah Khan : it has a deep ditch and a faussebraye all round. The walls of mud are not very thick. and are built up with blanks in tiers on the inside. The buildings we occupy are those intended for the chief and his favorite wife; those for three other wives are in the outer court, and have not yet been roofed in. We number nine ladies, twenty gentlemen and fourteen children. In the tykhana are seventeen European soldiers, two European women and one child, Mrs. Barnes. Mrs Wade, and little Stoker."—(*Pages* 284-285.)

Here then the captivity commenced. The journey to Buddiabad has been attended with none but unavoidable sufferings. The prisoners appear to have ridden throughout the journey, and if the roads were none of the best, they were good enough for the Afghans, whose country could not boast of better. They had not like Hyder's prisoners been driven along like herds of oxen to the slaughter, nor insulted and buffeted and spat upon on their way to the place of captivity, like the unhappy men who were massacred by the Chinese authorities on the island of Formosa. These wretched prisoners—the unfortunate crews of the *Nerbudda* and the *Anne*, which were wrecked upon that " beautiful" island in 1842—underwent their captivity contemporaneously with the Kabul prisoners, and were murdered very shortly after the latter were restored to their friends. Though the sufferings of these men were far more severe than those endured by the prisoners in Afghanistan, and consummated by the cold blooded massacre of nearly two hundred human creatures, their fate excited comparatively but small interest either in India or England ; and it may be questioned whether, while Mr. Murray was selling his *thousands* of the Journals of Lieutenant Eyre and Lady Sale, Messrs. Chapman and Hall found it quite as easy to dispose of *hundreds* of copies of the " Journals kept by Mr Gully and Captain Denham." The causes of this striking disproportion lie on the surface, and we need not pause to explain anything which must be so manifest to the understanding of our readers. But, as the Journals of the Chinese prisoners are now before us by the side of the better known volumes of the Kabul captives, it may not be uninteresting, whilst noticing the latter, to make, ever and anon, some incidental references to the former, and leave the reader to draw the parallel. When Mr. Gully and his companions were first seized, they were stripped of all their clothes, though the weather was bitterly cold ; and the indignities heaped upon them by their captors were most distressing. " We were stripped," says Mr. G., " of nearly every rag ; some of us to the skin. They left me nothing but two pairs of old drawers. I never felt the cold so severe in my life." They were then carried off to the shore, and commenced

their painful march " with no covering, and a piercing northerly wind, with rain and sleet, no shoes, and most of the way over the beach composed entirely of shingle, covered with old cockle and mussel shells, which cut the feet at every step, and often I was compelled to go upon my hands and knees to ease the pain of my feet." Some of the party " perished on the road from cold and fatigue. At night they were lodged in granaries, or joss houses—always in wretchedly small apartments; and everywhere they were told in the villages that they would assuredly be beheaded. In passing through the towns, they " suffered all sorts of abuse and indignities." They were treated like common felons, fettered with hand-cuffs and leg irons, which cut painfully into the flesh. Captain Denham says.—" In passing through these places, we were abused and called all manner of names; our hair occasionally pulled by way of amusement; they also threw all sorts of filth at us, and the children, and often full-grown men, spat at us as we were carried along." Again: "During these days we were crowded with visitors of all sorts and at all hours, many of whom spat at us through the bars of our place of confinement." And again; ' It was not at all an uncommon thing for them to pretend to give us cash, and when our hands were out between the bars, to have some filth put in them, or else to have them spit in" " On entering the town we were surrounded by the natives, who crowded round us in hundreds, spitting at us, and behaving in a most brutal way." Thus different, indeed, was the treatment experienced at the hands of the populace by the Chinese prisoners, from that endured by the captives in Afghanistan. To this cruel treatment, however, we find but too many parallels. Mr. Judson's sufferings in the Burmese country, we have already described. Before betaking ourselves to civilised countries for further illustrations, we may present our readers with the following account, taken from the narrative of a French prisoner at Algeria, of the manner in which African captives are sometimes carried off to the place of imprisonment. A mounted Arab tied a rope round the prisoner's neck, and fastened it to his saddle-bow :—

" It was in vain to cry and beg for mercy; the Arab continued his rapid pace, dragged me, half strangled, over the rocks and brambles. This horrible punishment lasted for some minutes. At last the horse, compelled to mount a steep hillock, slackened his pace, and I succeeded, not without difficulty, in raising myself Then, stunned by the rude shock, my hands and face bruised and bloody, my legs torn, I know not how I retained sufficient strength to seize the cord and to keep it up, so that it should not bear entirely on my neck, to run to catch the horse, and hang on its tail. But as soon as the other Arabs, put to flight by the sailors who had hurried

to our assistance, had rejoined us, they began to overwhelm me with insults, and tore my dress to rags. A single instant sufficed to strip me almost entirely. They only left me a bad pair of summer trowsers and boots, which the flints and brambles over which I had been just dragged, had worn into holes. They had perceived our misfortune on board the brig, and commenced firing at the Arabs, but each shot cost me numberless blows; and the horse to which I was attached, alarmed at the noise of the cannon, suddenly darting forwards impetuously, I fell to the ground. The Arabs hurried after, striking me; and if, after great difficulty, I had succeeded in raising myself, my merciless executioner, who soon perceived it, recommenced galloping furiously, casting at me, at the same time, a look of contempt"

The following is from the narrative of another prisoner in the same country:—

"I was destined to be sold to Abd-el-Kader, and we set off for the camp of the Sultan. During the journey, there is no description of ill treatment which I did not endure. Menaces of death, insults, blows with the sticks and stocks of their guns. I endured all these tortures. I will give you an idea of them. In a tribe on the plain, the Arabs bound me to a tree, quite naked, my hands tied behind my back, and there, during twenty-four hours, the women and children, after having daubed my face with filth, amused themselves with throwing flints at me.

"Since then, the blows and the insults never ceased; but I never experienced so horrible a punishment. The horrid smell of the filth; the flints that every moment struck my head, my body, my legs; the children, who bit and pinched my thighs—I think it is impossible to suffer more"

We fear that some European countries are not much in advance of their Asiatic and African neighbours. Neither French nor Russian soldiers are wont to spare the feelings, or the persons of their prisoners, when carrying them off from the field of battle. The sufferings endured by the French prisoners, who fell into the hands of the enemy during the retreat from Moscow, far exceed in terrible severity those to which the British captives in Affghanistan were subjected. The Marquis de Custine, in his work on Russia, guarantees the fidelity of a narrative, which he received from M. Girard, who fell into the hands of the Russians. The Marquis says:—

"He was made prisoner during the retreat, and immediately sent with 3,000 other Frenchmen, under charge of a body of Cossacks, into the interior of the empire, where the prisoners were dispersed among the different Governments.

"The cold became daily more intense Dying of hunger and fatigue, the unfortunate men were often obliged to stop on the road until numerous and violent blows had done the office of food for them, and inspired them with strength to march on until they fell dead. At every stoppage, some of these scarcely clad and famished beings were left upon the snow. When they once fell, the frost glued them to the earth, and they never rose again. Even their ferocious guards were horrified at their excess of suffering. Devoured by vermin, consumed by fever and want, carrying everywhere with them contagion, they became objects of terror to the villagers, among whose

abodes they were made to stop. They advanced, by dint of blows, towards the places destined for their taking rest; and it was still with blows that they were received there, without being suffered to approach persons or even to enter houses. Some were seen reduced to such a state, that, in their furious despair, they fell upon each other with stones, logs of wood and their own hands; and those who came alive out of the conflict devoured the limbs of the dead !!!... To these horrible excesses did the inhumanity of the Russians drive our countrymen. At night, in the bivouacs, the men who felt themselves about to die, rose in terror to struggle, standing, against the death agony; surprised whilst in its contortions by the frost, they remained supported against the walls, stiff and frozen. The last sweat turned to ice over their emaciated limbs; and they were found in the morning, their eyes open, and their bodies fixed and congealed in convulsive attitudes, from which they were snatched only to be burnt. The foot then came away from the ancle, more easily than it is, when living lifted from the soil. When daylight appeared, their comrades, on raising their heads, beheld themselves under the guard of a circle of yet scarcely lifeless statues, who appeared posted round the camp like sentinels of another world. The horror of these awakings cannot be described.

"Every morning before the departure of the column, the Russians burnt the dead; and—shall I say it—they sometimes burnt the dying!"

From another party—M. Grassini, an Italian—the same authority has derived a striking confirmation of the truth contained in the above passage. In the following the 'quondam captive" gives his own account of the barbarity with which the Russian soldiers treated their prisoners on the way to the place of confinement:—

"They obliged us to travel in companies. We slept near the villages, the entrance of which was refused us on account of the hospital fever that followed us. In the evening, we stretched ourselves on the ground wrapped in our cloaks, between two large fires. In the morning before recommencing our march, our guard counted the dead, and, instead of burying them, which would have cost too much time and trouble, on account of the hardness and depth of the ice and snow, they burnt them, thinking thus to stop the contagion; body and clothes were burnt together: but, will you believe it, more than once, men still alive were thrown into the flames! Re-animated by pain, these wretched creatures concluded their lives with the screams and agonies of the stake!

"Many other atrocities were committed. Every night the rigour of the frost decimated our companies. Whenever any deserted dwelling could be found near the entrance of the towns, they obliged us to lodge there; but not being able to make fires except in certain parts of these buildings, the nights we passed there were no better than those passed in the open air with fires all around us. Many of our people consequently died in the rooms for want of means to warm themselves.

"I have often seen the Russian soldiers dragging the dead, by cords fastened round their ancles, down from the second story of the edifices in which we were herded. Their heads followed, striking and resounding against every step, from the top of the house to the bottom. 'It is of no consequence,' they said, 'they are dead.'

"Sometimes even worse things happened, for I have seen an end made of the living by this treatment; the blood of their wounded heads, left upon the stairs, has furnished hideous proofs of the ferocity of the Russian

soldiers; I ought to observe also that sometimes an officer was present at these brutal executions. Such things I and my companions saw daily without making any protest; so greatly does misery brutalise men! It will be my fate to morrow, I thought, and this community of danger put my conscience at rest, and favored my inertia."

We are afraid that the treatment received at the hands of the French by the Spanish prisoners in the Peninsula was not much more considerate than that which they, in turn, received from the Russians. Describing a march from Belem to Madrid, made by a party of English and Spanish prisoners, Captain Hamilton says:—

"Nothing more disagreeable than this march can well be conceived. We were about thirty in all, of whom my countrymen formed about a third. The party was under the command of a French Sergeant, who delighted in the exercise of his authority, and showed no inclination to contribute in any way to our comfort. There was a striking difference, however, in his treatment of the Spanish and English prisoners committed to his charge. The former were bound together without distinction of rank, and were treated with a degree of brutality most painful to witness. Our marches were long and oppressive, and when any of the poor creatures were unable to proceed, either from fatigue or want of necessary refreshment, they were shot *sur le champ*, without the smallest compunction. There was certainly more ceremony used in the treatment of the English; and in cases of any of them betraying too strong an inclination to fall into the rear, no more energetic measures of propulsion were resorted to than an occasional prick of the bayonet, or blow from the butt-end of a musket. Our rations during the march, which lasted for ten days, were scanty and very irregularly issued, and most happy were we when the rising towers of Madrid intimated that one portion of our sufferings were about to terminate."*

There is nothing extraordinary in this. War brutalises the minds of men, and to expect those who have never been endowed with much delicacy of sentiment to exhibit an extraordinary amount of it, in the midst of indurating scenes of savage excitement, were clearly something most unreasonable. When men have been employed for some time in cutting each other's throats with sabres, or riddling each others bodies with grape and canister, they are not in a very fit frame of mind to respect the feelings of their enemies. That atrocities of the worst description were committed, throughout the wars in Russia and the Peninsula, is as true as that General Elphinstone's army was massacred in the Kabul passes; and if we would seek for instances in the present century of inhumanity to prisoners, we need not travel out of Europe to find many of the deepest dye.

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* *Cyril Thornton.*—Though this book is ostensibly a work of fiction, a considerable portion is occupied with details of actual occurrences. We quote the work, because it happens to be immediately within our reach; but we might find similar passages in every authentic memoir of the events of the Peninsular War.

Of the prison-house at Buddíabad, we have given a brief description from Lady Sale's Journal. That a fortress in Affghanistan is not quite so commodious a residence as a mansion in Chowringhee, we may, without crossing the Indus, venture with all confidence to pronounce. But we have no doubt that the Afghans themselves look upon their forts with as much complacency as we look upon our palaces; and that Akbar Khan, in assigning to his captives the newly erected fort—"the largest in the valley"—was at least as firmly impressed with the conviction that he was treating them honorably and hospitably, as our Government when it took for Dost Mahommed a house at Alipore, or consigned the Amírs of Sindh to the pleasant seclusion of Fairy Hall at Dum-Dum. We must not, in such cases as these, consider whether the accommodation would have been good accommodation in our country but whether it was good in theirs; whether, with reference to the manners and customs, the way of life and the tone of thinking of the Affghans, they treated their prisoners with severity or with mildness. We have seen that neither in India nor in the Burmese country have the British prisoners been as well housed as those in Affghanistan. In China, they were often pent up in narrow places, scarcely allowing them to move their limbs. Mr. Gully, speaking of one of his prisons, says: "We were then taken into the Mandarin's premises and divided into two parties, the soldiers having previously told us we were going to be beheaded, which I should have believed if they had not overdone the thing by beginning to sharpen their swords on the stones. We were put into two cells about eight feet by seven each, in each of which were stowed twenty-five of us. and three jailers of guards." And again, speaking of another prison: "We were in a den so small that not one of us could stretch our legs at night, being coiled up like dogs.....Ten of us, *viz.*, the five seacunnies, two Manilla men, the gunner, Mr. Partridge, and myself with a bucket, in a wretched hovel only eleven feet six inches by seven feet six, and for two months and more we were confined in it and never allowed but once a day to wash, and at first this was not allowed." And elsewhere Mr. Gully presents us with the following interior, painted with a Dutch minuteness of detail:—

"I have just thought, that in case this should survive us, it may be interesting to know the furniture of our abode The cell is all but as large as the opposite one from which we were removed, but we have three advantages over our opposite neighbours, *viz*—1st, there are only three of us; 2ndly, the window has only single bars; 3rdly, we have air-holes in the roof. To sleep on we have five hard wood planks about eight feet long by

fourteen inches wide and two thick, the floor is of broken bricks. A bambu is slung nearly the length of the place, on which in the day time we hang our mats, two in number, for sleeping on. Besides these, I now see two towels hanging from it, one made from part of an old pair of cotton drawers, and the other of grass cloth given me by Zen Quang Lin, ditto belonging to Mr. Partridge. and a bundle of papers, sketches, &c., tied up by a string. On the east wall are the remains of a picture of Chin Hae damaged by the rain. The window faces the west. On one side of it is hanging my pipe, given me by the Captain's party. On the other is a small looking-glass given me by one of the jailors, a number of pencils, and four monghoms. Our pillows of pieces of bambu, with a gunny-mat for keeping the afternoon's sun out of the place, and a checquer-board are on the planks. On the north wall are hanging our washing-tub, which cost us 50 cash, a broom for sweeping the planks, a basket containing some books, &c., belonging to the former occupants; a basket containing our chop-sticks and spoons of bambu, the gunner's towel, and a stick for carrying a lantern. In this wall is a small recess containing a clay lamp and stand, a few bambu sticks, and two iron wires for cleaning pipes, three papers of tobacco, and some waste-paper. In the corner two sticks have been driven into the wall, on which rest the log-books and some papers. Below that is a small shelf, on which are placed several cups and broken saucers, and paints, two chow-chow cups I broke the third a week ago), given us by Jack, a small earthenware kettle for boiling tea-water and brewing samshu when we can get it, given us by Aticoa. Below the shelf is suspended a hollow piece of bambu holding our firepan, and below that a small fire place, likewise a present from Aticoa, a cooking pot bought by ourselves, another containing charcoal (the pot given by Jack), several old straw shoes and pieces of bambu for smoking out the mosquitoes. On the south side are pendent, 1st the bank, a string of cash, about 80 or 90, a fan, a small basket containing a few opium pills and our stock of tea, my hat which cost 30 cash, I have covered it with oiled paper. I am sitting on a bambu stool which belongs to the former occupiers of the place, my foot resting on another given by Mr Partridge by the towka (I suppose the head jailor). Opposite is the door, behind it the bucket; on my left is the window, on the side of which are two combs, one of which I bought for thirteen cash, a few days after my arrival at this town, being money I had saved from the mess per day allowed us during the journey. My fan is sticking in the window, and I am writing with this book, resting on a board painted red with black characters on it, and two geen eyes above looking at them. I think this is all. No, I have forgotten to mention that on the south wall, hang my long ell trousers given me by Kitchil, lascar, my grass cloth ones, given me by the lotier, and a pair of woollen socks given me by Francis; and from the same string hangs Mr. Roope's log. If you can call any thing in this a luxury, you must recollect that we have only had it lately; for two months we had nothing, and were annoyed by myriads of fleas, bugs, lice, ants, mosquitoes, and centipedes, without a possibility of getting rid of them, except by death or a miracle I have on my back now the only shirt (and a woollen one too) I have had for nearly five months, and half a pair of cotton drawers are on my legs. I omitted to mention that on the north wall is my calendar. Every morning I scratch with the head of a rusty nail, the day of the month; we have also a third wooden stool lent to us by Aticoa. Employed we are, but the days are awfully tedious, and I am sadly at a loss for something to pass away the time, and feel the want of books."

And next it may be asked how were the English prisoners in Affghanistan fed. Hear Lady Sale :—

"Two sheep (alias lambs) are killed daily ; and a regular portion of rice and ottah given for all. The Afghans cook, and well may we exclaim with Goldsmith, 'God sends meat, but the devil sends cooks,' for we only get some greasy skin and bones served out as they are cooked, boiled in the same pot with the rice, all in a lump Captain Lawrence divides it and portions out our food as justly as he can. The chupatty is at once the plate and bread ; few possess other dinner table implements than their fingers. The rice even is rendered nauseous by having a quantity of rancid ghee poured over it, such as in India we should have disdained to use for our lamps."—(*Journal, page* 287.)

Every nation has its own ideas of good cookery. The Affghans, in all probability, esteemed the dish, here not very temptingly described, as a most recondite and savory *pillau*. There is no saying that a party of Russian prisoners might not have relished it as an exquisite delicacy—a triumph of culinary art. For our own parts, we have no doubt that the dish was abominable, but not worse than the abominations in which a French restaurateur prides himself, or a German cook serves up to the *congeries* of all nations to be found at the Brunnens and the Spas. Lord Blayney complained most piteously of the viands which were served up to him during his captivity in France, because they did not happen to be precisely what he had been wont to enjoy in his days of freedom at his Club. The Affghan dishes, it would appear, like those of the Germans, are either sour or greasy. Sir Francis Head tells us that at the Brunnens "the simple rule is this : let him taste the dish, and if it be not sour, he may be quite certain that it is greasy ; again if it be not, let him not eat thereof, for then it is sure to be sour." The delicacies of the Affghans, we suspect, may be judged by a similar standard ; and it were hard to say whether the fault be not ours rather than the cook's, when we exhibit our inability to appreciate either the acidities or rancidities set before us.

There is something classical in Lady Sale's account of the chupatties, "which served at once for plate and bread," reminding us of the time when Æneas and his companions, feasting on the shores of the Strophades, were compelled to suffer the Harpies *ambesas consumere mensas*. The Affghans have obviously not yet attained to any great refinement in the European art of dining. Their table equipages are not of the most elegant fashion, and their *entremets* not precisely such as are calculated to awaken enthusiasm at the Mansion House. In the course of her captivity Lady Sale "kept the anniversary of her marriage" by dining with the ladies of Mahommed Shah

Khan's family; and we are told that at this entertainment "after a time" (oh! that sad time before dinner), "an extremely dirty cloth was spread over the numdas in front of us, and dishes of pillau, dhye, or sour curd, and férnéz, or sweet curd, were placed before us. Those who had not taken a spoon with them, ate with their fingers, Affghan fashion;—an accomplishment in which I am by no means *au fait.* We drank water out of a tea-pot." This eating with one's fingers is a sad thing; and yet when Mr. Vigne was asked by Dost Mahommed why Englishmen do not eat with their fingers, he was puzzled to give any better answer than that the ladies would not like them to do so

The Chinese prisoners complained bitterly of the provender which was served out to them. "Our food," says Mr. Gully, "consisted of salt-fish, greens, and rice; three things which, if I could get dry bread and water, I never would touch." And again: "When dinner was brought to us to-day, there was an unusually small quantity of pork, half-boiled cabbage and cheese made from beans. I was awfully hungry, but none of this could I touch, so I kicked up a row and hove it into the yard." Again: "When breakfast came, there was so little fish that we all refused to eat any, except the gunner, who eat his rice and Tow Chin. The fat jailor came after a long time and gave us some sweet potatoes, and promised to speak to the Mandarin and ask for more. This seems to be the mangoe season at this island" So it was, as Mr Gully soon found to his cost, for he ate so many that he gave himself a dysentery, which he found very difficult to shake off. "Flush of cash," he says in one place, "consequently the mangoes, which are superb, suffer. They certainly assist in passing away the time." Poor man! he suffered more than the mangoes. Mr. Gully, it would seem, whenever his food was bad or insufficient, revenged himself upon his gaolers by breaking the dish in which it was served. "No better, or more food," he writes, "so in the morning I commenced operations by heaving my basin and hash into the yard, and then smashing my bucket and sending it to look after the basin ..... In the evening, food the same; eat it and asked for more, but was refused, so smashed the dish." Captain Denham acted in a similar manner—"very little for dinner. On sending for more, it was refused, in return for which I broke all the basins and plates and smashed the rice kid."—We cannot be very much surprised, after such displays as these, to learn that the Captain was severely bastinadoed.

The Chinese prisoners appear to have suffered greatly from

the cupidity of their immediate gaolers, who defrauded them of a large portion of what the superior officers allowed. This is a very common trick. The Affghan prisoners were sometimes dealt with after a similar fashion Lieutenant Eyre, speaking of the prisoners left at Buddiabad, says: "Mahommed Akbar's order arriving for their removal to Kabul, rescued them from the hands of the brutal nazir, who, it was now discovered, had been defrauding the prisoners of the greater part of the provisions for which he had all the time been charging exorbitantly on their account." And again, under date August 11: "We were thrown into no slight dismay this morning by the sudden stoppage of our supplies. No time was lost in sending information to Akbar, when it was discovered that the nazir, or steward, employed to supply us, being desirous to obtain payment for past expenses, had adopted this method of reminding Akbar of his claims. The matter was soon settled, and our minds, as well as bodies, relieved." Other passages of a similar tendency might be quoted from the different published narratives of the Kabul captivity, as well as from almost every Oriental prison history that has been given to the world. But this sort of fraudulent barbarity is, by no means, peculiar to the East. European gaolers are not much better than their Asiatic brethren. They also know how to cheat. Meincewicz tells us, speaking of his Russian captors, that "The Empress, who was liberal even in her cruelties, had said that as our expenses were defrayed by her, she wished that we should be provided for sumptuously. This was an excellent opportunity for the officers who were concerned to defraud the treasury in a most scandalous manner; every month the bills they made up amounted to I know not how many thousand roubles. We should have lived like princes; we did *not*, however; but I must confess that we fared as gentlemen who were very well off." A much worse story than this is told, if we mistake not, of a Russian gaoler in that delightful volume, *Letters from the Baltic.*

During the residence of the prisoners at Buddiabad, not only were no efforts taken to prevent them communicating with their friends and receiving in return letters and parcels, but the Sirdar himself did his best to supply the wants of the captive. On the 24th of January, Lady Sale records in her Journal:—"A day or two ago the Sirdar sent some chintz to be divided amongst us. A second quantity was to-day given out; and we are working hard that we may enjoy the luxury of getting on a clean suit of clothes. There are very few of us that are not covered with crawlers, and although my daughter and I have as

yet escaped, we are in fear and trembling."* And again on the 25th, "The Sirdar sent eight pieces of longcloth to be divided amongst us!" To this the journalist somewhat ungraciously adds: "I fancy he is generous at little cost, and that it is all a part of the plunder of our camp." Two days later, however, we find this entry: "I heard from him (Sale) to-day; he has sent me my chest of drawers, with clothes, &c; *they were all permitted to come to me unexamined.*" On the 5th of the following month she writes again: "My note to Sale was sent to-day. I got another from him, dated the 29th, and replied to it;" and again on the 10th: "I received boxes from Sale with many useful things, and also books, which are a great treat to us." And on the 14th: "The 13th sent a quantity of clothes for distribution amongst the gentlemen. I received a large packet of letters, both from my family in the provinces, and also from England; but no note from Sale; so the Sirdar is still angry about the private correspondence."† Other entries of a similar character might be quoted. It was surely a great thing that the prisoners were permitted to hear from their friends and to receive supplies from them. Think what, in comparison with their condition, is the lot of the solitary prisoner, cut off from all communication with the outer world. Captivity when shared loses half its terrors. A band of

* The plague of lice was the greatest evil to which the prisoners were exposed, This, however, is very lightly regarded in Affghanistan. In Central Asia crawlers are almost as abundant as in continental Europe. In China they swarm most overpoweringly, and the British prisoners at Formosa were dreadfully afflicted by them. Mr. Gully says:—"On our first arrival we found we were all more or less infested with vermin; for two months we were annoyed by myriads of fleas, bugs, lice, ants, musquitoes and centipedes, without a possibility of getting rid of them except by death or a miracle. And Captain Denham enters in his journal: I may here state, that the old trowsers I had, had become like all the rest, so covered with vermin, that I was glad to take them off and wear the bag around my middle The prison was full of lice, fleas, bugs, rats, cockroaches, and centipedes; our situation was most wretched; the natives think nothing of vermin. I don't think there is a native on the island who is not covered with them—men, women and children".....
At Bokhara, the most miserable of all captives—Col. Stoddart and Captain Conolly—were almost literally eaten up by vermin. The French prisoners in Algeria were in the same condition. One of them died, and his dress, a single scanty garment, descended as a legacy to one of the survivors. "The vermin which were attached to it," says the narrator, "were so numerous and so thick, that, when placed against the wall, it stood upright like a board. However, misery and suffering had destroyed by degrees all sensibility, both moral and physical. I took the clothing and wrapped myself in it and became much warmer. Some of Abd-el-Kader's prisoners were women. We are told in one place, "on their arrival at Mescara, these prisoners were in a state of filth and misery impossible to describe. Madame Laurent's hair was very long and covered with vermin. Fleury cut it close; and with the money, the Sultan had given her she bought a comb."

† Akbar Khan had discovered that Major Pottinger and Capt. Macgregor, the Political Agent at Jullalabad, were carrying on a clandestine correspondence—"a very foolish attempt," as Lady Sale declares it to have been.

prisoners are indeed a merry crew compared with the single captives, beyond the reach of all humanity save the specimen presented in the persons of their gaolers, sinking under the weight of solitude and silence, and the eternal sameness of their bare prison walls. This is, indeed, to suffer. In a crowd we can bear much; we can console each other; the "sweet music of speech" is not denied to us; we can look upon familiar faces; exchange our free thoughts and take sweet counsel together—but in solitude, what can the mind do but prey, for want of other ailment, on itself? The solitary captive is indeed a captive. "He never hears of wife or children, house or friends, the life or death of any single creature. He sees the prison officers, but with that exception, he never looks upon a human countenance or hears a human voice. He is a man buried alive, to be dug out in the slow round of years; and in the meantime dead to everything but torturing anxiety and horrible despair." "The weary days pass on with solemn pace like mourners at a funeral; and slowly he begins to feel that the white walls of the cell have something dreadful in them; that their color is horrible; that their smooth surface chills his blood; that there is one hateful corner which torments him. Every morning when he wakes he hides his head beneath the coverlet, and shudders to see the ghastly ceiling looking down upon him. The blessed light of day itself peeps in, an ugly phantom face, through the unchangeable crevice, which is his prison window. By slow but sure degrees, the terrors of that hateful corner swell until they beset him at all times; invade his rest, make his dreams hideous and his nights dreadful."* And yet, even in that dreadful corner, there is a soothing influence. We have read of a barbarian, who having discovered that his unhappy prisoner found employment for his mind in contemplating the angles of his prison walls, and the damp stains on their surface, confined him in a small circular dungeon, newly painted, on which the eye found nothing to rest. The wretched captive went mad.

Imagination may draw frightful pictures of the terrors of solitary confinement. They cannot exceed that reality. The mind must stagger under the oppressive load of solitude which burthens it. The narrative of Silvio Pellico, the Italian poet, who was imprisoned beneath the "leads" of Venice and in the dungeons of Speilberg, because the Austrian Government suspected him of being an honest man, may be familiar to most of ou

* Dicken's *American Notes*—a book which has not been suffered to take its prope place among the works of that eminent writer.

readers. In it are detailed with terrible fidelity the agonies endured throughout long days and nights of haunted solitude, when the mind, conscious of its own aberrations, wrestled against the delusions which were overwhelming it; and, fully alive to its own condition, was yet powerless to dispel the malady. He had found companions in spiders and ants, and these too he had lost. "Seeing human creatures so rarely," he says, "I turned my attention to some ants which came upon my window, and I fed them so sumptuously, that they brought a whole army of their companions, and my window was soon filled. I occupied myself likewise with a spider, which spun its web on one of the walls; I gave it gnats and flies, and it became so familiar as to come upon my head and into my hand to seize its prey." And soon afterwards he writes, "Although I had suffered much in this chamber, I was sorry to quit it, not only because it would be comfortable in cold weather, but for many other reasons. I first of all had those ants, which I loved and nourished with a solicitude which might be called paternal, if the expression were not ridiculous. A few days previously, my spider had departed, I know not for what reason, but who knows, thought I, but it will remember me and return? And now that I am going away, if it return, it will find the prison empty, or if it meet with a new host, he will be, perchance, an enemy to spiders, who will sweep away with his slipper this goodly web and crush the poor animal." Who can wonder that soon after this the weary prisoner records the throng of terrible hallucinations which preyed upon his introverted mind.*

The Kabul prisoners, we have seen, were permitted to correspond with their friends. Lady Sale, in one of the passages quoted by us in a preceding page, records with pleasure the receipt of divers letters from her family in India and in England, and from her husband at Jullalabad. She was seldom, for any length of time, ignorant of the fate of those who were dearest to her. Pellico was debarred, for many years, all communication with his friends. He knew not whether his parents, his brothers and sisters, were alive or dead. He believed that the grave had closed over them. A portion of an *Augsburg Gazette* reached him in his prison, and in it he read that one of his sisters had retired to a convent. From this he drew the dreadful inference that she was the last of that ill-fated household. "I never," he says, "obtained the slightest

* The powerful picture which Dickens has drawn, in the chapter from which we have too briefly quoted, of the mental agonies attendant on a lengthened period of solitary confinement, has a close counterpart drawn from actual life in Pellico's Prison Thoughts."

intelligence of those who were so far removed from me, with the exception of those few words relative to my sister." This is but one of some scores of illustrative examples to which we might readily refer; the difficulty is to find examples of prisoners, who have been freely permitted to communicate with their friends in the outer world.

Lady Sale and her companions were not doomed to taste the dreariness of solitude. There was abundance of occupation for their minds; and, generally, sufficient exercise for their bodies. The principal hardships which they underwent were of an active character; the prisoners were carried about from one place to another, and sometimes, it must be admitted, over very indifferent roads. The *jolting* was by no means pleasant; but Lady Sale tells us that "the wives of all these Ghilzai chiefs go wherever we do," so we conclude that, although the Afghan ladies had "the best and largest Kujavahs," there was nothing very intolerable in the locomotion. Anything, however, must have been better than that utter stagnation which has broken for ever the spirit of many a strong captive. Four blank walls—nothing visible beyond them—no companions, no books, no writing materials—here are the genuine horrors of captivity. Lady Sale gives a very different account of the nature of her sufferings. In one place, she says, "We all got "excellent quarters. In addition to the two rooms apportioned "to our party, we have permission to sit in the day time in a "room in a bourj, a small octagon with oorsees or open-work "lattices. There are two flights of steep steps to mount to it "from our apartments, which are upstairs; but the view from "it is so refreshing, looking over all the forts and highly culti-"vated grounds; it has the advantage of being always cool, "which compensates for the trouble in getting there;"—and again, "the garden, or rather vineyard and orchard, I consider "a great luxury; we walk in it every evening for an hour or "two. A strong guard is placed there; but, except when it "has been lately changed, the men do not annoy us. At such "times, they dodge about after us, but otherwise do not. Last "evening, for instance, sixteen men, armed at all points, sat "down in a row in the centre walk and laughed and joked to-"gether; five or six men sitting, eating grapes on the top of the "summer house; and a few were posted seated on the walls; "whilst we walked here and there where we pleased." Compare with these accounts any narrative of European captivity, and see if the comparison be not in favour of the Asiatic. Visit with Silvio Pellico and his companions, the dungeons of Speilberg—taste with them the horrors of the *carcere duro*—a dark cell in a

subterranean corridor—a "naked plank for a bed and an enormous chair fixed to the wall;" and each "alone in his horrible cavern;" take your exercise with them, "twice a week an hour's walking, between two guards with muskets on their shoulders," each going separately to the promenade. Then take a glance at Meincwicz and his brave comrades, in their Petersburg prison. "After dinner," writes the Pole, "they left us long "in darkness and I employed this time in taking a walk. I had "chosen the diagonal line across my room as the longest, being "about eight small paces. I walked absorbed in melancholy "thought. I often intended to walk so many thousand paces. "I counted them, but nearly always erred in my calculation, "and fell again into my reveries. By dint of walking in the "same diagonal line, I impressed on it, in the course of two "years, a path which was nearly a quarter of an inch below "the level of the floor. The sight of this must, I think, have "caused my successor to tremble." Think, we say, of these notable examples of the tender mercies of Austrian and Russian Governments, and learn to appreciate such freedom in captivity as was granted to the prisoners in Afghanistan.

Air, exercise, companionship, a free view of the outer world, were allowed to the Afghan captives. They appear not to have lacked occupation. They read newspapers and books, they wrote letters and journals, they conversed and played with each other, they drew pictures, they naturalized, and altogether do not appear to have wanted the means of occupying their time. The Chinese prisoners were, in this respect, much more wretchedly situated. The first entry which we find in Mr. Gully's "regular log during imprisonment at Ty-wan-foo" contains these words, "Very wretched; "one miserable day following another. *No books; in fact no "amusement at all to relieve the dreadful monotony of the prison; "and worse than all, no exercise.*" And, again, in a subsequent entry, "the days are awfully tedious, and I am sadly at a loss for something to pass away the time, and *feel the want of books.*" Other passages might be quoted from this and similar works illustrative of captivity in the East. The records of Western captivity are no less rife with examples of the cruelty, which denies to the prisoner the means of mental occupation—no less rife with examples of the ingenious artifices to which prisoners resort, hoping in some small measure, to lessen the mind-annihilating dreariness of prison-life. In Dickens' *American Notes* some curious examples of this ingenuity are recorded. The memoirs of Silvio Pellico, from which we have already made several quotations, present many touching pictures, illustrative

of this fertility of artifice developed by adverse circumstances. Even, when in the comparative enjoyment of the mildest form of imprisonment to which he was subjected, he had the means neither of reading nor of writing, and therefore, to use his own language, "To supply the want of paper I had," he says, "recourse to the innocent artifice of polishing with a "piece of glass, a rough table that I had, and there I "recorded every day my lengthy meditations upon the duties "of mankind, and especially on my own. ....When all the "disposable surface of the table was covered with writing, I "read and re-read, I meditated upon my own meditations; "and at last I resolved (often with regret) to scratch out with "the glass what I had written, so as to render the surface fit "to receive the fresh impress of my thoughts. Thus I conti-"nued, my history, often interrupted by digressions of all sorts, "by an analysis of some point in metaphysics, morals, politics, "or religion; and when all was full, I commenced reading, "re-reading and then effacing." Of what followed—the fellowship with spiders and ants—and then the terrible confusion of brain—the haunting delusions which rendered life so terrible—our readers have some knowledge; but we must quote one more passage, illustrative of the results of this dreary solitude and long want of occupation :—

"Seated at my table it sometimes seemed to me that I was pulled by the coat, sometimes that a hidden hand pushed away my book, until I saw it falling on the ground. sometimes, that some one came behind me to blow out my candle. Then I started to my feet with precipitation, I looked around me, I trod with apprehension, and I asked myself, if I were mad or in my proper senses Of all the things which I looked upon or felt, I knew not which was real, or which was illusory."

He then gave utterance to the fulness of his heart in expressions indicative of excruciating agony.

We have drawn our illustrations so exclusively from authentic history, that we hesitate to present our readers even with *one*, derived from a fiction based upon fact, though the passage, which we are about to give, may be as authentic as any we have quoted. Indeed, M. de Saintin's little narrative of the *Picciola* bears, in almost every chapter, internal evidence—so truthful, so touching is it in its details, that even without the author's protestations on the subject, we should set it down at once as a work of anything but mere fiction. After describing the wretched prison in which Charney was confined, the narrative goes on to describe the nature of the prisoner's pursuits :—

"Determining at length to overcome his sickly thoughts and weary idleness, he tried to accustom himself to frivolous and puerile occupations; he

voluntarily anticipated that abasement which is the consequence of a long residence in prison; he plunged into it; he threw himself on it with transport. The *savan* made trimmings of linen and silk. (The philosopher manufactured pipes of straw and play-vessels of walnut-shells.) The man of genius constructed whistles and carved little boxes and open work baskets of fruit stones! He wore chains and made musical instruments with the elastic wire of his suspenders, and admired himself in his works. Then soon after, disgust seized him, and he trampled them under his feet. To vary his occupation he carved on his table a thousand fantastic designs. Never did a school-boy so cut his desk, or cover it with arabesques, in relief or intaglio, with more pretence or skill.....yet still ennui, formidable ennui, surprised him in the midst of these grave occupations....In these puerilities, in this weariness of spirit, a whole winter passed. Happily for him a new subject of interest was coming to his aid."

This was the Picciola—the little flower—the heroine of the touching tale.

In respect of positive ill-treament—the cruelty of chains and stripes and other modes of torture—the Kabul captives appear to have enjoyed an immunity almost perfect. The Chinese prisoners were chained, beaten, and finally massacred. The Burmese prisoners were subjected to personal indignity and cruelty of the foulest kind; and neither Hyder nor Tippoo, as we have sufficiently shown, ever hesitated to torture and destroy their victims after the most approved oriental fashion. In civilised European countries the discipline of chains and of stripes is by no means unknown to prisoners of war; and enlightened monarchs, if they do not often decapitate their captives, are not disinclined to put them to death by degrees—starving, freezing, or otherwise destroying them painfully by slow inches. Nay, even in Affghanistan, the British cannot be said to be wholly guiltless of shedding the blood of prisoners—they have done, or participated in the doing of *such things*, as scores of witnesses can declare; but Akbar Khan neither insulted nor tortured his prisoners. The modesty of our women was never outraged; the persons of all were held sacred. His prisoners were neither chained nor beaten, nor subjected to unnecessary restraint. When an Affghan chanced to call Captain Lawrence a *dog*, Akbar Khan, as soon as the circumstance was made known to him, caused the man to be severely chastised, and told Captain L. that if he were not satisfied, he (the Sirdar) would order the man's ears to pay for the offence.

We must here remark, as briefly as possible, on what we conceive to be demonstrative of a certain want of generosity—that generosity which can appreciate what is good, even in those at whose hands we have suffered—on the part of Lady Sale and Mr. Eyre, as evidenced in their respective journals. We are

not unmindful of the fact that these journals were hastily written, and, in many places, record mere transitory feelings and impressions. It is more than probable that writing even at this distance from the date of their captivity, they would see reason to modify much which they have published regarding the character and conduct of Akbar Khan and other Affghan Sirdars. Indeed, Lady Sale, when she takes a more leisurely review (as she does at page 404 *et seq.*) of all the circumstances of her captivity, has the candour to acknowledge that the prisoners, on the whole, were well treated by their Affghan captors. One point, however, of very great importance—one which it is necessary to bear constantly in mind, when we attempt to estimate, at their proper value, the merits and demerits of Mahommed Akbar, in this particular relation of captor to captive—has been so generally overlooked, that we must here bring it prominently forward We refer to the great provocations to harshness and cruelty, in the way of *retaliation*, which might naturally, at such a time, have been supposed to operate cogently on the mind, and to shape the conduct of the Affghan Sirdar. These provocations, it must be admitted, were more imaginary than real. They rose out of generally credited reports of the acts and intentions of the British Government and the British army, and were not less operative because, in some instances, they were unfounded. We often find Lady Sale entering in her journal such passages as the following:—

"They say that Sultan Jan is really gone with 3,000 men to the Chotah Khyber; that our *force coming up gives no quarter.*"—(*Page* 314.)

"The Sirdar fears if he is taken by us, we shall *either hang him or blow him from a gun.* Mahommed Shah Khan is in a great fright also."—(*Page* 327.)

"He (Mahommed Akbar) insists that he has a letter from Hindustan, in which it is asserted that his father has twenty sentries over him."—(*Page* 329.)

"Nott is said to have returned to Kandahar; *after putting to death all his Affghan captives* and blowing up Khelat-i Ghilzie."—(*Page* 373.)

"Two men have come in who repeat the old story; that there has been a great battle at Pesh-Bolak, *where every man, woman and child was killed.*"—(*Page* 382.)

"We hear that General Nott has arrived at Ghuzni, has blown up the new bourj in the city, and has *put to death nearly every man, woman and child in the city.*"—(*Page* 415.)

And on this Lady Sale remarks, "We cannot be surprised at the men taking signal vengeance, but we fear the news is *too good to be true!*"

We need not quote further; for this, verily, is a climax.

Perhaps, however, in spite of the untoward position of the concluding words, Lady Sale means to apply the expression of "good news" to the reported arrival of Gen. Nott at Ghuzni, and not to the reported massacre. If not, well, indeed, may she tell us that "a woman's vengeance is fearful."

Now, these are the provocations of which we speak, and yet we do not find that even under such provocations, the Affghans ill-treated *our* "women and children" Not one was killed—not one was injured. We know some, at least, who quitted the provinces of India, pale and sickly, and returned to them rubicund and robust. Lady Sale herself informs us, that two of the English children were lost in the confusion of the retreat, and restored by the Affghans to their parents. Of the treatment of Captain Anderson's little girl, whilst severed from her parents, she writes, "nothing could exceed the kindness of Zeman Shah Khan to the little girl, who became much attached to her new friends." Indeed, our children were treated as kindly, as our women were respectfully, by the Affghans, and yet both Lady Sale and Lieutenant Eyre repeatedly tell us that Akbar Khan was capable of any atrocity. "There is nothing," says Lady Sale, "too brutal or savage for Akbar to accomplish;" and Lieut. Eyre assures us, that the Sirder is "notorious for stopping at no atrocity." There appear to have been many brutal and savage things left unaccomplished by Akbar Khan, and many atrocities at which he did stop short—or Lady Sale and Lieut. Eyre would not have returned to India to bear witness against him.

But Lady Sale and Lieut. Eyre are, we doubt not, ready with a rejoinder. It is part of their creed that every act of forbearance—every act not to be designated as an absolute atrocity—committed by the Affghan Sirdars was the result of selfish calculation—that they did not insult and torture their prisoners, because they thought it would be more to their interest to spare them. Thus the Affghans are not permitted to escape. Do they ill or do they well, some black, bad motive must be at the bottom of it. Several instances of this unwillingness to give the Affghans any credit for humane and kindly intentions may be found scattered through the pages both of Lady Sale's and Lieut. Eyre's journals. Take the following as samples:—"He (Akbar Khan) has carefully kept all "our notes to him asking him for or thanking him for things "received; no doubt to produce at the last, as a further "proof of his kindness to his captives."—*(Sale)* "It is strange "he (Skinner) should have placed the faith he did in him

"(Akbar Khan) unless indeed, he saw further into Akbar's policy "than others, and believed that we should be treated with "honor and kept by him as a *dernier resort.* What will now "be our fate seems very uncertain; but I still think he will "not cut our throats;—not out of love to us, but because the "other Chiefs would resent it; as having possession of us they "could at least obtain a handsome sum as our ransom."—*(Sale)* —"Mahommed Shah Khan was as good as his word, and actually "brought back the (Lady Macnaghten's) jewels. We had good "reason to believe that he had several times tried, without "success, to raise money by them in the city; but finding no-"body to appreciate their value, and hoping to establish a "claim to the favorable consideration of our Government, he "made a merit of their restoration to the right owner."—*(Eyre.)* —"To show, however his determination to leave the Gen-"eral no handle against him, he released Mohun Lall, and "restored to him 18,000 rupees that had been taken from "him." These will suffice. Now it would clearly be impossible for any amount of human virtue to make head successfully against the prejudices of those who sit in judgment on their fellows, after such a fashion as this. It is said that the Affghan Chiefs were capable of any atrocity—that they stopped short of nothing; and when it appears that they did stop short of almost every atrocity (*quoad* the prisoners) which they might have committed, it is said that they only forebore because forbearance was to their own advantage—because they hoped to gain something by treating their prisoners well. If Akbar Khan carried one of the captives across the river on his own horse, or gave up his palanquin to another, or bound up the wounds of a third with his own hand; or was careful when moving his prisoners not to separate the physician from the sick;* it was only because a live prisoner is of more value than a dead one—a sound prisoner of more value than a cripple. And this is the style in which an enemy is treated—an enemy, who, whatever he may have done towards others, acted towards his prisoners with uniform kindness and respect. We must, however, state our conviction that the greater number of the Affghan prisoners regard, with very different feelings, the conduct of their captor; and many of them, we know, are wont, much to their honor, to speak in terms of commendation

* When the prisoners were moved from Kabul, "Mrs. Anderson, her husband and children remained at the Fort. Akbar ordered every attention to be paid to them —Mr. Campbell being left with the party to afford medical aid."

and gratitude for the kindness which they experienced whilst in his hands.

There are some facts so at variance with Lady Sale's and Lieut. Eyre's estimates of the character and conduct of Akbar Khan and other Affghan Sirdars, that we doubt whether all their ingenuity in discovering inwardly bad motives for outwardly good actions can account for them on the old hypothesis of self-interest. Thus, if Lady Macnaghten's jewels were restored, because they were of no use to the possessor; and the money extorted from Mohun Lall given back to soften the resentment of General Pollock, we should like to know, for which of these two reasons, Akbar Khan sent Captain Troup's favorite horse back to its owner, after our army had returned to India, and he had nothing to expect from our favour or our displeasure (if an act of private generosity *could* have affected the one or the other,); and if he only spared the prisoners in his hands, only treated them kindly in the hope of being able to make good terms for himself and sell the captives at a high price to the British Government,—if he was capable of any atrocity, "notorious for stopping at nothing, when his angry passions are once aroused," how did it happen that when he had nothing to look for from negotiation, when matters had been brought to the arbitrament of war, and all his bad passions had been aroused by the defeat of his forces, and the entrance of the British troops into the capital of Affghanistan—how came it that, when thus baffled and defeated, his army broken up, his strongholds levelled with the ground, and himself a fugitive, he restored the last remaining prisoner, in safety, to his friends?

We had penned this last question before we were aware that Lieut. Eyre had answered it This is the answer:—

"He (Akbar Khan) had the good sense to perceive that the further detention of his sole remaining prisoner could serve no good purpose, whilst by restoring him to liberty he *might found a claim to credit for magnanimity, and perhaps, in some degree, conciliate the British Government* Nor is the act altogether devoid of grace, when we consider that clemency to an unbelieving foe is neither a principle of the Mahommedan creed nor a characteristic of the Affghan people."

In other words, although a woman's vengeance is always fearful, Akbar Khan's, in this case, was *not.*

Before we bring the present article to a close, although it has already extended far beyond the proper limits, we desire to make one or two observations, upon which it is a privilege and a pleasure to dwell. And firstly, it must have occurred to all

who, like ourselves, have perused volume upon volume of prison-history—sad records of captivity in foreign climes—that in almost every instance, where an opportunity has presented itself, female sympathy and kindness have done much to lighten the burthens which have been imposed upon the captive—that the women even of the most barbarous countries have seldom been wanting in womanly tenderness, whilst their conduct has often stood out in beautiful relief from the dark picture of virile cruelty set before us. It is not our purpose to sentimentalise; but to state, in simple language, a simple fact. Lady Sale bears willing testimony to the kindness of the women of Affghanistan. Mrs. Judson derived most important benefits from the kindly interference of the women of Burmah—the wives of men high in authority; but for such interference it is probable that all the white prisoners would have perished. They often evinced the liveliest sympathy, and manifested, in their actions, the true charity of the Samaritan. We can afford room but for one illustrative extract:—"The curiosity of the Lamine Woon's wife," writes Mrs. Judson, referring to the time when the prisoners were removed to Oung-pen-la "induced her to make a visit to the prisoners, whose wretchedness considerably excited her compassion, and she ordered some fruit, sugar, and tamarinds for their refreshment; and the next morning rice was prepared for them and poor as it was, it was refreshing to the prisoners, who had been almost destitute of food the day before. Carts were also provided for their conveyance, as none of them were able to walk." Both Mr. Gully and Captain Denham give their evidence in favor of the comparative kindness of the Chinese women. Mr Gully, describing his journey to the place of his captivity, says, "we suffered all sorts of abuse and indignities in passing through these (towns) as well as all the others throughout the whole journey; *but the women did not join in* this, although they showed the usual curiosity of their sex" The italics in this are the writer's own, as they are also in the annexed passage from Captain's Denham's Journal:—"In passing through these places we were abused and called all manner of names; and our hair occasionally pulled by way of amusement; they also threw all sorts of filth at us, and the children, and often full-grown men, spat at us, as we were carried along; *the women were better behaved, and a few looked on us with much apparent sympathy.*" Mon. DeFrance in his narrative of his captivity among the Arabs, gives a still more pleasing account of the kindness of the women of Barbary. He says, in one place, "the women of the village displayed

great kindness and pity towards me. I had eight Yataghan wounds on my body. These excellent women never left me a moment; and they passed the whole time in rubbing my wounds with honey and butter. They also gave me, as well as my companions, white bread and fruit. They overwhelmed the little cabin boy with caresses. On seeing all the care, all the attentions by which I was surrounded, I fancied myself at Genoa, rather than on the coasts of Barbary: I shall always remember the women of Tenez, and the kindness they showered upon me with so much zeal and disinterestedness." And again, in the same narrative, we read—"The Bey has two charming daughters, whose kindness of heart equals the grace and beauty of their countenances. These two young girls rose in the middle of the night and brought food to Madame Laurent and Benedicto. They gave them silk kerchiefs, which were of great use to them during the journey, and which they wrapped round their heads.....These excellent women then sent us dishes of couscousson, but the negroes, who were directed to bring them to us, eat them with our guards." Another illustration of what we have written above relating to the manner in which prisoners are cheated by fraudulent subordinates.

Lady Sale often speaks of the kindness and civility, which, when opportunity offered, she experienced at the hands of the Affghan women. One woman, it is true, cuts a very poor figure in her narrative, and that of Lieut. Eyre;—one woman, it appears, exerted herself not to mitigate, but to increase the sufferings of the prisoners—and that was one of our own women, a Mrs. Wade, a Serjeant's wife, who unblushingly, of her own act, went into a Mahommedan harem, and became the bitter enemy, among others, of her own husband. In Scurry's narrative there are frequent references to one of the English prisoners—not a woman—who to ingratiate himself with his captors, used to take every opportunity of informing against the other prisoners, and became a sort of spy and counsellor, whose tender mercies very much enhanced the bitterness of the captivity endured by his brethren; and, if we mistake not, Mrs. Fay complains of similar kind offices having been performed by one of her fellow-prisoners, when she had the misfortune to fall into the hands of one of Hyder's *employés*.

But we willingly break off from so unpleasant a digression. We are anxious, at the close of our article, rather to dwell upon the virtues of our countrymen. There is nothing more remarkable in all the narratives of captivity which lie before us, than the unfailing patience, fortitude, and courage of Eng-

lish prisoners. Under every depressing circumstance we find their strong spirits unbroken to the last. Captive in body, they are never captive in soul; but often in every respect, except as to their bonds, they are the lords of their gaolers. Accustomed to supremacy in the East, they often wholly forget their relative position of captive to captor, and are, in spirit at least, as dominant in a dungeon, as when breathing the air of freedom.

Thus we find Mr. Gully. in his Chinese prison, exclaiming, "Wont I take the first opportunity of paying our gaolers for this;" and again, "our gaoler, short of cash and trying to be very civil; but, by the——, and I find him tripping." And Captain Denham tells us that when on his way to prison, a Chinaman insulted him, and called him a woman. Upon which, said the Captain, "I gave him a blow that astonished him a little, and proved, pretty plainly, that I was not at all events of the weaker sex: being handcuffed he got the weight of both hands and the benefit of the irons, which cut his lips very much." And every where, in these journals, we have indications of the extremely unruly conduct of the prisoners, who, as we have already shown, delighted in breaking the crockery whenever they had a bad dinner. The prisoners in Affghanistan were not much more afraid of their gaolers. We have heard more than one anecdote illustrative of the little ceremony with which they were sometimes wont to treat the Affghans by whom they were surrounded. The more passive courage of Lady Sale and her female associates—for we by no means regard the lady whom we have named as the only heroine—is worthy of high admiration; there was in it much disinterested patriotism, much noble self-devotion—self-devotion, which we seldom find wanting in Englishmen and Englishwomen when they find that they have the reputation of their country to uphold. Of such self-devotion it is probable that we have, in the conduct of Colonel Stoddart and Captain Conolly at Khiva, the most illustrious examples on record, as we certainly have, in their most pitiable histories, instances of unexampled sufferings. To their fate, and to the efforts made to ascertain the circumstances connected with it, we may, perhaps, on some future occasion, make more ample references. At the close of so extended an article as the present, we can only name the "Bokhara victims"

We now, leaving much unsaid which we had purposed to say on this occasion, bring our article, already greatly overgrown, to an end. It has been our object, by copiousness of illustration,

to show, as far as our limits would allow, in what manner different nations, civilized and uncivilized, are wont to treat prisoners of State. The inquiry, though imperfectly conducted, is not without interest. It is too much the custom to exaggerate the vices of our neighbours, when those vices have been exercised to our own detriment. We are too prone, for lack of sufficient information, to regard as peculiar to certain people, in a certain state of civilization, characteristics which are peculiar to no people and to no age. We have confined ourselves to this one matter—the treatment of prisoners; and we think we have sufficiently shown, that whatever may have been the general conduct of the Affgans in their dealings with the British (and this is a question which we may take some future opportunity to discuss) they have not, in the particular relation of captor to captive, displayed any very uncommon amount of harshness and inhumanity. We believe that we have tested their conduct in this respect by the true standard. We have compared it not only with the conduct, in like circumstances, of other Asiatic States, but with the conduct of civilized European Governments; and the comparison has, in no instance, been to the disadvantage of the Affghan Sirdars. Taking into consideration all circumstances of national character, religious faith, political excitement—all provocations from within and without—there is abundant cause for thankfulness in the now-established fact that our British prisoners, men and women, who were surrendered on the retreat from Kabul, escaped from imprisonment uninjured, unpolluted, undegraded. Privations in varying degrees they doubtless had to endure; and we can easily fancy the distressing anxiety of mind which must have been felt, as often as they reflected on the perplexing uncertainties of the future. But notwithstanding the inevitable pressure of pain from many past proceedings, as well as of ominous forebodings for the future, some, perhaps, can now look back upon the time of their captivity—we may almost hazard the conjecture,—as not the most miserable period of their lives.

# THE FIRST SERIES OF GOVERNMENT MEASURES FOR THE ABOLITION OF HUMAN SACRIFICES AMONG THE KHONDS.

By Rev. Alexander Duff, D. D., LL. D.

1. *Lieutenant Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Gangam and Cuttack. Calcutta, 1841.*
2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

THE recent efforts made by the British Government, with a view to the abolition of the horrid practices of human sacrifice and infanticide among the Khonds, and the introducing of these wild and barbarous tribes within the pale of civilization generally, are amongst the most remarkable and praiseworthy in which that, or any other Government, ever engaged. Justice, therefore, to the British Government and its honoured agents seems to call for an authentic history of these efforts, while as yet the means for the effectual execution of such a task exist in abundant and accessible stores. The subject is one which ought to elicit and command a general interest. It is one which deeply involves the cause of our common humanity, and the hidden springs that affect or influence its varied destinies. It is one which furnishes fresh materials for the speculation and remarks of the philosophic inquirer into the causes that accelerate or retard the amelioration or degeneracy of different and widely scattered sections of the family of man. It is one, moreover, which cannot fail to touch a chord of sympathy in the breasts of all who aspire to the credit of being endowed with so noble an attribute as that of philanthropy.

Such being the diversified interest and importance of the subject, we feel warranted in devoting to its full and detailed elucidation a more than ordinary amount of space in our pages—more especially as it possesses many of the characteristics of an original theme, which, in some of its more marked and striking features, has never yet, in any shape or form, been presented to the public at all. As far as we can learn, the Honorable Mr. Russel, in his report of August 1836, was the first who introduced the subject of the Khonds and their peculiarities to the notice of the Madras Government. Still, he does not appear, at that time, to have known much concerning them beyond a few general traits and obvious features which must soon have obtruded themselves on the attention of every British officer, and indeed of every intelligent man who traversed the country;—such as, that the women were very plain, and the men remarkably well made, active, of average height, and on the whole good looking—that not only every tribe but every village had its chief, chosen not from any hereditary claim, but because he was the best soldier or the

best spokesman of the day—that, like other nations, they had their feuds, and frequently warred with their neighbours, head for head, being the universal law—that their love of liquor and tobacco was excessive, the fruit of the Ippa tree affording them a very strong spirit, and a palm peculiar to their country, yielding a toddy, which, though pleasant when fresh, is extremely intoxicating in a fermented state—that they drew no milk from any description of cattle, yet had none of the ordinary prejudices of caste, and ate anything except the dog, domestic cat, beasts of prey, vulture, kite and snake. To these generalities, which lay on the very surface of the constitution of Khond society, Mr. Russel was also enabled, authoritatively, to add two other important and even appalling facts, viz., *first*, that among the tribes to the westward of Souradah, not in the Maliahs subject to Goomsur, the destruction of female children was common, or rather general—that the expense attending the marriage rites was said to be the motive of this cruel custom, and that they purchased their women from other parts of the country, without reference to their parentage;—*second*, that the barbarous ceremony of human sacrifice did exist in the Maliahs subject to Goomsur, and among many of the neighbouring tribes, and was of annual occurrence —in some places, the victims being of both sexes, and in others, males only.

It does not appear, however, that Mr. Russel knew anything beyond the bare existence of such atrocious practices. At least we can discover no evidence of any such additional knowledge—no insight into their real nature or extent—no apprehension of the real foundation on which they rested—no clue to their intrinsic importance and relative bearings in the prevalent systems, social and religious—no detection of their root and origin and perpetuating causes in the hereditary sentiments, ethographic peculiarities, or mythological traditions of the people.

Neither does it appear that Mr Russel, in his first report, was led to propose any measures whatever with a view to the extirpation of such horrid practices—nor that such an object was in any way directly or specifically contemplated by him. His more immediate and paramount duty was of totally a different kind; and so were all the functions that belonged to it. The whole country was in a state of insurrection and rebellion; and he was invested with a special commission, backed by the necessary military force, to quell the rebellion, and re-establish peace and security of life and property, where hitherto all had been disorder and violence. This task he undertook with promptitude and prosecuted throughout

with untiring vigor and determined energy—sparing no pains, or trouble or personal fatigue—freely exposing himself to the unhealthiness of the climate in all its unmitigated forms—running all the risks and hazards of a galling and all but universal guerilla warfare—accompanying the troops in their various expeditions through the thorns and thickets of an interminable wilderness—following them along rugged defiles and steep and almost precipitous mountain passes, never before trodden by the foot of civilized man—and tracking the rebel fugitives in their devious wanderings from one jungly or craggy fastness to another, over the length and the breadth of an almost impassable territory. All this and much more Mr. Russel achieved. And having, in this way, restored the low country to something like order and allegiance—inflicted terrible retribution on the hill tribes who had screened the enemy or risen in arms against us, or proved treacherous to their own engagements—and captured and judicially condemned the majority of the rebel-chiefs with their more guilty accomplices.—he was led to recommend, as the only means of keeping the country in peace and establishing the authority of the paramount power, that the forfeiture of the Zemindary, already declared, should be confirmed and the lands resumed on account of Government, absolutely and for ever.

On the supposition that this recommendation was acceded to, Mr. Russel could not but contemplate some of the prospective results and requirements consequent on the proposed resumption. On the restoration of peace and order, the settlement of the revenue, or public assessment, on a satisfactory footing, was one of the objects which would claim the earliest and most strenuous attention. Still, it was not the revenue of the district which ought solely or chiefly to be looked to, but the character of our Government, and the moral influence which the establishment of our power there on a firm basis would exert on all the surrounding districts. To this important view of the case, a man of Mr. Russel's sagacity and good sense could not be wholly blind. Accordingly, we believe, that without adverting to the abolition of any of the barbarous customs of the Khonds, he did declare, in a general way, the civilization of these wild tribes, with whom the British had then for the first time become acquainted, to be an object not less interesting than important. To attain this object, however, the only practical measure which he appears to have proposed was the following:—

Having learnt that the Khonds were excessively fond of salt, salt-fish, brass utensils, scarlet woollen red blankets,

and all but the coarsest kinds of cotton manufacture, and that for the obtainment of these they depended solely on their lowland neighbours, either in the way of rapine or exchange,—Mr. Russel very naturally and properly concluded, that they would view with satisfaction any change which had the effect of placing these and other coveted articles fairly within their reach. And one of the ways of accomplishing this desirable end was to revive the fairs formerly held in different localities, and to establish similar marts in other places favourable to the purpose, where they would have opportunities of seeing articles from all parts of the world. This would tend greatly to promote their intercourse with us, and, by giving them new tastes and new wants, would, in time, afford us the best hold we could have on their fidelity as subjects, by rendering them dependent upon us for what might, one day, become necessaries of life. Considering how desirable it was to improve our connection with these tribes, by removing all checks to the free transit of what they might give or receive in their dealings, and by encouraging the importation of goods likely to suit them, Mr. Russel very judiciously suggested the abolition of all duties* within the Zemindaries of Goomsur and Souradah, or, if that were thought objectionable, their suspension for a period of years.

Whether the Madras Government was led to give any deliverance on that part of Mr. Russel's Report which referred to the general subject of the civilization of the Khonds, is a point which we have not been able to ascertain. The probability is, that it did not. The war had not yet been brought to a close; the territory had not yet been finally resumed; and until both these matters were conclusively determined, the decision of Government would, in all likelihood, be kept in abeyance. The case was very different when, on the 11th May of the year following (1837), Mr. Russel was enabled to give in his *second* report. The war was then finished, the territory resumed, and plenary power given to the Madras Government to adopt such mode of administration concerning it, as might be best suited to the special exigencies of the case.

Encouragement was thus afforded to all parties to collect information and offer suggestions. Accordingly, Mr. Russel endeavoured to glean a few more particulars relative to the

* The average revenue from this source during the ten years preceding 1836, would appear to have amounted only to Rupees 3,027-11-9; a sum not to be put in competition with the object proposed to be gained.

physical and social characteristics of the Khonds. His attention was specially drawn to the horrid rite of human sacrifice so prevalent amongst them—a rite, respecting which, in his first report, he was able to furnish no details beyond the naked fact of its existence. From the Collector, Mr. Stevenson, however, he had now obtained that statement, which was subsequently published in the Madras Journal for July 1837. This account of the Meria sacrifice Mr. Russel embodied in his report, and made it the ground-work of a short but very able disquisition on the subject of its abolition.

The sentiments then recorded by this talented functionary are of more than ordinary importance and claim more than ordinary attention, inasmuch as it can scarcely be doubted that they really did constitute the guiding pole star of the after-policy of the Madras Government—imparting their peculiar tone, character and complexion to the views which predominated in most of its subsequent proceedings and the practical measures which resulted therefrom. The following, we have reason to believe, constitutes the main part of Mr. Russel's remarks :—

"The best mode of effecting the abolishing of this barbarous practice is a question of much difficulty. There is perhaps no subject on which we need to be more on our guard lest our feelings carry us beyond the bounds of sound discretion. To form a just opinion of its importance, and of the line of policy which it is proper for the Government to adopt, it is necessary to keep in mind that, besides the Khond districts of Cuttack and those under this presidency, commencing southward with Jeypore and extending beyond the Mahanadi, it embraces also many parts of the Nagpore provinces and a large belt of territory hitherto independent.

No one is more anxious for the discontinuance of the barbarous custom than myself, but I am strongly impressed with the belief that it can be accomplished only by slow and gradual means. We must not allow the cruelty of the practice to blind us to the consequences of too rash a zeal in our endeavours to suppress it. The superstition of ages cannot be eradicated in a day. The people with whom we have to deal have become known to us only within the last few months, and our intercourse has been confined to a very small portion of a vast population, among the greater part of whom the same rites prevail, and of whose country and language we may be said to know almost nothing. We must not shut our eyes to the fact, that although we may desire to limit our interference to the territory owing subjection to us, any measure of coercion would arouse the jealousy of a whole race professing the strongest feelings of clanship, and whatever may be their dissensions in ordinary life, likely to make common cause in support of their common religion.

But supposing even that the consequences of our interference could be restricted within our own territory, in what way is it to be enforced? Let us take for example the Upper Maliahs of Goomsur—a very inconsiderable, and now the best known portion of the whole. We have no troops within that range, and the Bisayes, the only people who could possibly be expected to second our views, have only a few peons on whom they could rely on such an occasion. The great mass of their subjects are Khonds Their

influence is the moral effect of habit, not of physical power. Men thus situated cannot be expected to aid in the compulsory abolition of a custom which all the surrounding tribes hold sacred. The victims rescued by our parties were taken at the close of the last campaign, when our arms were triumphant, and our troops were still on the spot; but even then the Bisayes were afraid to appear openly to assist us. The state of things is now entirely changed. The withdrawal of our force has left them to their other resources, and it would be little short of madness in them to take an active part without the support of Government, pledged for the future as well as for the present. The same observation applies to the Zemindars on both sides the boruer. Are the Government prepared to give this pledge and to engage in an undertaking, which, to be effectual to the end in view, must lead to permanent occupation of an immense territory, and involve us in a war with people with whom we have now no connexion and no cause for quarrel, in a climate inimical to the constitutions of strangers, and at an expense which no human foresight can calculate.

It is not possible that the Maliahs generally could ever be brought to yield a revenue worth having, and it should be remembered that any revenue, derived from those under Zemindars, belongs of right to them, not to the Government.

But setting aside all considerations of policy and expediency, and regarding the question as one of humanity only, would it be consistent with that principle to pursue a course towards a wild race, ignorant of our manners and character, and unable to appreciate our motives, which would leave them no choice, but the immediate abandonment of ceremonies interwoven with their religion, or an appeal to arms against our authority? Of the result of reducing them to such an alternative, or of the fearful sacrifice of life from sword and sickness which would thence ensue, there can be no doubt; but it is, I think, more than doubtful whether the desired object could ever be attained by such measures. From all I have seen of them and know of their country, I feel convinced that no system of coercion can succeed; but, on the contrary, that the attempt would greatly increase the difficulties of the undertaking, by engendering fear and distrust, where it should be our endeavour to inspire confidence and good-will. It is too much to expect them to believe that our interference, if quietly permitted, will be restricted to this point alone.

I have already remarked in another place, that the prejudices of caste have little influence among them. There is, therefore, less drawback to a free intercourse with them than with any other people on this side of India; and there seems every reason to hope that this peculiarity in their national character, and their taste for foreign productions, by leading to more frequent and unreserved communication with the officers of Government and the inhabitants of the low country, and thus extending their knowledge, will gradually wean them from their barbarous superstition,—more especially, as even among their own caste, the rite, though very general, is not an universal practice. It has no existence in Degí Gúlúdaze, Boríi, the Maliahs of Bodoghoro, Koradah or Souradah. It is true that this is a very confined tract compared with the great extent of territory wherein it prevails, but the exception, small as it is, is a fortunate circumstance, and seems to offer a better ground-work for exertion than remonstrances to be enforced by the sword.

Hitherto it has been the policy of the British Government to avoid taking any part in the internal broils of the Hill Zemindars and their subjects, who have been left to settle their differences in their own way; and hence the struggle, which has long been going on, and still continues between the

Rajahs of Duspalla and Boad, and some of the Khond tribes in their respective districts. If it be now determined to require these tributaries and others similarly situated, to interfere with the religious observances of the Khonds, I do not see how the Government could refuse to support them at whatever risk, and whatever the other causes of difference which may exist between them. Generally speaking, they possess no real authority in the Maliah and their own means are totally unequal to their subjugation.

In cases where it may be possible to effect the deliverance of victims intended for sacrifice without the use of violence, the opportunity should, of course, be taken advantage of. In Chokapad, and perhaps parts of Duspalla, for instance, it may be hoped that the establishment of our power in Goomsur and the ready support which can be afforded to those chieftains will give them confidence to second the efforts of the public officers; but I cannot believe that anything short of the complete conquest of the country could accomplish the sudden suppression of the practice above the Ghats or in the Maliahs generally. The annual movement of detachments of troops with a view to the capture and punishment of the prepetrators of the crime can never be effectual even in the most open parts. Still less could it be so among the mountains of Chinna Kimedy; and with the whole population against them, their means of acquiring information would be very circumscribed, and their influence would extend little beyond the lines of their encampment. In the late service in Goomsur, the names, connexions and haunts of all the Khond leaders were known to us before operations commenced, and the bordering people of Buddadesh, who have for years been at war with the insurgent Mútahs, willingly gave us any intelligence in their power, and shut them out from a retreat in that direction. If, with these advantages, we found it difficult to discover their hiding places, and when at length successful, owed our success, in most instances, to the submission of the *people*, who, unable to continue the contest longer, sued for peace and forgiveness by delivering them up,—how much greater would be the difficulty where there could be no previous knowledge of the individuals to be sought, and the criminals, even if known, would find friends and shelter everywhere? The difficulty of subsisting troops in such a country is another consideration which should not be lost sight of.

It has always been my study in the exercise of the power confided to me during the insurrections to the Northward, to avoid committing the Government by any order which it might not have the means to enforce. I sincerely believe that a law, denouncing human sacrifices and providing for the punishment of persons engaged therein would, as a general measure, prove abortive, and involve a compromise of character which should not be hazarded. In my judgment, our aim should be to improve to the utmost our intercourse with the tribes nearest to us, with the view to civilize and enlighten them, and so reclaim them from the savage practice, using our moral influence rather than our power. The position we now hold in Goomsur is favourable to the purpose. It probably is so in some places beyond the frontier also. On our side, the present chiefs have beeen appointed by us and know our strength, and it can hardly be too much to hope that the influence of Sam Bisaye, and the exertions of the local officers discreetly directed, will induce them to follow the example of their neighbours in Degí, and eventually render them the means of reclaiming others. But to this end it will be necessary to go amongst them as *friends*, to preserve our good faith by carefully guarding against any misunderstanding on other points, and above all, by providing ourselves with all the necessary supplies, so as to be independent of their assistance in every respect, and strictly interdicting the

sepoys and camp followers from entering their villages or meddling in any way with them or their fowls, goats, &c.

They will always bring what they are willing to barter, and anything taken in any other way, however trifling in point of real value, may be productive of the worst consequences." *

The subject of the Meria sacrifice, in some of its principal bearings, having been thus distinctly brought to the notice of the Madras Government, no time was lost in giving it that consideration which its appalling importance merited. Accordingly, on the 21st November (1837), that Government recorded its deliverance on the subject,—giving expression to the feelings of intense and painful interest with which the account of the human sacrifices had been perused,—declaring how its regret was enhanced at finding there was no possibility of adopting measures for putting down the barbarous practice at once—the impracticability of using force for that purpose being so clearly and forcibly pointed out by Mr. Russel as to generate the conviction that the attempt would only induce the people to cling the closer to their superstitions, and to make them seek every opportunity in secret to perform these barbarous rites.

Adopting the views of Mr. Russel in all their extent, the Government, while admitting that the evil was a crying one, and deeply deploring the continuance of such an execrable superstition, could not but feel persuaded that the remedy must necessarily be of slow operation, and that the extinction of the practice must be gradual and voluntary. It therefore simply issued instructions to the Collector, or officer in charge of the district, enjoining him to collect further information on the subject—to endeavour to obtain as great an insight as he could into the feelings and opinions of the different classes of the population respecting it—to cultivate, as much as possible, a personal intercourse with the chiefs—to exert his influence in convincing them of the heinousness and folly of the practice—to hold out every inducement, consistent with the efficiency

* This is a long extract; but it must be borne in mind that, apart from its own intrinsic value, it consists of *entirely original* matter, never before published. In recording the views of other labourers in the same field, it is our intention to do so chiefly by means of ample quotations from their own hitherto unpublished reports. Such a plan is no doubt liable to the objection of presenting an occasional repetition of the same ideas, an occasional propounding of somewhat identical measures, and an occasional recurrence of equivalent forms of speech. Our anxiety, however, to do complete justice to all the disinterested parties concerned as well as to the subject itself, leads us to prefer their own statements of their respective views and proceedings, to any abbreviated summaries of our own, however accurate. Besides, the irksomeness of occasional repetition from such a cause, will be far more than counterbalanced by the important mass of coincident yet independent testimony thereby supplied.

of the Public Service, to the Konds to enter it, either as peons or in whatever capacity might be found useful—to encourage by every means in his power, the cultivating of a closer connection with the European functionaries and the comparatively civilized inhabitants of the low country, and thus gradually pave the way for the humanizing progress of civilization.

On the 24th November (1837), Mr. Arbuthnot, the acting Collector in the Vizagapatam district, in responding to the call of Government in its July proceedings, stated that the result of his inquiries left no doubt on his mind that the revolting practice of offering human sacrifices did "prevail in the most inaccessible parts of the whole range of hills that divide the Company's territories from those of Nagpore and Hydrabad." As to the means for putting a stop to it, the only thing he could suggest was to "urge the Zemindars to use their influence within their own territories to prevent it"—that its suppression "must be a work of difficulty and of time"—that "if roads were made through the hills from the Company's into the Nagpore and Hydrabad territories, the inhabitants of these hills might be brought within the influence of civilization, and then this practice would soon be discontinued."

The next reference to the subject, on the part of the Madras Government, was on the 11th December (1837), on the occasion of a victim being rescued, and two persons being apprehended, as concerned in his sale and purchase.

The case was simply this: One Yenuty Bímú, was charged with having, under false pretences, enticed from his home, another, named Letchena, an inhabitant of Purlah Kimedy at the southern end of the Gangam district, and sold him for forty-five rupees to Mujji, a Khond Chief, belonging to a village in the Maliahs of Chinna Kimedy, lying considerably farther north,—with the view of being sacrificed at the annual festival called Tanki. Through a train of circumstances, the captive, who had been closely confined and bound in fetters, was eventually released.

The chief question which here arose for consideration was who, among the parties concerned in his seizure and confinement, were fit subjects for punishment? In disposing of this point, the Government desired to bear in mind that the practice, however barbarous in its eyes, was considered by the Khonds to be a religious act, and was sanctioned by the superstitions of ages—that they were yet ignorant of its being regarded by the State as a crime—and that, until lately, they knew nothing of the Government, or the Government of them. In this view

of the matter, Nujji, the purchaser of the victim, as a Khond, must be acquitted of any criminal intention. The case of Yenuty, the kidnapper, was totally different. Not being a Khond himself, and being, at the same time, an inhabitant of a district, where the barbarous rite to which he was a pander, was not practised, his act admitted of no palliation, and rendered him a fit subject for punishment. The decision of Government generally, therefore, was that "the inhabitants of the low countries who provided the means of carrying on the horrible practice, from the most sordid motives, and not the Khonds, in their present state of ignorance and barbarism, were the proper objects of judicial pursuit."

The Government availed itself of this occasion for renewing its injunctions to the Collector to communicate to the several Zemindars, and, as far as possible, either through them or others, to the Hill chiefs, its determination to put down the revolting practice, and to urge them to use their influence to that end. Nature had not been less bountiful to the Khonds than to others; and they were by no means deficient in understanding. The Collector might, therefore, in personal conference with them, endeavour to point out that their brethren in *Degí*, perhaps as fertile a valley as any in India, enjoyed as good crops and equal freedom from pestilence and famine as they did, although they did not practise the same barbarous rite. Small presents, of an appropriate nature, might at the same time be conferred, in the name of Government, on any or all who would lend their services in the cause of humanity. Finally, the Government reiterated its own assurance that "by the observance of conciliatory conduct towards them on all occasions, more would be gained than by threats or violence."

The case of Yenuty tended, in the opinion of Government, to illustrate various points. The circumstances attending the captive's release proved that the Rajahs had no *real authority* over the hill chiefs, nor the chiefs any *real power* over their Khond subjects. The Rajahs themselves and many of the hill chiefs did not observe the cruel rite; and they might give the aid of their influence, if we were careful not to embroil them with their subjects by too rash a zeal, or too great severity towards those whom they might be the means of putting into our hands. As they had no power to *coerce* their Khond subjects, and they would assuredly lose their heads if they were to interfere with their religious observances, otherwise than by persuasion and remonstrance, a lesson was thereby taught which we would do well to imitate, *viz.*, that, in all cases, persuasion and management would do no more than force.

Yenuty Bímú was, on being tried before the Northern Court, acquitted, on the score of insufficient evidence.* His trial, however, had the effect of eliciting new horrors. He proved to be "one of those miscreants who made a traffic of providing Meria victims to the Khonds." Letchena, whose blood he sold, was a near relation of his own. Nor was this all. It appeared that, on a previous occasion, he had made an agreement with the Khond chief Mujji, to procure a victim for sacrifice at the Tanki festival, and received from him some articles as part payment of the price in advance. Meanwhile, he had placed a daughter of his own in the hands of Mujji as security for the fulfilment of his engagement. Having failed at that time to procure a victim as agreed upon, he was so inhuman as to sell to Mujji, for the purpose of being sacrificed, the daughter he had previously pledged to him? Subsequently he enticed Letchena to the hills, and sold him, as already related. It now further appeared, on the concurrent testimony of a Khond chief and his people, that the release of Letchena was only obtained by Yenuty's delivering over to the Khonds his second daughter in lieu of that person, and that he thus left both the daughters in their hands, for the express purpose of being slaughtered. Every endeavour had been made through the Rajah's officers to procure the liberation of these two girls, but in vain. The Khonds positively refused to give them up, on the ground that the elder one was sold to them by her father, and the other given in exchange for Letchena, who also had been fairly purchased from him They even proceeded to acts of violence against the Rajah's people, who had been sent to demand them; and it was only by the bestowment of sundry presents that these were eventually allowed to return in safety to their own country.

In these circumstances, the Government called upon the Board of Revenue "to instruct the Collector of Vizagapatam unremittingly to continue his endeavours for the liberation of these children." Meanwhile, it cordially approved of the suggestion of the Northern Court of Circuit to take immediate steps for bringing Yenuty Bímú to a new trial, with

* The acquittal of this man clearly proved the inapplicability of the formalities of our Law Courts to such cases, and their total inefficacy in securing the ends of justice. In his case the evidence of two of the witnesses was set aside as inadmissible, because they were the "apprehenders." The prisoner's own declaration and confession before the police was declared to be vitiated, and therefore set aside as inadmissible, because "it was delivered in the Uria language, but taken down in Telugu; and he could not be supposed to verify by his mark, the contents which were thoroughly foreign to him, except as interpreted by the attesting witnesses." His wife confessed that she was a witness of the kidnapping, but her testimony was rejected, because under "the general rule of evidence, husband and wife cannot be witnesses against each other!"

special reference to the fact of his having placed two of his daughters in the hands of the hill people for the purpose of being sacrificed. The necessary instructions were consequently issued to Mr. Bannerman, the Magistrate of Ganjam, to "use his best exertions to procure all available evidence."

Mr. Bannerman, in his reply, stated that the deposition before the Magistrate of the person who detailed the circumstances connected with the transaction, although "deserving of full credit," was "not of such a nature as would ensure conviction before the Court of Circuit." He then proceeds to point out, in the plainest manner, the difficulties that interposed in the way of obtaining satisfactory evidence. And as his remarks are well calculated to open up generally the difficulties attendant on any attempts to suppress the horrid rite we feel pleasure in furnishing the following clear and decisive extract :—

"It is only by the Khonds of Mulleguddah, therefore, that the facts of the case could be proved against the prisoner, but they have not only positively refused to deliver up the two females in question, but used violence against the party sent by my directions to endeavour to obtain their release. The part of Súvernagherry Maliahs, where these unfortunate persons are said to be detained, is the most remote and inaccessible of the whole of the hill tract, and the Khond tribes who inhabit it remain in a state of savage independence. The Zemindar's officers had never, before the present occasion, penetrated into their country, or attempted to exercise the slightest control over them; neither does there nominal chief, the Pater of Súvernagherry, possess any authority whatever over them; he can do nothing without the consent of the elders of the different tribes, and dare not attempt to coerce them. I consider it, therefore, to be utterly impossible, under existing circumstances, to bring these uncivilized and barbarous men before the Court of Circuit as witnesses, more particularly as those best acquainted with the facts, are themselves deeply implicated in the criminal transaction.

Bahadur Patrúdú, the chief of Súvernagherry, could possibly give some account of the affair, though his evidence would probably not be direct and conclusive: but there would, I apprehended, be the greatest possible reluctance on his part to appear as a witness in our courts of justice. I have not yet seen this chief, as when requested to visit me at Pùdamari in Chinna Kimedy, he excused himself on the plea of sickness and sent Danobandú in his stead. It is of the highest importance, as regards the future success of our endeavours to put a stop to the practice of sacrificing human victims throughout the Maliahs, that the hill chiefs should be conciliated by every possible means, and induced to enter cordially into the views of the Government on this subject, and in prosecution of the desired object everything should be avoided calculated to harass or annoy them. To proud and suspicious men like them, totally ignorant of everything relating to our Courts and judicial forms of proceeding, a summons to appear as a witness before the Court of Circuit would not fail to excite much alarm and disgust; and I think would be calculated to have the worst effect in preventing the other chiefs from affording their assistance on similar occasions. For these reasons I am of opinion that it would be extremely

inexpedient to require the attendance of the hill chief of Súvernagherry before the Court of Circuit, and I trust I shall be considered to exercise a justifiable discretion in suspending any steps for summoning him as a witness in the case.

From the mode in which the system of kidnapping Meria victims from the plains is carried on, there must necessarily be the greatest difficulty in obtaining legal conviction on a charge of this nature before the regular Courts, for the whole of the transaction usually takes place in remote and inaccessible parts of the Maliahs, of which we have no knowledge, and where even the hill chiefs possess no authority. I shall, of course, use my best endeavours to carry into effect the orders of the Court of Fouzdari Adalat in the present instance, but from the peculiar circumstances connected with the case, there is, I fear, not much prospect of their being successful."

In the propriety of these sentiments, and of the course pursued by Mr. Bannerman, the Government fully concurred — any resort to violent measures to compel the restoration of the captives, and the abolition of the practice of human sacrifices, being strongly deprecated.

The next occasion on which the attention of Government was directed to the subject, happened about a month later when taking up some suggestions proffered by different officers.

In his return of the 23rd December (1837), to the Precept of the Northern Provincial Court, Mr. Inglis, Joint Magistrate of Ganjam, supplied some particulars relative to the customs of the Khonds, and the extent of country over which the rite of human sacrifice may be supposed to prevail, reaching from the Godavery northward, * but could suggest no immediate or practicable remedy. The Zemindar-Rajah of Chinna Kimedy he found willing enough to give his aid, in whatever way required; but he had "no power and little influence over the savage hill tribes." These were in reality "independent, and had never paid tribute or acknowledged subjection to any power." To attempt "the apprehension of any of their chiefs by force would require a considerable force, and then, perhaps, could not be effected amid such interminable and unexplored jungles."

There was nothing here to call for a special deliverance. But widely different was the case with the communications of the

* Mr. Inglis considers the Sourahs of the south, the Khonds of the middle region, and the Koles of the north, as only "different tribes of the same race," and similar in their general habits and practices. He also thinks there "can be no doubt that all of them are in the habit, more or less, of propitiating their Deities (the Earth and the Sun) by human sacrifices."

other two officers, Captains Millar and Campbell, who gave in reports, much about the same time—that of the former being dated 13th December (1837), and that of the latter, the 16th of the same month. It is due to Captain Millar to say that, as far as we can ascertain, he was *the first* who succeeded in rescuing Meria victims from the Khonds. This appears from a portion of Mr. Russel's second report, dated 11th May (1837), which was published in the Madras Journal already referred to. The extract bearing on this point is the following :—

"Captain Millar, (43rd Regiment, N. I.) when at Kúpautí managed with much discretion to rescue no less than twelve victims ; seventeen more have fallen into my hands, making in all twenty-nine. The first who made her escape to my camp, although closely fettered, disappeared after a few days, and I could never learn more of her. She was an elderly woman ; of the remainder, ten were restored to their friends ; and eighteen children, from three to ten years of age, remain with Captain Millar and myself. These were all sold by their parents, or I have been unable to discover their history and origin."

The following extract from his own report or letter of the 13th December will perhaps serve to explain the sort of "discretion" with which the gallant Captain "managed to rescue" the victims :—

"Were the custom of offering human sacrifices to be completely discontinued in any considerable district for one or two years, the people of that district, and also of those bordering upon it, would then have ocular demonstration that the continuance of the practice was not essential to their welfare ; and were they once perfectly convinced of this fact, these sacrifices, which are attended with a great expense, would soon cease to be offered, for the people admit the criminality of the act, but attempt to justify it upon the grounds of expediency. It is pure selfishness that influences them, and they are merely fearful to omit the sacrifices, lest their crops should fail or some other temporal calamity befall them.

*Force and intimidation* were the means that I employed, and I do not apprehend any danger from the exhibition of a military force, provided the party employed be of such strength, as to render any attempt at opposition, utterly hopeless. It was on this principle that I acted. I never sent out any small parties, but always went in person with the main body of my detachment, and thereby prevented any collision between the soldiers and the inhabitants of the country.

The circumstance of these sacrifices being only offered once in the year, *viz.*, in the month of January, when the climate is by no means unhealthy, would remove one of the obstacles to the employment of a military force for their suppression."

Very different, in its general strain, was the letter of Captain Campbell, of nearly the same date. As the assistant of Mr. Russel, during the recent military operations, he had acquired considerable knowledge alike of the Khonds and their country. He was personally acquainted with most of the Múlikas and Digalís, and the neighbouring petty chiefs, several of whom he

knew to be averse to the sacrifice, and would, he hoped, cordially lend their aid and influence to put an end to it, were they sure of being countenanced and supported. His proposal, therefore, was as follows:—

"The time when the Khonds are in the practice of sacrificing human victims being near at hand, I do myself the honor to lay before you the following proposal, the object of which is to induce the perpetrators by fair means to abandon the horrible custom handed down to them by their ancestors, convinced as I am that every means in our power ought to be used for its suppression before force is attempted,—which last, in my humble opinion, would make their conviction of the virtue of the rite still stronger, besides having other prominent objections.

"I purpose, with your sanction, to ascend the Ghats with a considerable portion of the armed peons under my command, accompanied by a party of fifty men of the 17th Regiment, and call together the most influential men among the Khonds,—endeavouring to convince them of the barbarity and inutility of the sacrifice, explaining to them our abhorrence and utter detestation of the practice, at the same time ordering them to bring to me all the victims in their possession. And if I cannot otherwise obtain them, I request permission to *purchase* them at the prices they cost the Khonds, generally from rupees fifteen to twenty-five, and at the same time to use such threats as I may consider advisable to gain the object in view, both for the present and for the future. If my efforts for the present prove successful, I shall be able to discover the parties engaged in the barbarous traffic of providing victims, who, from all the information I can gather, are for the most part inhabitants of the low country, and thus gain the power of striking effectually at one source of the evil by immediately securing the parties concerned.

"To gain over the Janis or sacrificing priests would be a desired object, and I think a little money secretly and judiciously employed among them, would have a good effect.

"I also request your sanction to my employing twenty-four bullocks or other carriage to carry provisions for the peons and other persons whom I may find it necessary to employ on this duty in the Goomsur Maliahs."

On the 15th January 1838, the letters of these gentlemen, were severally taken into consideration by the Madras Government. From the view so often expressed by Government on the subject, we may readily anticipate the general character of its verdict on these communications respectively.

The opinion so strongly expressed by Captain Millar could only refer exclusively to the low country; and was so far in accordance with the observations recorded by the Hon'ble Mr. Russel in his second report. It was on all hands admitted that if "force and intimidation" were to be the means employed, for the suppression of these sacrifices, such a display of Military force must be exhibited, as would render any attempt at opposition utterly hopeless. But, it had been distinctly shewn that, whatever might be the result of pursuing such a course in the lower country—and even there its propriety and expedi-

ency might be questioned—in the wilder and less accessible tracts of the Khond country, it would be attended with a fearful loss of life to the troops employed, and almost without a chance of ultimate and complete success. The remark of Captain Millar, that, if human sacrifices were actually discontinued for some time in any considerable district, the Khonds could have ocular demonstration of their inutility had not escaped the attention of Government. But experience had shewn, as in the case of Degí, that the example of a district flourishing without the practice of sacrifice, was not *alone* sufficient to induce the neighbouring Mútahs to discontinue it; and that it would require much conciliatory explanation and the utmost exertion of his influence on the part of the Collector, to bring this fact home to the understanding of the Khonds. This salutary influence could only be expected to arise from confidence, which must be entirely destroyed if measures of coercion and intimidation were resorted to.

The Government, as might be expected, approved of the proposal of Captain Campbell, then assistant Collector in charge of Goomsur, and cheerfully granted all the requisite equipment. The Military escort, however, must be regarded as exclusively designed for the protection of his person, and for guarding his followers, and not to be used for any purposes whatever of compulsion or violence. He must be careful, at all times, to observe the most conciliatory deportment towards the Khonds —to go amongst them only as a friend, anxious to preserve the good faith of Government, by studiously guarding against any misunderstanding on any point—and systematically to eschew the employment of threats, or the issuing of orders which might be calculated to produce irritation and provoke opposition. With respect to the permission solicited *to pay* to those who had destined victims in their possession, the *price* they might have given for them, the Government was not inclined to sanction such a measure, as it was impossible to say to what the interference of its accredited officers as *purchasers* might lead. It was plainly objectionable, not only from its being so liable to abuse, but because the money given would furnish the sellers with the means of purchasing new victims. The functionaries of Government ought carefully to avoid anything which might possibly tend to encourage the odious traffic; and should confine their pecuniary interference, as heretofore, to rewarding those who might afford useful information or assistance in its suppression.

Agreeably to his proposal, Captain Campbell, early in January (1838), proceeded into the Khond Maliahs of Goomsur. Having

called together the Múlíkas or heads of the different Mútahs, he explained to them what he supposed to be the intentions of Government, *viz.*, "that the sacrifice of human victims would no longer be suffered among them." He then "peremptorily ordered them to bring all persons whom they might have purchased as Merias to him." The Múlikas at first stoutly "denied having any such in their possession." Captain Campbell, however, having "previously taken the precaution to ascertain the names of different chiefs who had Merias, and the persons from whom they had been purchased, they were led to make a partial disclosure." He then sent them away for the children, and to expedite the business, despatched two of his peons to each of the head Mútahs.

Most of the Múlikas soon attended; and a *hundred* Meria children were delivered up. Captain Campbell next "demanded a declaration that the Meria Pujah should henceforth be at an end among them, and that any one performing it should subject himself to severe retribution." This, after a certain form, was repeated by all. In certain Mútahs, which had taken a prominent part in the late rebellion, no Merias were found; though it was ascertained that from them several had been sold to their more flourishing neighbours. It could not be discovered that more than four or five victims were sacrificed annually in the Goomsur Maliahs; though the number of Merias purchased during the past year was distinctly allowed to exceed that of former years—this admitted fact being accounted for by the distress which had lately prevailed. On the whole, Captain Campbell felt himself warranted to sum up in these emphatic terms:—"*I have every reason to believe that the public performance of the Meria Pujah in the Goomsur Maliahs is at an end;* but if measures are not taken in the neighbouring Khond Mútahs for its suppression, it will be hard to maintain the ground we have now gained."

One point of considerable importance had now been conclusively determined by the inquiries of Captain Campbell. It had been originally believed, and repeatedly asserted, that Khonds were never sacrificed. It was now rendered indisputable that the Khonds themselves formed no exception—that all classes and all castes, whether Hindus, Mussalmans, or Khonds, whether old or young, male or female, might indiscriminately become the subjects of sacrifice. When, however, they could readily be had, preference would naturally be given to strangers obtained by purchase from the plains. This led Captain Campbell to recommend that "of the professed kidnappers and Meria providers, a severe example should be made,"

and that "punishment also should be inflicted on all concerned in the sale of children to the Khonds according to the nature of the case." This, he was satisfied, would have a salutary effect.

Another subject which now called for special attention was the question, as to how the Meria children, after being rescued, were to be provided for. In his second report, Mr. Russel at once viewed the matter with the eyes of a generous and enlightened statesman. His words are these:—"In respect to the rescued children now on our hands, I would recommend to the liberal consideration of Government, that the Collector be authorized *to bring them up and educate them at the public expense.* It is true that the benevolence of individuals has provided for their present wants; but accident may deprive them of this support, and they seem to be fit objects for the protection of Government." Respecting the hundred children delivered up to Captain Campbell, that officer thus writes:—"Several of them have been claimed by their parents, or rather mothers; but these women are for the most part in such a state of destitution that they have scarcely the means of supporting themselves. There are in Goomsur several Muttums, with extensive lands attached, for charitable purposes, but most shamefully misapplied. I would recommend that some of the younger children be distributed among the Muttums or Pagodas to be fed and clothed until they attain a certain age, and to be then employed on field or other labour becoming their years. Several, I have no doubt, will find service with respectable ryots and others; indeed I have already had applications to that effect, and some may be restored to their parents. In the meantime I have ordered a building to be prepared for their reception, and three cubits of coarse thick cloth to be given to each child to defend it from the piercing cold of this season." The probable annual expense for maintaining the 100 Meria children, Captain Campbell estimated at little more than 700 rupees; though even this moderate amount he thought might be "reduced one-fourth or more, by employing them on light work, for which a small hire might be charged, and providing their own fire wood, as well as making the elder cook for the younger children."

In a return, dated 15th June (1838), Mr. Bannerman, the Magistrate of Ganjam, reported that, through the exertions of the Maliah Sirdar under the Zemindar, five individuals had lately been rescued from the neighbourhood of Gúdapúr, and that these had been restored to their friends—adding; that "there was too much reason to believe that these were not

solitary instances,"—that there were "many other unfortunate creatures destined as victims to this detestable superstition confined in different places in the Chinna Kimedy Maliah"—and that there was "no doubt but in Jeypore and the adjoining tracts, the Meria was still more commonly practised."

This latter observation of Mr. Bannerman was soon after strikingly confirmed, by a very able report, dated 2nd July, drawn up by Lieut. Hill of the Survey department. The importance of his remarks—not merely as expounding the remedy which his enlarged experience had suggested to him, but as throwing more light on the subject of the *extensive prevalence* of the revolting rite than had yet appeared,—will amply justify us for making the following lengthened quotation:—

"The information I obtained regarding human sacrifices leads me to suppose that the practice of that barbarous rite obtains to a far greater extent than is generally supposed; and I much fear that the Khond Maliahs of Goomsur form but a very small portion of the country over which the custom prevails. Of the Khond districts north of the Mahanadi I have no accurate intelligence; but there can be little doubt the practice will be found to exist, as it certainly does, in the adjoining hilly parts of Duspalla, Boad and Sohupore: from the Goomsur Maliahs southwards, Chinna Kimedy, Peddah Kimedy, and Jeypore complete the chain to Bustar, in which latter place the practice is prevalent to an enormous extent. One grand sacrifice, said to have taken place twelve years since on the Bustar Rajah setting out to visit His Highness the Rajah of Nagpore, is spoken of as the "*great sacrifice*," and I am informed that on that occasion twenty-five or twenty-seven full-grown men were immolated. I have strong reasons for supposing the practice to be known to the Ghonds of Konkein and the adjoining Mocassars, north of Bustar, and moreover, that in some of the wilder jungles bordering on Chattisghur, the Ghonds add cannibalism to this horrid deed, and eat the flesh they sacrifice.

Information derived from sources, I have no reason to doubt, lead me to suppose that there are not less than two hundred children kept for Meria in the Bulligudda Mútah of Chinna Kimedy alone. Upwards of one hundred (as is well known to Government) have this year been delivered up in Goomsur, but many more still remain there. With these data to calculate from, it is fearful to contemplate the possible number of intended victims now in captivity among the Khonds.

In Patna and Kalahundy the *Woodiahs (Uriyas)* deny the existence of the custom, but there is little doubt of its being practised in the hilly tracts, and the same may be said of Kariall and Nowagudda. The Khonds and Ghonds are said not to be the only people who sacrifice human beings. At Bissumcuttack, the Jeypore Rajah's Karkún pointed out a child of about eight years of age in a large Brinjarry camp, who, he stated, had been purchased near the coast, and was to be sacrificed on crossing the boundary of Bissa (the Jung river). The Brinjarries were questioned regarding the child, and claimed it as one of their own tribe, but Kúnchi Singh (a son of the late Zemindar of Souradah, who accompanied me) pronounced the child to be a Woodiah, of the same caste as my bearers—hence I fear that the Brinjarries, who travel these roads, are in the habit of performing this ceremony. Great caution is necessary in believing any Khond Mútah to be freed from this stain, as on several occasions where

the practice has been stoutly denied, I have afterwards obtained undoubted proof of its existence. It is not the custom in Sarungudda, though it is suspected that some of the Sarungudda Khonds attend the sacrifice in the other districts.

If I venture to offer some unsolicited suggestions which arise in my mind on this subject, I must plead in excuse the length of time I have been employed in Ganjam and the adjacent hilly country, the opportunities that I have had of forming a judgment of the disposition of the Khonds, and the earnest solicitude every man of Christian education must feel for the suppression of a practice so horrid and unnatural.

If we reflect on the extent of country over which this custom prevails, and what is of more importance, the nature of that country, the dense forests, the vast chain of mountains in the strongholds of which this superstitious rite is most firmly seated, the doubtful climate at the best season, and the decided insalubrity of the air for the remainder of the year, the general poverty of the country, which will not support any large additional body above the number of its inhabitants, and the ill success that usually attends the persecution of a people on account of religious tenets, however falsely grounded they may be,—it will be evident to any but one blindly prepossessed, that military force, in this case, would not avail, but would rather be the means of sanctioning an enormous slaughter, at a great expense on the part of the State, without the prospect of an entire and final abandonment of the custom by the Khonds under any less rigorous measure than the almost total extirpation of the race. But it does not appear to me, therefore, to follow that no authority is to be exerted for the suppression of the Meria, or that persuasion *alone* is likely to produce better results than the employment of military force. It must be borne in mind that the race, if not entitled to the name of savage, is on the very lowest verge of civilization, and is not prepared to receive rules and ordinances adapted to a people of more cultivated understanding. The disposition of the Khond partakes much of *animal* suspicion and cunning, and it is to be recollected that the varing ideas of his mind are more nearly allied to *instinct* than to the powers of reasoning and perception between right and wrong, which are the result of education and civilization.

Attempt to reason with a Khond and he refers to the customs handed down from his ancestors; try to persuade him that his ancestors were very wrong, he looks on you with dread, and supposes you are endeavouring to entrap him into compromising himself in some fancied manner; but let him know that it is positively ordered to do a thing, and let him see before his eyes power sufficient to carry that order into effect, and he will obey. For the suppression of Thuggi, a strong and almost arbitrary power has been exerted by local authorities most beneficially for the public good, and it cannot easily be imagined that anything short of that power, so exerted, could have produced like results; but if murderers by trade cannot be *persuaded* to abandon their calling, can we hope that *persuasion* will have more effect on men who murder solely on the principle of making a *necessary* offering to their god.

Local knowledge and a personal acquaintance with individuals, their manners and habits, form the first and indispensable qualification for asserting the power of Government in a Khond district. When we possess these, their military strength is a mere trifle comparatively, and one effective Company of Regulars would be found force sufficient to back any order in any single Mútah or District. Much must depend on, and be left entirely to, the direction of the Local Authorities, but I am sanguine that if the system be tried, it will not be in vain that I have penned these observations."

The foregoing notes apply more particularly to the hills of Ganjam, but a single glance at the map which accompanies this, will at once shew that the Khond

Mútahs of that district form but a small portion of the tract of country over which the observance of this rite obtains. It is much to be doubted whether anything less than an organized system, conducted with great temper and patience, and followed up with unremitting perseverance, will be found sufficient effectually to eradicate this barbarous custom. The Zemindars of Duspalla, Boad and Sohnpore, are not sufficiently powerful to agitate a reform on so tender a point among their Khond subjects without the support of European authority, and a great risk would be hazarded by embroiling them with their own subjects by seeking their co-operation. This objection does not exist in Patna and Kalahundy, where the Khonds and Ghonds are kept in complete restraint by the Woodiahs, and the chiefs are well disposed towards Europeans.

On the 18th October following, Mr. Bannerman officially announced his intention to proceed above the Ghats, previous to the period at which the Tonki festival is annually celebrated, on which occasion the horrid rite was usually practised, with "the view of endeavouring to induce the rude tribes to abandon the detestable superstition, and to deliver up their unfortunate victims." He was satisfied from what he had seen, that it was necessary a European officer should go among the Khonds of the Chinna Kimedy Maliahs, and personally explain to them the views and determination of the Government on the subject, in order to convince them that the Sirkar actually interested itself in the matter; as he had reason to apprehend that hitherto they regarded the interference of the Zemindar's officers and hill chiefs as not originating with the Company's Government. And while he himself proceeded in one direction, his assistant, Captain Campbell, would proceed in another.

The Government entirely approved of this determination and authorised the proper officer, through the Military Departments, to place four elephants, a Subadar's guard, and all the other needful appliances in the way of travelling facilities, without delay, at their disposal.

Of his tour on this occasion, Mr. Bannerman was enabled to supply a long and able report, bearing date 2nd January 1839. Of this report the more material portions will be found in the following copious extracts:—

"It was my intention if I could have been supplied with the necessary carriages to have entered the Khond Maliahs from the south and attempted to traverse the unexplored tract situated between Purlah Kimedy and Goomsur; while my assistant, Captain Campbell, would have a progress through the Northern Mutahs with the view of preventing, by his presence, any attempt to renew the practice, and to improve the influence resulting from the measures adopted by him last year in that quarter. It being found impracticable, however, to furnish the elephants applied for, I was obliged

to abandon that design, and to confine my efforts to the more southern parts of Womunniah Mahahs bordering on the Kimedy and Jeypore Zemindaries.

The period at which the Tonki festival, at which human victims are sacrificed, is annually celebrated, is regulated by the moon; and I was led to expect that the feast would have fallen this year in the second week of January. Having obtained information, however, that the Meria was appointed to take place at the Khond villages of Síkaraguddah and Gúnderaguddah on Sunday the 30th ultimo, my arrangements were somewhat precipitated. It seemed to me that interfering at the very moment to prevent the consummation of the horrid ceremony would have the effect of promulgating, in the most unequivocal and public manner, the determination of the British Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom, and that a strong impression would be produced, by the whole of the Khonds of the neighbourhood, assembled from all quarters, having ocular proof that their hitherto inaccessible fastnesses cannot longer screen their sinful proceedings. There appeared, however, to be a risk of these men being excited to violent acts, and I deemed it necessary to assemble a strong party, altogether about three hundred of the Doratanum and peons of the Hill Forts dependent on Purlah Kimedy; with whom, and an escort of 60 Sepoys from the posts of Woranasi and Kimedy, under their native officers, I proceeded to the appointed place—a small Khond village on the borders of Vizianagur, Purlah Kimedy and Gúdary, a dependency of the Jeypore Zemindary, and situated from eight to ten coss to the east of the Cusbah village of Gúdary, which is on the bank of the River Wamshadarah, about sixty miles to the north of the town of Kimedy.

After passing through a dense forest, chiefly of the Damer tree, by a most difficult and narrow track, leading over several steep and awkward Ghats, we came upon the village of Síkaraguddah soon after daylight. Fortunately the Khonds had no notice of our approach, and were taken completely by surprise. The preparations for the ceremony appeared to have been completed. The entrance to the hamlet, which was in the form of a square, had been newly fitted up with wicker works, and in the centre, close to the rude village idol, had been erected a bambú pole about forty feet high, on the top of which was an effigy in the shape of a bird with peacock's feathers, such as is described in the late Commissioner's report Having luckily secured the person of the Mujji,—for the whole of the Khonds taking alarm, fled to the hills in the immediate rear of the village,—the victim, a young woman from the plains of the Chinna Kimedy Zemindary, was, after some demur, given up to me, and some of the elders and chiefs were induced to approach and communicate with me.

To the arguments used by me, as to the heinous nature of the crime of putting a fellow creature to a cruel death, and the folly of supposing that any advantage could possibly result from so sinful an act, the Khonds replied that they paid no tribute and owed no allegiance to us; that the Meria had always been practised from time immemorial; that if the usual ceremonies were omitted, their fields would be unproductive; that the victims had been fairly purchased for a price; and finally, that they had a right to do what seemed to them fit in the matter. To reason further with these rude and ignorant men would have been altogether unavailing, especially as many of them appeared to be under the influence of the potations, in which they are in the habit of indulging on such occasions. The Khonds from the neighbouring villages, in the meantime, kept arriving in multitudes to attend the feast, and as the immediate object in view, the rescue of the victim, had been attained, I deemed it expedient, after the men had refreshed themselves a little, to retrace our steps—bringing along with us several of the elders of the tribes as hostages, that the Khonds would not obstruct our return, and with the view of availing myself of there influence in obtaining the release of the Merias, detained

in other part of the Mútah, as well as more fully impressing on them the arguments which they did not appear to be then in a state of mind duly to appreciate.

It was my intention to have encamped and proceeded further into the Maliahs had circumstances admitted, but it would have been altogether imprudent to have remained for the night where we were, Sikaraguddah being situated in a little circular valley about three hundred yards in diameter, surrounded by steep rocky hills covered with heavy jungle. There was, moreover, a deficiency of water, and we had no knowledge of the country in advance. It is difficult to form any estimate of the number of Khonds assembled on the occasion. They showed themselves in the hills in all directions, armed with bows and arrows and the battle-axe, and appeared disposed to oppose our return, but fortunately no collision actually took place. The country through which we passed is even more difficult and impracticable than anything I have seen in the Goomsur side, and elephants would not, I think, have passed by the track. We followed without the aid of pioneers. With the exception of one small valley, we did not meet with any open space or table-land, and the elevation, I do not suppose to be great above the bed of the Wamshadarah river.

To Gúnderaguddah, which is not quite so inacessible, I sent the day previously a small party of peons with a written notification, threatening summary punishment to the inhabitants if the sacrifice should take place, and requiring the Merias to be delivered up, which requisition they thought it prudent to comply with; and subsequently, seven other victims detained in different villages have similarly been given up to me, making altogether nine individuals belonging to various parts of the country, who have been rescued on the present occasion. I am sanguine that these measures will have a favourable effect throughout the southern parts of the Womunniah Maliah, but there is unfortunately a very large tract of Khond country lying between these parts and the Goomsur Mútahs, to which it is not to be expected that their influence can extend.

"I have been able to gain but scanty information in respect to a portion of the southern part of the Womunniah Maliahs. From the accounts of the Khonds, there does not appear to be in that direction, any elevated table-land free from jungle, such as is found in the Goomsur Maliahs. The cultivated spots are described as narrow vallies of very limited extent, separated from each other by ridges of hills covered with dense forest of the same character as in the neighbourhood of Sikaraguddah. How far south the more open table-tand extends is not known."

I am sensible of the anxiety felt by the Government to put a stop to the barbarous custom of sacrificing human victims, which, as far as I am aware, is not systematically followed in any other part of the world—but I feel difficult in proposing any practical measures with the view of carrying its humane wishes into effect. Presuming that such aid of the Commissariat Department as would be required to enable troops to move through a country such as has been described, independent in very respect of other supplies, could be offered, the most eligible plan, in my opinion, would be to allow a detachment to move from the northward, entering the Maliahs from the Goomsur side, and traversing the more open part of the country; being guided by circumstances as to the precise direction to be taken. The detachment should enter Khondistan at the most favourable season, and its object should be simply to march through the country without molesting or interfering in any way with the inhabitants; and as has already been expressly enjoined by the Government, conciliatory means only should be used for obtaining the release of the Merias The presence of the detachment in those parts would, I am convinced, be quite sufficient to prevent the sacrifices taking place anywhere in the neighbourhood, and the influence of such a visitation, it is to be hoped, would also have a more lasting effect. The circumstance of the sacrifices taking place annually within a certain specified

period, it will be observed, is favourable to our efforts for their suppression.

If the Government see fit to resolve that some such measures as I have suggested should be adopted previous to the celebration of the Tonki festival next year, I shall be prepared, if required, to state the strength of the detachment that would, in my opinion, be requisite, and to submit the subsidiary arrangements that would be necessary; the most essential of which would be the supply of a sufficient number of elephants.

It is fearful to contemplate the extent of human misery resulting from the practice of this execrable rite; for, independent of the number of Merias annually—and which there is too much reason to believe is far larger than could readily be credited—it gives rise, with all its attendant evils, to the system of kidnapping unfortunate inhabitants of the plains, who are decoyed into the hills by a set of infamous wretches who carry on a profitable traffic in the blood of their fellow men. The agents engaged in these odious dealings are for the most part of the Panwa, or Dombango, and other base tribes, through whom the intercourse with the low country is chiefly carried on, and who without remorse barter their unhappy captives in common with salt. and some few necessary articles—for saffron, wax and other products of the hills. These heartless miscreants, whose guilt seems to be even of a deeper die than that of the African slave-traders, are actuated by the basest and most sordid motives in supplying the victims, and their infamous conduct does not admit of any palliation. The barbarous and ignorant Khonds, on the other hand, are conscious of no sin in performing what they regard as a sacred duty in celebrating the Tonki festival. The perversion of the human intellect that can regard the cruel death of a fellow creature as a sacrifice, acceptable in the sight of the deity, is indeed strange.

The agents through whose means the Merias are supplied to the Khonds, as has been most justly observed in the Minutes of Consultation under date the 11th December 1837, are the proper objects for condign punishment, but from the circumstances under which the abduction and sale of the unfortunate captives usually take place, it is almost impossible, I have already had occasion to represent, to obtain such proof as would be sufficient to convict the accused before the ordinary judicial tribunals, where all the niceties of Mahommedan law, are required to be conformed to. And, I think it is deserving of the consideration of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council, whether it might not be expedient to invest the officer, to whom may ultimately be entrusted the superintendence of the Hill Tracts, with power to try summarily persons charged with this offence, in the same manner as cases of Thuggi are, I believe, disposed of by the General Superintendent, which arise in Native States not within the jurisdiction of Company's Courts.

The best mode of providing for the Meria children who have fallen into our hands on the present occasion, as well as those delivered up to Captain Campbell last year, is a question of some difficulty, particularly as regards those of more tender years. The grown-up persons, and those who are of an age to maintain themselves, have been sent back to their houses with some little assistance to supply their immediate wants; and the children belonging to the low country, whose parents could be discovered, and who are able to support them, have been restored to their friends. Some of the bigger boys have also been entrusted to the care of respectable persons in the low country, who are willing to bring them up in such a manner as to enable them hereafter to maintain themselves by their labour. But there are still a considerable number of Khond children, principally little girls, who are maintained at the expense of the Government, and who must continue

dependent on its bounty, until they attain such an age as to enable them to do something for their livelihood. Perhaps, eventually, the Government would not object to assigning some waste land, on favourable terms, to persons so circumstanced. There are many situations in this district where the grant might be made without any sacrifice of revenue, and where a little colony might be established of victims, destined as sacrifices to this detestable superstition, who have been rescued from cruel death by the humane interference of the Company's Government."

On the foregoing letter the Government of Madras, on the 11th February (1839), recorded its resolution. Mr. Bannerman's proceedings were approved of; and the timely rescue of even *nine* Meria victims from a cruel and premature death, without any collision whatever with the Khonds, was declared to be "a result alike creditable to his foresight, prudence and resolution, as to his humanity." There was no objection to the adoption of the measures proposed by Mr. Bannerman; but instead of a detachment of sepoys, a body of select and armed peons would be preferred, as it was not only most unadvisable to allow sepoys to come in contact with the rude and savage inhabitants of those regions, but it was essentially necessary that they should be reserved for great occasions only, such as quelling disturbance when it has unhappily broken out, and restoring order and tranquillity. Some of Mr. Bannerman's remarks tended forcibly to shew the absolute necessity which existed for concentrating all power both in the hill countries and in the lowlands in the Ganjam districts in one and the same functionary. This was a subject which ought without delay to be referred to the Government of India. The question of providing for the support of the rescued Meria children had already been submitted to the Board of Revenue for an expression of their sentiments thereon, and the attention of that body must be called anew to the subject. Of the presents bestowed by Mr. Bannerman on certain chiefs for their assistance and co-operation, the Government cordially approved.

Of the proceedings of Captain Campbell who, contemporaneously with Mr. Bannerman, had visited another portion of the Hill Territories, he himself furnished a report, dated 15th January 1839. Of this report the following are the leading parts:—

"I have the honour to report that, having visited all the Goomsur hill Mútahs, including Bodadesh from Deggi to Boluskupa in Boad (excepting such as from my inefficient carriage I could not reach, although their chief men waited on me when sent for, along with the other Múlikas in the neighbourhood of my encampment,) I have great satisfaction in stating that the sacrifice of human victims

has greatly diminished in comparison with former times, owing to the proceeding of last year, partly from the want of subjects, and partly from a fear of the consequences of infringing the order I had issued.

The only instances of the Meria sacrifice having taken place last year that I could positively ascertain were three; two in Sam Bisaye's country, and one at Mundagam of Tentulguddah, but these were performed, as stated to me, on the bodies of Merias who had died a natural death, and by stealth, though the Bisayes had often knowledge of the fact. All the other Múlikas declared that no Meria was sacrificed within their territories, but in the same breath begged permission to offer one victim yearly in each Mútah. The refusal did not seem to disappoint them much, and they all went away promising, as last year, to refrain from the rite.

In former times the great sacrifices were performed at the full moon of the months Púshein and Magham, and the minor ones during the following eight days of either moon, though to avert any dreaded misfortune they were performed at any season. By your directions I this season undertook to enquire into a dispute between the Rajah of Boad and Bahadur Bukshi regarding the Mútah of Boragatsa in which the Bisayes of Chokapád, Possera, Tentulguddah, and the Sirdar of Gullery were witnesses. I took this opportunity of ascertaining the sentiments of these influential men on the sacrifice of human victims, of which they unanimously expressed their horror. The language held by their Khonds is, "The land is ours, we give you a share of its produce, and we attend on you when you call on us to fight or for other purposes, and now when Government wants to deprive us of our juttia, you sit quiet and will not speak for us; the juttia is performed in Boad and other places, and why are we prevented? Are we to starve while they have plenty."

I requested the opinion of the Bisayes as to the best mode of suppressing the Meria Púja; they replied, "though we have been brought up among Khonds, we are not of them; we abhor the Meria as we do the slaughter of a cow. You must shew our Khonds that we are enforced, by issuing a general proclamation denouncing punishment on all who disobey, and by placing Government officers in our forts. Our Khonds, seeing that we have no alternative, will obey and come into the new order of things; we must be of one mind, and let the same proclamation be issued to the countries beyond Goomsur, and Meria will soon cease." In explanation of the above statement, and requested by the Bisayes to whom the wishes and intentions of Government regarding the cruel rite have been repeatedly and most strongly expressed by me in public and private, and perfectly understood by them, I beg to observe that they are wholly unable to coerce their Khonds who are ever ready to transfer their allegiance when provided, and that it is only by conciliation and enlisting their feelings that they can manage them to their purposes. One instance of many which occurred when the Honorable Mr. Russel was in Goomsur, will suffice to shew this, as well as elucidate the meaning of the request made by the Bisayes (already well acquainted with the wish of Government) for a general Government proclamation forbidding the Meria on pain of severe punishment. In November 1836 when the troops took the field, Sam Bisaye accompanied them in irons: when above the Ghats he performed some service which induced Mr. Russel to order his irons to be removed; the Bisaye begged that they might be allowed to remain, for that the Khonds seeing him in this predicament would readily obey his wishes; the event proved that his request was not without reason. In the first campagin he was at large and could do nothing, in the second, he continued in fetters at his own request, and performed good service.

The more I see of the Khonds the more is my opinion confirmed that unless we address ourselves to their fears as well as to their better feelings, our steps for the suppression of the Meria Púja will be slow indeed, and

further, perhaps wholly nugatory, unless the same system is followed wherever the sacrifice is known to exist. I could not learn that any children had been purchased by the Khonds of Goomsur since I was last above the Ghats, nor were any claimed by their relations. I have been fortunate in seizing two notorious traders in children to the Khonds who eluded my search last year, and whose conviction and punishment will, I trust, have a good effect on others who may have followed the same traffic. Considering the protracted duration of the sacrificing season in Goomsur, I think it would be a great advantage to have a thatched house, barrack for sixty peons, and a small storehouse with other shelter at Udiageery, which place does not belong to the Khonds. The health of those employed above the Ghats would not be so much exposed to the bad effects of the extremes of cold and heat; provisions could be obtained without the delay of sending for them to the plains, besides affording shelter to small parties passing and re-passing; and it would also shew to the Khonds our determination to persevere in putting an end to the Meria Púja."

For *nearly two years* nothing further of a decisive nature transpired. In the Goomsur and Souradah Maliahs, peace and perfect order continued to prevail; and feelings of confidence and satisfaction seemed to be gradually extending among the inhabitants of those districts with whom the European officers of Government had the greatest intercourse. This was shewn by their constantly resorting to them for the purpose of obtaining a settlement of any disputes that might arise among them; as well as from the circumstance of their having begun to bring down the various products of the hills for sale or barter to the different fairs that had been established, and to which the Khonds were now in the habit of coming freely in great numbers, from very remote parts of the Maliahs. Every encouragement had been given to this description of petty traffic which was progressively increasing; and the general results appeared to be most favourable and satisfactory. At the same time, it is painful to learn that, as regarded the primary object of desire—the suppression of the Meria sacrifice—matters appeared rather to assume a retrogressive aspect. On the 4th January 1841, Major Campbell ascended into the Goomsur Maliahs for the purpose of endeavouring, by his presence and influence among the people, to check any attempt to perform the Meria sacrifice at the full moon, which would occur on the 7th; and also to procure the release of any victims that might have been sold to the Khonds since his last visit. The following extracts from his report on that occasion will best set forth his own experience and impression of the unsatisfactory state of things:—

"I could not discover that any sacrifice had been performed in the Goomsur Maliahs, but I have reason to believe that some of the inhabitants provided victims, and sacrificed them in the neighbouring Mútahs of Chinna Kimedy, Marsing, &c.

I regret also to have to report that 24 victims have been sold to Khonds of Goomsur as Merias, the greater number within the last 12 months. Six of them have been delivered up to me, and I have taken measures for the recovery of the remainder through the agency of the Chief Bisaye Bahadur Bukshi, Uton Sing, Dalabera, and others of minor influence among the Khonds, and also for apprehending the persons by whom the children had been sold. To these ends, the Chiefs have promised to use their utmost endeavours, and I shall not cease to watch their proceedings in the hope and expectation that the children will be recovered, though I fear there will be considerable difficulty in finding the parties, chiefly Maliah Panwas, who sold them, and procuring evidence sufficient to convict them. Three I have already secured who are now in confinement at Nowgaum awaiting the arrival of witnesses.

The number of victims purchased within the last year would lead to the conclusion that the intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims exists with undiminished force, and that persuasion and remonstrance has not had the effect anticipated.

Children are sometimes sold as Merias by their parents and other relations for as small a sum as three and four rupees, to Khonds as well as Panwas, but the former more rarely: and to punish those who sell (frequently of late years driven to do so by distress) and to suffer the purchasers, the actual perpetrators of the sacrifices, to escape, appears unequal measure towards men inhabiting the same villages with the Khonds,—equally ignorant, and equally with them believing in the efficacy of the revolting rite.

The situation of the Goomsur Maliahs has now become very different from that of the Maliahs under the neighbouring zemindaries, where our troops have never penetrated, and where the power and authority of Government is neither known nor recognised. Since the close of the disturbances, Captain Hill has, during four seasons, passed as many times through the Goomsur Maliahs, with an imposing force, and I have each year, at the usual time of sacrifice, visited every part accessible with bullock carriage, encouraging, and with considerable success, a close and frequent intercourse with the Khonds; and I still continue of opinion that unless more decided measures are adopted the Meria sacrifice will not cease, though it may not be performed openly."

Shortly before this time, it would appear that Lieutenant Hill had brought to the notice of Government the fact, that great excitement prevailed in the Maliah Mútahs of Goomsur, occasioned by the interference of Mr. Bannerman and his assistant with the Meria sacrifices. Indeed, to such an extent was this excitement said to prevail, that Lieutenant Hill, in the prosecution of his own more peculiar duties in the Survey Department, did not deem it safe even to allude to the subject. The communication of Lieutenant Hill was transmitted to Mr. Bannerman for his official report thereupon; and the following are the more material parts of his reply, bearing date 6th February 1841:—

"Although the Maliahs of Goomsur have been mentioned in the minutes of consultation, I have little doubt that Lieutenant Hill in the 2nd para. of

his letter to your address of the 5th August, intended to refer to the unexplored Womunniah Maliahs, and not to those parts of the hills which are dependent on Goomsur.

The more southern part of the mountainous range lying between the Jeypore and the Kimedy Zemindaries, inhabited by the Womunniah Khonds, who are almost in a savage state, and have always maintained their independence, had never been penetrated by any officer of the Government till I visited these parts in the beginning of the year 1839. The appearance of an European officer in the heart of these unexplored Maliahs necessarily created a sensation among the Khonds, and the mere intimation of the wish that the sacrifices should be discontinued must unavoidably have excited some degree of suspicion and dissatisfaction in the minds of these tribes. There is indeed, no doubt, from the spirit in which they received the communications made to them, that the Khonds were displeased at my entering their country at all; they declared boldly that they were independent, paying tribute or owing obedience to none; and notwithstanding the large party I had with me, they shewed a disposition to oppose our return; and it has since appeared that, within three or four days after my departure, they sacrified another victim at the same place in lieu of the young woman who was delivered up to me.

Being impressed from what I saw of the temper of the Khonds of the southern portion of these Maliahs, with a conviction of the necessity for exercising great discretion in my communications with them, in furtherance of the wishes of Government, I have been particularly careful to avoid again prematurely agitating the matter, and, in fact, have had no direct communication with the Womunniah Khonds since the time of the visit in January 1839. I have, however, as has been expressly directed, taken every fitting opportunity to urge the hill chiefs, who from local position are most likely to hold communication with them, to use their influence, in a prudent manner, to persuade them to discountenance these rites, at the same time not failing to caution them to avoid anything like threats or intimidation in reference to the subject. I have seen most of the hill chiefs whose possessions border on the Womunniah Maliahs, who all evince a disposition to do what lies in their power to meet the wishes of the Government on this head; but for the most part, they had no friendly intercourse with these Khonds, and dread drawing down on themselves their enmity, by attempting to open a communication on the subject. With a zealous desire to press on the accomplishment of the end in view, I can safely say that I have neglected no fit opportunity to forward, in a prudent manner, the wishes of the Government, but the whole subject is one of much practical difficulty, and I was not without apprehension that the cautious measures which have hitherto been pursued might possibly be thought to wear the appearance of want of energy in the cause; it now, however, seems to be supposed that injudicious interference on my part has produced a state of feeling among these tribes, such as to cause deep concern to the Government.

If excitement and suspicion have thereby been raised in the minds of the Khonds to the extent that seems to be supposed, the result would be greatly to be lamented; but I have never heard through any channel, and no circumstances have come to my knowledge, that would lead to the belief, that any irritation or ill-feeling has been excited, or that any particular impression had actually been made by any communication which may have reached the independent Khonds regarding the wish of Government for the discontinuance

of the sacrifices. Lieutenant Hill has had more ample opportunities of acquiring accurate information in respect to the entire range of the Maliah tracts, and acquaintance with the disposition and feelings of the Khonds and other hill tribes, than perhaps any other European officer under the Government; and he having particularly directed his attention to the subject of the Meria sacrifices, no person is better qualified to give a sound opinion on all points connected with it. I should be inclined to doubt if the expression which may have been used by Lieutenant Hill was intended by him to convey the meaning which has been attached to it, but if, as is stated in the minutes of consultation, that officer deemed it unsafe even to allude to the subject of the sacrifices in his communications with the Khonds, their extreme jealousy of their independence and sensitiveness at the most remote degree of interference with their superstitious rites, would be apparent, and the possible hazard of exciting among these savages a spirit hostile to all civilized authority will be obvious. If, however, the Government desire to see the early accomplishment of the object which they have in view, in my humble opinion, they must be prepared to authorize such measures as may become necessary for bringing these tribes under subjection to their authority. Unfortunately no Khond chiefs, possessing any power or influence with whom to "negotiate," are to be found throughout the entire range. Each Khond hamlet is separate and independent, and the circumstance of there being no authority amongst them, which could be held responsible or be employed to influence or control the acts of the rest, adds much to the difficulty of the task.

The Government are aware, that the independent Maliahs adjoining the Ganjam district, although equal perhaps in area to the rest of the Ganjam district, form but a small portion of the tract in which the practice of sacrificing human victims is known to prevail; and to effect anything towards the general eradication of the evil, will obviously require an organized system of operations to be carried on, on an extensive scale, for a considerable length of time. The suggestions that have been offered by Lieutenant Hill in his report, dated the 2nd July 1838, appear to me to be generally judicious, and I concur in thinking that the opening of lines of communication through the Maliahs will be one of the best means that could be adopted with a view to the introduction of the authority of Government among these tribes. From the nature of the country, however, this will be a very difficult operation, and attended with vast expense, and it will, I conceive, be indispensably necessary to establish Military posts at different points in the hills, for the purpose of keeping open the communication and protecting the Brinjarri and other merchants who may travel there,,from being plundered by the Khonds. The line of communication indicated in the minutes of consultation of the 10th September 1839, is perhaps the most eligible that could be selected, if it be found practicable. It would possess the advantage of being the most direct communication from this part of the coast to Nagpore, and would pass through a part of the Maliahs, which it is very desirable to render of more easy access. From Aska to Bodaguddah a common country road for Bandies already exists. but beyond that, there are said to be a succession of ridges of mountains covered with dense jungle, and separated by deep ravines, without any tableland or open spaces intervening between them; and from all the information I have received it seems to be very doubtful, whether the natural obstacles are not such as to render the task of opening a direct communication through this part of the hills almost impracticable. The insalubrity of the whole of this range of hills, I should fear, would also be very unfavourable to the success of the undertaking, and will not allow of posts

being maintained in the hills throughout the year, but at the risk of a great sacrifice of human life from disease.

Shortly before the receipt of the report from which these extracts have been supplied, the Madras Government,—considering that much good might result from the deputation of an officer to the Hill Maliahs for the purpose of entering into negotiations with the Khond chiefs, and of endeavouring by persuasion, the offer of favourable conditions, and the promise of future advantages and rewards, to induce them to enter into agreements to abandon the Meria sacrifice,—resolved to appoint Captain Hall for this arduous and responsible duty, *to act under the immediate orders of Government* on an increased allowance,* and with the benefit of an escort for his own personal protection. The design was obvious. Hitherto the business had been entrusted exclusively to the Collector, Commissioner, or Governor's Agent and his Assistant. The ordinary routine duties which the former had to discharge were of an exceedingly onerous and multifarious character—leaving little time or strength for the peculiarities of Khond affairs,—affairs, too, whose singular delicacy and intricacy might well demand the undivided time and undistracted attention of any man. The same remark is applicable, in proportionate measure, to his Assistant, on whom more especially devolved, in practice, the management of the Khond question—a question which seemed likely to baffle all the skill of the most astute diplomacy. Moreover, the Assistant lay under the additional fettering, and most chafing disadvantage, of being privileged to hold no communication with Government, except through the sole channel of his own immediate principal, the Commissioner. For these, doubtless and other reasons equally potent, the Madras Government was disposed to try the experiment of a direct and unencumbered embassage to the Khond country.

The Supreme Government of India,† however, it would

* The sum proposed was, we believe, Rs. 1,166-10 8 per month.

† The Government of India, we presume, was all along made cognizant of all the steps taken or proposed in reference to the Khonds. As early as the beginning of 1838, we find Mr. Ross Donnelly Mangles, Officiating Secretary to the Indian Government, calling for papers "relative to the practice of offering human sacrifices in Ganjam," and Mr. Chamier, Chief Secretary to the Government of Madras, responding to the call, by forwarding copies of all the papers in his possession. The subject also appears to have been brought regularly to the notice of the Court of Directors, who heartily approved of what had been proposed, and partially executed. The importance, in particular, of promoting intercourse between the Hill Tribes and the people of the low country, seemed to impress itself upon the conviction of the Hon'ble Court, who most liberally sanctioned the opening or formation of routes and passes through the wild and difficult tracts of Khondistan.

appear, doubted the expediency and good results of the proposed mission, and did not see that such a mission would have any clear duties imposed upon it which the present Commissioner, if properly qualified, could not perfectly perform with some moderate assistance. It did not think that much could now be done beyond the direct repression and punishment of notorious and violent acts; and it was disposed to look with better hope to improving the internal communications and the local police of the country, and thus facilitating the progress of commerce, and the consequent gradual civilization of the people. In other words, all confidence in the efficacy of purely conciliatory measures in securing the *immediate* or *early* abolition of the Meria sacrifice was fairly repudiated, and all intention of resorting to forcible or coercive measures, either as inapplicable or impracticable, finally abandoned.

Shortly after the receipt of Mr. Bannerman's last report, on the 16th March 1841, Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras, recorded his views on the subject in the form of a Minute, which all, who have had the opportunity of perusing it, have united in pronouncing a luminous, masterly, and statesman-like document. In it his Lordship was led first to review the past proceedings of Government and its accredited agents, and then to suggest an outline of operation for the future. And certainly it is but justice to his Lordship to say that, from the beginning, he bestowed on the subject an unwearied attention, and watched every moment and the effect of every project, with an unslumbering interest.

Respecting the contents of his Minute, it is not of course competent for us to do more than simply to indicate, in a general way, what we understand to be its main drift, scope and purport.

From his Lordship's intimate acquaintance with the various reports of the different Government Agents, directly or indirectly employed in connection with Khond affairs, he could not but perceive how little *real* progress had been made towards the realization of the main object—the suppression of the Meria sacrifice.

Experience seemed to prove the insufficiency of violent measures, which from their very nature, must be partial ones. When, through the fear which his presence inspired, Mr. Bannerman once succeeded in rescuing a destined victim, the inhabitants, within three or four days after his visit, sacrificed another instead! And when, on another occasion, a victim was released, through the violent interposition of a police force, it was found that the kidnapper had to supply a substitute in the person of his own daughter!

Such examples seemed to prove that force alone was unsuitable to the object in view. And then, as to the efficacy of conciliatory means in ensuring its attainment, there was much to abate the ardency of hope. The delusiveness of partial success, even when obtained by conciliation, was strikingly demonstrated in Major Campbell's last report. In the Goomsur Maliahs, which differed essentially from the neighbouring ones, inasmuch as British power was there acknowledged, and intercourse prevailed to a great extent between the Khonds and their neighbours of the low country, the Múlikas or priests faithfully and repeatedly promised Major Campbell that they would refrain from human sacrifice *for ever.* But it soon appeared that the inhabitants had been in the habit of sacrificing victims in the neighbouring Mútahs; and that since this promise was last reiterated, not less than 24 victims had been purchased in Goomsur! Besides, as late as the 18th December 1840, Lieutenant Hill, from data in his possession, roughly estimated the number of victims who were to be put to death in the forty Mútahs of Ganjam alone, at the new moon feast on the 8th January 1841, at *two hundred and forty!* These, and such like facts, tended at last powerfully to shake the confidence even of Mr. Bannerman and Major Campbell in the efficacy of conciliatory means only; though, of such means only, were they at first the strenuous advocates. Mr. Bannerman in his last report was constrained to remark that "if the Government desired to see the early accomplishment of the object which they had in view, they must be prepared to authorize such measures (of force?) as may become necessary for bringing these tribes under subjection to their authority" Major Campbell still more explicitly declared, that during his last visit he was led to conclude that the "intention to continue the sacrifice of human victims existed with *undiminished force*,"—that "*persuasion and remonstrance had not had the anticipated effect*,"—and that "unless *more decided measures* were adopted, the Meria sacrifice *would not cease*, though it might *not be performed openly*."

This very conclusion, at which, after the painfully abortive experience of three or four years, these gentlemen were compelled to arrive, is none other than that, which it may be remembered Captain Millar had, by a short soldier-like process, arrived at from the first. "Intimidation and force," said he, with plain, blunt honesty, were the *only* means which he himself had employed, and the *only* means which he could deem either applicable or adequate. But, supposing this conclusion, as to the necessity and sole sufficiency of coercive measures, to be adopted, how is it to be made practically available? The

measures must be either of limited or of universal operation. If the former, they could be of little or no avail; since, on all hands, it must be admitted that all partial and isolated attempts of a violent character must end in signal failure. If the latter, how was it to be compassed? The forty Mútahs of Ganjam were but a small part of the wide region in which the atrocious practice prevailed—a region of wild inaccessible mountains and jungles, extending in length and breadth over hundreds of miles, and peopled by diverse races outstripping each other in savage barbarism. When all this was borne in mind, the impossibility of applying force in any degree commensurate with the vastness of the undertaking, must be abundantly evident to every reflecting mind. And when, in addition to all this, the condition of the rude tribes who were under the dominant influence of so execrable a superstition was distinctly kept in view, as well as the nature of that influence itself, above all others the most difficulty to counteract,—the conclusion seemed inevitable, that it was on other means of a more general and progressive character that reliance must be placed for the attainment of the great object contemplated.

Fully persuaded, therefore, of the futility of partial efforts for the suppression of the abhorred enormity, and of the inexpediency and hopelessness of violent ones, his Lordship, as we understand, went on at great length, in accordance with this general persuasion, to propound an outline of the plan on which alone, in the first instance at least, the efforts of Government should be directed. The plan itself, we believe, contained nothing whatsoever that was new, either as regarded principle or mode of operation. It only repudiated certain measures that had been casually or deliberately proposed, while it discriminatingly singled out and firmly grasped certain others, on whose development and application it was argued, the energies of Government ought to be exclusively concentrated. The measures thus finally advocated by the Governor of Madras were fully approved of by the Government of India. What the measures themselves were, we find from the following communication, which on the 3rd May 1841, was addressed by the Secretary of the Supreme Government to the Chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George:

"The Governor-General in Council entirely participates in the strong anxiety evinced by Lord Elphinstone and the Government of Fort St George, to put an end to the savage practice of human sacrifice unfortunately so

prevalent among the wild tribes of Ganjam and the neighbouring districts of Orissa and Berar, and believes with his Lordship that the best hope of success is in cautious and gradual measures, by which, without any direct attack upon national customs or religious prejudices, the natural march of civilization may be securely facilitated.

The plan which Lord Elphinstone has conceived, in order to bring about, in the course of time, the conclusion so much to be desired, is, I am directed to state, thoroughly approved. It embraces the following measures:—

*First.*—The opening of Routes and Passes through the wild tracts, more particularly between Aska and Gúndaguddah.*

*Second.*—The encouraging of the commercial intercourse between the hills and the plains by all available means, and the establishing of fairs or marts for that purpose. †

*Third.*—The raising of a semi-military Police force from among the Hill men, upon a footing similar to that of the Paik Company of Cuttack. ‡

As to the mode in which these measures may be accomplished, the Governor-General in Council concurs with the Governor of Fort St. George, that an officer, subordinate in all respects to the present Commissioner, may with a reasonable prospect of success be sent, suitably accompanied and escorted, to negotiate for the assistance of the Rajah of Gúndaguddah, towards the opening of the communication above adverted to. He should, as suggested, communicate with the Governor-General's Agent at Sumbulpore and with the Resident at Nagpore, and it need scarcely be observed that he should cautiously approach any inquisition into human sacrifices, and confine himself very closely to the immediate purposes of his mission. §

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* This route was proposed, because a road carried between these places would open a direct communication between Nagpore and Ganjam, passing through the heart of the Khond country. The Khonds did not appear, at that time, to be averse to the opening of roads through their country, and it was desirable that this favorable disposition should be improved and made subservient to the objects of Government.

† Such a measure was originally suggested by Mr. Russel. Its importance was obvious. With the extension of commerce the wants of the Khonds would be increased; new ideas would be introduced among them; and alarm and suspicion would give way to feelings of confidence.

‡ Mr. Bannerman supposed it would be found necessary to establish posts for the security of our communication, when they should have been opened; and it was suggested that, instead of employing our regular sepoys upon this duty, a corps might be formed among the Hill tribes themselves. In Cuttack, there was a Paik Company which was a force of this description. And one of the means employed by Mr. Cleveland, in Rajmahal, to encourage his mountaineers, and at the same time keep them in order, was "to raise a corps of sepoys from among them."

§ Though not expressly stated here, one of these purposes, as expounded in Lord Elphinstone's Minute, seems to have been the improvement of the political relations between the Hill Chiefs and the British Government. It has repeatedly appeared from the Reports and letters of the Government Agents, already largely quoted, that these chiefs asserted an absolute independence. They said, that they paid no tribute and owed no allegiance to any earthly power. It was, therefore, thought desirable to take every proper opportunity of removing this impression, and of accustoming the Hill tribes to look to the British Government as the Ruling Power to whom obedience was due. To attempt to effect such an end was felt to be at once a delicate and a difficult task. It was a clear and recognized principle of sound policy, to avoid committing the Government by any order which it might not have the means to enforce. But occasions, it was supposed, might arise when its interference might be exercised without risk of compromising itself. And it was well to keep steadfastly in view the policy of improving the influence of the

Yet it does not seem to his Lordship in Council that it would be otherwise than prudent, if opportunities should occur to him of discussing the subject with friendly Chiefs of influence, that he should declare the extreme abhorrence with which this custom is regarded by the British Government and its right and determination unrelentingly to punish every attempt to entrap, or to steal British subjects for purposes of immolation.

The ulterior measures contemplated by Lord Elphinstone's Minute, though altogether in accordance with the judicious propositions suggested for more immediate adoption, and such as it in all probability will become eventually necessary to carry into execution, are yet far distant, and need not now be commented on.* For the present, all that is done should be tentative and gradual, and for this as well as other reasons, it seems proper that the Government of Fort St. George should superintend the proceedings, and that their more immediate control should be in the hands of the Local Agent to that Government. This Agent may be authorised to enter into communication with the Commissioner of Cuttack, who will be furnished with a copy of this correspondence, and upon whose cordial co-operation he may entirely depend."

This may seem rather a lame and impotent conclusion after the indulgence of once such ardent hopes, and the lavish expenditure of such anxious toil and trouble for a period of years. But the truth is, that the more attentively the subject was considered, the more arduous and intricate did it present itself. To all parties concerned, the difficulties that beset it, only appeared in a vastly stronger light than that in which they were originally seen. Consequently, the views of all may be said to have gradually undergone modification to a very considerable degree. The unexpected fact so recently revealed by Major Campbell, *viz.*, that, in districts the most favorably circumstanced—districts,

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Paramount Power among the people, and at the same time strengthening its hold over the chiefs. If the relations of Government were placed on an improved footing with these chiefs, their influence might be usefully employed among the Khonds, not for their subjugation, but in many ways which were not those of coercion, nor of violence. There could be little doubt that their co-operation, if only obtained, would be invaluable to the British Government in opening communications through their country, in establishing malas or fairs, in fixing upon Military posts for the protection of the roads, in supplying the garrisons with provisions and necessaries, and in inducing their dependents, or people of the neighbouring hill tribes, to enlist in the British service. To secure, therefore, if practicable, this political influence over the chiefs, would be to accelerate and render certain the success of other measures.

* What these ulterior measures were, at which Lord Elphinstone appeared to aim, we have no means of knowing. Rather, perhaps, it would be nearer the mark to hazard the conjecture that his Lordship did not know very well himself what they might or ought to be. That ulterior measures of some kind, over and above the tentative and auxiliary ones then proposed, would be needed to consummate the object in view, was what his Lordship seemed to foresee with sufficient clearness. But in the existing state of his information on the subject, he probably deemed it altogether premature to discuss in detail what these measures should be. The only one to which he seemed to have adverted at all—one which had already suggested itself to the Court of Directors—was whether, as in the case of Thuggi, special tribunals should not be constituted for the trial of the wretches who supplied the victims, and lived by kidnapping and selling for slaughter their fellow-creatures.

under the direct and immediate control of Government itself —districts, the Múlikas and Elders of which had repeatedly and solemnly promised to abstain from human sacrifices— that, even in such districts, the Khonds had relapsed into the practice, if indeed they ever discontinued it! Such a fact, so recently and unexpectedly disclosed, was well calculated to confirm the doubting, stagger and astound the most sanguine, and shake the confidence of the most hopeful.

From the sanctioning Resolution of the Supreme Government of the 3rd May 1841, it will be seen, that all expectation of immediate success was unequivocally relinquished. The chief, if not sole reliance, in subsequent attempts to eradicate the bloody rites of iniquitous superstition—which, though so clearly an outrage against the laws both of God and man, had been handed down to their present perpetrators by the traditions of unnumbered generations—was thereby placed on the gradual and progressive influence of general civilization. And this, too, was the final and settled scheme proposed and adopted, while it was yet unconditionally admitted that the progress of civilization is necessarily slow even under the most favourable circumstances,—and how much more so must it be expected to be, among the jungles and mountain fastnesses of Orissa! What was this but virtually to adjourn for an indefinite period the final extinction of the sanguinary rite?

Even as regarded the special Agent to be deputed to the Hill chiefs, it cannot escape notice, how guardedly and cautiously, under what restrictions, and limitations, and within what a circumscribed sphere, he was commissioned to act. It could not but be foreseen and distinctly acknowledged, that ultimately the efforts of such an officer, if expected to prove successful, must not be limited either in kind, or in the sphere of their operation. In the course of time, when some progress was made in the undertaking, and the authority of the British Government was better established and its intentions better understood, it might be advisable to allow a wide discretion and an ample jurisdiction. Instead of being confined to one district, his authority might require to be extended over the whole tract of country where the practice of human sacrifice prevailed—in Cuttack, in the dominions of the Nagpore Rajah and the adjoining Zemindaries, in the Hill districts of Vizagapatam and Ganjam. In the first instance, however, it was deemed expedient to assign to him the particular limits, and to prescribe to him the exact course which he was to follow. Accordingly, it will be seen, that the European officer, whoever he should be that was first

to be despatched into the Hill country, was not to be sent *directly* to the *Khonds themselves*—either to plead, or remonstrate, or discuss, or threaten, on the subject of their hateful superstitions To do so, in the excited and exasperated state of feeling understood to prevail throughout the country might, it was supposed, be productive of harm rather than of good. He was *therefore* to be sent merely as a sort of ambassador to the Rajah of Gúndaguddah, *ostensibly* for the purpose of securing his assistance to the opening of the proposed communication. With this view, he was to be accompanied by an officer of the survey department, draftsmen, and a detachment of sappers, as well as an escort of infantry, merely for personal protection among the wild tribes, through whose country he would have to pass. He was to be strictly enjoined to "confine himself" to these, the avowed and more "immediate purposes of his mission," and only "cautiously to approach any inquisition into human sacrifices." It was only indirectly, incidentally, and in a very subordinate manner, that the distressing subject was to be alluded to at all. And even then, it was only when "opportunities occurred to him of discussing it with friendly chiefs of influence," that the Supreme Government "thought it would be prudent to declare the extreme abhorrence with which the custom was regarded by the British Government and its right and determination unrelentingly to punish every attempt to *entrap* or to *steal British subjects* for the purpose of immolation."

Under the authority thus given by the Government of India,—and clogged and fettered by the aforesaid registry of cautious and warnings, restrictions and limitations, injunctions and prohibitions,—Lieut McPherson was appointed an Assistant to the Commissioner or Governor's Agent in Ganjam, for the special object of carrying into effect the preliminary measures, of which an outline has now been given. On the 15th December 1841, he proceeded on his journey to the Khond country. Thither, for the present, we shall not follow him. His labours in the Khond cause, we consider of far too great importance to admit of being dismissed with a slight or superficial sketch. From the great and unexpected success which attended them, as well as from certain *marked* and *original* features by which they were distinguished, alike in principle and mode of operation, we have no hesitation in declaring that they constitute a *new* and *distinctive* epoch of their own, in the history of Government measures for the abolition of the Meria sacrifice. With Lieut. McPherson's appointment, we consider that the *first era* of comparative ignorance,

twilight groping, abortive but well meant experiments, and really philanthropic but somewhat disheartening conclusions terminated; and with his appointment we, in like manner, consider that the *second era* of maturer knowledge, fuller and more steady light, more skilful and successful experiments, and equally philanthropic but more cheering conclusions, commenced. The narrative, therefore, of this *second* and more hopeful epoch we purposely reserve for a separate place in a futnre number.

Meanwhile, we may turn aside to contemplate another field of labour, and a distinct set of operations conducted under the auspices of a different Government. It has already incidentally appeared, that considerable tracts of Khondistan, such as the Hill districts of Boad and Duspalla, lie within the limits of the Bengal presidency. At an early period, as we shall see immediately, something was done in connection with the Government of that presidency, towards the suppression of the Meria sacrifice. It can scarcely, however, be said to have set itself in earnest to the task till a period somewhat later than that with which the *first* epoch of the proceedings of the Madras Government had closed. Still, overlooking the mere element of time, and directing exclusive attention to the *predominant spirit* and *distinguishing character* of the different proceedings themselves, we cannot hesitate to pronounce them as belonging to essentially the *same genus.* Disregarding therefore, altogether the mere *anachronism*, with respect to time, as practically and comparatively of little consequence, we must at once assign the narrative of the proceedings of the Bengal Government to the *first* epoch or era of Government measures.

In the beginning of 1837, Mr. Ricketts, the Commissioner of Cuttack, marched through the Duspalla and Boad districts, for the purpose of co-operating with Mr. Russel on this side of the frontier, and preventing the rebels from finding an asylum in the Tributaries under his superintendency.* He met Mr. Russel in Boad. From the latter, he heard for the first time, of the extensive system of human sacrifice which had been discovered in Goomsur. Inquiry soon led him to find that it was not limited to that district alone—that it equally prevailed in Duspalla and Boad.

At that time he had no jurisdiction in Boad, as it was attached to the South West frontier Superintendency. Accordingly, he proceeded to Duspalla, and called on the Khonds to give up the victims they had in keeping. They agreed to

* See the Khond Article, No. IX., p. 17.

do so ; and Mr. Ricketts was left under the impression that "all were brought to him." The Rajah, he perceived, had little real power of control over the Khonds ; and during his stay he did all in his power to strengthen the Rajah's authority :—

"I made," he writes, "all the chiefs sign a document, acknowledging themselves the subjects of his Raj, and bound to regard and obey the Rajah as their immediate Chief, and in agreeing, in token of their dependence, to attend each year at the Dole Jattra, and pay the tribute at the rate of four and six gúns of rice per house They were also made to understand that the Rajah would be assisted by the Government, in maintaining a proper control over them. I passed hours and days in talking and reasoning with them, and before I came away, induced them to sign a paper—engaging to give up human sacrifices, allowing that they were without effect and wicked, and that any instance of it in future should be followed up by the destruction of the perpetrators and all assisting. Were the Rajah strong enough to attack the village, in which the next sacrifice may be made, and kill the Chief, it is my belief there would be no more in Duspalla, but I fear he dare not. I gave him a *perwanah* authorizing him to stop any person sacrificing a human victim."

Though, from his want of jurisdiction, he could not introduce the same arrangement into Boad, he proceeded into the country of Mahadeb Khonro and Nowbhun Khonro, who held all the Boad Khond forests and hills. The former of these Sirdars or Chiefs waited upon him, and though he declined to assist in the liberation of victims, yet he did not seem openly at least to thwart any of his proceedings. "They allowed me," says Mr. Ricketts, "to seize the victims where I could find them, and made no attempt to induce others not to give them up." In this manner he succeeded in bringing away altogether twenty-four : eight girls and sixteen boys.

Mr. Ricketts' report on the subject is dated 23rd February (1837). In the Government Resolution thereon, dated 14th March, occurs the following strong paragraph :—

"His Lordship has perused the detail given by you of the system of human sacrifice prevalent among the Khonds with feelings no less of horror than surprise. He is well aware of the difficulty of dealing with a description of crime, which, however unnatural and revolting, has been sanctioned by long usage as a national rite, and confirmed by the gross delusions of

* On that occasion, in a discussion with some Khond chiefs he is said to have, told them to, "sacrifice buffaloes, sheep and other animals only," they replied, "It is our custom ; if we don't, we shall not be able to exist ; the Deity will eat us all ;—how can we escape" ? The Commissioner remarked, "If you cannot exist, then come to me, and I will manage your business." They professed to assent. But it was an assent extorted through fear, and never intended to be implemented, except under the pressure of urgent necessity,—the dread of certain detection, and summary punishment. The shew of submission was only designed as a cloak to allay suspicion, and lead to a relaxation of energy in the adoption and prosecution of active measures for the extirpation of the obnoxious practice. This will fully appear from subsequent events and proceedings.

the darkest ignorance and superstition. The working of moral change among the people by the progress of general instruction and consequent civilization, can alone eradicate from among them the inclination to indulge in rites so horrible. But though the entire suppression of the practice of human sacrifice among this wild and barbarous race must be the work of time, yet much may be done even now, and no proper exertion should be omitted towards checking the frequency of the crime by the terror of just punishment. His Lordship is fully prepared to sanction the use of judicious measures in aid of the power of the Rajah of Duspallah, whenever that chieftain shall have discovered the commission of this crime in any of his villages. Immediate injunctions should be issued, not to him only, but all other Tributary Rajahs having nominal authority over Khond population, expressive of the views of the British Government and of its determination to do all in its power for the effectual repression of this atrocious practice. You will be pleased to report upon every instance in which, in your opinion, the British power, in support of that of the Rajahs themselves, may be exerted, without the hazard of serious embarrassment and disturbance."

In conformity with the tenor of these remarks, worthy of the benevolent character of Lord Auckland, strict injunctions were issued on the 16th July (1837,) to the Rajah of Duspalla, and the Rajahs of Boad and Atmullik,—which territories had, at Mr. Ricketts' recommendation, been transferred to the Cuttack jurisdiction,—expressive of the views of the British Government, and calling on them to adopt every means in their power for putting a stop to the practice.

If the Rajah of Duspalla had little power, it was soon found that the Rajah of Boad had practically no real power at all over his nominal Khond subjects. However, about *three* years afterwards, in April 1840, the Rajah of Boad gave intelligence of some of his Khond subjects having purchased *Merias*, and a little boy and girl were on that occasion rescued. In July 1842, two more children were seized in the Duspalla Zemindary. Again, in January 1843, the Rajah of Boad sent in two children whom he had recovered from a Khond Sirdar, who had intended them as victims for sacrifice.

Such, as far as we can learn, were the *entire* proceedings of Government in the Bengal presidency for *six* years, in the matter of the suppression of the Meria sacrifice within its borders. Mr. Ricketts having, in 1837, issued most stringent orders on the subject, these orders appear to have been left, in a great measure, to execute themselves. But it is a mere truism to say, that no orders, however stringent, no laws, however peremptory, are endowed with self-acting, self-operative energies. Accordingly, the signal failure of the Commissioner's orders in securing the object contemplated, at length became manifest.

In June 1843, Mr. Mills, the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, Cuttack, and immediate successor to Mr. Ricketts, submitted for the consideration and orders of His Honor the

Deputy Governor of Bengal, a report of his proceedings regarding the rescue of some Meria children from the Khonds of Boad and Duspalla. As this report very clearly represents the views of the principal functionary of the Bengal Government to whom was entrusted the adoption of measures for the suppression of Meria sacrifices within the Bengal territories—including an explicit avowal of his principles of action, his mode of operation, and despair of success, from conciliatory measures alone—we deem it proper to supply the following lengthened extract :—

"Having heard that Capt. McPherson, Assistant to the Governor-General's Agent, has recovered a large number of victim children in Goomsur, and having been told that that officer had stated, that the Khonds of Duspalla and Boad had many Merias in their keeping, I deputed a trustworthy native officer with two Chapprassis into the Khond Mútah for the purpose of affecting their liberation. I enjoined him to impress upon the Khond chiefs, the abhorrence with which Government viewed the rite, to remind them that it had directed its abolition, and that a recurrence of the practice would bring down on its perpetrators the serious displeasure of Government. I especially interdicted the use of force, and desired the Rajahs of the territories abovementioned to co-operate with the Tehsildar in the accomplishment of the above object.

I am happy to have it in my power to state that the mission has been attended with some success. The Khond chiefs gave up 8 children, of the names and ages as per margin, and have promised to restore 17 others. Sickness having compelled the Tehsildar to quit the country, he left a Chapprassi to receive the latter when surrendered.

The Tehsildar first proceeded to Duspalla, and found that the Rajahs had seized and confined Raju Maji (the Khond Sirdar of Nowsagur) and his son, having, in defiance of the orders of Government, sacrificed a Meria, a female child, 8 years of age. The Tehsildar accompanied by the Rajah's Dewan or Minister then went into the Khond country of Boad. The Khond Sirdars attended and delivered up the Meria children. They admitted that Raju Maji had sacrificed privately one victim in order to propitiate the Deity, but affirmed that this was the only sacrifice that had been committed since the practice had been discontinued by order of Government, and all promised never to perform Meria again. They further alleged, that the children were bought in the famine, and that they were bringing them up as adopted members of their families.

The Tehsildar reports that the Khonds of Duspalla are under the Rajah's control, but the Khonds in Duspalla are comparatively few : and though the Rajah has shewn, by his liberation of Meria children at different times, and by his seizure of the Sirdar abovementioned, that he does, and is able to exercise some authority over them, yet it is clear from his urzi, that he holds the Khonds in just fear, and is unable of his own authority to suppress the practice.

The Tehsildar proceeded from Duspalla to Boad. The Khond country in this Killah is very extensive. The influential Sirdars, Nowbhun Khonro and Mahadeb Khonro have, I may say, raised the standard of independence. The Rajah complains of their personal hostility to him and their lawless usurpation though they have thrown off their allegiance to the Rajah, yet it is satisfactory to know that they are inspired with a wholesome dread of the Ruring Power.

Nowbhun and Mahadeb, with many other of the Sirdars, obeyed the Tehsildar's summons, and waited on him. The former, my Chaprassi informs me, assumed regal state: he came attended by a large body of matchlock men, preceded by musicians; but he shewed so much deference to the Rajah, as to pay his respect to him, and to present a Nuzzur of one Rupee. The Sirdars surrendered to the Tehsildar two Meria children, and admitted that there were 17 others in the country, whom they promised to give up as above noticed. There can, I fear, be little doubt that the practice of sacrificing children is still prevalent in the Khond Mútahs of Boad and Duspalla; the Khonds are afraid to speak openly about it, but the Sirdars of Boad tacitly admitted the fact. Conciliatory measures alone will not affect the suppression of the rite: force must precede conciliation, and it is hopeless to expect to put it down even with the application of force, unless a special agent is appointed to use force when necessary, and systematic measures are adopted for carrying out simultaneously the orders of Government, both in the Madras and Bengal territories.

The Khond Sirdar, alluded to in a former paragraph, is in custody. He acknowledges that he killed the child, and that he wilfully disobeyed the orders of Government, but pleads in extenuation of his guilt, that the Diety appeared to him in a vision, and commanded him to make this expiation, and so avert his justly provoked wrath. If the Government were prepared to adopt coercive means for suppressing the practice, it would be politic—as likely to produce in the commencement of a new system a salutary impression on the Khonds—to sentence this offender to imprisonment for a period of two or three years; under existing circumstances, I would only admonish and discharge him.

The Rajah of Duspalla's meritorious conduct is deserving, I think, of some special mark of approbation by Government. He rescued and sent in, in March last, two children, one of whom made its escape: and I would suggest that we be permitted to bestow on him, as well as on the Rajah of Boad, who rescued the two children mentioned in my letter of 1st February last, and who cordially co-operated with the Tehsildar on the occasion, a present of a pair of shawls and a piece of kinkob each. I shall deliver over the children to their relations if they can be found, and if found, they are willing to receive them; but in the meantime I solicit the payment of three rupees per mensem for the boarding, clothing and education of those whom I make over to Mr. Sutton.

If the Sirdars shall fail to fulfil their promise of giving up the seventeen children abovementioned, I shall again depute the Tehsildar to Boad with a view to affect their release. I shall also continue to send occasionally officers into the country on similar errands, in order to show the Khonds how unceasing is the desire and determination of Government to put a stop to the practice, but the presence of an European officer would be attended with far more good. And if it be determined to adhere to the present system of inducing the Khonds to give up the rite, I would suggest that an officer of experience, and qualified by disposition and character for the duty be appointed to the command of the Khúrdah Paik Company, and be made ex-officio assistant to the Superintendant of Tributary Mehals, on a suitably increased salary. I would require him to make a tour through the Khond Mehals every year, and to act in unison with Captain Macpherson, under identical instructions, in bringing over the Khonds to our views."

The Hon'ble Mr. Bird, who was then Deputy Governor, expressed much gratification at the deliverence of the Merias—would be glad to learn that the remaining seventeen had been recovered—approved of the suggestion for bestowing a present of a pair of shawls and a piece of kinkob each on the two Rajahs for their co-operation in the rescue of the victims, and for the allowance of 3 Rs. each per mensem on account of the boarding, clothing and education of the children made over to Mr. Sutton—but declined coming to any determination on the other proposed measures, which involved the application of force, and the appointment of a special Agent to exercise it, pending the result of a general investigation into the whole subject then in progress. In this conclusion of the Deputy Governor, the Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, fully concurred.

Here, then, are some very instructive points which it is well to pause and consider. Mr. Ricketts having, in 1837, expressed in unequivocal terms the disapprobation of the British Government, and having issued stringent prohibitory orders for the abolition of the Meria sacrifices, accompanied with threats of punishment in case of disobedience, it seemed to be concluded that the business was definitively settled—and that the sanguinary superstition was consigned for ever to the number of "things that were." In 1843, or about *six* years afterwards, the new Commissioner, Mr. Mills, is suddenly awakened as from a dream. A report reaches him, not from any of his own people, but from an Agent of the Madras Government, carrying on operations in the Madras territory, that the Khonds of Boad and Duspalla, within his own jurisdiction, had many Meria children in their keeping. And, as if it had been a report of the abduction of children by a common gang of dakoits, he deems it quite enough to despatch a Tehsildar with Chaprassis for their rescue. The clear and ample returns of the Tehsildar, detailing the whole of his proceedings, soon satisfied the Commissioner that the business which he had undertaken was altogether of a different kind from what he had been led to anticipate. The Kond chiefs of Boad gloried in a turbulent independence. Tha Tehsildar described them as "a set of rascals who did not mind the orders of the authorities." The "stringent orders" of Mr. Commissioner Ricketts were, he said, in his possession, but he could not venture to enforce them. The Chiefs did not pretend to deny the still continued prevalence of the Meria sacrifice. When asked whether they were aware that orders had been sent from Government six years before to the Rajah, to put a stop to the practice—they hesitatingly replied, that they were quite aware of the fact. And, when challenged to explain why,

when fully cognizant of the orders of Government, they still persisted in the celebration of the cruel rite—they deemed it a conclusive answer, to say, "Because the village Deity had told them that otherwise the people would die." The impression left on the Tehsildar's mind, from all he had seen and heard was, "that, unless some Amlah, or if possible, the Commissioner himself, went through the country once a year, the practice never could be put a stop to." Aroused at length to something like a just sense of the real difficulties of the undertaking, the Commissioner is constrained to give vent to his own impression of the apparently insuperable difficulties, by putting on record this memorable deliverance, *viz* : "CONCILIATORY MEASURES ALONE WILL NOT EFFECT THE SUPPRESSION OF THE RITE. FORCE MUST PRECEDE CONCILIATION ; *and it is hopeless to expect to put it down even with the application of force, unless a special agent is appointed to use force, when necessary, and systematic measures are adopted for carrying out simultaneously the orders of Government, both in the Madras and Bengal territories !*"

The subsequent steps taken by Mr. Mills only tended still further to corroborate his previous convictions.

The Chapprassi who had been left to receive the promised seventeen Merias formerly mentioned, having reported that the Khond Sirdars had declined to give them up, Mr. Mills directed the Tehsildar to re-visit the Killah, and to proceed himself into the Khond fastnesses, for the purpose of effectuating their deliverance. A short extract will exhibit the result :—

"They (the Tehsildar and his party) proceeded across a high range of hills to the high tableland of Borogotsa Des, where many Khond villages are planted : they found all deserted, and for two days not a soul made his appearance. On the third day, two persons came as ambassadors from the Chiefs, and delivered a message to the following effect :—"His Honor the Commissioner, (Mr. Ricketts) came and gave Mahadeb Khonro a horse, a gold khurrú and other ornaments, and taking the Meria children, desired him to discontinue the practice. He, in disobedience of these orders, bought himself one Meria and his people three, in all four, whom they sacrificed in the month of Pous of the present year. The Rajah, hearing of this, called Khonro and said—His Honor has forbidden you to sacrifice Merias,—swear now to me, and His Honor, that you will not do so, and be careful in future. Tne Khonro promised accordingly and went away, but in four days he sacrified four more Merias—we are but his inferiors. His Honor never admonished *us* but *him*, and he has now sacrificed, and we, following his example, purchased and sacrificed too. Forgive us, and we will come"

The Tehsildar exhorted them to bring in the Khonds, but they stipulated for permission to come armed, as the Khonds were afraid of Mahadeb Khonro and the Rajah. They accordingly attended the following day, in number from 4 to 500, armed with swords and matchlocks, and beating

drums. The Tehsildar explained to them the nature of the message which they had sent to him ; they adhered to the same ; but despite of his remonstrance, declined to give up the children to any one but myself. The Tehsildar states that he observed on his return, that they had constructed stone defences, and collected stones and other missiles in the passes."

From the Tehsildar's own written statement on the subject, it would appear that the Khond chiefs and their adherents were singularly obstinate, contumacious, insubordinate, and menacing in the attitude which they had assumed—and that he considered himself as having very narrowly escaped with his life. In these circumstances, Mr. Mills deemed it unadvisible to adopt any farther measures for securing the liberation of the children, until he himself could go to Boad. He was sanguine in his expectation that the Khonds would not, in this particular instance, finally refuse compliance with the orders of Government, though acknowledged to be "extremely loath to abandon a practice which they regarded with feelings so holy, and which they believed could alone expiate the wrath of the great spirit." Still, as regarded the general subject of the abolition of the rite, his views, so far from being modified, were only confirmed. It was his belief, in common with that of all the natives with whom he had conversed, that we "could never establish our authority amongst the Khonds by conciliation alone"—that we "must impress them with the wholesome dread of our power (since the Goomsur war they had learnt to respect the paramount authority of Government), and be prepared to adopt coercive, if conciliatory measures should fail, for the suppression of the practice, taking care to shew that it was a matter of necessity, not of choice." "The force of conversation would not alienate men from practices so firmly embedded in their affections." He would have it made known throughout the districts that "the Government had resolved to put a stop to the inhuman practice of sacrificing children, and he would call upon the heads of each village and Mûtah to come forward and give a distinct and unconditional pledge to relinquish the rite." A combined system of "rewards and punishments alone would effectually repress it. Various marks of regard might be shewn to those who observed their engagements, while cases of delinquency should in every event be punished, at first slightly, and when the law had been for sometime observed, with severity." The precise period of issuing a general prohibitory notice, by public proclamation, would depend on circumstances ; but when once "our plans were matured, the authority of Government must be maintained." Finally, Mr. Mills strongly reiterated his former recommendation, that "the Khond Mùtahs of Cuttack and Ganjam should be placed under

the immediate control of an officer appointed for the special purpose of suppressing human sacrifices," and that for this end he should be "invested with the ample powers which are now exercised by the Superintendent of Tributary Estates."*

Such were the confirmed sentiments of Mr. Mills on the subject; though it is but justice to him to add, that he offered them "with much deference to those of Captain MacPherson," who "eschewed the use of force," and who "spoke from local knowledge and experience," whereas he (Mr. Mills) candidly confesses that he had "no personal intercourse with the Khonds."

About this time a new actor suddenly appeared in the anti-Meria cause, in the person of Col. Ouseley, Agent to the Governor-General, South West Frontier. Acting with promptitude on information received early in January† 1844, he succeeded in rescuing two Meria lads, and restored them to their friends. From the investigations which these cases involved, it fully appeared that numbers of Merias were in possession of the Khonds in the Zemindaries of Sohnpore, Patica, Khurriar, Bindranawagurh and Bamra—that those, who could not procure Merias otherwise, gave up their old and helpless fathers and mothers to be sacrificed—and that, in certain cases, from fear of the Government, in order to escape detection, they at once killed and buried the Merias‡ Ample details were also furnished of the mode in which the cruel rite was usually performed.

Filled with indignation and loathing at "the most dreadful horrors perpetrated in sacrificing human beings," the Colonel, with the promptitude and decision of a gallant soldier, resolved to proceed to action. Without a day's delay he issued a notice to the Rajahs within the circle of his jurisdiction, to this effect: "that they should send a list of the Sirdar Khonds, § of their estates

* These powers may be thus summarily expressed, *viz.*, "tosentence offenders, in certain cases, to seven years' imprisonment,—to report for confirmation to the Government any severer punishment which he may propose to inflict,—to confine his interference to the suppression of feuds and animosities prevailing amongst the Khonds and the neighbouring Rajahs,—to the correction of systematical oppression and violence,—to putting a stop to human sacrifices, and to the sale and purchase of victims,—to the punishment of kidnappers, and finally, to the cognizance of all important points, which, if not attended to, might lead to outrage and confusion."

† His report to Government is dated 9th January.

‡ One of the cases deposed to was that of a poor girl. When a report was brought that a "sahib" was coming from Cuttack, she was buried up to her neck in the earth, when she said, "on the sahib's coming I shall cry and make a noise so let me go." On this they at once killed her.

§ "From what I can learn," says the Colonel, "there may be from forty to fifty thousand men capable of bearing arms who are addicted to these practices, but not above a twentieth part within this agency. The rest are in the Berar Rajah's country, Karond, Bustar, and in the Madras Presidency, with the exception of Boad and Cuttack.

and make every enquiry whether any Merias were in their country—that, whenever these were found to exist, they should be instantly forwarded to him—that, if any still remained, and were not reported on, or were in any way secreted, the persons who aided and abetted in the matter would be liable to have their zemindaries confiscated—that a copy of the notice should be sent in Uriya to all the Khond zemindars, to warn them to desist from such practices as human sacrifices, and to send in the kidnapped Merias then in their possession—and that, henceforward, should any Khond zemindar allow of sacrifices, his zemindary would be liable to resumption, and the person sacrificing subject to capital punishment."

The Colonel himself, however, adds that he "much feared that this plain order would have but little attention paid to it." But did such unfavourable anticipation disconcert him? No. Foreboding the worst, he is quite prepared for it. Idle dallying, vacillating delays, irresolute half measures are not in accordance with the determined spirit of the gallant soldier. Accordingly, the Colonel, though with "much diffidence," at once submits it to Government, as his decided "opinion," that should no attention be paid to the orders which he had issued before the cold season next ensuing, he "should be empowered to proceed with all the Ramgur Light Infantry and Irregular Horse available, with the guns, and make such an example of those who persisted in thus treacherously kidnapping and destroying their neighbours, as would compel them ever after to become obedient subjects under their respective Rajahs." Aware of the tactics of the Khonds, the Colonel, in no way discomposed, goes on to say, that "it would be useless to pursue them into their jungles and fastnesses;" but, "by keeping detachments in the cultivated districts, seizing their cattle and grain, and otherwise inflicting punishment on them," he feels assured they would eventually comply with his demands. "It was by such a course alone," continues he, "that the Lurka Koles of Singbhúm were convinced of their errors; and among a barbarous people like the Khonds, who are infinitely below the Koles in every way, the *only argument that they could understand is that supported by force.*"

In a subsequent report of the 9th March, the Colonel furnishes additional evidence, corroborative of his former statements, respecting the frequency of the sacrifices. He names a chief who would be happy to enter the country, and "soon point out *hundreds* of these poor Merias." That "these dreadful sacrificial acts were common," he also knew "from personally conversing with the people on the borders—not only the Chiefs, but the poorer classes." He was fully aware that "many

obstacles would be placed in the way of all inquiries," and that "opposition would be shewn to every step taken to put down such proceedings by the zemindars, who profit by the continuance of the ceremonies, and all the Chiefs of the human sacrifice sect." Nevertheless, he did "not hesitate to state that he would, in one season, be able to subdue those who might refuse to give up such a line of conduct, either by conciliation or force." Nothing, however, but the application, or at least the display of force, would suffice. In the way of such application or effective display of force, he was aware of the physical difficulties that interposed. The climate, he admitted, to be "very insalubrious"—the country "dreadfully unhealthy." He had himself already experienced its sad effects, even when not exposed to the risks and hazards of a campaign in an unexplored region—having been repeatedly attacked with fever. Like a brave soldier, with a spirit as generous as it was undaunted, he adds, "I would not, however, advise the measure, and not share the dangers; nor would I require any officers or men to go where I would not. There is little honor and glory to be gained in such jungles; but to suppress these horrors, openly enacted within 300 or 350 miles of the seat of Government, is, I with the utmost deference beg to state, imperative."

Zeal so honest, so warm, so laudable in the sacred cause of humanity, it is impossible not to admire. But, while greatly admiring the zeal, both as to its source and its object, one may be permitted to doubt the wisdom or the efficacy of the summary measures proposed.

The Colonel distinctly admits that the Khonds constantly "quarrelled among themselves, and had pitched battles, in which the Rajahs could not, and, indeed, never attempted to interfere, nor could they prevent the exercise of this dreadful rite." The second most influential Khond Chief within his own agency, he describes as "a most outrageous barbarian, who paid no attention to any order of the Rajah of Patna or any one else." Now, in such circumstances, the expediency of issuing such admonitory notices as those already mentioned, seems more than doubtful. With the present deficiency of information as to localities, and the degree of obedience which the Khonds pay to the superior Rajahs and their own immediate Chiefs, it seems clear that no certain knowledge of the effect which the admonitory notices might have produced, could be obtained before the season for operations had come round. The surrender of a few Merias would be no proof that *hundreds* more were not *reserved* for immolation; and thus the Government would be left in a state of distressing suspense, as to

whether its orders had, or had not been carried into effect. To remain quiet in such circumstances might encourage the destruction of numerous victims, and lead the Khonds to treat with contempt, orders which were not enforced. And then, as to a hostile incursion into the country, the harassing nature of the warfare, carried on at a great expense, in an unexplored territory, and in a deadly climate, was not the only objection. On this subject, it affords us much pleasure to be able to quote the plain and forcible remarks of Lieutenant Hicks—the Assistant Superintendent of the Tributary Mehals, Cuttack—more especially as he himself seems fully persuaded that, sooner or later, conciliatory measures must be supported by the direct application of force :—

"Our intercourse with many of the Khond tribe has been very limited. I believe we only came into direct contact with them, but a short time ago, in the Goomsur country, the inhabitants of which were subjected to all the calamitous effects of a protracted and desultory warfare; and although our troops had instilled a terror in the minds of the people, the Meria rite still continues to some extent in that district,—Captain MacPherson having only this last cold weather brought away a considerable number of victims.

It is difficult to conceive that the mere act of marching a Regiment into the country, and then marching it out again, will have the desired effect. It would not. A line of posts must be established, and troops detained in the country for a length of time, or at all events, until objects aimed at have been effectually gained; and should a collision ever take place, a general rise would most likely happen, and no human calculation can define the limits and expenses of a desultory warfare, as it inevitably must be, in a country, too, abounding in natural and almost insurmountable difficulties.

The destitution and poverty of the Khonds is very great; they are possessed of little or no property, and would, on the approach of our troops, fly to their fastnesses, where it would be useless, and, indeed, impracticable to pursue them, and I am perfectly assured that from sheer ignorance of our motives, three-fourths of the inhabitants of Khondistan would offer a mad and blind resistance to our demands, under the idea that they were merely fighting in defence of their country, independence, and tribe. I say from ignorance of our real motives, because from the naturally wild shyness and timidity of these people, it would be vain inviting them to an understanding in the front of an armed force, and it would also be impossible to make known to them the true reason of the advance of our troops.

It therefore seems probable that a coercive undertaking, to be effective, must be a protracted one, and this is the strong objection to the application of force, until all other measures have failed; for troops would require to be detained in the country, so as to worry and harass the people into submission, by not permitting them to cultivate their lands, and by keeping them confined to the fastnesses, where they may take refuge. The climate of Khondistan is so notorious for its insalubrity, and the baneful effects it has on the health and constitution of strangers, that little else may be said in regard to it, except that it will prove more destructive than either the fire or sword of the enemy.

There is, from the rocky and sterile nature of the country, a great drought of about four months' duration, which would oblige troops to seek the banks

of the Mahanadi river, in the months of March, April, May and June; they would be dependent on Sumbulpore, Nagpore and Cuttack for supplies, the country being too poor to maintain even a very small number of troops.

Should, however, Government be in possession of sufficient evidence to convince it, that nothing but an appeal to arms will compel the Khonds to abandon the practice, an overwhelming force should be poured into the country, from all sides simultaneously, viz., from Nagpore, Ramghur, Cuttack, Russelconda and Aska, to enforce instant submission and prevent the slightest inducement to the neighbouring Khonds in making a common cause with those of Sohnpore."

To these we may add one or two other considerations of our own. All agree that on the first appearance of a superior force, the Khonds would at once forsake the vallies and betake themselves to the jungles and the hills, where they could not be pursued. It is usually presumed, however, that after a time, they would be constrained to give way, and in the end make an unconditional surrender. But is this so certain an issue? Even supposing the difficulty of a permanent occupation of these deadly vallies, on the part of our troops, to be overcome —an event in itself highly problematical—is it so clear that it must terminate in concession or total submission on the part of the Khonds? We think not. Wholly incapable of appreciating our motives or our ends, and burning with a consciousness of injury and of wrong, might they not drop all hope of mercy or justice at our hands, and grasping despair, give themselves up to the infuriate pursuit of an implacable, unrelenting revenge? It is always easier to sink than to rise—to degenerate than to advance in a career of progressive improvement; it is easier for a civilized man to glide into the savage than for the savage to be transformed into the civilized man. The civilized man, as has been well remarked, "has only to divest himself of certain tastes, and to forbear the exercise of certain faculties, in order to fit himself for enjoying a life of adventure; the savage has the double task of lying aside acquired habits, and rousing into action faculties which have lain dormant from his cradle, and become all but extinct from desuetude." Accordingly we find, in point of fact, that there is so much in the pleasures and privations, the risks and the hazards of savage existence, to gratify that love of excitement and wild independence so congenial to the heart of unregenerate man, that whereas there are many authentic instances of civilized men voluntarily assuming the form and the habits of savage life, there is no instance of a savage spontaneously assuming the form and the habits of civilized life. Now the Khonds are already a half nomade, half hunting race of barbarians.

They depend but in part on agriculture. From them, therefore, the transition from a partly agricultural, to a wholly nomade or a wholly hunting life, would be neither a violent nor an improbable one. History abounds with examples of tribes that have been compelled to "exchange the care of fields and flocks and herds for the more precarious labours of the chase." And having once, whether from choice or necessity, adopted a roving, wandering life, there has always been manifested an extreme aversion to settled abodes and stationary pursuits. Washington Irving gives us the details of the progressive downfall of a once powerful Indian tribe, that inhabited a branch of the Red river—deriving their subsistence mainly from the produce of well cultivated fields. From these they were driven by a more powerful foe across the Missouri. They again took root near the Warricane creek, and established themselves in a fortified village. Their implacable foes "still followed them with deadly animosity, dislodged them from their village, and compelled them to take refuge in the Black hills near the upper end of the Cheyenne river. Here they lost even their name, and became known among the French colonists by that of the river they frequented. The heart of the tribe was now broken, its numbers were greatly thinned by these harassing wars. They no longer attempted to establish themselves in *any permanent abode* that might be an object of attack to their cruel foes. *They gave up the cultivation of the fruits of the earth, and became a wandering tribe, subsisting by the chase, and following the buffaloe in its migrations.*" And might not this, or something similar to this, be the fate of the unhappy Khonds, were we by mere force and violence to drive them to despair? Already, there is reason to believe, that their ancestors were scoured by oppression from the larger and more productive plains below the Ghats to seek for refuge among the upper plains and less fertile valleys of the mountain. For the sake of suppressing one of their most cruel and sanguinary rites, and thereby so far humanizing them, we might now, by an overpowering force, drive them from the upper plains and valleys to seek for refuge in the wilder jungles and more inaccessible fastnesses of the everlasting hills. We might compel them to exchange their present frail, but settled wooden habitations, for the dens and caves of the rock—the labours of partial tillage for the more exclusive toils of the chase—the nutriment of grain and vegetables for the roots and wild fruits of the forest. In realizing such a transition, thousands would inevitably perish; while the remainder would necessarily lapse into a condition far more de-naturalized and

demoralized than before. And thus, without in any way accomplishing the grand object of our solicitude, the only effect of our well-meant but injudicious mode of interference, might be to constrain these uncultured children of nature to relinquish a comparatively modified type of barbarism for one of its lowest, most degraded, and most unmitigated forms. Let no one regard such an issue as a wholly visionary contingency. Those who are best acquainted with the history of humanity in its strangely varying aspects and phases, will be the first to acknowledge that it is fairly within the range of the possible, and not very remote from the confines of the probable.

Mr. Mills, as we have seen, was substantially of the same opinion as Colonel Ouseley; with this difference that, whereas the latter would *at once* proceed to the adoption of hostile and coercive measures, he would for *some time longer postpone* the resort to such open hostilities. In further explanation of his views, he however, adds—"While I deprecate force at *present*, I beg not to be understood as advocating a *mere argumentary* interference, which would permit the agent to become a passive spectator of sacrifices committed all around him. He must on some occasions act with firmness, though with prudence, and omit no proper exertion to enforce compliance with his requisitions and to establish his authority over the Khonds."

In consequence, we presume, of Mr. Mills' energetic representations, Government was pleased to nominate Lieut. Hicks, and to "vest him with the powers of an Assistant to the Superintendent of Tributary Mehals for the purpose of suppressing the practice of human sacrifices among the Khonds."

Accordingly, early in the year (1844), Mr. Mills deputed his Assistant to the Duspulla and Boad tributaries, with the special view of liberating intended Merias, and of gaining information on various accessory subjects. In doing so, he furnished him with written instructions for his guidance. In these, while he says, that "all coercive measures" ought, "*for the present*, to be carefully eschewed," he reiterates the statement of his own impression "that gentle means would not *alone* effect the discontinuance of the practice." At the same time, he adds, that it will remain with Mr. Hicks to "offer his opinion on the point, after mature consideration of the case in all its bearings.

Unavoidable circumstances had prevented the Assistant from setting out on this expedition at the most favourable season. Having started only towards the end of February, the great drought and intense heat of the weather at the time he reached the Boad country, compelled him to cling to the banks of the

Mahanadi river, and rendered it impracticable for him to visit the Khond fastnesses, without prejudice to the health of the whole of his party. The actual results of his mission may be briefly stated to be, that *twenty-five* intended victims were rescued from the fate which had been reserved for them—that of these he had the heartfelt gratification of restoring six to their bereaved relatives—that, of the Khond Sirdars, twenty-six were induced to pledge themselves, in the form of a written agreement, to refrain from the horrid rites of their tribe—and that a kidnapper or dealer in stolen children was arrested and forwarded for trial by the Rajah of Boad.

This success was so far highly gratifying. Still, there were various circumstances which tended powerfully to temper the joy with which it might naturally be hailed. It is not, of course, to be understood that *all* the Merias in the Boad district had been given up, or that *all* the Khond Sirdars had entered into an agreement to forego the practice. And even as regarded those who had given the pledge, Mr. Hicks himself was constrained to remark, that he "much feared that an infraction on their part of this compact, was too likely an occurrence." Nor were his fears on this head without a good foundation. He himself mentions the badf aith of Mahadeb Khonro, the second most powerful chief of the Boad Khonds. This Sirdar, as already stated, promised Mr. Ricketts, when that gentleman went to join and co-operate with Mr. Russel in Goomsur (1837), that he would relinquish the rite, would faithfully keep his word, and do anything in his power to dissuade his people from killing victims. On this, Mr. Ricketts presented him with a horse, some native ornaments and money, and sent him away relying on his declaration to abandon sacrifices. Mahadeb Khonro no sooner reached his home, than he barbarously slew several unfortunate wretches. A description of the inhuman ceremony Mr. Hicks received from his own lips; and while reciting the horrid story, a smile of satisfaction seemed to play on his features, indicating that he himself was perfectly assured of having done something most acceptable to his gods.

Again, though the Rajah of Boad himself seemed friendly enough, he was found "surrounded by a set of niggardly, grasping underlings who encouraged all sorts of rapacity and outrage, sharing, of course, the plunder obtained by such means, and designedly keeping the Rajah most profoundly ignorant of his actual position with reference to Government." The conduct of these individuals also caused Mr. Hicks "much trouble and annoyance, from their determined and unremitting efforts to throw obstacles in his way"; he had "great reason to

believe that these unprincipled men were strongly leagued with the Khonds and encouraged them in their evil practices."

The Rajah, in lending his co-operation, was powerfully seconded by Nowbhun Khonro, the head of all the Khond chiefs. But, for a time, the united influence and exertions of both completely failed, either in inducing any of the other Khond Sirdars to come in themselves, or to deliver up the Merias in their possession. Summons after summons was issued; promises of protection and favour were given; warnings of threatened penalties were duly delivered; allurements and intimidation were in proper proportion employed; but seemingly all in vain. They riotously and pertinaciously persisted in refusing all demands. Some of them at length ventured to leave their villages, which were about 40 miles distant. Full of suspicion and distrust, they approached Mr. Hicks' camp as near as they considered consistent with safety, locating themselves and a horde of followers in a neighbouring hill to watch the course of events. But their patience having been exhausted, and apprehensive of ulterior consequences, they at last determined that the boldest should feel the way for the rest. And thus it was that the first party eventually came in, after detaining Mr. Hicks in suspense and anxiety for about fifteen days. The Boluskúpa Sirdars—who had, the year preceding, doggedly refused to deliver up the Meria children to Mr. Mills' Tehsildar, and who then shewed a disposition to oppose force by force, fortifying the passes leading into their country,—now also evinced a like determination to resist. Twice they were formally summoned to come in. Four of them once came within eight miles of Lieutenant Hicks' encampment, but fled again in the night time. The second deputation found them all in "a state of beastly drunkenness and wild excitement, having also blocked up the passes leading to their fastnesses." They still obstinately refused to come in; and their attendance was at last secured only by the personal exertion* of the Rajah, who proceeded himself to their haunts and brought in the refractory Sirdars with four Merias.

When Mr. Hicks expressed to any or all of them, as he

* Mr. Hicks himself was most anxious to go, but was dissuaded by the remonstrances of the Rajah and Nowbhun Khonro, who argued that on his approach they would most assuredly fly to other secret places, and all subsequent attempts to persuade them to a conference would prove abortive. When all who were likely to come in, were at last assembled, Mr. Hicks publicly invested the Rajah with a *Khillat*—presented some of the Khond chiefs with silver bangles—and to all gave two pieces of cloth, which they prized exceedingly. In returning from Boad through Duspalla, he could obtain no information respecting the existence of Merias in that district.

frequently did, the horror with which their sacrifices were viewed, the revolting nature of these, as well as their total inefficacy towards either averting impending calamity or propitiating the Deity :—their sole reply in defence of them invariably was, that "the sacrifice was a ceremony practised by their progenitors."

From all that he had seen and experienced, the general impression left on the mind of Mr. Hicks appears to be embodied in the following deliverance :—

"The exercise of this revolting rite, which Government is so desirous of repressing, owes its existence to the superstition of ages. This cannot be wiped away from the ideas of the people in the space of a month or a year, even at the point of the bayonet, but must be the work of time. It is intimately blended with their religion, and unhappily so deeply rooted an evil in their form of belief, as to require the application of *a proportionally strong remedy* to eradicate and crush its existence. I am firmly convinced in my own mind that, sooner or later, FORCE MUST BE RESORTED TO, *as no other measures, except those of a coercive nature, will effectually check its continuance:* but if the adoption of a persuasive and conciliatory system be permitted for some time longer, and officers employed in various parts of the country to gain information and report on its resources, it would allow the Khonds a sort of intercourse with us, and would go far to civilize and exalt their mind above its present low level, and would certainly be the means of lessening the frequency of the Meria rite."

With these views, the only practical measures for immediate adoption which Lieutenant Hicks had to propose, were, in the first place, to reward the good services of the Rajah of Boad and of Nowbhun Khonro, by the gift of an elephant to the former, and of a yoke of handsome cattle to the latter ; to depute annually, to the Khond Mehals, at least for the next two or three seasons, both Madras and Bengal officers, who might mutually co-operate in rescuing Merias, and in explaining the sentiments and determination of the British Government ; to appoint a native agent at Boad to collect and report information, and act as a check on the Rajah's proceedings ; to open the Burmúl defile, by cutting a passable road through it, alike for facilitating the transit of troops, promoting commercial intercourse, and securing protection for travellers ; to nominate an agency for making a topographical survey of Duspalla and Boad.*

*All of these suggestions were warmly recommended by Mr. Bird, the Deputy Governor of Bengal, to the Government of India. To what extent these were sanctioned by the Supreme Government, or whether finally sanctioned at all, we have not been able to ascertain. In April 1844, we find the Governor-General in Council sanctioning "the employment, temporarily by Lieutenant Hicks, of a Mohurrir, on a salary of Rs. 20 per mensem, to accompany that officer to the districts of Duspalla and Boad."

Another suggestion which had been previously made by others, relative to the

In forwarding an account of Lieut. Hick's proceedings and suggestions for the approbation and sanction of Government, Mr. Mills pronounced a high eulogium on his Assistant, for "the ability and judgment, the patience and unremitting personal exertions displayed by him in the performance of the duty assigned to him"—a eulogium, in the justice and the propriety of which, the head of the Bengal Government fully and cordially concurred.

The impressions previously produced on Mr. Mills' own mind were now still farther confirmed. Though more thoroughly persuaded than ever that force must be ultimately resorted to, he is anxious to give another and another trial to preliminary measures of conciliation. His words are: "These facts, while they shew how revered is the rite, and how deeply rooted is the bigotry and superstition of the Khonds, afford incontrovertible proof of the difficulty and magnitude of the work which we have taken in hand." Again, "It is my opinion, as stated in my letter of 2nd June 1843, that *conciliation* will *not alone* accomplish the repression of the rite, and that in all probability *force must eventually be used;* but I strongly object to have recourse to this severe measure, until slow and gradual means shall have failed." Once more, "I would earnestly recommend that we depute annually, active and intelligent officers to the Khondistan, under instructions to improve our intercourse with, and extend our influence over, the Khonds; to express the views of the British Government and its determination to put down the system; to induce them to substitute animals instead of human beings for sacrifice; and to sign agreements declaring the sacrifice a punishable crime. *In this manner, two or three seasons may be passed, when, as circumstances justified, I would publicly proclaim the repression of the revolting practice, and vest the officers with power of punishing summarily the aggressors of the law.*" Thus terminated the moral campaign of 1844.

Early in 1845, Lieutenant Hicks returned with his wonted zeal and energy to the active duties of his arduous and important mission. He first entered Duspalla. At the summons of the Rajah, all the Khond chiefs assembled to meet with him. He explained to them anew the abhorrence with which their sacrifices were viewed, and the determination of Government to suppress them. He failed, however, in getting possession

enlisting of the Khonds as soldiers, Mr. Hicks was not able to recommend. His words are: "They are by nature admirably adapted for soldiers, and would, I doubt not, form a very efficient corps; at present any attempt to employ them as such would be premature, and would fail, as they are most marvellously ignorant of every thing relating to us.

of victims, as all the Khonds stoutly denied the existence of the practice, and often quoted their promise to abolish these rites, made by them to Mr. Commissioner Ricketts, who marched through the country some years ago with troops and took away the victims. In upwards of a hundred villages which Mr. Hicks visited, there certainly had been sacrifices, and the usual gathering of people ; but he was told that animals had been immolated instead of human beings. Respecting this part of the country, Mr. Hicks' calm and sober conclusion is as follows :—

"I will not presume to say that sacrifices have been relinquished every where in Duspalla, as I do not desire the responsibility attached to such a declaration. I can only speak of what I have personally seen and heard. And having no organized subordinate establishment in the country, it is impossible for me to be acquainted with all that occurs during my absence. I have, therefore, only to express an opinion which must necessarily be based on circumstances that fell under my observation, during an intercourse with the people of Duspalla of three weeks' duration. In that time I learned that the rite, if practiced at all, had certainly *lost its publicity;* and in the absence of any evidence to the contrary, I may venture to say that *its frequency is perceptibly on the decrease.* For, where formerly more than a *hundred* victims annually suffered, now but *a few* are killed, and these few are made away with no doubt *in secret*, and without the customary parade and display which, until our interference, always attended the ceremony. It now only remains to teach the Khonds to view its commission in fear and terror of a just punishment overtaking the perpetrators, and one man suffering for it would, I am convinced, deter others from ever indulging in the practice."

Mr. Hicks next proceeded to Raneegunge, in the Boad territory, where the Khond chief Mahadeb Khonro resided. He appeared for the time to be "frightened into propriety." He even professed that he had "exerted himself to abolish the Meria rite." But, having before given so many proofs of his deceit and wiliness, Mr. Hicks very properly adds : "But this I beg to remark is conjecture on my part, I have only his own word and pledge for it."

From Raneegunge Lieutenant Hicks went to Borogatsa, through some formidable mountain passes, and along a road which lay "through a very declivitous rugged country." In many places it rose to "an angle of forty-five degrees, and was so narrow, that only one person could occupy it at a time —running along the very edge of a precipice for seven or eight miles, and flanked on either side by ranges of high hills, in which there were numbers of stockades, built in commanding situations." The chief of this district and his followers had formerly behaved in a very refractory manner—driving back the Rajah's people and threatening Mr. Hicks in the same way. On arriving, however, at Borogatsa, he found the villages

deserted—the inhabitants having fled into the neighbouring mountain fastnesses. At midnight they returned and assailed him with "noises of yelling, and tom-tom beating; and, after amusing themselves with dancing and singing, they again retreated to their hiding places when daylight appeared." For several days he strove in vain to hold any communication with them. No supplies of provision being procurable, and the small quantity in camp being exhausted, Mr. Hicks was constrained to make arrangements for quitting the place, though not without grave apprehension of "the probability of his being subjected to perhaps a summary ejectment." At length at the eleventh hour, some of the chiefs presented themselves, but in "an intolerable state of intoxication." He understood that there had been no sacrifices at Borogatsa during the past year, though preparations were then going on, to which he supposes his arrival may have put a stop. Two victims that were undergoing the preliminary processes were rescued, and he took pledges from the influential Khonds "desiring them to refrain from such inhuman practices."

Mr. Hicks retracing his steps towards the Khalisa, next fixed his encampment at Boluskúpa. He there learnt that the Khonds of Surmundah were assembled in great strength, and on the point of slaying a victim. Indeed, "the noise of the music and shouting was distinctly audible in his camp, as it reverberated in echoes through the hills." He first sent some Khonds to stop the sacrifice and bring in the victim, but to no purpose. He then despatched the Rajah's Putnaik with some peons, who frightened the Khonds by telling them that a company of soldiers was at hand. They then dispersed, but obstinately refused to give up the Meria. And it was only in consequence of "repeated threats" that the boy was recovered, eight days afterwards.

The Khond Sirdar of Buttai Barai was then called on to deliver up several Merias which he had in his possession; but he declined in a very dogged manner, and would not come near Mr. Hicks, although repeatedly invited to do so. This chief had given every encouragement to the sacrifices; three victims having been ascertained to have suffered in his district since Mr. Hicks' last visit.

In other districts Mr. Hicks succeeded in rescuing eight victims; though he was pained to learn that in these, since his last visit, at least *thirteen* had been slaughtered. It was at the same time acknowledged that only a very few years before the number of the slain amounted to *hundreds* annually. The frequency of the horrid practice might, therefore, be said to be in

some degree checked, though there was much reason to apprehend that the diminution was more apparent than real; fear having only caused the perpetrators to substitute *privacy* for *publicity*.

With reference to the means which Lieut. Hicks had at his disposal, there can be no doubt that he achieved as much as could well be expected from him. At the same time, as regards the prospect of ultimate success, the results were anything but satisfactory. This, as far as we can gather, was the painful impression produced on Mr. Hicks' own mind. The more favorable state of Duspalla appeared to arise from its closer neighbourhood to the plains, from the greater facility with which it could be overawed by a display of British power, and from the wholesome terror excited in the minds of the people by Mr. Commissioner Ricketts, whose "stern yet judicious measures had not been forgotten by them." In any case in which a chief exerted himself to arrest the slaughter of human victims, he appeared to be influenced "more by a wholesome dread of punishment or a forfeiture of his Zemindary" than a sincere wish to discourage the atrocious practice, "because it is abhorrent to principles of humanity of which he has himself no idea." On this account Mr. Hicks pleads that "every chief who breaks his pledge by countenancing these sacrifices should be *severely and even capitally punished*;" * since, "so long as an example is not made of a chief who breaks his pledge, so long will they allow their dependents to indulge in the bloody rite." "I may venture to say," continues Lieut. Hicks, "that *the terrors of a just punishment will operate more powerfully on an unenlightened mind in checking its vicious propensities, than all the incitement to good which words alone or mere exhortations can effect.* The adoption of a pursuasive or conciliatory tone is certainly judicious, when the capacity of the mind is such as to admit of its application with some hopes of success; but with the Khonds, *such a system will do no good*, as they are a people whose bluntness of feeling can scarcely be credited. They reject all appeals to their sympathy, and the mass generally (indeed, I may say invariably, as far as they are concerned) borrow their notions of right and wrong from the leaders of their respective tribes." Altogether, Mr.

* Supposing this measure of severity to be applied to those Chiefs who had not voluntarily but under a species of virtual coercion given pledges, how could it apply to the greater number who had not yet given any? And would not the exhibition of such severity inflicted on those who had been induced to give a pledge, merely because they had broken it, effectually restrain others from ever committing themselves in like manner, and thereby rendering themselves amenable to similar penal visitation?

Hicks appears to have been more painfully impressed than ever with a sense of the utter insufficiency of the means and measures then employed—means and measures which wholly excluded the application of coercion or the display of resistless force. He pleads that the experience of his last tour indicated the "necessity of a more extended and systematic course" than had hitherto been pursued, and which had proved itself to be "utterly inadequate to the magnitude of the undertaking." As an indispensable preliminary to ulterior measures of coercion, or otherwise, he pleads for the establishment of an organized native agency throughout the country. The entertainment of such a subordinate native establishment he deemed essentially necessary to enable him to do justice to his appointment. An occasional visit to the Khonds would avail nothing, unless it was supported by an agency on the spot, ever on the alert to keep alive the impressions made to watch over the operation of the Sirdars' engagements, and to give information of whatever was going on in the country. Without the aid of such an agency, says Mr. Hicks, "I shall be made a dupe to gross deception every time I am required to make enquiries into the subject of these sacrifices. If, therefore, sanction be not given for the employment of a native establishment, I request most respectfully to be permitted to relinquish a duty, which is at once a serious and responsible one, and to which, unaided, I feel I cannot do justice. Of the policy of our present interference with the Khonds and their practices, it is not my duty to make any remarks. That has, no doubt, been long since considered; but *if the matter be deemed at all worthy of the attention of Government, proper means ought, I conceive, to be placed at the disposal of the officer entrusted with the duty.*"

Mr. Mills, in forwarding Lieutenant Hicks' report to Government, simply adopts and powerfully seconds the general views which it advocates. He considers that his assistant had done as much as could be expected from him, considering the inadequate means at his disposal: that, on the whole, the result of his second mission did him much credit, while it shewed that "in him we had an agent who was admirably fitted, in temper and judgment, to bring to a successful issue, *if practicable to do so*, operations of such magnitude and importance."

Of the zeal, energy, and good will displayed, alike by Mr. Mills and his assistant, in this great philanthropic undertaking, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. And on this account they deserve well of humanity. To us, however, the concluding words of both sound very much like a note of despon-

dency. We may be mistaken in this inference; but if so, we cannot help it. They both seemed impressed, from the very first, with a sense of the inadequacy of *mere* persuasive or conciliatory measures. This impression was only deepened by growing and accumulating experience. From the very first they both seemed convinced that nothing but coercion or force would *fully* suffice—and that, sooner or later, such coercion or force must be applied. Still, as men endowed with noble and generous feelings, they shrunk from the miseries, the infliction of which the effective application of coercive measures necessarily involved. Before finally resorting to such measures, therefore, they would bear much, and forbear long. Hoping against hope, they would give a fair trial to every conceivable expedient, in the way of peaceful conference, persuasive argument, humane conciliation, and honorary reward. But what precisely to do, or how efficiently to do it, so as hopefully to reach the seat of the malady, was the problem. Not able from their skill in *diagnosis*, to hit either the root of the disease, or suggest the appropriate moral remedy, they were willing for a season to resort to sundry half measures and mitigating palliatives. But having evidently no very clear perecption of the real nature and source of the difficulty to be overcome—no thoroughly intelligent apprehension of the precise means adapted to overcome it,—they could have no absolute confidence in the success of the measures they were led from circumstances to pursue. And in the absence of strong faith, founded on transparent knowledge of the right and the true in action, where is there room for that resolute decision of purpose, which will neither bend nor yield to favours or to frowns—that high-souled enthusiasm, which finds fuel to feed on in the very difficulties it has to surmount—that indomitable perseverence, which untiringly works on amid opposing obstacles, till it has channelled out for itself a direct passage towards the attainment of its final object?

It is impossible not to be struck with the real identity of the experience of the responsible agents of both the Bengal and Madras Governments,—the ardours of early hope quenched in the mephitic air of after disappointment—the growing persuasion that the subject was encompassed with difficulties vastly greater than had been originally apprehended—the conflicting struggle of antagonist convictions as to the relative necessity and desirableness of measures of conciliation and force—together with the final and painfully ominous forebodings as to the doubtful efficacy of either, in securing an early, happy, and satisfactory settlement of the whole question!

Here, however, for the present we must pause. The sole task which we had undertaken was to furnish a plain and unpretending narrative of Government measures for the suppression of one of the most atrocious rites that has ever stained the name or outraged the attributes of humanity. That task we have strenously laboured to execute with all the faithfulness and impartiality of which we were capable. Our earnest desire has been throughout to do the fullest justice to all parties, so far as the authentic materials within our reach could possibly avail us. In securing such materials, no pains have been spared, nor any trouble begrudged, in ransacking, epitomising, and arranging them when secured. The greater part of them by far, as stated at the outset, must be regarded as quite original: not even the substances of them having ever been previously communicated to the public. To the considerate liberality of the present head of the British Government and his responsible advisers, we are indebted for their being so ample as they have been. And we earnestly trust, that the enlightened policy which gave us access to them will meet with its proper reward, and be duly appreciated by all that aspire to the honour of philanthropy.

All reflections and speculations of our own we have in a great measure, studiously and purposely eschewed—as these would only tend to interrupt the thread of the narrative and embarrass the orderly sequence and intelligibility of the details. We cannot help, however, remarking on the noble and elevated position in which, in a moral point of view, the narrative of such proceedings as have now been sketched, tends to place the conduct of the British Government. The career of the British in India has hitherto been regarded, by the world at large, as exclusively one of grasping avarice, and towering unscrupulous ambition—avarice, which, for the purposes of a basely selfish aggrandisement, could wring their last pittance from the palsied arms of pauperized millions; ambition, which, in seizing the objects of its unhollowed craving, could overturn ancient thrones, crush established dynasties, devastate widespread realms, and leave whole cities with their temples, palaces, and towers, smoking in their ruins. The picture has no doubt been grossly exaggerated. Poetry, with its figures and personifications and vivid colourings, has greatly heightened the general effect: Oratory has partly obscured and partly magnified the whole by pointing to the varied groupings through bursting clouds surcharged with the thunders and the lightnings of its own vehement indignation; while even the grave Historic Muse, with its partial statements and one-sided representations and artful inuendoes—

often the prolific progeny of secret and subtile but unacknowledged partizanship—has lent its aid in conferring a verisimilitude on the heightened colourings of Poetry and the wild distortions of Oratory. At the same time, after making all the deductions, abatements, and allowances which truth, in its stern and unbending rigour, imperiously demands, it must be owned, with deepest humiliation and sorrow, that there is enough in the recital of the bare and naked facts, connected with the rise and progress of British dominion in India, to stain the pride of all our gloryings. On this account it is that one turns, with feelings of unmingled pleasure and serenest joy, from the heartless manœuvrings of avarice and the doubtful conquests of ambition, to the attempted triumphs of a generous and disinterested philanthropy over the barbarism and bloody superstitions of Khondistan. Amid the varied activities thus put forth in the cause of suffering humanity, there are some which very closely approach, if they do not positively exemplify the moral sublime. To behold the head of a great Government sitting, time after time, in earnest deliberation with his Counsellors of State, and issuing reiterated instructions to judges, magistrates, and commissioners, to leave no measures untried, for the rescue of *two unhappy female children* who, in the wide world besides, had no eye to pity and no hand to help them; their own natural guardian, the very father that begat them, having, in excess of "the limits of credible atrocity," actually sold them into the hands of savage barbarians for the express purpose of being slaughtered! Surely this is a scene which, amid the mechanical monotonous routine of ordinary official business, can scarcely prove less refreshing to the moral eye, than would, to the eye of sense, the sudden appearance of a rare islet of verdure amid the barren wastes of an African desert. It is a scene which serves, in some measure, to realize the glowing aspirations of the Bard of Charity, who fervently longed, that

> where Britain's power was felt,
> Mankind should feel her mercy, too."—

It is a scene which, in connection with the British name, will gladly survive in the memory of India's regenerated sons, long after many a tale of sordid avarice, and many a freak of wanton ambition has been clean forgotten.

Thos. S. Smith, City Press, Calcutta.

# THE SIKH INVASION OF BRITISH INDIA IN 1845-1846.

By Sir Hebert Edwardes.

1. *Papers respecting the late Hostilities on the North-Western Frontier of India. Presented to Parliament by Command of Her Majesty, 26th February* 1846.
2. *Further Papers respecting the late Hostilities on the North-Western Frontier of India, and the conclusion of treaties with the Maharajah Dhulip Singh of Lahore, and the Maharajah Golab Singh of Jummú, &c., &c.,* 1846.
3. *Victories on the Sutlej. The Speeches of the Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart., on moving the thanks of the House to the Army of the Sutlej for the victories of Múdki, Ferozshah, Aliwal, and Sobraon, in the House of Commons, Monday, March 2nd, and Thursday, April 2nd,* 1846.
4. *The War on the Sutlej. May number of the North British Review,* 1846.
5. *Article in the Friend of India. The late Major Broadfoot, &c.*
6. *Article in Colburn's Magazine for May* 1846. "*Our tribute to the Army of the Sutlej.*"

IN the *second* and *third* numbers of this *Review* we described the rise and progress of the Sikh power. In our *eleventh* we have to tell of its "decline and fall." This catastrophe has not been brought about by the natural process of gradual decay. India has not been looking on at the affecting spectacle of an ancient dynasty sinking feebly and peacefully into the grave; but at the violent agonies of a young and profligate State which has died by its own hand in the mad moments of a national debauch.

Our present narrative, therefore, will have to deal with military events: with war, and victory, and ruin; and we need give but a hasty outline of the tragedies which have been enacted at Lahore, since we left Híra Singh in the pride of his power, exulting in a double victory over his uncle, Súchet Singh, and the brothers Peshora and Kashmíra Singh. The debauched, imprudent, but gallant Súchet Singh slain; Kashmíra Singh and Uttur Singh destroyed; Peshora Singh and Lehna Singh driven from the field; and Golab Singh with cautious cunning keeping to his mountains;—Híra Singh and his coadjutor, Pundit Julla, seemed left in the Punjab without a rival. Of the former much has been written, but his character is still little understood. That he was the spoilt minion of Runjít is not to be denied; but the energy, activity, and ability

of his later years, and his gallant death,* bespoke a spirit full of promise for his country, if his country could have understood it. If the Punjab had a Shakspeare, Híra Singh would be his "Prince Hal." But Pundit Julla, his adviser, was the man on whom the building up of the empire would have rested. Free alike from the incautiousness of youth, and the impetuosity which premature prosperity had fostered in his master's mind, he pursued his way with slow but certain step along the slippery paths of State intrigue;—one of those cold, deep, calculating men who rise in troubled times on the ruin of everything around them.

To such a man friend and foe are alike; both are his instruments for a time; both are cast aside when no longer wanted, and without regret or rejoicing forgotten. He has courage enough for the crisis of an empire; none to throw away upon a brawl with an opponent. He believes success to be a heaven to which all roads are holy; and looks upon that man as a fool who tries to gain by force what he might effect by fraud. Such a man *is* Rajah Golab Singh; such a man *was* Pundit Julla. Of the priestly tribe and, we believe, a *purohit* † of the Jummú family, he followed the same household tactics as the Jesuits of Europe; insinuating himself into the good graces of Súchet Singh, and early gaining such an influence over his nephew, that latterly he governed him with a more absolute sway than ever Dhyan Singh possessed over the mind of the veteran Runjít. Pundit Julla's State policy was not less insidious and Jesuitical than his domestic. Secretly and unsparingly he uprooted the old families; lopped off the Sirdars of note, and office bearers of long service; and then grafted in their places creatures of his own. But he outwitted himself; and fell by the hands of his own instruments. He wished himself to be believed the friend and ally of the Sikh soldiers: but while openly he increased their pay and their privileges, he strove secretly to diminish their numbers, and by recruiting the army from the hill provinces, surround himself with a body-guard of his countrymen who in time might defy the army. His measures were incomplete when the bubble burst. Jealousy had crept in between Rajah Golab Singh and his nephew; and as its fits went and came, the former encouraged or opposed, the rival claims of Peshora Singh to the Wizarut.

* He was killed in the act of flight; but he was flying from an army; and he turned bravely upon his pursuers, many of whom he slew before he himself was overpowered.

† Family priest.

That prince, however, had no ability; and wanting even the gallantry of his countrymen, he threw up the contest and fled across the Sutlej. It was about this time (October 1844) that an insurrection broke out in Kashmír and the surrounding country. The fort of Mozufferabad, commanding the entrance into the Kashmír valley, fell into the hands of the petty Mahommedan chiefs; who, emulating the bigotries of earlier days, massacred all Sikhs who refused to abjure their faith. The Lahore durbar became alarmed, and troops were ordered up. They refused to march. Cajolery and promises were tried in vain. Intrigues were rife; and the emissaries of Peshora Singh, Lehna Singh, Sham Singh, and other malcontents, were not idle among the soldiers. A military insurrection in the city was the consequence; and Rajah Híra Singh and his followers were in the greatest danger. The young minister lost not his courage, nor did his master spirit. Pundit Julla, quail; and their small but faithful band of hill men rallied manfully round both. But a handful of heroes cannot engage an army, nor a priest reason with a rabid multitude. When, therefore, wit and courage had both done their best, the Rajah and his friends were forced to escape across the Raví, and fly towards Jummú. The news of their flight soon spread, and an immediate pursuit ensued. The Rajah and his companions stripped off their costly jewels, the golden trappings of their elephants and horses, and strewed them in their track. In vain. Revenge, and not avarice, was the ruling passion of the moment. The mangled limbs of their own children would not have arrested the ruthless soldiers in their pursuit. At last, the fugitives were overtaken; but even then they were not subdued: and though their own Sikh escort basely abandoned them, it was not until after a gallant resistance, and slaying many of their enemies, that Rajah Híra Singh, Pundit Julla, Mean Sohun Singh (Golab Singh's eldest son), and Mean Labh Singh, "put the immortal cup of martyrdom to their lips." Their heads were cut off and carried in savage triumph to Lahore. Their bodies were given to the dogs and vultures.

This tragedy closed on the 21st December 1844; and examining carefully the acts which preceded it, we are obliged to acknowledge that though the game played by Rajah Híra Singh and Pundit Julla was both bold and desperate, it was yet the only one left by the army, the *real* rulers, to the *nominal* Government of the Punjab. It failed less from the errors of the Rajah and the Pundit, than from the unprecedented unanimity of the rebellious soldiers, who, trampling upon the constitution, acknowledged no law but their own interests;

and to protect those, combined together with a greater singleness of purpose than ever dignified the efforts of the Mamelukes, the Janizaries, or the Prætorians of the ancient world. Two vital errors the Rajah and the Pundit did, indeed; commit. They despised the wrath and intrigues of a woman; and they dispensed with the services of Dewan Dína Nath and the Mútsuddís.* In the patrician Sirdars and the plebeian army they had surely enemies enough; and should at least have made common cause with men who had learnt the rarest secret of the times—how to fatten on their country's ruin and survive all revolutions. Of the two mistakes, however, the former was the worst; for the moving spirit of the revolution just recorded was undoubtedly the Raní.

Junda, or Jund Kowr, was the daughter of a common Sikh horseman, whose peerless beauty being praised before Runjít Singh, he immediately sent for and married her. This was but one of those freaks of his last years, for whose vicious tyranny the worn-out sensualist could plead no passion in excuse. The girl was at once made over to the charge of Rajah Súchet Singh and his Vizír Rai Kesri Singh, who contested, with a tent pitcher in their own service, the honor of being father to the present Maharajah. Runjít knew this well; but affected to be rejoiced at the child's birth; recognized his legitimacy before all his court, and then ever afterwards neglected him. Perhaps he thought he had done enough in giving him a royal birthright. *How* royal it might prove, the Jummú brothers were not slow to see; and they carefully kept the child in their possession to be produced at a fitting opportunity. Raní Junda has been designated by one writer in the Indian Press: † "The Messalina of the Punjab;" another, with severer pencil, paints her thus: "As abandoned as Messalina in her amours, and as insatiable as Faustina in her excesses; in modern times she can only be compared with Catharine the II., who yet falls short of her rapacity of voluptuousness." ‡ The picture is scarcely overdrawn, for to the most selfish ambition of the other sex, she unites in her character the worst vices of her own, and her whole career has been a struggle to reconcile the stern necessities of the one with the soft indulgences of the other. Rajah Lal Singh is the living embodiment of the attempt.

A Brahman of Rhotas, between the Indus and the Jhelum, this adventurer early came to the capital to try his fortune.

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* Writers: in a word "the Secretariat."

† The *Friend of India.*

‡ Letters of "Brahmani Bull" in the *Delhi Gazette Overland Summary.*

He brought with him as his stock-in-trade a brawny, athletic person of unusual height even among the Sikhs; an open merry countenance with rather a sensual expression; a bold, manly bearing, great ambition, and——*no scruples.* His first footing within the precincts of the Court was in the humble capacity of Assistant in the Toshukhanah, or Treasury of Regalia: and a mule's load of the royal chattels was the first charge of the future Minister. Raja Dhyan Singh afterwards selected him as a fit instrument to be set up in opposition to Misr Beni Ram, the head of the Toshukhanah; and he gave him a separate Treasury of his own. But it was not until after Dhyan Singh's death, and when Híra Singh was in the zenith of his power, that, tired of her old lovers, Raní Junda cast her eyes on the gallant figure of Misr Lal Singh, and commenced an amour which, though it has drawn down the envy of the young adventurers at the Court, the shame and reprobation of the old Sirdars, and the ribbald jests of the people, has raised the object of it to the Wizarut, and all but regal power in the Punjab. Misr Lal Singh now began to have some weight in the scale of parties. He intrigued alternately with and against the Jummú Rajahs; and no sooner did his bias become consistently hostile, than his intimacy with the Raní was made an excuse for removing him from the Toshukhanah, to the control of which he had succeeded on the death of Beni Ram. The disgrace of her lover gained for Híra Singh the implacable enmity of the Raní; and we have already seen the issue.

On the death of the Rajah and Pundit Julla, the watchful Mútsuddís openly joined the rival and successful party; as of course did the ever pliant Fakírs Uzíz-úd-dín, and Nír-úd-dín, and Bhai Ram Singh, the astute Archbishop of Lahore. But all seem to have forgotten that though they had desired, intrigued for, and obtained the destruction of the late ruler, it was the soldiery alone who had effected the measure. The infatuation of the Raní at this crisis was complete. Instead of looking round her for some bold spirits who would seize with vigorous hand the helm of Government, she threw it, as if it was a bauble, to Jowahir Singh her brother; a weak, vain, besotted debauchee. She herself plunged into a round of festivities and voluptuousness, with a paramour whom she was now at liberty to honour. The Court joined in their drunken revels; and none perceived that while the ministry were thus celebrating the revolution, the Army had stepped into the Government, and appropriated the power.

The Sikh soldiers now rioted at will; took furlough to their homes when they liked, and returned as it suited them; govern-

ed themselves and their officers by a parliament of their own chosen from the ranks; obeyed no other orders; overawed the Government, and set the laws at defiance. The idiot Minister, Jowahir Singh, they openly insulted with expressions of contempt for his imbecility and drunkenness; and loudly called for Lehna Singh to replace him in the Wizarut. The Punchayats even forced themselves into the Durbar, demanded gold necklaces and presents, and an increase of pay from 11 to 14 rupees. The Colonels, Generals, and other officers lost all authority over their men, who beat them and drove them at will from their ranks.

It might be supposed that such a state of things as has been here hastily described, would soon induce so complete a disorganization, that the Army must dissolve and disperse over the country in marauding bands. But nothing of the kind occurred. On the contrary, it was the civil and social system which was torn asunder; the executive Government, which was threatened with dissolution; while the army itself, riotous, and disorderly to all else around, was only drawn more firmly and compactly together by the bond of mutual interest. The very name which they at this time arrogated to themselves, "Surbut-i-Khalsa Jí" or, the body of the Khalsa, breathes the spirit of exclusiveness and unanimity. Their acts, wild and bad as they were, were drawn into the focus of a single object; and thus, while plunder and violence were rife at the capital, the provinces were left unmolested, except by their own Governors. The country about Lahore and Amritsur is indeed the native place of the majority of the Sikh soldiers; so that, though they led a life of alternate war and peace; now drawing their sword in a Court revolution, now guiding the plough in the fields of their own village,* they had no temptation to wander beyond the Manjha.† Anomalous all this, but true. Europeans too often judge Asiatics by European rules; and call false, unnatural, or extraordinary, what is merely new. It is not, however, a page of history to be lightly passed over by the Anglo-Indian, which exhibits the rude Punchayats of the Sikh army, setting at nought the legal authority of the Government, and yet

* It is a common mistake to suppose that the Sikhs are not cultivators. In the Manjha at least they are so; and in a large family where one of several sons has gone to the wars to get his livelihood, he will return occasionally on forlough to see his father and brothers, and cheerfully assist them in cultivating the paternal acres.

† That part of the Punjab which lies between the Ravi and the Byas. The word simply means *central*, and refers not so much to its geographical as to its national position, including, as it does, both the civil and the religious Capital of the Sikh people; the cities of Lahore and Amritsur.

enforcing their own with iron and mysterious sway among their comrades. Rebellion was so regulated that it might be almost called an institution; and military license had yet its bounds, reducing it to conditional liberty. Woe, indeed, to the wretch who disobeyed the will of the *nation!* expulsion from the ranks, mutilation of a hand, an ear, or a nose, even *death* awaited him. Mutiny was the condition of their existence; the Government, the Sirdars, and their own immediate officers were their proscribed enemies, and the treasury was their open aim. But to gain these ends, sure never was a debauched army so consistent in its conduct.

But we are rambling from our military sketch. The reader, however, will perhaps not be angry with us if we detain him yet a moment to listen to an anecdote of the times we have been recording; perhaps, in its very wildness, more illustrative of those times than anything that has been said. General Avitabile, whose character and habits have been drawn to the life in the pages of "The Adventurer in the Punjab" had a daughter (the child of some favourite beauty in his harem) on whom he doted. He brought her up and watched over her with jealous care in a cloister-like building which may still be seen in the garden of the General's house, now occupied by Colonel Courtlandt. Here she spent the years of her youth, and grew up a lovely girl. So carefully was all access to her guarded, that even her meals were conveyed to her from without by means of a *tour* such as are used at convent gates. The very shadow of a man had never crossed the threshold of her retreat. And for what high and romantic destiny does the reader think this fair recluse was reserved? Does he picture to himself some young Sikh warrior, who had heard the tale, crouching solitarily night after night among the roses beneath the windows of her prison, and singing in low melting voice the charms of liberty and love, until she forgot her father and fled with her lover to his fort? Does he hear that shout for "a horse and sword!" and see those fifty iron cavaliers spurring madly after one who seems to press a damsel to his broad breast and bid her be not afraid? The old leader of the fifty, far, far, in front, with grey hair streaming in the wind, and his Italian eyes lit up with the prospect of revenge, comes nearer at every bound. The gallant beast on which the young warrior rides sinks deep into the sand at every step beneath his double burden; but mad with the spur still staggers on. But fifty yards and the Ravi is gained. The old man draws his sword. It flashes in the moonlight, bright, cold, and merciless as him who wields it. Not a word is spoken; there is not time to curse or

pray; not a horse's length between pursuer and pursued; and ten yards further to the river. The old man strikes his heel into his horse; they are together; his left hand drops the reins, and reaches out greedily towards the foe; his right is in the air; another moment and—a scream—a plunge—they have missed the ford;—the young warrior and the old man's daughter are deep beneath the swift waters of the Ravi! Is this, we say, our reader's dream of Avitabile and his daughter? Alas for romance! Alas, too, for *fact! He married her to his cook*, a young Mahommedan, to whom he also gave with her a large dowry of money, jewels and precious stones. Time passed on, Avitabile had returned to Europe to receive a jewelled sword from the Honorable East India Company, and many honors from the Kings and Princes of the civilized world. The cook and his bride had sunk into private life, wishing for nothing more than to be left in quiet to enjoy their wealth. But they lived in times when the Government being poor, it was *lèse majesté* in a subject to be rich. To hunt out traitors of this kind, and confiscate their property, was a favourite branch of Pundit Julla's administration. The story of our little heroine and her culinary spouse, therefore, soon reached his ears and excited his cupidity. In the service of General Avitabile there had been a Kashmír Brahman, named Jodha Ram. He was a handsome, dark-featured man, with ability enough to rise to be the General's Dewan, in which capacity he continued for many years; and when Avitabile returned to Europe, succeeded to the command of his battalions, and became a General. By a sort of Punjab propriety, he was now selected by the Minister as the fittest person to plunder his patron's daughter, and the Pundit seems not to have been mistaken in his man. The spoilt, petted, prisoned, ill-used daughter of Avitabile was stripped of her jewels and robbed of her riches. But retribution soon overtook the ungrateful servant Pundit Julla was murdered, and Jowahir Singh sat in his place. Jodha Ram gave offence to the new Minister, and was given over to one of those cruel sentences whice Runjít Singh was accustomed to call mercy.* But Jodha Ram was a Brahman, and no Hindu would do the deed which would secure to himself damnation through a hundred generations. The Kotwal of the city of Lahore—a Mussalman, and no very particular person, who had for years been the municipal instrument of violence—was therefore ordered to cut off the ears and nose of the wretched

* "The culprits, bleeding as they were, were driven out. "Sharp work Bellasis" observed the King, as I looked after the mutilated thieves. '*We do not take life but we punish.*' "—Adventurer in the Punjab: Chapter 1st.

man. He too refused; and we blush to record that the only man in Lahore who could be found to execute the barbarous decree was a European. Mr. Gardener, or Gordana, in the Sikh Artillery, took a razor, and with his own hands in cold blood, without personal enmity of any sort, inflicted the punishment which Sikhs, Hindus, and Mussulmans had shrunk from with disgust. But then he was made *a Colonel;* and as Walpole observed, "Every man has his price. The only thing is to find it out!"

But to our narrative. The incapacity and profligacy of Sirdar Jowahir Singh and the little favour that even his liberality gained for him among the troops, naturally inspired the ambitious and discontented with hopes of rivalling, getting rid of, and succeeding him. Of these the only two worth noticing are Rajah Lal Singh and Peshora Singh. The former was abetted by the Rani, who not devoid of natural affection, found herself hurried by a passion more violent, though less pure, into schemes which could only end in the death of her own brother. Ministers in the Punjab do not *resign* when they have "lost the confidence of the people;" nor are they coldly told that "their services are not required" when they have lost the confidence of the sovereign. In either case the removal is complete; into another world. The unhappy woman therefore could not have blinded herself as to the inevitable tendency of her intrigues. But, though in the early part of June 1845 (see Papers respecting late hostilities, p. 3), the Punchayats of the army were willing to confer the Viziership on Lall Singh; yet, in the course of the next two months, the lavish promises of the prince who was aiming at the throne, and was secretly supported by Golab Singh, had so worked upon the troops, that we find Bhai Ram Singh advising Major Broadfoot, on the 6th August (see Papers, p. 4), that they intend "to set up Peshora Singh and Rajah Golab Singh as King and Wazir." This was an alarming turn of affairs for both the Minister and the Rani, and united them both in a resolution to assassinate their common enemy. The deed was effected with much mystery through Sirdar Chutter Singh Uttariwallah, whose daughter was betrothed to the Maharajah, and who consequently had a deep interest in keeping Dhulip Singh upon the throne. "The Papers, &c.," p. 6, say the prince was "put to death on his way from Attock to Lahore;" but the popular belief in the Punjab is, that he was murdered in the fort of Attock itself by a *Chúra* or sweeper—sent by Jowahir Singh for that purpose with the promise of being made a General, and that his body was cut up into minute pieces and thrown from the

fort into the Indus to avoid detection. The rage of the Lahore Army at this thwarting of their schemes, knew no bounds, and it soon became apparent that instead of staving off, the Minister had only hastened his downfall. Largesses, bribes, promises for the future failed to appease the baffled troops, and even a projected expedition against the English could not turn them aside from their now settled resolution to murder Jowahir Singh. The catastrophe had gone the round of the newspapers and the theatres of Europe, and is graphically recorded by Major Broadfoot in the "Papers" so often quoted, (pp. 9-10). Suffice it here that the miserable wretch, whose debauched and cowardly heart shrank from the storm which his crimes had raised, and which his talents could not quell, prepared for flight—prepared to throw himself for protection on the friendly and forbearing nation, which, during his ministry he had hated, threatened, and on one occasion, even marched against. He bribed his guards to let him fly; they took his bribes and confined him in his palace.

On the 21st of September they led him out in state to the plain of Mean Mír, and in the presence of his sister and the Maharajah, he was shot down like a dog. So died the last and worst Wazir of the Punjab Empire established by Runjít Singh.* Raní Junda evinced some natural affection and remarkable courage on the occasion. She even effected the punishment of the ringleaders in the late tragedy, and, as if roused by her brother's death and her sons danger, assumed the Government, sat openly in Durbar, and "laid aside her debaucheries with her veil." ("Papers," p. 10). But the time for prudence had gone by. The vessel of the state, too long unwatched had drifted to the rapid's edge; and all that skill and courage now could do, was to seize the helm, put the bark's head straight, and plunge boldly into the foaming gulf. Finding that it was hopeless to oppose the Army, the Raní wisely yielded, encouraged its excesses, called its madness reason, and urged it on in the hope of guiding it to destruction. History scarcely records a conception more bold and able; and while reprobating its unprincipled execution, we cannot withhold our admiration at the design. Runjít Singh, in the zenith of his power, thought all sacrifices light to preserve the friendship of the British; Raní Junda, in the depth of her despair, when the Sikh nation was at its weakest, sought safety in a war with British India.

And how was British India prepared to meet it? What was

* No one had the courage to fill Jowahir Singh's vacant place at Lahore till the breaking out of the war; and the cession of the Jullundar Doab broke up the kingdom of "The *Five* Waters."

the condition and attitude of the North-West Frontier? These are questions of deep interest, for on the answer given to them depends the stamp which history shall set on the character of the Governor to whom that empire and frontier were entrusted. The time for writing a complete history of the "War with the Sikhs" has not yet arrived; and in this present hasty *sketch*, we neither presume to attempt the sacred task of instructing posterity with "the truth, the *whole truth* and nothing but the truth" of the late great events, nor do we pretend to the information necessary to enable us to do so if we wished. We do not even promise or intend to tell the reader all we know; he must be content with the assurance that we will tell him nothing that we know to be false. He has a right, however, to expect that we discuss this *threshold question* of the war with him, and we do it the more willingly that the Indian Press seems for once to have left it, in some measure, to the Press of England to perceive what was going on in India. The state of the North-West frontier, previous to the Sikh invasion, has been criticized in our Eastern papers by many writers possessed of great military talent, and by many more possessed of none; but it was reserved for the author of a paper called, "The War on the Sutlej" in the *North British Review* (see the heading of this article), to rise superior to military, or any other merely conventional criticism, and scan the question in its length and its breadth with the eye of a statesman and a philanthropist. The following passage we concieve to be a fairer statement of the point at issue than any which has yet appeared in print:—

"The question is, not whether, presuming a war with the Sikhs to have been an inevitable occurrence, the Governor-General had so disposed his troops as to enter upon it with the greatest possible advantage on his side, and to prosecute it to its termination with the greatest success. *Had it been merely a war-question, a question as to the best means of prosecuting an inevitable war, we have little doubt that the main body of the British troop would, at the commencement of last December, have been posted on the very banks of the Sutlej.* But this was *not* the question. Sir Henry Hardinge had not to decide between two forms of war, but, *as far as human sagacity could penetrate the future, between peace and a war.* He believed that it was desirable to preserve peace, and he adopted measures, best calculated to ensure its preservation. He believed that by keeping the main body of his army at Umballa, he would have been able to preseve *peace*, whilst, on the other hand, he was of opinion that a forward movement would have had an inevitable tendency to precipitate the very collision which he was so anxious to avoid. To have advanced the head quarters of the army to Ferozepore, or the immediate neighourhood of Ferozepore, would have had all the appearance of an offensive movement; and as the Governor-General had wisely determined not to provoke a war, he abstained from the adoption of a measure which would have surely resulted in the frustration of those

pacific intentions which have so honourably distinguished his entire policy towards the Punjab."

And again :—

"The whole case as between the Governor-General and his assailants may be thus briefly stated. It was desirable, above all things, to preserve *peace*. There was nothing to warrant the supposition that peace could *not* be preserved. To have posted a large army, sufficient to prevent the Sikhs from crossing the river to any point, on the immediate banks of the Sutlej, would have provoked the collision which it was so desirable to avoid. *Therefore, Sir Henry Hardinge did not move up the main body of his disposable troops to the immediate banks of the Sutlej.* In other words, he, did not, to avert an evil which there was no just cause to anticipate, bring down upon himself another of far greater magnitude, as certain and as present as the other was conjectural and remote."

Even this writer, however, does not do full justice to the policy of the Governor-General. In his eagerness to show the folly of posting an army on the banks of the Sutlej, he overlooks the wisdom of taking such military precautions as the circumstances *would* allow; of strengthening the frontier as much as it was possible to do, without losing sight of the grand object, the preservation of peace. He takes it for granted, as most other writers seem to have done, that, because the Governor-General did not *assemble* an army in the North-West, therefore, he did not provide the means of doing so if required; that in short, he allowed the North-West frontier to remain in the disgracefully unprotected state in which Lord Ellenborough left it. This is a grievous error, and the sooner it is corrected, the better. We are no defenders of folly in high places. Our pages have ere now pointedly shewn that the great defect of our military system is its want of preparation.* Trusting overweeningly, like true Englishmen, in our intrinsic strength, confiding with more than Mahommedan infatuation in our "*ikbal*;" we leave much, sometimes all, to fortune. Such was long, very long, our practice on the North-West frontier. For years and years the station of Lùdiana alone, unsupported by a man nearer than Kurnal, stood in the face of the Punjab. Two or three thousand men with six 6-pounders daring the whole Sikh Army!—a lamb drinking at a rivulet with a wolf. It may be said, that the Punjab was then quiet; there was then no danger. Idle, most idle, will this answer prove to every man who has read Indian history, and learnt to see in the blue and cloudless sky of Eastern politics, no safety against the insidious storm. The hatred of the Sikh people was then as great; the ability to

* *Calcutta Review*, Article No. 3.—"Military Defence."

indulge it greater. One life alone stood between the nations. One mind, and that directed not by love, not by fidelity, *but by a rare union of insatiable ambition with common sense*, turned the still flowing tide of Sikh conquest back from the Jumna towards the Indus. For nearly forty years has the station of Lúdiana been established; and for more than half of that time has Ferozepore been trumpeted as "a most desirable military position." In December 1838, it became a station for British troops; and such a one as the British in India alone could have established; answering no one possible object for which it could have been intended,—too weak even to protect itself much less the neighbouring town. The nominal strength of the post was four Regiments of Infantry, and one of Irregular Cavalry. Seldom, however, was half that force present, and sometimes only a single Regiment, while the six field pieces were made the butts of Dum-Dum experiment; one month horsed, the next bullocked, and, when the bullocks grew thin and "ill-favoured," horsed again: so that the Artillery of the advanced picket of British India was *hors du combat* for nearly as many months of the year as there were guns. This was Lord Auckland's defence of the frontier, and, in common justice to His Lordship, it may be said, it was only a continuation of the system that had obtained under Lords Wellesley, Minto, Hastings, Amherst and Bentinck. Lord Ellenborough somewhat improved matters. He established a large reserve station at Umballa, sixty miles nearer to the frontier than Kurnal; and he threw an apology for an intrenchment around the magazines aud stores at Ferozepore, hitherto exposed at random even to the midnight robber and incendiary. It will indeed claim some portion of our reader's credulity to believe that, during the first year of the occupation of Ferozepore, the ammunition of the troops in the cantonment was kept three miles off *in the bricked up gateways of the city*.

So much for the past, and the predecessors of the present Governor-General. Let us now turn to Lord Hardinge. He found Punjab affairs much in the same condition they had been in for the last twelve months of Lord Ellenborough's administration. But did he allow the frontier to remain as that nobleman had left it? Far otherwise. Silently and unostentatiously he strengthened the force in the North-West. He gave no possible cause of offence by military movements, in season or out of season, indicative of distrust.

His acts never gave the lie to his words as we find them recorded in his letter to the Secret Committee; not so much as the rustling of a plume ever broke the peaceful silence of the

frontier. The abstract "principles of war," which a late writer in the *Friend of India* has well said "do not alter," required an old and experienced soldier to do one or other of two things: either to hurry up large reinforcements to Ferozepore, or to withdraw that post altogether. But Sir Henry Hardinge did neither; he was something more than an old and experienced soldier, snuffing like the war-horse the battle from afar, and preparing for it with exultation. He was the statesman, to whose calm and unimpassioned judgment it was given to preserve the *peace* of India; and he chose that middle course which the result has proved, united the dignity of forbearance with the necessity of defence. Slowly, silently, and by degrees, he added to the Native Regiments at Ferozepore until they amounted to seven; he doubled the cavalry, he quadrupled the artillery, gave confidence to the whole by the addition of a British Regiment, and to crown the whole, instead of leaving a haphazard, bed-ridden, or dotard Brigadier at the head of this gallant force, he selected one of the best officers in the Indian Army, Major-General Littler, to command it. In the same sure but silent manner was the entire frontier reinforced. Regiments, as if in ordinary relief, but without the issue of the customary published orders, were drawn away from the extremes of the Bengal Presidency: Cuttack, Chittagong, Barrackpore, Benares, Allahabad, and even the Madras stations were weakened to strengthen Delhi, Meerut, Umballa, and Lúdiana. The excellence of the scheme, was, that it was effected without suspicion, and excited no alarm. All of ourselves, who could put two and two together, who took sufficient interest in the public acts of Government, and had time and will to consider why some regiments were relieved early, others late, and why unusual numbers were crowded even to the Upper Doab, could draw the inference that more than usual danger was expected in the North-West: but we repeat that the movement was effected without stir, excitement or alarm, either domestic or foreign. It is perhaps the best proof of the precautionary measures of the Governor-General, that, when summed up, they seem almost to amount to the opposite and preposterous charge of *forcing on the war by the extent of his Military preparations on the frontier*—a charge, contemptuously and satisfactorily disposed of by Sir Henry himself in letter No. 9, pp. 12-13 of the "Papers" before quoted. So far then, as our Government was concerned, the Sikhs were neither tempted by our weakness, nor driven by our threats to break the treaty, and commence hostilities. One objectionable act alone was committed, though we are not aware that it has

attracted notice much less censure from the critics of the policy. We refer to the bringing up from Bombay of an armed bridge of boats. In our opinion such boats should *always* have formed a portion of the frontier military equipment. But *this* was not the time to make preparations that must bear the appearance at least of meditated war. Moreover, we are not prepared to say that all the Indian papers were perfectly judicious in their speculations on the prospect of a Punjab war; we cannot vindicate the seasonableness or the propriety of some of the after-dinner speeches of Sir Charles Napier, Sir Gasper Nichols, and others, carefully reported at the Lahore Durbar; but whatever apprehensions these, or anything else said or done on this side of the water created, we may safely say that they exerted no efficient agency in bringing about the war; and that the violence and intemperence of the Sikh soldiery, the weakness of their leaders, and the despair of their Government alone impelled them to hostilities. But this is beside the question, which is "the state of the North-Western Frontier"

On the 11th of December 1845, the enemy crossed the Sutlej, and invaded British India. Twelve miles from the ford, in the cantonment of Ferozpore, was a compact and well appointed ofrce of upwards of 10,000 men, with 21 field and ten heavy guns, ready and willing to dispute the passage of the river. Why it was *not* disputed has yet to be revealed. The General and most about him, believed their little army amply able either to oppose the enemy in his passage, or to defend themselves in possession of Ferozepore. We incline to a similar opinion. But this is a question which fate has left, perhaps for ever, undecided. Suffice it to say that when, after years of empty boasting the Sikhs at last came as enemies across the Sultej, they found 15,000 *more soldiers between that river and Meerut than had been left there by the war-loving Lord Ellenborough or any of his predecessors.* Was *this*, we ask, a want of preparation? Is this the culpable negligence of which Sir Henry Hardinge is accused? We have already seen why this increased, but scattered defensive force was not already "in hand" (to borrow a word from the dictionary of Aliwal); why it was not collected into an army on the frontier: it was, because this would have rendered *inevitable* the collision which Sir Henry, his council, and his agent on the North-West frontier, hoped and believed to be an improbable contingency.

We have now to see whether the troops, which a wise Governor had spread in peaceful attitude over the surface of the North-West Provinces, were yet within "buggle call," and

could be summoned to arms in time to repel an enemy. Hitherto Sir Henry Hardinge had been slow, cautious, forbearing almost to timidity; as if peace were a strange but imperative duty that had been imposed on him. The crossing of the Sikhs was like the magic word which woke the seven sleepers. It broke the spell upon his nature and disenchanted him. The cold snows of age and prudence melted and disappeared before the rekindled fire and energy of the hero of Albuera; the identity of the accomplished statesman passed away, and left a military leader in its place presiding over the army of the Sutlej. "Telemachus suddenly beheld Minerva! She spread her ægis over him." The Meerut and Umballa Divisions were hurried up; the two British Regiments were summoned from the hills; the Ludiana force concentrated at Bussean; and in half the time, we confidently assert, in which, under ordinary Indian generals, the troops would have been *ready* to move,* they had *formed an army on the line of march*, fought two victorious pitched battles at Múdkí and Ferozshah, and encamped at Nialkí with the enemy on the other side of the insulted frontier. Well was the ardour of the Governor-General at this crisis seconded by the more than youthful energy and activity of the Commander-in-Chief, whose gallant figure dashing by the column was wont to provoke from many a young "sub" the hacknied lines—

Nor slack'd the messenger his pace;
He shew'd the sign, he named the place—
And pressing forward like the wind
Left clamour and surprise behind.
* * * * * *
He vanish'd; and o'er moor and moss
Sped forward the fiery cross!

It is, however, but just to say that a Governor-General only, and such a Governor-General as Sir Henry Hardinge, happily combining the statesman with the soldier, could have brought the whole resources of the country, at a moment's notice, to bear upon the most imminent danger that has ever threatened British India.

There are more victories in a campaign than those which are gained amid the roar of cannon on the battle field, and recorded afterwards in golden lettered flags; and though the march—

* "When a small party was beaten at Kythul in the Sikh states within forty miles of Kurnal (one of our army Division stations) it was three days before a small force could move; it was *then* found that there was no small arm ammunition in store; and ascertained that a European corps could not move under a fortnight from Subathú."—*Calcutta Review*, No. 3 Art: "Military Defence."

In December 1845, the same European corps at Subathú, and H. M's 29th Foot *marched out of their Cantonments after 12 hours' notice*, to join the army of the Sutlej

the *rush*—of the British Army from Umballa to the frontier seems now forgotten, or but little thought of, because it gave neither medal nor promotion ; yet was it not the least of the achievements of the war of 1845-46. The Commander-in-Chief, writing from Múkdí on the 19th December 1845, with a keen remembrance of its anxieties and fatigues, devotes a few generous lines of his despatch to its record.

"All this," he says, "is soon related ; but most harassing have been the marches of the troops in completing this concentration. When their march had been further prolonged to this place, they had moved over a distance of upwards of *one hundred and fifty miles in six* days, along roads of heavy sand ; their perpetual labour allowing them scarcely time to cook their food, even when they received it, and hardly an hour for repose before they were called upon for renewed exertions.*"

A writer in the *Friend of India* has since called it "such a march as had not been attempted in India since the days of Lake." Let us look, therefore, a little closer at its incidents ; let us not rejoice too much in the fireside reader's privilege, and with imagination's seven-leagued boots, skip at once over those "150 miles," which an army of flesh and blood, with exceeding toil and labour, and to the wonder and admiration of its commanders, marched over "in seven days." On the night of the 15th June 1818, the peot sings—

> There was a sound of revelry by night
> And Belgum's capital had gather'd then
> Her beauty and her chivalry ; and bright
> The lamps shone o'er fair women and brave men.

On the 11th December 1845, before the British Army marched to the Waterloo of India, everything had been prepared for a similar festive scene in the Durbar tents of Sir Hugh Gough at Umballa. No need, however, for *secrecy* then ; for carrying on the farce of gaiety ; and Generals stealing away "as quietly as possible at 10 o'clock to join their divisions en route." † The ball was given up by common consent, and in that tearful night, many a wife who is now a widow pressed her last kiss upon her husband's cheek. Next morning commenced the march on which the fate of two empires hung. The whole road from Umballa to Rajpúra, a distance of 16 miles, was covered with advancing troops and artillery ; and the green crops in the fields on either side of the line of march were trodden under

* This is a mistake, the first march was on the 12th, and the last (into Múdkí) on the 18th ; *seven* marches in all. The mistake would easily arise by substracting 12 from 18, to get the number of marches ; instead of including that of the 12th.

† See note to Stanza 21, Canto 3, Childe Harold, Murray's edition.

foot, and scattered over by strings of baggage camels and camp followers, who, unable to find room upon the old highway, soon made a new one for themselves, and scrambled on in the dark through gardens and over ditches in a style more sporting than military. What a motley and amusing scene is an Indian line of march! Here, Jack sepoy, bitterly cold, has tied up his head like a stage coach traveller, and then stuck his full dress *Chako* on the top of it,—much askew. Behind him, rejoicing in the privilege of his rank, jogs along on a miserable bare-ribbed *tattú*, a grey haired Subadar; his very oldest clothes are put on economically for the occasion, but round his throat glitters through the dust his gold-beaded necklace, and on his left breast perhaps dangles on a ribbon, twice too long, a medal or a star. Next, covering the whole column with dust, canters by a devil-may-care subaltern; his forage cap cocked knowingly over his ear, a cheroot in his mouth puffing away like a chimney, and under him the best Bombay Arab that could be got for money, though it would not carry his bills. "Bless my soul, Sir," croaks a wheezy voice on the other side of the road, "how often *must* I tell you to keep that *beast* in the rear?" It is the fat Major, who has pulled up in his *buggy* to spit the Ensign's dust out of his mouth and knuckle it out of his eyes. On one side of the road a hackery has fallen, in the dark, into a ditch; and on the other, a gun. The former will be there half the day; for the Gariwan is smoking his húkah and waiting till Providence sends somebody to help him. The other will be all right in ten minutes; for a dozen strapping Horse Artillery men have "put their shoulders to the wheel," and are hauling away to a jolly chorus. *Chaque pays, chaque mode!* Look at that half-clad, knock-kneed wretch, shuffling along at one untiring pace, with a pliant bambú over his shoulder, and at either end of it a heavy green box slung by ropes. He is a *Banghy bearer*, and you may take an inventory of his load without opening the Pitarahs; *one* of them is *always* devoted to a *Guthri*,* and the other to plates, dishes, and a teapot; for woe betide the Khidmutgar who has not breakfast ready the moment the regiment comes upon its ground. But mind your head, or it will be knocked off by that half mad camel who is overladen with tents and "tots,"† and is dancing about the road, furious at the clattering on his back. That red haired grenadier, with the yellow facings, is one of the gallant 9th

* The Indian vade mecum; a bundle containing a change of clothes, and something of very thing that "master" possesses.

† Tin pots out of which the European soldiers drink.

foot; and if what he is now swearing at the camel was not *pure* Irish, there could not be a doubt about his country, for at the end of his bayonet he has slung his boots, and is walking barefoot to *warm himself*. Whose hackery is that with a *slipper bath* in it? There are no ladies in camp;—it belongs to one of the hospitals; and those three black heads poking out at the mouth of the bath are the hospital cook's children, who *live in it when it is not wanted*. Such are some of the queer incidents and characteristic scenes which cheat the soldier of a laugh on the India line of march.

But let us resume our knapsack and march on. On December 13th, the Commander-in-Chief's force marched to Sirhind;* eighteen miles of a sandy and distressing road for both men and horses. And now the dark curtain of the future began to rise. Aides-de-camp went and came, "hot with haste," between the Governor-General at Lushkuri-khan-ki-Surai, and the Commander-in-Chief at Sirhind. The news spread like wild fire through the camp that 8,000 Sikhs had crossed the Sutlej eight miles above Ferozepore; and Sir Hugh Gough, with his Assistant Adjutant-General and Military Secretary, might be seen galloping through the sun to meet and consult with Sir Henry Hardinge at Kunha-ki-Surai, half way between their respective camps.† All day those two camps wait with feverish anxiety the result of their leaders' deliberations; and at last, midnight brings the expected "After-Orders" for a forced march of 20 miles on Esrú. The publication of the celebrated Proclamation of the 13th December is now whispered about the army; the very cook-boys discuss the annexation of the Cis-Sutlej states to British India. The army, too, was this day (14th December) told off into divisions and brigades; appointments were delighting and disappointing the ambitious, and *business* for all was beginning in real earnest.

As an index of popular opinion, and a confirmation of that acknowledged by the Governor-General in his letter to the

* This once populous and wealthy city is now nothing more than a miserable cluster of the habitations of the living amid the ruins of the habitations of the dead. For an account of the fearful destruction which overtook it, see "Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs."

† These two Peninsula veterans set an example of personal and equestrian activity during the campaign, which diffused itself though the whole general staff, and won the hearts of the Arab merchants in the Upper Provinces, who (*Ap ke nam súnke Khadawund!*) flocked up at the close of the war to replace the *screws* that had been *doing nothing but going express*, since they left Umballa. Sir Henry Hardinge's ride to Lúdiana is history; and we are told that Sir Hugh Gough thought nothing of riding from his camp at Niálkí into Ferozepore and back again in a morning,—more than 50 miles. A change for the better this from Generals who, *on foot* or *in palki*, manœuvred armies!

Secret Committee, dated 31st December,* it is not unworthy of remark here that the army at this time was divided into two parties, those who disbelieved the crossing of the Sikhs altogether; and those who, more polite, condescended to believe it on the Governor-General's authority, but were certain they would re-cross before our army could come up to engage them. On December 15th, the Umballa force moved on to Luttala, nearer thirty than twenty miles, and orders were issued for a rigid reduction of baggage. On December 16th, the force marched thirty miles to Wudní, overtaking the Governor-General and the Lúdiana force at Bussean. Sir Robert Peel, in his speech to the House of Commons, on March 2nd said: —"From Umballa the troops marched to a place called Bussean, where, owing to the prudent precautions of the Governor-General, they found an ample supply of food and stores." It was Major Broadfoot, who, acting under the orders of the Governor-General, carried those wise precautions into effect: and not only *here*, but on the whole march to Múdkí, he may be said to have been the Commissary-General of the army of the Sutlej. Even after his death, his subordinate officers became and continued, till very late in the campaign, the real Commissariat of the army. The people of the country were now all supposed to be hostile; and those who were with the advanced-guard that day, will not easily forget Major Broadfoot and his rough and ready troop of wild looking Afghans, galloping across the plain from village to village summoning out the grey beards, and with perfect mastery of their corrupt and broken dialect, acquired in a short residence of 15 months upon the frontier, explaining the terms of the Proclamation, and extracting from the most refractory *Múfsid*† supplies for the advancing army. At Wudní, however, matters were different: the village nestled under the wing of a strong brick fort, and the fort itself belonged immediately to the Khalsa Crown. Supplies were positively refused. The Political Agent's very crabbedest Panjabí could not wheedle the Buniyahs out of enough *Ata* to make a chupatti. The Horse Artillery was therefore ordered up, and as the guns wheeled round into position, the men, ever ready for a joke, very happily exclaimed:—"These be the Political Agents!" They were indeed. It was unnecessary for them even to *speak!* The very look of them brought out

* Papers respecting the late hostilities, No. 11.
"I concurred with the Commander-in-Chief and the Chief Secretary to Government, as well as with my Political Agent, Major Broadfoot, that offensive operations on a large scale would not be resorted to."
† Malcontent.

the trembling villagers in crowds; and supplies followed without delay.*

The forced marches of the previous days were now telling fearfully on the troops and camels, and a short march of only ten miles to Churruk, was made upon the following day. A similar march of ten miles to Lungiana was ordered for the 18th December; but, though no man in that army knew it then, a bloodly battle was to be fought that day, and the Governor-General, in his anxiety to relieve Ferozepore, pushed on eleven miles further to the village of Múdkí. For the benefit of those who have a lingering faith in omens, we may as well here record that, just before morning broke on the march to Múdkí, a brilliant star shot from its place in the firmament and fell over the Sutlej into the dark grave of the earth's horizon. The "Bright Star" is the highest order in the Punjab; and those who think that the everlasting laws of stellar motion are disturbed by the convulsions of this little orb, imperceptible in space, may confirm their superstition with the coincidence. It is "stranger still," and much more to the point, that on the 2nd December died the venerable Faqír Uzíz-úd-din, the able Minister of Runjít Singh, and faithful follower of his policy in all the counsels he was called upon to give to the weak successors of his master. He knew our power thoroughly, and his voice was ever for friendship and peace. The last act of his life was a remonstrance against the approaching war: and without superstition, with him may be said to have perished the genius of the Punjab.

Three miles from Múdkí, the first indication of the proximity of an enemy reach "the Army of the Sutlej." A note from Major Broadfoot—ever in the front—informed the Commander-in-Chief that Múdkí was occupied by the Sikhs; in what force it was uncertain. Upon receipt of this intelligence the column was halted; the artillery ordered to the front; and the cavalry to support it right and left. Thus "squaring up" in pugilistic phrase, the army resumed its march; with intense anxiety looking for the enemy. The Commander-in-Chief attended by his own staff and that of the Governor-General (made over to him by Sir Henry, who reluctantly remained behind) and supported by two squadrons of the 5th Light Cavalry, then made a reconnoissance in front, and soon met Major Broadfoot and a party of Christie's horse coming back a little downcast,

* The same scene was repeated on the coming up of General Gilbert's column the following day; and the place was not taken till the arrival of the Meerut troops on the 30th December. It gives us no bad idea of native impudence when we relate that not a single gun was found in the fort, though from the quantity of jinjal balls accumulated, it is not improbable that some swivels had been hidden in the wells or houses of the village.

with the tidings that the village, now coming into view, had *merely* been occupied by the advanced picket of the Khalsa Army, who had fallen back hastily upon their own main body; not, however, without carrying off Captain E. Biddulph of the 45th Native Infantry, who had the evening before got so far on his way in a gallant but imprudent attempt to join Tait's Irregulars at Ferozepore. The momentary excitement over; the weary foot-sore troops dragged themselves on to Múdkí which they reached at noon—and what a welcome sight there met their view! Beneath the walls of the fort spread a wide clear tank of water; and the reader, who has not the memory of that long march of 21 miles, with heavy sand under foot and the air thick with the dust disturbed by 15,000 men, cannot paint the eagerness with which men and horses rushed to the bank and tried to slake a thirst which seemed unquenchable. In ten minutes the lake was a mass of floating mud, yet fresh regiments kept coming up, and fresh thirsty souls kept squeezing their way in, and thinking it was the sweetest draught they had tasted in their lives. Young ladies! languishing on your damask couches, you never sipped eau sucrèe or lemonade out of a chrystal goblet that was to be compared to a greasy chako full of muddy Múdkí water. Between two and three o'clock the baggage of the troops was beginning to straggle in, and the men to cook their breakfasts; when Major Broadfoot again galloped into camp with the news—this time true enough—that the enemy was advancing in force in front.

Away with knives and forks, and out swords and pistols! Camels, elephants, camp followers, and other lumber to the rear! Trumpets sound to horse; bugles, drums and fifes to arms; and the whole army, which, but two hours ago, had made a march of unusual severity, now turned out, as if fully recruited, to the battle.

Once more the Governer-General, with a courteous bow that would have done honour to St. James's, waved his dashing staff over to the brave Chief of that brave army; and then fell back upon the infantry. The artillery was in the centre of the front line, and the cavalry on either flank; the main body of the infantry in contiguous columns behind; and a reserve in rear of all. A mile and a half at least from their own camp did the British advance in this order before they came under the fire of the Sikh guns; but then "long bowls" came bounding in among them with deadly aim and that peculiar *whirr* which makes the young soldier "*bob*" his head. Now tumbrils begin blowing up, and artillery men dropping from

their saddles ; the mutual roar of cannon reverberates over the plain, and smoke obscures the vision. Closer and closer approach the hostile armies ; and a staff officer, almost simultaneously from right and left gallops up to Sir Hugh with a report that the Sikh cavalry in clouds are turning both his flanks. Right and left he launches his own cavalry upon them ; right and left their brilliant charge makes the enemy's horse give way. The British infantry deploy, and advance rapidly in line. A finer sight no man ever saw than that deployment and advance. The jaded men, worn out with forced marches and want of food, forgot all their troubles in their eagerness to close, and nearly the whole of an unusually large staff might at one time have been employed in galloping up and down the line to keep the regiments from "doubling" into action. And now all hands are at it! Cavalry charging cavalry ; artillery thundering on the flanks, and infantry exchanging a roar of musketry in the centre. The battle is at its height ; it rages, but the British *still advance :* and it is a fact, which has not been noticed by any writer yet that we have seen, not even by his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief in his own despatch, that *the charge of the British Cavalry was the turning-point of the battle of Múdkí.* Up to that moment every arm of the Sikh force, cavalry, artillery and infantry had been *advancing ;* and though the artillery and infantry still stood and struggled manfully after Lal Singh's cavalry had fled, yet *they never gained another foot of ground ;* and the last two hours of the battle was a series of dogged stands, and skirmishing retreats on the part of the Sikh troops ; of sharp struggles, gun-captures, and pursuits by the British,—over five miles of the worst ground that ever two armies fought for. Night closed the contest, or rather the pursuit ; and the British army was left in possession of the field and *nineteen* of the enemy's guns. The despatch says seventeen : but we have reason to believe that nineteen, if not twenty, were captured over night, and three or four taken off the field, by a Sikh detatchment, in sight of our burying parties the next morning. Brigadier Brooke, who commanded the artillery, in his return of captured ordnance, only reports fifteen guns in our possession, but says, "Four more guns are reported to have been dismounted by the men of the horse artillery and left on the field from want of means to bring them away." These discrepancies are reconciled by the supposition that two more guns were afterwards brought in by the British ; and two recovered by the Sikhs. We have heard that an intercepted despatch from Rajah Lal Sing to the Raní, after the battle of

Múdkí, modestly allowed "that owing to the bad state of the roads, and the horses being killed, *some few guns fell into the hands of the Ungrez.*" The grand total of killed and wounded on the British side was 872. Among the mournful list of the dead was the brave Sir Robert Sale, known among the soldiers of his old Regiment (H. M's 13th Light Infantry) by the faithful sobriquet of "Fighting Bob," and in the page of history as "the hero of Jullalabad."* The loss on the enemy's side is not known; indeed, it has never been accurately ascertained how many men they brought into the field. The Commander-in-Chief's despatch says, "they were said to consist of from 14,000 to 20,000 infantry, about the same force of cavalry, and 40 guns." Sir Robert Peel estimates the Sikh force at "treble the amount" of the British; which would make them upwards of 40,000. We have put the question to a Sikh soldier who was present in all the fights except Aliwal; and he stated that from each of the twelve regiments of infantry in the entrenched camp of Ferozshah, there went out four companies, between 20,000 and 30,000 horsemen under Rajah Lal Sing, and 22 guns, and this we are inclined to think nearly correct.

The victory of the 18th December 1845, must be acknowledged, therefore, by every impartial person to have been no mean achievement. It is no easy matter at any time for 14,000 men to thrash between 30,000 and 40,000, unless, as was the case in our early Indian battles, the discipline is all on the side of the minority. Those days have long passed away. We have been now teaching the art of war to Asia for upwards of a century; and, though not exactly reduced to the said pass of that celebrated grandfather who taught his grandson draughts,

"Until at last the old man was beaten by the boy;"

yet is there no longer that vast disparity between the discipline of the Native and British Indian armies that we can afford to give them, as of old, the odds which Clive thought very fair at Plassey. In the present instance, we think it only just to a very gallant though barbarous enemy, to acknowledge that the Sikh soldiers are fully equal to our own sepoys in every respect but that of obedience to their officers; a radical deficiency, indeed, in cantonments, but, as the result proved of no consequence whatever in the field when the enemy in front was the hated British, and every common soldier was animated by the same

* A Greek or Roman General would have been more fortunate though less brave, for he would have accepted the augury with which Sir Robert entered on the campaign, and returned in the belief that the gods were against the expedition. In coming down the hill from Simla all the swords which had been presented to him for his former services were stolen from among his baggage and never recovered.

religious detestation of the cow-killing rivals of the Khalsa. Not only, however, did the Sikh army nearly treble ours in number, and nearly equal it in discipline, but it had the immense advantage of coming up fresh to the fight, after lying at their ease in camp from the day they crossed the Sutlej ; while the British troops came off a march of 150 miles (twenty-one of which had been performed that morning), and were exhausted before the battle was begun. The ground, too, was much in favour of the Sikhs ; and they had had plenty of leisure to select it. It was at first, *i. e.*, nearest to Múdkí, an undulating sandy plain, sprinkled, where the cannonade commenced, with trees ; and deepening, where the hostile armies closed, into a tangled jungle. No one who has seen Sikhs fight will deny that as light infantry they are not to be excelled. The indispensable requisite of " a Light Bob " is to have self-reliance ; to be independent of assistance ; to have his wits about him, and take advantage of every bush or stump that will give him time to load again, or unseen bring down his unsuspicious foe. In a word, he must be sufficient for himself, and able to act alone. Now these are just the attributes of a Sikh soldier. Independence, self-reliance, and fearless audacity, are the hereditary qualities of his nation ; and have been fostered to the most mischievous perfection in the licentious revolutions which reduced the Government of his country to a military despotism. He is proud of being one of the " Surbut Khalsa Jí," and believes himself a match for two *Púrubías* at the least ; he is proud also of his profession, which Runjít took care should be the most honored in the Punjab ; and, instead of being glad to get rid of his accoutrements, he wears them with pleasure, and carries his musket jauntily over his shoulder even when he is out for a stroll. No troops in the world, therefore, are more fitted by nature and habit for carrying on a desultory fight : and the same jungle which separated and broke the British regiments at Múdkí, only threw the Sikhs into " extended order " ; made every hollow an entrenchment, and every bush a battery. Two anecdotes of the field will illustrate these observations.

The fight was nearly over, when a Khalsa soldier, who had been just passed by as dead by a British light field battery, rose cautiously from the ground, and taking deliberate aim with his musket at the officer commanding, shot him in the back. Waiting only long enough to see his victim fall, he then stole off, reloading as he went. A sergeant, who had seen his captain drop, turned to pursue the murderer, and met a similar fate. Several of his comrades then sprung forward upon the track, but had not gone into the jungle when they heard behind a

neighbouring bush the significant ring of a ramrod with which the determined Khalsa was, a third time, driving home his unerring bullet. They prudently abandoned a pursuit which threatened, if continued long enough, to disable a nine-pounder! Another Sikh soldier, feigning to be dead, was kicked up by some men of H. M.'s 50th in their advance, and brought a prisoner before Major-General Sir Harry Smith, who told an officer of his staff, that "spoke the Moors," to ask him which way his friends had run? The Khalsa made no reply, but making a sudden grasp at the General's sword, drew it like lightning from the scabbard, and would have cut Sir Harry down had he not had a riding cane in his hand, and struck the blade aside. An army composed of men like these is not an enemy to be despised.

On the morning of the 19th of December, it was expected that the Sikhs, reinforced from their main body at Ferozshah, would again advance and attack the British; and Sir Hugh Gough had his men under arms drawn up outside the camp in battle array to meet them. Thus they remained many hours; but, though the dust of a hostile column was distinctly seen moving round the British flank, the battalions which raised it showed no desire to renew their intimacy of the previous day. Every disposition, however, was made to guard against a night attack. None occurred, and the spirits of the harassed troops were cheered by the arrival about 11 o'clock P. M. of H. M.'s 29th Foot, the H. E. I. Co.'s 1st European Light Infantry, the 41st and 11th Native Infantry, and a small detachment of heavy guns: a most welcome reinforcement. The two former regiments had, as we have already noticed, marched out of their stations in the hills on 12 hours' notice; and their soldier-like exertions to come up, before an engagement with the enemy could take place, threw the rapid march even of the main army into the shade. They were one day too late; but the Governor-General showed his high appreciation of their military spirit by sending out his own band to meet them, and welcome them to camp. This flattering and graceful compliment turned out unfortunately; for, in stepping out cheerily to the tune of "the British Grenadiers," they all lost their way in the dark; and kept on marching and playing, playing and marching, till they had exhausted all the popular airs in the language, circumambulated the camp, and been challenged by every astonished sentinel on duty.

We had nearly forgotten to record one of the incidents of the 19th December strongly characteristic of oriental warfare. A Mahommedan Chief, one of the leaders in the fight of Múdkí,

came over on an embassy from the enemy, and, expressing their regret that two nations who had so long been friends should now be enemies, proposed terms of accommodation for the Governor-General's acceptance! He was put under a guard, and escorted beyond the pickets.

The 20th of December was a halt to refresh the troops, and complete the sad duty of burying the dead. But it was not an idle day among the British Generals and Captains, who, assembled in the tent of the Commander-in-Chief, listened to the plan of the next day's operations. The Governor-General himself volunteered his service as second in command; a step, the prudence and propriety of which has been much canvassed both in India and at home. It has been censured rather flippantly by some as *derogatory* and *rash*. We have every respect for the abstract dignity and high-mightiness of a Governor-General of India; embodying as it does, the irresponsibility of the Great Mogul with the infallibility of the Pope; but we are among those who think that to lead on a wing of a British army against the enemies of his country can derogate from the dignity of no man. Princes of the blood of Plantagenet condescended to such service; and within our own days an heir apparent to the English throne has coveted the still more humiliating command of a single regiment. And as for rashness: the proverb says, "there is a time for all things." Certainly, there are times, when cautious prudence becomes the extremity of rashness, and rashness incontrovertible prudence. As a general rule, doubtless, the head of the Government should not expose himself, and never unnecessarily, to danger; nor the State, to the confusion which his death might cause. Lord Ellenborough, for instance, had no business to be under fire at Maharajpore, where his presence served no earthly object. But the battle of Múdkí demonstrated to the conviction of every man in the army, that the Sikhs had been greatly undervalued as soldiers; that they were no common enemy; and that British India, as an Empire, was involved in no ordinary crisis. As yet only a fragment of the Khalsa army, detached in scorn, had been with difficulty overcome; the main body, varying from 48,000 to 60,000 men with 108 pieces of cannon of heavy calibre, in fixed batteries,* and in an entrenched camp, had yet to be encountered; *and the junction with Sir John Littler's force was not yet effected* This was no time to stand upon the forms of office, or even to regard the restraints of the constitution. It was

* See Governor General's letter to Secret Committee, Camp Ferozepore, 31st December 1845. Paper, p. 24.

one of these moments in the existence of a State which can be compared only to a sudden squall at sea which takes the good ship aback, and forces every man on board, though he were the Lord High Admiral himself, *to put his hand to a rope*, if he would avoid a general wreck. The Governor-General had sufficiently displayed at Múdkí his wish to be prudent, so long as prudence was practicable; he now showed himself equal to the responsibility of his office, and judging that his country would gain more by his Generalship in the battle, than it would lose by his death, he acted like a true patriot, laid pride aside, and volunteered to serve where he had been accustomed to command. "I need hardly say," writes the Commander-in-Chief in his despatch, "with how much pleasure this offer was accepted."

Some few pages back, in speaking of the Sikhs, we called them "a very gallant though *barbarous* enemy;" and certainly they gained the latter epithet by acts of wanton cruelty which were only fitted to the wars of the Red Indians and the Sioux. During the night of the 18th and morning of the 19th December, they not only carried off the majority of their own wounded, but the heads of all the Europeans they could find upon the field of battle. And at the sanguinary fight of Ferozshah, whenever a scattered party of Sikh soldiers came accross a *dúlí** going to the rear, they would shout their war cry, "*Wah Gúrú Jí!*" with as much savage eagerness as if the poor bleeding inmate was still in arms against them; and, dragging him out with curses, hack and hew him with their keen *tulwars*, long after consciousness and life had left their victim. At Sobraon, too, when that famous charge was made by Gilbert's division upon the centre batteries, and more than once the British line was driven back, the Khalsa and the Aklí, drunk with fanaticism and *bhang*,† rushed out from behind their entrenchments into the plain, and mutilated the fallen within sight of their rallying comrades. Such barbarous acts of warfare make the blood boil to see, and run cold to read of, and stain the page on which we should otherwise record the gallantry of the Sikh soldiers. But, amidst all this, there were to be met among them occa-

* Dúlí, a litter carried by four men. Several are attached to every regiment for the use of the sick and wounded. As we hope for many European readers, we think it prudent to give this explanation; as it is not long since a member of the British legislature, recounting the incidents of one of our Indian fights, informed his countrymen, that "the ferocious *Dúlí* rushed from the hills and carried off the wounded soldier!"

† An intoxicating extract of hemp, used by the Sikhs in excess, to make up for their abstinence from tobacco. So true is Hudibras's saying, that all the world—

"Compound for sins they are inclined to,
By damning those they have no mind to."

sional acts of chivalric liberality which ought to be remembered. Such an one was the restoration of Capt. Biddulph. It has before been mentioned that this officer was captured and carried off by the advanced Sikh picket, at the village of Múdkí, on the morning of the 18th. He has since published a short but graphic account of his captivity, from which we cannot do better than extract the following passage :—

"I was hurried out of the place, put on a horse behind a Sikh trooper, and with a stronger escort, galloped off some nine or ten miles. Judge my horror when I saw before me the whole Sikh camp and army! I was taken up and down their position amidst excited crowds, who abused and poked me right and left; my gallant horsemen, however, protected my life, but I saw with alarm, a huge beam on two posts bearing a most unpleasant resemblance to a gallows; multitudes were around it, and I prepared for death, praying that I might not be tortured, and die calmly. We passed this, however, and at last reached Rajah Lal Singh's tents; Akalis, going in and out, shook their swords at me, and crowds thronged me; Lal Singh came out, and I addressed him, but he would not hear me, ordering me to be put in irons and made over to the Commandant of Artillery; thither I was taken; the General spoke angrily and sent me away to his men; I was then chained under a gun, and a guard placed over me. Thus I lay for three days and nights; bitter cold it was; chuppattis my food, water my drink; and many anxious thoughts prolonged my days into weeks, my nights into months. Daily I was thronged, abused and threatened; hundreds of questions were put to me, and tempting offers of service made, all of which I steadily refused. *The artillerymen became my fast friends, defended my life, and, as far as possible, drove back the crowds, and tried to shame those who threatened me.* Even in such a precarious situation, life has its pleasures and enjoyment; the calm of night, cessation from teasing multitudes, a chat with the artillerymen, smoking through my *hands* from a *chillum* without any pipe; the thousands of reports, strange sights and scenes, the pity of some, the wonder of *all!*—was not this happiness? Indeed, I began almost to be happy; at any rate, I could laugh. But the scene was now to change.

The battle of Múdkí roused my hopes; I sat on a board behind a gun, and the artillerymen with lighted matches stood around: it seemed the fight drew near and more near; fancy almost rang the clangour of a charge in my anxious senses; and then the thought whether victory to us would not, be death to me, came to calm my too buoyant hopes. I remembered Loveday, he was my ship companion! At 11 at night the guns ceased, the file firing died away, and I heard the bustle of the Sikh troops retiring into camp; who shall describe then the prisoner's feelings? I cannot.

Morning at last came, and I soon perceived that the boastful pride of our enemy had greatly abated, their tone was altered, and my condition seemed better. Another day, another night succeeded; the third I was suddenly summoned to the Chief, Bebauis Ally Khan, and on my way to him a smith appeared and my irons were taken off! On entering the Chief's tent, he spoke kindly, gave me water to wash, and said he would get me released. Some conversation ensued, and an Afghan Sirdar, who had visited me the day before, evidently interested himself in my behalf: we started for Lal Singh's quarters, but on the way there I was sent back to my gun; some anxious hours passed, and when the unruly multitude heard I was likely to be released, a row commenced; *my friends of the Artillery stood to their guns and declared they would fire if I were touched;* by degrees matters smoothed

down, and the crowd dispersed; suddenly I was told I might go! I desired the messenger to make my grateful acknowledgments to the Chiefs and took leave of my Bhais, the Artillerymen, but I said, "I shall be cut down directly I leave your lines;" *two of them offered to accompany me*, and though their authority was not much to protect me, the risk must be run; off we set, and the sun never seemed to me to shine so cheerfully before. *Then a brother of the Artillery Chief's ran after us, and said he would get me through their outposts;* he sent the two artillerymen back, and on we went; many were the stoppages and much demur at the last outpost, five miles from their camp, but my friend satisfied them all. Merrily we trudged the ten miles to Múdkí and the reception I met from all was grateful, indeed, and never to be forgotten. My companion received from the Governor General 1,000 Rs., and offers of service if he choose to stay with us; he returned, however, after the battle to his own people or home. The 21st and 22nd saw the Sikhs routed after a desperate resistance, but the G. G. would not allow me to mingle in the fray, as he said I owed *that* at least to the enemy who released me, although I refused to give any pledge not to fight."

Several European soldiers who had been taken prisoners at Múdkí were similarly restored; and had a rupee each given to them when delivered up at the pickets.

On the morning of the 21st December the army of the Sutlej marched in pursuit of the Sikh invaders, leaving the sick, wounded, baggage, camp-followers, and captured guns at the fort of Múdkí under guard of two regiments of Native infantry.

"A communication," says the Governor-General, "had been made during the preceding night with Sir John Littler, informing him of the intended line of march, and desiring him to move out with such a part of his force as would not compromise the safety of his troops and the post.

At half past one o'clock the Umballa force, having marched across the country, disencumbered of every description of baggage, except the reserve ammunition, formed its junction with Sir John Littler's force, who had moved out of Ferozepore with 5,000 men, two regiments of cavalry, and 21 field guns."

Thus was one of the two objects of the army of the Sutlej gained. Ferozepore, reprieved only by the battle of Múdkí, was now relieved. The other, and the great object, the expulsion of the Sikh invader from Hindustan, remained to be accomplished.

It is necessary to explain here that the Sikh army was at this time divided into two unequal forces; the smaller one threatening Ferozepore, and the main body encamped within a very formidable entrenchment at the village of Ferozshah,*

* We might well protest against calling it *Ferozshah*. The proper native name is Ferozeshuhur or Ferozeshahar, with short *u* or short *a*, according to the system of Romanizing which may happen to be adopted. It is often spelt Pheroshuhr by bad clerks; but scarcely ever, even by the *worst*, *Ferozshah*. Still, since in the first despatch of the Governor-General

nine miles from Múdkí. Sir Henry Hardinge in his letter to the Secret Committee says, "the Sikh forces varied from 48,000 to 60 000 men, with 108 pieces of cannon of heavy calibre in fixed batteries."—*Papers, p. 27.*

After comparison of several accounts, we do not think the whole invading force of the Sikhs much exceeded 60,000 men, or that they brought across the Sutlej more than 190 guns. Seventeen of these guns were already in our possession; when Sirdar Tej Singh renewed the combat on the 22nd, he is allowed by all to have brought up not only a strong force of infantry and cavalry but of *artillery* also; 72 guns were captured by the British during the battle, and if the enemy, in their disorderly retreat, or during the night, carried off 20 guns, it is as much as they could have done. We do not believe they got away 10. It is probable, therefore, that the estimate of the enemy's force in Ferozshah by both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief has been too high; that there were not more than about 35,000 Sikhs in occupation of the entrenched camp (of whom nearly 18,000 were Irregular Cavalry, 3 000 Regular Cavalry and 1,000 gunners), with between 80 and 90 guns and 250 camel swivels; while 20,000 Sikh Infantry, 5,000 Cavalry, and about 1,000 gunners lay before Ferozepore, with from 70 to 80 guns and 50 camel swivels.

This being premised, it will occur at once to the reader, whether he be military or not, that however desirable it might be to the British to take their enemies in detail, yet, as a junction with Sir John Littler was indispensable, it was extremely problematical whether that measure could be effected without alarming the enemy's force before Ferozepore, and forcing them either to engage Sir John upon the march; to make a *counter-junction* with their own main body: or, which was most

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as well as in other official documents, the orthography of *Ferozshah* was adopted: since, in consequence, this orthography had obtained the widest currency; and since it can only be regarded as a popular and somewhat abbreviated form of the native term, more suited to the English ear, we have, for the sake of uniformity, adopted it throughout. Were a rigid philological test to be applied, it would soon appear that the ordinary orthography of most of our Indian proper names would but ill abide the scrutiny. Here, in passing, we may as well remark once for all, that with the view of conforming as nearly as possible with the approved standard of the Asiatic and other literary Societies, as well as learned Orientalists generally, we have used the accented *ú* for long *u*, as in the English word *rule*, which is equivalent to the sound double *oo* in *room*, *food*, &c.; and accented *í* for long *i*, as in the English word *police*, which is equivalent to double *ee* in *feel*, *reed*, &c. The unaccented *u* and *i* denote the short sounds of these letters respectively. Agreeably to the same simple system, the accented *á* would represent long *a* as in *father*, and unaccented *a*, short *a*, as in *America*. But, as the sounds of long and short *a* are less liable to be confounded than those of *u* and *i*, it has not been thought necessary always to note the difference, more specially in words that are common and familiar, and whose pronunciation, therefore, cannot well be mistaken. Thus, in the word *Rani*, queen, both the *a* and *i* are long; consequently, rigid accuracy would require it to be written *Rání* But, without the accent at all, no one would now think of pronouncing the *a*, in this word, otherwise than broad and long. It has therefore, been deemed superfluous to add it. The letters *o* and *e* are always long, and of course do not need the distinguishing of the long sound.

probable of all, to drive in the small force Sir John might leave behind him, and plunder the cantonment and the city. The Ferozepore besiegers, however, seem not to have had a very active intelligence department, and they remained quietly watching one side, while the garrison marched out at the other. In the course of the morning they did receive information of General Littler's move, and sent in spies post haste to ascertain its truth. Sir John had, with great foresight, left his camp pitched, bazaar flags flying, and cavalry pickets standing; and when the spies saw every "outward and visible sign" of a watchful garrison as usual, they turned their horses and galloped back, convinced that they had been unnecessarily alarmed.

Sir John Littler, therefore, not only effected a junction with his Chief, but he effected it in the best possible manner; enabling Sir Hugh Gough to interpose his army between the enemy's main body and reserve, and thrash the former before the latter could come up. But we are anticipating.

The Ferozepore force had no sooner joined the army of the Sutlej, than, to borrow from the Commander-in-Chief's narrative, "dispositions were made for an united attack on the enemy's entrenched camp. We found it to be a parallelogram of about a mile in length and half a mile in breadth, including within its area the strong village of Ferozshah; the shorter sides looking towards the Sutlej and Múdkí, and the longer towards Ferozepore and the open country. We moved against the last named face, the ground in front of which was like the Sikh position in Múdkí, covered with low jungle."

The British divisions now deployed into line as follows:—The new arrivals under Sir John Littler took up their place on the left, and next to it the division of the late Major-General Sir John McCaskill,—who was killed while leading it on at Múdkí,—now commanded by Brigadier Wallace. On Wallace's right came the "whole force of artillery, with the exception of three troops of H. A., one on either flank, and one in support, to be moved as occasion required."—(C. C.'s despatch). On the right was General Gilbert's division. The division of Major-General Sir Harry Smith and the cavalry formed the reserve, throwing forward a brigade in support of either wing of the advance. In this array did the British under their two veteran leaders, advance to the attack of Ferozshah; Sir Henry Hardinge commanding the left wing, and Sir Hugh Gough the right. From their relative positions in line, the allotment of work which fell to each division was as follows:—To Sir John Littler nearly the whole length of the West face; to Brigadier

Wallace, a corner of both the west and south face; and to General Gilbert the rest of the south, and as much of the east face as he could manage. Sir John Littler's division being nearest to their work, got first into action, about half-past four P. M. To their lot it had fallen to attack the very strongest part of the enemy's position; for the west and south faces overlooked the Ferozepore and Múdkí road, the direct line of march of the British Army; and on these, but chiefly on the west, had the Sikhs gathered the iron strength of their heavy guns. Never were troops in better spirits than the Ferozepore Division when they advanced to this perlious attack; and their General, in detailing its unhappy failure records, that, "under a most galling and destructive fire," when "the casualties in the ranks were awful, the troops still moved on with great firmness, and approached the enemy's battery to within about 150 yards." Then, says Sir John, "I considered the prize to be within their grasp." The order (so welcome always to the soldier after that most trying of manœuvres, a *silent* advance in the teeth of a shot hailing battery) was given to *charge*, and obeyed "with such determined gallantry and spirit, that the result seemed certain." But what "seemed certain" to the General, seemed "useless" to the Brigadier; who took upon himself a responsibility from which he has since unaccountably escaped, that of ordering where he did not command; of acting in direct opposition to his superior officer; and of withdrawing a noble regiment from a contest in which they *must* have gained honour, in a manner which has gained them nothing but sympathy and compassion. Well might Sir John Littler—who stood pointing to the enemy's batteries and waving on his Europeans *to seize* "the prize" which was before them—when, with bitter disappointment, he beheld those Europeans checked, halted, wheeled about, without so far as he then knew, any order for so doing,—well might he believe that "*a panic*" had paralysed H. M.'s 62nd. The despatch in which he recorded that belief has drawn down upon Sir John Littler so much unmerited odium, that it would be unjust in any writer *pretending* even to be acquainted with the merits of the case, to pass over them in silence. The duty of defending him is the more incumbent, seeing that with a strict and soldierly sense of military propriety rarely met with, he has left his character in the hands of his superiors, and refrained from publishing to an ungenerous world the complete justification with which the highest military authority in India has supplied him. We are sorry to say that we have met with officers who boldly propounded the doctrine, that, *even if*

*the 62nd Regiment was really struck with a panic, Sir John Littler had no business to say so.* On asking, *why!* we are told that it *had a bad effect* to tell the public and foreign nations, that any portion of the English army had behaved, or could, by any possible combination of the horrors of war, be *induced* to behave otherwise than with supernatural courage. Granting for a moment *pro argumento*, such to be the case, and that, to be a great patriot, it is necessary at times to be a great liar, we deny that it has any reference to the point at issue. For Sir John Littler, so far from desiring to tell the public and foreign nations that the 62nd were panic-stricken at Ferozshah, intended the despatch, as all other subordinate Generals intend their despatches, for the *private* information of the Commander-in-Chief; who, not being endowed with ubiquity, or the power of being in two or more places at once, is thus alone enabled to compile a true account of the battle, and describe to his Government events which it is impossible he could have witnessed. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief has himself informed the 62nd, and through them the public,—who seem nevertheless to have forgotten it—that the despatch was never intended to be published, but got mixed up by mistake with the papers for the Press, as is sufficiently proved by the non-publication, at the same time, of Sir Harry Smith's and General Gilbert's despatches. The question therefore is not, whether General Littler was right in telling *the public* that the 62nd were struck with a panic, but whether he was right in telling the *Commander-in-Chief*. And this, we think, cannot admit of a doubt. A subaltern "officer of the day" would probably be brought to a court-martial, if, in his morning "report," he concealed from his Commanding Officer, that all the non-commissioned officers of the regiment had been drunk the day he was on duty.* And what is a subordinate General Officer in the field, but a Subaltern Officer with a finer name? And what is his despatch after a battle, but a "report" of what occurred when he was "*on duty?*" Its *intention* is, that it should be a *plain statement of facts*; and the General, who, to gratify his own vanity or serve his own selfish ends, either exaggerates the achievements, or conceals the misconduct of the troops under his command, is guilty of a gross departure, not only from military duty, but from *truth*, "the peerless beauty" whose smiles should guide every knight along the path of modern chivalry. Respect, and that gratitude which every Englishman owes to "the hero

* It is not *very* long ago since a certain Lieutenant-Colonel was brought to a court-martial and *smashed*, for, among other grave offences, concealing a mutiny that had taken place in his regiment on the march.

of Waterloo," protect the speech made upon this subject by the lawgiver of the House of Lords. It rests in the grave of public forbearance, and is shrouded from criticism by the veil of patriotic regret. One remark, however, we may trust ourselves to make, *viz.*, that the Duke of Wellington is the last man living who should condemn a General "for applying the word *panic* to his troops:" seeing that in his own early days of Generalship, he wrote the following passage to the Military Secretary of Government, and in his later days revised it for publication: "If we had had daylight an hour more, not a man would have escaped. We should have had that time, if *my Native Infantry had not been panic-struck*, and got into confusion when the cannonade commenced."*

But perhaps there is no objection to the application of the word *panic* to *Native Infantry!* And here we shall close these few words in defence of a soldier, whose character for integrity and honour stands so high among his contemporaries, that the unmerited and even insulting condemnation of "the highest living military authority" has evaporated like breath upon a polished mirror.

Sir John Littler got so much sooner into action than the rest of the line, that, after his repulse, a part of the 14th Regiment, Native Infantry, which was one of his regiments, was in time to join the advance of the Queen's 9th Foot, and the 26th Light Infantry under Brigadier Wallace. These gallant regiments, which had before been brigaded together in the last Affghan campaign, have become associated together in India military annals, by their mutual friendship in cantonments, and their generous rivalry on the field. We have already said that to their lot fell a corner of each of the two faces of the entrenchment, on which the strongest force of Sikh artillery was posted. They now advanced to carry it; and did so at the point of the bayonet, in the face of a fire whose severity is best proved by its effects. The 26th Light Infantry had 73 men killed and wounded; and the 9th Foot 273—being 13 more than were lost by the 62nd; thus proving that the heaviness of the fire to which the latter were exposed, was not more than the men would have endured had they been left alone. Brigadier Wallace, and Lieut.-Colonel Abraham Taylor, two tried and excellent officers, fell in this successful storm.

On the right of Wallace's brigade advanced the division of Major-General Gilbert to attack the south and south-east

* Despatches, Battle of Argaum.

faces of the entrenchment. This division was the strongest in the field, and it fell to its glorious lot to storm *two* of the Sikh batteries. They were both carried—one by H. M.'s 29th Foot, and the other by the Honourable Company's 1st European Light Infantry,—the former corps losing 188, and the latter 204 men in the assault and next day's fight. It was on the south face, and between the entrenchment and the village of Ferozshah that the chief portion of the Sikh camp was pitched. The batteries, therefore, were no sooner carried, than Gilbert's division found their work, as it were, beginning. A dense mass of infantry and tents were in rear of the captured artillery, and from among them a galling fire of musketry opened in the faces of the captors. To complete the horrors of the struggle at this moment, one of the enemy's magazines exploded under the feet of the 1st Europeans, blowing up many men and officers, and rending the regiment into two. Thrown into confusion, however, this noble division still followed up the enemy,—each man, being content if he could not find his own corps, to join another ; nor ever stopping till they had trampled down the tents, and driven the savage Khalsa from their camp into the village at the bayonet's point.

The reserve under Sir Harry Smith was now brought up to put the last finishing stroke to victory, yet trembling in the balance : and H. M 's 3rd Dragoons were launched upon a battery which still kept up its deadly shower. This corps had already so handled the Sikhs at Múdkí, that on the other side of the Sutlej they still retain the distinctive title of *Múdkíwallahs*" and they now performed a feat which, rightly considered, was the most remarkable of the war. They charged, and carried the battery they were opposed to,—the leaders filling up the yawning trench with their own numbers, and those who followed crossing on a living bridge of their comrades. One officer, Captain Codd, jammed his horse in the darkness and impetuosity of the charge, between a gun and the wheel, and unable to extricate either himself or his charger, was cut down in his saddle by the desperate gunners. But this was not all. Having put the artillery men to death and silenced the battery, this gallant band faced the whole Khalsa army within the entrenchment, swept through their camp with loud huzzas over tents, ropes, pegs, guns, fires, and magazines, cutting down all that opposed their passage ; and, having traversed the enemy's position from side to side, emerged among their friends with numbers thinned indeed, but "covered with imperishable glory."*

* "Friend of India."

A young officer, whose horse was killed under him in this charge, made a dash at the tail of a troop horse, wound it round his wrist, and was dragged in safety, though somewhat bruised and buffeted, out of the mélée.

Night had now settled darkly down upon the field of battle; and what a scene did the fitful gleams of a burning camp reveal! Driven from the batteries and entrenchments they had so hardly won, by the harassing musketry of an unseen foe, and the momentary explosion of mines and magazines which threw their ranks into confusion, General Gilbert's division had sulkily withdrawn and bivouacked within three (300) hundred yards directly south of the Sikh entrenchment. They were joined by H. M.'s 9th Foot and the inseparable 26th Light Infantry and stragglers from every quarter of the field: but the other two divisions of the British Army were nowhere to be found. Sir John Littler, repulsed, had fallen back on a small village directly west of the Sikh entrenchments; and Sir Harry Smith, who had penetrated into and beyond the village of Ferozshah, had taken up a position in the very heart of the great "parallelogram," and remained there, till between two and three in the morning with his whole division under arms, ready to resist attack. The enemy, who had been practising on him all night, at last got *the bearings* so accurately, that Sir Harry, to save his men, was compelled to withdraw from the entrenchment, and, attracted by a large fire which he conceived to be the bivouac of the army, retired upon the small village of Misriwala, about two miles S.-E of Ferozshah. It thus happened that General Gilbert's division, swelled as we have before noticed by stragglers from broken regiments, was the only one left upon the field of battle. Fortunately the two leaders, the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, were both with it; and by their indefatigable personal exertions, aided by General Gilbert, this handful of British and Native soldiers, was reduced from confusion into order, and lay down to snatch an hour or two of fitful rest, in the face of an enemy who as far out-numbered them, as the Persian host out-numbered the 300 at Thermopylæ. The Governor-General, in a private letter to a distinguished friend, has called this night "the most extraordinary of his life."* Had he been writing a public document he would probably have added that it was the most extraordinary in the history of India. The whole force of the North-West Frontier that was available to repel invasion, had met and grappled with the

* See Sir Robert Peel's speech.

invader. Prodigies of valour and devotion had not sufficed to purchase for the British a decisive victory. In some respects it might even seem as if the Sikhs had the advantage; yet the existence of the Anglo-Indian Empire depended upon their being not only beaten, but utterly overthrown and routed. The battle was to be renewed in the morning; *and one exhausted division was left to accomplish what had baffled the whole army of the Sutlej.* Surely, never was an empire in greater jeopardy; and never did a result prove more clearly that "it is God who giveth the victory."

"In this state of things the long night wore away. Near the middle of it one of their heavy guns was advanced, and played with deadly effect upon our troops,"—(C. C.'s despatch). Sir Henry Hardinge called upon the two regiments nearest him, to "*see if they could not stop that gun!*" The 80th Foot, and 1st European Light Infantry, sprung with alacrity from the ground; advanced once more into the entrenchments; charged; spiked the monster; and returned again to their cold bivouac upon the frosty field. Still, however, if a gleam of moonlight betrayed the little band, the grape and round shot of the Sikh artillery came thundering among them; and not the least wonder of that night was, that a few thousand men should maintain their ground within three hundred yards of a great army, and not be annihilated. Subsequent information has revealed to us, that within the dreaded Sikh entrenchment, there were that night stormy counsels, bitter words, dissension, mutiny, plunder, and desertion. The gaudy tents, and well filled treasure bags of Rajah Lal Singh himself were sacked by his own mad Akalís. And when *at last*,—how *very* long such hours seem!—the dark winter night drew to a close, and the first red streak of day bade the remnant of the British Army arise and regain what had been torn from their grasp the evening before, they no longer found an enemy secure in superior numbers, but one weakened by defection, and just waking from the national dream of *invincibility* which Runjít Singh's successful ambition, French discipline,—with one of its essential constituent elements, blustering braggadocio,—and, above all, the real superiority of the sinewy Sikh over the effiminate tribes of India in warlike courage and corporeal strength,—had unitedly instilled into the Khalsa army. "Our line advanced, and unchecked by the enemy's fire, drove them rapidly out of the village of *Ferozshah.* Then, changing front to its left, on its centre, our force continued to sweep the camp, bearing down all opposition, and dislodged the enemy from their whole position."—(C. C.'s despatch.)

The fact is, that the "opposition," thus "borne down," was little more than the passive resistance of the wreck of a great army;—guns overthrown, tents and baggage-waggons strewed confusedly about, gun bullocks and camels straying loose or rushing mad with wounds over the field, with here and there a magazine exploding, or a mortally hit Sikh raising himself to strike a last below at the passing "*Gora*,"* then falling back and mingling with the death-rattle in his throat a curse upon the humblers of his tribe. Previous to, and during the advance of the British line, the Sikh artillery kept up a heavy fire; but the retreat had already commenced among the cavalry and infantry, and when the line entered the entrenchments, they certainly "drove the enemy rapidly out of the village," for the Sikhs were in full run before them! Triumphantly, therefore, did the 2nd Division "continue to sweep the camp," marching round two sides of the parallelogram, with the village on their left, and emerging on the N.-E. of the plain which lay before them covered with flying bodies of the enemy they had "dislodged." "The line then halted, as if on a day of manœuvre, receiving its two leaders as they rode along its front with a gratifying cheer, and displaying the captured standards of the Khalsa Army." Every man then thought his work was over; and assuredly every man had "done his duty." But Ferozshah was not yet won. The greatest danger, and the most miraculous escape, the enemy most to be feared, and the victory most easily won, had yet to add their wonders to the records of the Indian *Waterloo*.† We left Sirdar Tej Singh, the Commander-in-Chief of the invading army, unconsciously encamped before Ferozepore, while Sir John Littler was marching out. In the course of the day he discovered that he had been outwitted; and but for the cannonade at Ferozshah might have marched that evening upon Ferozepore. We firmly believe that the small garrison there left shut up in the entrenchment, would have held their own against all Tej Singh's force until assistance could arrive; for, though the Sikh soldiers are very brave *behind* walls, storming them from the outside is not so much to their fancy. Runjít Singh's whole army would have been repulsed from Múltan, had not Phula Singh, a mad Akalí, borrowed from Bacilius the courage to lead a storming party against the breach. Still, the Ferozepore garrison must be owned to have been in great jeopardy at this moment; and when we reflect that many English ladies were among the

* *European;* literally *fair.*

† Nothing daunted, we venture to make that comparison at the very moment when we are going to *bring up the Prussians on the other side.*

number of the beleaguered, we are tempted, even at the risk of being thought ungallant, to quote a quaint passage from Rabelais, for the guidance of our rulers. It relates to the impious attack of the Titans on Olympus:—

"Adonques tint Jupiter chapitre general. Lá fut conclu de "tous les Dieux, qu'ils se mettroient vertueusement en defense. "Et pource qu'ils avoient plusieurs fois veu les bàtailles perdues "*par l'empeschement des femmes, qui estoyent parmi les armées*, fut "decreté que pour l'heure on chasseroit des Cieux en Egypte, et "vers les confins du Nil, toute cette vessaille de Déesses, desgui-"sées, en Beletes, Fouines, Ratepenades, Museraignes, et autres "metamorphoses. *Seule Minerve* fut deretenue pour foudroyer "avec Jupiter; comme Déesse des lettres et de guerre, de con-"seil et execution."—(Pantagruel Livre III., Chap. XII).

The furious cannonade at Ferozshah effectually diverted Tej Singh from any other enterprise than that of assisting his friends; and early on the morning of the 22nd December he broke up his camp, and marched with all his force upon Ferozshah. We have before estimated that force at 20,000 Infantry, 5,000 Cavalry, and about 1,000 gunners; with from 70 to 80 field pieces, and 50 camel swivels; and we leave our readers to judge, whether, when this fresh army appeared before our utterly exhausted, though victorious troops, who were in possession of the deserted entrenchment at Ferozshah, the danger was not infinitely greater, and the enemy unmeasurably more terrible, than any that the army of the Sutlej had yet encountered. Sir John Littler and Sir Harry Smith did fortunately rejoin the Commander-in-Chief about this crisis; but, at the beginning of the destructive battle on the previous day, the whole British force amounted only to "16,700 men and 69 guns;" and now that number was by death and wounds fearfully reduced, while the remainder had no time to recover from the debilitating effects of fatigue and want after the performance of acts of the most daring heroism; and, to aggravate the cheerlessness of the prospect, the guns had exhausted their ammunition! On came the Sirdar;—a dense cloud of dust, which slowly rose above the horizon, at once heralding and covering his host. Miles yet separated the two main bodies from each other when their advanced guards—those *antennæ* of armies—came in contact. The weak British pickets were driven in; and the advantage was rapidly followed up by an attempt "to regain the position of Ferozshah;" again, as rapidly abandoned, at sight of the compact and determined line of the British Infantry. The Sikh advanced guard contented themselves with their *reconnoissance*, and fell back upon Tej

Singh's main body. The Sirdar then apparently halted and formed in order of battle, and, throwing forward his artillery, opened a heavy fire upon the left flank of the British. Where was the answering thunder of the British artillery at that moment? Why do not those guns, whose blackened mouths and blood-stained wheels bear witness that they are not made to play with on parade;—why, as they are wont, do they not gallop to the front and throw back the iron hail into the enemy's teeth? Sir Hugh Gough has recorded the answer: that "our artillery ammunition being completely expended in these protracted combats, we were unable to answer him with a single shot." We believe the complement of ammunition for a horse artillery gun on service is 300 rounds; and we think it was Napoleon who said, that 300 rounds would take a gun through *three pitched battles*. Either then the fights of Múdkí and Ferozshah were warmer work than Leipsic and Marengo, or our horse artillery was *short of ammunition*. In all humility we leave the solution of the problem to those whom it concerns. It is sufficient for us here to be grateful that the Sikh Commander, with a weak enemy in his front, and a strong army at his back, had neither the pluck nor the ability to attack; and after two clumsy demonstrations, first threatening the left flank, and next the village, withdrew like a false hawk whose *swoops* has missed their mark.

To what the army of the Sutlej are indebted for this *deliverance*;—whether to cowardice, or treachery, or ignorance on the enemy's part of the British numbers; or whether, after all, Tej Singh's whole object was a chivalrous wish to cover his friend's retreat—remains to be guessed and wondered at, but we fear not to be satisfactorily decided. H. E. the Commander-in-Chief has a pardonable leaning to the belief, that, "having directed his almost exhausted cavalry to threaten both flanks at once, preparing the infantry to advance in support," this "caused him suddenly to cease his fire and to abandon the field." (See despatch.) The author of the article in Colburn's Magazine for May 1846, holds another opinion, and one not uncommon among Indian Military circles. "It appears that owing to some misapprehension of orders, or hallucination in a Staff Officer, the whole of the British cavalry and artillery was ordered off to Ferozepore—a measure which might have caused the ruin of the army,—and intelligence of this movement having got among the Sikhs, they very naturally concluded its object was to interpose those troops between them and the river, and so cut off their retreat!" "Can the annals of war"—concludes this author, assuming a very doubtful conjucture to be a *fact*—

"produce any thing more extraordinary, or could the most consummate generalship have been attended with such a result? *Vive*, say we the chapter of accident in warfare!"

Thus, a little after 4 P. M. on the 22nd December, ended the battle of Ferozshah; a battle which will ever be memorable in history as the nearest approach which the army of any Native Power has yet made to a victory over the English in India, in a fair stand-up fight. It was certainly high time that an army, which could so *very nearly* give us a thrashing, should cool its courage for ever in the waves of the Sutlej.

The British loss in this battle was 694 killed, and 1,721 wounded—total 2.415. But, in the emphatic words of Sir Hugh Gough, "How could a hope be formed that it should be otherwise?" Within thirty hours this force stormed an entrenched camp, fought a general action, and sustained two considerable combats with the enemy. Within four days it has dislodged from their positions, on the left bank of the Sutlej, 60,000 Sikh soldiers, supported by upwards of 150 pieces of cannon, 108 of which the enemy acknowledge to have lost; and 91 of which are in our position.

Foremost among the dead, as he was ever foremost among the living, let us weep over GEORGE BROADFOOT, with whose life there left this earth one of the noblest spirits that ever lit upon it. Alas that even the memory of such a man should not be sacred from slander, calumny and *lies*,—lies as black as his name was *fair!* The metempsychosis which Pythagoras taught—or the kindred belief of the millions among whom we live, that men's new births take shape from their old deeds, and find in the wide range of brute creation bodies best suited to their souls—seems only a fitting satire upon human nature, when, walking among us bipeds, "heaven-regarders,"*—as an ancient Grecian might say—we meet with men already anticipating their posthumous degradation, and fulfiling the loathsome offices of the vulture, the jackal, and the worm. These men seem *not to belong* to men: they share not our sympathies with what is good and noble, nor our appetite for what is pure; but brooding ordinarily apart among the stony places and caverns of the world, they come forth only—

> When decay's effacing fingers
> Have swept the lines where beauty lingers—

and corruption sends them a message, on "the wings of the wind," to come, and tear and mangle, and revel over *the dead!*

* *ανθρωποι*—a sursum aspiciendo, *ανω*, *τρεπω*, et *ωψ*—as learned Lexicographers delight to tell us.

A more honourable man than George Broadfoot never lived. He was a stranger among us, for he came from Madras; and of his early career little had reached us, but that he had held with credit staff appointments in almost every department of the army. He was last employed by the Madras Government in the Commissariat at Moulmein; and it was an able report upon the Commissariat of that Province, which first attracted the notice of the Supreme Government, and, when officers were wanted for the Kabul war, made them select him to raise a corps of Sappers and Miners for service in Affghanistan. It would lead us too far to trace him through those perilous passes which it was ever the lot of "Broadfoot's Sappers" to crown, or follow him through the toils, privations and distracted councils of beleaguered Jullalabad, which, though a weak and well-nigh untenable position, he helped so successfully to defend, not more by the entrenchments which he threw around it, than by the brilliant sallies which he made from behind its walls. Suffice it to say that, when he returned to India among an "illustrious garrison," no name was *more illustrious* than that of George Broadfoot. It was said of him in Affghanistan, that the offended *manes* of two brothers, killed in battle, hovered round his sword; adding the strength of grief to an arm naturally bold. Certainly in him were united the talents of the one, the various knowledge and sound judgment of the other; and Broadfoot's "occupation" was not "gone" when he received the medal of "*Pax Asiæ restituta.*" Whatever may have been Lord Ellenborough's deficiencies, he was undoubtedly possessed of that keen insight into character, which is, to statesmen and governors, a *diviner's wand.* A civil reformer was wanted in Moulmein; Broadfoot was selected; and scarcely were the abuses of a corrupt administration in those provinces cleared away, than he was chosen to succeed Colonel Richmond in the important charge of the N.-W. frontier. A higher compliment could not have been paid by the Government than in thus calling him from one extremity of the empire to another. The nature of our relations with the Punjab at this crisis has been fully entered into at the commencement of this article; and the "Papers laid before Parliament" supply us with abundant evidence, and, indeed, the most repeated and solemn assurances, that the course which Sir Henry Hardinge wished to steer through that stormy sea was the one which promised most effectually to maintain *peace.* The danger is throughout admitted to be great; fears even are anxiously confessed that war cannot be avoided, but *peace* is declared to be the Governor-General's *policy;* and for its preservation the Governor-

General is ready to incur the reproach of infatuation and neglect, to sacrifice every thing, except the national *honor*. When therefore, this same Governor-General, who has staked all on peace, finds himself plunged in *war*,—and that war threatening to embarrass his whole administration, if not, endanger the very stability of the empire,—it would have been only too consistent with weak human nature, and especially hard, ungrateful, *statesman-nature*, if he had at once thrown the whole blame of the frustration of his policy on the incapacity or treachery of the agent who should have carried it out. That that agent was *dead*, would only have made the plan more feasible, and surprised us less; for it is astonishing how uncomplainingly the dead bear the burdens of the living! Sir Henry Hardinge, however, was too true a soldier to ask any man to fight his battles; and he pronounced over Broadfoot's tomb—or rather over his *grave*, for those were not the days of *tombs*—that remarkable eulogy, *that "he was second to none in this accomplished service."* No man can read that passage of Sir Henry Hardinge's despatch, wherein he laments the untimely death of his agent, and expresses his determination "at a season of more leisure to confer some special mark of honor, by which his great merits and glorious death may be perpetuated,"* without a full conviction that it came from the *heaet*, and was written of one who had *done his duty ably and conscientiously to the Government*. Let those, therefore, who are not behind the scenes, and have no means of judging what Broadfoot either *did* or did *not*;—who have no access to public documents, and who could possibly know nothing of the opinions of a man who had *no confidant* in state affairs;—reflect for a moment on what is implied in the charge of "forcing on the war,"† and pause e'er they vilify the memory which the Governor-General of India and the Prime Minister of England have delighted to honour.‡

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* See papers, p. 28.

† To every benevolent and right thinking mind, a similar charge of *forcing* on *the war* in Sindh will appear by far the heaviest which Colonel Outram has advanced against Sir Charles Napier; and for the honor of Indian diplomacy we wish we could add that it is the one he has been least successful in proving.

‡ From Major Broadfoot's eminent position, as the executive Agent, in carrying out the Governor-General's line of policy, we have deemed it proper to offer this tribute in vindication of his memory. But it is no part of our present plan to dwell on the individual merits and achievements of any of the heroes who fought and fell so nobly in the mighty conflicts on the Sutlej. Amongst these, the names of Sir Robert Sale, Sir John McCaskill, and Sir Robert Dick alone might furnish subjects for so many separate memoirs From the long catalogue of other officers who bravely died in their country's service, the writer of the article in the *May* Number of the *North British Review* already referred to and quoted, selects a few for special notice. "There," (at Ferozshah), says he, "fell Captain Peter Nicolson, an officer of high courage and great ability, who had earned for himself a reputation as a soldier and a diplomatist, by his services in both capacities, at the opening of the Affghan War—who had been selected to fill the delicate and responsible office of custodian to Dost Mahommed, and who, on the restoration of that potentate to his own dominions, had been appointed to assist Major Broadfoot in the political duties of the North-Western frontier. There, too, at the head of a troop of horse artillery, fell Major D'Arcy Todd- an officer of rare merit, who

Of all who fell at Ferozshah, only two are mentioned by name in the hurried despatch of the Commander-in-Chief: and of those two, one was a foreigner who did not belong to the army: "Dr. Hoffmeister, the medical attendant on Count Ravensburg" Posterity will be somewhat puzzled to make out this latter name; to guess who was that "illustrious nobleman, who with the officers of his suit, Counts Greuben and Oriola, did us the honour to accompany the force during our operations;" who "were present at Múdkí and in this great battle;" and of whom so brave a soldier as Sir Hugh Gough recorded his "testimony to their gallant conduct on these occasions, worthy of the high reputation in arms of their countrymen, and of the great ancestor of one of them." Who was Count Ravensburg? Who are his countrymen?—are questions which the future readers of the despatches will perhaps ask in vain. And so seldom is it that "an illustrious nobleman" can bring himself to exchange the luxuries of a court for the vicissitudes of travel, and search through foreign lands for something wise or good wherewith to enrich his own, that we are sorry etiquette should have prevented Sir Hugh Gough from disturbing the *incognito* of *Prince Waldemar of Prussia.* These distinguished strangers, after travelling through Hindustan and penetrating to the snows of the Himalaya, joined the army of the Sutlej, shared with the gallant men who composed it, all the fatigues and privations of the campaign, all the danger and glory of Múdkí, Ferozshah, and Sobraon. And we hope that in the rough soldiers' welcome of the camp, the stirring scenes he took so brave a part in on the banks of the Sutlej, and the never-to-be-forgotten spectacle of a prostrate Empire which he witnessed at Lahore. His Royal Highness was repaid for his enterprise, and laid up as many pleasing recollections as his soldierly bearing and unaffected manners left behind him in the minds of his sometime *camarades.*

Two anecdotes of the battle of Ferozshah are worthy of record, as they serve to illustrate two of the strongest passions of the Sikh soldiers: *cupidity* and *bigotry.* Lieut. Sievewright of H. M.'s 9th Foot had his leg broken by a ball, and fell help-

having spent the earlier years of his life attached to the Persian Army, and in intercourse with the British Mission at Teheran, was selected, on the first formation of the army of the Indus, to accompany the Envoy and Minister as Secretary to Kabul; but was subsequently appointed to the difficult and responsible office of Political Agent at Herat, where he was condemned to play one of the most harassing games of diplomacy, against the most crafty and most unscrupulous politician in Asia, Yar Mahomed, ever played by a British functionary—a game in which it was necessary that the more honorable player sh uld be worsted. Here, too, fell Major Somerest, who, on the hard-fought battle-field of Maharajpore, after distinguishing himself by many acts of personal heroism in hand-to-hand combat with the Mahratta swordsmen, narrowly escaped the soldier's death, which was reserved for him on another field and beside another Governor-General; and who here, at Ferozshah, 'with the hereditary courage of his race,' fought with the most signal gallantry, and fell covered with honorable wounds."

less on the field. A Sikh soldier rushed upon him from the entrenchments and was preparing to give him the *coup de grace;* when love of life suggested perhaps the only word in all the eastern tongues which at that moment would have had power to arrest the descending sword. "Bukhshish! Bukhshish!"* faintly cried the Lieutenant; and at once, as if he had uttered all the wisdom of Lokman with all the eloquence of Sádi, the Sikh comprehended his argument, and agreed to his proposition. In another minute the Khalsa sepoy might be seen carefully but rapidly making for Ferozepore *with the wounded British officer on his back;* nor did he cease to attend upon him in the hospital of that station till death put an end to his sufferings. During the night of the 21st December, when the British troops, with the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, were bivouacked outside the Sikh entrenchments, our thirsty soldiers, both native and European, stole into the burning camp of the enemy in search of water;—a desperate quest from which many never returned. Among others, two sepoys of the 14th N. I. fell into the enemy's hands, and were *tried for their lives* as follows:—

*Q.* Who are you?

*A.* Sepoys of the Company.

*Q.* What caste do you belong to?

*A.* *(One)* I am a *Puthan, (The other)* I am a *Brahman.*

The Puthan was immediately tied up, and deliberately cut into small pieces; the Brahman was stripped of his clothes, but released in safety.

The Governor-General (despatch "Papers," p. 27) concludes his account of the battle of Ferozshah, by telling us, that "the Silk army retreated on the fords of the Sutlej, disheartened by the capture of its artillery, and the severe loss it had sustained in killed and wounded; and has since crossed over to the other side of the river." The Commander-in-Chief adds: "Thus has apparently terminated this unprovoked and criminal invasion of the peaceful provinces under British protection." (Papers, p. 38.) It was only *apparently!* On the 1st of January the Governor-General reports that the enemy was "preparing a bridge of boats about 30 miles to the eastward of Ferozepore; and giving out that they would recross the river and try another battle." On the 19th January he further adds, that "the bridge has been constructed, and a tete-de-pont has been thrown up in front of it, with much military skill, in a position very favourable to defence,"—and, still more decisive, that "advan-

"* Reward! Reward!"

tage has been taken by the Durbar and the Sikh army, of the paucity of troops at Lúdiana, to effect a passage for a force of about 10,000 men of all arms to this side of the Sutlej, in the neighbourhood of that place." (Papers, p. 51.) Thus, within ten days of their disastrous defeat at Ferozshah, the Sikhs had recovered their spirit, and were preparing to renew hostilities,—to recross the Sutlej in the very face of the army that had worsted them. In less than a month they *had done so* in *two* places; fortifying themselves in one, and beleaguering a British cantonment in the other. This must bring home to the reader a just idea of the obstinate hatred and enduring bravery of the enemy which invaded British India in 1845-46.

The inquiry here naturally occurs—what was the army of the Sutlej doing all this time? While the Sikhs were so busy, why were the British idle? The answer is the best commentary on the Governor-General's policy. That policy was, from the first, decidedly peaceful; and though it provided for self-defence, it contemplated neither aggression nor offensive war. The force upon the frontier, proved at Múdkí and Ferozshah, that it was equal to the object for which alone it was intended, to resist attack; to *return* that attack, and transfer the evils of war from our own provinces into those of a treacherous neighbour, was a far greater undertaking, and required all the military means at the disposal of the Government. Sir Hugh Gough, therefore, was obliged to rest content with driving the Sikh army across the Sutlej, and waiting with patience till his own could be reinforced with troops from Meerut, artillery and ammunition from Delhi. The delay was not unnaturally misinterpreted by the enemy, who, mistaking for fear what was only the course dictated by prudence in making the requisite preparations, recrossed the river, and advanced unsuspectingly to meet his fate.

Early in January 1846, Sirdar Runjúr Singh Mujithia left the hills and crossed over into the British territory a few miles from Lúdiana. His force has never been accurately estimated, but we believe, consisted of about ten regiments of infantry (chiefly contingents furnished by Kohistaní, and other petty chiefs), 8,000 Irregular Cavalry and nearly 70 guns, the greater part of which were new and of exquisite fabric. The Governor-General is of opinion that "the object of the Sirdar was to pass Lúdiana, and intercept our seige train, ammunition and treasure, on their way from Delhi to Ferozepore." (Papers, p. 53.) The Commander-in-Chief (P. 57) coincides with him; and Sir Robert Peel, in his speech to the House of Commons, gave the same account of Sirdar Runjúr Singh's intention. One of the greatest boobies

in the Punjab ought to be deeply indebted to those high authorities for handing him down to posterity as an able General! Diligent inquiry has confirmed us in the belief that he never harboured any such designs against our siege train; simply because he had no authentic intelligence of its movements. Popular rumour in the Sikh camp said that the English were getting up guns so big that they would *eat up* the Khalsa; but of all idea of cutting those guns off, we acquit the whole staff of the Sikh army. At one time the seige train was really within reach of a *Chuppao* from Runjúr Singh's camp; and it is not probable, that, had he been on the look out for it, he would not have had early intimation of its proximity. Their own knowledge of the artillery being on the road and the feasibility of intercepting it, together with a natural anxiety for its safety, alone led the chiefs of the British army to give their enemy credit for as much knowledge and military enterprise as they possessed themselves. So schoolboys blush beneath the accidental gaze of the usher; and are already prepared to give up the apple which they fancy he has detected in their breeches pocket! But, whether Sirdar Runjúr Singh's object was to intercept the train, or, as we believe, merely to effect a diversion and divide the British force,—the uncertain determination of this point made no difference in the actual necessity of bringing him to battle; for "the rich and populous town of Lúdiana" lay entirely at his mercy. The withdrawal of the troops from Lúdiana at the opening of the campaign has been violently censured; particularly by the proprietors of bungalows in the cantonment, who say it was a most unmilitary proceeding. But persons who have no house at Lúdiana, and are therefore in a situation to exercise a cool and unprejudiced judgment, see, in this early concentration of the force, the foresight of a good General, and the result of a just balancing of conflicting evils and benefits. In proof of this it is sufficient to adduce the fact that, even after the junction of the Lúdiana troops, Múkdí and Ferozshah were won with difficulty; and might have been lost without them. Now, however, there was nothing to prevent a *reciprocity* of good offices; and Sir Harry Smith with an ample force was despatched to the relief of Lúdiana.

When, within a long day's march of that place, tidings reached Sir Harry Smith that Runjúr Singh had suddenly broken up his camp on the river and marched to Buddowal, a village which rested on the Lúdiana road, and lay directly between that city and the force approaching to relieve it. This intelligence was received by the Major-General late at night on the 20th January,

and he appears to have distrusted its correctness, for he made no alteration in his plans for the morrow, and would have marched directly into the *trap* at Buddowal, had not letters from Lúdiana reached him on the road when within a few miles of the enemy's position. A halt was immediately called; and information of three different routes to Lúdiana procured from a neighbouring village. One passed within two, one within three, and one within five miles of Buddowal. If the latter had been pursued, a collision would probably have been avoided; but the march, as it was, extended to 25 miles; the ground was heavy and the men were fagged. Moreover, the small force at Lúdiana was coming out to meet that of Sir Harry Smith, and the General was naturally reluctant to take a road quite out of sight of the one on which his friends were advancing. His own safety would have been secured at their expense. Under these circumstances—and who will venture to say that they were not of a nature peculiarly difficult and trying?—Sir Harry Smith chose that *middle course*, which, however, prudent in the small affairs of life, rarely succeeds in great undertaking. Sir Robert Peel enables us to let Sir Harry be his own historian, for he quotes a letter from the Major-General "to Sir Hugh Gough, on the 21st, just after he had succeeded in relieving Lúdiana"—a document of which, to all appearance, posterity would otherwise have been deprived:—

"When within a mile and a half to my left of Buddowal, moving parallel with my column (which was right in front ready to wheel into line), and evidently for the purpose of interrupting my advance, I saw the enemy. Nothing could be stronger for the enemy than the continued line of villages which were in his front.

"He was moving by roads, while I was moving over very heavy sand-beds. He was in advance far beyond, on my right flank; so far did he extend, and so numerous did he shew his infantry and guns, and so well chosen for him was the line of villages, that with my force he was not to be assailed; and he opened a furious cannonade of from thirty-five to forty guns of very large calibre, and, as usual, right well served. My object being to unite myself with the force from Lúdiana, which every moment I expected to appear in sight—for it was nine o'clock—I moved parallel with the enemy, resolving to attack the moment the Lúdiana troops reached me. He, however, so pressed upon me, that I opened in one body my eleven guns upon him whith considerable effect, and moved up the 31st, and was preparing to form line upon this regiment, when the enemy most rapidly formed a line of seven regiments, with their guns between, at right angles with the line I was about to attack, while a considerable force was moving round my right and front. Thus enveloped and overwhelmed by numbers, and such a superiority of guns, I had nothing for it but throw back my line on its right, which represented a small line on the hypothenuse of a triangle.

"The enemy thus outflanked me and my whole force. I therefore gradually withdrew my infantry in echellon of battalions, the cavalry in echellon of squadrons, in the direction of Lúdiana, momentarily expecting to see

the approach of that force—*viz.*, one regiment of cavalry, five guns, and four regiments of infantry, when I would have made a vigorous attack. The ground was very deep and sandy, and therefore very difficult to move on. The enemy continue to move on as described for upwards of an hour, and until I knew the Lúdiana force was moving, not a musket was fired. Nothing could exceed the steadiness of the troops. The line was thrown back, under this cannonade, as if on parade; and the movements of the cavalry, Native as well as British, under Brigadier Cureton, were without any exception, the most perfect thing I ever saw, and which I cannot describe."

This admirable handling of the cavalry by Brigadier Cureton, which saved Sir Harry's force from destruction by covering its retreat, seems to be not the only part of these "delicate combinations," which *cannot be described*; and it is much to be regretted, for the sake of Sir Harry Smith's reputation, that this veil of imperfect secrecy, this *green curtain full of large holes*, which the authorities have so carefully drawn before the affair of Buddowal, had not been dispensed with altogether. Nothing can in reality be so bad but that there will be a difference of opinion about it; and some people even think it perfection. But try to conceal a thing, and every body is unanimous in declaring that you have good reason to be ashamed. Sir Robert Peel quotes one despatch of Sir Harry's dated the 21st January; and Sir Harry, in his *published* despatch, dated January 30th, alludes to another, dated the 23rd January which, by a foot-note (see Papers p. 58), we learn was "*not received by the Secret Committee;*" so that the *suppressio veri* does not rest with the Major-General himself. The public therefore are at liberty to believe, either that "the narrative of his extrication from his difficulties only adds to the proofs of his skill and valour, and illustrates his high character as a Commander," (see Sir Robert Peel's, p. 23), or that the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, in keeping that narrative from the world, exercised a very sound discretion. We must content ourselves in either case with a very meagre history of events, which nevertheless occupied the Major-General for a whole week

"Reinforced by Brigadier Godby," the Commander-in-Chief tells us, Sir Harry "felt himself to be strong; and his *manœuvre* had thrown him out of communication with Brigadier Wheeler, and a portion of his baggage had fallen into the hands of the enemy.*

The Sikh Sirdar took up an entrenched position at Buddowal, supporting himself on its fort; but, threatened on either flank by General Smith and Brigadier Wheeler, finally de-

* Only *a portion* of Sir Harry's baggage may have fallen into the enemy's hands; but we have heard that scarcely an officer with him ever saw again the *fellows* of the shirt on their backs!

camped and moved down to the Sutlej. The British troops made good their junction, and occupied the abandoned position of Buddowal. The Shekhawati Brigade and Her Majesty's 53rd Regiment also added to the strength of the Major-General, and he prepared to attack the Sikh Sirdar on his new ground.

But on the 26th Runjúr Singh was reinforced from the right bank with 4,000 regular troops, 12 pieces of artillery, and a large force of cavalry. "Emboldened by this accession of strength, he ventured on the measure of advancing towards Jugraon, apparently with a view of intercepting our communications by that route." Here, again, His Excellency gives the booby brother of Lehna Singh credit for a plan which never entered his head; and a just idea of his incapacity and levity will be conveyed to the reader, when we inform him that in the prosecution of a private pique, he was marching the army with which he ought to have harrassed Sir Harry Smith, to perpetrate a massacre at Jugraon. How Sir Harry was himself reinforced on the same day, and how he halted on the 27th to refresh his men; how he marched against the enemy on the 28th, and how he gave him a handsome thrashing at Aliwal*;—are not all these acts, which he did, written in his own despatch,—that ample and luminous document, which Fame hath long ere now caught up, and conveying it to her temple, hath there enshrined, amid songs of triumph and the glare of gorgeous emblazonry. To it we must refer our readers, for our narrative is already rivalling it in *amplitude* if not in *luminosity*. As an *abstract*, it is sufficient to mention that Sir Harry payed off the old scores of Buddowal, captured or destroyed 67 guns, and effectually and brilliantly accomplished the purpose for which he had been detached, by driving the enemy with great loss back across the Sutlej. Among the prisoner was a European of the name of Brown, *alias* Potter, who had deserted from the Company's Artillery at the same time as Mr. Masson of Affghanistan celebrity. An enormous beard, sun-burnt face, and accent corrupted by long association with French officers and Sikhs, had banished all traces of the Englishman from his appearance. He was employed in the Sikh Artillery, and was with difficulty rescued from the vengeance of the British soldiers.

Let us now return to the main army of the Sutlej, which since the end of December, had been watching the enemy on the banks of the river near Hurríkí. It will be seen, by reference

* The Sikhs call "Aliwal" the battle of *Bhúndrí*; and "Sobraon" the battle of *Hurríkí Puttun*.

to a map, that the Sikhs here took up one of the falsest positions possible: *viz.*, with their rear resting on a large river; yet, by dint of much labour, some foreign science and the ingenuity natural to a military people, they contrived to convert it into one of the strongest fortifications against which troops were ever led; —being nothing less than a series of vast semi-circular entrenchments. the outer one of which was two miles and a half from end to end, and three-quarters of a mile in depth; the whole surrounded by a deep ditch and "bristling" with sixty-seven pieces of artillery. A bridge of boats united this formidable camp to another on the opposite bank of the Sutlej; where also were planted some heavy guns whose range swept easily across the river. The British troops beheld the erection and daily strengthening of this position, at the first, with indignation and impatience; next, with disappointment at not being able to attack it; and lastly, with as much indifference and apathy as if they were *not* the men who would have to storm it,—as if every day, nay, every hour, added not fresh height to the walls and fresh depth to the deadly trench. January had passed away in waiting for the heavy train. February had begun; events came slowly down on "Time's dull stream;" and a universal feeling of *ennui* and listlessness oppressed the British camp. In-lying or out-lying picket, a tour of duty at Rhodawala, or a canter to that outpost with a telescope to take a look at the Sikh regiments on their afternoon parade, or the Sikh Horse Artillery wheeling about the plain in defiance, were the sole varieties which disturbed or relieved the monotony of life. It was a good key to the inveteracy of any habit whose effect is excitement, such as gambling, drinking, &c., to note the temper of the army at this time. The thick-coming and soul-stirring events which opened the campaign, following as they did on a period of perfect peace, were at first a shock to the nerves, keeping them constantly at the full stretch to encounter exigencies and meet the harrassing calls of duty, by counteracting physical weakness and fatigue. In a very short time this very excitement became a *necessity of being;* and in the early part of February, the whole army was sickening for want of a battle. A malignant fever, or *epidemic "horrors"* at the least, must infallibly have broken out among the troops, if "Sobraon" had been delayed another week.

"The first portion of the siege train, with the reserve ammunition for 100 field guns, reached the Commander-in-Chief's camp on the 7th and 8th February. On the latter day the brigades, which had been detached from the main army for the operations in the neighbourhood of Lúdiana, rejoined the Commander-in-Chief."—(Papers p. 68.) On the 9th, the plan of

operations was decided on; and, on the 10th, was fought the battle of "Sobraon."

From the description that has been given of the Sikh entrenchment, the most unmilitary reader will understand at once, that if an entrance could be forced where either end of the semicircle rested on the river, the whole of the guns along the outward face would he rendered useless, and taken *in reverse.* We believe the Engineer officers, when called upon to give their professional opinion, approved of the *theory* of the attack, but, with *one exception*, considered it *impracticable.* It was all very well, *if* it *could* be done, but, in their judgment, it *could not.* Happily the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General thought otherwise; resolved upon the attack being made, and chose the western corner of the entrenchment for the attempt. It was yet dark, on the morning of the 10th February 1846, when the army of the Sutlej moved out at last from their lines at Nialkí, and advanced to a final contest with the invading Khalsa. Half way between the British outpost at Rhodawala and the Sikh camp stood three trees,—the only ones upon the plain. In the upper branches of these trees, the Sikhs had erected *muchans* or platforms, for sentries to sit in, and watch the movements of our troops at Rhodawala. A deep ditch and bank was thrown around the spot, and it was easy to see, from the British outpost, that the place was strongly occupied during the day. About half a mile to the right of "the muchans," was the village of *Little Sobraon*, and here also the enemy had posted a strong picket within an entrenchment. It was necessary to drive in both these pickets, before Sir Hugh Gough could push forward his heavy guns within range of the great Sikh entrenchment; and, when detachments of Her Majesty's 62nd Foot stole cautiously down upon them in the darkness and mist of the morning, they were both found unoccupied and were taken possession of without firing. It was afterwards ascertained that these posts were held during the day, and abandoned after dark in the evening; and this circumstance, added to a thick fog which deferred the dawn, was very favorable to the British, enabling the Commander-in-Chief to bring up his several divisions in order of battle, and post his artillery, without any alarm to the enemy, in whose camp might plainly be heard the light song and rolling note of the *nukaruh*,* which told of deep and false security.

Sir Hugh Gough's plan of attack was as follows:—The heavy guns were to commence operations by a cannonade upon the

* A kettle drum.

entrenchment, into which, crowded as it was with upwards of 30,000 men, their fire was expected to carry confusion and dismay. Sir Robert Dick's division, on the extreme left of the British line, was then to advance and storm the right, or western corner of the Sikh position; General Gilbert's division on the centre, and Sir H. Smith's division on the right, were simultaneously to make false attacks, with the view of diverting the enemy's attention from the real attack of Sir Robert Dick. Brigadier Cureton, with a brigade of cavalry and a troop of horse artillery, was directed to threaten the ford of Hurríkí Puttun, about a mile distant from the eastern corner of the entrenchment, on the opposite bank of which the enemy's cavalry were posted.

Agreeably to this plan, at about 7 o'clock A. M., the artillery opened; the fog rolled off as it were a curtain, and the surprised Khalsa at once heard and saw that the avenger had come upon them In an instant the Sikh drums beat to arms, and many rounds had not been fired from the British guns, before an answering thunder from the entrenchment told that the works were manned, and the struggle had begun. At 9 o'clock the artillery officers reported that the ammunition of the heavy guns was *well nigh expended*; and it is a fact, that when Sir Robert Dick was hastily ordered to advance he moved up in the face of a furious cannonade from the enemy, and under *cover* of a *slackened fire from his own side.**

The attack was led by Brigadier Stacy with Her Majesty's 10th and 53rd regiments, and the 43rd and 59th Native Infantry supported on the flanks by Captains Horseford and Fordyce's batteries, and Lieut.-Colonel Lane's troop of horse artillery. Beyond all comparison this was the finest attack of the campaign. The artillery galloped up and delivered their fire within 300 yards of the enemy's batteries; and the infantry charged home with the bayonet and carried the outworks without firing a single round;—"a forbearance," says the Governor-General," much to be commended, and most worthy of constant imitation" As it was the finest attack, so also did it meet with the most determined hand to hand resistance, which the Khalsa soldiers had yet opposed to the British. Like lightning, the real plan of the attack seemed to flash on the minds of all the desperate men in that entrenchment; and, disregarding the distant feints of Gilbert's and Smith's divisions on their left and centre, they rushed to the right to repel the real danger that was upon them. In vain Stacy's brigade tries to withstand

* This was not the fault of the artillery officers, who had prepared as many rounds as the shortness of the time, between the arrival of the guns and the battle, would permit.

the mass which every moment is growing denser; in vain Wilkinson's brigade comes up to the support; in vain Ashburnham's reserve swells the furious side of the assault. It was like the meeting of two mighty rivers, one swifter and one deeper than the other;—and as the swifter for a moment penetrates its duller neighbour's stream, then, yielding to the overpowering waters, is rolled back and swept away, so would the conquered trenches of the Sikhs have been wrested again from the brave division of the British, had not Sir Hugh, with the intuitive quickness of a General's eye, marked the crisis and the stuggle, foreseen its issue, and ordered up Gilbert's and Smith's* divisions to the rescue.† They advanced; the enemy beheld it, and returning tumultuously to the posts they had abandoned, poured upon these new enemies, from every foot of the entrenchment, a destructive fire of grape, round shot and musketry. In spite, however, of a loss unprecedented in so short a time,—Sir H. Smith's division losing 489, and General Gilbert's 685 men in about half an hour,‡—these two indomitable divisions persevered in storming what proved to be the strongest part of the enemy's position; and the entrenchment being thus carried by the British at three different points, the gunners, who drew their swords when they could no longer fire, were bayoneted beside the guns they had so murderously served,—while the cavalry and infantry, driven from three sides into a confused and disordered mass, but fighting to the last, were inch by inch forced to retreat where alone retreat was possible. Preferring death to surrender, they recklessly plunged into the river. The bridge, of which they were so proud, and to which they had so confidently trusted, broke down under the first party of flying horsemen, and became impassable; while the Sutlej, having risen seven inches in the night, had flooded the ford! "In their efforts to reach the right bank," says the graphic narrative of the Commander-in-Chief, "through

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* Sir Harry Smith has seen more service than most men living, even of this own Peninsula School; and we have ourselves heard him say that whenever he was told his post was in *reserve*, he prepared himself for a hard day's fighting. "Sobraon" must have confirmed him in this theory of tactics.

† As we have heard many officers of those divisions express their belief that their advance was a *mistake* and *not intended*, it may not be out of place here to chronicle a curious fact, *viz.*, that *both* the Chiefs present in the field, though in different parts of it, *simultaneously* perceived the necessity of the manœuvre, and *simultaneously* ordered it. Both the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief sent two or three Staff officers each to carry the order in question, so that the advance which saved the day, though it lost many men, *was* ordered, and *no mistake*.

‡ The following return of one of General Gilbert's brigades speaks for itself:—

*Killed and wounded: rank and file*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1st European Light Infantry .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 142 |
| 16th Grenadiers .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 122 |
| Sirmúr Battalion .. .. .. .. .. .. .. | 123 |

We know of no instance in which "the butcher's bill" shews that the Native regiments *fought so well up* to their European comrades as this.

the deepened water, they suffered from our horse artillery a terrible carnage.* Hundreds fell under this cannonade; hundreds upon hundreds were drowned in attempting the perilous passage. Their awful slaughter, confusion and dismay were such as would have excited compassson in the hearts of their generous conquerors, if the Khalsa troops had not, in the earlier part of the action, sullied their gallantry by slaughtering and barbarously mangling every wounded soldier, whom, in the vicissitudes of attack, the fortune of war left at their mercy." "Sixty-seven pieces of cannon, upwards of 200 camel swivels, numerous standards, and vast munitions of war" were left in possession of the victors.—(Papers, page 77.)

At past 10 o'clock A. M., not a Sikh soldier was left alive upon the British bank of the Sutlej; and thus, in little more than four hours was fought the bloodiest battle, with the worthiest foe, and gained the *completest* victory, recorded in our Eastern Annals. *Thus ended also, in awful and disastrous tragedy, the Sikh invasion of British India!*

On the side of the British there were killed 320, and wounded 2,063. The very *lowest* estimate of the Sikh loss is 8,000; we have heard survivors of that routed host lament the death of *twice* that number. And those, who, in cooler mood, when the unsparing passions of war were still, revisited next day the silent battle field, and looked into those trenches where their dead defenders lay in heaps; or saw the Sutlej fords choked with human bodies, and its swelling waters still covered with bloody garments and the wreck of a great army—recalling in awful vividness the mind's picture of God's last judgment upon Pharoah—will remember the spectacle of destruction to the last day they have to live.

The invaders having been repelled, our task of narrating "the invasion" should now be done; but the "gentle reader," who has been dragged through all these scenes of blood and thunder, will not object to accompany us a little further in a bloodless trip across the river. *There*, we will leave him, until the next Blue Book reveals to us clearly what is now only dimly perceptible in the Past, Present and to Come, of the Punjab.

* For the severe punishment inflicted on the Sikhs during their retreat across the river, we are indebted to the singular forethought and cool calculating judgment of the Governor-General. Owing to the paucity of Artillerymen, men had been taken from the Horse Artillery to serve the heavy guns in the field; and the troops—three if not four—to which they belonged, were *left behind in camp*. The services of these troops would have been lost to the army on the 10th February, had not Sir Henry Hardinge, while the battle was yet raging, ascertained that the ammunition of the heavy guns was nearly expended, and deduced from this misfortune, the more than *fortunate* conclusion that the Horse Artillerymen would soon be again available for their proper duties. He accordingly sent back orders to the troops left in camp, to move down without delay to *Rhodawala;* and they *were* brought down *by their drivers alone* to that post, where they found their own Artillerymen waiting for them, and were galloped into action. The anecdote is not generally known, but is worthy of record, as highly characteristic of a mind peculiarly happy in the arrangement of *details, whose judicious combination alone produces military success.*

Ere the heavy train had yet arrived, which was to enable the Commander-in-Chief to fight the battle of Sobraon, Major Abott, an excellent engineer, was preparing with indefatigable zeal to throw a bridge over a river, which,—as Samson is said to be "the strongest man," and Solomon "the wisest man,"—might well be chronicled in School Geographies, as *the most unbridgeable* in the world. He said, at starting, he should be ready on the 10th. On that day the battle was fought; and within an hour and a half of its successful termination, Colonel Wood, the Military Secretary, was at Ferozepore, 26 miles from the field, —having given orders, half way, to General Grey's force at Utarí, to move down at once to the Ferozepore Ghat. The Governor-General, though suffering from a severe fall, and after riding all day about the field, "returned to Ferozepore on the afternoon of the 10th, within a few hours after the action had ceased, to superintend the passage of the Sutlej by our troops."—(Papers, page 68). Six regiments of Native Infantry crossed the Sutlej that very evening.—(Papers, page 72). The Commander-in-Chief broke up his camp next day, and marched to Utarí · and on the 14th, the *whole* army of the Sutlej was encamped at Kussúr* in the Punjab, within thirty miles of the capital. That evening there arrived from *Lahore* a strange triumphal procession of three elephants and a buggy, loaded with European prisoners who had been taken by the Sikhs in the affair of Buddowal, and now sent in by Golab Singh as a peace-offering to the victors at whose feet his country was prostrate. Deputies from Lahore had arrived at Ferozepore, and peaceably demanded an audience of the Governor-General two days before the battle of Sobraon. They were told, with becoming dignity, that *they would be received after the battle.* On the 11th they had the audience they desired, posted back to Lahore, and returned again to the British camp at Kússur. They were followed on the 15th by Rajah Golab Singh, Dewan Dínanath and Faqír Núr-úd-dín, with "full credentials from the Maharajah, and empowered to agree in the name of the Maharajah and the Government, to such terms as the Governor-General might dictate."—(Papers, page 68).

"I received the Rajah in Durbar," writes the Governor-General himself, "as the representative of an offending Government, omitting the forms and ceremonies usually observed on the

* Kussùr was jagír of Sirdar Sham Singh Utariwallah, one of the few remaining of the contemporaries of Runjit Singh. He joined the invading army and devoted himself to death at Sobraon, neither giving nor asking quarter. His body was brought into Kussúr from the battle field by his mourning relatives and retainers, while the Army of the Sutlej was encamped on his "broad acres."

occasion of friendly meetings, and refusing to receive at that time, the proffered nuzzurs and complimentary offerings."—(Papers, page 68). Thus humbled, the chiefs were handed over to the Chief Secretary and Governor-General's Agent, Mr. Currie and Major Lawrence, to learn their fate. Closetted with these "they remained the greater part of the night in conference; but before they separated, a paper was signed by them to the effect that all that had been demanded would be conceded."—(Papers, page 69). On the 17th, the Maharajah himself came in to make his submission; but the Governor-General had appointed the meeting to be at Lulleani, ten miles farther on, and *Alexander* was in no haste to see *Darius* humbled. An account of the interview is given in the Papers so often quoted (Page 70), and all that it is essential to note here is, that the offending sovereign came in disgrace, and went away in honor. Negociations stopped not the advance of the British army, which unopposed, pushed on to the capital. The Sikh army, indeed, was broken in every sense, body and soul. Some eight or ten thousand—doubled, quadrupled by report—still held together about 20 miles from Lahore; but herding rather like frightened deer than Khalsa warriors. *The invaders were invaded;* and those who, in the intoxication of their pride, talked so lately of carrying their baby King to Delhi, had now not a sword to draw in defence of their native land.

On the 20th of February the Army of the Sutlej encamped on the plain of Mean Mír, in the suburbs of Lahore, the scene of Jowahir Singh's murder; and it is impossible not to contrast *our* conduct in victory with what would have been *theirs*, had they reached the capital of Hindustan. We had just cause, most assuredly, to feel resentment against a people who had invaded our territories, and endangered even the safety of British India; yet, *there* might be seen our Generals forbearingly encamped three miles from the rich city which the fortune of war had placed at their mercy, and punishing with dismissal, or flogging, any soldier or camp follower who dared to enter it for the gratification even of his curiosity.* And is there any one who doubts, that if the Sikh army had been successful at Múdkí or Ferozshah, and penetrated as far as Delhi before another army could be brought to oppose them, the streets of the imperial city, though no longer offering the same gorgeous temptation to a lawless and greedy soldiery, would have run with the blood of the inhabitants and been as completely and brutally sacked as ever it was by the army of

* See G. O. Army of the Sutlej, of date 20th February 1846.

Nadir Shah? The lofty, dignified, and magnanimous attitude of the British army before Lahore did honour to the European character, and the forbearance of the troops, to British virtue and discipline.

Proclamations were issued to calm the terrified people of the Punjab; and as, one by one, the chiefs and officers came in, they were received by all in the British camp with the kindness and consideration their gallantry deserved. Dark looks there were among them bespeaking broken hopes and smothered longings for revenge; but, oftener there was a subdued yet manly bearing, as free from boasting as from bending, which none could behold without admiration. In later days, this was more especially remarkable among the Sikh sepoys, who, coming to their pay tables, through or near our ranks, bore themselves with a soldierly resignation which could scarcely have been expected from the vaunting, conceited Khalsa.

The durbars and the treaties therein ratified: the stately restoration of the young Maharajah to his throne; and the leaving of a British force at Lahore, at the earnest solicitation of a timid ministry;—is it not all put before the reader with graphic vividness in the minutes of Mr. Currie, and the despatches of the Governor-General? One point alone is therein touched on, which needed some farther explanation; and even the little that *is* told, seems to have escaped the notice of those who have criticised the treaties. Let us endeavour to clear it up for the benefit of the future historian.

It is often asked, why was Rajah Golab Singh so highly honoured and so lavishly rewarded for his *double* treachery; to *us*, in sending food and ammunition to the Sikhs; to *his countrymen*, in betraying the cause he volunteered to advocate? The *premises* assumed being incorrect, it is only logical that the conclusion should be false. The *Delhi Gazette*—to which the public both of India and England is indebted for a great deal of correct information on Punjab affairs—is the foundation of the error; but its pages, if carefully read, would have furnished also its correction. *Rajah Golab Singh sent* NO *supplies to the Sikh army*; he only promised to do so;—in itself almost a warrant that they never went, even if we knew not from other sources that he sent not a man, nor a grain of corn, nor a pound of powder. He only came to Lahore after repeated and pressing calls; and when there, he told the Durbar, the chiefs, and the soldiers, that "they were asses! that, if they wanted *peace*, he, *who had taken no part in hostilities*, would plead for them; and if they wanted *war*, they might go to ruin their own way." He was

taken at his word, and yet not trusted. Nominally *plenipotentiary*, he was associated with the most astute servants of the Durbar; and the fault, therefore, is not his, if the terms they jointly made were such as the Maharajah found himself unable to fulfil, except by the cession of more territory. And when the British Government had become possessors of Kashmír and Jummú, Golab Singh had as undoubted a right to purchase, as they to sell it. In exchange for a crore of rupees they took it; and in exchange for a crore of rupees they parted with it again. A small portion of the press has twitted the Governor-General with breach of faith in lending himself to a Vizier in a nefarious trick upon his Master. But the accusation was made in ignorance of the facts which has since been published, and it ought in fairness to be retracted. The following extract bears date so far back as *February 3rd*, and shews how early the Governor-General contemplated, as the best policy of England, what Golab Singh is said to have, *at a later date*, suggested for his own selfish purposes:—"It may be politic and proper, in the course of the discussions which may arise, to weaken the territorial power of the Government of Lahore, *rendering the Rajpúts of the hills independent of the Sikhs*, and by other means involving a loss of a portion of their territory: . . . . These are points which can be better discussed *when the Lahore Government may seek to approach the Government for the restoration of peace*."—(Papers, page 54). And when the Lahore Government *did* approach the Governor-General, what was there to prevent such a scheme of appropriation from being carried out, and the hill territory being given to Golab Singh as a piece of policy, without reference to any treaties? Surely, nothing but unmerited *forbearance*; and the objections of the critics, therefore, amount to this, that only as a last resource did a generous conqueror consent to a partition of territory which yet policy had told him would be wise at first!

Two things are at all events certain: 1st.—That the Durbar, though publicly poor, was privately rich: as ministers they had an exhausted treasury: as individuals they had stores of wealth. Any two or three of its members could have advanced the sum for which Kashmír and Kohistan were given up, and so far preserved—if they had cared about it—the integrity of their country. With these examples before us, to talk about the want of patriotism or treachery of *Golab Singh*—the last of a Sikh-murdered family!—is worse than idle; or, indeed, as absurd as to accuse Sir Henry Hardinge of fraudulently scheming for a *part* of a country which conquest had made his own, in its length and

breadth. 2ndly.—It was infinitely better not only for *us*, but for the people of all ranks in the Punjab, that Golab Singh should be *out* of it. He could only have wished to be Vazíer, that he might realise at last the schemes of aggrandisement which his ambitious heart had for years been scarce able to contain. It is, indeed, difficult to conjecture whether wisdom would have prompted him to aim only at the independent sovereignty of the hills, which as a subject he had so long monopolised; or avarice, his ruling vice, have tempted him to sit upon the throne before which he was once proud to bow. But his road to either object would have been the same. The impoverishment of the Punjab would have prepared the way for its division or its conquest; and the hearts of all classes of the people, from the Sirdar to the ryot, would have been gradually broken by fines, confisactions, and extortion.

If then, we, of the *exoteric* school, have not before us all the steps which led to it, we can at least see the *wisdom* of the final arrangement; and they, of the *exoteric* school, the negociators of the treaties, have a right to expect that, amid all the arguments brought to bear upon their diplomacy, the *argumentum ad hominem* should not be forgotten by the world. The names of Mr. Currie and Major Lawrence are a sufficient guarantee for the *honesty* of any document to which they are attached.

We need not prolong our narrative. The troops, left at Lahore, have been comfortable, healthy and kindly treated; though something far otherwise was prophesied by dabblers in politics of high and low degree. Many, indeed, at parting with the friends whom they left behind in occupation of "the devoted city," cheered their spirits with a shake of the head and a hope—for which there was just room!—that another *Kabul catastrophe* might not be their fate. But, with all our prespicacity acuminated to the highest possible degree, we could never see the similarity between the two cases—the position on the one hand of 8,000 men with thirty guns of their own, and a hundred others belonging to the Sikhs, well supplied with provisions, and only 40 miles from their own frontier, occupying a capital at the urgent entreaty of the Sovereign and the Sirdars—and the position, on the other hand, of *scarcely more than half that number without provision, without material, forcibly occupying two unconnected posts, in the heart of a disaffected country*, 500 *miles from support of any kind!* But we leave these questions to the decision of history;—history, which we, being neither Whig nor Tory, neither Government scribes not radical opponents, but plain lovers of *truth*, have no wish to lead astray. Whenever the time for writing that history shall arrive, and an historian be

found among us or *our children*, who shall bring *impartiality* to the consideration of *facts*, it will we think be sufficiently apparent, that though errors of detail may have crept into all departments—for so long as governors are *men*. how can it be otherwise?—it would yet be hard to show how, circumstanced as Lord Hardinge found the N.-W. Frontier in 1844, he could have acted better with the view of preserving *peace*; or how, when in 1845 *war* was forced upon him, he could more effectually have carried it on, or brought it to a more successful conclusion. Rapidly yet quietly he doubled the frontier posts; he had 10,500 men at Ferozepore; 7,200 at Ludiana, and 13,000 at Umballa: in other words, out of an army of scarce 100,000 men, he brought up more than 30,000 within 70 miles of a contingent—nay, judging from past experience, an improbable—danger. Ferozshah was fought within ten days of the invasion with 16,700 men; and *six weeks after*, when the strength of the empire had been brought to bear on a single point, and all possible reinforcements had been pressed into the field, Sobraon was fought with only 18,000! thus *proving*, that after the necessary precautions had been taken to watch the frontier and keep open the communication with the rear, under *no* circumstances, and by no measures, however warlike, could many more men have been brought into action than *were brought* by the pacific but energetic policy which the Governor-General pursued. And as for the war's conclusion, which has been called "lame and impotent," let it be compared with the wars of his predecessors, which have been mere drains upon the Treasury. The Burmah War entailed a cost of several crores of rupees; the Affghan War saddled the country with a debt, the interest of which occasions a present large deficiency of revenue: and the war in Sindh;—in truth, Sir Charles Napier has found it so impossible to keep the books, that we cannot tell *how* high to estimate the price of that war; but this we do know, that it bids fair to prove a perennial curse. The Sikh War, on the contrary, has added to our possessions territory worth 40 lakhs per annum; has strengthened our frontier by throwing our right flank forward so as to cover Simla, Lúdiana and Umballa; and exacted an idemnity of 1¼ millions from the enemy for the expenses it involved. It is said that those expenses amounted to 1½ millions—12 months' Batta, Commissariat, &c., being included—so that, making a liberal allowance of 20 lakhs per annum for the interest of the extra 25 lakhs expended in the war and on the Government of the new country, we have still an equal sum to carry annually to the credit of British India.

It would have been more, could we have avoided taking the hill country north of the Byas. We suppose it was *necessary* in order to square off the frontier, but it was a dear bargain; and if politic, we should gladly have seen it left in the hands of either of our neighbours. This is an opinion which will not perhaps meet with general favour: for there is always something alluring in *annexation*; and in the present instance, we know that many advocated the appropriation of the hill country, and blamed the sale of Kashmír to Golab Singh. We suspect, however, that the advocates of such a policy have not much studied the question on which they so dogmatically enlarge; that they never very closely calculated the number of men requisite to hold the Huzaras, Peshawar or Kashmír; much less compared that calculation with the probable revenues of the countries they covet,—or rather, with the *balance* of revenue which would be left after the usual confirmation of Jagírs which follows a British Indian conquest.

The Punjab is the popular *el Dorado* of our army; and even those who have neither medals nor honours to gain by its annexation, consider it a rich and fertile land. Taken as a whole, it is far otherwise. In its palmy days, the fertilizing dew of prosperity may indeed have fallen over its whole surface, but it ever evaporated from the few chosen spots where the lakes and fountains were. The superabundance of the Jullundur supplied the rest of the Punjab with competence: a part paid for the Government of the whole. That part is in our possession: and if the exquisite flavour of the sunny side of the melon tempts us to pick up the green side which we threw away, we shall find it sour, unwholesome and unripe. Each Doab is a kingdom in itself: for it is cut off for half the year by rapid and difficult rivers. Each, therefore, in our hands would require a separate army to ensure its tranquillity. Not many months have passed since it took 10,000 men to put down insurrection in a territory less by half than the smallest of the Punjab Doabs; a territory which has been for nearly half a century accustomed to our supremacy, and was close to the Bombay Presidency. The country west of the Jhelum is wilder than that of Kolapore and Sawuntwarrí; the features of the country are on a larger scale; the people more savage and independent, more impatient of restraint, less satisfied to pay revenue, and accustomed for generations to a fast and loose Government, that, one day is content to take what it can get, and the next, comes down upon the people with frightful executions, mutilations and massacres. Few people, when they come to consi-

der these details, will deny that the Governor-General was wise to refrain from annexing the Punjab. To us his forbearance seems more than *wise;* it is eminently magnanimous, merciful and patriotic. In the Punjab itself, none could have blamed, in India, all would have approved the conquest. Sir Henry would have gathered a large harvest of what is called *fame*, and run no risk in the reaping: for *by him* not another shot would have been fired. The country was at his feet, and chronologies would only have recorded that *he*, Sir Henry Hardinge, had added it to British India. The difficulties of a widely extended frontier and the embarrassments of a sterile province would have awaited *his successor!* To England's mission in the East, we trust we are as much alive as those, who at the point of the sword, wish to carry philanthropy and liberty through the world; but we can see as little humanity as wisdom in commencing an enterprise which seems to have no end. *Peace is the great want of British India:* and how can we hope for peace in the Punjab? One insurrection, a single outbreak, runs like a shudder through an empire—unsettles long-settled provinces, diverts revenue from its proper channels, and puts back the course of civilization. Instead therefore of cheating ourselves into new conquests, by calling them *new fields of usefulness*, let us be honest and cultivate the fields we have already gained; let us improve our present possessions before we venture to enclose more; *let us educate the millions of Hindustan, before we pretend to "emancipate the Sikhs."*

# THE BANKS OF THE BHAGIRATHI.

By Rev. J. Long.

1. *Rennel's Atlas*, 1779. | 2. *Tassins' Bengal Atlas*, 1841.

The question of statistics is one that has engaged of late years the attention of some of the most scientific minds in England, France and Germany; in England a Statistical Society is in active operation, and publishes a Journal since 1837. Statistics are now classed as a science, and as such occupy a place in the list of subjects that come before the British Association; in France the archives of Government are thrown open to the researches of the members of La Société de Geographie, a body which has contributed more to the advancement of the science of Geographical Statistics than any other throughout the world. But in India how different is the case; it would, at times at least, almost seem to be as easy to get access to the records of the Inquisition as to many of the statistical documents of the Bengal Government, which are often permitted to become the food of white ants, or perhaps to be *sold in the Calcutta Bazars as waste paper*, while they are virtually *sealed* to the investigation of the learned! Yet in spite of every such discouragement, much light has been thrown on the History of India by individuals.

We feel strongly that the *present* is the time for collecting information on the condition of India—Hindu society is in a transition state—the old pandits and natives, whose heads are stored with traditionary lore, are passing away, and their successors feel little interest in the past local events of India:—unless, therefore, "these fragments from the wreck of time" be preserved in print, we shall lose one means of noting the progress of the natives of India. Todd's Rajasthan, Malcolm's Central India and the Mackenzie MSS., compiled at a period when Central India was in a transition state, have snatched from oblivion a number of valuable facts, which will serve hereafter as landmarks to indicate the march of improvement among the Rajput and South India tribes.

In former numbers of this Review two papers appeared, "Notes on the banks of the Húgly," which gave an account of the places between Calcutta and Chinsura; we propose continuing the "Notes" as far as Súti near the mouth of the Bhágirathi, with the exception of Chinsura, Húgly and Bandel. Chinsura with its Dutch associations, and Húgly with its stirring events in days of yore, afford ample materials for a distinct article: Bandel we have noticed in "The Portuguese in North India." The banks of the river between Tribeni on the South, and Gaur on the North, teem with local associations of various

kinds—*Tribeni*, famous as a place of pilgrimage since the days of Pliny—*Sátgan*, a grand emporium of trade in the time of the Romans—*Ghospárá*, the cradle of the Kartá Bhojás—*Dumurda*, notorious in the annals of dakoity—*Sukhsagar* and the river encroachments—*Chagdá*, once infamous for human sacrifices and dakoity—*Sibpúr*, formerly a residence of the illustrious Raja Krishna Chandra Ray—*Guptapárá*, famous for its monkeys and Brahmans—*Sántipúr*, the stronghold of ghosains —*Kalna*, with its trade and temples—*Dhobá*, and its sugar manufactory—*Nudiya*, in old times the capital of Bengal, and still a Brahmanical metropolis—*Agradíp*, the scene of a famous mela—*Katwá*, the port of Birbhum, well known in the days of the Mahratta—*Palási*, the Indian Marathon—*Rangamati*, with its spur of the Birbhum hills—*Berhampúr*, 80 years ago the frontier cantonment of the East India Company—*Kasim Bazár*, the former seat of the English, French, and Dutch trade—*Múrshidabad*, and all its recollections connected with the Musalmán dynasty—*Jangipúr*, famous for its silk trade—*Súti* where Mír Kasim met his defeat and his visions of independence vanished—and *Gaur*, the metropolis of Bengal, long before the days of Alexander.

To the mere stranger the banks of the Bhágirathi present little calculated to afford interest;—so would the plain of Troy to the person ignorant of Grecian history; but for those who love to dwell on the past, there are few parts of India, except Rajpútaná, which are crowded with a series of more interesting associations. The trade carried on by the Romans—the Hindu danasty of the Lakhmans—the scenes where British ascendancy was established in this country—the influence of Mahommedan sway—the development of the resources of this country by indigo, silk and sugar factories—the former prevalence of gang robbery;—ideas connected with these and kindred subjects crowd on the mind of the intelligent traveller in passing various places on the banks of the Bhágirathi. In consequence of the local associations he has called up, Sir W. Scott has given "a charm to Scottish scenes and barren heaths." Dr. Johnson has made the often-quoted remark, in which he condemns the man whose patriotism would not glow on the plains of Marathon, or piety grow warm amid the ruins of Iona. In India where Europeans generally feel so little interest in the country, know so little of its past history, and sympathise so little with the natives, it is specially important that the principle of *local association* should as far as possible be called forth. We must know something of the *past* history of a people in order to understand their *present* condition—what

a stimulus did the recollections of Grecian history afford some years ago to the exertions of philanthropists in the cause of the modern Greeks, who were crushed under the yoke of Turkish tyranny. We trust that the progress of English education and Christian missions along the banks of the Bhágirathi during the next fifty years, will afford a brilliant contrast to the gloomy recollections of past times—to the profligate rule of Kúlinism—to Satis—Infanticide—Musalmán despotism, and Hindu stagnation of thought.

The banks of the Bhágirathi are likely to afford scenes of the noblest triumphs to missionary and educational operations, because the principle of concentration and mutual co-operation will be carried out, by a *chain* of missionary and educational posts at,—Húghly connected with the London Missionary Society; Ghospárá with the established Presbyterian Church; Kalná with the Free Church of Scotland; Nudiya and Krishnaghur with the Church Missionary Society; Katwá with the Baptist; and Berhampúr with the London Missionary Society.

Besides Heber's Journal and "Robert's Scenes" there are scarcely any journals of travellers worth notice on Bengal; in a recent work, "Bacon's First Impressions," it is stated, that after leaving Barrakpúr "a few *hours* tracking brought us to Serampore"! The author gives a drawing of a fakir's serai on the banks of the river near Húgly with a *hill* in the vicinity! This resembles Carne's description of Kiernander, the *first* Protestant Missionary to Bengal, visiting his *mountain* villages *near* Calcutta! No Sanskrit works give any topographical information respecting those localities, expect the Sri Bhagavat and some other Puranas which notice Tribeni, and the course of the Ganges. Arrian, Pliny and Strabo write incidentally of a few places. As for authorities on these subjects, little information can be given, since in the Bengali language no book of any description was compiled before A. D. 1500. The poem of Kobi Kankan was written in Bengali 300 years ago, (the author lived in Burdwan, and is said to have been born at Damini near Tárikeswar in Burdwan; Kirti Bás is also said to have been born in Burdwan). It describes the journey of a merchant from his own residence, 150 miles from the sea, down the Bhágirathi to the port in which he embarked for Ceylon, he enumerates the places at which he *lagoed* on the banks of the river. The *Sandesábali* and *Timir Násak* notice a few towns; but the written or printed materials are very scanty:—"The Musalmán invaders of Bengal thought Hindu writings to be full of mantras or charms, and they deemed them *haram* or sinful, and not worthy to be seen; hence, on entering a town in Bengal

they burnt every ancient MSS. as well as image: the Hindus also were in the practice, when invaded, to destroy every thing which was of value to the invaders, and particularly all "MSS. that would give information of the country."; hence no MSS. exist which give any information of Gaur or Pálibathrá. The Hindu writings were of an anti-historical character. The remarks of Taylor in his "Historical Manuscripts" are applicable here,—"Generally speaking, Indian princes, purely such, as distinguished from foreign invaders, have been less addicted to warring with each other, than those of almost any other ancient nation. Hence, in a great degree, arises the paucity of materials for Indian history, but happily periods most barren of historical incident, have always been most prosperous for the people." We must therefore have recourse occasionally to oral testimony and current traditions, which are the only sources in the absence of written testimony, and which have been resorted to with so much success by Tod in his Rajasthan; the discoveries, however, of Ventura in the topes of the Panjab: of Prinsep in Pali Medals; of Hodgson in Nipal, and of Remusat in Chinese MSS. give hope that future researches may throw a flood of light on the Ante-Mahommedan history of Bengal; a translation of some Persian MSS. mentioned in Stewart's catalogue would afford information on Bengal history: even legends are of value for, as Wilson remarks, "Hindu tales are *faithful* records of the state of popular *belief* many ages ago." Legendary lore is compared by Troyer to a chronometer which, though it gives not the true time, yet presents errors which we know how to correct. Dr. Buchanan, though he undertook, at the command of the Marquess of Wellesley a survey of Eastern India, which occupied him seven years, and cost the Government 30,000 £, yet has not thought it beneath his notice to embody in the report he presented to Government the legends and local traditions of the districts he passed through.

We name this article the banks of the BHAGIRATHI, though some Europeans call the river as far as Nudiya the Húgly,—but Húgly is a modern name given to it since the town of Húgly rose into importance: the natives call it Bhágirathi, because they say it was the channel Bhágirathi cut in bringing the Ganges from the Himalaya to Ganga Ságar. This name recalls what is believed to be a fact—that the Ganges itself formerly ran by Katwá, Tribeni, and not as it does now into the Padma; our reasons are,—the natives attribute no sanctity to the waters of the Padma, thinking the Bhágirathi to be the true bed of the river, hence the water flowing by Bishop's College is not esteemed holy, as they say that the site

of Tolly's Nalá was the ancient bed—there are no places of pilgrimage along the banks of the Padma, while on the Bhágirathi are Tribeni, Ságar, Nudiya and Agardíp. Dr. Buchanan states on this subject:—"I think it not unlikely that on the junction of the Kosi with the Ganges, the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padma, and the old channel of the Bhágirathi from Songti (Súti. to Nudiya was then left comparatively dry. In this way we may account for the natives considering that *insignificant* channel as the *proper* continuation of their sacred river, as they universally do, a manner of thinking that unless some such extraordinary change had taken place, would have been highly absurd"—the names of places near the Bhágirathi ending in *dwipa* island, *dángá* upland, *daha* abyss, *ságar* sea, seem to indicate that a large body of water formerly flowed near them.

We begin our notice with the SARASWATI Khal, which flows by Tribeni down to Sátgan, and which in former days was a mighty stream, when the Bhágirathi instead of flowing as now past Húgly, rolled its mighty waters down by Sátgan. Rennel states:—"In 1566 the Satgang river was capable of bearing small vessels, and I suspect that its then course, after passing Satgang was by way of Adampur, Omptah and Tamluk: and that the river called the old Ganges was a part of its course, and received that name, while the circumstance of the change was fresh in the memory of the people The appearance of the country between Satgang and Tamluk countenances such an opinion." The banks of the Saraswati at Tribeni formed the ancient boundary of the kingdom of Orissa, extending as far west as Bishenpur in the time of the Ganga Vansa princes from the 10th to the 14th century A. D. Akbar annexed Tribeni to the Bengal Government, and separated it from the powerful kingdom of Orissa or Kalinga, which flourished at the same period as the Ujayin and Malwa monarchies, and was next to Magadh in greatness, stretching from the Godavery towards the Ganges; the king of Kalinga in Pliny's time could bring into the field 100,000 foot; at the beginning of the Christian era Salivahan ruled the country between the Godavery and the Nermada. "By progress of emigration and conquest the Orissa nation carried their name and language over the vast space of territory, including besides Orissa Proper, part of Bengal and Telingana" In 1243 the Rajah of Jagipur, 35 miles N.-E. of Katak, besieged Gaur the capital of Bengal. The Orissan monarchy sunk into decay about the same time that the Saraswati river, owing to a silting process, dried up; in 1845 an inundation tore up the soil in the bed of the

river near Sátgan and exposed to view the masts of a ship. In Rennel's maps, drawn over 70 years ago, the Saraswati joins a river which flows by Duma, Nisipur and Chanditala into the Húgly at Sankral near Bishop's College; this probably was the old bed of the Bhagirathi, which passed from Sankral up to the site of Tolly's Nalá, then *viâ* Gurea, Burripur and Rajganj to Diamond Harbour, and so on to Ganga Ságar; the ground west of Haura, and from thence on to Húgly is low and marshy, indicating the course of a former river. Ptolemy however states, that the Saraswati flowed into the mouth of the Jellasore river: this view corresponds with that of Rennel's, and may be reconciled with ours by supposing a *branch* from the Saraswati, *i e*, *Ganges*, to have joined the Damudar or Rupnarayan.

SATGAN, the royal emporium of Bengal from the time of Pliny down to the arrival of the Portuguese in this country, has now scarcely a memorial of its ancient greatness left; it has furnished a native proverb indicative of its fall: "Compare not yourself to a man of Satgan." Wilford thus describes it, "Ganges Regia, now Satgan, near Húgly. It is a famous place of worship, and was formerly the residence of the kings of the country, and said to have been a city of an immense size, so as to have swallowed up one hundred villages, as the name imports: however, though they write its name Satgan, I believe it should be Satgram, or the seven villages, because there were so many consecrated to the seven Rishis, and each of them had one appropriated to his own use." Sátgan is said to have been one of the resting places of Bhágirathi. One of the Puranas states that Pryabasta, king of Kanauj, had 7 sons, who lived in Satgan, *i. e.*, Saptagram, and whose names were given to seven villages, *viz*, Agnidra, Romanaka, Bhopisanta, Saurabanan, Bara, Sabana and Dutimanta, they were *múnis*. Kusa-grass is said not to grow in Satgaṇ, as it was cursed by the seven *Rishis*. Di Barros writes, "that Satgaw is a great and noble city, though less frequented than Chittagong, on account of the port not being so convenient for the entrance and departure of ships." Purchas states it to be "a fair citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentiful, but sometimes subject to Patnaw." Fredericke, who travelled in Bengal, 1570, and visited Satgan, mentions that in it "the merchants gather themselves together for their trade:" he describes a place called Buttor, "a good tide's rowing before you come to Satgaw, from hence upwards the ships do not go, because that upwards the river is very shallow and little water, the small ships go to Satgaw and there they lade:" he writes that "Buttor has an infinite number of ships and bazars; while the ships stay

in the seasons, they erect a village of straw-houses, which they burn when the ships leave, and build again the next season; in the port of Satgaw every year they lade 30 or 35 ships, great and small, with rice, cloth of bombast of divers sorts, lacca, great abundance of sugar, paper, oil of zerzeline, and other sorts of merchandize." The Shah Jehan Namah, part of which is translated in Stewart's Oriental Catalogue, mentions that, "while Bengal was governed by its own princes, a number of merchants resorted to this place (Húgly), and having rendered this agreeable, obtained a piece of ground and permission to build houses, in order to carry on their commerce to advantage; in the course of time, owing to the stupidity and want of attention of the Governors of Bengal, a great number of Portuguese assembled here, who erected lofty and solid factories which they fortified with cannon, muskets, and other implements of war:" he then states the Portuguese settled at Húgly, "which drew in a short time all the trade from Satgan, which in consequence fell into decay." In 1632, Húgly being made a royal port, all the public officers were withdrawn from Satgan, which soon sunk into ruin. The Mogul Governor of Húgly brought a charge against the Portuguese before Shah Jehan of "having drawn away the trade from the ancient port of Satgan." The silting up of the river there was another cause of its decay: similarly we find that Kambay, which was a famous port when the Portuguese came to India, is now choked up owing to the sea having retired several leagues: it is said the Moguls deepened the present channel which flows in front of Hugly, and this would serve to draw off the current which before flowed down by Satgan.

Warwick, a Dutch Admiral, notices that Satgan in 1667 was a place of great trade for the Portuguese. The foundations of a fort built by the Musalmans remain near Satgan bridge; the fort was pulled down to build houses in the town. The old Dutch residents at Húgly had their country seats at Satgan, and were in the habit of *walking* from Chinsura in the middle of the day to it, and returning after dinner. Near Satgan bridge stands an old temple in which is interred one of the officers of Shah Sufi. The people of Satgan were famed for wit, and often contended for the plam of wit with the inhabitants of Mahmud Shah, in the neighbourhood.

Opposite Tribeni at the mouth of the Saraswati Khal, stands a famous MOSQUE, containing the tomb of Jaffir Khan; it was once a Hindu temple. Jaffir Khan was the uncle of Shah Sufi, he was a zealous Musalmán, and made a proselyte of Rajah Man Nriput; he was killed in a battle fought with Rajah

Bhudea. Jaffir's son conquered the Rajah of Hùgly, and married his daughter, who is buried within the precincts of the temple, and to this day Hindu votive offerings are presented at her tomb on Musalmán festivals: Jaffir Khan himself, though a Musalmán, worshipped the Ganges. This temple must be at least 500 years old, as Shah Sufi came to Bengal, A. D. 1340 (he fougth a battle near Pandua, which rendered the country entirely subject to the Musalmáns); the stones in it are very large: the temple was probably erected when the kingdom of Orissa was in its glory and stretched its sceptre as far as Tribeni, and when ships floated on the waters of the Saraswati—across which a child can now leap. A Civil servant at Húgly is said some years ago to have pulled down part of this temple to make a ghat!!

South of this temple is the village of BANSBARIA or Bansbati, *i. e.*, the place of bambus, famous for the temple of the goddess Hansheshari, with its 13 pinnacles and 13 images of Shiva, erected 50 years ago by Rani Sankari Dási, the wife of Nrisinga Deva Ray, a zemindar: it cost a lakh of rupees, and had a house there surrounded with a trench and four pieces of cannon mounted on it; when the Mahrattas came near Tribeni, the people fled to this house for protection. On the festival of Hansheshari, the Rani used to invite pandits from all the neighbouring country, Calcutta, Nudiya.* This temple occupies 15 acres. At Bansbaria there were formally 12 or 14 tolas, where Nyaya or logic was read, but Sanskrit studies are on the decline there The Tatwabodhini Sabhà had formerly a flourishing English school of 200 boys at Bansbaria, established 1843, but some of the boys embracing Vedantism, their parents became alarmed lest they should forsake Puranism

* The following is a list of a few among the many eminent pandits Nudiya has produced during the last 300 years—Raghu Nandan composed about 200 years ago "the Essence of the Hindu ritual," he established a new ritual in the investiture of the paita, he wrote a work on Law called *Tithi tatwa* in twenty-eight books; it is extensively studied, and is highly valued by Colebroke—*Nudiya* is most famous for the study of Nyaya or Logic: among the pandits who have written commentaries here on the subject, occur the names of:—Godadar Sriromani, Maturanath Tarkabagish, Roganath Sriromani. Bas Deb Sarbabaumi,—on *Smriti or law*, Ji Matta Bákan—Sri Krista Tarkalankar, Chandrasekar Bashishpati; and on the *Mugda Bodh* or *Grammar*, Durgadas Bideabagis, Ram Taika Bagis, Bharat Malik; Amar Sing, the author of the Amera Kosha, lived in Naya where he kept a tola and wrote his book. There is a tradition that the celebrated Kalidas came from the Court of Vikramaditya to test the knowledge of the Nudiya pandits, and also that Sankar Acharya visited it for the same reason; Krishnanda, a Brahman of Nudiya, in the middle of the 16th century, propagated a doctrine called *pasu bhab*; it is believed in by numbers of Brahmans in Bengal. Sir W. Jones, 1787, congratulated himself in "spending three months every year near an ancient university of Brahmans (Nudiya), with whom he began to converse fluently in Sanskrit." Those anxious to know more on the learning of Nudiya, we would refer to Adam's Reports on Education in Bengal and Bahar.

and they withdrew many of them ; the members of the Sabhá thought that Bansbaria being an eminent seat of Hindu learning, presented a more favorable opening for schools than Calcutta ; but Puranism and Vedantism being antagonistic, the success of the school has been retarded. A tiger was seen near it in 1830 ; he killed four ryots ; old persons still remember the time when the Satgan district was infested with tigers, and when rewards used to be offered from the Collector's Office at Húgly for killing them. Tarachand, a native Christian, resided at Bansbaria ; he was led to inquire respecting Christianity from simply reading a New Testament. The first native Church under a native minister was formed at Bansbaria under Tarachand, who was a well informed man, and spoke English, French and Portuguese with fluency.

On the opposite side of the river facing Bansbaria is MALIKBAG, of which Ramkomul Sen gives the following account in his able preface to his Bengali dictionary :—" The Musalman invaders of the west of Hindústan, who afterwards established themselves on the throne of Delhi, considered this country (Bengal) to be *Dojakh*, or an infernal region, and whenever any of the Amirs or courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, and the rank of the individuals did not permit their being beheaded, while policy at the same time rendered their removal necessary, they were *banished to Bengal*. Of those individuals banished to Bengal, one named Mullik Kássim had his residence immediately west of Húgly, were there is a *haut* or market still held which goes by his name. Ahmid Beg was another person of that description ; his estate is still in existence, opposite to Bansbaria ; and there are a *haut, gunge* or mart, and a *khal*, or creek, still called after his name ; Meer Beg also had a fort, with a mansion opposite to Húgly, which is called *Mir Beg ká Gur*." These lands were given on a kind of military tenure, as the Government of the Afghans in Bengal bore a close resemblance to the feudal system of the Goths. The air and water of that part of Bengal were then considered so bad as to lead almost to the certain death of the criminal. The whole of *Malikbág* was formerly a large garden, but the trees have been cut down for fuel. In the time of Malik the site of Serampore was a jungle. The site of the City of Jessore, which is considerably to the north of Malikbág was, when founded 300 years ago by Sivananda Májúmdar, the uncle of Rajah Pratapaditya, " a forest on the borders of the sea." A little to the south of Malikbág is HALISHAR, famous for the Smriti colleges established there by Rajah K. Ray of Nudiya ; he assigned

to them endowments of land, the Rajah is said to have come here to visit Balaram Tarkábushan, a very learned pandit, who would not enter a Sudrá's house, nor even take money from his hand, nor receive a present on the banks of the Ganges; the Rajah saw a Kumbhakar, or potter at the place, and asked him in Sanskrit, *Kastam* (who are you), the man replied, *Kumbhakar Ahang* (I am a potter), the Rajah surprised that a low person knew Sanskrit, said, this is a fine place, and he made a bazar in it called Kumarhattá, *i. e.*, the bazar of the potter. Great quantities of broken pottery are still dug up; the pandits still call Halishar by the name of Kumarhattá. Balaram Tarkaboshu, a pandit well skilled in Nyaya, lived here. There are still twelve Sanskrit colleges in Hálishar and its neighbourhood; Law and Logic are the chief subjects taught. Hálishar is noted for its drunkards, and particularly for drunken women: one reason ascribed for it is, that many Brahmans from the East of Bengal reside here, and follow the Tantra system which encourages drunkenness. At Hálishar, Ram Komal Sen had his country seat; he was of low origin, his father was a native doctor; Professor Wilson patronised him and gave him employment in his printing office, afterwards in the mint, where he studied English and Sanskrit, and subsequently became Assistant Secretary to the Sanskrit College. *Hálishar* formed a zillah last century: it has a population of about 30,000; 4,000 of whom are of the *bhadrá lok*, or Hindu gentry.

To the north of Malikbag flows the JAMNA river, called by Ptolemy the Diamuni, "the blue daughter of the sun," by Jaydeva it is named the Kal Yamani, because Kanya destroyed the hydra *Kalya* which infested it; the villages along the Jamná are scattered and thinly populated. Corpses are thrown into it in order to float into the Bhágirathi, which they sometimes do after the lapse of a year. In 1813 the Government survey fixed the Jamná as the northern boundary of the Sunderbands. The Jamná joins the Ishamati (so called from its being noted for its *ikshu* sugar-canes). The Jamná, though now a khal, was a large river at the period when the whole stream of the Ganges flowed down by Tribeni, and along with the Saraswati formed the Dakhin Prayág; the ghát manjis on the route from Orissa to Tribeni are guilty of great oppression. To the north of the Jamná is GHOSPARA, famous for being the birth-place of the Kartá Bhoja sect.*

* Few respectable Hindus have joined the Kartá Bhojas, yet they are spreading, but chiefly among the *lower orders*; one of their pretences is, to substitute an actual vision of the goddess of every individual instead of a material image, each one is

We now come to the far-famed TRIBENI, the MUKTABENI of Bengal, as the Tribeni at Prayág is the Yukta Beni. Tribeni is said in the Padma Purana to give virtue and salvation to all those residing near it; a famous mela is held here in January: in 1838 over 100,000 persons attended it; of these 24,000 were from Orissa. The Shiva Purana states that the place where the Ganges unites with the Jamná is capable of destroying the sin of murdering a Brahman, particularly in the month of Magha. Stavorinus, an old Dutch traveller of the middle of last century, described the mela as attended by an immense concourse, who carried home Ganga water for the use of their relatives. Tribeni is one of the four *Samajis* or places famous for Hindu learning; the others are Nudiya, Santipur and Guptapárá. Tribeni was formerly noted for its trade: Pliny mentions that the ships assembling near the Godavery sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, then to Tentigalé, opposite Fulta, then to Tribeni, and lastly to Patna. Ptolemy also notices Tribeni. The Portuguese, Ptolemy, and the natives now call it Tripina, but incorrectly. There were over 30 tolas in Tribeni: Jaganath Pandit lived here in the time of Lord Cornwallis; he took an active part in the publication of the Hindu laws. Some years ago a Saniyasi who lived for 50 years near the bazar was attacked by dacoits; 2,000 rupees were stolen from him, and his ears were cut off. A bridge was built over the Saraswati by Prankissen of Chinsura, but it was nearly destroyed in the great storm of 1842 B. S., by an overflow of the Damuda. Jaganath presided 50 years ago over a large college in Tribeni: he was considered the most learned man in Bengal, and died at the age of 109 years. Several persons have become rich here from selling the clothes

allowed to retain the deity he has been most accustomed to honor; a secret and darkened apartment is chosen, and the initiated are made to see their own god, *i.e.* they are turned first to a strong light and then to a dark recess where fancy conjures up the image. Their chief principle is, "that by devotion God will give them eyes, and then they will obtain a sight of Him, and through that sight, salvation." The *Friend of India* states:—"It is a certain fact that a considerable number of those who first received the Gospel in Jessore, were in a measure prepared to do so by an acquaintance with the religionists of Ghospara." The same remark applies to many of the 4,000 natives who became Christians a few years ago in the Kishnaghur district. The Kartá Bhojas have given no written account of their doctrines, they think pen and ink too material; their tenets are handed down by tradition which is communicated to the initiated. Ishwar Chandra Pal, "the present head of the sect, lives in the style of a Rajah, his grandfather was a Guala, or keeper of cows. Drs. Marshman and Carey visited Ram Dulal, his father, in 1802, they found a *rath* near his house! which was handsome, stately, exceeding that of many rajahs;" he was "no less plump than Bacchus, and about 20 years of age," he argued with them, defending the doctrine of Pantheism; some of their secret rites are of the most disgustingly licentious description. They are spreading in the districts of Burdwan and Kishnaghur, and particularly along the road from Burdwan to Húgly and Calcutta.

of the dead. Stavorinus writes in 1763 that about 3 miles north of Tribeni near the river, he came to a wood in which was "an ancient building of large square stones as hard as iron, 30 feet long and 20 broad, the walls 13 or 14 feet high, no roof, 3 tombs of black stone on which were Persian characters." The Bengalis believe it was built by a magician in one night without the assistance of any mortal! In June 1837 an alligator, 12 feet long, with the arm of an adult female in his belly, was caught here at the ghat.

NYA SERAI, or the New Serai, is situated on a branch of the Damuda river, called the Kanah Nadi; its mouth is so choked up with sand at Salimpúr, that it is unable to receive much of the Damuda, and is therefore called the Kanah Nadi; attempts have been unsuccessfully made to cut through the sand, but it has filled up again; it has been proposed to cut a canal to draw the water from Bundipur to Bali Khál, or to make a canal from Gopalnagar to Bydabáti. A bridge was built here by a zemindar, but a few years ago it was washed away by the inundation in 1839; it was ordered to be rebuilt by the Court of Directors. Through Nya Serai lies the line of traffic to Burdwan and the Jungal Mahals. Stavorinus in 1768 describes the country about Nya Serai thus:—"We met with pleasant plains of arable and pasture lands, intermixed with groves of cocoanut, mango and other trees; the sugar-cane was likewise cultivated in many places, and flourished excellently." Stavorinus walked from Nya Serai to Tribeni,—"the way first led through a wood which was filled with the notes of birds, and afterwards over a lovely plain mostly consisting of pasture grounds." The banks of the river between Nya Serai and Serampore are mostly elevated, which shows it was a remnant of the ancient elevation of the land like that at Rangamati. There are a Munsif at Nya Serai and a chokey station for the Salt Department. The Nya Serai Khál is named in Rennel's maps the old Damuda; on it is *Magrá*, so called from a goddess of that name; it is on the high road to Lahore, has four tolas, and furnishes quantities of sand fit for plastering.

North of Nya Serai is the village DAMURDA; its affix *daha* an abyss, indicates like *Khal*, *Sagar*, *daha*—that it is alluvial land gained from the water. There is an English school here. A zemindar, Babu Ishwar, is said to have lived here 40 years ago, and to have been in the habit of inviting travellers to his house at night, and then strangling them while they slept; a pilgrim discovered it at night and gave information to the thána at Bansbaria; the zemindar was arrested and hung; men were found sunk in a tank near his house with stones tied round

their necks. Many natives still are afraid to go in Damurda boats. Dakoity reached its height in this neighbourhood and the Kishnaghur district about 1807 ; the dakoits had the village watchmen under their influence, and used to go with the greatest indifference to the gallows: their cruelties were most atrocious: lashing with sabres, scorching all the skin off with blazing grass, burning off the most tender parts of the body with oil and tow, violating girls, extorting confessions by rubbing hot irons over the body, &c.

On the opposite side of the river is SUKH SAGAR, placed in Rennel's map at a considerable distance from the river, which has of late made fearful encroachments, and has not left a vestige of the magnificient house of the Revenue Board that cost a lakh and a half originally. The Marquis of Cornwallis and suite, used often in the hot weather to retire to it, as it was the Government country seat before Barrakpúr. The house of Mr. Barretto, and a Roman Catholic Chapel erected by him in 1789 at a cost of 9,000 Rs., have also been washed away. Mr. Barretto was suspected by the natives, from his being a rich man, to have known the art of turning metals into gold. These encroachments of the river, together with Pal Chaudri, a rich zemindar, making a bazar in Chagdá, have led to the decay of Sukh Ságar, which owed much of its prosperity to Mr. Barretto, who made many roads there planted with *nim* trees on both sides, which remain to this day: he had a rum distillery in 1792, as also sugar works ; in his time the place was called Chotá Calcutta. On Clive passing Sukh Ságar, a small battery there gave him a salute ; he, imagining it to be an enemy's entrenchment, ordered it to be dismantled. On the courts being removed from Múrshidabad to Calcutta in 1772, the Revenue Board was fixed there, as it was thought more suitable than Calcutta from being in the country. Bissenpúr, Srinagar and Bhagdá near Sukh Ságar were noted formerly for dakoity. The zemindary of Sukh Ságar belonged to Rajah R. C. Ray of Nudiya, who made a bazar in it : there are still remaining the ruins of several fine houses built in his time : he also erected a temple to Agru-Chandy in which human sacrifices were offered. Forster in 1872, gives the following description of Sukh Ságar :—" Sukh Ságar is a valuable and rising plantation, the property of Messrs. Crofts and Lennox ; and these gentlemen have established at this place a fabric of white cloth, of which the Company provide an annual investment of two lakhs of rupees ; they have also founded a raw silk manufactory, which, as it bears the appearance of increase and improvement, will I hope reward the industrious, estimable labors of its pro-

prietors." A pátsháld was established by Government in 1845; a zemindar gave as a school room a *chaubári*, formerly built by Mr. Barretto to enable the Hindus to read the Puranas and Mahabharat. An English pay school was founded in 1844 by the Munsif under the patronage of the Vedantists; in 1846, at the annual examination, 150 respectable Babus were present. *Pitambar Sing*, an eminent native Christian convert and a Sanskrit scholar, was stationed as a catechist in 1802 at Sukh Ságar, "a pretty large place and very populous neighourhood;" he was a match in argument for the pandits; a tract was the instrument of his conversion. In 1804 he left the place on account of sickness, as also because of "his house being out of town and surrounded with robbers." Bishop Herber writes in his Journal, 1824: "I saw (near Sukh Ságar) a sign of a civilized country, a gibbet with two men in chains on it, who were executed two years ago for robbery and murder in this neighbourhood. The district bears a bad name;" he remarks that Mr. Corrie saw near it the prints of tigers' feet; at *Palpárá*, near Sukh Ságár, lived Nandakúmar Vidyalankar, who was deeply versed in Nyaya and the Tantras; he published a book called *Kularnuba*: the river has washed away twelve bigahs and a great part of Palpárá; near it is *Monasápota*, respecting which Ram Komul Sen relates the following legend:—"Bengal was once governed or possessed by *Asurs*, demons, one of whom called *Sambarásura*, was king of lower Bengal: he was killed by Pradyumna, the son of Krishná, and his corpse was thrown into pits near Sukh Ságar, in Monasápota, which was thence named *Pradyumnahrad* or Pradyumna's pit."

North of Sukh Ságar is CHAGDA (notorious for ghat murders) fabled to derive its name from Bhágirath, because when bringing the Ganges from the Himalaya to Ganga Ságar to water his forefather's bones, he left the traces of his chariot wheel *chakra* there. Chagdá as well as Bansbaria and Ganga Sagár were formerly noted for human sacrifices by drowning; the aged and children were thrown into the river; in November 1801, some pilots saw 11 persons at Sagar throw themselves to sharks; and that month 29 persons were devoured by them; it is still a famous place for burning the dead and for bathing; corpses are brought there from all parts of the country, often from great distances, when they become putrid ere they reach Chagdá; the persons carrying the corpse are not allowed to enter a house, must pay double ferry-fare, and must take fire with them as none will give it. Tavernier mentions seeing corpses brought to Chagdá, from a place twenty days' distance, all rotten and smelling dreadfully. It is singular that in former times, and particularly near Calcutta, persons

were burnt on the western bank of the river, because the true channel was considered to be there, as the river was said to have made a *new* channel on the eastern side ; this seems to favour an opinion held by some, that the Ganges is gradually tending to a more easterly direction. Chagdá is the route taken by people north of Calcutta for Dhaka and Assam, *viâ* Jessore, as the road is better and higher than that *viâ* Baraset. A road has been made from Bangaon to Chagdá 20 miles, planted with trees on both sides, by Kali Prasad Padar of Jessore. As this Babu stands out conspicuously from his countrymen by his public spirit, we give the following notice of him :—'He has indeed proved himself an example to many Roy and Chaudri zemindars of greater opulence and higher respectability.' Report of the Babu's liberality having been made by the Judge and Collector of the district, the Governor of Bengal has presented him with the title of Roy, and a Khelat consisting of a pair of rich shawls, a Kaba, and a crested turban embroidered with gold and pearls. On Monday, the 30th of March last (1846), the Judge of the district invited the most respectable European and native gentlemen of the station, including Vakils and Múktiars, and presented him with the honorary dress and a suitable address. On which the Babu felt himself much affected at the kindness of the British Government, and after returning his heartfelt thanks, gave four hundred rupees to the Jessore Government School, one hundred rupees to the Jessore Charitable Hospital, and three hundred rupees to the beggars that crowded on the occasion. Afterwards, Mr. Seton-Karr delivered an eloquent speech in eulogy of the Babu. He was followed by Roy Lokenath Bose and Babu Nilmadhnb Ghose, who all spoke to the same effect, after which the meeting dispersed. The following is a statement of the several liberal acts of the worthy Babu :—

1st. A staircase to the hill of Chuddernath.

2nd. A stone built Dhuramshala or alms-house at the Ghat Attara nullah.

3rd. A brick built Naght Mundir in the temple of Dhakshuri.

4th. A brick built bridge over the Dytollah Khal.

5th. A brick built bridge over the Bhyrub Nadi at Nílgunge.

6th. A Dhuramshala and a house of charity at Nílgunge.

7th. A road from Bongah to Chukra Dha on the banks of the Ganges, extending over nearly twenty miles, and planted on both sides with trees.

8th. A road from Chùra Maukati to Agradíp, extending

over nearly 30 miles, and planted on both sides with trees.

9th. An iron bridge over the Kobotoka river at Jhikargucha with the joint assistance of Government.

10th. A brick built bridge over the Betna river at Jadubpúr.

11th. A brick built bridge at Kaintpúr.

12th. A brick built bridge at Naudanga Huridashpúr."

Chagdá has been notorious for ghat murders: there are various persons now living there, who have been taken to the river to die, but have recovered and are *outcasts*. Great numbers of people bathe here at the Bároni festival in March; many persons come as far as from Orissa. The *barúari puja* is celebrated with great pomp here; this pujá was established in 1790 by a number of Brahmans of Guptapárá, who formed an association to celebrate a pujá not noticed in the Shástras; it is named *barúari*, because they chose 12 men, *bára*, as a committee; they collected subscriptions in the neighbouring villages, but this not being sufficient, they sent men into various parts of the country, and having obtained 7,000 Rs., they celebrated the worship of Jaggadátri Durga with such pomp, as to attract the rich to it from a distance of 100 miles around; they procured the best singers in Bengal, and spent the week in festivity: in consequence of the success of the first *barúari*, they determined to celebrate it annually, which is done in various parts of Bengal, and particularly in Ulá Guptapárá, Chagdá, Shirpúr; one-fifth of the money is devoted to the idol, the rest to singing and feasting. In 1845 an English school was established here under the patronage of the Brahma Sabhá. Stavorinus, 1786, writes: "The village of Chagdá, which gives its name to the channel, stands a little inland, and there is a great weekly market or bazar here: the channel terminates about three Dutch miles inland, and on its right has many woods in which are tigers and other wild beasts; on entering the woods a little way, we soon met with the traces of tigers in plenty, and therefore we did not think it prudent to venture farther; we met in the way the remains of a Bengali who had been torn in pieces by a beast of prey." Walking near Chagdá when it was dark, Stavorinus was warned by the natives that there were many tigers who had their haunts near, and who in the evening were wont to repair to the riverside. In 1809, Hanif and eight other dakoits were hung here. In 1808, at 9 o'clock in the evening, 45 dakoits attacked the house of a man in Chagdá, took his brother, and burned him with lighted torches and straw taken from the thatch of the house which was in the bazar; they then

rolled a bambu across his breast, he died the next day; they were torturing him during 4 gharis: it was as light as day in the bazar from the blaze of the dakoits' musalchis and torches; they plundered eight houses besides, in Chadgá; one witness stated on the trial, "the country is in the hands of the dakoits, they do not scruple to plunder in broad daylight." In 1809, one Gangá Râm Sirdár deposed before the Magistrate, to having been a dakoit since his twelfth year, and to having committed dakoities to the number of thirty-six, east of Chagdá, in the Jessore and Burdwan districts, and particularly at Bagdá; in 1815 the dakoits in Burdwan used to go in great pomp to the villages under pretence of a wedding procession, and then plundered them. In 1845 an English school was opened here by an Indigo Planter of the neighbourhood: it is conducted by two students of the Chinsura College, and has about 40 boys in daily attendance. Chagdá has two Sanskrit colleges, containing 20 pupils; they study Hindu Law, under the tuition of two Professors of Law. There are 40 Brahman families in Chadgá; in the bazar there are about 200 shops.

The MATABANGA river lies north of Chagdá; it was formerly much deeper, and was the channel of trade between the east of Bengal and Calcutta; its banks, 40 years ago, were infested by thieves and tigers. A survey was made of it in 1795 by Colonel Colebrook, as Government wished to keep it open all the year around: it is sometimes dangerous to cross on account of the torrents which suddenly come down. The Matabanga has many interesting associations in connection with one of the greatest men in Bengal, Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray of Nudiya; an interesting life of him has been published at the Serampur Press in very pure Bengali. At *Anunda Dam*, near the mouth of the Matabanga, the Rajah had a fine garden, and used often to go there to bathe; it is now over a mile inland. *Shibnibás*, some distance up the river, was the favorite residence of the Rajah; it was a princely pile and fortified, but is now surrounded with jungle; the Rajah designed to make Shibnibás equal to Kási, *i.e.*, Benares, and as in Benares, there is a great image of Shíva named Bisheshwar, so he put one in Shibnibás named Bhura Sib, hence those well known lines—

Sibnibási tulea Kási
Dhaneoa nadi Kankaná
Dhaneoa Ragu Nandaná.

A very good account is given of Shibnibás in Heber's Journal, Vol. I., p. 120; the Rajah built here 108 temples of Shíva and endowed them richly with land for the maintenance of the officiating priests. RANIGHAT, so called from the Ráni

of Krishna Chand, is the abode of many rich zemindars, and particularly of the Chaudris. Human sacrifices were offered here in the time of Krishna Chand; some of the zemindars there have been very oppressive, and were in the habit of rubbing a hot iron over a man's body and making him then sign stamped papers. Chandi Bhattacharjya died here in 1841; he had 40 wives. Raganánda, the dewan of Krishna Chand, lived here; he was noted for his inhospitality, and the following lines were composed on him :—

Rájbari ghori baja tantaná
Dui prahare atit gele,
Muktu máre chatkaná.

Dakoits swarmed here when Tytler was Magistrate in 1809. Not far from Ránighat is ULA, so called from Uli a goddess, whose festival is held here, when many presents are made to her by thousands of people who come from various parts: there are a thousand families of Brahmans, many temples, and rich men living in it. As Guptapara is noted for its monkeys, Halishar for its drunkards, so is Ula for fools, as one man is said to become a fool every year at the mela. The Baruari Puja is celebrated with great pomp; the headmen of the town have passed a bye-law that any man who on this occasion refuses to entertain guests shall be considered infamous, and shall be excluded from society. Saran Siddhanta of Ula had two daughters, who studied Sanskrit grammar and became very learned: in 1834, the Babus of Ula raised a large subscription and gave it to the authorities to make a pakka road through the town.

On the opposite side of the river is GUPTAPARA; the people of which are famous for their activity and wit and the purity of their Bengali: there are 15 tolas, and many pandits who study the *Nyaya Shastrá*; it is also notorious for thieves and Brahmans. In 1770, Cherinjib Bhattacharjya of Guptapara composed in Sanskrit the Vidyanmodu Tarangini: it treats of Hindu philosophy, and is in high repute among the natives; it was translated into English in 1832 by Rajah Kalikissen of Calcutta. There is a temple of Radha Ballub; the sons of the founder have an endowment for supplying travellers with food and drink. Guptapara is noted for its monkeys, which are very large and very mischievous, they sometimes break the women's kalsis; it has become a native proverb that, to ask persons whether they come from Guptapara, is equivalent to inquiring—are they monkeys? Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray is said to have procured monkeys from Guptapara and to have married them at Krishnaghur, and on the occasion to have invited pandits from Nudiya, Guptapara, Ula and Santipur: the expenses of the nuptials cost about

half a lakh; though there are many monkeys on the east side of the river, there are no *hanumans* or apes among them. The Rajah of Bishenpúr was formerly so annoyed with monkeys, who used to come into his palace and steal his provisions, that he at last requested a body of sipahis to destroy them. Stavorinus mentions seeing a great number of monkeys in a wood at Guptapara. There is a celebrated mela here; in 1845, in consequence of the boat swamping, 40 women were drowned as they were crossing over to the mela. At *Sumúru* village human sacrifices were offered in 1770—*Ballaghur* is the abode of many kúlíns, in the temple of Radhagovinda 12 Brahmans and 50 beggars are daily fed; it has an English school:—*Jirát* is the residence of many Vaishnavas and Vaidyas; there are two tolas in which law and logic are read: there are 30 families of Ghosians, who have a hospice there for the entertainment of all castes: Sudam, Radakanth and Swarup, notorious dakoits lived there. *Gokal Ganj* is so called from Gokal Ghose, who 30 years ago made a bazar there; in 1822 the Government erected a bungalow for the occasional residence of their then Superintendent of Schools.

SANTIPUR has long been famous for its learning: it was the residence of Adwaitya, born 400 years ago, one of the friends of Chaitanya, a Hindu reformer. There are still over 30 tolas, though they are much fewer than in former times: one-third of the people are Vaishnavas, several of the descendants of Adwaitya live at Santipúr: there is a temple which cost two lakhs erected by Chaudri Babu, it is called Shamachand. A kúlín, Chandra Banerji, was killed here 30 years ago; he was married to 100 wives, and was murdered by the brother of one of them on account of his profligate conduct towards his sister; eight of his wives performed *satí* on his funeral pyre. Satis were numerous here formerly: out of 56 satis in 1816, in the district of Nudiya, 20 were performed at Santipúr. Human sacrifices were also frequent; even as late as 1832, a Hindu, at Kali Ghat, Calcutta, sent for a Musalman barber to shave him: he asked him afterwards to hold a goat, while he cut off its head as an offering to Kali, the barber did so, but the Hindu cut off the barber's head and offered it to Kali; he was sentenced by the Nizamut to be hung. A few years ago a number of Brahmans assembled at Santipúr for puja, and began to drink and carouse after it; one proposed a sacrifice to Kali; they assented; but having nothing to sacrifice, one cried out, where is the goat, on which another more drunk than the rest exclaimed, I will be the goat, and at once placed himself on his knees; one of the company then cut off his head with the sacrificial knife. When they woke the next morning from their

drunken fit, they found the man with his head off; they had the corpse taken to the ghat and burned, and reported the man died of cholera. Suicides are on the increase; women think little of hanging themselves for any trifling domestic disturbance; ghat murders are also of occasional occurrence; an old woman was found lately dead at the ghat with her mouth stuffed with mud; a man came some time ago to the Magistrate, he was 45 years old, and requested leave to be burnt, as he said he was tired of life, and burning would be a blessing; the Magistrate offered him money which he refused: that night he was burned. The obscene rites of the Tantra Shastra are sometimes celebrated there; one of them is the worship of a shamefully exposed female. A Brahman of Santipur in the time of Rajah Krishna Chand was accused of criminal intercourse with the daughter of a shoemaker; the Rajah forbade the barber to shave him, or the dhobi to wash for him. He applied to the Rajah for pardon, and afterwards to the Nawab, but in vain; subsequently the Rajah relented and allowed him to be shaved, but the family have not regained their caste to the present time. Bribery is very common; false witnesses charge two annas a day, for which they will swear to anything. Santipúr has a great number of brick houses; it is noted for its Ghosains, ("Gentoo bishops" as Holwell calls them) tailors and weavers: fine clothes called *urini* are made; there is a sugar factory 2 miles from the town, 700 persons are employed in it, and 500 maunds of sugar refined daily. The river has made great changes: a century ago it flowed behind the sugar factory, 2 miles away from its present bed. Rennel's map marks Santipúr at a considerable distance from the river. In 1845 a grant of 20,000 Rs. was made by Government for the repair of the road leading to Kishnaghur.

The Commercial Residency of the East India Company was maintained here up to 1828; clothes to the value of 12 or 15 lakhs were purchased every year by the Company from the weavers: the Commercial Resident had a salary of 42,351 Rs. annually, and lived in a magnificent house with marble floors built for him at the cost of a lakh; it was sold for 2,000 Rs. In 1822, the East India Company cloth manufactory gave employment to 5,000 persons: 1802, the Marquis of Wellesley spent two days at the Residency: and 1792, there were shipped for England from the Santipúr factory 14,000 maunds of sugar. Majoribanks was the last Resident, and his plans failed. We have an account of indigo factories near it in 1790; in the vicinity of Santipúr are the indigo factories of Gangadarpúr, Kali Ghat, Nanda Ghat and Hurni Khal under the management of Europeans. Mr. May, the Superintendent of the Nudiya rivers, was

engaged in 1836 in surveying a line of a proposed still water canal from the Húgly near Santipúr to Mangra on the Nabaganga river, which if cut, would have afforded a certain communication with the great river at all times of the year. No place on the river was so infested with dakoits as Santipúr until the appointment of a Deputy Magistrate who is *resident* there: even zemindars and respectable Babus were in league with the dakoits; no native would formerly venture to pass Santipúr at night; guard-boats are now employed, which sail swiftly, and put a great check on river dakoity. There is an English School at Santipúr: 1822, Messrs. Hill, Warden and Trawin, of the London Missionary Society, preached in Santipúr; they remark that "the people have much simplicity and received the truth more earnestly than Bengalies generally." They examined whether Santipúr would not make a suitable mission station: they reported that "Santipúr has 50,000 inhabitants at least and 20,000 houses, many of which were built with brick and exhibit evident marks of antiquity,"—that it had a vast population—was contiguous to other large and populous villages, being only 3½ miles from Guptapara, which contains 10,000 people, about 4 miles from Ambika and Kalna, two adjacent villages, the aggregate of whose population is 45,000—"the favorable disposition of the moral feelings of the people, which we conceive has been cherished materially by the general instruction which has been diffused by the Company's schools"—the opportunity of obtaining medical assistance from Kishnaghur, 12 miles distant—the situation of the place close to the river with every facility for intercourse with Calcutta—induced them to recommend it as a mission station. Here Holwell was landed as a prisoner on his way to Múrshidabad, after surviving the misery of the Black Hole: he was marched up to the Zemindar of Santipúr "in a scorching sun near noon, for more than a mile and a half, his legs running in a stream of blood from the irritation of the irons." From thence he was sent in an open fishing boat to Múrshidabad, "exposed to a succession of heavy rain or intense sunshine." He was lodged in an open stable; he experienced, however, every act of kindness from Messrs. Law and Vernet, the French and Dutch chiefs of Kasimbazar; as also from the Armenian merchants. He was led about the city in chains as a spectacle to the inhabitants, to show the condition the English were reduced to.

KALNA (Culna) lies on the opposite side, and is noted for its great trade, being the port of the Burdwan district; the bazar has 1,000 shops, the houses are chiefly of brick. Great quantities of rice bought from merchants of Rangpur, Dewan-

ganj, Jaffirganj, are here stored up; grain, silk and cotton also form a large staple. Kalna must have been a place of some importance in Musalman times, as the ruins of a large fort are still to be seen near the mission house, which commanded the river: great numbers of snakes are brought to it from various parts of the country; the village of Ambika is situated near it, so called from Ambika, the goddess Durga. Kalna is said to have 60,000 inhabitants, the chief part of whom come from different parts of the country to carry on trade here, "they have not the simplicity which villagers generally have, but are more deceitful." The Rajah of Burdwan has a magnificient mansion here in which is a Dhatrita or alms-house, where several hundred beggars are daily fed on flour, ghi, rice and dhal; there is an Atitshala for travellers; close to it is a place called a Somaj Bati, where a bone of every deceased member of the Rajah's family is deposited, while a bone of the last Rajah is exposed wrapt up in cloth; the Rajah belongs to the Khetrya tribe, who bury the ashes of the dead: inside of the Rajbari are 108 temples of Shiva, ranged in two circles, one within the other, above, 50 priests are employed to serve them: the buildings must have cost a large sum of money, but it is to be observed that the zemindary of Burdwan is the only great estate which has suffered no diminution since the English Government was established, while the estates of Kishnaghur, Rajsháhi Dinajpúr, and Vishnupúr, formerly equal to the patrimony of princes, have been broken up and sold for arrears of revenue. In 1832 the old Rajah of Burdwan died at Ambika: the succession was afterwards disputed, and one Pratab Chand came forward to claim the property, stating that he was the real Rajah and had not been really burnt; the trial lasted a long time and was sent down to the Sadar, the decision filling 100 reams of foolscap,—as if the Sadar judges could have either leisure or inclination to wade through such a mass of documents, in order to come at the truth! The editor of the *Darpan* remarked of the trial, "such a scene of villany has been brought to the light by this trial, as has never, we believe, been exhibited in Bengal before. If the prisoner be the real Pratab Chand, the villany by which the present Rajah has been seated on the gadi to the injury of the rightful heir, is most surprising. If, on the contrary, the real Pratab Chand did actually die, and his body was burnt, the pretender will stand unrivalled for roguery:" 10,000 persons assembled on the first day of his trial at Húgly: the popular feeling was in favor of Pratab Chand.

The river formerly flowed behind Kalna, where old Kalna

now is; it passed by Pyagachi, the remains of deep and large jils are still to be met with there. Old Kalna is deserted as a place of trade, but is the residence of many respectable natives. Tieffenthaler states that at Kalna the Ganges forms a bay. At Baydapúr, near Kalna, about 1820, there were two Raths kept at a short distance from the town, near an unfrequented road; many persons were murdered by robbers who, concealing themselves there, sprang out, killed the travellers and hid their bodies among the wheels of the Rath; the people suffered much, but could not find out the murderers, at length some said the Rath was the cause: they burned it to the ground, and then *the murders ceased.* Some of Sleeman's approvers told him that *pungus* or river thugs lived near Kalna, and also near Katwa. Many persons were formerly killed at Kamardanga Khal near Kalna, so that it was unsafe to pass through it even by day. West of Kalna is a tank occupying eight bighas, where a mela is held: near it are two fine ruins of mosques, one of which has layers of stone running through the building ornamented with tracery; it contains the tomb of the founder. A good road was made between Kalna and Burdwan in 1831 with bungalows, stables and tanks, every 8 miles, by the Rajah of Burdwan, chiefly with the design of enabling him to bathe in the Ganges. Kankar is found near this road; the country to the west of Kalna is high ground, richly wooded. In 1837 property to the value of a lakh was consumed in the bazar, the fire lasted three days. In 1822 Messrs. Hill, Warden and Trawin visited Kalna and found that numbers of the boys could read. Kalna now forms a station of the Free Church Mission, and has an English school there containing 120 boys. A mela called Gachemi is held in March, attended by numbers of Musalmans and Hindus. A Musalman zemindar here holds a grant of 169 bighas made to him by Sultan Suja 200 years ago, and continued by the Rajah of Burdwan; at the village of Chaga is an image of Shiva, which is fabled to produce images of itself, and is immersed in water for ten months every year:—*Kulti* is said to produce roots which cure spleen, *Mukutpúr* has roots which are said to cure the bites of dogs. Holwell states that in his time (about 1760) there was at Amboah, near Kalna, a College of Brahmans supported by the people for the purpose also of maintaining the monkeys in the adjacent groves.

MIRJAPUR KHAL lines north of Kalna, and was designed to be the terminus of a canal to lead from the Húgli at Kalna to Rajmahal. The Military Board in 1844 reported that no permanent improvement can be made in the channels

of the Nudiya rivers owing to the shifting of the channels: they recommended a canal from Kalna to Rajmahal 130 miles long, 50 feet broad, and 5 deep, which would cost at the lowest 3,847,437 rupees; boats going to the Ganges from Calcutta would save a round of 326 miles by it, they calculated on a profit of 14½ per cent. by it: the Government had a surplus of 3,235,950 rupees from the tolls on the Bhágirathi, Circular, and Tolly's canals and the Nadya rivers. The Dhoba factory owes its origin to the enterprising spirit of Mr. Blake, who risked his fortune in it; Colonel Sleeman very justly proposed that the Agricultural Society should give him a gold medal for advancing the sugar manufacture in India; he established it under the most unfavorable circumstances, and on his arrival in England he was offered four lakhs for the concern, but he formed a joint Stock Company, which purchased the works from him for 4½ lakhs, and he retained 300 shares for himself; in 1836 they manufactured 800 tons of sugar. There are four Europeans and 250 natives employed. It has a number of factories as Tremoni in Jessore on the Kabbadak, Kissapúr, Jessore, Chandpur near Chaugachha, Rari Khali Narikalbari, Sudpúr, Bonmari, Kanchanagar, Surui, Santipúr. We find that in 1801 a Mr. Carden lived at Santipúr as Superintendent of rum and sugar works belonging to the E. I. C. He then introduced the China cane which he describes as not liable to the ravages of white ants and jackals; the E. I. C. had a sugar plantation farm at Santipúr. Mirzapúr is described by a traveller of 1822 thus: this village is situated on a beautiful arm of the river, and presents some of the most rural enchanting scenery which we have seen in India."

We next come to the far-famed NUDIYA, Nabadwip; all its early history, however, like that of Gaur, is buried in the wreck of time: we need not be surprised that we have few records of Nadiya, when we find that we have scarcely any of Gaur, though as late as 1556 Gaur was a flourishing city three leagues long; though the streets were wide, yet the people were so numerous, that they were sometimes trodden to death: it was 20 miles in circumference, and the rich people used to eat their food from golden plates. The earliest fact we know about Nudiya, is that in 1203 it was the capital of Bengal and was surrounded with a wall, that Lakhman Sen, its last sovereign, was at dinner when news reached him that Bhaktiyar Khilji, the Masalman general, was maching into the city, on which he made his escape to Vikrampúr in a small boat; his nobility apprehending a Mahommedan invasion, had some time before deserted the city. Nudiya was plundered and sacked by Bhaktiyar, and the seat of empire

was transferred to Gaur. In Lakhman's time Bengal became independent of the Magadh empire, to which it was subject before.* As to how long Nudiya was the capital, or what kings lived in it, or why that place was selected, not a single ray of light is furnished either from tradition or MSS. "*sic transit gloria mundi.*" The condition of the people at that time was probably semi-barbarous, as they very likely used the Bengali language, which was then a very poor idiom, as it has had no grammar until within the last sixty years; the upper classes and priesthood spoke and wrote in Sanskrit. Even the Bengal Brahmans were so illiterate in the days of Adisur, that he procured the services of certain Brahmans of Kanauj who had gone to Ganga Sagar to bathe. Bhaktiyar was the first Musalman invader of Bengal.† The caprices of the river have not left a fragment of any old buildings; in Lakhman's time it flowed at the west of the present town near Jehannagar; and old Nudiya, which was swept away by the river, lay to the north of the existing Nudiya. The old town was on the Kishnaghur side of the river, hence when Bengal was divided into zillahs, the district of Kishnaghur was called the district of Nudiya; Government lately intended to attach Nudiya to the Burdwan district on account of its being on the other side of the river; in 1840, a gentleman of Kishnaghur dug up the remains of fish 12 feet beneath the ground in Nudiya.

Nudiya derives much of its celebrity from its having been the birth-place of Chaitanya, the great Hindu heresiarch; hence the Chaitanya Bhagavat writes: "No village is equal to Nudiya in even earth or hell, because Chaitanya was there incarnated; no one can tell the wealth of Nudiya; if people read in Nudiya they find the ras of learning, and the number of students is innumerable." Chaitanya was born at Nudiya A. D. 1349, his father was

* *Lakhman's* mother was of the royal family of the Sovereigns of India; his birth cost the life of his mother, who by unnatural means postponed her accouchement until after a particular hour specified by the astrologers. He was so attached to Nudiya, that, notwithstanding the warnings of Brahmans and astrologers, and though the nobles and chief inhabitants, apprehensive of the invasion, sent away their families and property to Jagannath or the countries North-East of the Ganges --yet he would not quit it until he was surprised at dinner by the cries of his royal attendants, who were being slaughtered by Bhaktiyar and seventeen of his troops (he had concealed the rest of his troops in a wood near the city and had passed the guards disguised as an enemy.) The Musalmans killed a great number of the Hindus. Bhaktiyar allowed the city to be sacked, reserving only the public stores and elephants for himself: the troops also plundered all the neighbouring villages. The old Rajah went to Jagannath and died in the vicinity of the temple soon after.

† He was an Affghan, of disgusting appearance, so that his deformity caused his rejection as a volunteer by Mahommed Ghory and Kutub ud-din, yet in spite of his "vile body," the qualities of his mind shone out, and he was appointed to head the invasion of Bahar and Bengal: after sacking Nudiya, he took possession of Gaur: he died of grief at Deocote, in consequence of the total failure of his expedition to Assam and Tibet.

a Baidik Brahman: at 44 years of age he was persuaded by Adwaitya to become a mendicant, to forsake his wife and go to Benares; he then formed a sect, teaching them to renounce a secular life, to eat with all those who are Vaishnavas, he allowed widows to marry; the Ghosains are his successors; one-fifth of the population of Bengal are followers of Chitanya; his disciples are on the increase. Todd thinks the worship of Krishna succeeded that of the simple form of Hindu worship, *viz.*, of the Jains, who adore *jin* or spirit. Nityananda, a coadjutor of Chaitanya, resided in the midst of Nudiya; his image is there still and is worshipped. The era of Chaitanya formed the commencement of Bengal literature.

The settlement of Chaitanya and his followers at Nudíya (Chaitanya died A. D. 1396,) together with the Court of Bengal having been held there, were probably the chief causes of its having become a seat of learning: tradition, however, states that a learned devotee settled there, when it was a dense jangal, who attracted a number of learned men to the place: probably Nudiya derived its original supply of pandits from Tirhut. The Ayin Akbary mentions that in the time of Lakhman "Nudiya was the capital of Bengal, and abounded with wisdom;" in 1819 there was a handsome temple of Kirshna finely ornamented.

Human sacrifices used to be offered in the temple of Durga at Brahmanitala nears Nudiya: in 1799 at Banga Para, 37 widows were burnt with their husbands, the fire was burning 3 days; on the first day, 3 were burnt, on the second 15, and on the third day 19; the deceased had over 100 wives. In 1807, the *Tapta Mukti* or ordeal by hot clarified butter was tried before 7,000 spectators on a young women accused by her husband of adultery:—a meeting of Brahmans was held in 1760 at Kishnaghur before Clive and Verelst, who wished to have a Brahman restored to his caste, which he had lost by being compelled to swallow a drop of cow's soup; the Brahmans declared it was impossible to restore him (though Ragunandan has decided in the *Prayaschitta Tatwa* that an atonement can be made when one loses cast by violence) and the man died soon after of a broken heart. Nudiya was then the head-quarters of Hindu orthodoxy, the place of Hindu retreat; Gunga Gobind Singh, the dewan of Warren Hastings, after having acquired immense wealth, retired to Nudiya with two or three hundred Vairagis, leaving all his money to his grandson Lalla Babu, who withdrew to Brindaban, where he expended 6 lakhs on temples, tanks, &c. Gunga Govind Singh erected a temple over 60 feet high, which was washed away 25 years ago by the river; it was at

Ramchandrapúr, and supplied food to many fakírs and pilgrims of the Vaishnavas: he himself was a Sudra. At Bullal Digy, north of Nudiya, the house of the famous Bullal Sen stood: there were formerly many temples, but the river has swept them also away. Lord Valentia writes in 1805, of "a very handsome Musulman College at Nudiya, which was for three hours in sight and bore from us at every point of the compass during this time." The bore came up to Nudiya in Sir W. Jones' time; beyond it cocoa trees do not flourish. In 1853 a Dharma Sabha was established, called that of the Ten Thakurs; they punished offenders by excluding them from caste, by sending them, when they transgressed the Regulations, to the Magistrate of Kisnaghur, or by prohibiting midwives attending their wives in confinement. An almanac has been published in Nudiya long before the time of Rajah Krishna, it is superior to that of Bali or that of Malua near Múrshidabad: this almanac regulates the principal festivals. In May 1817, the *cholera* began in Nudiya, in 1818 it spread through India, then in 1820 to China, 1821 to Arabia and Persia, 1823 to Russia, Prussia, and in 1832 to London. The neighbourhood of Nudiya until recently was in a wild state. 80 years ago people were obliged when travelling to sound instruments to scare the tigers away; about 1802, gentlemen used to go to Kishnaghur to hunt tigers, and in 1826 a tiger was killed at Dhogachea, 6 miles west of Nudiya Dr. Leyden wrote in 1809 to Sir S. Raffles, that he was for several month's Magistrate in Nudiya, where he was engaged "bush fighting in the *jungles*." Jahanagar (the same as Brahmanitala), west of Nudiya, has a great Mela in July; the tradition is that Jahna Muni there swallowed up the Ganges. A cow called Ramdenu is worshipped in Nudiya. Another Ramdenu is worshipped in Benares; it must be one of an age to give milk, which yet has never been capacitated to do so; when one dies another is selected: she is chiefly worshipped by the person in whose house she is. There are over 30 temples in Nudiya and about 100 tolas; it is a finishing school for those pandits who wish to know logic thoroughly as Rarhi or Burdwan is for grammar students, and Kanakhya Kishnaghur for law students; there are students here 45 years old; many come to study from the distance of Assam, so that the remark of Dr. Carey, who visited Nudiya, 1794, is perfectly just, "several of the most learned pandits and Brahmans much wished us to settle there: and as this is the great place of Eastern learning we seemed inclined, especially as it is the bulwark of heathenism, which, if once carried, all the rest of the country must be laid open to us." Lord Minto wrote

a very able minute, recommending that two Sanskrit colleges should be established, one at Tirhut, the other at Nudiya ; he encouraged learning there, giving two chief pandits 100 Rs. monthly each, prizes were awarded to the best native scholars : in the first class 800 Rs., in the 2nd 400, 3rd 200, 4th 100, besides a *khelat* to the one most proficient. The C. M. S have had an English school here during the last eight years. The Rev. Mr. Deer, of the C. M. S., founded schools 16 years ago in Nudiya.

AGRADIP is called by Wilford, Aganagara, and is famous for the mela called Baroni, held in April, established for three centuries ; these melas also answer commercial purposes like the fairs of Germany *(feriæ)* ; at Ganga Sagar mela in 1838, goods to the value of 12 lakhs were sold. In 1823 Agradíp mela was attended by 100,000 persons ; in 1813 two women cast their children into the river, but the fathers took them out again and paid a certain sum to the Brahmans for their ransom ! People from Dacca and Jessore used to throw their children to the Ganges there. At Katwa two mothers did the same, one of the children was taken up, but the mother seized it again, broke its neck, and cast it into the river. The great attraction here is the image of Gopinath or Krishna ; its history is the following—Ghosh Thakur was sent as a disciple of Chaitanya and Nityananda to Agradíp, to take a certain stone and make out of it an image of Gopinath to set up there as an object of worship : Ghosh Thakur did so and it became famous. After his death the image fell into the hands of the Rajah of Kishnaghur, who sent a Brahman to perform the ceremony before the image and receive the offerings ; the offerings to the image yield an annual profit to the owner, the Rajah of Kishnagur, of about 25,000 Rs. Rajah Nabakissen seized it 30 years ago on account of a debt due to him, the lawful owner, however, regained it by a law suit, not however before a counterfeit one had been made exactly resembling it : the image is fabled to reveal many secrets ; different castes eat together at this mela : Gopinath means Lord of the Caves, as Krishna was worshipped formerly in caves, chiefly at Gaya, and Jalindra near the Indus. The temple in which Gopinath is placed was endowed by Rajah Krishna Chand with lands to the annual value of 7,000 Rs. ; in 1828 the old temple was washed away by the river, and the present temple is erected one mile from the river, built in the European style of architecture. Forty years ago there was a cloth manufactory here. In Rennel's time Agradíp was situated on the left bank of the river, it is now on the right ; it was on the left bank when Henry

Martyn visited it in 1806; he saw there a wild boar of very large size walking on the side of the river: we find that in 1769 the Bengal Government paid 1,918 Rs. to Bildars and Kulis for cutting down "the tiger jungle" at Pattehah in Agradíp; in 1771 the charge was 873 Rs. A storm occurred here in 1832 which sunk the boats of a regiment of soldiers.

*Dewangunj* indigo factory, established 53 years ago, lies north of Agradíp. It gives empolyment to a number of *buneas*, a class of aborigines like the Bagdi, Poda, Harin, Dhangas, who came from Gaur and retired to the hills. Pliny mentions indigo being brought from India; it was formerly called in Germany "the devil's dye," and the use of it was prohibited: the Elector of Saxony, in Queen Elizabeth's time, describes it as "a corrosive substance, not fit food for man or devil." In 1873 the attention of the East India Company was directed to the cultivation of it in Bengal. There are twenty-nine indigo factories between Nudiya and Múrshidabad. At one of these, Dr. A. Rogers tried experiments on the flax cultivation, having brought out a Belgian for that purpose. Chamberlain, a celebrated Missionary of Katwa, used often to visit this place, and placing himself beneath the shade of a large tamarind tree, "preach to successive congregations from sun rise to sun set."

KATWA (Cutwa,) called by Arrian Katadupa, raises up a host of associations connected with stirring scenes in Bengal history: here Clive arrived in 1756 on his route to Plasi, expecting to meet Mir Jaffir, but on his not arriving, he saw that the fate of the English hung on a hair. Should he wait two or three days at Katwa, the French under Law would by that time arrive and join the Nawab's 50,000 troops; should he fight, the river was only fordable in one place, and if defeated, "not one man would have returned alive to tell the tale:" in this crisis he called a Council of War, in which every member voted against coming to an immediate action, except two captains; Clive afterwards remarked this was the *only* Council of War he ever held, and that if he had abided by that Council, it would have been the ruin of the East India Company. After twenty-four hours' consideration, Clive took on himself the responsibility of breaking the decision of this Council, and ordered the army to cross the river. Coote was in favour of immediate action, on the ground that delay discourages soldiers, and that the arrival of Monsieur Law, (to whom the Nawab allowed 100,000 Rs. monthly,) would give vigour to the counsels of the Nawab, that many French and English soldiers would desert to Law, besides, "the distance from Calcutta was so great, that all com-

munication from thence would certainly be cut off." Katwa was formerly regarded as the military key of Múrshidabad; within six miles round it there is a population of 100,000. Pere Tieffenthaler describes it as a place where "they make much fine stuffs of cotton and silk;" it is still the great port for the Birbhum district. In the Gola Ganj there are several hundred shops which sell sugar, cloth, iron; in 1836 the Rajah of Kewganj in Birbhum offered to make a pakka road from Súri to Katwa, a distance of forty miles, provided he should be allowed the service of convicts on the road; the Judge of Burdwan remarked in 1802, "commerce has been much extended by the opening of the three grand roads leading to Húgly, Kalna and Katwa, which have been lately put into a state of repair by the labour of the convicts, and nothing can more forward the commerce of this district which has not the advantage of inland navigation, or more conduce to the general convenience of the inhabitants than good roads." There is a temple of Maha Probhu frequented by numbers of bairagis and travellers; they are fed there at the cost of the shopkeepers who contribute one pice out of every 100 Rs. to defray the expense. In 1812 a leper was burnt alive here, he threw himself into a pit 10 cubits deep, there being fire at the bottom; the leper rolled himself into it, but on feeling the fire, he begged to be taken out and struggled to get free; his mother, however, and sister thrust him in again, and he was burnt to death; he believed by so doing he should be transmigrated into a finer body: in Calcutta a few years ago there were 531 lepers, of whom 118 were beggars: lepers have burnt themselves alive in Katwa as recent as 1825. About 1810 the headless corpse of a man was found in the temple of a certain goddess at the village of Serampur near Katwa, it had been offered as a human sacrifice. Múrshid Kúli Khan erected at Katwa guard-houses for the protection of travellers; one of his officers had charge of it, and whenever he caught a thief, used to have his body split in two and hung upon trees on the high road. Katwa was the scene of various battles between the Musalmans and Mahrattas, those hardy warriors, "who deserted the plough for the sword, and the goatherd made a lance of his crook." Various parts of Bengal verify the remark of Todd, "the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life blood wherever the scent of spoil carried them; where the Mahrattas encamped annihilation was ensured; twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the spectacle of a desert;" these very Mahrattas scrupled to kill the most noxious animals, while they eagerly employed their tulwars in the destruction of man! Ali

Verdy Khan retreated in 1742 before the Mahrattas from Midnapúr to Katwa during 7 days, through a miry country, and incessant showers of rain, with no bed for the soldiers but the bare earth, and no food but grass and leaves of trees—one of the most enterprising achievements in history, exhibiting a power of endurance which somewhat reminds us of the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. The Mahrattas invaded Burdwan as late as 1760. Chaitanya paid a visit to Katwa about 1370 to see Kesab, a sanniasi, who lived there

The AJI river lies to the north of Katwa. It is said to have been formerly a deep stream, but to be now silted up; Wilford calls it the Ajamati or shining river; it is the Amystis of Megasthenes. Arrian mentions it; it is named the Ajaya in the *Galava Tantra*, which states that whoever bathes in it becomes unconquerable. Jaydeva, the great lyric poet of Bengal, was born on the banks of the Aji near Kenduli, in the opinion of Lassen and the Vishnuvites, though others assign his birthplace to Tirhút or Orissa. The Gita Govinda was translated by Sir W Jones into English, by Lassen into Latin, and by Ruckert into German. The Great Akbar was an enthusiastic admirer of the mystic poetry of Jaydeva, so like the Suffism of the Persians: his poetry is studied very much at Nathdwara near Udyapur. Jaydeva lived according to Todd 3,000 years ago; according to Lassen A. D. 1150, his tomb is at Kenduli near Ilambazar, and there is an annual festival held there resorted to by numbers of Vaishnabs, as Jaydeva strongly recommended in his writings the worship of Krishna, particularly in his Gita Govinda, which he composed at Katamkhandi, a village 12 miles north of Ilambazar: the place is still called Jaydevpara. L. Sen, a poet, lived on the banks of the Aji, 12 miles from Katwa; people travelling are fond of singing his poems; there is an account of him in the Dharma Puran, as also a description of Katwa. The Dhoba Company have coal stores at Katwa; they bring their coals down the Aji, which is a very dangerous stream, as the boats are often swamped by sudden rushes of mountain torrents. The Aji and Babla sometimes flow down with such violence from the Birbhum hills as to cause the Bhagirathi to roll back its waters. To the north of the Aji is the FORT OF KATWA, which was half a mile in circumference, taken by Coote in 1757; it had 14 guns mounted then: in 1763 Captain Long took it from Kasim Ali: the walls were of mud, it commanded the river; Major Coote, with 200 European and 500 Native troops and 2 guns came to the banks of the Aji and called on the garrison to surrender; the sipahis crossed the river and fired on

the garrison under shelter of the bank, when the garrison saw the Europeans cross the river they set fire to a shed of mats which had been made to protect the walls from the sun, and escaped to the north; within the fort, and in several granaries in the neighbourhood, the English found as much rice as would support ten thousand men for a year. At the close of the rains of 1742 Ali Verdy had 600 of his soldiers drowned on the breaking of a bridge of boats as he was crossing the Aji to attack Bhaskar Rao in Katwa: the Mahrattas had then possession of all the country west of Múrshidabad, so that the inhabitants of the city were obliged to remove their property across the Ganges, as the enemy in the dry season had plundered all the country about Plasi and Daudpúr.

Following the tedious and shifting windings of the river we come to the field of PLASI (Plassey) so called from Palasa, a tree counted very holy; Sir W. Jones states that there was a grove of those trees at Plasi formerly, they were to be seen at Kishnaghur in Jones's time. Of the famous mango grove called Lakha Bag, from there having been a lakh of trees in it, (this tope was about a mile to the east of Ramnagar Factory,) all the trees have died or been swept away by the river, excepting *one*, under which one of the Nawab's generals, who fell in the battle, is buried; the place is called by the natives *Pirha Jágá*, and is held sacred by the Hindus and Musalmans, but particularly by the last. This grove was 800 yards long and 300 broad, it existed at the time of the battle, there is only one tree left; the river has so changed its course as to have swept away everything which was on the surface at the time the battle was fought; as late as 1801 there were 3,900 mango trees remaining, and the place was notorious for dakoits who lurked in jungles there. An English traveller of 1801 thus writes about Plasi, "the river continually encroaching on its banks in this direction, has at length swept the battle field away, every trace is obliterated, and a few miserable huts, literally overhanging the water, are the only remains of the celebrated Palasi." Murders and dakoities were formerly very common in the neighbourhood of Plasi, the jungly state of the country affording shelter to marauders of every description: it is now a cultivated plain. Important as the battle of Plasi was to English interests, there was another equally so, the battle of Biderra, near Chinsura, for as Holwell remarks, had the Dutch gained the victory, they would have been joined by the Nawab, "and not an individual of the colony would have escaped slaughter." Clive is said to have fallen asleep amid the roar of the cannon in the battle; when he awoke he found the enemy retiring, but

he put Major Kirkpatrick under arrest for advancing without his orders—while he was asleep, one cause of the defeat of the Nawab's troops was that their matchlocks did not fire owing to the rain having wetted the powder. A life of Clive was published by an Italian in 4 vols. It was compiled by a deadly enemy of Clive, who wrote it with the intention of damaging his character. We mention the following few notices of him which are little known, and are not recorded in Malcolm's Life of Clive—Clive was called by Pitt in the Senate "the heaven-born general"—he learned dancing at Paris, 1763, in order to please the French ladies—many of the French nobility, who despised all the mercantile class, contemned Clive for having been in a mercantile office—he forbade all the Company's servants in India the use of palankins, and the junior servants the use of even an umbrella—he rose early, and then executed a good part of his business, afterwards breakfasted, and then took exercise :—he was rather reserved in company—he was a great enemy to interlopers. When leaving India, 1767, he issued orders that all free merchants should be recalled to Calcutta, and should not quit it.

Clive knew nothing of the vernaculars—Clive, the warrior of India, and Orme, his historian, were appointed writers the same day—after the battle of Plasi, he proposed to the authorities the conquest of China, in order to pay off the national debt! Mír Jaffir (nicknamed Clive's ass) sent a message after the battle to offer Clive several hundred of Suraj-ud-daulah's women which were taken in the camp—an East India Director once asked Clive whether Sir Roger Dowler (Suraj-ud-daulah) was not a baronet—this is as good as Lord George Bentinck's stating that, if the price of sugar be raised, the hundred million of Hindus will not be able to sweeten their tea—Clive's voyage from England to Calcutta, 1765, cost the East India Company 73,489 Rs. He used all his influence and power to get Benodoram, a native favorite of his, restored to caste, but failed—when he went home, he was exposed to various insults from civilians or military men whom he had offended in India. Once he was obliged to disguise himself three times in one day to avoid the persuit of some of his enemies. Clive suggested a plan to Pitt for establishing a mighty empire in India, extending from the Ganges to Kambay, he proposed in 10 years to pay off the national debt from the diamond mines, and to divide the country into ten provinces with deputy governors in each. The people of Múrshidabad expected to be plundered after the battle, and were therefore greatly surprised when no contribution was levied on them,—Clive, remarked that when

he entered Múrshidabad at the head of 200 Europeans and 500 sipahis, the inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done it *with sticks and stones.* RAMNAGUR silk factory* is opposite the field of Plasi, the river formerly ran behind it. *Saktipur* near Ramnagar is noted for an annual mela of Shiva in March, when many visitors and shopkeepers repair to it from Calcutta and Múrshidabad, 30,000 people assemble: silk is produced chiefly on the west bank of the river, as the soil there is dark and more suitable for it. Near the village of *Munkirra* not far from Ramnagar, Ali Verdy treacherously assassinated Bhaskar Pandit with 19 of his officers. The troops of Suraj-ud-daulah, when driven from Plasi, were pursued by the English to *Daudpúr* nine miles distant. The Nawabs of Múrshidabad then kept a stud of 300 elephants there, they still keep them; it was a hunting seat; there is a large *bil* called Kalantar near it, where abundance of Chera, called dal, is procurable for elephants; from this place Mír Jaffir sent word to the English that he was come to join them, while the Nawab went to Múrshidabad and offered large sums of money to induce the soldiers to fight for him, but they would not; at night he escaped from the palace windows with two or three attendants. Mangan Para lies north of Plasi, and is famous for the Kacheri of the Berhampúr Rajah.

RANGAMATI next presents its bluff cliffs, forty feet high, the only elevated ground in that neighbourhood, it being either a spur of the Birbhum hills, or else rock decomposed *in situ*, the remains of the original level of the country; the earth is red, *ranga mati*, and of the same kind with that found near Rampúr Baulea and Midnapúr, the intervening soil of a similar description being probably washed away by a process of denudation; Parasnath hill is 5,000 feet high, while all the surrounding country is a low table land; red clay, like that of Rangamati, encompasses the Delta of Bengal, and is found in Dinajpúr, Rajshahi, Dhaka, Goalpara. Dr. McClelland observes, "this clay has long appeared to me like the remnant of the ancient continuous surface, through which the rivers have cut their channels for ages, so as nearly to have effaced it altogether." The legend respecting Rangamati is, that Bibisan, brother of Raban, being invited to a feast by a poor Brahman at Rangamati, as a token of gratitude rained gold on the ground, and hence the earth is red; by others it is ascribed to Bhu Deb,

* Belonging to Mr. W. Rose, an ingenious and enterprizing gentleman, to whom, for his producing the best samples of white and yellow silks, the Agricultural Society have awarded two gold medals.

who, through the power of his *tapasya*, rained gold. Wilford writes that Rangamati was formerly called Oresphonta, Hararpunt or Hararpana, *i. e.*, ground *árpaná* consecrated to Hara or Shiva. "Here was formerly a place of worship dedicated to Mahadeva or Hara, with an extensive tract of ground appropriated to the worship of the God; but the Ganges having destroyed the place of worship, and the holy ground having been resumed during the invasions of the Musalmans, it is entirely neglected. It still exists, however, as a place of worship, only the image of the Phallus is removed to a great distance from the river," it is called by the poets Kusumapúri, an epithet applied to favorite towns of theirs, as Patna, Burdwan, Rangamati. The remains of pottery, which have been dug up, show that there was a large population here once: in the Mogul times there was a Fauzdar; and in 1767 the Zemindar of Rangamati received a *Khelat* at the *puna* of Mutijil to the value of 7,278 Rs. Rangamati was one of the ten fauzdaris into which Bengal was divided; it is resorted to as a sanitarium, and is a favourite place for pic-nic parties; the undulations of land and scenery remind one of England; it abounds with partridge and snipe, and shooting excursions are often made there. It was once selected, instead of Berhampúr, for the erection of barracks, as being a high and healthy spot. In 1835 the Company's silk factory here was sold for 21,000 Rs., it had 1,500 bigas of land attached to it; the high land is not so well adapted for the growth of the mulberry as that of the low alluvial soil in the neighbourhood: in 1784 Warren Hastings, spent a few days here with Sir John Doyley—Hastings' name suggests various points—he was the first Governor-General who patronised Oriental and Statistical studies, as the inquiries on Tibet, Cochin China, and the Red Sea show; he supported, at his own expense, pandits in Calcutta to translate from the Sanskrit, poems and mythological works, and yet Burke could say of him "he never dines without creating a famine in the land!" His trial lasted seven years; two hundred Lords marched in procession on the opening of it to Westminster Hall. Hastings was *accessible to all natives.*

BERHAMPUR, so called from a Musalman officer Brampúr, who was in one of the Nawab's armies, is noted for its fine barracks. Our military frontier is now at the *Sutlej;* 80 years ago *Berhampúr* was the northern frontier station. In 1763 one detachment of the English troops occupied Birbhum, another Kishnaghur, while the body of the army was between Ghyretty and Kasimbazar. The barracks cost in 1765-67 the sum of £302,270; articles for them cost three times as much as in Calcutta. In 1768 the Chief

in Council of Kasimbazar appointed a committee to investigate into the exhorbitant charges made, they suspended three covenanted Government officers for overcharges, amounting to two lakhs, the difference between the cost and charges to the East India Company. It was proposed to surround the barracks with a ditch to prevent the soldiers going to Múrshidabad and getting drunk, but it was found it would have cost a lakh. The Seir Mutakherim in 1786 states, "the barracks of Berhampúr are the finest and healthiest any nation can boast of; there are two regiments of Europeans, seven or eight of sipahis, and fifteen or sixteen cannon placed there, and yet I heard men say that the Musalmans were so numerous at Múrshidabad, that with *brick bats* in their hands they could knock the English down." In 1771 Berhampúr, Chittagong, Dinapúr and Allahabad were regarded as the four head-quarters in Bengal. The English in a letter to Suraj-ud-daula in 1768, stated they did not wish to have any troops beyond the Karamnassa. George Thomas, who came out to India from Ireland as a common sailor, and became afterwards a General in the service of the Begam Sumrú and master of the province of Hurriana, died here in 1802 on his way to Calcutta to embark for Europe, and is interred in the burial ground. Creighton of Gaur, one of the first who established native missionary schools in this country, is also buried here; he lived for twenty years with the late Charles Grant at Goamalty, "without a single instance of a painful difference:" he published a plan of the best mode of establishing native schools, and supported several at his own expense; *he connected schools with his factories and gave daily instruction to his factory servants.* He died at the age of forty-two, and his friend W. Grant, a kindred spirit, was buried the next month, in the same grave-yard with him.

"Little Henry," the subject of Mrs. Sherwood's beautiful tale "Little Henry and his Bearer," is also buried here. Mrs. Sherwood lived to the east of the burial ground. At the time of the great famine of 1771, travellers were found dead here with money bags in their hands, as they could not purchase corn with them. 1810, in consequence of an earthquake, the water of the tank here turned a dark green colour, and an immense number of fish, many of them weighing from 10 to 18 seers, floated dead on the surface, they were taken away in carts by natives, some were buried, and some used for manure. A gentleman lived at Berhampúr in 1813, who was very anxious to improve the country, and seeing the natives carrying the earth in baskets on their heads, he procured six wheel barrows instead, which the natives used constantly

before him, but one day congratulating himself on advancing their improvement, he saw them carrying the wheel barrows *on* their heads. A theatre was established at Berhampúr in 1821. A Bible Association was established in 1830, and an Agricultural Society in 1837. To the south of Berhampúr is Gora Bazar, inhabited by Musalmans or people from the North-West, who speak Urdú: to the South-East of Berhampúr, two miles, the *Cheltia Mela* is held in honor of Roganath, it is attended by about 20,000 people. Berhampúr was forty years ago the residence of General Stewart, who used to offer puja to idols and worship the Ganges; he lived to an advanced age, was well acquainted with the manners of the natives; his Museum in Chauringi was opened to the public; during the last years of his life he fed an hundred destitute beggars daily: he was called "Hindu Stewart." Like Job Charnock he married a Hindu, and she made a Hindu of him. At *Vishnupúr* human sacrifices were formerly offered.

KASIMBAZAR is so named from Kasim Khan who founded it: it gives its name to the island of Kasimbazar, included between the Bhagirathi from Nudiya up and the Jellingi; tigers and boars abounded in the neighbourhood thirty years ago, as also birds of beautiful plumage; Lord Velentia, however, states that there were no tigers there in 1802, owing to the increase of population and the rewards of ten Rs. per head for every tiger offered by Government. At different periods, Government spent a lakh and a half in Bengal in rewards for killing tigers; it was a regular charge at the Kacheri of Húgly. Kasimbazar is now three miles from the river. The Decennial Settlement brought much land into cultivation; an Indian traveller of 1811 writes:—"Kasimbazar in noted for its silk, hosiery, coras, and inimitable ivory work, but as to the greater part of its surface, it is a wilderness inhabited only by beasts of prey, at twelve or eleven miles from Berhampúr, an almost impervious jungle extends for a considerable space denying entrance to all but tigers." Bolts, a factor, at Kasimbazar, made nine lakhs by trade between 1760 and 1767. Bruton in 1632 writes of "the city of Kasimbazar where the Europeans have their factories, the country affords great quantities of silk and muslins." Kasimbazar was a great mart in former days for trade. Reynal remarks: "Kasimbazar is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajmahal: it is the general market of Bengal silk, a great quantity of silk and cotton stuffs are manufactured here; they are circulated through part of Asia; of the unwrought silk 3 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories." The cotton trade

is almost extinct there now, owing to the cheap importations from England, but 500,000 pieces of Kora are manufactured there at present, amounting in value to thirty lakhs. In 1677 Mr. Marshall employed in the factory here was the first European who learned Sanskrit, he made a translation of the Sri Bhagavat into English, which is preserved in the British Museum. A melancholy instance of Sati was witnessed here in 1742 by Holwell in the time of Sir F. Russel's chiefship, in the case of the widow of Ram Chand Pandit, a Mahratta; her friends, the merchants and Lady Russel, did all they could to dissuade her: but to show her contempt of pain, she put her finger in the fire and held it there a considerable time, she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, sprinkled incense on it and fumigated the Brahmans, and as soon as permission to burn arrived from Hoseyn Shah, Fauzdar of Múrshidabad, she mounted the pyre with a firm step. In 1681 out of 230,000£ sent by the East India Company for investment to Bengal, 140,000£ of it was sent to Kasimbazar: that year Job Charnock was chief there. In 1620 the English had commercial agents at Patna, and in 1658 they had them at Kasimbazar, Húgly and Balasore: 1767, on of the members of Council was appointed to be chief of the trade at Kasimbazar. In 1753 Warren Hastings was a commercial assistant here, and devoted much of his time to Persian; in 1757, on the place being taken by Suraj-ud-daula, who encamped with his whole army opposite to it, he was made prisoner and sent to Murshidabad: the English had a fort then here, which at the time of the battle of Plasi was more regular and tenable than that of Calcutta: it had four bastions; in that year Suraj-ud-daula came before the fort with his whole army, and Mr. Watts recommended that a fortification should be erected at Múrshidabad: the Court of Directors in reply stated, that in subordinate settlements they could not bury the Company's capital in stone walls, that their servants were so thoroughly possessed of military ideas, as to forget that their employers were *merchants*, and trade, their principal object. The Commercial Resident here had a salary of 50,160 Rs.; the filatures and machinery of the East India Company were worth twenty lakhs; in 1768 it was recommended that European troops should not be brought nearer to Calcutta than Kasimbazar on account of the climate of Calcutta being so unfavourable to European health.

The FRENCH had a factory at Kasimbazar, as also at Malda: the one at Kasimbazar is now marked only by ruined walls and an old flagstaff, it is called Farasdanga, the native population have deserted it for the more profitable settlement of Khagra

and Gora Bazar. The French *still* own Farasdanga, though they make no use of it; the site is occupied by native distilleries. They had a factory at Saidabad, where Dupleix lived a long time, he was the Louis Phillippe of the French interests in Bengal, as his great aim was to raise French power through the influence of French commerce. Dupleix gained twenty lakhs in India and originated the French private trade therein: with all his attention to business he indulged in frivolity: he has been seen in the streets of Chandernagar with a fiddle in his hand and an umbrella over his head, running naked with some other young fellows, and playing tricks at every door. SAIDABAD has an Armenian church, built about 1757, and in Tieffenthaler's time, a great number of Armenian merchants lived in beautiful houses here and carried on trade.* From Saidabad Clive wrote the memorable letter to the Council, the 6th of May 1766, apprising them of the conspiracy among the officers, and their determination to lay down their commissions since the Company had reduced their batta. From Saidabad, embankments extend to Bhamenea ten miles distant, they used to cost annually for repairs over a lakh: 1767 Múrshidabad was near being washed away in consequence of the embankments breaking down. In 1838 a meeting of natives was held at the house of the Hon'ble W. Melville, Governor-General's Agent, to establish an English school, they subscribed 6,000 Rs; the school flourished for a year; English, Bengali, Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit were taught; but when those Europeans who took an interest in it left the station, it dwnidled away.

MURSHIDABAD is of earlier date than the time of Múrshid Kúli Khan, its reputed founder, but rather embellisher; he made it the capital in 1714 as being a central place. Akbar, writes Tieffenthaler, founded Múrshidabad and sent a body of troops to a place east of it, called Akbarpúr. Every part of Múrshidabad suggests ideas connected with a fallen Musalman dynasty;

* "The Armenians gradually came from Gujarat and Surat, to Benares and Bahar: about one hundred and fifty years ago they formed a settlement at Saidábad in consequence of a Phirmaund from the Mogul. When the Dutch settled at Chinsura in 1625, they were followed by the Armenians." As opulent merchants they exercised great influence over the Moguls. When Holwell landed in 1757 as prisoner at Murshidábád, having his body covered with boils and loaded with fetters, he was received kindly by the Armenian merchants. Travernier in 1665 met four Armenian merchants, who traded with Butan and *supplied the people there with idols!* Yet in building their Church in 1695 at Chinsura, no Hindus or Musalmans were employed at it, but only Armenians. Akbar had an Armenian servant of whom he entertained a high opinion—Coja Gregory, an Armenian, was the chief man at the court of Mír Kasim, he trained all the Nawab's infantry and cavalry in the English manner and commanded the artillery; in 1772 he presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of the treatment he and his nation received from the Company's servants, both in person and property; they were *rival* traders.

in 1759 it was 5 miles long and 2½ broad. Since the removal of the revenue courts and capital from it to Calcutta in 1772, Múrshidabad has been in a state of rapid decline. The reason of the removal was—that appeals were thus made to Calcutta direct, and only one establishment kept up—the records and treasure were insecure in Múrshidabad, which "a few dakoits might enter and plunder with ease." Hastings also assigned a reason that thereby Calcutta would be increased in wealth and inhabitants, which would cause an increase of English manufactures, and give the natives a better knowledge of English customs. The palmy days of Múrshidabad have passed away—the times when the Koran was the only code, when the Nazim decided in all capital cases, and when a court held on Sunday was the only appeal from the provinces;—when the despotic principles of Moslem Governments rendered the courts rather instruments of power than of justice—when all eyes were turned to Múrshidabad as the centre of Government and source of favour. The splendour of a court has faded away and also the outlay of money connected with it; we find that on the marriage of Suraj-ud-daula, Ali Verdy kept a continued feasting for a month in his palace at Múrshidabad: all comers were welcome, every family in the city, rich and poor, partook of his hospitality, by receiving several times tables of dressed victuals called turahs, none of which cost less than 25 Rs., and thousands of them were distributed in Múrshidabad.

On the golden principal of "the greatest good of the *greatest number* for the greatest length of time," we think the English rule preferable to the Moslem in Bengal, though we do not attach so much value to the tranquillity, which is the result of English sway, for, as an author remarks: "We have given the Hindus tranquillity—but it is the tranquillity of *stagnation*, agitated by no living spring, ruffled by no salutary breeze." It cannot be questioned that even an imperfect native government may be much better for a country on the whole, than a foreign one, though the latter be theoretically better constituted: we do not, however, apply this remark to India; the Hindus have, by the English Government, been delivered from the caprice of such monsters as Suraj-ud-daula, who did not scruple to bury one of his mistresses alive between walls at Múrshidabad, and was so profligate, that no woman's virtue was safe. Golam Hussein gives a faithful and lively picture of the licentiousness and despotism that prevailed at Múrshidabad. Múrshid Kúli used to compel defaulting zemindars to put on loose trowsers, into which were introduced live cats. Suraj-ud-daula murdered persons in open day in the streets of Múrshidabad

There are, however, some bright features in this dark picture, and which it would be well were the English Government to imitate. The Musalman sway in Múrshidabad reminds us that among the results were—wealth was scattered over the country: the courts of the Rajahs formed the centre of influence within their respective domains: the Musalmans made India their *home*, they forgot the country whence they came, and made themselves *part of the people;* though they plundered the people, they did not send away the money to *foreign* lands; their wealth chiefly circulated in India, in which they invited their countrymen to settle and increase the population: the Nawabs mixed with the people and allowed them *access*. The Seir Mutakherim (written 1786) remarked—"of all the English that have carried away princely fortunes from this country, not one of them has ever thought of showing his *gratitude* to it, by sinking a well, digging a pond, planting a public grove, raising a caravanserai or building a bridge." The revenue collected from the people circulated among them: large jagírs were granted to nobles, on which they *settled;* armies of horse were maintained for show; the buildings in Bengal now are not equal to the old ones in magnificence, "the remains of stupendous causeways, ruins of bridges, and of magnificent stairs on the banks of rivers, not replaced by similar undertakings of modern date, suggest melancholy reflections on the decline of the country;" these observations are not so applicable *now* however. Numbers of learned Arabic scholars came from Persia and received endowments and patronage. Forster in his travels remarks on this subject, "the native princes and chiefs of various descriptions, the retainers of numerous dependants, offered constant employment to a vast number of ingenious manufactures, which supplied their masters with gold and silver stuffs curiously flowered, plain muslins, a diversity of beautiful silks, and other articles of Asiatic luxury. In 1742 the court was removed from Rajmahal to Múrshidabad by Ali Verdy Khan, in order to watch the English better, as also to be enabled to contend to more advantage with the Mahrattas.

The great FAMINE of 1770 caused dreadful havoc at Múrshidabad; in April 1770 desolation spread through the provinces: multitudes fled to Múrshidabad; 7000 people were fed there daily for several months; but the mortality increased so fast, that it became necessary to keep a set of persons constantly employed in removing the dead from the streets and roads. At length those persons also died, and for a time dogs, jackals and vultures were the only scavengers. The dead were placed on rafts and floated down the river, the bearers died from the

effluvia. whole villages expired, even children in some parts fed on their dead parents, the mother on her child. Government has been blamed by a certain existing society as the cause of this famine: how could they prevent the effects of the rains of heaven and the overflowing of the rivers which caused a deficiency of crops? It is vividly described by Macaulay, "the whole valley of the Ganges was filled with misery and death. The Hoogly every day rolled thousands of corpses close to the porticos and gardens of their English conquerors;" Múrshidabad is memorable as the residence of the SEATS, the bankers of the Bengal Government, respecting whom Burke remarked in the House of Commons "that their transactions were as extensive as those of the Bank of England." The Emperor of Delhi conferred on one of them the title of Jagat Seat, *i.e.*, the banker of the world; Jagat Seat kept all the revenue of Bengal in his treasury at Múrshidabad; he was the Rothschild of India, and though plundered of two millions of money by the Mahrattas, when they *luted* Múrshidabad, the loss seemed scarcely to be felt by him; we find in 1680 the Seats were a great family and employed in supplying piece-goods to the English merchants. Jagat Seat helped Múrshid Kúli Khan to purchase the continuance of his office as Nawab of Bengal after the death of Arangzeb. Clive proposed Jagat Seat as arbiter of the dispute between him and the Nawab: he was one of the Council of three to the Nawab in Clive's time, and had charge of the receipts and disbursements of the Government. The Seats were great friends to the English, in whose integrity in commercial transactions they had the strictest confidence; there is a tradition that they, in common with many other natives, were so indignant with Suraj ud-daula for his cruelties, ripping open pregnant women through curiosity, and drowning persons in order to see their dying struggles—that they lent money to the English to enable them to carry on the war with the Nawab, and through their money and influence they contributed very much to the transfer of the supreme power from Suraj-ud-daula to Mír Jaffir. They used to lend Government a crore at a time. In 1717 there was a family of the Seats in Calcutta, who were very instrumental in bringing it into the form of a town: but the transfer of the seat of Government from Múrshidabad to Calcutta led to their decay; a descendant of Jagat Seat lives at Múrshidabad, he occupies the residence of his ancestors which is in a dilapidated state; for some time the members of the family subsisted by the sale of the family jewels, but lately Government has granted the representative of the family a pension of 1,200 Rs. monthly; all the family

papers were destroyed some time ago by a fire. The Seats were Jains, and built several Jain temples in Múrshidabad. Todd states, "more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity; the majority of the bankers are the Jains from Lahore to the ocean."

There are now few ancient edifices in Múrshidabad, though a tax of 8,000 Rs. annually was levied for permitting bricks to be brought from Gaur for buildings in Múrshidabad. These bricks were enamelled, and *the natives of Bengal now cannot make bricks* equal to those that were manufactured at Gaur. The greater part of the nobles have gone to Delhi or have returned to Persia; there is not a nobleman there now who is not connected by blood or marriage with the Nawab Nizam, excepting Mohamed Reza Khan, who is independent and possesses a respectable competency: he is a descendant of the famous Muzafir Jang, who lived in the time of Warren Hastings. There was a mint here where silver was coined in the name of the Emperor: it yielded a revenue of three lakhs annually, and was erected by Múrshid Kúli Khan in 1704. "The East India Company in 1745 paid Múrshid Kúli 25,000 Rs. for permission to establish a factory at Kasimbazar, for the convenience of having the bullion, which they sent from Europe, coined into rupees at the mint," which reminds us of what Zelim Sing said to Colonel Todd, "the time will come when there will be but one sikka throughout India." On the right bank of the river in former times there were many houses; the Nawab's palace stood there. The Sadak Bag was famous in 1800 for the Nawab's garden and the College of Fakírs near it called Akara Munsaram. The palace of Mír Jaffir stood on the right bank of the river, and had accommodation enough for three European monarchs. That of Suraj-ud-daula was on the left; both were fortified with cannon. There are many Karta Bhojas to the east of Múrshidabad. Forster in 1807 remarks that at the entrance to the town was a large and magnificent gateway and a parapet pierced with embrasures for cannon, it was probably the remains of a fortification erected in 1742 against the Mahrattas, who in Ali Verdy's time plundered the suburbs of Múrshidabad. In 1839 when a meeting was held at Berhampúr in favor of steam communication between England and India, twenty members of the Nawab's family were present, and the first resolution passed was—that every Mahommedan was interested in it success, as shortening the period of going to, and returning from Mecca—and yet when the first river steamer passed Múrshidabad the natives thought it was a *bhút* or goblin breathing out flames, that was come to devour their children.

MUTIJIL, or the lake of pearl (a favorite name applied to a lake in Kashmír and another in Lahore), is a lovely spot, south of Múrshidabad: there are only a few arches now left of the magnificent palace erected here of black marble brought from Gaur; it was built by Suraj-ud-daula at enormous expense in order to "indulge his vicious pleasures beyond the reach of control;" he quitted this palace in order to fight the battle of Plasi; and from the same place, 1766, Clive wrote a letter making over five lakhs bequeathed to him by Mir Jaffir, to a fund since called Clive's fund. Hamilton states the Mutijil was "one of the windings of the former channel of the Kasimbazar river:" others, however, think it was commenced for the purpose of making bricks for the houses, which at one time covered the piece of land surrounded by the Mutijil: some years ago the Nawab was induced, at the recommendation of the Hon'ble W. Melville, the Resident, to establish an experimental agricultural garden there. Tieffenthaler writes: "The Governor of Bengal resides at Coleria, and one mile from it is a great and magnificent palace, called Mutijil, from the clearness of its waters." When the building was nearly ready, Suraj-ud-daula invited Ali Verdy to see it, he locked up Ali Verdy in a room and refused to release him unless the zemindars there paid a fine from their lands; Ali Verdy was obliged to grant it, as also to give Suraj-ud-daula the privilege of erecting a granary, which the inhabitants called Munsurganj or the granary of the victorious, *i. e.*, of Suraj-ud-daula who outwitted his grandfather. The piece of land surrounded by the Mutijil in the form of a horse-shoe, was formerly covered with houses. In its neighbourhood Lord Teinmouth once lived, he devoted his days there to civil business and his evenings to solitude, studying Urdú, Persian, Arabic and Bengali; after dinner when reposing, an intelligent native used to entertain him with stories in Urdú: he carried on an extensive intercourse with the natives and superintended a small farm: he writes of it—"here I enjoy cooing doves, whistling blackbirds and purling streams, I am quite solitary, and, except once a week, see no one of Christian complexion." He amused himself in improving the Nawab's grounds and enjoying the recreation of music during the years 1771-2-3. The PUNA was the annual settlement of the revenue of Bengal, when the principal zemindars and all the chief people of the country assembled at Mutijil in April and May: it was abolished in 1772, because it was found that the amils or contractors rack rented: the zemindars used to come to the Puna with the state of amrahs, it was viewed as an act of fealty or homage to the Nawab of

Múrshidabad, and the annual rent roll of the provinces was then settled; Khelats were distributed each year; in 1767 the Khelat disbursement amounted to 46,750 Rs. for Clive and his Council: 38,000 Rs. for the Nizamat: 22,634 Rs. for the people of the treasury: 7,352 Rs. to the Zemindar of Nudiya: to the Raja of Birbhum 1,200 Rs: of Bishenpúr 734 Rs.: the sum expended on Khelats that year amounted to 216,870 Rs. The practice of distributing these Khelats was of long standing, as they were given to the zemindars on renewal of their sunnuds and as a confirmation of their appointment; to the officers of the Nizamat they were an honorary distinction; the people held the Puna in great esteem, and Clive, regarding it as an ancient institution, raised a special revenue collection to defray the expenses of it; but in 1769 the Court of Directors prohibited the giving of presents at the Puna. In 1767 at the Puna the Nawab was seated on the Musnud, Verelst the Governor-General, was on his right, and recommended in the strongest manner to all the ministers and landholders, to give all possible encouragement to the clearing and cultivating of lands for the mulberry. It must have been a splendid sight when, amid all the pomp of oriental magnificence, Khelats were presented to the Rajahs or Nawabs of Dhaka, Dinajpúr, Húgly, Púrnea Tippera, Silhet, Rangpúr, Birbhúm, Bishenpur, Pachete Rajmahal, and Bhaglipúr; a form like the Puna is still kept up at each Zemindar's Kacheri. Newish Mahomed, nephew of Ali Verdy, is buried at Mutijil in a mosque built by him; at his funeral there was great lamentation of the people, as he was very charitable, he could not bear to be on bad terms with any one. Ecramed Daula, the brother of Suraj-ud-daula, is also buried here, "on his death the city of Múrshidabad looked like an immense hell filled with people in mourning." The East India Company's Political Residents lived at Mutijil, and several of them made large fortunes there; one of them returned to Europe in 1767, having, as is said, during his three years Residency, accumulated property to the amount of nine million of stivers.

On the right bank of the river, opposite Mutijil, is the burial place of the Nawabs; here Suraj-ud-daula and Ali Verdy are buried side by side. Forster in 1781 mentions that mullahs were employed here to offer prayers for the dead, and that the widow of Suraj-ud-daula used often to come to the tomb and perform certain ceremonies of mourning in memory of her deceased husband: the expenses of the burial ground are defrayed by Government; the river, two miles south of Mutijil, formerly took the shape of a

horse-shoe, until the neck was cut through at considerable expense. To the north-east of Mutijil is the *Kuttera* described by Hodges, a traveller of 1780, as "a grand seminary of Musalman learning, 70 feet square, adorned by a mosque which rises high above all the surrounding building;" near it is the *Topikhaná* where the Nawáb's artillery was kept, it formed one of the entrances to Múrshidabad, a cannon was placed between two young trees; they have grown up, and their branches have lifted the cannon from the ground. It has two splendid minarets 70 feet high; Jafir Khan was an humble man, and is buried at the foot of the stairs leading up, so as to be trampled on by people going up: this mosque was constructed after the model of the great mosque at Mecca.*

At *Kalkapúr*, a long straggling village to the south of Mutijil, are the few remains of what was once the Dutch factory, and the scene of gaiety. In 1757 Vynett was the chief of it, he was very kind to the English when the factory of Kasimbazar was taken by the Musalmans: the burial ground still remains. The river formerly flowed by Kalkapúr; now it is at a considerable distance: it also ran behind Berhampúr, the Dutch had a mint there. A visitor to it, 1825, writes: "Kalkapúr is now in a neglected state, the courtyard is overrun with jungle, and the barking of the paria dogs were our only greeting on entering a place, which for many years, was a scene of gaiety in the evening and of incessant application to business during the hours of every returning day." Stavorinus describes the Dutch in 1770 as rising at 5, then breakfast, then business until noon, after which dinner, and the afternoon *siesta* or nap until 4 o'clock, from that to six business again, from six to nine relaxa-

* In a Persian MSS. is the following short account of this Mosque: "Jafir "Khan, sometimes also called Múrshid Kúli Khan, having a presentiment that his "death was approaching, commissioned Mirad, the son of Ismaíl, a Furrash, (a "servant whose business it is to spread carpets) to erect a tomb, a Musjid, and "Kuthrub to be called after him, and directed that it should be completed in six "months. This man on receiving the commission, requested that he should not be "called to account for any acts that he might think necessary to adopt in the execu-"tion of his work. On his request being granted, he immediately called upon the "zemindars to supply him with artisans and labourers to raise the building. He "fixed for the site a piece of ground which belonged to the Nawab to the east of the "city. For the materials for the work he pulled down all the Hindu temples that "he heard of in or near the city, and seized all the boats in the river. The "Hindu zemindars wished to preserve their temples and offered to furnish all the "materials at their own cost, but this Mirad refused, and it is said that not a Hindu "temple was left standing within four or five days' journey round the city. He also "exercised oppression in other ways, and even pressed respectable Hindus while "travelling in these suwarees to work at the building. By this means the work was "finished in twelve months. It consisted of a Kuthrub, a Musjid and Minars, a "Houir and Boalí and Well—and Jafir Khan endowed it in such a manner as to "ensure its being preserved after his death."

tion, when supper was taken and they went to bed at 11. Tavernier, in 1666, visited Kasimbazar and was well received by Van Wachtlendonk, Director of the Dutch factories in Bengal; the Nawab then lived at Múrshidabad. the present Nawab's family is of Arab origin. The Dutch had intercourse with Bengal at an early period; Warwick, the founder of the Dutch East India Company, made an alliance with several Rajahs of Bengal in the beginning of the 15th century: they settled in Bengal about 1625. In Tavernier's time the Dutch kept up to 800 natives employed in their factory at Kalkapúr.

Tieffenthaler, 1770 describes Múrshidabad as having an immense number of brick stucco houses, adorned with a great number of gardens and fine buildings, and that the Ganges there had an astonishing number of barques and boats on it. Even as late as 1808 Mr. Ward thus writes of it: "Múrshidabad is full of Moors, very populous, very dusty, except a few large brick houses and a few mosques, the rest of the town consists of small brick houses or huts into which an European creeps; for near two miles the river was lined with trading vessels.' Now all is in rapid decay, and the chief object to attract the traveller is the New Palace, which is 425 feet long, 200 wide, 80 high; it has a splendid marble floor, the banqueting hall is 290 feet long, with sliding doors encased in mirrors. Colonel Macleod was the architect of it, and the *only European* engaged: the *natives* executed the work. The trade of Múrshidabad was formerly very great; the Pachautra or Custom office books state, that, as late as Ali Verdy's time, 875,000 lbs. worth of raw silk were entered there, exclusive of the European investments, which were not entered there, as being either duty free or paying duty at Húgly. Múrshidabad is now famous for the manufacture of ivory toys and chessmen; in 1838, an English newspaper was begun there called the *Múrshidabad News*, it met with a good circulation, the Court of Directors subscribed for 10 copies of it, but afterwards it became scurrilous and indulged in personal abuse, the consequence of which was that it became extinct in 1839.

*Múrshidabad* was noted in former times for the profligacy of its court; we dare not pollute these pages with a description of the vile impurities of Serferez Khan. The Seir Mutakherim describes the court of Múrshidabad as a kind of Sodom; the women of the court talked *publicly* of subjects which should never pass the door of the lips. A regard to the feelings of survivors prevents us from referring to the orgies of late

occupants of the Musnud. We trust the present Nawab will set a different example ; the length of his title "Mantizum Ul Malak Moshen Ud Daula Faridau Jan Syad Munsur Ali Khan Bahadur Narset Jang," fully rivals Spanish titles. May he imitate the example of a former Nawab, Suja Khan, "who supported at Murshidabad all travellers of intellectual and moral worth, and encouraged merit in every way." Ali Verdy also is a worthy object of imitation in the attention he paid to developing the resources of Bengal.

The present court has about 50 eunuchs attached to the Nazim and the female relatives living within the Kela or the enclosure ; inside which the authority of the civil officers of Government does not extend ; these eunuchs come from different places in Abyssinia, from Tigra, Dancali, Nubia and the Galla country.

Suraj-ud-daula kept in his seraglio a female guard composed of Tartar, Georgian, and Abyssinian women, armed with sabres and targets. Múrshidabad is noted on account of the festival of the *Beira* which was introduced by Suraj-ud-daula who used to have boats large enough to hold 100 men, filled with earth and flowers, and floated down the river with lamps, while the shores were illuminated. Little could be expected of him : his mother was a notorious adulteress, and himself, when governor of Katak, plundered the rich and shocked all decency, so that a conspiracy was formed against him.

TERETKONA lies on the right side of the river facing Múrshidabad ; it has an image of Cintua, a goddess worshipped there in the temple of Kriteswari or Durga ; it has declined after the withdrawal of Government patronage ; it is mentioned in the Bhabishyat Purana. *Debpárá*, opposite to Múrshidabad, had a mosque and mausoleum erected by Shuja Adin, in which he was buried, A. D. 1739 He was a man of general philanthropy and unbounded liberality. He made a beautiful garden at Debpárá which he called *Ferreh Bag* (the garden of happiness,) to which he retired in the summer with his seraglio in order to indulge in every luxury.

AZIMGANJ is also opposite Múrshidabad. The city formerly extended on the west bank of the river from this to Suraj-ud-daula's tomb. Du Perron describes the river as dividing the city into two parts. There are several fine *Jain* temples here : the Jains are a most enterprising mercantile race, and many of them here emigrated from Jaudpúr, Marwar, and Hariana ; some have settled as far east as Assam : the north of Múrshidabad is occupied chiefly by Jain merchants, who speak Hindi ;

the middle is occupied by Musalmans, and the south by Bengalis.

BHAGWANGOLA is divided into old Bhagwangola and new Bhagwangola, twelve miles distant from each other; the former was the port of Múrshidabad in Ali Verdy's time, and supplied the city with provisions from the districts to the east of the Ganges. The Ganges anciently flowed to the west of it; now it is five miles west of the river. In 1760 Clive sailed down the Ganges to Bhagwangola and then crossed to Múrshidabad. Oats, gram, and rice are brought to it from Rangpúr, Dinajpúr, &c., &c. Surup Dút, the ghat mangi here, was for many years the leader of the thugs of Dhaka, Furidpúr, &c., &c., he used to embark travellers in the boats of his comrades and then have them murdered In former times the neighbourhood of Bhagwangola must have been exceedingly populous, as there are evident remains of a very extensive town or a series of large villages, now overgrown with forests, and dotted with numerous tanks and other signs of population. Several English officers were buried here, but their tombs have been swept away by the river.

JANGIPUR or Jehangipúr, because founded by Jehangir the Emperor, was long a seat of the silk manufacture of the East India Company: the Company's factory was sold to a Mr. Larulletto in 1835 for 51.000 Rs. the silk filatures were erected in 1773. The first attempt of the East India Company was at Budge Budge, which did not succeed. Grant in his Essay on India adduces the silk manufacture as an instance that the Hindus are not *unchangeable*; the East India Company introduced the Italian mode of winding silk, and the natives have altogether dropt *their own* method: in 1757 the East India Company sent out to Bengal, a Mr. Wilder, well acquainted with the silk manufacture, to examine into the different qualities of the Bengal silk; he resided at Kasimbazar, then the Company's chief silk manufactory, where he died in 1761: in 1765 Mr. Ponchow was appointed to Kasimbazar to carry on the improvements begun by Mr. Wilder: Italians were sent out first: Lord Valentia in 1802, describes Jangipúr as the greatest silk station of the East India Company and employing 3.000 persons. The west bank of the river is best for the mulberry cultivation, as it requires a black soil. The East India Company's filatures did not extend beyond 26° N. Lat, as in a more northerly direction the soil and air become too dry for the mulberry and silk worms. Napoleon's Berlin Decrees, prohibiting the exportation of silk from Italy to England, gave a great stimulus to the Cul-

tivation of the Silk Trade in Bengal: a meeting was immediately held in London, and a request was made to the East India Company to supply England with silk direct from India. Mr. Williams was resident here and died in 1822, he was a great friend to education. Jangipúr was formerly famous for "its pretty English garden;" in 1808 the river near it was dried up, so that gharis crossed it, owing to a chur at the mouth of the Bhagirathi, which caused the Ganges to flow into the Jellinghi, the lowest depth of water here in the dry season is about two feet: in the Jellinghi, in 1832, a *thousand* boats were waiting at the mouth to be lightened before they could proceed on account of the shallowness of the water—and yet Government levy a tax of 1,50,000 Rs. per annum on boats passing up this river in order to keep it clear, the same sum on the Matabanga and Jellinghi, while little trouble is taken by Government officers to keep the river clear. Allowing 3 Rs. as the average toll for each boat, this shews that on an average above 50,000 boats pass Jangipúr annually.

SUTI is memorable for the battle of Gheria fought near it, 1740, in which Ali Verdy defeated Serferez Khan at the head of 30,000 cavalry and infantry, and a numerous train of artillery; and for a battle in 1763, which lasted 4 hours, and in which Mír Kasim was defeated, though at the head of 12 battalions of sipahis, 15,000 horse and 12 cannon; had the English lost this battle they would have been driven out of Bengal, as Mír Kasim's troops were drilled according to European discipline. Three thags were arrested here in 1836 by Capt. Louis, two were father and son. One man confessed, that in one expedition he and his gang had committed fifty murders between Múrshidabad and Bar. Near Súti an excavation has been made to join the Ganges and Bhagirathi; when first made it was only a few yards wide, but the stream was no sooner admitted than it quickly expanded to as many hundred yards: in the year after its completion not a trace of its existence remained, the middle of one of the principal streams of the Ganges is now pointed out as the spot where the excavation was made; between Súti and Kalgang forty square miles of land have been washed away by the river in a few years. Suraj-ud-daula alarmed at the capture of Chandernagar and afraid that the English would bring their ships up the Padma and into the Bhagirathi, sunk vessels near Súti to prevent it. In 1839 it was proposed to Government to form a new zillah, of which Súti was to be the capital, six thannahs from Múrshidabad and eight from Bhagalpúr were to form it. Tavernier, the

celebrated traveller, who visited Kasimbazar in 1665, mentions that there was a sand bank before Súti, which rendered it impassable in January, so that Bernier was obliged to travel by land from Rajmahal to Húgly. In Du Perron's time Súti was famous for the tomb of a Fakír, Morte Zeddin.

The extent to which this article has reached forbids us to take notice now of *Gaur* with all its interesting associations connected with the history of 2,000 years. The Banks of the Bhagirathi in 1846 present widely different scenes from what they did in 1746. Since that period the crescent has waned and Moslem pride has been laid low—the Sati fires have been extinguished and Ganga's stream is no longer polluted with infanticide—the fame of Nudiya and its Sanskrit colleges is passing away and yielding the palm to the superior influence of western science and literature—there are no longer Kazis to sentence men to death for abusing fakírs, or governors like Múrshid Kúli Khan to send Korans of their own writing with valuable offerings to Mecca and Medina—travellers now pass the banks of the Bhagirathi by night, and defenceless women may travel from Calcutta to Delhi without fear of molestation. The future opens out a bright scene on the banks of the Bhagirathi,—when Brahmanism will be in Bengal, as Buddhism is now, "a thing of the past,"—when Gospel light and its handmaid the English language and literature shall be diffused far and wide,—when Municipal Institutions, Colleges, Agricultural Societies, Zillah and Town Libraries shall have dispersed the torpor of Mofussil life,—when railroads intersecting the country shall have helped to scatter to the winds all local prejudices—and when the banks of the Bhagirathi, like the banks of the Rhine or the Thames, shall be ornamented with villas, country seats, and all the indications of a highly civilized state of society,—when the upper classes of English Society in Calcutta—instead of being crowded together in their aristocratic mansions in Chowringi, the hot bed of Anglican prejudice and the focus of all those who cherish their irrational exclusiveness towards the natives of this land—shall enjoy the quiet and retirement of their dwellings along the course of the sacred stream, living thirty or fifty miles from Calcutta, but coming daily to it to do business through the wonderful facilities of travelling which will then be afforded.

# THE SINDH CONTROVERSY—NAPIER & OUTRAM.

## DRS. MURRAY AND DUFF.

1. *Correspondence relative to Sindh*, 1838—1843. *Presented to both Houses of Parliament*, 1843.
2. *Supplementary correspondence relative to Sindh. Presented to Parliament*, 1844.
3. *The Conquest of Sindh, by Major-General W. F. P. Napier: Parts I. and II.*, 1845.
4. *The Conquest of Sindh, a Commentary. Parts I. and II., by Lieutenant-Colonel J. Outram, C. B.*, 1846.

WE are now in a position to enter on a full and final examination of the British conquest of Sindh. A sufficient length of time has elapsed, and we are far enough removed from the scene of the transaction, to enable us calmly and dispassionately to review the history of that much controverted measure, while the materials for our inquiry are both copious and authentic. There are now before us two volumes of official correspondence relative to Sindh, presented to Parliament; we have an eloquent defence of the conquest from the practised pen of the conqueror's brother, and we have a most minute commentary upon that defence, by an officer who possessed unequalled opportunities for acquiring a thorough knowledge of the country and its people, and whose name is an ample guarantee for the scrupulous accuracy of his statements. Reserving to the sequel the few observations we shall have to offer on the respective merits of these publications, we shall at once proceed, with the aid of the historical materials which they supply, to lay before our readers a brief narrative of the events which immediately led to the subjugation of Sindh, together with an examination of the justice and policy of the measure.

The valley of the lower Indus, which forms the scene of the transactions we are about to record, has of late years been rendered familiar to all our Indian readers. Bordered, like the kindred valley of the Nile, by a range of mountains on one side and by a desert on the other, it is traversed throughout its entire length by the classic river from which it takes its name. The country on both banks of the river, from near the point where it receives the waters of the Punjab to its junction with the sea, formed the territory of the Amírs or rulers of Sindh, and was divided into two principal shares—the Southern division forming the principality of Lower Sindh, and the Northern, that of Upper Sindh: leaving, towards the Kutch frontier, a third and inconsiderable division, that of

Mírpúr, the affairs of which we will scarcely have occasion to notice.

At the period at which our narrative opens,—the early autumn of 1842—five Amírs held independent but associate rule at Hyderabad, the capital of Lower Sindh; namely, Mír Nússír Khan, his two cousins Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan and Sobdar Khan, and his two nephews Mír Shadad Khan and Hússen Ali. At Khyrpúr the seat of the Upper Sindh Government, the venerable Mír Rústum Khan was the acknowledged Rais, or supreme ruler; with whom were associated, as subordinate partners in the Government, his two younger brothers Mírs Ali Morad and Mahommed Khan, and his nephew Mír Nússír Khan. One Amír, Mír Sher Mahommed Khan, ruled the small principality of Mírpúr.

Our political relations with the Amirs of Sindh at that time, were those established by Lord Auckland's treaties of 1839, which, as our readers are aware, were forcibly imposed upon these Princes at the commencement of the first Affghan campaign. In Lower Sindh, separate treaties, identical in their provisions, were concluded with each of the Hyderabad Amírs which contained, among other less important particulars, the following stipulations;—First, the maintenance of a British subsidiary force in Lower Sindh, either at Tatta or at some other station west of the Indus. towards the cost of which an annual tribute of three lakhs of Rupees was to be paid in equal proportions by three* of the Amírs—the fourth (Mír Sobdar Khan) being exempted on account of his early submission;—Secondly, the protection of their territories by the British Government against foreign aggression, and the arbitration of all complaints of aggression which the Amírs might make against each other;—Thirdly, non-interference by the British Government in the internal administration of the Amírs, or in any complaints made against them by their subject;—Fourthly, the prohibition of all negociation on the part of the Amírs with foreign states, unless with the sanction of the British Government;—Fifthly; the abolition of tolls on trading boats passing up or down the Indus;—Sixthly, the payment of the usual duties on merchandize landed from such boats for sale, with the exception of goods sold in a British camp or cantonment.

In Upper Sindh one treaty only was considered necessary,

* One of these shares was now divided between Mírs Shadad Khan and Hussen Ali, the sons and heirs of the deceased Mír Núr Mahommed, one of the original parties to the treaties.

which was exchanged with Mír Rústum Khan as the acknowledged "Chief of Khyrpúr." Its engagements were analogous to those concluded with the Lower Sindh Amírs with the following differences;—First, no stipulation was made for the payment of a subsidy;—Secondly, there was no engagement for the permanent location of a British force: permission being only given "to occupy the fortress of Bukker as a depôt for treasure and munitions in time of war;"—Thirdly, no stipulation was made for the abolition of river tolls: the Amírs merely promising "co-operation with the other powers" in any measures which might be thought necessary for extending and facilitating the commerce and navigation of the river Indus. Lastly, short "Agreements" were at the same time concluded with each of the other three Amírs of Upper Sindh, whereby the British Government engaged "never to covet one rea of the revenue of their shares of Sindh, nor to interefere in their internal management." The treaty entered into with the Amír of Mírpúr, in the following year, was similar in its provisions to that of Lower Sindh, and included an engagement for the payment of a subsidy of Rs. 50,000 per annum as the price of British protection.

It is unnecessary, for the purpose of our present inquiry, to examine either the justice or the policy which dictated these compulsory treaties. They formed a part (and, it may be, a necessary part) of that ill-advised and disastrous "Affghan policy," which forms the one disfiguring blot on Lord Auckland's otherwise beneficent administration: and it was only by the unconquerable firmness, and extraordinary personal influence, of the distinguished diplomatist* who conducted the negociations, that the Lower Sindh Amírs were induced to yield a tardy and reluctant assent to their harsh provisions, and thereby preserved, though but for a season, the sovereignty of their kingdom.

Having been thus reduced from independent Sovereigns of tributary allies of the British Government, it was not to be expected but that some degree of alienation and a distrust of our future measures would take possession of the minds of the Amírs. Whatever may have been the real state of their feelings, their acts, even during the disasters of 1842, evinced no appearance of hostility: for it is a remarkable fact, that, under the able management of Major (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Outram, Sindh continued in a state of profound tranquility; robberies were unknown; British subjects of all classes, unattended by a single armed attendant, traversed the country without danger or molestation; and carriage and supplies were

* Major General Sir Henry Pottinger, Bart. G. C. B.

liberally furnished for the support of our armies in Southern Affghanistan.

Such was the condition of Sindh, and such were our relations with its rulers, when Major General Sir Charles Napier, then Commanding the Puna Division of the Bombay Army, was invested by Lord Ellenborough with the military and political control of Sindh and Beluchistan. The veteran soldier hastened to Sindh (we are told) with all the alacrity of a young warrior; and on the 9th September landed at Kurrachi. Before we accompany him on his diplomatic and military career, it is desirable that we should first become acquainted with his character, and that of the political functionary whom he was about to supersede.

The name of Colonel Outram will ever be associated, in this country, with some of the finest and noblest qualities of the soldier. His character exhibits a remarkable union of calm, steady, resolute valour, with a passion for daring and chivalrous enterprise, and an energy and determination of purpose which no danger or difficulty can daunt. These qualities, added to an open, ardent, generous disposition, and a quiet, unassuming courtesy of demeanour, have deservedly rendered him the pride of the Bombay Army, and appear to have attracted, in a rare degree, the personal attachment and esteem of those who have served under his orders, or have been otherwise associated with him in public duty. But it were an unnecessary, though a pleasing task, to dwell upon these features of his character. The conqueror of Sindh himself has, with a just discernment, awarded to him the appropriate and expressive title of "*The Bayard of India*;" and twelve hundred British officers of the Indian services have publicly recorded their admiration of his heroic achievements in India, Affghanistan, and Sindh.

Colonel Outram's experience of native character is extensive and varied. In common with the majority of officers who have known the natives long and well, who are conversant with their languages and customs, and who judge them by an Indian, and not by a British standard, he appears to have formed a generally favourable opinion of them. His intercourse with them seems to have been marked on all occasions by a considerate attention to their social usages and feelings: and his interest in their welfare is evinced by a desire to preserve and improve the more innocuous of their institutions, rather than precipitately to subvert them, in order to introduce the systems and usages of Europe in their place. Like all functionaries who have been guided by such principles

and feelings, he has acquired in a high degree the confidence and good will of the people over whom he has been placed: and we need scarcely add, that the possession of such influence over the minds of the natives, particularly of those in high rank and stations, is one of the most important qualifications which a British diplomatist can possess; and is calculated, more than any measures of abstract wisdom, to reconcile the Princes and people of India to our rule, and thereby to preserve the peace, and promote the best interests of the country.

Lest any of our readers should consider such political accomplishments as antiquated and worthless, we will supply a more practical test of Colonel Outram's diplomatic qualifications, and try them by the magnitude and importance of the services which he rendered to his country, during the eventful year that immediately preceded his removal. At that memorable crisis, when disasters unparalleled in our history clouded the past, and gloomy apprehensions overcast the future—when the storm of insurrection, which had burst with such fatal fury at Kabul, threatened to endanger the safety of our armies at Quetta and Kandahar—Lord Auckland, amid the general panic, turned to Colonel Outram with the assured confidence that he would hold his dangerous post with a firm and steady hand, and that by his prompt and zealous assistance, he would enable the Government also to weather the storm.* And the result shewed that the Governor-General's confidence was neither exaggerated nor misplaced. Within the three preceding years, we had imposed a subsidiary tribute and a subsidiary force upon the Amírs of Sindh; we had stormed the capital and slaughtered the ruler of Beluchistan, and we had waged a sanguinary warfare upon the neighbouring mountain tribes. Yet—smarting though they were under these grievous injuries, and instigated by Affghan emissaries to raise the standard of insurrection in the common cause of Islam—such was Colonel Outram's wondrous activity, vigilance and zeal, that he not only, with a small and detached military force, preserved tranquility throughout these vast countries, which formed both the base and the line of our military communications with Kandahar; but he also furnished and forwarded, from these very countries, the carriage and supplies which enabled General Nott to accomplish his triumphant march to Kabul, and General England to retire in safety on the Indus. These were, in truth, services which, to cite the words and the authority of the honorable

* Outram's Commentary, 21.

Mountstuart Elphinstone, "it would be difficult to parallel in the whole course of Indian diplomacy:" and they had just been brought to an honourable and successful termination, by the safe descent of General England's army beneath the passes, when their author was summarily, without warning and without reason assigned, removed by Lord Ellenborough from his high political appointment *

And what were the peculiar qualifications of the officer selected to supersede a man who had, at so perilous a crisis, conferred such signal services on his country? On Sir Charles Napier's eminent military talents it were now superfluous to dwell. Long before his appearance in Sindh, his high reputation as a soldier had been inscribed on the page of history; the numerous scars with which he was furrowed attested his heroic valour on the sanguinary fields of Corunna and Busaco: and though untried as a General, he soon proved himself worthy of a place in the first rank of British Commanders. With a military experience of half a century, he had, moreover, deeply studied the art of war:—strict and stern in discipline, but ever watchful of the interests and attentive to the wants of his men, he was peculiarly the soldier's friend. Though bending somewhat under the weight of threescore years and one, yet did he retain all the vigour and energy of youth, with a capacity for the endurance of fatigue which the youthful soldier might well have envied.

But, though unquestionably a brave and accomplished soldier, he was singularly deficient in the particular qualities required for the safe and beneficial exercise of political authority in India He was not only ignorant of the language, the character, the customs, and the institutions of the natives but he seemed to look upon such knowledge as unnecessary if not prejudicial. He was, moreover, apparently embued with strong prejudice against the Princes of Sindh, and disposed to regard his mission, as that of a Military Dictator appointed to overawe and control a "barbarous durbar," rather than that of a political agent deputed to maintain the relations of amity and friendship subsisting between a protecting and a protected State. Disregarding, in short, the maxims of sound practical wisdom so strenuously recommended, and so successfully practised by

* It is any thing but creditable to the Government, that no honors should have been conferred on Colonel Outram and Mr. George Clerk for the important political services they rendered at that critical juncture; while analogous services performed on the same scene four years before, by Sir Henry Pottinger and Sir Claude Wade, were respectively rewarded, (and justly rewarded) by the honors of a Baronetage and Knighthood.

Munro, Malcolm, and Elphinstone, and by other distinguished statesmen of the same eminent school—Sir Charles soon betrayed a determination to open up a new political path for himself. The progress and results of this novel diplomacy we now proceed to examine.

Sir Charles Napier, as has been stated, landed at Kurrachi on the 9th September 1842, and on the 17th of the same month he started for Sukker. On his passage up the Indus he paid a visit to the Amírs of Lower Sindh at their fortified capital of Hyderabad. The established courtesy uniformly observed by the Indian Government towards the Native States, of formally announcing any change in the British Representative at their courts, does not seem to have been observed towards the Amírs on the present occasion: nor does Sir Charles Napier appear to have been furnished by the Governor-General with any credentials of his appointment. Such an omission may be considered by the English reader to be of trifling import, but will be very differently viewed by those acquainted with the importance that Native Princes attach to all these matters of etiquette. Notwithstanding the neglect, however, on the part of the Governor-General, of the customary forms of courtesy, Sir Charles Napier was received by the Amírs of Hyderabad with every demonstration of respect due to his rank and station. Before leaving the capital, he addressed to them a letter regarding certain alleged infractions of the treaty, committed under their orders, or with their knowledge These charges will pass under our review when we examine those preferred against the Amírs of Upper Sindh: but we must not omit to notice the style and tone used by the British Commander in this his first communication with Princes, wielding the absolute power of sovereignty within their own territories. It is characterised by the historian as an 'austere, but timely and useful warning," given in the prosecution of "a fair and just, but stern and unyielding policy." We willingly pay Sir Charles the compliment of assuming that this extraordinary document, which will be found in the Parliamentary Papers (page 358) was merely the first rough draft of the letter, and that in the process of translation it received a form and phraseology better suited to the station of the Princes to whom it was addressed. But, even under this favourable interpretation, there will remain much in the tone and tenor of the letter that is deserving of the strongest censure, and in complete opposition to the letter and spirit of Lord Ellenborough's judicious circular instructions to his political agents, directing them "on all occasions to manifest the utmost personal consideration and respect to the

several Native Princes with whom they might communicate; to attend to their personal wishes; to consider themselves as much the representation of *friendship*, as of the *power* of the British Government; and to be mindful that even the necessary acts of authority may be clothed with the veil of courtesy and regard." We shall find, as we proceed, that the whole tenor of the General's political administration in Sindh, of which this was the commencement, was an exact antithesis of those admirable maxims.

Sir Charles Napier, having addressed this arrogant and offensive letter to the Rulers of Hyderabad, continued his journey up the Indus, and on the 5th October arrived at Sukker, the head quarters of the British force then stationed in Upper Sindh. There, as the historian informs us, he "forthwith commenced a series of political and military operations, which reduced the Amírs to the choice of an honest policy or a terrible war."* These operations, with their fatal results, it is now our duty to record.

On his first nomination to the military and political control of Sindh, the General had been officially informed, that if "the Amírs, or any one of them, should act hostilely, or evince hostile designs against the British forces, it was the Governor-General's fixed resolution never to forgive the breach of faith, and to exact a penalty which should be a warning to every Chief in India." This communication, it will be observed, intimated the Governor-General's determination to punish *future* hostility: but the following instructions, which awaited Sir Charles on his arrival at Sukker, shewed that his Lordship had modified his intentions, and was now determined to inflict retributive punishment for *past* offences, should the General, on inquiry, discover satisfactory grounds for such a procedure. "Should any Amír or Chief, with whom we have a treaty of alliance and friendship, *have* evinced hostile designs against us during the late events which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the Governor-General to inflict upon the treachery of such ally and friend so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct: but the Governor-General would not proceed in this course without the most complete and convincing evidence of guilt in the person accused. The Governor-General relies entirely on your sense of justice, and is convinced that whatever reports you may make upon the subject, after full investigation, will be such as he may safely act upon."

* Napier's Conquest, 23.

The first political duty, therefore, which devolved upon Sir Charles, was to inquire into certain alleged breaches of treaty and hostile intrigues charged upon some of the Amírs, with the view of deducing from these past offences "a pretext" for remodelling the existing treaties, and inflicting a "signal punishment" upon their authors. And this brings us at once to the consideration of what proved to be the remote cause of the Sindh conquest. And as there has been much misapprehension and misstatement on this subject, it is necessary to trace the origin and history of the revised treaties, to the imposition of which, the General's investigation ultimately led.

In the early part of the year (1842) Major Outram appears to have come to the conclusion that our intended withdrawal from Affghanistan would render some change in our relations with the Amírs of Sindh very desirable, in order to remedy the errors of our military position in that country; to define more clearly the commercial provisions of the existing treaties; and to ensure an adequate supply of fuel for the steamers composing the Indus flotilla. About the end of May of the same year, he had received an intimation of Lord Ellenborough's wish to exchange the payment of tribute for "the continued occupation of Kurrachí and Sukker," including the fortress of Bukker: He therefore only awaited a favourable opportunity for opening a negociation with the Sindh Government. In the meantime he received information from his assistants in Sindh, which gave him grounds for suspecting that certain of the Amírs taking advantage of our Affghan disasters, and instigated by Affghan emissaries, had engaged in some petty intrigues inimical to the British Government. They were considered by Major Outram to be in themselves puerile: nevertheless, he conceived that they evinced an unfriendly feeling on the part of the Amírs, and furnished good grounds for proposing, and would materially assist the negociation for the required changes in the treaties, which, under other circumstances, would most probably be resisted.

In accordance with these views, he submitted to Government on the 21st of June, a draft-treaty embodying the proposed changes. The following were its principal stipulations:* 1st.—The cession to the British Government, in perpetuity, of the city and cantonment of Sukker (including the fortress of Bukker) and of the town and harbour of Kurrachi; 2nd—Free transit for commerce between Kurrachí and Tatta on the Indus; 3rd.—Permission to cut wood within a hundred yards

* Sindh Parl: Pap, p. 343.

of each bank of the Indus; 4th.—The total abrogation of river tolls, and 5th.—In consideration of the above cessions, the British Government engaged to release the Amírs from all pecuniary obligations whatever.*

Such were the provisions of Major Outram's proposed treaty—a treaty which stipulated for territorial and other privileges of the estimated annual value Rs. 3,16,500,† to be ceded by the Amírs to the British Government, in exchange for a total release from the future payment of tribute which (exclusive of arrears) amounted to Rs. 3,50,000 per annum.‡

The objects proposed to be attained by this new arrangement were in themselves of great importance to British interests; and the pecuniary price to be tendered for their purchase was just and liberal: but, in the absence of any pressing necessity for the change, it became matter of regret that the subject should have been mooted at that particular juncture. The minds of the Amírs, who had on all occasions shewn themselves determinedly averse to any alteration in their relations with our Government, were at that time peculiarly distracted with apprehensions in regard to our future measures; in addition to which, Major Outram was himself at Quetta,—whither he had gone for the purpose of aiding General England's force in its retreat upon the Indus—and was consequently deprived of the opportunity, by personal negociation, of exerting his great influence over the Amírs, by which alone could any hope be entertained of reconciling their minds to the contemplated changes. Nor were the grounds assigned as the basis of negociation of clear and unquestionable validity. The hostile intrigues alleged against the Amírs, were considered by Major Outram at the time neither important nor dangerous; while the evidence in support of them, forwarded by

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* A negociation had previously been entered into, at the instance of Lord Auckland's Government, for the cession of the district of Shikarpúr: but Major Outram reported that this must be abandoned under Lord Ellenborough's contemplated occupation of Kurrachí, and the proposed river arrangements.

† Territorial Cessions ..... Rs. 1,06,500
Abolition of transit duties and river tolls ..... „ 10,000
Compensation for cutting wood ..... „ 2,00,000

Total annual value ..... Rs. 3,16,500

‡ Annual tribute from the Amírs of Hyderabad ..... Rs. 3,00,000
Ditto ditto of Mírpúr ..... „ 50,000

Total Rupees ..... 3,50,000

This was exclusive of certain claims against Mír Nússír Khan of Khyrpúr, the heir of the late Mír Múbaruk Khan, consisting of about three year's tribute of Rs. 1,00,000 per annum, in addition to Rs. 7,00,000 claimed in behalf of the late Shah Shúja.

his assistants, and which he had not the means of testing, was any thing but conclusive of the guilt of the Amírs, even if it had been as unimpeachable as it subsequently proved to be worthless and false.

But while we make these observations, we readily admit that the treaty, as originally proposed by Major Outram, was framed in a spirit of perfect fairness towards both Governments; and there is every reason to believe, that had the negociation for its settlement been committed to that officer, it would have been brought to an amicable and successful termination. Little could it have been foreseen, that a proposal to negociate the equitable purchase of certain privileges by an equivalent remission of tribute, would be made the groundwork—and even, in some quarters, the justification—of the oppressive and retributive penalties which were subsequently imposed upon these Princes.

Lord Ellenborough, who had only a few weeks before signified his intention of continuing to hold military command of the Indus, seems now to have hesitated regarding the line of policy which it was desirable to follow. In acknowledging the receipt of the draft treaties, he stated that he "did not see the necessity for pressing negociation upon them (the Amírs) precipitately, and on the contrary would rather desire to leave their minds in tranquillity for the present;"* and that it would be "a matter for future consideration whether any probable benefit to be ever derived from the treaties, could compensate for the annual expenditure which would be brought upon the Government of India by the maintenance of a large force at Sukker and Kurrachí." Here, therefore, terminated the discussion regarding Major Outram's Treaty, which was never presented to the Amírs.

On his return from Quetta to Sukker three months afterwards, Major Outram was directed, before leaving Sindh, to lay before Sir Charles Napier, "the several acts, whereby the Amírs or Chiefs may have seemed to have departed from the terms or spirit of their engagements, and to have evinced hostility or unfriendliness towards the Government of India." In obedience to these instructions, he submitted to the General two "Returns of Complaints" preferred respectively against two of the Amírs of Upper Sindh, and against four of the Hyderabad Amírs, together with the documentary evidence in support of these charges. Having done this, he resigned into Sir Charles Napier's hands the political powers which he

* Sindh Parl. Pap. P. 381.

had wielded with so much credit to himself and with such signal benefit to the public service, and left Sindh on the 12th November, carrying whith him the regrets of every officer in the country.

We now resume the narrative of the proceedings of his successor.

Sir Charles lost no time in commencing the investigation of these charges, the establishment of which was to form the ground-work for the imposition of a new treaty; nor was he long in bringing it to a conclusion. In the course of twelve days after his arrival at Sukker, and a week before he had received the charges against the Amírs of Lower Sindh, he completed his report—that report which was to be Lord Ellenborough's guide in his Sindh policy, and to decide the fate of the Sovereign Princes of that country. We have perused this remarkable document with much pain. Passing by the sneering allusion to "sticklers for abstract rights." the undisguised admission that "we want only a pretext to coerce the Amírs;" the uncalled for remarks on the "barbarism of those Princes and their fitness to govern a country;" the (too true) prophecy that "the more powerful government will at no distant period swallow up the weaker;" and the opinion that it would be better to come to this result at once, "if it could be done with honesty:"—setting aside these, and many similar unseemly doctrines, as well as the palpable inaccuracy of the statement, that under existing treaties we were authorized to maintain our camps permanently in Upper Sindh, we proceed at once to examine the specific accusations, and the evidence by which they were verified.

The charges prepared against the Amírs are reducible to two heads:—First, certain acts of constructive hostility attributed to Mír Rústum Khan, the chief Amír of Khyrpúr, and Mír Nussír Khan, the Senior Amír of Hyderabad; and Second, certain infractions of the existing treaties alleged against these two Amírs, as well as against Mír Nussír Khan of Khyrpúr, and Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan, Shahdad Khan, and Hússen Ali of Hyderabad.

1. The first charge, under the first of these heads, alleged against Mír Rústum Khan, was a breach of treaty, of a hostile character, in having written a letter to the Maharajah Shír Singh of Lahore, the purport of which was to negociate for the renewal of an alliance between that sovereign and certain of the Amírs of Upper and Lower Sindh. The letter, though intimating in vague and ambiguous language that the parties to the negociation entertained unfriendly feelings towards the

British ("that tribe") did not indicate any hostile designs against our Government, and seemed to have principally in view an engagement to secure the succession of Mír Rústum's son to the chieftainship after *his own death.* It was intercepted by agents of Mír Ali Morad (Rústum's brother), who was inimical to Rústum, and a rival candidate for the chieftaincy.

The authenticity of this intercepted letter rested exclusively on the supposed fact, that it bore Mír Rústum's seal, and was in the handwriting of His Highness' Minister. We need scarcely remind our readers that this species of judicial evidence is received with great distrust in this country The forgery of letters and the fabrication of counterfeit seals are of very common occurrence, and had been recently and successfully exemplified in Sindh. Colonel Outram informs us* (and the Amírs in their final conference at Hyderabad reminded that officer of the fact) that in the preceding year he had occasion to complain to the Amírs of frequent forgeries of his own seal which, affixed to letters professed to be written by him, had so far imposed on their Highnesses, as to procure grants of land for those who presented them; and in September of the same year, several forged seals of the Amírs were found in the possession of a man apprehended in the Sukker bazar. These circumstances, combined with the fact that the parties through whose agency the letter was intercepted, were hostile to Mír Rústum, and, as we shall afterwards find, were interested in embroiling him with the British Government, ought to have shewn the necessity of care and caution in pronouncing a final decision. Major Outram, having latterly entertained considerable doubts as to the authenticity of the letter, forwarded it to Mr. George Clerk, the Envoy at Lahore, in the hope that from his official relation to the sovereign to whom it was addressed, he might be able to determine the question. That most eminent public officer, however, after retaining it six months in his possession, reported to Lord Ellenborough, that its "authenticity was still a matter of doubt to him as it had been to Major Outram in sending it."† But the doubts which were entertained by Major Outram and Mr. Clerk were very summarily disposed of by the General's Political assistant. On the very day, the 23rd November, on which he received back the letter from Mr. Clerk, Sir Charles Napier wrote to Lord Ellenborough, that Lieutenant Brown had assured him that there could not

* Out. Com. 74.
† Sindh Parl: Pap. p. 478.

be the slightest doubt of its authenticity.* And thus, on the simple assurance of an officer, who neither spoke nor wrote the language in which it was written, and without any opportunity being given to the accused party to rebut the charge, was the authenticity of the letter summarily decided. Nor was there the slightest attempt to prove that the seal, even if genuine, had been affixed with His Highness' sanction, while there were strong reasons for suspecting that it had been used without his knowledge. Mohun Lall informs us,† that, during the negociation of the treaties of 1839, Mír Ali Morad surreptitiously obtained possession of Mír Rústum's seal, with the intention of using it for the furtherance of his own perfidious schemes, but was defeated in his object by the penetration of Sir Alexander Burnes. This fact, combined with our knowledge of Ali Morad's subsequent treachery, renders it by no means an improbable supposition that that "arch-intriguer" had now a second time possessed himself of his brother's seal, and that he was the real author of the secret letter which his own agents were instructed to intercept.

The second accusation preferred against Mír Rústum consisted in having, through his Minister Futteh Mahommed Ghori, compassed the escape of a British prisoner. This charge appears to have been established against the Minister: but there was no proof or even suspicion of the Amír's implication in the matter. The substantiation of such an offence would have justly warranted the British Government in requiring the punishment or banishment of the Minister by whom it was committed, but certainly never could be held to justify the forfeiture of Mír Rústum's territory.

The last charge under this head was preferred against Mír Nussír Khan of Lower Sindh,—and consisted in his having authorised the writing of a letter to Bíbuk Búgty, the chief of the Búgty hill tribes, containing some general expressions of hostility towards the English ("some people") and calling upon him and his brother Belúchís to hold themselves in readiness. The authenticity of this letter was unsupported by a tittle of evidence that could be considered as conclusive; and in this instance, as in the former, no opportunity was afforded the suspected Prince of disproving the charges.

The principal infractions of the treaty, constituting the *second* division of charges, consisted in the levy of river tolls on boats belonging to subjects of Sindh. These accusations affected

* Sindh Parl: Pap. p. 427.
† Life of Dost Mahommed Khan, p. 78.

Mír's Nussír Khan, Mír Mahommed Khan, and Hússen Ali of Hyderabad, and Mír Rústum Khan of Khyrpúr, all of whom admitted the facts, but denied that they were in contravention of treaty. It was argued by the Hyderabad Amírs that the treaties exempted British and foreign boats from duty, but were not considered by them to interdict the levy of duties on their own subjects, over whom, under the 3rd Art. of the Treaty, they possessed "absolute" jurisdiction: and that, in point of fact, they had levied these tolls from them without hindrance up to 1840. Lord Auckland's Government, however, decided against their construction of the engagement, and the Amírs had recently issued perwannahs granting an entire exemption from tolls; upon which the Assistant Political Agent expressed a confident hope that the question would now be set at rest.

On the part of the Khyrpúr Amírs it was urged with great truth, that the treaties concluded with them contained no stipulation whatever for the abolition of tolls—the Amírs simply promising "co-operation with *the other powers* in any measure which may be thought necessary for extending or facilitating the commerce and navigation of the Indus." Now "the other powers" holding territory on the Indus, were the Maharajah of Lahore, the Nawab of Bhawulpúr, and the Amírs of Hyderabad; the arrangements with the two former "powers," permitted them to levy a small stated duty: while the latter, on account of their hostile opposition to the British Government, were compelled, without receiving any pecuniary or other equivalent, to abolish all tolls. On the general principles of equity and justice, therefore, the *friendly* Amírs of Khyrpúr, whose adherence to our cause had elicited the enthusiastic admiration of the negociator of the Treaty,* had a right to expect the terms which we concluded with the *friendly* "powers" of Lahore and Bhawulpúr, and not those which were imposed on the then *hostile* "powers" of Hyderabad, between whom and themselves a marked line of distinction had professedly been drawn throughout the whole of the negociations. But apart from these grounds, there were special reasons for guiding the Government to the more favourable interpretation of the engagement: for Sir Alexander Burnes

* "With such adherence (says Sir Alexander Burnes) I feel quite at a loss to know how we can either ask money or any favour of this family. I have never doubted their disposition to cling to us: but in their weak state, I had not expected such promises in the day of trial." And in a marginal note to the Treaty, the same officer observes: "I might have easily abolished the toll for ever: but this would be a hazardous step. The toll binds the Mír to protect property; the release from it would remove this duty from his shoulders."

had received specific instructions from Lord Auckland to put Khyrpúr on the same footing as Bhawulpúr, and with that view had been furnished with the Bhawulpúr treaty for his guidance.* Finally, it has been considered an established maxim with the most eminent of our Indian statesmen, that "when any article of an engagement is doubtful, it should be invariably explained with more leaning to the expectations originally raised in the weaker, than to the interests of the stronger power.† Notwithstanding all these considerations. Lord Ellenborough decided that the treaty must be construed as binding the Khyrpúr Amírs to acquiesce in the same arrangements as those subsequently imposed on "their kindred Amírs" of Hyderabad ; and he intimated that he should expect them to be observed with the same strictness as if they had been expressly inserted in the treaty. This opinion, pronounced by the paramount power, finally decided the prospective operation of the contested article: but that it was not intended to authorise the infliction of a penalty for duties previously levied under a different, and, we think, a more equitable construction of the treaty, may be inferred from the fact, that a clause explanatory of the article in question was introduced into the revised treaty.

It is unnecessary to notice the other trifling charges of breach of treaty, the more particularly as it was distinctly admitted by the Governor-General,‡ that the right to make any demand, extending to the cession of territory, depended upon the truth of the three offences specified under the first head. The proposed treaty, writes Lord Ellenborough to Sir Charles Napier, "rests for its justification upon the assumption, that the letters said to be addressed by Mír Rústum to the Maharajah Shir Singh and by Mír Nussír Khan to Bíbúk Búgty, were really written by the chiefs respectively, and that the confidential minister of Mír Rústum did, as is alleged, contrive the escape of Syed Mahommed Shurríp..... I know (he added) that you will satisfy yourself of the truth of these charges before you exact the penalty of the offences they impute."§

The final decision on these three important questions having been then remitted to Sir Charles, "on whose word, as the historian truly states, the fate of Sindh now depended,"

* Sindh Parl: Pap. p. 61.
† Sir John Malcom's Institutions.
‡ Sindh Parl : Pap. p. No. 387, p. 437.
§ Sindh Parl : Pap. No. 389, p. 440.

he lost no time in pronouncing a verdict of guilt against the two Amírs, on each of the accusations.* The Governor-General, in confirming the decision, stated that if Government were to wait in every case of suspected hostility until it obtained such proof as should be sufficient to convict the person suspected in a court of justice, it would in most cases expose itself at once to disgrace and disaster.† It may readily be conceded, that in the investigation and settlement of international questions arising between a Paramount State and its tributary allies, we cannot expect either the technical procedure or the scrupulous nicety of evidence of a criminal court; but we have clearly a right to require that, in such an inquiry, the principles of substantial justice should not be violated. Every one who is practically conversant with the elements of judicial evidence will concur with us in opinion, that the *ex-parte* evidence of an intercepted letter, written in a language unknown to those who decided upon its authenticity, and intercepted by interested and hostile parties, was altogether insufficient, in the absence of any corroborative testimony, to establish the accusation preferred against these two Princes.

Before we examine the exactions of the revised treaties which Lord Ellenborough determined to impose as the punishment of these alleged offences, it will be necessary to inquire into the proceedings and position of the parties affected by them.

The condition of the Amírs at this period was a very painful one. Their minds were agitated and alarmed by the current rumours of our intention to impose new treaties upon them, if not to subjugate their country; they had seen the Bengal portion of General England's force detained at Sukker, instead of proceeding to their own provinces; the political agency, heretofore their sole medium of communication with the British Government, had been abolished, and an unknown Military Commander exercised arbitrary sway in the heart of their country. No official intimation of these changes had been vouchsafed to them. No reason had been assigned for the detention of the troops, although such detention was unauthorized by treaty; and instead of endeavouring to allay their fears by personal intercourse and friendly explanation—a duty which had been expressly enjoined by the Governor-General—it seemed as if the General's object was to confirm

* Sindh Parl. Pap. Nos. 409, 410 & 414.
† Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 414. p. 457.

and increase their apprehensions by an insulting arrogance of demeanour, and by an ostentatious display of military strength. Surely, under such suspicious and menacing demonstrations, it cannot be wondered at that the Amírs should have adopted some defensive measures for the protection of their interests.

If the British Government deemed it justifiable, after the abandonment of Affghanistan, to concentrate a large army in the immediate neighbourhood of the capital of Upper Sindh, at a time when, under the provisions of the treaty, we had no right to station a single soldier within the limits of that country, on what grounds of abstract justice, or under what clause of the existing treaties, can we dispute the right of the Upper Sindh Amírs to take the precautionary measure of assembling their armed dependants within the precincts of their capital? Ours were the offensive, their's strictly defensive measures. On the 6th November, Major Outram reported in regard to the Khyrpúr Amírs, that all their measures and preparations were defensive, and would lead to nothing offensive: and a week later his assistant at Hyderabad writes: "I cannot learn that the Amírs meditate collecting any troops in consequence of the large assemblage of British force at Sukker; but their Highnesses continue very uneasy on the subject, and impute any but friendly motives to it."

Lord Ellenborough's revised draft treaties bear date the 4th of November, and were received by Sir Charles Napier on the 12th of that month. On examining their provisions, we find that the following terms were common to the Hyderabad and the Khyrpúr treaties:—

1. The relinquishment of all tribute payable by the Amírs to the British Government.

2. The introduction of a British currency throughout Sindh, and the relinquishment, by the Amírs, of the privilege of coining.

3. The right to cut wood within a hundred yards of both banks of the Indus.

4. The cession, in perpetuity, to the Khan of Bharribpúr of the rights and interests of the Amírs in the districts of Subzulkote, and all the territory intervening between the present frontier of Bhawulpúr and the town of Rorí.

The Khyrpúr treaty stipulated, in addition, for the cession to the British Government of Sukker, Bukker and Rorí; while the Hyderabad treaty exacted, in like manner, the cession of Kurrachí and Tattá, with free transit between those places, and the cession to Mír Sobdar Khan of territory producing half a lakh of revenue, in consideration of his share of Kur-

rachí, "and as a reward for his good conduct." It was finally provided that a British Commissioner should apportion, by mutual exchanges, the cession of each Amír in Lower Sindh, according to the amount of tribute payable by each; and in the event of the cessions falling short of the amount of tribute, lands yielding an annual revenue equivalent to the balance were to be appropriated to the indemnification of such Amírs of Upper Sindh, other than Mírs Rústum and Nussír Khans, as were called upon to cede territory under these new arrangements.

The imposition of these treaties proved the remote cause of the Sindh Revolution. The oppressive severity and injustice of their exactions will be at once understood, when it is stated that the pecuniary value of the confiscated territory and the other forfeited privileges, amounted to the sum of Rupees 10,40,500* per annum; of which two-thirds (being about one-third of their entire revenues) fell upon the Amírs of Khyrpúr. We have seen that the object of Major Outram's proposed treaty was to commute, on equitable terms, the payment of tribute for the cession of territory, and to make the territorial possessions thus acquired, available for securing the military command of the Indus and the efficient protection of its navigation. Lord Ellenborough's treaties on the other hand, in addition to these and other stipulations, had in view the infliction of a signal punishment upon the Amírs, and the grant of "a great reward to our most faithful friend and ally," the Khan of Bhawulpúr.

Without stopping to discuss the expediency or otherwise of retaining military possession of both banks of the Indus (after the withdrawal of our troops from Affghanistan) the impolicy of which had been so strongly denounced by Lord Ellenborough in his celebrated Simla Manifesto only a month before, we will confine our present observations to the injustice and the folly of the proposed confiscation to Bharrib Khan. We have already expressed our conviction that the evidence adduced in support of the already hostile intrigues, upon the proof of

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* Territorial cessions to the Nawab of Bhawulpúr..... Rs. 6,40,000
Ditto ditto to the British Government ..... „ 1,90,500
Free transit from Kurrachee to the Indus at Tatta ..... „ 10,000
Right of cutting wood on the banks of the Indus ..... „ 2,00,000
Compensation to Mír Sobdar Khan..... „ 50,000
10,90,500

DEDUCT.

Amount of tribute remitted..... Rs. 3,50,000

Balance Rupees..... „ 7,40,500

which the justification of the treaty was declaredly made to rest, was altogether insufficient to establish the accusation. But let us admit for the sake of argument, that the authenticity of the secret correspondence had been satisfactorily proved, and there will still remain the important question, whether the imputed offence justified the penalty inflicted. If it be admitted that nothing can warrant a Paramount State in sequestrating the territory of one of its allies, excepting such acts on the part of the latter as placed it in the position of a public enemy, and imparted to the former all the rights of war, no one, we think, will venture to assert that the intercepted letters justified such a measure. They indicated, it is true, an unfriendly feeling towards the British, and they pointed to measures of defence—in the one case by a foreign alliance, and in the other by the collection of troops—against our expected hostility: but there was not one hostile act either committed or apparently meditated. They were also in contravention of the existing treaties which prohibited negociation with other States, and therefore furnished grounds for remonstrance, or even for precautionary measures of self-defence, had any real danger been actually apprehended: but in no point of view, could they be held to warrant either a public declaration of war, or a public confiscation of territory. Viewing their alleged offences in this light, we would next proceed to inquire, whether such petty and childish intrigues on the part of the Amírs, had placed them beyond the pale of mercy, or whether there were not some extenuating circumstances to plead, at least in mitigation of their punishment, if not for their entire forgiveness. On the part of the Amírs, it might have been urged that the British Government had itself contravened one of the most important provisions of the former treaties with these Princes, by transporting troops and military stores up the Indus—that we had forced the existing treaties upon them at the point of the bayonet, in pursuance of a policy the original grounds of which had just been publicly announced to be visionary and impolitic,* and which we had now been compelled to abandon—that we had given an illiberal, and, as appears to us, an unjust interpretation to an ambiguous clause of the treaty with Mír Rústum, and compelled him to abolish all river tolls without any recompense for the pecuniary loss it entailed—that notwithstanding our solemn pledge to Mír Rústum that we would not "covet a dam or drain of his territories nor the fortress on this bank or that bank of the Indus," the Governor-

* See Lord Ellenborough's Proclamation of the 1st October 1842.

General had intimated his intention to retain possession of the fortress of Bukker and the town of Sukker nearly five months before the inquiry into the charges against that Prince commenced—that we were at this very moment directly infringing our engagements with the same Prince by retaining Bukker, which we had especially engaged to restore after the Affghan campaign, and by concentrating a large army at Sukker, when we had no authority, under the treaty, to station any troops whatever in Upper Sindh*—and finally, that the Governor-General's Military Commander in Sindh was then meditating other and more flagrant violations of national justice and of public faith. It might have been further urged in behalf of these Princes, that they had not derived from these treaties any of the advantages, political or commercial, which we had led them to expect—and that they had substantially befriended us at a time when even their passive friendship or neutrality would have been most injurious to our interests, and when their active hostility would have endangered the safety of our armies, and perilled the whole of our Indian possessions. Under such a combination of aggravating circumstances on the one side, and of extenuating considerations on the other, we cannot but think, that if ever there was an occasion when complete forgiveness would have been an act not merely of generosity but of justice, it assuredly was in the case we are now considering.

But if the declaration of an amnesty for all past offences, whether real or alleged, was deemed to be either impolitic or undeserved, surely no one will contend that either the demands of justice or consideration of sound policy required that the Amírs should be punished by such an arbitrary and indiscriminate spoliation of territory as the revised treaties contemplated. Was it not enough for the purposes of "just punishment," and for the efficient protection of British interests, that we should exact the perpetual cession of Sukker, Bukker, Rorí, and Kurrachí, and occupy these stations with our troops at pleasure? Was there occasion to humiliate and oppress them still further by gratuitously and recklessly confiscating one-third of the Upper Sindh territory, as if it had been a conquered province, for the purpose of conferring it on an obscure ally whom the Governor-General, for reasons only known to himself, delighted to honor and enrich, at the expense of other States?

* "It will be remembered (writes Lord Auckland in December 1839) that we are under special engagement to restore Bukker to the Khyrpúr Amírs, and that we have no absolute right under treaty to station our troops within the Khyrpúr limits."

If the punishment denounced against Mír Rústum Khan of Khyrpúr and Mír Nussír Khan of Hyderabad was thus arbitrary oppressive, and unjust, how inexpressibly flagrant was the injustice inflicted on the other Amírs, who had not even been accused of any participation in these puerile intrigues—on Mírs Mír Mahommed Khan and Shadad Khan of Hyderabad, against whom there were only some trivial charges of evasions of treaty on the part of themselves or their officers—on Mír Nussír Khan of Khyrpúr, with whom we had not even the semblance of a written engagement—and on Mír Hússen Ali of Hyderabad, and Mírs Mahommed Khan and Ali Morad of Khyrpúr, against whom there was no sort of complaint.* And yet these Princes, equally with the two former, were despoiled of their territories and sovereign rights, in defiance of every principle of honesty, justice and good faith.

While we thus strongly reprobate this unrighteous act, it is just to Lord Ellenborough to record, that at the time he directed its execution, he was obviously not aware of the full extent of the injustice he was committing. In the letter of instructions to Sir Charles Napier which accompanied the draft treaties, he expressly avowed his ignorance of the precise value, position and ownership of the districts which he had ordered to be confiscated: and indeed, so vague and utterly erroneous was his information, that he made provision for the disposal of the *surplus tribute* to be surrendered by us *in excess* of the annual value of confiscated territory, when, in point of fact, the latter exceeded the former, as we have shewn, by upwards of seven lakhs of rupees. Seeing the grievous error which had been committed, Major Outram, on perusing the treaties when on the eve of leaving Sindh (on the 12th November), strongly urged Sir Charles Napier to make a reference to the Governor-General before tendering them to the Amírs; which, indeed, he was authorized to do by the discretionary instructions just referred to.† Notwithstanding the imperfect information avowedly possessed by Lord Ellenborough, and heedless of Major Outram's advice and of Mír Rústom's subsequent remonstrances, he delayed making the reference until the 30th of January—two months and a half after he received the treaties, and nearly two months after he had presented them to the Amírs. This fatal delay is the

* Mír Sobdar Khan (of Hyderabad) "our friend" was alone exempted from these exactions.

† Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 388.

more deeply to be regretted, because on the day of its receipt, his Lordship intimated, that, while he wished all the territory which had been conquered from Bhawulkhan to be restored, his object in confiscating the country between the Bhawulpur frontier and Rorí was "to establish a communication between our territories on the Sutlej and Rorí through a friendly State, rather than to inflict any further punishment on the Amírs of Khyrpúr," and therefore, that, if Sir Charles was of opinion that the cessions originally demanded, pressed too heavily upon the Amírs, he was directed to submit any suggestion he might have to offer for its modification. These instructions, however, arrived too late; they came not until the battle of Mírání had sealed the fate of Sindh and its rulers.

The conduct of Sir Charles Napier in this matter betrayed a most culpable neglect of duty, both towards his own Government and to the Princes of Sindh, and is deserving of the severest condemnation. But this constitutes only a part of his guilt in this painful transaction. Sir Charles had assured the Governor-General that *he himself* would present the treaty to the Amírs; and that he would "spare no pains to convince them that neither injury nor injustice were meditated, and that by accepting the treaties they would become more rich (!) and more secure of power than they now were." Instead of pursuing this course, which a sense of duty no less than his promise so clearly prescribed, he deputed his assistant, neither to explain, to advise, nor even to negociate, but to present the treaties, and to admit of no remonstrance. They were tendered to the Amírs of Upper Sindh on the 4th, and to those of Lower Sindh on the 6th of December, accompanied by letters from the Governor-General as well as from Sir Charles to these Princes, and were verbally accepted on the 7th by the deputies of both Provinces, who at the same time remonstrated against their injustice. The hostile attitude and menacing tone of the General had previously induced the Amírs of Upper Sindh to adopt the precautionary measure of collecting some of their troops at their capital; but the perusal of the draft treaties, harsh and humiliating though they were, and the (fictitious) report made to them by their Vakíls that the General had now abandoned his intention of marching on their capital, and was about to send away the Bengal force, seems to have, in some degree, reassured them; and, in the apparent hope of being able to procure by negociation some remission of the terms, they began to disband their troops. The General's hostile measures, however, soon led to their recall.

Having crossed the Indus in hostile array, he on the 8th,

publicly proclaimed the districts between Rorí and the Bhawulpúr frontier to be confiscated to the British Government from the first day of the ensuing year, and ordered that thenceforth "one cowree shall not be paid to the Kamdars of the Amírs." On the 18th he issued a second irritating proclamation, annexing these districts to the Nawab of Bhawulpúr, and prohibiting the Amírs, under threats of amercement, from collecting their revenues: and on the same day he sent the Bengal column to occupy the confiscated territory. The possessions, be it remarked, thus summarily and illegally seized, were the districts regarding which, he was, at the moment withholding such official information, as, in all probability would have induced the Governor-General to modify his orders for their sequestration; and these districts were now seized on the plea of a treaty which was still unratified, and which remained so for nearly two months afterwards. Well might the chronicler of the conquest affirm; that "the sword was now raised, and the negociation became an armed parley." *

While he was thus forcibly appropriating the territory of Mír Rústum, which he had been authorized only to negociate for, by treaty, he on the 12th thus abruptly addressed that Amír: "I must have your acceptance of the treaty immediately—yea or nay." And again in the same arrogant strain: "The Governor-General has occupied both sides of your Highness' river, because he has considered both sides of your Highness' argument. But I cannot go into the argument,—I am not Governor-General; I am only one of his Commanders. The Governor-General has given to you his reasons, and to me his orders; they shall be obeyed." † We will venture to state, that the annals of Indian diplomacy do not present a picture of more overbearing haughtiness than this. To have treated a conquered enemy in this manner, would have been deemed an act of barbarous inhumanity; but to address such language to a sovereign Prince, with whom we were at peace, argued a scandalous dereliction of public duty. Well might the venerable Rústum say: "You have issued a proclamation, that, in accordance with the new treaty, my country from Rorí to the boundary of Subzullote shall be considered as belonging to the British Government from the 1st January. As yet I have not entered into a treaty to this effect; ... moreover, be it known that I have distributed the districts above alluded to, among my kindred and chiefs of Beláchistan." Such was the series of unjust and oppressive acts

* Napier's Conquest, p. 156. † Suppl. Sindh: Pap. No. 8.

which proved the remote occasion of the Sindh Conquest; its proximate cause is now to be noticed.

Mír Rústum Khan, the Rais or Prince Paramount of Upper Sindh, the spoliation of whose territory has just been described, was now above eighty years of age. The succession to the sovereignty after his death was claimed, on the ground of prescriptive usage, by his younger brother Mír Ali Morad; while Rústum, on the other hand, claimed the right of bequeathing the turban (or crown) to his eldest son Mahommed Hússen, and even of placing it on his head during his own life-time.

Of these two rival candidates, the ablest and the most unprincipled was Ali Morad, whose guilty intrigues were so soon to involve his kindred and country in ruin. His first object was to obtain from the British Government an acknowledgement of his title to the succession, and a promise of support, if necessary, in establishing his claim after Rústum's death; and this object being attained, he meditated the extortion of the turban, if practicable, during his brother's life. In furtherance of these objects, he persuaded Mír Rústum and the Khyrpúr Amírs to invest him with full powers as their representative to conduct all communications with Sir Charles Napier, and on the 23rd of November, he succeeded in obtaining a personal interview with the General. At this memorable conference,—memorable from the disastrous consequences to which it ultimately led,—Sir Charles having decided, on what ground is not stated, that Ali Morad had "the right" to the turban after the death of Mír Rústum, promised, on the part of the Governor-General, to protect him in that right, provided "he continued to act loyally towards the British Government." He further assured him that Mír Rústum would not be permitted by the Governor-General to invest his son with the dignity in question during his own life-time; because he said, "it would be against the treaty for any one Amír to defraud another of his right."* Without presuming to decide, in the absence of any recorded data, whether the abstract right to the turban rested exclusively with Ali Morad as was authoritatively announced by Sir Charles, or whether the claims, on that ground, were equally balanced between the two candidates as had previously been decided by Major Outram,† we are clearly of opinion that, under the existing treaty, which acknowledged the supremacy of Rústum and his absolute control within his own territories, we should have had no grounds for interference had Rústum carried into effect his

* Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 413, p. 45. † Outram's Commentary, p. 104.

intention of investing his son with the turban during his life; although, in the event of a disputed succession after his death, its settlement might have rested with the British Government.

While Sir Charles thus guaranteed to Ali Morad the eventual succession to the sovereignty of Upper Sindh on Rústum's death, he indiscreetly, though, perhaps, unconsciously, intimated that the turban would be preserved to Rústum during his life "*unless he forfeited the protection*" *of the Governor-General*,—an intimation which Ali Morad appears to have determined to turn to his personal advantage, even before he left the General's presence, for he at once indirectly accused Mír Rústum of hostility, by stating that he (Ali Morad) and Mír Sobdar Khan of Hyderabad, were "the only friends of the English," and by proposing that they two should make a secret treaty to stand by each other. It seems passing strange that such a proposition, coming from a Chief who had expressly solicited the interview as the accredited deputy of Rústum, should not have excited any suspicion of his perfidy in the mind of the General.

Having thus attained, and more than attained, the secret object of his visit, this bold and unscrupulous Prince hastened to compass the immediate deposition or compulsory abdication of his brother; and Sir Charles appears to have heartily seconded him in his guilty ambition. "The next step," writes the General,* "after giving Ali Morad a promise of the succession to the turban after Mír Rústum's death, was to *secure him the exercise of its power now, even during his brother's lifetime.*"* How this was accomplished is now to be shown.

At the very time when a British General was confiscating Mír Rústum's territory, and a perfidious brother was secretly meditating his deposition, domestic troubles had befallen "the good old man." On the 18th December,—the day on which the General threatened to march on his capital and proclaimed his districts to be confiscated to the Khan of Bhawulpúr,—he sent a secret message to the General, to the effect that he was in the hands of his family, and could not act as his feelings of friendship for the English nation prompted him to do, and that, if the General would receive him, he would escape and come to his camp† Surely, under such an appeal, it would have been an act of friendship and humanity peculiarly befitting, if not absolutely incumbent upon, the British General, whose duty it was "to represent the friendship as well as the power" of his Government, to have promptly responded to so

* Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 445, p. 483. † Supp. Sindh Pap. No. 15.

reasonable a request. But setting all such feelings aside, a just regard to political consideration should have dictated a ready compliance; for if it really was the wish of the General to secure an amicable settlement of the treaties, no better opportunity for effecting this object could have been desired than this spontaneous offer on the part of the Amír to place himself under British protection. And, be it remembered, that the request emanated from the Sovereign Prince of the Province, at whose court he was the delegated British representative, and within whose territories he had resided for two months and a half, but with whom he had not yet had an interview.* To have invited the aged Amír to his camp would most probably have effected the settlement of the treaties and secured the peace of the country, as it would have unmasked the character of Mír Ali Morad; and it was therefore a duty which Sir Charles owed both to that Chief and to his own Government. But we shall shew how different was the course of policy which he followed: "The idea struck me at once (he writes to the Governor-General two days afterwards,) that Rústum might go to Ali Morad, who might induce him, as a family arrangement, to resign the turban to him:" and accordingly in pursuance of this "idea," he sent a secret letter through Ali Morad to Rústum, recommending him to take refuge in his brother's fortress, trust himself to his care, and be guided by his advice. Bewildered and alarmed by the hostile proceedings of the General and by the dissensions within his own family, he fell into the snare, and on the 19th fled to Dejí-ka-kote. Having thus "thrown himself into his brother's power" by the General's advice, he was placed under restraint, deprived of his seals, and compelled on the following day to resign the turban to Ali Morad.† The great object of his policy having been successfully accomplished, Sir Charles thus laconically and exultingly reports its results:—"This (the transfer of the turban) I was so fortunate to succeed in, by persuading Mír Rústum to place himself in Ali Morad's hands. This burst upon his family and followers like a bombshell."‡

Although the General was not acquainted at the time with the precise circumstances under which the turban had been fraudulently extorted from Mír Rústum, he, from the first, sur-

* Mír Rústum had solicited an interview with Sir Charles on a previous occasion, but postponed it on the plea of sickness, though, in reality, he was dissuaded from it by his intriguing brother. He repeated his request, but was refused.

† Sindh Parl. Pap., p. 503. ‡ Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 445, p. 483.

mised that Ali Morad had "bullied his brother into making it over to him:" and now his suspicions as to the honesty of the proceedings were increased by the fact, that a determination was obviously manifested in some quarter to prevent his having personal access to Rústum. This he resolved to counteract, and on the 27th, he intimated to Ali Morad his intention of visiting Rústum on the following day. But before the morning's sun had risen, the aged Prince had fled in dismay to the desert.

The intelligence of Rústum's flight, viewed in connection with the extraordinary transactions of which it was the consummation, could not fail to stagger the General, and to augment his former well-grounded suspicions. Accordingly, in reporting the matter to the Governor-General, he attributed it either to the aged Prince's dread of his (the General's) making him a prisoner—a dread, he adds, which had all along haunted him—or to his having been frightened into the foolish step by Ali Morad, who, in order "to make his possession of the turban more decisive," might have told him that he (the General) intended to seize him* The accuracy of his conjectures was amply confirmed by receipt of a communication, written on the following day from Mír Rústum himself, disavowing the validity of the cession of the turban, as having been extorted from him, and stating that he had been induced to flee into the desert, and to avoid a meeting with the General, in consequence of the repesentation of Ali Morad that he (the General wished to make him a prisoner. Rústum further intimates in his letter, that he had sent ambassadors to the General to explain every thing, and concludes by expressing a hope that his case may be examined "by the scales of justice and kindness," and that he may receive his rights according to the treaty The correctness of his statement was a week afterwards confirmed by the deputies just referred to, in presence of Ali Morad's own minister, as well as of Major Outram and Captain Brown.†

With such an array of circumstances and facts, all affording the strongest presumption that Ali Morad had fraudulently extorted his brother's birthright, and that, in the accomplishment of his wicked purpose, he had dared to stain the British name by imputing meditated treachery to the British representative,—it was the bounden duty of that officer to lose not an instant in instituting a full and searching inquiry into the whole circumstances of the transaction. An inquiry was due to the Sovereign Ally, whose rights we had guaranteed—it was due to the

* Sindh Parl P..p. No. 446. † Outram's Commentary, p. 126.

personal character of the General himself—and it was, above all, due to the vindication of the faith and honor of the Government whom he represented. We grieve to record that no investigation whatever was made, either then or at any subsequent period, though thus imperatively required for the credit of the British name, and repeatedly and urgently solicited by the Amírs both of Upper and Lower Sindh. On the contrary, on the very day (the 1st of January) on which he received from Rústum the confirmation of his own previous suspicions, the General, with incredible inconsistency and in violation of every consideration of political prudence and moral justice, issued an arrogant and offensive Proclamation, addressed to the Amírs and people of Sindh, in which he gives a short but inaccurate outline of what had occurred ; asserts that Mír Rustum, by his flight, had insulted and defied the Governor-General ; and declares his intention to " protect the chief Amír Alí Morad in his right, as the justly constituted Chief of the Talpúr family."* On the following day he addressed a letter of similar purport to Rústum,—charging him with misrepresentation, subterfuge and double-dealing ; and concluding with these words : " I no longer consider you to be the Chief of the Talpúrs, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you to be Rais.†

Ali Morad having been thus formally proclaimed as the justly constituted Rais of Upper Sindh, the General, without waiting for instructions from the Governor-General, did not hesitate to pledge the British Government to grant to the usurper all lands said to appertain to the turban, without knowing or inquiring what those lands were. Supported by the General, Ali Morad appropriated territory at his pleasure, and resumed, on the plea of the turban, lands which had passed into the possession of feudatory chiefs, thereby creating general disaffection and alarm.

The aggregate annual value of the territory left to the Amírs of Upper Sindh, under the exactions of Lord Ellenborough's yet unratified treaties, was only Rs 14,29,000 ; of this amount Ali Morad's share was Rs. 4,45,500, leaving to the other Amírs Rs. 9,83,500. Now, Sir Charles had not only pledged to Ali Morad, in virtue of his usurpation of the

* Suppl. Sindh Pap. p. 6.

† Suppl. Sindh Pap. No. 17. We have deemed it to be quite unnecessary to enter into an examination of the discordant and contradictory statements to be found in the different versions given by Sir Charles Napier of this very discreditable transaction ; but refer our readers to the fifth chapter of Colonel Outram's Commentary, where they will find the whole subject of the compulsory abdication of the turban analyzed and exposed with much minuteness and ability.

turban, one-fourth of the aggregate revenues of Upper Sindh, but had moreover stipulated that this fourth should be deducted not from the aggregate revenues of the Province (Ali Morad's own revenues included), but from the revenues of the other Amírs. Thus, these unfortunate Princes were called upon to pay, not the fourth of their own possessions, *viz.*, Rs. 2,40,000, but a fourth of the entire revenues of the Province, or Rupees 3,57,250, which, added to the sum of Rs. 1,50,000 to be paid to Ali Morad as an indemnity for his possessions confiscated to Bhawul Khan, swelled the total exactions made by the usurper to Rs. 5,07,250—leaving a balance of little more than six lakhs of Rupees for the support of no less than eighteen Amírs, with their families, dependants, and feudatory chiefs, who had, up to that period, enjoyed an annual revenue of Rs. 17,44,000.

In the meantime, while these startling events were in progress, Major Outram, who was on the eve of embarking for England, was recalled to act as a British Commissioner, under Sir Charles Napier, for settling the details of the Ellenborough treaties. That officer, disregarding all personal considerations, promptly repaired to Sindh, to act as a subordinate in the countries where he had so recently held supreme political control. He accepted the situation in the hope that he might yet be enabled to save the ill-fated Princes of the devoted country ; but their doom was fixed, and he was unable to avert it. What Sir Alexander Burnes was in Affghanistan under Sir Willlam Macnaghten, Major Outram was in Sindh under Sir Charles Napier. Both were powerless for good ; and both must have appeared, in the eyes of the Princes and people of the country, as countenancing and approving a system of policy which was utterly at variance with their known characters and with their former opinions. This is painfully exemplified in the final conferences, when the Amírs pour forth their remonstrances and complaints against the cruelties and injustice which they had suffered, and the Commissioner, in consequence of the instructions he had received, has not the power of holding out the slightest hope that their grievances would even be inquired into. We are, however, anticipating the regular course of our narrative.

Major Outram joined the General's camp at Dejí-ka-kote, the fortified residence of Ali Morad, on the 4th of January (1843)—three days after the proclamation of that Prince as supreme ruler of Upper Sindh. He used every effort to check the General in the course on which he had so unfortunately entered. He pointed out the palpable treachery and extortion by which Ali Morad had possessed himself of the turban ; his unwarrantable and indiscriminate resumption of

lands alleged to appertain to the Raïs-ship ; the consequent injury and injustice it would entail on the other subordinate Princes and Chiefs, and the general disaffection, if not insurrection, it would create throughout Sindh. But the warning was disregarded : the General, deaf alike to the voice of reason, to the calls of justice, and to the solemn obligations of treaty, persued his imputuous career. Having without any declaration of war, marched in hostile array upon the capital of Upper Sindh, with whose Chief we are at peace, and at whose hands we had received such signal benefits ; having taken military possession of an extensive tract of country on the plea of a yet unratified treaty ; having unauthorizedly lent the sanction of the British name to the usurpation of the turban by a crafty and unprincipled chief, under circumstances—to which he himself had been a party—that involved the strongest suspicions of treachery and violence ; and having sanctioned his indiscriminate appropriation of lands on the pretext of their appertaining to that turban which he had usurped ;—the General proceeded in the name of the usurper, to seize and make over to him all the fortresses in Upper Sindh. One of the first of the stongholds invaded was Emaunghur, the name of which must be familiar to all our readers !

Emaunghur, let it be observed, was the private property of Ali Morad's nephew, Mir Mahommed Khan, a chief against whom no charge of "hostility or unfriendliness" had even been preferred, and whose possessions were guaranteed to him by a separate agreement under the treaties of 1839. The sole object which the General seems to have first had in view, when he determined on capturing this "Sindhian Gibraltar" as he terms it, was the moral effect likely to be produced by so daring an achievement: and we find him writing to the Governer-General on the 27th December: "I have made up my mind, that though war has not been declared (nor is it necessary to declare it) I will at once march upon Emaunghur, and prove to the whole Talpúr family of both Khyrpúr and Hyderabad, that neither their deserts nor their negociations can protect them from the British troops." But as this might be considered, and justly considered, an unwarrantable invasion of private rights, he some days after bethought himself of calling in question Mir Mahommed's title to the fort, and here, as on former occasions, we are again startled by the General's contradictory statements. In one place we find him describing it as "belonging to Mir Mahommed Khan, but becoming the property of Ali Morad by his election to be

chief." * But if the fort appertained, as of right, to the turban, why was it not in possession of Mír Rústum who wore the turban? In another place he states that "it *was* Ali Morad's, but he gave it to one of his relatives (Mir Mahommed Khan) three years ago." If it did really belong at some antecedent period to Ali Morad—which we merely assume for the sake of argument—we could ask, how came he, not only to be the proprietor of it, but to alienate it to another chief, while Rustum wore the turban, to which Sir Charles had just told us it of right belonged. Again, on a third occasion, he shifts his ground of defence, and rests the justification of its seizure on the allegation that the owner was "in rebellion" against Ali Morad. But it is painful to dwell on such contradictions. Nothing but an inward conviction of the injustice of the measure could have drawn forth such a defence.

Sir Charles marched on Emaunghur with a light detachment on the night of the 5th of January, saw no enemy on his route, and on his arrival at his destination found the fort deserted. Before setting out on this expedition, he had intimated to the Governor-General his intention, of sending word to the Amirs in Emaunghur, that he would neither plunder nor slay them if they made no resistance. These chiefs, however, apparently distrusting the General's good faith, abandoned the fort; and the latter, in breach of his solemn promise, destroyed and plundered it, after having obtained with difficulty the consent (not of "the owner" but) of Ali Morad. Before quitting this subject, we must prominently notice, that while Sir Charles affects to have taken possession of this fortress in support of the authority of Ali Morad, we find that he had resolved on placing all the forts in the hands of his puppet, even before he had usurped the turban. "I will place their forts (he wrote before Rústum's abdication) in the hands of Ali Morad, nominally in those of Mír Rústum."†

Having accomplished this unprovoked inroad into the heart of the territory of an allied Prince, and having completed the spoliation and destruction of the fortress in direct violation of the treaty, and of his own plighted word, the General retraced his steps towards the Indus. He, at the same time, deputed his Commissioner, Major Outram to Khyrpur to meet the Amirs of Upper and Lower Sindh, with a view to the arrangement of the intricate details of Lord Ellenborough's treaties.

* Sindh Parl. Pap. No. 418. † Sindh Parl. Pap. p. 47.

In a circular letter addressed to them by the General, the several Amírs were directed to attend at Khyrpúr, either personally or by Vakíls, adding that, if any one of them failed to furnish his deputy with full powers, he would not only exclude him from the meeting but would "enter the territories of such Amír with the troops under his orders, and take possession of them in the name of the British Government." Notwithstanding this threatening letter, none of the Khyrpúr Amírs made their appearance within the stipulated period. Having been distinctly informed that no alteration could be made in Sir Charles's arrangements with Ali Morad,—whose usurpation of the turban, with all its attendant territorial exactions, was to be considered a closed question,*—Mír Rústum proceeded in the direction of Hyderabad to join his fugitive relations.

Finding it impossible to avert the ruin which was befalling the Amírs of Upper Sindh, Major Outram asked the General for permission to proceed to Hyderabad without delay, in the hope of reaching that capital in time to prevent its Princes from giving aid or refuge to their fugitive kinsmen, and also of being enabled, by their means, to procure the submission of the latter. The General's reply, acceding to his application, was intercepted, it is believed, by Ali Morad's Minister, and never reached Major Outram. Two days after this, Vakíls, bearing the seals of the Amírs of Hyderabad, arrived at Sir Charles's head-quarters, with full authority to affix them to the treaties. Instead of procuring the signature of the Vakíls to their unconditional acceptance (leaving the details for future adjustment) he injudiciously desired the deputies to return to Hyderabad to meet Major Outram on the 6th of February. This was certainly an unfortunate decision; but with a still more lamentable want of judgment and of consistency, he, in a letter to the Hyderabad Amírs apprizing them of what he had done, expressed a hope that the Khyrpúr Amírs would also proceed to Hyderabad to meet his Commissioner, adding, "if they do not, I will treat them as enemies,"—thereby advising and directing the adoption of the very measure which Major Outram so much deprecated, and the prevention of which was the main object of his proposed visit to Hyderabad.

* Notwithstanding the obviously imperfect information under which Lord Ellenborough drew up the draft treaties, and the discretionary power which he gave the General to refer all doubtful points, the latter persisted to the last in carrying out these oppressive exactions to the uttermost. "Whether such arrangement," he writes to Major Outram, "leaves the former (the opposed Amírs) one rupee or one million, does not, in my view of the case, come within our competence to consider."

The interception of the General's letter and other unavoidable causes prevented Major Outram's departure from Sukker till the 4th of February, and on reaching Hyderabad on the 8th, he found that Mír Rústum, acting in obedience to the General's orders, had arrived there four days before him. Thus, Sir Charles Napier had completely embroiled the Amírs of Hyderabad in the misfortunes of their cousins of Khyrpúr, and had succeeded, most effectually, in frustrating the very object for which his Commissioner had been deputed to Lower Sindh—a result which the Hyderabad Chiefs themselves had all along dreaded, and had heretofore prevented, and to which they attributed all their subsequent misfortunes.

Having entered so much at length into the remote and proximate causes that led to the subjugation of Sindh, it will be unnecessary to dwell upon the memorable occurrences which marked its final accomplishment. In the conferences which Major Outram held at Hyderabad with the Amírs of both Provinces, they solemnly denied the truth of the charges on which the new treaties were imposed, and complained that they had never been allowed an opportunity of disproving them. The great subject of earnest and repeated remonstrance, however, was the unjust extortion of the turban from Mír Rústum. That chief reiterated his previous allegations, that, in conformity with the General's express directions, he had sought refuge with Ali Morad, who placed him under restraint, made use of his seals, and compelled him, first to resign his birthright, and then fly from Dejí-ka-kote on the General's approach. Although they strongly protested against the harshness and injustice of the exactions of the revised treaties, the Amírs agreed to sign them, upon condition that Mír Rustùm should be restored to his hereditary rights.

Finding that the Commissioner was unauthorized to give them any assurance, or even to hold out any hope of Rústum's restoration, they then endeavoured to exact a promise, that an *inquiry* should be instituted, and that in the event of their substantiating the truth of what they had alleged against Ali Morad, the turban should be restored to Rústum, and the lands which had been wrested from his kindred and feudatories on the plea of belonging to the turban, should be given back to them; or, should this request not be complied with, they entreated that they themselves might be allowed to settle their dispute with Ali Morad without British interference. They urged a promise of inquiry, not only as an act of justice to Rústum, but also as the only means of allaying the excitement of the Belúchís, who had been flocking into the capital

during that day and the preceding night, and who had refused to disperse until Rústum's wrongs should be redressed.* Major Outram's instructions, however, were peremptory and left him no discretionary power: he could only promise to forward to the General any representation they might have to make on the subject; and in the meanwhile urged upon them an immediate compliance with the terms of the treaties.

At length, on the evening of the 12th, the Amírs formally affixed their seals to the draft treaties in open durbar. On their way back to the Residency, Major Outram and his companions were followed by a dense crowed of Belúchís, who were only prevented from attacking them by "a strong escort of horse sent for their protection by the Amírs, under some of their most influential chiefs." On the following day the Amírs sent a deputation to Major Outram to intimate that, after his departure from the durbar on the preceding evening, all the Belúchí Sirdars had assembled, and learning that, notwithstanding the acceptance of the treaties, the Commissioner had given no pledge whatever for the redress of Rústum's grievances, they took an oath on the Koran to oppose the British troops, and not to sheath the sword until that Chief and his brethren had obtained their rights. The Amírs further stated, that they had lost all control over their feudatories, and that they could not be answerable for their acts, unless some assurance were received that the rights of Rústum would be restored. On that and the following day, they forwarded repeated verbal and written messages to Major Outram to the same purport,—entreating him, should he not be empowered to grant the required assurance, to leave the Residency, as they could not restrain their exasperated followers. Notwithstanding these warnings he determined to remain at his post at all risk, lest his departure should precipitate hostilities.

While these events were in progress, Sir Charles Napier was marching with his small army upon Hyderabad. He had intended and pledged himself, as late as the 12th, to halt and embark the troops for Kurrachí, as soon as he received the Amírs' acceptance of the treaties: but, ere it arrived, he was within two or three days' march of the capital, and had obtained information that the Belúchís were assembling in large numbers in the town and neighbourhood of Hyderabad. Under these circumstances, which had been brought about by his own acts, the safety of his army, and other military considerations

* The Belúchís were further exasperated at the moment by the intelligence of the seizure of Hyat Khan, a Murí and Sindhian Chief.

determined him, instead of halting, as he had promised, to continue his march. The news of this determination was brought to the Amírs by the camel rider who had conveyed Major Outram's despatch announcing the acceptance of the treaties.

War was now inevitable, and both parties appear to have arrived at this conclusion at the same time. At 9 A. M. on the 15th, Sir Charles wrote to Major Outram, "I am in full march on Hyderabad, and will make no peace with the Amírs. I will attack them instantly, whenever I come up with their troops." At the very hour, when the British General thus formally *declared* war—for he had practically been carrying on warlike operations for two months—hostilities were commenced by the Amírs' troops in their attack on the British Residency, the heroic defence of which by Major Outram, with his small honorary escort under the command of Captain Conway, against eight thousand Belúchís, formed, perhaps, the most extraordinary achievement of that brief but memorable campaign. Then followed, in rapid succession, the brilliant victory of Míaní, won by the gallantry of our troops and by the military genius and intrepid valor of their General, against the united forces of Upper and Lower Sindh—the surrender of the Amírs, and the capitulation of Hyderabad—the hard-fought battle of Dubba, in which our troops defeated the army of Mír Sher Mahommed of Mírpúr, who escaped after the battle—the public notification of the annexation of Sindh to the British dominions,—and finally, the captivity and exile of all the Amírs. It does not fall within our present purpose to give a detailed narrative of these transactions, but there are a few points connected with them which require special notice.

The first of these relates to the attack on the Residency. That measure was characterised by Lord Ellenborough in his notification of the 5th March, as "a treacherous attack upon a representative of the British Government," and as a "hostile aggression prepared by those who were in the act of signing a treaty:" the character thus affixed to this hostile measure being based upon Sir Charles Napier's official report, that the Amírs signed the treaty on the night of the 14th, and that they attacked the Residency on the following morning. On this we would remark—1st. That the treaty was signed on the 12th, and not on the 14th, as erroneously reported by the General; 2nd. That during the two days and three nights which intervened between the execution of the treaty and the commencement of hostilities, the Amírs, as has been shewn, sent repeated messages, verbal and written, to Major Outram,

urging his departure on the ground that they could not restrain their feudatories, and that they themselves would be compelled to join with them, unless the General should halt, and promise an inquiry into Mír Rústum's grievances. To designate the attack on the Residency, after such repeated warnings, as a "treacherous" attack, was a direct perversion of language and of fact. It was in truth the first reciprocation, on the part of the Amírs, of hostilities which the British General had commenced two months before, and which, before the commencement of the attack, he had resolved to prosecute with vigour.

The second point which requires notice is the suppression by Sir Charles Napier of the notes of the conferences between the Amírs of Sindh and Major Outram, in violation of his official duty and of his promise to forward them to Government. An examination of these documents by the Governor-General was absolutely necessary to his acquiring a just knowledge of the points at issue between the Amírs and his representative. The perusal of them would have acquainted his Lordship that the Amírs had unreservedly acquiesced in the terms of his treaties, harsh and oppressive as they were, but that they protested against the fraudulent exactions from Mír Rústum, which formed no part of their stipulations, and the unjust and unauthorized enforcement of which, by his General, proved the immediate cause of the war. The shifting and contradictory reasons subsequently assigned for withholding these important documents are melancholy exemplifications of the subterfuges to which it becomes necessary to resort in support of an indefensible act.

A third point to which we would advert, regards the terms on which the Amírs surrendered on the day after the battle of Mían. Having previously received, through their Vakíls a promise of honorable treatment, those Amírs who were present in the battle, (*viz.*, Mírs Rústum, Nussír, and Mahomed Khans of Khypúr, and Mírs Nussir, Shahdad, and Hússen Ali Khans of Hyderabad) entered the British camp, and surrendered to the General, who returned their swords, and intimated that they would be treated with consideration, until the receipt of the Governor-General's instructions for their ultimate disposal. Under this guarded stipulation, Sir Charles could not be held responsible for the fate of any of these six Princes, with the exception of Mír Hússen Ali, Major Outram's ward. As no charge had ever been preferred against this young Prince, who was only sixteen years of age, except that of being present in the battle, Major Outram interceded

in his behalf, and obtained his release, and, as was inferred, his pardon. Notwithstanding this, he was soon afterwards arrested without any assigned reason and imprisoned with the others. That there may have been a misconception of the General's precise meaning when he set him at liberty, is extremely probable; but as the misapprehension was entertained not only by the Prince himself and the whole of his family, but also by the British officer at whose intercession he was released, his subsequent imprisonment, without any known cause, cannot be reconciled with the strict principles of justice and good faith.

But whatever difference of opinion may have existed regarding the treatment of Mír Hússen Ali, there can be but one opinion as to the injustice perpetrated on Mírs Sobdar Khan and Mír Mahommed Khan. The former of these had, up to the outbreak of hostilities, been recognised by all parties as the "old and ever faithful friend and ally" of the British Government, the latter had on all occasions been employed as a meditator between contending chiefs, and neither of them had been present at Mían. It was in consequence intimated to them by the General after the battle, that no harm should befall them, if they remained quietly in their houses. Under this assurance they peaceably surrendered the fort of Hyderabad, which Sir Charles admitted he could not have captured without reinforcements; and three days afterwards they were arrested and condemned to share the fate of their kindred. The treatment of these two Princes has left an indelible stain upon the humanity, justice, and good faith of the British Government.

The next question which arises, and which has been the subject of much angry discussion, refers to the property seized in the fort of Hyderabad, and subsequently appropriated as prize. As the fortress was surrendered and not captured, it follows that whatever treasure or other property was found therein, that could justly be considered lawful prize, belonged of right to the British Crown, or the East India Company, and not to the army. But the complaint chiefly insisted on by the Amírs was, that they had been deprived by the prize agents acting under the General's orders, not only of the State property, but also of their personal and private property, including personal ornaments, clothing, and articles of household furniture. Another complaint urged by them under this head, was that the privacy of the female apartments was violated; that the Princesses were compelled to throw away their ornaments, rather than undergo the shameless scrutiny to

which they knew they would be subjected; that jewels and other property were actually taken from the persons of their female attendants; and that the houses of some of their servants were plundered. These alleged acts of spoliation were aggravated by the circumstance of their having been committed, not in the immediate excitement of a siege, but at an interval of two or three days after the peaceful surrender of the fort. There may possibly have been some exaggeration, and misstatement in these accusations, but their substantial truth has never been publicly disproved.

It is scarcely necessary to notice, except for the purpose of denouncing the apparently vindictive spirit in which Sir Charles Napier, with the aid of his brother, the historian, has traduced the public and private characters of the Amírs. There is something, to our thinking, at once unmanly and ungenerous in the seeming virulence with which the conqueror of Sindh has thus endeavoured to embitter the exile of the unfortunate victims of his power and his injustice. If he had even established the truth of the monstrous crimes and vices which he has laid to their charge, he would not in the slightest degree have thereby diminished the political and moral injustice which led to their dethronement; but when we find that these charges are either utterly devoid of truth, or, to say the least, grossly exaggerated, we feel as if the original injustice of the conquest were almost obliterated by the atrocity of the subsequent libels upon the conquered Princes. In vindication of the character of the Amírs, however, Colonel Outram has adduced the written testimony of several British officers who, from their official relations to these Princes during the later period of their rule, and since their exile, have had peculiar opportunities for acquiring a correct opinion, and whose characters are a sufficient guarantee for the scrupulous accuracy of their evidence. From the concurring testimony of the officers, we are bound to exonerate their private character from some of the more revolting vices which have been laid to their charge, and to rank them as rulers rather above than below the ordinary level of the *Mahommedan Princes* of India.

We have already, in the course of our narrative, anticipated most of the observations that naturally arise from a review of the transactions which have been detailed. But before we conclude, it seems right that we should endeavour to apportion to Lord Ellenborough and to his General their respective shares in the responsibility of these proceedings.

The first great error which Lord Ellenborough committed in the management of our relations with the States on the

Indus, was the supercession of Major Outram, the British representative, by Sir Charles Napier, and the subsequent entire abolition of the political agency in that country. We are fully aware of the advantages which result from an union of political and military control in the person of one officer, both on account of the additional weight and influence with which it invests him, and also because it tends to prevent the delays, jealousies, and consequent injury to the public interests which may arise, in cases of emergency, from a divided and conflicting authority. But where the officer selected for the duty does not possess the requisite union of political and military qualifications, then there is no measure more hazardous to the public peace, or calculated to be more detrimental to the public interest. Lord Ellenborough selected for the discharge of these united functions in Sindh, an officer who was as admirably fitted for the one duty as he was utterly disqualified for the other. He superseded an incapable Commander by the ablest General in India; but at the same time he displaced a political functionary of tried efficiency to make room for an inexperienced officer, whose utter incompetence for the duty has been made apparent in almost every page of the foregoing narrative. In this arrangement his Lordship evinced either a want of discernment of character, or a more culpable waywardness of disposition, to the indulgence of which the public interests were sacrificed.

The second objectionable measure, for which he must be held responsible, was the imposition of the Revised Treaties, which, as we have shewn, proved the remote cause of the revolution. It has been seen that, had the General not culpably withheld official information which it was his duty to have communicated, the details of the measure might have been modified and rendered less oppressive to the Amírs: but, after making the necessary deduction on this ground, there will remain much that is censurable both in the terms of the treaties and in the grounds upon which they were imposed. In the first place, he acted unwisely in entrusting to an inexperienced subordinate agent the power of passing a final decision upon a matter which was to involve in its consequences the forfeiture of the sovereign rights, and of a large proportion of the territorial possessions of an allied State. But even if the General's decision upon the questions referred to him had been supported by clear and undeniable evidence—a supposition very remote from our real conviction—we should still consider the treaties which Lord Ellenborough based upon them to be most impolitic. Independently of all other objectionable clauses,

the indiscriminate sequestration of the territory of the different associate rulers of Sindh, and its cession to the neighbouring chief of Bhawulpúr, not only immediately involved all these rulers in the punishment avowedly inflicted for the alleged offences of only a portion of them, but was calculated to perpetual future discord between the rulers and people of the two States, and to provoke a feeling of bitter and lasting animosity against the British Government.

Lastly, it is to Lord Ellenborough alone that we are to ascribe the dethronement, captivity, and exile of the Amírs, and the annexation of Sindh to the British dominions.

Along the more prominent errors and faults committed by Sir Charles Napier, during the few eventful months of his diplomatic career in Sindh, the first to be noticed is the general mode in which he performed the political duties of his office.

The functions of a British representative at the court of a protected Native State, if we understand them aright, involve the two-fold duty of upholding the authority and interests of his own Government, and of conciliating the friendship and watching over the interests of the durbar to which he is accredited. He represents a Government which has engaged to protect as well as to control; and if he neglects the performance of either of these offices, he must be considered to have failed in the fulfilment of the responsible duties committed to his charge.

If we apply this test to the political services of Sir Charles Napier in Sindh, we shall find how grievously and how fatally he failed in their performance. Of the two branches of political duty just referred to, he altogether neglected the one, and he performed the other with unnecessary and unjustifiable harshness. The former political agents, as the historian admits,* had gained the friendship of these Princes, and there appears no reason to doubt but that Sir Charles would have been equally successful had he evinced a similar desire to obtain it. Instead of attempting to conciliate their confidence, he evinced in all his communications with them a degree of arrogance and harshness, that was altogether unprecedented in the official intercourse between allied States, and that was calculated to have a most injurious effect upon the interests of both Governments. Almost every page of the Sindh blue books confirms this fact. He, moreover, exercised an interference in their internal affairs that was not only unauthorized, but was expressly prohibited by the treaties.

The second point to which we have to advert is his inexcusa-

* Napier's Conquest, 4.

ble omission in not supplying the Governor-General with full and correct information on points were his Lordship's knowledge was declaredly defective or obviously inaccurate; and in not forwarding to him such representations and remonstrances as the Amírs repeatedly made against the measures which were in progress or were about to be enforced. This is, perhaps to be ascribed in part, to forgetfulness, but it seems also to have arisen in some degree from a mistaken conception of the duties of his office. He appears to have looked upon himself as the Governor-General's "commander," delighted to carry his orders into rigorous effect, rather than as his Lordship's political agent, whose duty is was to supply him with full and accurate information on every point connected with the duties of his office. The grievous results of Sir Charles Napier's ignorance or heedlessness or culpable neglect of this duty have been fully detailed.

His hostile invasion of the dominions of the Princes of Upper Sindh, with whom we were at peace, and were then negociating a treaty, and his military occupation of extensive districts on the plea of that yet unratified engagement, constitute his third great offence. The injustice of this, however, must be shared by the Governor-General, who when issuing instructions to the General for an amicable negociation, intimated at the same time, in no unintelligible terms, his wish that the Amírs should feel the force of our arms.

The fourth measure chargeable against Sir Charles Napier is one of which the conception and execution rested entirely with himself. We allude to the unjustifiable capture and demolition of Emaunghur—a fortress belonging to a chief who had never even been accused of any participation in the hostile intrigues alleged against some of the others.

The greatest, however, of his numerous offences was his having, in conjunction with Mír Ali Morad, compassed the forcible deposition of Mír Rústum Khan, the Prince paramount of Upper Sindh, at whose court he was at the time the British representative. In furtherance of this intrigue, as has been shewn, he counselled Mír Rústum to put himself into the power of Ali Morad; he publicly proclaimed the usurper's accession to the throne without the Governor-General's authority for so doing, and in utter disregard of Mír Rústum's solemn protest against the illegality of his abdication, as having been forcibly and fraudulently extorted from him, he publicly notified his determination to treat as rebels all who refused to acknowledge the authority of the usurper; he officially sanctioned the usurper's unwarrantable and indiscriminate

appropriation of territory in the possession of the other Amírs; and lastly, he obstinately refused to institute or sanction any inquiry into the circumstances of the usurpation. This series of impolitic, unjust, and discreditable acts, proved the proximate cause of the Sindh Revolution, and has left an ineffaceable stain on Sir Charles Napier's reputation as well as on the good name of the British Government.*

Such is a very imperfect sketch of the leading particulars of the conquest of Sindh—a conquest which, whether it be viewed in reference to the political and moral injustice in which it originated, or to the unjustifiable proceedings which marked its progress and its close, has happily no counterpart in the history of British India during the present century. If we would find a precedent for the spoliation of the Amírs, we must go back to the times of Warren Hastings, and to the injuries inflicted on Cheyte Singh by that able but unscrupulous statesman. In the revolution of Benares, as in the revolution of Sindh, the paramount authority imposed unjust and exorbitant demands (pecuniary in the one case, territorial in the other) on its tributary allies—answered respectful remonstrances by insolent menaces and hostile inroads—treated defensive preparations as acts of aggressive hostility—rejected all overtures for amicable negociation—goaded them to resistance in defence of their sovereign rights—defeated them in battle—confiscated their territories—and finally drove them into exile. While there was this general resemblance, however, between the atrocities committed on the banks of the Ganges in 1781, and those enacted in the valley of the Indus in 1843, the impelling motives, and the ultimate results of the policy pursued by the two Indian rulers, were widely different. In the one case, there was an exaction of money, demanded on the urgent plea of State necessity, to relieve the pressing financial embarrassments of the Government; in the other, there was a spoliation of territory, originating in a whimsical solicitude to enrich a favourite ally, who had no claims whatever upon our bounty:—the one Governor-General, by his unjust policy, acquired a district yielding a considerable addition to the permanent revenues of the State—the other, by a similar course of injustice, bequeathed to his country a province burdened with what has hitherto proved a ruinous,

* The venerable ill-requited Chief who was the victim of such unparalleled injustice, has been released by death from the sorrows of his exile. He expired at Púna on the 27th of May last, and the grave closed, soon after, over another victim of British oppression—Mír Sobdar Khan, the "ever faithful friend and ally" of the British Government.

and may prove a permanently ruinous, annual expenditure to the State.

While the present century nowhere furnishes a precedent or a parallel to our recent proceedings in Sindh, it is a subject of congratulation that the current year supplies us with a most remarkable and instructive contrast. The spotless justice of the recent war on the Sutlej, and the deep-stained guilt of the war on the lower Indus—the forbearance of Lord Hardinge, who scrupulously maintained peace until a wanton and unprovoked invasion compelled him to draw the sword, and the unjust aggressions by which Sir Charles Napier goaded the Princes and people of an allied State to resistance in defence of their sacred rights—the generous moderation which closed the triumphs of the former, and the oppressive and retributive severity with which the latter followed up his victories—all furnish points of contrast so striking and so extraordinary, that posterity will hardly credit the fact, that the chief actors in these two campaigns lived in the same century, and were brought up in the same military school.

It only remains to say a few words regarding the two works whose titles are placed at the head of this article.

The "Conquest of Sindh" presents the same characteristic peculiarities which we alternately admire and regret in the previous writings of the historian of the Peninsular War. We find the same spirited and graphic narration of military operations; the same clearness of topographical delineation; the same vivid and thrilling descriptions of the battles. But these merits, great as they undoubtedly are, are disfigured by even more than the usual proportion of his characteristic faults. A turgid extravagance of diction pervades the general narrative; many of his statements and opinions are singularly distorted by personal and party prejudice, and the direct perversions of facts are so many and so serious, as irretrievably to mar its character for trustworthiness. These misrepresentations are rendered subservient on every occasion, either to the undue exaltation of Lord Ellenborough and Sir Charles Napier, the unjust depreciation of Lord Auckland and Colonel Outram, or the indulgence of a feeling of what we fear must be regarded as malignant hostility towards the ex-Amírs of Sindh.

Many of the mis-statements to which we have alluded are exposed with unsparing freedom, but in a tone of great moderation in Colonel Outram's Commentary, which presents, in many respects, a remarkable contrast to the work upon which it comments.

We regret that our limits do not admit of our furnishing

any adequate specimens of the earnest, truthful, straightforward and business-like style in which the author has treated every department of his intricate and voluminous subject. Our anxiety has been to disentangle, for the benefit of the general reader, the main thread of the narrative of leading facts, from the multitudinous details which are apt to weary or repel those who are neither personally nor officially concerned in the evolutions of the Sindhian tragedy. In this way we have endeavoured to contribute our mite to the diffusion of sound and accurate views respecting its real character and merits, since an undistorted retrospective view of what has actually occurred can alone effectually pave the way to healing prospective measures. And we are very sure, that to the noble-minded author of the Commentary, any service calculated to exhibit *the truth, the plain undisguised truth,* as respects the memorable series of events which led to the subversion of the Talpúr dynasty in Sindh, must prove far more gratifying than any elaborate attempts to illustrate his own personal merits, or those of his recently published work.

Towards the conclusion, however, of the work, there is one passage so well fitted to display the moral grandeur of his sentiments, that we must find room for it:—

"Reverentially I say it, from my first entrance into public life, I have thought that the British nation ruled India by the faith reposed in its honour and integrity. Our empire, originally founded by the sword, has been maintained by opinion. In other words, the nations of the East felt and believed that we invariably held treaties and engagements inviolate; nay, that an Englishman's word was as sacred as the strictest bond engrossed on parchment. Exceptions, no doubt, have occurred; but scrupulous adherence to faith once pledged was the prevailing impression and belief, and this was one of the main constituents of our strength. Unhappily this charm has, within the last few years, almost entirely passed away. Physical has been substituted for moral force—the stern, unbending soldier for the calm and patiently-enduring political officer; functions incompatible—except in a few and rare cases—have been united; and who can say for how long a space—under such a radical change of system, such a departure from all to which the Princes and People of India have been accustomed and most highly value and cherish—the *few* will be able to govern the *millions?*

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The moral effect of a single breach of faith is not readily effaced. "I would,"—wrote the Duke of Wellington, on the 15th of March 1804,—"I would sacrifice Gwalior, or every position in India, ten times over, to preserve our credit for scrupulous good faith, and the advantages and honour we gained by the late war and peace; and we must not fritter them away in arguments drawn from overstrained principles of the laws of nations, which are not understood in this country. *What brought me through so many difficulties in the war, and the negociations for peace? The British good faith, and nothing else.*

It is another great misfortune, that acts like those I am deploring pre-

vent those who are really imbued with pacific views and intentions, from acting upon and carrying them out. The present Governor-General, to his honour be it said, has endeavoured to carry out his wise and pacific intentions to the utmost verge of prudence and forbearance. Who shall however venture to say that his measures, which we know to have been purely defensive, have not, under the warning of Sindh, been regarded by the Sikhs as indicative of meditated aggression on the first favourable opportunity, or that the bold step they adopted of invading our borders, is not to be attributed to the distrust and suspicion excited in their minds by the subjugation of the Princes and People of Sindh?

If in the performance of the necessary duty of self-vindication, I have read a warning to those in power to retrace their policy before it is too late, may it not be neglected; for nations require occasionally to be reminded that "the love of Conquest is national ruin, and that there is a power which avenges the innocent blood." Our interests in the East require consolidation, and not extension of our dominion.

With this single, but characteristic, quotation, however, we must conclude. Of the Commentary, it may, in brief, be said, that, without displaying the fitful eloquence or the practised literary skill of the military historian, it evinces a thorough mastery of the subject on which it treats, and it is written in clear, forcible, and unaffected language, with an earnestness that bespeaks the author's honesty of purpose, and with a scrupulous accuracy to which his opponent can lay no claim. Colonel Outram has most fully and triumphantly vindicated his hitherto unsullied reputation from the aspersions which have been so ungenerously and so unjustly thrown upon it; he has cleared Lord Ellenborough's character from much of the guilt heretofore imputed to him, in connection with the injuries inflicted on the Amírs; he has taken down the conqueror of Sindh from the political eminence on which the historian had so indiscreetly placed him, and fixed on him a brand of political dishonesty which, it is to be feared, he will find it difficult to efface; and he has exposed, in General Napier's History of the Conquest, a series of mis-statements so numerous and so flagrant, as must for ever damage its claims to historical accuracy.

# DOST MAHOMMED KHAN.

BY SIR JOHN KAYE, K.C.S.I.

*Life of the Amir, Dost Mahommed Khan of Kabul; with his political proceedings towards the English, Russian, and Persian Governments, including the victories and disasters of the British Army in Affghanistan. By* MOHAN LAL, ESQUIRE, *Knight of the Persian Order of the Lion and the Sun; lately attached to the Mission in Kabul. 2 vols.* LONGMAN AND CO., 1846.

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We had purposed to have given a few specimens of Mohan Lal's style, which he assures us is Persian, and which is certainly not English; but we think that we shall better carry out the objects of this journal by taking advantage of the present opportunity to compile, from the different authorities, —more or less trustworthy—at our command, a memoir of the eventful career of Dost Mahommed, which, if not entirely free from error, will, we trust, be as close an approximation to the truth, as can be attained in the absence of all authentic records of the varied incidents of the Amír's life. Much is, necessarily, mere tradition, and must be received with liberal allowances for the exaggerations of oriental retailers of court-gossip, through whom the greater number of the anecdotes, which illustrate the biography of the Amír, have been received. We may sometimes be tempted, as we proceed, to throw into a note an original passage from Mohan Lal's volumes.

Dost Mahommed Khan is the son of Poyndah Khan, and the grandson of Hadji Jamal Khan, Barukzye. The latter was in his days a noble of high repute, and chief of the Barukzye tribe. On his death, Taimur Shah, who then ruled

in Affghanistan, bestowed, with due regard to primogeniture, the dignity of the chiefship upon Rahimdad Khan, the eldest of the four sons of the deceased Hadji. But this man had not the qualities necessary to control or conciliate his tribe. He was sordid and morose. He shut himself up in his house; seldom associated with his equals without offending them, or with his inferiors without injuring them. He wanted courtesy —he wanted hospitality; he had a bad temper and a bad heart. The Barukzyes rose up against him and appealed to the king. Taimur Shah responded to the appeal; Rahimdad Khan was degraded, and the second brother, Poyndah Khan, became chief of the tribe.

Poyndah Khan was a man of a widely different character and temperament. He was liberal and chivalrous; hospitable to his equals, affable to his inferiors, faithful to his sovereign; a brave soldier and a popular chief. He appears first to have distinguished himself by joining an expedition sent to coerce a recusant Governor of Kashmir, and exhibiting on this occasion, consummate gallantry in the field. The refractory Governor was beaten at all points; and the leader of the expedition on his return to Kabul, brought the distinguished services of the Barukzye chief to the notice of his sovereign who conferred new honours upon him, appointed him to offices of emolument and trust, and bestowed upon him many signal marks of personal favor and friendship.

When Prince Abbas rebelled against his father, Taimur Shah selected Poyndah Khan to command the expedition against the insurgent hosts; and the Barukzye chief, with characteristic energy, put himself at the head of his troops, and moved down upon Salpúrah, where the rebels had taken up a strong position. The river flowed between him and the enemy, but disregarding such an obstacle, he rode down to the water's edge and plunged into the stream, calling upon his men to follow him. The energy and devotion of the chief filled his soldiers with enthusiasm, and they followed him to a man. The whole party arrived in safety on the opposite

side of the river, and at once proceeded to the attack. The rebels were ignominiously defeated, and Poyndah Khan returned in triumph to his sovereign. New honours were lavished upon him, and the title of Sarfraz (or "the exalted") was bestowed upon him, in consideration of his glorious achievements.

His services were soon again in requisition. A disturbance on the Usbeg frontier so alarmed the Shah, that he had determined on quitting the capital and flying to Herat, when Poyndah (now Sarfraz) Khan implored his sovereign not to betray his apprehensions, but to retain his right place in the regal palace, and trust to that energy and skill which had before been so serviceable to him. Taimur Shah consented to remain in Kabul; and Sarfraz Khan set out for Balkh. Here the diplomacy of the Barukzye chief was as effectual as before his gallantry had been. He returned to Kabul without striking a blow; but opposition to the Dourani sovereign was at an end. His reputation, after this statesmanlike achievement, continued rapidly to increase.

Taimur Shah died in 1793. There was a disputed inheritance. Prince Abbas had his adherents; others supported the claims of Mahmud; but a stronger party, headed by Sarfraz Khan who, it is said, had been won over by the favourite queen of Taimur Shah, sided with Prince Zemaun. Zemaun was the successful candidate. In no small measure did he owe his elevation to the influence of Sarfraz Khan; and the Barukzye chief, for a time, was even a greater favourite with Shah Zemaun than with his predecessor.*

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* Mohan Lal here takes occasion to observe: "As soon as Dost Mahommed "Khan gained distinction and became chief of Kabul, he stamped the following "verse on his coin, and this honoured and gave prominence to the name of his "affectionate father:—

'Sim o tila he shams o qamar medahad naved
Vaq te ravag sikhai Poyndah Khan vasid.'

"'Silver and gold give the happy tidings to sun and moon that the time has "arrived for the currency of Poyndah Khan's coin.' It would certainly be "wonderful if Sarfraz Khan could hear with his own ears that his enterprising

But the favourites of kings are ever surrounded by peril. Shah Zemaun, who made the great mistake of his life when he elevated Wuffadar Khan to the wuzírship, was induced by the minister to suspect the fidelity of the man to whom he owed his throne. The Wuzír poured poison into the ears of the Shah. The overthrow of Sarfraz Khan was accomplished. The wiles of the false minister prevailed, and the favourite of two monarchs was disgraced. The strong-minded Barukzye chief was not one to remain quiet under the injustice that had been done him. He had been suspected without cause; he now gave cause for suspicion. He conspired, with other powerful chiefs, to destroy Wuffadar Khan and to depose Shah Zemaun. The conspiracy was discovered, and the leaders were seized. An officer was sent to the house of Sarfraz Khan, charged with the apprehension of the rebel chief, and was received by his son the celebrated Futteh Khan. The youth alleged that his father was absent and undertook to summon him. He then presented himself before Sarfraz Khan, warned him of his danger, and offered to assassinate the officer and seize the guard. The foul proposition was rejected. Sarfraz Khan went out, and surrendered himself to the representative of the king. On the following morning he was executed, and the other conspirators shared his fate.*

Sarfraz Khan died leaving twenty-one sons, of whom Futteh Khan was the eldest, and Dost Mahommed the twentieth.† The former, on the death of his father, fled to Ghireck, but was soon compelled to abandon his sanctuary and fly from the pursuing wrath of his enemies. "These," says Mohan Lal, "were the days in which the descendants and family "of Poyndah Khan suffered most miserably. They were

"son, Dost Mahommed, had become as celebrated as one of the kings, and that "the ambassadors of the Russian, the Persian, and the Turkistan Governments "waited in his court. It happens seldom in this sad and changing world that "parents are alive to derive pleasure from the prosperity of their promising sons; "and if they ever happen to be alive, still, when the child has gained dignity, it is "to be regretted that he seldom pleases them entirely, by performing his filial duties "according to their expectation."

* Mohan Lal seems to assume the innocence of the alleged conspirators. He says, that they were all unjustly massacred. That the injuries they had received at the hands of the minister incited them to rebellion is true; but that they did actually conspire against their sovereign is not to be denied.

† Mohan Lal, determined that there should be no mistake about the matter, says: "If I did not mention that they had different mothers, it might puzzle the "reader to consider that so many children were born from one mother." He adds: "I must safely say, that the mother of Dost Mahommed was the favourite "wife of Sarfraz Khan. She accompanied him in the various campaigns, and would "not allow him to rise early and march long after sunrise. For this she was "blessed by the troops and camp-followers who did not like to start earlier in "winter."

"begging from morning to night for pieces of bread. Many "were prisoners and others had taken shelter in the mausoleum "of the late Ahmad Shah, with the view of gaining food, which "was daily distributed for charity's sake." But their trials were only for a season. The Barukzye brothers soon emerged from the clouds which had environed them. There was no power in the Douranî empire which could successfully cope with these strong and determined spirits.

In Affghanistan, revenge is a virtue. The sons of Sarfraz Khan had the murder of their father to avenge; blood cried aloud for blood, and the appeal was not made in vain. Futteh Khan had fled into Persia, and there leagued himself with Mahmoud, the brother of Shah Zemaun. Failure had not extinguished the ambition of this prince. His prospects at this time were gloomy in the extreme; but the arrival of Futteh Khan, whose extraordinary energy of character had gained him the highest reputation among his countrymen, inspired the exiled prince with new courage, and he resolved, under the direction of the son of Sarfraz Khan, to strike another blow for the throne of Kabul.

With a few horsemen they entered Affghanistan, and raising the standard of revolt, were joined by thousands of their countrymen. The result is well known. Shah Zemaun and his detested Wuzîr made but a feeble stand against the irresistible energies of Futteh Khan. The Shah was seized, the eyes of the unfortunate monarch were punctured with a sharp lancet, and he was cast, a blind and hopeless prisoner, into the Balla Hissar. Wuffadar Khan and his brother were executed, the revenge of the Barukzyes was accomplished, and their triumph complete.

At this period (the first year of the present century) Dost Mahommed was a boy. According to Mohan Lal he was then twelve years of age. This statement must be received with caution. It is alleged, upon good authority, that Dost Mahommed was born in the year 1793. If this assertion be correct, on the ascension of Shah Mahmoud, he was only seven years old. We should be sorry to stake our character for accuracy on any statement relative to the precise year on which the Amîr was born; but we may question whether he has lived fifty-eight years in the world. We feel inclined to accept neither statement, but rather to believe that Dost Mahommed was born between the two dates indicated—1788 and 1793.

The early years of Dost Mahommed were years of absolute servitude. His mother, though much beloved by Sarfraz Khan,

was not a woman of condition. She belonged to the Kuzzilbash tribe, and by the other wives of her lord—high-born Dourani ladies—was regarded with contempt. It is related by General Harlan, that "by an honorary or devotional vow "of his mother he was consecrated to the lowest menial service "of the sacred cenotaph of Lamech. . . This cenotaph is known, "in the colloquial dialect of the country, by the appellation "of Meiter Lam. In conformity with the maternal vow, "when the young aspirant became capable of wielding a brush, "he was carried to Meiter Lam by his mother and instructed to "exonerate her from the consequences of a sacred obligation, "by sweeping, for the period of a whole day, the votive area "included within the precincts of the holy place enclosing "the alleged tomb of the antediluvian, the father as he is "termed, of the prophet Noah." At a later period, the boy attached himself to his enterprising brother Futteh Khan—becoming his personal attendant, first in the character of *Abdar* or water-bearer, and afterwards in the higher office of *hukah-bardar*, or bearer of the great man's pipe. His ministrations appear to have been incessant. He was always in the Wuzír's presence, following his every movement, and often watching him when wrapt in sleep.*

This is the history of the boyish life of Dost Mahommed in which we would fain repose our belief. A neglected younger brother, slighted by powerful relatives, because the child of a woman of inferior condition, but his high spirit not crushed by contumely—patiently biding his time, dreaming of the future, and only lacking opportunity to show the strength of his mind and the temper of his courage—such a picture we may look upon with pleasure. There is another and a darker one. Among the twenty brothers of Dost Mahommed, was one named Summund Khan. Profligate among the profligates, his life was one of debauchery most revolting. His vices were of that dark hue, which, though not unknown at oriental courts, in Christian countries is viewed with abhorrence even by the most licentious. The extreme beauty of the young Dost Mahommed is said to have attracted the attention of the profligate Nawab; and the boy soon found himself the most favoured of the many youthful minions who polluted his brother's house. The story is not wanting in probability. Uneducated, neglected, contaminated by the all-surrounding

* Mohan Lal says: "This promising young man was in attendance upon him at "all times, and never went to sleep till Futteh was gone to his bed. He stood "before him all the day with his hands closed, a token of respect among the "Affghans. It was not an unusual occurrence that when Futteh Khan was in his "sleeping-room, Dost Mahommed Khan stood watching his safety."

debauchery—evil influences of every kind assailing him, the boy may have fallen a victim to the wickedness of men, and yet excite rather pity than loathing.

From this horrible pollution he was soon rescued. The Othos of the East are not always sunk in sloth and effeminacy. His was no woman's nature. Whilst yet a boy he had all the daring resolution, the impetuous courage, of manhood. His first achievement as a man was one unhappily but too characteristic of *Affghan* manhood—it was an act of deliberate murder. He had long sought an opportunity of recommending himself to the especial favor of his powerful brother—long sought an opportunity of showing the "sterner stuff" of which he was made. The Wuzír happened one day, in durbar at Peshuwar, to express some apprehensions of the designs of a personal enemy, whom he named; and to indicate, by some indirect allusions, the satisfaction he should feel, if the man were removed from a proximity to the court, which seemed to threaten so much danger. The words sunk deep into the mind of young Dost Mahommed—then a stripling of fourteen—who was in attendance on his brother; and brooding over them, he left the durbar, mounted his horse, and had scarcely struck into the street, when he found himself face to face with the object of the Wuzír's hatred. Dost Mahommed was armed with a rifle; both parties were mounted—he had but to raise the weapon and rid his brother at once of a dangerous enemy. The resolution was formed in an instant. It was broad day; they were in the public streets: the townsmen were passing to and fro, and the man, whom he had marked as his victim, was attended by a band of followers. The lion-hearted stripling saw all this; but no personal fears could turn him aside from the task he had set himself; he raised his rifle and fired. The enemy of Futteh Khan fell a corpse at his horse's feet, and Dost Mahommed rode home to announce to his brother the death of his dangerous rival. The suddenness of the act must have paralysed the followers of the murdered man; for the youthful assassin escaped in the midst of the confusion which the daring act created in the streets of Peshawur. From this time his rise was rapid. Various are the roads which led to fame and fortune. In the East, cruelty and lust are the darling vices of the great. Whatever ministers to these brutal passions, is sure to meet with favour in the sight of the magnates of the land. Dost Mahommed had now approved himself a hero.

That he did not pay the penalty of his murderous act—that the relatives of the man he had slain, did not, in accordance

with national usage, and in fulfilment of the duties of Affghan consanguinity, demand blood for blood, we must attribute to the immense power of Futteh Khan, who during the reign of the indolent and licentious Mahmoud, was the virtual monarch of Affghanistan! He was protected, indeed, by something nearly akin to that

> "——sealed commission of a King,
> Which kills and none dare name the murderer.

He was the brother, and now the favourite of Futteh Khan—the Warwick of the East—the King-maker of Affghanistan.

From the period of the accession of Shah Mahmoud to the date of Mr. Elphinstone's mission to Affghanistan in 1809, the country appears to have been almost incessantly rent by intestine convulsions. The strife between Shah Mahmoud and Shah Súja was distinguished by the alternating successes of the two brothers; first one then the other was uppermost; the war of succession deluged the country with blood, and ended in the dispersion of the royal family. Dum singuli preliantur, universi vincuntur. Seven years of warfare between the Suddozye brothers prepared the way for the rise of the Barukzyes Mahmoud Shah was weak and unprincipled—but he was a puppet in the hands of Futteh Khan, and as such, his party was a strong one. The grand error of Shah Zemaun's life had been his treatment of Sarfraz Khan. His brother Shah Súja appears to have been equally unfortunate in his failure to propitiate Futteh Khan, the powerful son of a powerful father. But the latter had an enemy nearer home in the son of Shah Mahmoud—the Prince Kamran, subsequently well known as the ruler of Herat, who accomplished the destruction of the powerful Wuzír.

We need not follow in detail the intricate history of Affghan politics throughout the early years of the present century. Much has been written on the subject; but, for the most part, with such an utter contempt for the value of dates, that the student who would endeavour to derive from these varied narratives a clear, comprehensive, chronological view of the annals of Suddozye warfare, is pretty sure to be fairly bewildered. It is enough for us that Dost Mahommed Khan followed the fortunes of his warlike brother, and at an early age was renowned as one of the most distinguished of the chivalry of Affghanistan. That whilst yet in his teens, he was a warrior of no mean repute, is certain; but making every allowance for eastern precocity, we still find it difficult to believe that he could have performed the various exploits ascribed to him

during the life time of Futteh Khan, if the date of his birth be correctly fixed at so recent a period as the year 1793. From his very boyhood he was accustomed to a life of adventure, and being trained to arms and familiar with scenes of battle, he early acquired the power of handling considerable bodies of troops, and was at once, after his kind, a skilful leader and a dashing soldier, when yet scarcely a man. He was bold, reckless, and it is to be feared, wanting in those qualities which most command respect. His scruples were few; his errors were many; and, as he often acknowledged in after life, his youthful career was stained by many acts not to be looked back upon without shame and contrition.

It was one of these errors—to use no stronger word—which led, it is supposed, to the inhuman treatment to which Futteh Khan was subjected by the Suddozyes. The Dost accompanied his brother on an expedition against Herat; the place was taken, and the young warrior, to use the language of Mr. Vigne, "signalised himself, not in action, but in the zenana "of Feroz-úd-dín, which he forcibly entered, and amongst "other pranks, gave chase to Tokya Begum, daughter of "Taimur Shah and sister to Shah Mahmoud, pursued her "into a bath where she had taken refuge, tore off by force "from her person the bund-i-pajama or waist-band of her "trowsers, which was studded with very valuable pearls, and "escaped with his prize to his brother in Kashmir. Futteh "Khan wrote to Mahommed Azim Khan, telling him to seize "Dost Mahommed, and a guard was placed over him; but "before any further steps were taken, news arrived that Futteh "Khan had been blinded by Kamran, son of Mahmoud. The "insulted Begum sent her dress, torn and bandless, to her "cousin Kamran, at Herat, who forthwith followed Futteh "Khan, took him prisoner as he returned from Khorassan, "where he had been defeated by the Persian prince, Ali Mirza, "and on the principle which considers that what is done by "one man is done by his family, put out Futteh Khan's eyes "to avenge the insult offered by Dost Mahommed to his own "cousin."* What followed is well known. Enraged by so gross an outrage on a member of the Suddozye family, alarmed at the growing power of the Barukzyes, and further irritated

* Mohan Lal says, that the lady was sister of the Shah-zadah Kamran; but it is obvious that if she was the daughter of Taimur Shah, and sister of Shah Mahmoud (Kamran's father), she was neither the sister nor the cousin, but the aunt of the Prince. The Dost appears to have acted throughout recklessly and unscrupulously. He massacred the palace-guard; seized Feroz úd-dín; plundered the palace, and violated the harem. On hearing that his conduct at Herat had given offence to Futteh Khan, he fled to Kashmir, where his brother Azim Khan was employed; and there, Azím Khan, instructed by Futteh Khan, seized him.

by the resolute refusal of Futteh Khan to betray his brothers, who had effected their escape from Herat, Kamram and his father, Shah Mahmoud, agreed to put their noble prisoner to death. They were then on their way from Kandahar to Kabul. The ex-minister was brought into their presence, and again called upon to write to his brothers, ordering them to surrender themselves to the Shah. Again he refused, alleging that he was but a poor blind captive; that his career was run; that he had no longer any influence; and that if he had, he could not consent to betray his brethren. Exasperated by the resolute bearing of his prisoner, Mahmoud Shah ordered the unfortunate Wuzír—the king-maker to whom he owed his crown—to be put to death before him; and there, in the presence of the Shah and the Shah-zadah, Futteh Khan was, by the attendant courtiers, literally hacked to pieces. His nose, ears, and lips were cut off; his fingers severed from his hands; his hands from his arms; his arms from his body; limb followed limb, and long was the horrid butchery continued before the life of the victim was extinct. Futteh Khan raised no cry; offered no prayer for mercy. His fortitude was unshaken to the last. He died, as he had lived, the bravest and most resolute of men—like his noble father, a victim to the perfidy and ingratitude of princes. The murder of Sarfraz Khan shook the Suddozye dynasty to its base. The assassination of Futteh Khan soon made it a heap of ruins.

From this time the rise of Dost Mahommed was rapid. He had the blood of kindred to avenge. The ingratitude, the cruelty of Mahmoud and his son, were now to be signally punished by the brother of the illustrious sufferer. Azím Khan, who ruled at Kashmir, counselled a course of forbearance; but Dost Mahommed indignantly rejected the proposition, and declaring that it would be an eternal disgrace to the Barukzyes not to chastise the murderers of the Wuzír, asserted his willingness to march upon Kabul at the head of an army of retribution. Azim Khan, liking neither to enter personally upon so perilous an undertaking, nor to appear in such a juncture wholly supine, presented the Dost with three or four lakhs of rupees to defray the charges of the expedition—a sum which was exhausted long before the Sirdar neared Kabul. But in spite of every obstacle, Dost Mahommed Khan reached Kúrd-Kabul—two marches from the capital, and there encamped his army.

The Shah-zadah, Jehangír, the youthful son of Kamran, was then the nominal ruler of Kabul; but the management of affairs was entrusted to Atta Mahommed Khan—a man of

considerable ability, but no match for Dost Mahommed, and one who was now guilty of the grand error of underrating an adversary. This man had acted a conspicuous part in the recent intestine struggles between the Suddozye brothers. He had no love for the royal family—none for the Barukzyes—but he had ambitious projects of his own; and to advance these, he was willing to betray his masters and league with their enemies. Whether the proposal came, in the first instance, from him or from Dost Mahommed, appears to be somewhat doubtful; but a compact was entered into between the two chiefs, and the cause of the Suddozye was sacrificed. Atta Mahommed marched out of the Balla Hissar, with the ostensible object of giving battle to the Dost. Nothing was wanted to complete the delusion. At the head of a well-equipped force, the Bamzai chief, proclaiming death to the rebels, moved upon Beh-meru. Drawing up his troops on commanding ground, he addressed them in language of well-simulated enthusiasm, invoking God to pour forth the vials of His eternal wrath upon the heads of all who should desert the cause of Mahmoud and Kamran. "With the same breath," says M. Masson, "in a "style peculiarly Afghan, he turned round, and in whispers "inquired for a Koran. The sacred book was produced; Atta "Mahommed Khan sealed, and with renewed oaths despatched "it to Dost Mahommed Khan." Then followed a series of mock skirmishes, whilst the agents of the two parties were arranging preliminaries. A meeting between the principals was then arranged: it took place secretly and by night. The treaty, by which it was agreed that the force under Dost Mohammed should be suffered to enter the Balla Hissar without opposition, was then sealed by Atta Mahommed and all the Barukzye brothers then present, with one exception. Pir Mahommed stood aloof. His brothers pleaded his extreme youth in justification of his unwillingness to enter into a business of such weighty import, and he was accordingly excused. A second meeting was then agreed upon. The chiefs met in the Búrj-i-wuzir —a garden-house of the murdered Futteh Khan—and there on a given signal, Pir Mahommed rushed upon the Bamzai chief, threw him to the ground, and blinded him. Atta Mahommed was fairly caught in the toils of his own treachery. It is alleged that he was, at the very moment of his overthrow, endeavouring to compass the destruction of the Barukzye brothers.* Be this at it may, the game was one of treachery

* Masson says: "The friends of the Barukzye chiefs pretend that the Muktahar intended to have blown them up; others wholly deny this statement, and regard the occurrence as naturally arising in a contest for power between desperate and

against treachery; and though we cannot palliate the offences of one party, it is difficult to compassionate the sufferings of the other.

Having thus removed a dangerous rival—whether friend or foe—the seizure of the Balla Hissar was speedily effected. The Shah-zadah was surrounded by treachery. The delight, as he was, of the women of Kabul,—for he was very young and beautiful,—he had few friends among the Afghans of the sterner sex, and was little capable of distinguishing the true from the false. He was easily persuaded to withdraw himself into the upper citadel, leaving the lower fortress at the mercy of Dost Mahommed. The Sirdar made the most of the opportunity, ran a mine under the upper works, and blew up a portion of them. Death stared the Shah-zadah in the face. The women of Kabul offered up prayers for the safety of the beautiful prince. The night was dark; the rain descended in torrents. To remain in the citadel was to court destruction. Under cover of the pitchy darkness, it was possible that he might effect his escape. Attended by a few followers, he made the effort, and succeeded. He fled to Ghuzni, and was saved.*

Dost Mahommed was now in possession of Kabul; but his occupancy was threatened from two very different quarters. Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran were marching down from Herat, and Azím Khan was coming from Kashmir to assert his claims, as the representative of the Barukzye family. But the spirit of legitimacy was not wholly extinct in Afghanistan. The Barukzyes did not profess to conquer for themselves. It was necessary to put forward some scion of the royal family, and to fight and conquer in his name. Dost Mahommed proclaimed Sultan Ali, King of Kabul; whilst Azím Khan invited Shah Súja to assert his claims to the throne. The Shah consented, an expedition was planned; but the covenant was but of short duration, for the contracting parties fell out upon the road, and, instead of fighting a common enemy, got up a battle among themselves. The Shah, who never lived to grow wiser, gave himself such airs, and asserted such ridiculous pretensions, that a quarrel arose; and on being defeated in the conflict which ensued, he was driven back into ignominious privacy. Another puppet being called for, Prince Ayub, for want of a

reckless men. The deprivation of sight was in retaliation of the injury inflicted on the Wuzír, owing somewhat, it is said, to Atta Mahommed Khan's instigation. . . . . It is remembered that when Governor of Kashmir, the plucking out of eyes was one of his ordinary punishments."

* Masson.

better, was elevated to this dignity, and the new friends set out for Kabul.

In the meanwhile the royal army, which had marched from Herat under Shah Mahmoud and Prince Kamran, approached the capital of Affghanistan. The Dost was in no measure prepared to receive so formidable an enemy. Weak in numbers, and ill-supplied with money and materials, he could not, with any hope of success, have given battle to Mahmoud's forces. The danger was imminent. The royal troops were within six miles of the capital. Dost Mahommed and his followers prepared for flight. With the bridles of their horses in their hands, they stood waiting the approach of the enemy. But their fears were groundless. A flight ensued; but it was not Dost Mahommed's, but Mahmoud's army that fled. At the very threshold of victory, the latter turned back and flung himself into the arms of defeat. The causes of this extraordinary and most unexpected proceeding have been variously explained. It is alleged by some writers that Dost Mahommed, finding himself unable to cope with Mahmoud on the field of battle, resolved to accomplish that by artifice which he could not achieve by force of arms. Accordingly, he forged numerous letters, purporting to be written by, and to bear the seals of Mahmoud's most influential supporters, and declaring their intentions of deserting the Shah and espousing the cause of Sultan Ali. These letters, it is alleged, were thrown, as though by accident, into the hands of Mahmoud and Kamran. The discovery of the supposed treachery of their principal supporters, so wrought upon their fears, that they determined not to risk an engagement before the walls of Kabul, but to fall back at once upon Herat. Another, and more probable story, is that, finding when near the capital that Fúr Díl Khan with four others of the Barukzye brothers were between them and Herat, and apprehending that these chiefs where about to lay siege to that place, they deemed it more prudent to fall back, for the security of a city already in their possession, than to advance for the purpose of attempting the seizure of a city in the possession of another. The Barukzyes were now dominant throughout Affghanistan. The sovereignty, indeed, of Azím Khan's puppet, Ayub, was proclaimed; but the country was in reality divided among the Barukzye brothers. By them the superior claims of Azím Khan were generally acknowledged; Kabul, therefore, fell to his share. Dost Mahommed took possession of Ghuzni. Fúr Díl Khan, Kohan Díl Khan and their brothers occupied Kandahar. Jubbar Khan was put

in charge of the Ghiljí country. Yar Mahommed and his brothers succeeded to the Government of Peshawur. And the Shah-zadah Sultan Ali, Dost Mahommed's puppet, sunk quietly into the insignificance of private life.

But this did not last long. Shah Súja had begun again to dream of sovereignty. He was organising an army at Shikarpúr. Against this force marched Azím Khan accompanied by the new king Shah Ayub. No sooner were the Shah and his Wuzír fairly on the march, than Dost Mahommed stepped forward, again proclaimed Sultan Ali, and re-seated him in the Balla Hissar. Upon this Azím Khan returned to Kabul, and Sultan Ali vacated the royal apartments. What followed is eminently characteristic of Affghan history. Dost Mahommed advised Sultan Ali to murder Shah Ayub, and Azím Khan advised Shah Ayub to murder Sultan Ali. Sultan Ali indignantly rejected the proposal; Shah Ayub consented, on condition that Azím Khan would return the compliment by assassinating Dost Mahommed. This was agreed upon. Sultan Ali was strangled in his sleep Shah Ayub then called upon Azím Khan to perform his part of the tragedy; but the Wuzír coolly asked; "How can I slay my brother?" and recommended a renewal of the expedition to Shikarpúr. The Barukzye forces again left Kabul, and proceeded southward, by the western route; but the army of Shah Súja soon disappeared—melting away without a struggle; and Azím Khan, being in the neighbourhood of the Amírs, employed himself in the collection of the Sindh tribute. The immense quantity of treasure in camp, principally derived from the revenues of Kashmir, so excited the cupidity of Dost Mahommed, that he concerted with Sher Díl Khan to seize it,—a plot which so alarmed Azím Khan, that he broke up his camp and incontinently returned to Kabul.

Azím Khan next planned an expedition against the Sikhs. He had no fear of Runjit Singh whom he had once beaten in battle. Dost Mahommed accompanied his brother, and they marched upon the frontier, by Jellalabad and the Karapa Pass. Runjít was on the look out for them. He well knew the character of the Barukzye brothers—knew them to be avaricious, ambitious, treacherous: the hand of each against his brethren. He thought bribery better than battle, and sent agents to tamper with Yar Mahommed and the other Peshawur chiefs. They listened to his overtures, hoping to be enabled in the end to throw off the supremacy of Azím Khan. Dost Mahommed received intelligence of the plot, and signified his willingness to join the confederacy. His offer was

accepted; and this important accession to the Sikh party communicated to Runjít Singh. Everything was soon in train. Azím Khan was at Minchini—with his treasure and his harem, neither of which, in so troubled a state of affairs, could he venture to abandon. Yar Mahommed wrote to him from the Sikh camp that there was a design upon both. The intelligence filled the Sirdar with consternation and grief. He saw plainly the treachery of his brothers; shed many bitter tears; looked with fear and trembling into the future; saw disgrace on one side, the sacrifice of his armies and treasure on the other; now resolved to march down upon the enemy; now to break up his encampment and retire: night closed in upon him whilst in this state of painful agitation. The disastrous intelligence soon spread through the camp, though its precise nature was scarcely known beyond his own tent. His followers lost confidence in their chief. They knew that some evil had befallen him; that he had lost heart; that his spirit was broken. The nameless fear seized upon the whole army, and morning dawned upon the wreck of a once formidable force. His troops had deserted him, and he prepared to follow, with his treasure and his harem, to Jellalabad. Runjít Singh entered Peshawur in triumph, but thought it more prudent to divide the territory between Dost Mahommed and the brothers of Yar Mahommed, than to occupy, on his own account, and rule in his own name. The division was accordingly made. In the meanwhile Azím Khan, disappointed and broken spirited, was seized with a violent disorder, the effect of anxiety and sorrow, and never quitted the bed of sickness until he was carried to the tomb.*

On the death of Azím Khan, (in 1823), Ishmael, the son of Shah Ayub—the youth who had murdered Sultan Ali—persuaded his father to seize the wealth of the deceased Wuzír. The Shah called him a blockhead for his pains; but the Prince was not to be convinced by the contumelious rhetoric of his father. He still cherished the design of possessing himself of Azím Khan's treasure; but Sher Dil Khan, one of the Kandahar brothers, came to Kabul, entered the Balla Hissar, with a party of adherents, found Ayub and

* Azím Khan does not appear to have recognised the strength of Dost Mahommed's character, and to this great mistake of his life, his premature death must be attributed. Shortly before the expedition to the Sikh frontier, he had not only contemptuously declared that he did not require the services of the Dost, but had actually laid seige to Ghuzni. Azím Khan's batteries caused great slaughter, but Dost Mahommed could not be persuaded to open the gates of the fortress. A negociation took place, and the brothers embraced; but they never forgave each other.

the Shah-zadah together, murdered the latter, and carried off the Shah.* By the assistance of Zimah Khan, the unfortunate monarch was enabled to make his way in safety to Lahore, where Runjít Singh allowed him a monthly stipend of a thousand rupees.

In the meanwhile Habib-úllah Khan, son of Azím Khan, had succeeded nominally to the power possessed by his deceased parent. But he had inherited none of the Wuzír's intellect and energy, and none of his personal influence. Beside the death-bed of his father, he had been entrusted to the guidance of Jubbar Khan, but he had not the good sense to perceive the advantages of such a connection. He plunged into a slough of dissipation, and when he needed advice, betook himself to the counsels of men not much better and wiser than himself. The ablest of his advisers was Amín-úllah Khan, the Loghur chief—known to the present generations as "the infamous Amín-úllah"—he who played so distinguished a part in the recent tragedies at Kabul. This man's support was worth retaining, but Habib-úllah having deprived the "good Nawab" of his government, attempted to destroy Amín-úllah Khan; and thus, with the most consummate address, paved the way to his own destruction. Dost Mahommed, ever on the alert, appeared on the stage at the fitting moment. Alone he had not sufficient resources to compete with the son of Azím Khan, but the Nawab speedily joined him; and soon afterwards, in the midst of an engagement in the near neighbourhood of Kabul, the troops of Amín-úllah Khan went over bodily to the Dost, and Habib-úllah sought safety within the walls of the Balla Hissar.

Dost Mahommed having occupied the city, invested the citadel, and would, in all probability, have carried everything before him, if the Kandahar brothers, alarmed by the successes of the Dost, and dreading the growth of a power which threatened their own extinction, had not moved out to the ostensible assistance of their nephew. Dost Mahommed retreated into the Kohistan; but the unfortunate Habib-úllah soon found that he had gained nothing by such an alliance.

* "One Haji Ali," says Mr. Masson, "who is reported to have shot the prince, despoiled the Shah of his raiment's and clad him in his own; then by the Sirdar's orders, placed him behind himself on a horse, and carried him off to the Burj Vazír. A singular spectacle was offered to the people of the city as Haji Ali bore the degraded monarch along the streets; but they had become familiar with extraordinary events and regarded them with apathy. The Sirdars, when they had given the orders consequent on the feat they had performed, returned to their dwellings in the city with the same composure after the deposition of a monarch, as if they had been enjoying a morning's ride."

His uncles enticed him to a meeting outside the city, seized him, carried him off to the Loghur country; then took possession of the Balla Hissar and appropriated all his treasure. Dost Mahommed, however, was soon in arms again, and the Peshawur brothers were before Kabul. The affairs of the empire were then thrown into a state of terrible confusion. The Barukzye brothers were all fighting among themselves for the largest share of sovereignty; but, according to Mr. Masson, "their followers have been engaged in deadly strife when the rival leaders were sitting together over a plate of cherries" To this fraternal cherry-eating, it would appear that Dost Mahommed was not admitted.* Sitting over their fruit, the brothers came to the determination of alluring the Dost to an interview, and then either blinding or murdering him. The plot was laid; everything was arranged for the destruction of the Sirdar; but Hadji Khan Khakur, who subsequently distinguished himself as a traitor of no slight accomplishments, having discovered in time that Dost Mahommed was backed by the stongest party in Kabul, gave him a significant hint at the proper moment, and the Sirdar escaped with his life. After a few more brotherly schemes of mutual extermination which, although eminently characteristic, we must pass by unnoticed, the brothers entered into a compact by which the government of Ghuzni and the Kohistan was secured to Dost Mahommed, whilst Sultan Mahommed of Peshawur succeeded to the sovereignty of Kabul. The truce was but of short duration.

Sher Dil Khan, the most influential of the Kandahar brothers, died. A dangerous rival was thus swept away from the path of Dost Mahommed. The Kuzzilbashes soon afterwards gave in their adherence to the Sirdar, who now felt himself in a position to strike another blow for the recovery of Kabul. Sultan Mahommed had done nothing to strengthen himself at the capital; and, being summoned either to surrender or to defend himself, he deemed it more prudent to negociate. Consenting to retire on Peshawur, he marched out of one gate of Kabul, whilst Dost Mahommed marched in at another, the followers of the latter shouting out a derisive adieu to the departing chief.

From this time (1826) to the day on which his followers deserted him at Urghandi, after the capture of Ghuzni by the British troops, Dost Mahommed was supreme at Kabul.

* Mr. Vigne says, that Dost Mahommed and Sher Dil Khan were the cherry-eaters. We do not pretend to determine the point.

His brothers saw that it was useless to contest the supremacy; and at last they acknowledged the unequalled power of one whom they had once slighted and despised. And now was it that Dost Mahommed began fully to understand the responsibilities of high command and the obligations of a ruler both to himself and his subjects. He had hitherto lived the life of a dissolute soldier. His education had been neglected, and in his very boyhood he had been thrown in the way of pollution of the foulest kind. From his youth he had been greatly addicted to wine, and was often to be seen in public, reeling along in a state of degrading intoxication, or scarcely able to sit his horse. All this was now to be reformed. He taught himself to read and to write, accomplishments which he had before possessed scantily, if at all; he studied the Koran; abandoned the use of strong liquors; became scrupulously abstemious, plain in his attire, assiduous in his attention to business; urbane and courteous to all He made, and without exposing himself to a charge of hypocrisy, a public acknowledgement of his past errors and a profession of a reformation. "The days," says General Harlan, and the truth of the statement is not to be questioned, "that Dost Mahommed ascended the musnud, he performed the "Toba," which is a "solemn and sacred formula of reformation, in reference to any "accustomed moral crime or depravity of habit He was "followed in the Toba by all his chiefs, who found themselves "obliged to keep pace with the march of mind—to prepare for "the defensive system of policy, this assumption of purity "on the part of the prince suggested. The Toba was a sort "of declaration of principles; and the chiefs, viewing it in "that light, beheld their hopes of supremacy in imminent "hazard..... In later life the Amír became sensible of the "advantages arising from learning. Although knowledge of "literature among Mahommedan nations is confined to a "contracted sphere, at least the reputation of theological "science was essential to the chief, on whom had been conferred the title of Amír-ul-Mominín, or commander of the "faithful. To escape the humility of dependence upon "subordinate agents, more especially the secretaries necessarily "employed in all revenue and judicial transactions, he tasked "his mind with the acquisition of letters, and became worthy, "by his industry and success in the pursuit, of the greatest "respect of the great, as he commanded the admiration of "the vulgar, who are ever accustomed to venerate the divinity "of wisdom."

It is not to be questioned that there was, at this time, in

the conduct of Dost Mahommed, as a ruler, much that may be regarded with admiration and respect even by Christian men. Power does not seem to have elated him with pride. Simple in his habits, remarkably affable in his manner, he was accessible to the meanest of his subjects, ever ready to listen to their complaints and to redress their grievances. He seldom rode abroad without being accosted in the public streets or highways, by citizen or by peasant, waiting to lay before the Amír a history of his grievances or his sufferings, and to ask for assistance or redress. And he never passed the petitioner—never rode on; but would rein in his horse, listen to the complaints of the poorest of his subjects, and give directions to his attendants to take the necessary steps to render justice to the injured, or to alleviate the sufferings of the distressed. Such was his love of equity, indeed, that people asked, "Is Dost Mahommed dead that there is no justice?"

He is even said by those who knew him well, to have been kindly and humane—an assertion at which many who have read the history of his early career will smile. But no one who fairly estimates the character of Afghan history and Afghan morals, and the necessities, personal and political, of all who take part in such stirring scenes as those which we have endeavoured faintly to describe, can fail to perceive that his vices were rather the growth of circumstances, than of any extraordinary badness of heart. He was not by nature cruel; but once embarked in the strife of Afghan politics, a man must either fight it out or die. Every man's hand is against him, and he must turn his hand against every man. There is no middle course open to him. If he would save himself, he must pause at nothing. Even when seated securely on the musnud, an Afghan ruler must, of necessity, commit acts abhorrent to our ideas of humanity. He must rule with vigour, or not at all. That Dost Mahommed, during the twelve years of supremacy which he enjoyed at Kabul, often resorted, for the due maintenance of his power, to measures of severity incompatible with the character of a humane ruler, is only to say, that for twelve years he retained his place at the head of affairs. Such rigour is inseparable from the government of such a people. We cannot rein wild horses with silken braids.

But although Dost Mahommed was now in the enjoyment of a season of comparative rest, the even tenor of his life, as undisputed ruler of Kabul, was ever and anon interrupted by martial episodes—slight disorders, such as are inseparable from the constitution of Afghan society. A rebellion in Taghon occupied much of his attention in 1831;

the Sirdar moved out against his contumacious subjects, beseiged and razed their strongholds, and drove them like cattle to the mountains. Soon afterwards he marched upon Balla-Bugh, which was held by Osman Khan, reduced it after a seige of two days, and then moved down with a strong force and battering train upon Jellalabad. Here Mahommed Zemaun Khan determined to offer a stout resistance. Some time before, being aided by the Peshawur chiefs and by Jubbar Khan, who deserted the Sirdar at a critical moment, he had held out with good success, and his opposition would probably have endangered the safety of Dost Mahommed, if the Nawab (Jubbar Khan) had not again stepped forward to play the old part of negociator, and induced a cessation of hostilities. The Kabul and Peshawur forces were withdrawn. Dost Mahommed affected contrition, and "wrote a series of dreadful imprecations on himself, if ever he wrested Jellalabad from him, on a leaf of the Chief's Koran." Having thus allayed the fears of Zemaun Khan, the Sirdar returned to Kabul, and removed Jubbar Khan from the government of the Ghiljí country—a punishment which does not appear to have been wholly undeserved. But now, utterly regardless of the oaths he had sworn on that former occasion, he again appeared before Jellalabad, ran a mine under one of the bastions of the fort, effected a breach, and carried the place. The town, with the exception of the residence of Zemaun Khan and a few other parties under the special protection of the Dost, was given up to plunder. "As for the Nawab Mahommed Zemaun Khan," says Mr. Masson, who was in the neighbourhood of Jellalabad at the time, "as soon as the town was entered, he seated himself with the Koran in his hands, open at the part where Dost Mahommed Khan, two years before, had written the most horrible denunciations upon himself if ever he deprived him of Jellalabad." The Nawab's person was respected, but his power was gone. Jellalabad was placed under the government of Amír Mahommed Khan.*

These, however, were but insignificant incidents in the eventful career of the Kabul Chief. He was soon called upon to face a more pressing danger and to prepare himself for a

* As a set off to these services, Zemaun Khan made an effort to assassinate Dost Mahommed, but the creature employed to do the deed, having obtained entrance into the Sirdar's dormitory, relented just at the right time, and instead of murdering the sleeping Chief, stole his pyjamahs. These he presented to the Nawab and claimed his reward. The chronicles do not state whether he obtained it. It is not very clear, either, whether this little incident was the cause or the effect of the capture of Jellalabad.

more vigorous contest. The exiled Suddozye prince Shah Súja, whose life had been one series of extraordinary vicissitudes, was about to make another effort to re-establish himself in the Dourani empire; and with this object was organising an army in Sindh. Had there been any sort of unanimity among the Barukzye brothers, this invasion might have been laughed to scorn, but Dost Mahommed felt that there was treachery within, no less than hostility without, and that the open enemy was not more dangerous than the concealed one. Jubbar Khan, Zemaun Khan and others were known to be intriguing with the Shah. The Nawab, indeed, had gone so far as to assure Dost Mahommed that it was useless to oppose the Suddozye invasion, as Súja-úl-múlk was assisted by the British Government and would certainly be victorious. He therefore implored the Sirdar to pause before he brought down upon himself certain destruction, alleging that it would be better to make terms with the Shah to secure something, rather than to lose everything. Dost Mahommed who, knowing his man, knew that Jubbar Khan had thrown himself into the arms of the Suddozye, laughed significantly, and said, "Lala, it will be time enough to talk about terms when I have been beaten." This was unanswerable. The Nawab retired, and preparations for war were carried on with renewed activity.

The Shah had penetrated as far as Kandahar before Dost Mahommed gave him battle. He had made Shikarpúr his place of rendezvous, but having entered the territory of the Amírs as a friend, he did not quit it before he had fought a hard battle with them and effectually beaten them. The pecuniary demands which he had made upon them, they had resisted; and the Shah, having a considerable army at his command, thought fit to enforce obedience. Early in January 1834, an engagement took place near Rorí, and the pride of the Amírs having been humbled by defeat, they consented to the terms he demanded. Having arranged this matter to his entire satisfaction, Shah Súja marched upon Kandahar, and in the early summer was before the walls of the city. He invested the place and endeavored ineffectually to carry it by assault. The Kandahar chiefs held out with much resolution; but it was not until the arrival of Dost Mahommed from Kabul that a general action was risked. The Dost determined to lose no time in attacking the enemy—a determination strengthened by the Shah's fatuous abandonment of a strong entrenched position which he had taken up. Mahommed Akbar Khan commanded the cavalry; Abdúl Samat Khan the infantry. The Sirdar made, according to his judgment,

the best possible dispositions, but no great amount of military skill appears to have been displayed on either side; Akbar Khan's sowars charged the enemy with much gallantry, but a battalion of the Shah's troops, under an Indo-Briton named Campbell, fought with such uncommon energy, that at one time the forces of the Barukzye chiefs were driven back, and victory appeared to be in their reach. But Dost Mahommed, who had intently watched the conflict, and kept a handfull of chosen troops in reserve, now let them slip, rallied the battalions which were falling back, called upon Akbar Khan to make one more struggle, and at length succeeded in rolling back the tide of victory. Shah Súja, who on the first appearance of Dost Mahommed had lost all heart, and actually given orders to prepare for flight, called in his desperation upon Campbell to "chupao-chupao;" then ordered his elephant to be wheeled round, and turned his back upon the field of battle. His irresolution seems to have proved fatal to his cause. The game was up. The Barukzye troops pushed forward. Campbell, who had fallen like a brave man, covered with wounds, was taken prisoner with others of the Shah's principal officers, and all the guns, stores, and camp-equipage of the Suddozye prince fell into the hands of the victors. The scenes of plunder and carnage which ensued are said to have been terrible. The Kandahar chief urged the pursuit of the fugitive Shah, but Dost Mahommed opposed the measure, and the unfortunate prince was suffered to escape.

But scarcely had Dost Mahommed returned to Kabul when he found himself compelled to prepare for a new and more formidable enterprise Runjít Singh was in possession of Peshawur. The treachery of Sultan Mahommed Khan and his brothers had rebounded upon themselves, and they had lost the province which had been the scene of so much intrigue. In their anxiety to destroy Dost Mahommed, they opened a communication with the Sikhs, who advanced to Peshawur ostensibly as friends, and then took possession of the city. Sultan Mahommed Khan fled. His defeat was most ignominious. The Sikh force, under Harí Singh, consisted only of nine thousand men; and had the Affghans been commanded by a competent leader they might have driven back a much stronger force; but the utmost imbecility was manifested.* The

* Mr. Masson, who was in Peshawur when the Sikhs entered, gives a graphic and amusing account of the affair, which is worth quoting—"after he had procured from the Sirdars beyond the ordinary complement of tribute, he sent a message to them, that he, Shâhzâda Noh Níhál Singh, the grandson of Runjít Singh, who was with the army, desired to see the city, and it would be well that they should evacuate it, and retire to Bâgh Alí Mardan Khân, when the Shâhzâda would ride round

Peshawur cheifs were everlastingly disgraced, and Peshawur lost to the Affghans for ever.

But Dost Mahommed resolved at least to make a vigorous effort to recover the country which the fatuous conduct of his brothers had lost. To this end, he determined on declaring a religious war against the Sikhs, and began, with characteristic energy, to organise a force sufficiently strong to wrest Peshawur from the hands of the usurpers To strengthen his influence he assumed, at this time, the title of Amír al-Mominín (Commander of the Faithful)* and exerted himself to

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it, and then the army would retire towards Atâk. The morning came, when Súltân Máhommed Khân who had always his spy-glass in hand, descried the Sikh force in motion. All became panic-struck, and horses were saddled and mounted in a trice. The house was emptied as if by magic, and none remained in it, but Abdúl Ghiás Khân, his party, and myself. We ascended the roof, and beheld the Sikhs moving forward in a very respectable style. In the van was the young Shâhzâda on an elephant, with Harí Singh and a variety of Sikh chiefs, attended by a host of cavalry. Behind them followed the battalions of the court, advancing in columns at a brisk pace. On reaching the gardens attached to the house we were in, the first shots were fired, some Affghans being concealed among the trees. They were soon cleared out, and the march of the force was not affected by the desultory opposition. Subsequently we heard some smart firing, and learned, during the day, that the Sikhs, pressing too close upon Hâjí Khân, who covered the retreat of Súltân Máhommed Khân, the Khân lost patience and turned upon them. He handled them very severely, and, as admitted by themselves, checked their advance until the battalions came up. Khân Máhommed Khân, the brother of Hâjí Khân, was badly wounded in this skirmish, but was borne off the field. Some very splendid instances of individual bravery were exhibited by the Affghans, and one gallant fellow cut down six of his opponents. The Sikhs, having completed the circuit of the city, encamped under the Pálla Hissár to the east, the discomfited Sirdárs retired to Túkkâl, and then to Shékhân, at the skirts of the hills. My Mírza, in the course of the day, went to the Sikh camp, where he saw Harí Singh, who asked where I had been during the tamasha or sport. He replied that I had witnessed it from the roof. He then asked jocularly, where the Sirdárs had gone. The Mírza said to Túkkâl, to prepare for battle. The Sirdar laughed and said: No, no; (nasghir, nasghir) they have run away, they have run away; some to Kohât, some to Khaibar. I certainly was amused at the almost ridiculous manner in which the Sikhs had made themselves masters of an important and productive country, and Súltân Máhommed Khân was as much to be laughed at as to be pitied; for, in place of adopting any means of defence, he had sent away the better part of his troops, and prohibited the citizens and people of the country from defending the city as they wished. Pír Máhommed Khân was accustomed to say that he had three lakhs of rupees, and did not care who knew it; that he had reserved them for such a crisis as this; that he would assemble the Gházís, and do many wonderful things. Hâjí Khân would, when such valorous speeches were made, embrace the Sirdár, saying he must kiss the lips from which such words flowed. Pír Máhommed Khân, however, thought it better to keep his three lakhs of rupees, and hastened to Kohât to collect what he could from the inhabitants, previously to his departure ultimately from the country. The force with Harí Singh did not exeed nine thousand men; and had a show of serious resistance been made, he would at least have been obliged to temporise. Also, had the city, although an open one, been put in a condition for defence, and the system of kúcher bundí adopted, he was scarcely competent to have forced it. As it was, with a small force be possessed himself of a country which some years before, Ranjít Singh in person, with twenty five thousand men did not venture to retain.

* He had been recommended by some to assume the titles of royalty,—as death under a royal banner is Mussulman martyrdom, and therefore ensures a translation to heaven,—but he replied, that as he was too poor to support his dignity as a Sirdar, it would be preposterous to think of converting himself into a King.

inflame the breasts of his followers with that burning Mahommedan zeal, which has so often impelled the disciples of the Prophet to deeds of the most consummate daring and most perfect self-abandonment Money was now to be obtained; and to obtain it much extortion was doubtless practised. An Affghan chief has a rude and somewhat arbitrary manner of levying rates and taxes. Dost Mahommed made no exception in his conduct to "the good old rule," which has so long, in critical conjunctures, been observed in that part of the world. He took all that he could get, raised a very respectable force, coined money in his own name, and then prepared for battle.

At the head of an imposing array of fighting men, the Amír marched out of Kabul. He had judged wisely. The declaration of war against the infidel—war proclaimed in the name of the Prophet—had brought thousands to his banner; and ever as he marched, the great stream of humanity seemed to swell and swell, as new tributaries came pouring in from every part, and the thousands became tens of thousands. From the Kohistan, from the hills beyond, from the regions of the Kurdú-Kúsh, from still remoter fastnesses, multitudes of various tribes and denominations, moved by various impulses, but all noisily boasting their true Mahommedan zeal, came flocking in to the Amír's standard. Ghiljís and Kohistanís; sleek Kuzzilbashes, and fanatic Ghazis,—horsemen and footmen,—all who could lift a sword or a matchlock, obeyed the call in the name of the Prophet. "Savages from the remotest recesses of the mountainous districts," wrote one, who saw this strange congeries of Mussulman humanity,* "who were dignified with the profession of the Mahommendan faith,—many of them gaints in form and strength, promiscuously armed with sword and shield, bows and arrows, matchlocks, rifles, spears, and blunderbusses,—concentrated themselves around the standard of religion, and were prepared to slay, plunder, and destroy, for the sake of God and the Prophet, the unenlightened infidels of the Punjab."

The Mussulman force reached Peshawur. The brave heart of Runjít Singh quailed before this immense assemblage, and he at once determined not to meet it openly in the field. There was in his camp, a man named Harlan, an American adventurer, now a doctor, and now a general, to whom we have more than once alluded during the progress of this narrative. Clever and unscrupulous, he was a fit agent to do the Maharajah's

* General Harlan.

bidding. Runjìt despatched him as an envoy to the Affghan camp. He went ostensibly to negociate with Dost Mahommed, in reality to corrupt his supporters. "On the occa-"sion," he says, with as little sense of shame as Mohan Lal manifests when recording his exploits in the same line, "of "Dost Mahommed's visit to Peshawur, which occurred during "the period of my service with Runjít Singh, I was despatch-"ed by the prince as ambassador to the Amìr. I divided his "brothers against him, exciting their jealousy of his growing "power, and exasperating the family feuds, with which, from "my previous acquaintance, I was familiar, and stirred up the "feudal lords of his durbar with the prospects of pecuniary "advantages. I induced his brother, Sultan Mahommed Khan, "the lately deposed Chief of Peshawur, with 10,000 retainers "to withdraw suddenly from his camp about nightfall. The "chief accompained me towards the Sikh camp, whilst his fol-"lowers fled to their mountain fastnesses. So large a body "retiring from the Amír's control, in opposition to his will, "and without previous intimation, threw the general camp into "inextricable confusion, which terminated in the clandestine "route of his forces, without beat of drum, or sound of bugle, "or the trumpet's blast, in the quiet stillness of midnight. At "daybreak no vestige of the Affghan camp was seen, where "six hours before 50,000 men and 10,000 horses, with all the "busy host of attendants, were rife with the tumult of wild "emotion."* Thus was this notable expedition brought prematurely to a disastrous close. Treachery broke up in a single night, a vast army which Runjít Singh had contemplated with dismay. The Amír with the *débris* of his force, preserving his guns, but sacrificing much of his camp-equipage, fell back upon Kabul, reseated himself quietly in the Balla Hissar, and in bitterness of spirit, declaiming against the

* It would appear that Dost Mahommed instigated by Mirza Samí Khan, seized Mr. Harlan, as well as the Faquír Azizúdín, who was also sent as an ambassador into the Amír's camp. The Dost endeavoured to throw the odium of the act upon Sultan Mahommed, hoping thereby to ruin him utterly in the opinion of the Sikhs; but Sultan Mahommed, after having taken a number of oaths on the Koran, pledging himself to compliance with the Amír's wishes, sent back the prisoners (*or hostages*, as Dost Mahommed called them) to the Maharajah's camp. Mr. Harlan in his published work says nothing about this; and the "forthcoming personal journal, promised some years ago, has not yet appeared. Mohan Lal says that "the appalling news (of the treachery of Sultan Mahmmed) wounded the feelings of the Amír most bitterly. There were no bounds to the sweat of shame and folly which flowed over his face, and there was no limit to the laughter of the people at his being deceived and ridiculed. His minister, Mirza Samí Khan was so much distressed by this sad exposure of his own trick, and still more by the failure of his plan in losing the Faqír, that he hung down his head with great remorse and shame, and then throwing away his State papers, he exclaimed that he would avoid all interference in the government affairs hereafter."

emptiness of military renown, plunged deep into the study of the Koran.

From this pleasant abstraction from warlike pursuits, the Amír was after a time, aroused by a well grounded report to the effect that Súltan Mahommed had been again intriguing with the Sikhs, and that a plan had been arranged for the passage of a Punjabi force through the Khybur pass, with the ultimate intention of moving upon Kabul. An expedition was accordingly fitted out in the spring of 1837; but the Amír, having sufficient confidence in his son, Afzal Khan and Mahommed Akbar, sent the sirdars in charge of the troops with Abdú Samí Khan, his minister, as their adviser. The Affghan forces laid siege to Jumrúd, and on the 30th of April, Harí Singh came from Peshawur to its relief. An action took place, in which both the young sirdars greatly distinguished themselves, and Shumshúdín Khan cut a no less distinguished figure. The Sikh chieftain Harí Singh was slain; and his disheartened troops fell back and entrenched themselves under the walls of Jumrúd. Akbar Khan proposed to follow up the victory by dashing on to Peshawur; but the Mirza who, according to Mr. Masson, had, during the action, "secreted himself in some cave or sheltered recess, where in despair, he sobbed, beat his breast, tore his beard, and knocked his head upon the ground," now made his appearance, declaring that his prayers had been accepted, and "entreated the boasting young man to be satisfied with what he had done." The advice was sufficiently sound; for strong Sikh reinforcements soon appeared in sight and the Affghan army was compelled to retire. Akbar Khan plumed himself greatly on this victory, but it was not a very glorious achievement. In one respect, however, it was a heavy blow to the Maharajah. Runjít Singh had lost one of his best officers and dearest friends. The death of Harí Singh was never forgotten or forgiven.

We now nearly approach the period at which the stirring career of Dost Mahommed assumes a new and peculiar interest as bearing upon the most eventful epoch of the recent history of British India. The Shah of Persia had long threatened Herat, and in the summer of 1837, actually commenced his march upon that frontier city. On the 15th of November Ghorian capitulated; and a few days afterwards the Persian army was under the walls of Herat. In a recent article* in this journal, we considered at some length, the effect produced throughout India, and more especially in the Council-chamber

* Art. "Sir W. H. Macnaghten." No. 3.

of the Supreme Government, by the intelligence of the advance of the Persian army, and the assistance rendered to the Shah's force by officers in the Russian service. We shall not now enter anew upon this discussion, but proceed at once to notice the circumstances connected with the despatch of Capt. Burnes to the court of Dost Mahommed, and the subsequent proceedings of that officer at Kabul.

On the arrival of Lord Auckland at Calcutta as Governor-General of India, Dost Mahommed lost no time, after receipt of the intelligence, in addressing to his Lordship a complimentary letter expressive of his own friendly sentiments and his hopes of an entire reciprocity of kindly feeling. "The field of "my hopes," he wrote in the spring of 1836, "which had before "been chilled by the cold blast of wintry times, had, by the "happy tidings of your Lordship's arrival become the envy "of the garden of paradise." He then adverted to his relations with the Sikhs, saying "the late transactions in this "quarter, the conduct of reckless and misguided Sikhs, and "their breach of treaty are well known to your Lordship. "Communicate to me whatever may suggest itself to your wis-"dom for the settlement of the affairs of this country, that it "may serve as a rule for my guidance;" and concluded by adding, "I hope your Lordship will consider me and my "country as your own;"—a hope which in due course of time was literally fulfilled. Lord Auckland took the Amir to his word.

The Governor-General returned a friendly reply to this friendly letter, expressing his 'wish that the Affghans should be a flourishing and united nation;" enforcing upon Dost Mahommed the expediency of promoting the navigation of the Indus; hinting that it was his intention soon to "depute some gentlemen" to the Amir's court, to discuss with him certain commercial topics; and adding, with reference to the Dost's dissensions with Runjit Singh, "my friend, you are "aware that it is not the practice of the British Government to "interfere with the affairs of other independent States" If the Amír was ever aware of this, he soon learnt to his cost that immutability is not an attribute of the practices of the British Government.

In accordance with Lord Auckland's intimation, "some gentlemen" were deputed on a commercial mission to the Amir's court. The gentlemen named were Captain Burnes, an officer of the Bombay infantry, who had recently published an interesting account of his travels through Central Asia, interspersed with chapters of Affghan history and politics—Lieutenant

Leech of the Bombay Engineers, who had acquired early in life an extraordinary proficiency in the oriental languages, Lieutenant Wood of the Indian Navy, and Dr. Perceval Lord, a medical officer of rare accomplishments, whose early death on the field of battle, literature and science will long deplore. The mission was instructed in the first place to proceed to Hyderabad with letters to the Amirs of Sindh, thence to ascend the Indus and proceed to Peshawur, Kabul and Kandahar. The officers of the mission soon separated. Wood and Lord were despatched to Kúndúz, Leech was deputed to Kandahar, whilst Burnes, as the head of the embassy, was engaged at the court of Dost Mahommed playing a more difficult game of diplomacy then he ever thought would fall to his lot. To his movements as the chief actor on the one side in the events which followed, we purpose chiefly to direct our attention.

As the mission entered Affghanistan, it was met by friendly deputations from the Amir, bearing letters expressive of the warmest welcome and the kindliest sympathy. Every honor was rendered to the British embassy; and as Burnes neared the capital, the favorite son of Dost Mahommed—that very son who, four or five years later, expelled the British so ignominiously from his country—came forward to meet the mission and conduct it to his father's court. Mahommed Akbar was accompanied by a large retinue; and the procession which entered Kabul is said to have been highly imposing. The Amir indeed had spared no pains to render it so; his anxiety to give a fitting welcome to the delegates of a friendly power was so great, that not satisfied with such official pomp as his own immediate resources could impart to the entrance of the British mission, he requested the principal citizens of Kabul to aid him in welcoming the strangers. Nothing could have been more cordial than his reception of Burnes and his attendants. "He received us most cordially," writes Mohan Lal, "and near his own palace, a beautiful garden surrounded with "the most comfortable apartments, was alloted to us as our "place of residence."

The mission entered Kabul on the 20th of September 1837. On the following day, the Amir formally received the representatives of the British Government, "with many expressions "of his high sense of the great honour conferred on him, and his "at last having had the means of communicating with an officer "of the British Government."* Burnes submitted his creden-

* Letters of Capt. Burnes to W. H. Macnaghten, Esq.

tials. The letters were opened by the Amír himself, and read by his Minister, Abdul Sami Khan. They introduced Burnes to His Highness solely as a commercial messenger; but this flimsy veil was soon dropped; it was evident from the first that whatever might have been his instructions—whatever might have been the proximate, or rather the ostensible object of the mission, Burnes had ulterior designs, and that he in reality went to Kabul either as a spy or political diplomatist. He had not been three days at Kabul before he wrote to Mr. Macnaghten to say, that he should take an early opportunity of reporting what transpired at the Amir's court; and ten days afterwards we find him announcing "the result of his inquiries on the subject of Persian influnce in Kabul, and the exact power which the Kuzzilbash, or Persian party resident in this city, have over the politics of Affghanistan. Indeed, three months before, he had written to a private friend, "I came to look after commerce, to superintend surveys and examine passes of mountains, and likewise certainly *to see into affairs and judge of what was to be done hereafter;* but the hereafter has already arrived." This, "seeing into affairs" this "reporting what transpired at the Amir's court," this writing at length the result of his inquiries into the subject of Persian influence, &c., &c., under cover of a purely commercial mission,—his credentials distinctly stating that he was sent "to confer with" Dost Mahommed "as to the best means of facilitating commercial intercourse between Affghanistan and India,"—is not altogether very unlike playing the part of a spy.*

On the 24th of September, Burnes was invited to a private conference with Dost Mahommed. It took place in "the interior of the harem" of the Balla Hissar—Akbar Khan alone being present. Dinner was served, and "the interview lasted till midnight." The Dost listened attentively to all that Burnes advanced relative to the navigation of the Indus and the trade of Affghanistan, but replied that his resources were so crippled by his war with the Sikhs, that he was compelled to adopt measures injurious to commerce, for the mere purpose of raising revenue. He spoke with much warmth of the loss of Peshawur, which he alleged had been wrested from him whilst he was engaged in war with Shah Sújah. Burnes replied with a number of cut-and-dry sentences about the ability and resources of Runjit Singh—to all of which the

* On the 4th October, Burnes wrote a long *political* letter to Macnaghten; and on the following day, one in which he slightly touched on commercial topics, but soon rushed headlong into politics.

Amír cheerfully assented; and ackowledged at the same time that he was not strong enough to cope with so powerful an adversary. "Instead of renewing the conflict," he said, "it would be a source of real gratification if the British Government would counsel me how to act: none of our other neighbours can avail me; and in return I would pledge myself to forward its commercial and its political views." Burnes replied that he heard with pleasure this acknowledgement, and assured him that the British Government would exert itself to secure peace between the Punjab and Affghanistan, adding that although he could not hold out any promise of interference for the restoration of Peshawur, which had been won and preserved by the sword, he believed that the "Mahrajah intended to make some change in its management, but that it sprung from himself, not from the British Government." The Amír showed great anxiety to be made acquainted with the precise character of these contemplated arrangements; but all that Burnes could offer was a conjecture,, that the Maharajah might be induced to restore the country, under certain restrictions, to Sultan Mahommed Khan and his brothers, to whom, and not to the Dost, it had formerly belonged.

On the evening of the 4th of October, Burnes was again invited to the Balla Hassar, the Amír having in the meantime waited upon him in his own quarters. At this second conference in the palace, the Nawab Jubbar Khan, the Dost's brother, was present. On this occasion, to the surprise of the British envoy, the Amír carried his moderation and humility to an excess which might almost have aroused suspicion. He declared that if the representative of Great Britain recommended him to do so, he would express to Runjít Singh his contrition for the past. and ask forgiveness; and that if the Maharajah "would consent to give up Peshawur to him, he would hold it tributary to Lahore; send the requisite presents of horses and rice; and in all things consider himself, in that part of his dominions, as holding under Lahore." Upon this Burnes suggested that such an arrangement would be destructive to the hopes of Sultan Mahommed, who ought to be regarded with compassion; and asked, whether it would not be equally advantageous to the reputation of the Dost that Peshawur should be restored to his brother. To this the Amír replied, that the country might as well be in the hands of the Sikhs as in those of Sultan Mahommed, who, indeed, was his enemy, as it would never be believed that Runjít Singh had withdrawn from the countries westward of the Indus;—little more passed at this meeting. Burnes retired to

speculate upon the conduct of the Dost and write letters to Mr. Macnaghten, at that time Political Secretary to the Government of India.

In the meanwhile the attention of the mission was directed to the state of affairs at Kandahar. The chief of that place, Mohan dil Khan, had not only declared his willingness to embrace the Persian alliance, but had determined on sending his second son, with the Persian agent to Persia, as the bearer of presents to the Shah and the Russian embassy. Against this course of procedure Dost Mahommed had protested. "Oh! my brother," he wrote, "if you will do these things without my concurrence, what will the world say to it?" There can be no doubt of the Dost's sincerity. Indeed, it was the conviction that the Kabul chief was entering with his whole soul into the British alliance, to the exclusion, as it was believed, of the Kandahar sirdars, that drove the latter to strengthen themselves with Persia. Burnes himself had no doubt that the Dost was at that time acting a straightforward part. On the 31st he wrote, that another conference had taken place on the 24th, and that what passed on that occasion "set Dost Mahommed's conduct in a light that must prove, as I believe, very gratifying to Government." He then stated, that on expressing the regret which he felt on being made acquainted with the misguided conduct of the Kandahar sirdars, the Dost had declared that if such conduct was distressing to the British minister, it was much more distressing to him; that he himself repented of having ever listened to the overtures of Persia; that he would take care publicly to manifest his desire to strengthen his relations with the British Government, and do every thing in his power to induce his Kandahar brothers to adopt a wiser course of policy. Burnes replied that he was delighted to hear the expression of such sentiments; but distinctly stated, "that neither he nor his brothers were to found hopes of receiving aid from the British Govenment"—that so long as they conducted themselves with propriety, they might rely upon the sympathy of the British Government but that they must, by no means, expect to derive anything more substantial from the alliance.* Burnes, who

* And on the 30th of December, Burnes, with reference to this promised sympathy, wrote in the following words to Mr. Macnaghten: The passage was not published in the official correspondence. It was thought better to suppress it—"The present position of the British Government at this capital appears to me "a most gratifying proof of the estimation in which it is held by an Affghan nation. "Russia has come forward with offers, which are certainly substantial: Persia "has been lavish in her promises, and Bokhara and other States have not been "backward; yet in all that has passed, or is daily transpiring, *the Chief of Kabul*

had come to Kabul as a commercial agent, was without any political instructions. He could promise nothing. The most that he could do was to write, and to await patiently the receipt of letters from Hindústan.

And, in due course, letters were received at Kabul. There is in the published "correspondence relating to Affghanistan," a wretchedly garbled letter from Captain Burnes to Mr. Macnaghten, dated January 26th, 1838, which, even as it stands in the authorised blue book, is an interesting and important document, but which in its true unmutilated form throws a flood of light on the true history of the transactions between Dost Mahommed and the British agent. Before this, Vickovich had appeared on the political stage. "We are in a mess here," wrote Burnes, in a private letter, on the 9th of January: "Herat is besieged and may fall, and the Emperor or Russia "has sent an envoy to Kabul to offer Dost Mahommed Khan "money to fight Runjít Singh ! ! ! ! ! I could not believe my "eyes or ears, but Captain Vickovich, for that is the agent's "name, arrived here with a blazing letter three feet long, and "sent immediately to pay his respects to myself. I, of course, "received him and asked him to dinner. This is not the best of it. "The Amír came over to me sharp, and offered to do as I like, "kick him out, or anything, but I stood too much in fear of "Vattel to do any such thing; and since he was so friendly "to us, said I, give me the letters the agent has brought, all "of which he surrendered sharp, and I sent an express at once "to my Lord A., with a confidential letter to the Governor-"General himself, bidding him look what his predecessors had "brought upon him, and telling him that after this, I knew "not what might happen, and it was now a neck-and-neck race "between Russia and us." The letters of which Vickovich was the bearer, like those brought by Burnes, were purely of a commercial tendency. They were written in the Russian and the Persian languages, the latter of which was translated by Mohan Lal, who gives in a few lines the substance of the more important one, the letter from the Emperor.* The

"*declares that he prefers the sympathy and friendly offices of the British to all* "*these offers however alluring they may seem, from Persia or from the Emperor,* "which certainly places his good sense in a light more than prominent, and in my "humble judgment proves that by an earlier attention to these countries, we might "have escaped the whole of these intrigues, and held long since a stable influence in "Kabul."

* Mohan Lal says very shrewdly—it is one of the best passages in his book, "I "have heard many people in their talking say, that if the letter of the Emperor "touched upon no other points but those of trade, there was no necessity for taking "such alarm at its appearance in Kabul, and that it was exaggerated in importance "as it appeared to be felt by the Indian Government. Though I do not boast of

authenticity of this letter has been questioned. Masson declares that it was a forgery—seal and all; alleging, in proof, that it bore no signature. To this Mohan Lal replies, that the absence of the royal signature is a proof rather of the genuine than the counterfeit character of the document. "On "the contrary," he says, according to Asiatic usage, these are "the very reasons for confiding in the veracity of the letter. "In all countries of despotic government, as Affghanistan, 'Turkistan and Persia, and their neighbour the Russians, "letters are forwarded under the seal and not under the signa- "ture." If Mohan Lal wishes us to believe that Nicholas never attaches his signature to a letter, we must express our very positive incredulity; but we agree with him in thinking that, under the circumstances of the case, he would have been more inclined to omit than to attach the signature. The fact is that the letter was one to be acknowledged or repudiated as most convenient; it was intended to satisfy Dost Mahommed on one hand, and to be suspected by the European allies of Russia upon the other. That it came from the Cabinet of St. Petersburg we think there is little room to doubt.

The letter from Burnes, of the 26th of January to which we have alluded above, and which we now have before us in an ungarbled state, contains a full account of an important conference between the Amír and the British agent, held after the receipt by the latter of instructions from the Governor-General. At this meeting Burnes communicated to Dost Mahommed the sentiments of the Governor-General—a fact the record of which has been erased from the published letter—and recommended the Amír in accordance with the opinions expressed by Lord Auckland, to waive his own claims to Peshawur, and be content with such arrangements as Runjít Singh might be inclined to enter into with Súltan Mahommed. To this the Dost replied that he bore no enmity to his brother, though his brother was full of rancour against him, and would

"being well versed in the histories of India written by talented English authors, "but from what I have learned from them I come to the conclusion that, the disguised "word or appellation for politics is commerce, and that commerce is the only "thing which expands the views and policy of territorial aggrandisement." A smart back-handed blow this, struck at his own masters.

* An attempt, in the published blue-book, was made to conceal the fact of the receipt of these letters, and to make it appear that Burnes acted entirely upon his own responsibility. The genuine letter commenced with the following words—"I have now the honor to acknowledge the receipt of our (the Political Secretary's) letters of the 25th of November and 2nd of December last, which reached me about the same time, and conveyed the views of the right honorable the Governor-General regarding the overtures made by Dost Mahommed, &c., &c." In the published version the letter commences with the word, "regarding."

gladly compass his destruction ; that with Súltan Mahommed at Peshawur he would not be safe for a day, and that he would rather see it directly in the hands of the Sikhs, than in the hands of an enemy ever ready to intrigue with the Sikhs for his overthrow. " Peshawur," said he, " has been conquered by the Sikhs ; it belongs to them ; they may give it to whomsoever they please ; if to Súltan Mahommed Khan, they place it in the hands of one who is bent on injuring me, and I cannot therefore acknowledge any degree of gratitude for your interference, or take upon myself to render services in return."—and then follow these mollifying sentences which it was gross injustice to Dost Mahommed to omit from the published letter : " I admit " (said the Amír), " that it will be highly beneficial in many ways to see the Sikhs once more eastward of the Indus, but I still can dispense with none of my troops or relax in my precautionary measures, as equal if not greater anxieties will attach to me—I have unbosomed myself to you, and laid bare, without any suppression, my difficulties. I shall bear in lively remembrance the intended good offices of the British Government, and I shall deplore that my interest did not permit me to accept that which was tendered in a spirit so friendly, but which to me and my advisers has only seemed hastening my ruin. To Runjít Singh your interference is beneficial, as he finds himself involved in serious difficulties by the possession of Peshawur, and he is too glad of your good offices to escape from a place which is a burthen to his finances, but by that escape a debt of gratitude is exactible from him and not from me ; and if your government will look into this matter, they will soon discover my opinions to be far from groundless, and my conclusions the only safe policy I can pursue." The Dost having ceased to speak, Jubbar Khan followed, proposing a compromise. He suggested that it might be found advisable to deliver over Peshawur conjointly to the Amír and Súltan Mahommed,—Runjít Singh receiving from the two chiefs the value which he might fix as the terms of surrender. The Dost observed that such an arrangement* would remove his fears, and that

* Burnes commenting on the Nawab's proposal observes, " The observations " coming from the Nawab Jubbar Khan are the more remarkable since he is " devoted to his brother, Súltan Mahommed Khan, and would rejoice to see him " restored to Peshawur. They consequently carried with me a conviction that the " Amir's fears are not groundless, and that they will deserve all due consideration " before Government entered upon any measures for attaching this chief to its " interests." This passage was, of course, suppressed.

if he appointed Jubbar Khan to represent him at Peshawur, he would be sure of an equitable adjustment of affairs. To this Burnes replied in general terms, that the withdrawal of the Sikhs to the eastward of the Indus would be a vast benefit to the Afghan nation, and asked Dost Mahommed whether he would rather see the Sikhs or Súltan Mahommed in Peshawur. The Amír replied that the question put in plain words was a startling one ; but he asked in return, if that could be considered beneficial to the Affghan nation, which was especially injurious to him who possessed the largest share of sovereignty in Affghanistan ? He then observed, in evidence of the truth of his assertions, relative to the dangers to which he was exposed from the supremacy of Súltan Mahommed at Peshawur, " Súltan Mahommed Khan has just sent an agent to the ex-king at Lúdianah (Sah Súja) to offer his services to combine against me and to secure my brothers at Kandahar, in support of this coalition"—" What security" asked the Amír, " am I to receive " against a recurrence of such practices ?" He then continued, " as for the ex-king himself, I fear him not ; he has been too " often worsted to make head, unless he has aid from the " British Government, which I am now pretty certain he will " never receive. If my brother at Peshawur, however, under " a promise of being made his minister, and assisted with Sikh " agents and money, appears in the field, I may find that in " expressing my satisfaction at his restoration to Peshawur, I " have been placing a snake in my bosom—and I may then, " when too late, lament that I did not let the Sikhs do their " worst, instead of replacing them by another description of " enemies." All this was carefully erased from the letter before it was allowed to form a part of the published blue-book ; and the following just observations of Captain Burnes shared no better fate : " It has appeared to me that they" (the opinions and views of the ruler of Kabul) " call for much deliberation. It will be seen that the chief is not bent on possessing Peshawur, or on gratifying an enmity towards his brothers, but simply pursuing the worldly maxim of securing himself from injury ; the arguments which he has adduced seem deserving of every consideration, and the more so, when an avowed partisan of Súltan Mahommed does not deny the justice of the Amír's objection ;" and further on our agent observes (we omit many suppressed passages, which if we were writing a memoir of Alexander Burnes, we should be bound to insert), " since arriving here, I have seen an agent " of Persia with alluring promises, after penetrating as far as

"Kandahar, compelled to quit the country, because no one "has sent to invite him to Kabul. Following him, an agent "of Russia with letters highly complimentary and promises "more than substantial, has experienced no more civility than "is due by the laws of hospitality and nations. It may be "urged by some that the offers of one or both were fallacious, "but such a *dictum* is certainly premature; the Amír of Kabul "has sought no aid in his arguments from such offers, but "declared that his interests are bound up in an alliance with the "British Government, which he never will desert as long as "there is a hope of securing one." There is much more in a similar strain—much more cancelled from the published correspondence—which we are compelled, from such an article as this, reluctantly to omit. The system of garbling the official correspondence of public men—sending the letters of a statesman or diplomatist into the world mutilated, emasculated—the very pith and substance of them cut out by the unsparing hand of the State-anatomist—cannot be too severely reprehended. The dishonesty by which lie upon lie, a century of lies, is palmed upon the world, has not one redeeming feature. If public men are, without reprehension, to be permitted to lie in the face of nations—wilfully, elaborately, and maliciously to bear false witness against their neighbours, what hope is there for private veracity? In the case before us, the *suppressio veri* is virtually the *assertio falsi*. The character of Dost Mahommed has been lied away; the character of Burnes has been lied away. Both, by the mutilation of the correspondence of the latter, have been fearfully misrepresented—both have been set forth as doing what they did not, and omitting to do what they did. We care not whose knife—whose hand did the work of mutilation. We deal with principles, not with persons—and have no party ends to serve. The cause of truth must be upheld. Official documents are the sheet-anchors of historians—the last courts of appeal to which the public resort. If these documents are tampered with—if they are made to declare historical figments, the grave of truth is dug, and there is seldom a resurrection. It is not always that an afflicted parent is ready to step forward in behalf of an injured child, and lay a memorial at the feet of his sovereign, exposing the cruelty by which an honorable man has been represented in State documents, as doing that which was abhorrent to his nature. In most cases, the lie goes down unassailed, and often unsuspected to posterity; and in place of sober History we have a florid Romance.

But still in spite of the declarations of Burnes that Dost Mahommed had little to hope from the operations of the British Government in the East, the Russian mission made but little progress at Kabul. Alluding to the negociations of our agent, Vickovich wrote some time afterwards, "all this has occasioned Dost Mahommed Khan to conduct himself very coldly towards me; and then, as he daily converses with Burnes, from my arrival here to the 20th of February I have hardly been two or three times in his presence." The fact is that the Russian mission was scurvily treated up to this time, as we are assured on the concurrent testimony of the British and the Russian agents. But on the 21st of February, letters were received from the Governor-General, stating in the most decisive language, that there was no intention to accede to the propositions of the Amír regarding Peshawur; and then, but not till then, the conduct of Dost Mahommed underwent a change, and the Russian mission began to rise in importance. On the 2nd of March, Jubbar Khan visited Burnes, and a long discussion ensued relative to the intentions of the British Government, which Burnes again explicitly stated! And on the following day, Abdúl Samí Khan waited upon him, and went over nearly the same ground. He alleged Dost Mahommed "had often written to the British Government about his affairs, and in return they replied to him about their own;" and recurred to the expectations which the Dost had formed of receiving aid from the British and rendering service to them in return. Burnes attended to a message that had been sent to him, stating that the Amír would not wait longer than the vernal equinox in the hope of receiving British assistance, after which time he would consider himself at liberty to listen to the overtures of any other power. For this Abdúl Samí Khan apologised; but repeated, in general terms, the demands of the Dost, and the expectations he had formed of coming to a friendly understanding with the British. On the 4th, the Nawab Jubbar Khan again waited on Burnes. The discussion which ensued was much the same as that of the preceding day, with the exception of something very much like a proposition from the Nawab to betray his brother; but on the 5th he again appeared with a string of specific demands dictated by the Amír. "These consisted of a promise to protect Kabul and Kandahar from Persia; of the surrender of Peshawur by Runjít Singh; of the interference of our Government to protect, at that city, those who might return to it from Kabul, supposing it to be restored to Súltan Mahommed Khan; with several other proposals." Upon this

Burnes with an expression of astonishment declared, that on the part of the British Government he could accede to none of these propositions; and added, that as he saw no hope of a satisfactory adjustment, he should request his dismissal. "The Nawab," said Burnes, "left me in sorrow."

Upon his departure, the British agent sat down and drew up a formal letter to the Amír, requesting leave to depart for Hindustan. In spite of what had taken place, the letter somewhat startled the Amír, who summoned a meeting of his principal advisers, "which lasted till past midnight."* The conference was resumed on the following morning; and about midday Mírza Samí Khan waited on Burnes and invited him to attend the Amír in the Balla Hissar. The Dost was even more gracious and friendly than usual; he expressed his regret that the Governor-General had shewn so little inclination to meet his wishes; but added that he did not even then despair of forming an alliance advantageous both to England and Affghanistan. A long argument then ensued—but it led to nothing. The old ground was travelled over, again and again. Burnes asked for everything he could, but promised nothing, for he had no power to make any concessions; and the meeting, though it ended amicably, was productive of no good results. Burnes took his departure from the Balla Hissar. He might as well have departed from Kabul.

On the 21st of March, the Amír wrote a friendly letter to Lord Auckland, imploring him, in language almost of humi-

* It is probably of this meeting, or one shortly preceding it, of which General Harlan, who has not much more regard for dates than Mohan Lal, speaks in the following passage: We must premise that Harlan had by this time quitted Runjít Singh's service and "taken the shilling" from Dost Mahommed: "The document (Lord Auckland's ultimatum) was handed to me amongst others. I satisfied myself, by the Governor-General's signature, of its authenticity, surveying the contents with extreme surprise and disappointment. Dost Mahommed was mortified, but not terrified. . . . . The Governor-General's ultimatum was handed round and an embarrassing silence ensued. A few minutes elapsed when Abdúl Samí Khan recalled the party from abstraction. . . *He* proclaimed that the Governor-General's ultimatum left no other alternative than the dismission of the English agent, for the spirit of the Kuzzilbash party was supercilious and unyielding, though full of duplicity. . . . Nieb Mahommed Amír Khan Akhúnd-Zadah openly opposed the Kuzzilbash party and urged many weighty arguments in favor of a pacific settlement of the Amír's relations with the British Government, which had now assumed a position so inauspicious; he concluded his oration with these words, addressing the Amír: "There is no other resource for you but to introduce Mr. Harlan in the negociations with Mr. Burnes, and he, through his own facilities and wisdom, will arrange a treaty, according to their European usage, for the pacific and advantageous settlement of your affairs, and to this proposition the council *unanimously* assented." The proposition, it appears, was made to Burnes, but Burnes declined. Harlan says "that he then wrote to the British envoy offering to negociate upon his own terms;" but Burnes sent "a reply personally friendly," but "evincing a deficiency of knowledge of first principles concerning the rights of independent powers, in political negociations." Burnes says nothing about this in his official letters. It is not difficult to perceive why.

lity, to " remedy the grievances of the Affghans," to " give them a little encouragement and power." It was the last despairing effort of the Affghan chief to conciliate the good will of the British Government. It failed. The *fiat* had gone forth. The judgment against him was not to be reserved. Other meetings took place—but Burnes knew them to be mere formalities. He remained at Kabul with no hopes of bringing matters to a favorable issue, but because it was convenient to remain. He was awaiting the return from Kunduz of Dr. Lord and Lieutenant Wood. The month of March passed away and the greater part of April ; but these officers did not rejoin the mission, and Burnes determined to depart without them. Accordingly, on the 20th of April, he turned his back upon Kabul.*

The mission had failed. What wonder? It could by no possibility have succeeded. If utter failure had been the great end sought to be accomplished by the mission, the whole business could not have been more cunningly devised. Burnes asked every thing, and promised nothing. He was tied hand and foot ; he had no power to treat with Dost Mahommed ; all that he could do was to demand on one hand and refuse on the other. He talked about the friendship of the British Government. Dost Mahommed asked for some proof of it, and no proof was forthcoming. The wonder is not that the Amir at last listened to the overtures of others, but that he did not seek other assistance before : no better proof of this earnest desire to cement an alliance with the British Government need be sought for, than that involved in the fact of his extreme reluctance to abandon all hope of assistance from the British and to turn his eyes in another direction. It was not until he was driven to despair by resolute refusals from the quarter whence he looked for aid, that he accepted the offers so freely made to him by other States, and set the seal upon his own destruction. " Our Government," said Burnes, " would " do nothing ; but the Secretary of the Russian legation came " with the most direct offers of assistance and money, and as " I had no power to counteract him by a similar offer, and got " wigged for talking of it at a time when it would have been " merely a dead letter to say Affghanistan was under our pro- " tection, I was obliged, of course, to give in." What better

* Mr. Masson says, that before its departure, the mission had fallen into contempt, and that the assassination of Burnes was talked of ; he explains too, what, according to his account, were the real causes of Burnes' departure without his companions—but it does not come within our province to investigate, in this article, Masson's charges against the envoy.

result Lord Auckland could have anticipated, it is hard to say, If the failure of the mission astonished him, he must have been the most sanguine of men.

But we are not about to consider the conduct of the Governor-General of India, but that of the ruler of Kabul. We have endeavoured to state, with the utmost fairness, the principal circumstances attending the failure of the British mission under Captain Burnes ; and we cannot, upon a deliberate review of all these circumstances, come to a conclusion that there was anything unreasonable—anything that can fairly be interpreted into an indication of hostile feeling—in the conduct of Dost Mahommed. That from the very first he was disappointed, there is no doubt He had formed exaggerated ideas of the generosity and munificence of the British Government in the East and doubtless expected great things from the contemplated alliance. The mission had scarcely been a day in Kabul when the feelings of the Amir were shocked—the exuberance of his hopes somewhat straitened—and his dignity greatly offended, by the paltry character of the presents of which Burnes was the bearer. No one, ignorant of the childish eagerness with which oriental princes examine the ceremonial gifts presented to them by foreign potentates, and the importance which they attach to the value of these presents as indications of a greater or less degree of friendship and respect on the part of the donor, can appreciate the mortification of Dost Mahommed on discovering that the British Government, of whose immense resources and boundless liberality he had so exalted a notion, had sent him nothing but a few trumpery toys. Burnes had been directed to "procure from Bombay such articles as would be required to be given in presents to the different chiefs." And it had been characteristically added,—"They ought not to be of a costly nature, but should be chosen particularly with a view to exhibit the superiority of British manufactures." Accordingly the envoy had provided himself with a pistol and a telescope for Dost Mahommed, and a few trifles for the inmates of the Zenana, such as pins, needles, and play-things.*

* Harlan's account of the reception of these presents is at least amusing, and we see no reason to question its veracity : "When the English Agent," he writes, "who visited Kabul in 1837-38 produced his presents for the Amir's harem (a breach of etiquette most inexcusable in any one pretending to a knowledge of oriental customs) they were distributed by the Sultanah-mother, and it may be readily conceived that a more onerous duty could not have been imposed upon her ladyship, although the value of these donations was inconsiderable and adapted only to the frivolous tastes of savages, or the wretched fancies of rude, infatuated Africans. They consisted of pins, needles, scissors, penknives, silk-handkerchiefs, toys,

Presents, far costlier than these, had been forwarded to Shah Súja, when the mission under Mountstuart Elphinstone had set out for Affghanistan. The Amír was disappointed. He thought that the niggardliness of the British Government in this instance, portended no good; nor was he mistaken. He soon found that the intention to give little was manifest in all the proceedings of the mission.

It is said that the Amír asked more than could reasonably be granted—that he had no right to look for the restoration of Peshawur, as that tract of country, on the dismemberment of the Dourani Empire, had fallen to the share of Súltan Mahommed. It is very true that the country had once belonged to Súltan Mahommed—but nevertheless, the Amír's arguments were perfectly unanswerable. No one who has read the early portion of this article will doubt for a moment that Dost Mahommed had nothing to expect from the *friendship* of his brother. Súltan Mahommed had shown, by a long course of treachery, that he was prepared at any moment to betray the Amír* To have established him at Peshawur would have been to have paved the way for the march of Runjít Singh's army to Kabul. So thought Dost Mahommed. Better to submit quietly to the unassisted enmity of the Maharajah, than to have an insidious enemy on the frontier, by whose agency

watches, musical snuff-boxes, &c., all of which were received with inexpressible surprise, and the feeling followed by a sense of disgust, intermingled with mortification and disappointment. Anticipations, a long time entertained, founded on the fact that Dost Mahommed had *conditionally* solicited the advent of a British agent at Kabul and sustained by the Amir's cupidity, kept their expectations alive with the hope of a golden subsidy. His highness was honoured with a pair of pistols and a spy-glass, as though the Governor-General would have suggested to the Amír an allegory of the conservative and offensive symbols of good Government! Dost Mahommed exclaimed with a "pish," as he threw them down before him and averted his face, "Behold! I have feasted and honoured this Feríngheé to the extent of "six thousand rupees, and have now a lot of pins and needles and sundry petty toys "to show for my folly;" and again—"the distribution of the English trifles almost caused an insurrection among the inmates of the harem. Aga Taj thought her children entitled to choose before all the others, but in this fancy her highness was not gratified, and the disappointment gave rise to many expressions of asperity against the ruling power in her harem. Her little boy got hold of a musical toy called an accordion. As a matter of course he soon managed to put it out of order, and her highness supposing in common with all Asiatics, that a Christian is capable of every science, sent to me with a request to repair it. I regretted the task exceeded my abilities in mechanics. I learnt from this source, the child of the princess royal, the ridicule and disgust which the English diplomacy and munificence excited in the minds of the ladies was general in the Amír's family, and did more to lessen the Agent's ascendency at the court of Kabul then can easily be imagined by those who are unacquainted with the potency of back-stair influence in an oriental court." There may be some exaggeration in all this—but we do not doubt that it is substantially true.

* Burne's spoke of Sultan Mahommed as "a very good man, but incapable of acting for himself, and even alluded to his elevation to the chiefship of Kabul, as one course which might be pursued by the British Government on the rupture with Dost Mahommed 'a very good man, indeed."

Runjít Singh might have accomplished that which he could not have achieved alone. It was mockery to talk to the Amír about Súltan Mahommed. He had nothing to look for from that quarter but the blackest perfidy—the most unrelenting hostility. As to the *claims* of Súltan Mahommed, the Súltan had sacrificed them by his own misconduct. Had he been true to his brother, had he been true to himself, he might have retained possession of his principality. Treachery on the part of Súltan Mahommed, treachery on the part of Runjít Singh, had lost Peshawur to the Affghans. It was the personal energy—the martial prowess of Dost Mahommed that had secured the supremacy of the Barukzyes in Affghanistan; and as Súltan Mahommed Khan wanted the ability or the honesty to hold his own at Peshawur, it was but natural and fitting that the chief of the Barukzyes should endeavour to enter into arrangements better calculated to preserve the integrity of the Affghan frontier. He desired, in the first instance, the absolute possession of Peshawur on his own account. He subsequently consented to hold it in vassalage to Runjít Singh. Had the British Government undertaken to effect an amicable arrangement between the Amír and the Maharajah (and such an arrangement might have been effected to the entire satisfaction of both parties), there is no room to doubt that Dost Mahommed would have rejected all overtures from the Westward, and proved to us a firm and faithful ally. But instead of this we offered him nothing but our sympathy, and Dost Mahommed, with all respect for the British Government, looked for something a little more substantial. That his conduct throughout the long negotiations with Burnes was characterised by an entire singleness of purpose and straightforwardness of action, we do not take upon ourselves to assert; but we may with truth aver, that it evinced somewhat less than the ordinary amount of Affghan duplicity—somewhat less, indeed, than the ordinary amount of diplomatic chicanery and deceit. Singleness and straightforwardness do not flourish in the near neighbourhood either of Eastern or Western diplomacy, and perhaps it is not wise, on our own account, to look too closely into these matters. We doubt whether any Eastern potentate ever negotiated with greater sincerity and good faith than did Dost Mahommed upon this occasion; and if we can detect a flaw here and there, we ought not on that account, to condemn the general conduct of the man, but considering the school in which he had been educated, highly extol his freedom from the besetting vices of the country, when we see that his errors were few when they might have

been legion. The wonder is that he acted so honorably—that he was so sincere, so straightforward, so patient, and so moderate. He might have possessed all these qualities in much scantier measure, and yet have been a very respectable Affghan.

Burnes went, and Vickovich who had risen greatly in favor, soon took his departure for Herat, promising every thing that Dost Mahommed wanted—engaging to furnish money to the Barukzye chiefs, and undertaking to propitiate Runjít Singh. The Russian quitted Kabul, accompanied by Sirdar Mehir Dil Khan (who some time previously had arrived at Kabul with the object of winning over the Amír to the Persian alliance), and one Abú Khan, Barukzye, a confidential friend of Dost Mahommed, and on the present occasion, his representative. It had been arranged that Azim Khan, the Dost's son, accompanied by the minister Samí Khan, should be despatched to the Shah; but this arrangement being set aside in consequence of the scruples of the Mirza, Abú Khan was despatched in their place. There were now no half measures to be pursued. Dost Mahommed had flung himself into the arms of Persia.

Vickovich was received with all honour at Kandahar. A treaty between the Barukzye brothers and the Shah was drawn up and signed by the latter. The envoy sent it back to the Sirdars, saying, "Mahommed Shah has promised to give you the possession of Herat, I sincerely tell you that you will also get Ghorian, on my account, from the Shah. . . . When Mahommed Omar Khan arrives here, I will ask the Shah to quit Herat, and I will remain here with 12,000 troops, and when you join, we will take Herat, which will afterwards be delivered to you," —manificent promises truly, and most refreshing to the souls of Kandahar Sirdars The letter was sent on to Dost Mahommed, but it did not fill the heart of the Amír with an equal measure of delight. The Russian alliance was unpopular at Kabul. It had "ruined him in the eyes of all Mahommedans." A crisis, too, was at hand. Intelligence had reached the capital to the effect, that not only was the friendship of the British Government irrecoverably lost, but that an expedition was about to be equipped in the Company's dominions with the avowed object of entering Affghanistan, and placing Shah Súja-úl-Múlk on the throne which he had before endeavoured to regain.

The intelligence alarmed the Amír. He was scarcely prepared for such a prompt manifestation of the displeasure of the British Government. He had not believed that it would at once assume so practical and so terrible a shape: clearly now before

him rose up, in all their dread proportions, the dangers which threatened his political existence. He saw at once that he had "played the fool and erred exceedingly," that a few thousand ducats from the Russians and the promise of a letter to Runjít Singh, were but trifles to weigh against an evil of such magnitude as a British army of invasion. But it was too late to repent—idle to revert with self-reproach to the past. It was left for him now to provide for the furture. He began at once to strengthen the Balla Hissar and to repair the defences of Ghuzni. Money was required to provide means of resistance; to raise it, he increased the burthen of taxation, which already pressed severely upon the inhabitants of the Kohistan, and in so doing lost a further instalment of his now waning popularity.

Ample time was permitted to the Amír to organise his plans of resistance. He, at least, was not startled by a sudden incursion of hostile troops into his dominions. With such formidable natural defences and abundant time to strengthen to any extent his artificial ones, he might have bidden defiance to the Suddozye Prince, backed by the whole British army. But one thing was wanting. The nationality of the Affghans seemed to be almost extinct. There was no union among the Barukzye brothers. There was scarcely a chief in the country who was not prepared to sell his birthright for a mess of pottage. Dost Mahommed had, indeed, long ceased to look for any effectual support from the other sons of Sarfraz Khan; he now trusted to his own. It had for some time been his policy to supersede, as far as was possible, the influence of his brothers by putting forward his sons. Afzul Khan and Akbar Khan had done good service at Jamrúd.* They had early evinced the possession of no small share of the military prowess and personal energy of their father. To them and to Hyder Khan he now entrusted the command of his troops. It was a perilous game that he was involved in, but he did not despair.

From the dust of Lúdianah rose Shah Súja—the pensioned exile—the hopeless fugitive—the man of many reverses, now suddenly to become a king; the signer of treaties, the favored ally of the British Government. In circumstances

* Mohan Lal says, that Afzul Khan really did the work, and Akbar Khan claimed the credit. "Since that period" (the battle of Jamrúd), he writes, "the eldest son of the Amír, Mahomed Afzul Khan, with other heroes of the family, is very much disheartened. No feeling of true regard has since existed between the father and these sons, and Akbar Khan continues gaining the strength and favor of the Amír." . . . He exalts Afzul Khan, in other passages, and lowers Mahommed Khan—but we can scarcely regard Mohan Lal as an unprejudiced witness.

how changed—in character how unchanged! Surrounded by an army of his own, which had sprung up as though by magic, supported by a brilliant force of well-disciplined European troops, and attended by a cluster of the most distinguished European diplomatists in India, the mendicant of yesterday re-entered his old dominions; and as the battle was to be fought *for* him and not *by* him, he was full of confidence and courage. It is no part of the task which we have set ourselves to describe the operations of the army of the Indus, or to discuss the policy of the expedition. In the month of July 1839, the Suddozye prince and the British army were before Ghuzni. Hyder Khan commanded the garrison. Afzul Khan, with his detachment, was in the neighbourhood. Akbar Khan had been despatched to contest the passage of the Khybur with Timour Shah; and the Amír himself had determined, with his guns and his principal supporters, to take up his position on the road between Ghuzní and Kabul, and fling himself upon the advancing columns of the enemy, if they ever penetrated so far into his country.

The fall of Ghuzní—a fortress hitherto deemed impregnable—astounded Dost Mahommed and his sons, and struck dismay into their souls. Afzul Khan, who was prepared to fall upon our troops had they been repulsed before Ghuzní, found to his wonderment, that the British colors had been planted on the summit of the citadel; and whatever may be the amount of that "sound judgment and laudable quality of heroism," of which Mohan Lall says he is so abundantly possessed, he cut no very distinguished figure upon the present occasion, but sought safety in flight. Abandoning his elephants and the whole of his camp equipage, which fell as booty into the hands of Shah Sujah, the Prince fled towards Kabul. His father greatly incensed, sent to order his immediate halt, and "peremtorily refused to receive him."* Dost Mahommed appears never to have forgiven this failure at a critical time.

In little more than four-and-twenty hours after the fall of Ghuzní, intelligence of the event reached the camp of the Amír. He at once assembled his chiefs, spoke of the defection of some of his people, expressed his apprehension that others were about to desert him, and declared his conviction that, without the aid of treachery, Ghuzní could not have fallen before the Feringhís. He then called upon all present who wavered in their loyalty, at once to withdraw from his presence, that he might know the extent of his resources and not rely upon

* Outram.

the specious friendship of men who would forsake him at a critical moment. All protested their fidelity. A council was held and the result was, that the Nawab Jubbar Khan was despatched to the British camp* to treat with Shah Súja and his allies. The Nawab mounted his horse and rode with unaccustomed rapidity to Ghuzní. There he was well received both by the Shah and the British mission. But his exertions were utterly fruitless. He tendered on the part of the Amír submission to the Suddozye prince, but claimed, on part of the brother of Futteh Khan, the herditary office of Wuzír, which had been held so long and so ably by the Barukzyes. The claim was at once rejected, and the mockery of an "honorable asylum" in the British dominions offered in its stead. Jubbar Khan spoke out plainly and bluntly like an honest man. His brother had no ambition to surrender his freedom and become a prisoner on the bounty of the British Government. Had his cause been far more hopeless than it was, Dost Mahommed would have rather flung himself upon the British bayonets than upon the protection of the Feringhis Jubbar Khan then frankly stating his own determination to follow the fortunes of his brother, requested and received his dimissal.

The Nawab returned to the Amír's camp. All hope of negociation was now at an end, and Dost Mahommed, with resolution worthy of a better fate, marched out to dispute the progress of the invaders. At the head of an army, in which the seeds of dissolution had already been sown, he moved down upon Urghundí. There he drew up his troops and parked his guns; but it was not on this ground that he had determined to give the Feringhí battle. The last stand was to have been made at Maidan, on the Kabul river—a spot, the natural advantages of which would have been greatly in his favor. But the battle was never fought. At Urghundí it became too manifest that there was treachery in his camp. The venal Kuzzilbashes were fast deserting his standard. There was scarcely a true man left in his ranks. Hadjí Khan Khakur, on whom he had placed great reliance, had gone over to the enemy, and others were fast following his example. This was the crisis of his fate. He looked around him and saw only perfidy on the right hand and on the left. He felt equal to the occasion, but thus deserted, what could he do? Never had the nobility of his nature shone forth more truly and more lus-

* Whether this step was taken by Dost Mahomed on his own account, or whether it was recommended or agreed to by his principal partisans, does not very clearly appear.

trously. In the hour of adversity, when all were false, he was true to his own manhood. Into the midst of his own perfidious troops he rode, with the Koran in his hand, and there called upon his followers, in the names of God and the Prophet, not to forget that they were true Mahommedans—not to disgrace their names and to dishonor their religion, by rushing into the arms of one who had filled the country with infidels and blasphemers. He besought them to make one stand, like brave men and true believers, to rally round the standard of the Commander of the Faithful; to beat back the invading Feringhís or die in the glorious attempt. He then reminded them of his own claims on their fidelity: "You have eaten my salt," he said, "these thirteen years. If, as is too plain, you are resolved to seek a new master, grant me but one favor in requital for that long period of maintenance and kindness—enable me to die with honour. Stand by the brother of Futteh Khan, whilst he executes one last charge against the cavalry of these Feringhí dogs; in that onset he will fall; then go and make your own terms with Shah Súja"* The noble spirit-stirring appeal was vainly uttered: few responded to it. There was scarcely a true heart left. With despairing eyes he looked around upon his recreant followers. He saw that there was no hope of winning them back to their old allegiance; he felt that he was surrounded by traitors and cowards, who were willing to abandon him to his fate. It was idle to struggle against his destiny; the first bitter pang was over, he reassumed his serenity of demeanour, and addressing himself to the Kuzzilbashes, formally gave them their discharge. He then dismissed all who were inclined to purchase safety by tendering allegiance to the Shah, and with a small handful of followers, leaving his guns still in position, turned his horse's head towards the regions of the Hindú Kúsh †

It was on the evening of the 2nd of August that he com-

* Havelock.

† The guns were found in position when the British troops reached Urghundí. "Onward," says Captain Havelock, "moved the force, and an hour had not elapsed since the day broke, when it came full upon the abandoned ordnance of the fallen Barukzye. Twenty-two pieces of various calibre, but generally good guns, on field carriages, superior to those generally seen in the armies of Asiatic princes, were parked in a circle in the Amír's late position. Two more were placed in battery in the village of Urghundí, at the foot of the hills. . . . . The route by which he had advanced, was flanked by a deep impracticable ravine, on which the Affghan left would have rested; there their artillery had been parked, and would probably from this point have swept the open plain, and searched the narrow defile by which we would have debouched upon. Their front was open for the exertions of a bold and active cavalry, and here the Amír might at least have died with honour." But all this is mere speculation. It now appears that the Amír had no intention of making a stand at Urghundí

menced his flight. A party from the British camp, commanded by Captain Outram and officered by a little band of dashing soldiers and bold riders, was soon in rapid pursuit. Hadjí Khan Khakur, the apostate chief, rode with them. He had undertaken to betray his master. The rest is well known. The treachery which we had purchased for so many pieces of gold, was retributively turned against us. We reaped as we had sown; and Dost Mahommed escaped. Dost Mahommed crossed the Hindú Kúsh, and for a while fortune seemed to favor him. The Wullí of Kúlúm, who a little time before had been at war with the Amír, now forget all old animosities, and received the fugitive monarch with friendship and hospitality. To counteract this movement in the Usbeg country, a detachment of British troops was despatched to Bameean. The operations of this little force had the effect ere long of driving the Amír out of the friendly country in which he had taken up his abode, and reducing him to the condition of a fugitive, more hopeless and forlorn than before he had thrown himself upon the protection of the Wullí. In the valley of Syghan, there is a fort called Sar-i-sung. It was held by one Mahommed Ali Beg, a chief who had given in his adhesion to Shah Súja. It was essential to the safety of the Bameean detachment that this fort should be held by a friend. Assisted by the Wullí of Kúlúm, one Khilich Beg laid siege to the fort. It had been arranged then, in the event of the capture of the place which had been calculated upon with some confidence, that one of Dost Mahommed's followers who was in the camp of the beseigers, should be appointed Governor of the place in the name of the Amír. This could not be permitted. A detachment was sent out from the British camp to raise the siege; Golaum Beg (the Wullí's son) and Khilich Beg fled, and the Usbeg force was completely broken up. The effects of this movement were most advantageous to British interests. Not only did it open the communications of the British force with Túrkistan, but had a perceptible and immediate effect upon the fortunes of Dost Mahommed. "Dost Mahommed's star," writes an intelligent officer of the Bameean detachment, "which had for a time "shone forth was again dimmed by a cloud. His fortune "waned, and the natural consequence was, that of those who "followed the unfortunate monarch into exile, many now "deserted him in his utmost need; his funds failed fast, and "the ex-Amír was forced to grant a discharge to those of his "followers who demanded it. During the month of Novem-"ber, many of these with their wives and families passed

"through Bameean on their way to Kabul. . . . . They were "reduced to the most lamentable plight. The Amír had no "money and could not support so many dependants; they were "therefore obliged to resort to the sale of horses and other "property to procure the means of subsistence for themselves "and families. They remained with him for some time, hoping "that fortune would wear a more favorable aspect; but "Golaum Beg's unsuccessful expedition to Syghan dissipated "any bright visions which might have been conjured up; and "Dost Mahommed himself, now helpless and dispirited, gave "to many a written discharge under his own seal, and bade "them seek their livelihood elsewhere."*

What followed we shall do well to narrate in the words of the same able and accurate writer;—"I have said that the hopes "of a brighter fortune which this unhappy prince at one time "cherished, were rudely frustrated by the intelligence of "Golaum Beg's disaster, and the beneficial workings of Dr. "Lord's vigorous policy were fully developed. It is true that "the evil was merely averted; but as he could not possibly "have foreseen the events which afterwards rendered all the "advantage previously gained nugatory, the praise due to "him for having succeeded in driving the Amír from the "southern banks of the Oxus, should not be withheld. Des- "pair was largely infused among the followers of the fugitive "monarch, and he himself, too, on whom care had laid its "heavy hand, no doubt shared in this feeling, and suffered "some anxiety to steal upon him, when he heard of the sudden "blow struck by the Feringhís, and knew not what more might "follow. He no longer felt himself secure, and almost imme- "diately prepared for flight towards Persia, where he felt sure "of a favourable reception, his mother being a native of that "country; but day by day he delayed his departure, perhaps "with a lingering hope that something advantageous might "yet occur to prevent the necessity of so long a journey,— "perhaps through financial difficulties; but at length he set "out accompanied by his sons and his brother, the Nawab "Jubbar Khan; his journey, poor man, did not end in the way "which he had anticipated. I never heard the exact route by "which he was proceeding, but he must have passed within a "short distance of Balkh; for the Governor of the place, "which is subject to the rule of Bokhara, sent him a message,

* From a series of papers entitled "the British on the Hindú-Kúsh," published originally in the *Bengal Hurkaru*, and now quoted from Stocqueler's "Memorials of Affghanistan."

"requesting him to give him a meeting, as he had some pro-
"posals to make to him on the part of the Amír-úl-Múmu-
"mín.

"Dost Mahommed sent his brother the Nawab to him to
"hear what these proposals might be; but the Governor of
"Balkh laid hold upon the envoy, and declared that he would
"not free him until the Amír in person came Accodingly
"the ex-chief went to procure the liberation of his brother,
"and when he arrived at that once famous, but now insignifi-
"cant city, he found himself little less than a prisoner: Jubbar
"Khan was released, but the dethroned monarch was informed
"that the king of Bokhara desired his presence. Perfectly
"helpless, he could not but accede, and perhaps at the time
"he entertained hopes of a friendly reception. The Nawab
"returned to Kúlúm with his own and the Dost's family,
"while the other, accompanied by the young Khans, Akbar
"and Afzul, repaired to Bokhara. There, instead of meeting
"with the reception which first reports led us to believe awaited
"him, the whole party were thrown into dungeons, and thus
"did Dost Mahommed, in fleeing from the British, who would
"have proved then, as now, kind hosts rather than enemies,
"become dependent on the caprices of a tyrant."

For a while the Amír and his sons were condemned to taste in all its bitterness the misery of close confinement in the city of Bokhara. We know how the Amír of this place is wont to treat his Christian prisoners. His Mahommedan captives, whom he at first pretended to receive as guests, were dealt with somewhat more leniently—but the natural ferocity of the man was not to be kept down; and Dost Mahommed nearly became the victim of a treacherous murder. Baffled in this attempt on the life of his prisoners, and not daring openly to slay them, he kept them for a time under strict surveillance, forbidding them even to repair to *mosque*. This inhospitable treatment seems to have called forth a remonstrance from the Shah of Persia, in consequence of which greater liberty was allowed to the unfortunate princes—a relaxation of which they availed themselves to make their escape. Many romantic incidents are reported in connexion with this flight from Bokhara. The horse on which the Dost fled, being incapable of proceding further, its rider transferred himself to a caravan which he chanced to overtake, and escaped detection only by dying his beard with ink. The Wallí of Kúlúm was delighted to welcome him again.

It was not long before the Amír again found himself at the head of a considerable force. His family, with the exception of the two sons who had shared his captivity in Bokhara, were

in the hands of the British. He knew the danger of his determined course; and when reminded that his wives and children were in our power, sorrowfully replied, "I have no family; I have buried by wives and children." As the Usbek fighting men flocked to the standards of Dost Mahommed and the Wallí of Kúlúm, the hopes of the former seemed to rise, and his determination to strike a vigorous blow for the recovery of his lost empire, gathered strength and consistency. To have cut up the Bameean detachment, and emerging from the Hindú Kúsh, to have appeared on the plains below flushed with victory, raising the old war-cry in the name of the Prophet, and profiting by the notorious unpopularity of Shah Súja in that part of the country, would have been a mighty achievement—one which would have rendered easy his triumphant progress to the very walls of the capital. He determined to make the effort, and in the month of September advanced upon Bameean with a force of six or eight thousand men. To strengthen the British position, a reinforcement consisting of some details of irregular horse and a native infantry regiment, under Colonel Dennie, an officer of approved gallantry and skill, who had led the storming party at Ghuzní, was by this time on its way from Kabul. On the 30th August, a party of Usbegs, headed by Afzul Khan the eldest son of the Amír, advanced upon Bafgah, one of the British outposts, but was repulsed by the gallant little Gúrkha regiment and party of Affghan horse. It was necessary, however, to withdraw the British detachment from this isolated post, and to fall back upon Syghan. On their way, one of the Shah's infantry regiments deserted its colors, and went over in a body to the enemy. This disaster filled the Amír with renewed confidence and he pushed on to attack the British position at Bameean, expecting to carry everything before him. On the 18th of September he came up with a portion of our force under Brigadier Dennie, which was advancing to Syghan to meet him. The Brigadier had only two guns and not more than a third of his force; but with such terrible effect did these two guns* play upon the advancing columns of the enemy, and such was the steady gallantry of all arms, that the Affghan force lost heart and fled before the handful of Hindustaní soldiers. The Dost, the Wullí and Afzul Khan escaped, leaving their camp equipage, their kettle-drums, their ammunition and their only gun upon the field. They "owed their safety to the fleetness of their horses."

* A howitzer and six pounder, from the 4th troop, 3rd Brigade, under Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie.

"I am like a wooden spoon" said Dost Mahommed, "you may throw me hither and thither, but I shall not be hurt." —Having been defeated on the Hindú Kúsh, he now reappeared in the Kohistan. Disaffection was rife throughout that part of the country. The authority of Shah Súja had been but imperfectly established. More than one fortress was in the hands of a recusant chief, and it was apprehended that the presence of Dost Mahommed would set the whole country in a blaze. Accordingly, at the latter end of September, a force under Sir Robert Sale was sent into the Kohistan. Sir Alexander Burnes accompanied it. It moved in the first instance on Túntandurrah. The fire of our guns soon caused its evacuation and the place was speedily taken. Sale then advanced upon Súlgah; the attempt to carry the fort by assault was not successful; but the enemy, dreading a renewal of the attempt, effected their escape, and the bastions of the fort were destroyed. During almost the entire month of October, Dost Mahommed was flitting about from one place to another, to the extreme annoyance of our political officers and the discomfort of our troops. Various were the reports which reached the British camp, of the nature of his movements and the number of his adherents. Many of these were of a most exaggerated character; and, such at one time was the alarm which they seem to have created, and the gloomy forebodings which filled the minds of our political chiefs, that they predicted the necessity of concentrating all our troops in the Balla Hissar, and actually began to think of preparations for a siege. Guns were mounted on the Balla Hissar, so as to overawe the town which it was expected would soon be in a state of rebellion; the guards were everywhere increased, and Sir William Macnaghten talked about having "to submit to the disgrace of being shut up in Kabul for a time." * On the 11th of October it was known that the Dost was in the valley of Ghorebund. A detachment was sent to intercept his progress; but he moved off towards Nijrow, where he assembled his troops, in number it is said about four thousand, and on the 27th broke ground and moved down towards the capital. On the 29th, intelligence of the ex-Amír's movements having reached the British camp, the force under General Sale was sent out to meet the enemy. It was a critical moment. Such was the exasperation produced by the apparent success of the ex-Amír, even upon the kindly nature of the envoy, that he talked about showing no mercy to

* See the correspondence of Sir W. Macnaghten, as quoted in the *Calcutta Review*, No. III.

the man, who was the "author of all the evils now distracting the country." Shah Súja was eager to "hang the dog;" and even Macnaghten could only say that he would defer the execution till he could hear from Lord Auckland on the subject. This was only the "furor brevis"—the temporary insanity of one, who would never so have applied the branding iron to the reputation of the country which it was his first duty to uphold. The generous sympathy, which even at this time was felt throughout the British camp towards the unfortunate Amír, is a national characteristic which it is pleasing to dwell upon—the spectacle of a brave man fighting for his liberty, fighting for the country from which he had been expelled by an invading army, was one which no true English soldier can have contemplated without feelings of admiration and pity.

On the 2nd of November—a day which has obtained a melancholy celebrity in the annals of the English in Affghanistan—the British force came in sight of the enemy. The army of the ex-Amír was posted at Purwun-darrah, and the Nijrow hills were bristling with the armed population of a hostile country. Dost Mahommed had no intention on that day of giving battle to the Feringhís. He was unprepared for the conflict, and would fain have avoided it—but an unforeseen occurrence precipitated the collision. On the first appearance of the British troops, the Dost evacuated the village of Purwun-darrah and the neighbouring forts, and was moving off to a position on some high ground, commanded to the rearward by a lofty mountain, when, at the suggestion of Dr. Lord, the British cavalry were sent forward to outflank the Affghans. The scene which followed is perhaps one of the most exciting, as it is the most melancholy in the whole Affghan drama. It was a clear bright morning. The yellow foliage of autumn glittered like gold in the broad sunlight. The opposite hills were alive with the enemy; the crisp, fresh air, so bracing and invigorating to the human frame, seemed to breath confidence and courage. Dost Mahommed, who since his defeat at Bameean, had often been heard of, never seen by the British troops, and who had seemed to elude the grasp of the army of occupation like an *ignis fatuus*, was now actually within their reach. It ought to have been an hour of triumph. The Affghans were on the hills skirting one side of the pass; the British troops were on the opposite declivity. Dost Mahommed saw our cavalry advancing, and from that moment all thought of retreat seems to have been cast away far from him. At the head of a small band of horsemen—strong, sturdy

Affghans, but badly mounted, he prepared to meet his assailants. Beside him rode the bearer of the blue standard, which marked his place in the battle. He pointed to it; reined in his horse; then snatching the white Lúnghí from his head, stood up in his stirrups uncovered before his followers, and called upon them, in the name of God and the Prophet, to drive the cursed Kaffirs out of the country. "Follow me," he cried aloud, "or I am a lost man." The Affghan horsemen advanced—the rest is painful to relate. The English officers who led our cavalry to the attack, covered themselves with glory. The native troopers fled like sheep. Emboldened by the craven conduct of the British cavalry, the Affghan horsemen rode forward, driving their enemy before them and charging right up to the position of the British until almost within reach of our guns. The Affghan sabres told with cruel effect upon our mounted men; Lieutenants Broadfoot and Crispin were cut to pieces; Dr. Lord was killed by a shot from a neighbouring fort which tore out his bowels; Captains Fraser and Ponsonby, whose gallantry has never been surpassed even in the annals of old Roman heroism, still live to show their honorable scars, and to tell the story of that melancholy day.

In front of our columns, the Affghans, flaunting the national standard, stood for some time masters of the field, and then quietly withdrew from the scene of battle. Sir Alexander Burnes, awed by this disaster, wrote to Sir William Macnaghten to say that there was nothing left for the force but to fall back upon Kabul, and implored the envoy there to concentrate all our troops. Sir William received the letter on the 3rd of November, as he was taking his evening ride in the outskirts of the city. His worst forebodings were confirmed; he little knew what thoughts were stirring in the breast of the ex-Amír. Dost Mahommed, in the very hour of victory, felt that it was hopeless to contend against the power of the British Government. He had too much sagacity not to know that his success at Purwun-darrah must eventually tend, by moving the British to redouble their exertions, rather to hasten than to retard the inevitable day of his final destruction. He quitted the field in no mood of exultation; with no bright visions of the future before him. True, he had won the last throw, but the issue had ceased to be a matter of speculation. The hour in which, with dignity and grace, he might throw himself upon the protection of his enemies, now seemed to have arrived. He had met the British troops in the field, and at the head of a little band of horsemen, had driven back the cavalry

of the Feringhís—his last charge had been a noble one, he might now retire from the contest without a blot upon his name.

So thought the ex-Amír, as was his wont, taking counsel on his saddle. None new in the British camp the direction he had taken—none guessed the character of his thoughts. On the day after the victory of Purwun-darrah he was under the walls of Kabul. He had been four-and-twenty hours in the saddle, but betrayed little symptoms of fatigue. A single horseman* attended him. As they approached the residence of the British envoy, they saw an English gentleman returning from his evening ride. The attendant galloped forward to satisfy himself of the identity of the rider, and being assured that the envoy was before him, said that the Amír was at hand. "What Amír?" asked Macnaghten. "Dost Mahommed Khan," was the answer; and presently the Amír himself stood before him. Throwing himself from his horse Dost Mahommed saluted the envoy, and said he was come to claim his protection. He surrendered his sword to the British chief, but Macnaghten returning it to him, desired the Amír to remount. They then rode together into the mission compound—Dost Mahommed asking many eager questions about his family as they went. A tent having been pitched for his accommodation, he wrote letters to his sons, exhorting them to follow his example and seek the protection of the British Government.

The rest is soon told—a prisoner, but an honored one in the British camp, Dost Mahommed remained some ten days at Kabul, during which time all the leading officers of the garrison paid him the most marked attention. Men who kept aloof from Shah-Súja, as one to be religiously avoided, were eager to present themselves before the unfortunate Amír, and to show that they respected him in his fallen fortunes. He received his visitors with courtesy, and conversed with them with freedom. Seated on the ground he desired them to be seated; and seemed to take pleasure in the society of the brave men who did him honor. Captain Nicolson—an officer of distinguished gallantry and great intelligence, whose early death on the banks of the Sutlej his country has to deplore—who had been selected by Sir W. Macnaghten to fill the difficult and delicate office of custodian to the ex-Amír, acted on these occasions as interpreter. It may be doubted, whether a single officer quitted his presence without drawing

* Said to have been Súltan Mahommed Khan.

a comparison between the Amír and the Shah, very much to the disadvantage of the latter.

On the 12th of November 1840, Dost Mahommed, under a strong escort, commenced his progress towards the provinces of India. He appears to have recovered his spirits during the journey, and to have won golden opinions from all the officers who accompanied him.* The progress was a long and tedious one. His final destination was uncertain; but he was permitted, in the first instance, to proceed to Calcutta, where the Governor-General was then residing. A house was taken for him in the suburbs, and his annual pension fixed at two lakhs of rupees. At the Presidency he remained for some time. Lord Auckland treated him with marked kindness and attention; invited him to Government House; escorted him to such of the public institutions as were calculated to interest the Amir; showed him all the "lions" of Calcutta and the suburbs, and took him to his country house at Barrackpore. The ex-chief seemed to have no desire to shun the public gaze. He was constantly to be met in an English barouche on the course, or public drive; and might sometimes at sunset be seen to descend from his carriage and perform, *coram populo*, his evening devotions. The climate of Calcutta did not suit his constitution. He resided amongst us during the most unfavorable season of a not very favorable year; his health suffered, and for a while he was stretched on the bed of sickness—a trial which severely taxed his philosophy. "He condemned," says one who had several opportunities of conversing with him at this time,† "without measure the City of Palaces—but hardly knew how to say enough of the kind politeness and good will which had been evinced towards him by the *sahibs;* not alone the *sahibs*, but their *mehems*—in all of whose manners and expressions he observed kindness and friendship."

In the autumn of 1841, Dost Mahommed, attended by Captain Nicolson, turned his back upon Calcutta. A residence had been provided for him at Lúdianah, where the exiled,

* During the halt at Jellalabad, the Dost having expressed a wish to see the Feringhís in their social hours, was invited to the Mess of the European Regiment. After dinner, he was conducted by Captain Nicolson into the Mess Room, all the officers rising as he entered. He appeared to enjoy the music of the band, and the convivial songs which enlivened the evening—smoked a cheroot, and conversed freely with all who addressed him.

† Mr. Charles Grant, an intelligent young artist, of whose works we have already spoken in this journal. Mr. Grant has published, among other clever sketches of "Oriental Heads," a *livraison* containing portraits of the ex-Amír, Harder Khan, Ukruun Khan, &c., accompanied by some interesting and amusing letter press. The portrait, in the Calcutta edition is not, in respect of fidelity and spirit, behind any of the numerous likenesses of the Amírs, which have appeared in the volumes of Vigne, Burnes, Mohan Lal, &c., &c.

Shah Sújah, pompous in his poverty, had dwelt before him. But, as he was proceeding towards the frontier, intelligence of the disastrous outbreak at Kabul—to Dost Mahommed it must have seemed the day of retribution—reached the Upper Province of India, and soon made its way to the Presidency. These tidings suggested at once the propriety of a change of route, and Dost Mahommed was escorted to Missúrie. The surveillance exercised over him, now as a matter of precaution, became more strict—stricter than the real circumstances, though not than the seeming exigencies of the case demanded. We believe him to have been guiltless not only of all participation in, or connivance at the great popular movement for the expulsion of the British from Affghanistan, but wholly ignorant of the storm that was rising. Still, it was necessary that, at such a time, the ex-chief should be closely watched. His escape would have so strengthened the cause of our enemies, that to us it would have been a great national disaster. Of the vigilance that was exercised there was little to complain. But the threats—if ever they were more than threats—to send Dost Mahommed and his family to England as an act of imbecile retaliation, were cruel and unmanly.

The army of retribution, under General Pollock, marched upon Kabul, broke up the forces of Akbar Khan, planted the British colors upon the Balla Hissar, and returned to the provinces of India. Then the Governor-General, Lord Ellenbrough, issued that notable proclamation of the 1st of October, in which he spoke of Dost Mahommed, as a chief "believed to be hostile," and soon afterwards published the following act of grace, restoring the exiled Amír to his country :—

*Secret Department, Simla, 25th October*—"The advance of the British armies to Ghuzni and Kabul, having led to the restoration to freedom of the British prisoners in the hands of the Affghans, Dost Mahommed Khan, his wives and family, and the wife and family of Mahommed Akbar Khan, and many Affghan chiefs, remain in the absolute power of the British Government, without having any means of procuring their liberation.

To this condition of disgrace and danger has Mahommed Akbar Khan reduced his father, and his wife, and his family, and the chiefs, his countrymen, by making war upon women, and preferring the continuance of their captivity and suffering for objects connected only with his own safety, to the general exchange of prisoners which was offered by the British Government, and the consequent restoration to liberty of those whose honor and whose happiness should have been most dear to him.

But the British Government is desirous of terminating, at the earliest period, all the evils which have arisen out of the Affghan war : and the Governor-General, enabled by the recovery of the British prisoners who were in the hands of the enemy, to follow the course most in accordance with clemency and humanity, declares that when the British army returning from Affghanistan shall have passed the Indus, all the Affghans now in the

power of the British Government, shall be permitted to return to their country.

The Affghan chiefs who are thus released, will, before they pass the Sutlej, present themselves at the durbar* of the Governor-General in his camp at Ferozepore.

The wives of Dost Mahommed Khan and Mahommed Akbar Khan, and all the ladies of the family and household, shall be conduct with all respect to the frontiers of Affghanistan."

Becoming as was this resolution of the British Government to liberate the captive Amír, there was one passage in the above edict which raised a cry of indignation throughout India. To have dragged Dost Mahommed and his sons to the footstool of the Governor-General—to have paraded them at Ferozepore to grace the triumph of the British over his own countrymen, would have been an unmanly and a cruel act—a crowning injury, which would have disgraced the British name, and filled with hatred and contempt the breasts of the Affghan princes. It matters not what induced the Governor-General to abandon so unworthy a design. It was abandoned. Dost Mahommed was permitted to depart in peace. An escort was allowed him: he set forth and turned his back upon the British frontier. At the Court of Shere Singh, in his passage through the Punjab, he was received with kindness and respect. He entered his old dominions. The ravages of the destroying army which had just quitted Affghanistan, were everywhere too visible as he advanced: but, melancholy as were the sights that greeted him, he at least breathed the air of freedom, and in this there was abundant solace. Of his reception we have no authentic accounts. It appears probable that, at the period of his return, the minds of his countrymen were so engrossed with matters peculiarly affecting themselves, either as tribes or individuals—the natural consequences of the devastation which had been committed along the route of the avenging army,—that there was little room in their breasts for any feelings of nationality. He made his way quietly to Kabul, and, if in the midst of no great popular enthusiasm, certainly without anything approaching opposition, took up his abode once more in the Balla Hissar, and received the homage of the people. Since that time his mind has been occupied with the ceaseless intrigues inseparable from an Affghan court—intrigues which it would be unprofitable to narrate in detail, even if authentic materials could be collected. He appears to be weary of the bustle of war, and would, if his turbulent son Mahommed Akbar Khan could be induced to forego the wild delights of

* This was subsequently dispensed with.

ever-recurring excitements, fain repose quietly under the laurels which he earned for himself in early life.

It is said that he is especially desirous to cement an alliance with the "Sirkar Company," and that he is constantly exerting himself to counteract the Anti-British tendencies of his son Akbar Khan.

We have now brought the history of Dost Mahommed's life down to the present time. It has been our object to confine ourselves as closely as possible to pure narrative—condensing within a narrow space the record of the many events of a most eventful career. It is scarcely necessary that we should conclude this notice with a written character of the Amír, as his conduct best reveals what he is. Indeed, it has been said of Dost Mahommed that he has no character at all; and inasmuch as it is made up of inconsistencies, there is some truth in the assertion. The fact is that there is observable throughout his career, traces of two separate characters—the natural character of the man, and the character shaped by circumstances. There is scarcely anything which may be said of Dost Mahommed, not to be substantiated by a reference to some incident in his career. He was just and unjust; merciful and cruel; cautious and rash; frank and treacherous. His virtues were his own. There was nothing in the accidents of his position to foster their growth, whilst every outward circumstance tended to favor the expansion of opposition qualities. He is to be pitied rather than condemned. As a man he could not have escaped the temptations which beset his path. Often compelled to in self-defence—often compelled to heap crime upon crime, or perish in his inactivity—his life was one of almost perpetual warfare—of constant excitation of the passions. It is just that we should bring to the estimate of his character, a clear perception of all these pernicious accidents of position, for he appears never to have sinned in wantonness, but to have loved evil less than good; and, judging by what he was when removed from the destructive influences of unholy strife, it is probable that under a serener sky, and on a less barren soil, his virtues might have elevated him to a high rank among rulers and among men. Compared with his contemporaries, he towers above them all, in the former if not in the latter capacity; no Affghan prince in the present century has shown himself so fit to govern. In many respects his conduct, at the most favorable epoch of his career, was a model for rulers in all parts of the world; and at the most unfavorable epoch, when the clouds of adversity gathered most thickly over his head, his heroism was of so romantic a character, that history in these

prosaic times can scarcely supply a paralled to it. History, indeed, has never more closely simulated romance, than when recording the remarkable career of this remarkable man.

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*** There is much *vraisemblance* in the following passages from General Harlan's book, descriptive of the personal habits of Dost Mahomed, that we are induced to publish them in the form of an appendix to this article :—

"The Amír was not attended by a guard of regular troops, but his personal servants, many of whom were confidential household slaves, came armed into his presence. Every day, except Thursday morning, he sat in public to transact business. Thursday morning was devoted to the bath until ten o'clock; after this hour, those only visit him who were called. He usually employed the time before noon in auditing his domestic affairs in company with his Mirzas or writers. . . . .

Friday was appropriated to the promiscuous access of the populace. On this day, the gateway of his dubar was thrown wide open, and the door-keepers withdrawn. Every one who had a cause to urge, or curiosity to gratify, might come into the presence without impediment. The Amír heard all complaints in person, attended by the Langí. Civil causes were referred to this functionary for judgment, and the sentence was enforced by the Amír. Criminal causes, which were not likely to yield a fine, were also referred to the Langí to shift from his own shoulders the odium of an onerous act. . . . . .

The remainder of the week was employed in the transaction of miscellaneous business. The hours of business were confined to the forenoon. His highness, in common with all the Mahommedans, was an early riser, which custom is necessary to admit of the performance of the prescribed morning prayers. Of the five periods of prayer commanded by the traditionary law, the first must be finished before sunrise, otherwise the act becomes "quzzah," or "lapsed;" in this event the prayer is unacceptable to the deity, or of no avail; and the consequences attending neglect of religious duty should be deprecated by charitable donation, at least to the provision of a meal for the necessitous. Conscientious persons will perform this penitential hospitality, though the mass of the community are indifferent to the pious injunction. After the conclusion of this first religious duty, which commences the diurnal service and routine of life, he read a few pages in the Koran attended by his Iman. This functionary translated into Persian, or rather expounded in that colloquial dialect, the Arabic of the sacred volume, which the Mussalman holds to be the Word of God. In this employment he would be engaged an hour, more or less, as the task was longer or shorter. At the conclusion of this matin exercise, to which all the faithful who have singular pretensions to piety, are addicted, the Chiefs who composed the durbar made their entree promiscuously, and with the simple ceremony of a bow, and the ordinary salutation 'Usulam Allaikúm," touching the forehead as they leaned forward with the inner surface of the four fingers of the right hand, took their seats on the right or left of his highness. They were seated generally according to the rank of each guest. . . . . .

The salutation of every one was returned by an audible response, it being amongst the religious injunctions of the faithful, to reply to proferred civility a reciprocal acknowledgment. They are probably just in the

estimation of politeness when they ascribe humility and condescension to the courteous. These are qualities which all profess to admire and endeavour to practise, notwithstanding the exclusive bigotry of pure Mahommedanism. My place in durbar was alongside of the Amír, on the left, if the right should be pre-occupied, otherwise on the right If his brother, the Nawab was there when I entered, he always gave place to me. The Nawabs Jubbar Khan and Mahommed Khan Populzye, whose dâughter was married to the heir apparent, and myself, were the only officers who enjoyed the prescriptive right of seating ourselves on the same numed or felt, which his highness occupied. . . . . .

When recent spring fruit came into season the Amír frequently breakfasted at nine o'clock, on mulberries or apricots, in which instance he usually abstained from the more solid repast at meridian. . . . .

At twelve o'clock, the Prince and the elite retired and slept until two P. M. ; at this hour they arose to perform the second prayer. After his ablutions and toilet, the Amír egressed from his harem, and mounting his horse, which was in waiting at the gateway, he sallied out upon his evening ride. He had a fondness for fine horses, and generally visited his stud in the afternoon ; but this occupation was more appropriate to the spring, when the brood mares and colts attracted his regard, and participated in his care. In the summer and fall, he luxuriated in the picturesque scenery about the city, from a favourite prospect point; seated himself, with a few select friends on the bank of a running stream, of which there were several about the vicinity, and enjoyed a cup of tea, or visited some one of the magnificent ornamental and useful gardens near the suburbs of Kabul, accompanied by a train of musicians. In the spring he viewed his stud daily about three or four P M. He sat on a terrace made for the purpose, two or three feet high, covered with felts Here many of his chiefs joined him, who did not usually attend in morning durbar. These were stipendiary lords, and múlahs or priests and familiar friends who enjoyed his confidence ; they passed their time in smoking the cullioon,* desultory conversation, complimentary commendations of the Prince's unique fancy for horses, and admiration of the promising brood of young colts, which were the delight of his highness and favourites of his taste. These companions passed the evening with his highness until he retired. He returned to his Derri Khaneh (place of durbar) at nightfall. Having previously performed the third prayer, he mounted his horse and moved into quarters. The evenings, when the weather permitted, were passed in a beautiful flower garden : we sat on a low terrace illuminated by a large lamp.

During the season of full bloom, the position was surrounded by an invisible and delightful fragrance of the ever wakeful floral nature ; the intoxicating perfume of the rose, the spicy pink breathing of sweetness, and the flood of grateful odour that bathed the senses from the enchanting "Shuhboo." † The genial air of midsummer, tempered by the everlasting Alps of permanent snow near the valley, gratefully clothed our nocturnal hours in a voluptuous mantle of serene repose. The music was there too, fitful, frantic, or pathetic as the feast of reason and the flow of soul invoked its mysterious influence, which

"Softly sweet in Persian measure,
Gently soothed the soul to pleasure."

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* Persian water pipe.

† "Or nocturnal odour;" the July or Jilly flower, that sheds its scent after nightfall, is so called by the Persians.

Kabul, the city of a thousand gardens in those days, was a paradise far removed from the agitating scenes of life, away from the world. * * *

His highness kept very late hours, particularly during the long nights of winter. I have repeatedly sat up with him until three A. M. Dinner was brought after "usser," or the fourth prayer, which shortly followed sunset. This meal, similar to the breakfast, was served sooner or later, generally before eight o'clock, as his appetite suggested, although sometimes deferred until ten o'clock. When this was the case, fresh fruit would be introduced about eight, and the intermediate time was passed by his highness playing several games of chess with Kazi Budder-ú Dín, or in conversation. When his highness was engaged at chess, the conversation ceased, and the interlocutors gathered nearest the performers to observe the game and applaud the sagacity he displayed. I never knew him lose a game. The Kazi was always beaten. At the conclusion of each game the science of certain moves was discussed, and a sufficient amount of flattery bestowed on the unrivalled play of his highness.

Notwithstanding, the wily Affghans would aside pass winks and gestures from one to another, and occasionally some one more privileged than the rest, has been heard to taunt the Amír by hinting that the Kazi played bad intentionally, and lost to flatter him. He took his rallying always in good part, and it is certain that the Kazi was much too complaisant ever to gain a game even by chance.. These nocturnal parties were conducted with perfect regard to etiquette and good manners. He was fond of listening to the relation of travels, and allusions to history ; made frequent inquiries of merchants who were known to visit distant countries, concerning the manners and customs of the people they had seen, the character of the prince, the government, religion, and particularly, geography and topography, for which sciences he seemed to have a strong inclination. He was well acquainted with the Russian military system, and the best account, detailed with accuracy and illustrative minuteness, I have heard of the destruction of the Janissaries by the last Súltan of Turkey, was recited to me by the Amír. He was much addicted to telling stories of his personal adventures ; he delighted to talk of himself, was pleased with his own declamation, and vain of his eloquence. If merit is to elicit the reward of praise, he was justly entitled to admiration for the ready command of language and agreeable mode of displaying his talents in colloquial intercourse. Buffoonery never formed a part of his princely amusements, but refinement of moral or purity of design did not always characterise the tenor of his *improvisatore*. His anecdotes were not unfrequently gross and sensual. Unsophisticated by the arts of intellectuality, he thought that "nature unadorned was adorned the most." No event lost by relating any importance in reality, or was obscured by the nomenclature of modesty. He dealt a good deal in sarcasm, and was ever ready to trump his adversary's trick. Ridicule was a weapon that he flourished with considerable effect, and he good humouredly made himself or his position the subject of ludicrous wit. The demands of his courtiers, or rather the feudal lords who represented the communities and constituted the most powerful element of the Government, kept the Amír always greatly straitened for the resources of present means, and I have heard him make his poverty, which really arose from extreme circumspection in providing for the necessities of personal defence out of his civil list, the source of ridicule.

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# THE FIRST PROTESTANT MISSIONARY TO BENGAL.

By Rev. J. Long.

1. *Carne's Lives of Eminent Missionaries, vol. I., p.* 299-318 : *John Kiernander.*
2. *Asiatic Journal: Biography : Kiernander the Missionary.*

IN the first number of the *Calcutta Review,* we presented our readers with a sketch of the earliest Protestant Mission to India, carried on by the zealous labours of Ziegenbalg and his colleagues at Tranquebar. Believing, as we do, that the increase of morality constitutes the only solid improvement in a nation's condition, since without it all other improvements become vitiated and useless, we make no apology for continuing the same subject in a short memoir of the first Protestant missionary to Bengal, the Rev. J. Z. Kiernander. Though this is not the place to discuss the question, we state it as our full conviction, that the regeneration of India will essentially depend upon the progress of that Christianity, which was first preached to the natives of Bengal, by the excellent missionary of whom we speak. If it be true that "the man who causes two blades of grass to grow where only one grew before, is a benefactor to his species," much more is he entitled to that name, who first roots out noxious weeds, to plant in their stead a tree of life. Science, philosophy, and art have done much to promote the comfort of men ; but there is a higher good than relates to earthly life, which they have failed to accomplish. And if he is blessed who multiplies the resources of society, who provides for increased communication between the various tribes of men, for the increase of personal comfort and social happiness ; who, by trade and commerce, opens to the poor, blessings never heretofore enjoyed ; who gives mental light instead of darkness, and knowledge instead of ignorance ; much more is he a benefactor, whose labours tend, under God's blessing, to diminish human suffering and human guilt, to purify society from crime, to implant the love of truth and uprightness, to repress injustice, to encourage mutual confidence, to discourage vice, to promote true morality : whose efforts, in a word, reach to the spring of happiness, the affections of men, and lead them inwardly to hate what is evil, and cleave to that which is good. The increase of earthly comforts belongs to commerce; the enlargement of the sphere as well as the resources of mental activity, is the aim of science : but the subjugation of moral evil in all its forms, and to whatever extent, is the province of religion alone. Happy are they who contribute to the inferior good in society. Thrice happy they

whose work is directed towards the true and lasting prosperity of the immortal soul.

The two memoirs whose titles stand at the head of this article, and which, as far as we know, are the only independent memoirs of Mr. Kiernander that have been written, are to say the least, very unsatisfactory. Mr. Carne has presented to the world three volumes of "Lives of Eminent Missionaries," and we hesitate not to say, that if each life he has written, contains the same amount of error that may be met with in the life now selected, we deeply regret that they were ever published. Mr. Carne chose a noble theme to dwell upon, a noble subject to evolve; but while we can admire the idea which suggested his labour, we only mourn over this specimen of it, as an egregious and injurious failure. Mr. Carne, as a Christian man, could not intend directly to blast the character of any of his brethren; but in the memoir before us, he has unintentionally loaded the memory of a devoted missionary with undeserved reproach, and brought disgrace upon his name. Had the evil stopped with Mr. Carne it might have claimed less notice, but it has not so. Unhappily his memoir has been looked on as an authority, and in no less than five standard works treating upon Missions in India, we may distinctly trace its evil influence, and see prepetuated the injustice which Mr. Carne had begun. To such an extent has this been carried, that by some Mr. Kiernander is looked upon as an outcast from the missionary work, and his long course of faithful labour is reckoned as having had no existence at all. This is a great evil, and that it is a groundless one, we are fully prepared to show. On a close and careful examination of Mr. Carne's memoir, we have formed a decided yet calm judgment, that it is quite unworthy of the credit which it has received, and that the conclusions to which it leads are quite unwarranted by real facts. The biography itself, too, is very unlike what a Christian biography should be. It is a strange mixture of fact and fiction, full of mistakes which might easily have been corrected by reference to books of history, and to missionary reports. It is written in a highly imaginative spirit. Hence brilliancy and fire, spurning the dull detail of plain fact (most interesting though it be,) have produced strange and fanciful results to which realities do not answer. They have run together, for instance, years widely separated in the course of time, mixed up dates and facts having no connection, given a high colouring to sober statements, and exaggerated not only the good but also the evil. It is from this tendency of the writer's mind that many things appear in the memoir which

excite a smile, not to say that they utterly destroy its credit. Thus, "the conqueror of Plassey" is ever attended by a "brilliant court;" Calcutta is surrounded by "mountain villages," "the hamlet and the wild:" "Elegant houses, shrubberies and lawns" spring up like mushrooms while Clive is there; while "people of talent" "perpetually" arrive, to inhabit and enjoy them. Chinsurah is embosomed in scenery "of a rich and tranquil character," the banks of the Húgly there, under Mr. Carne's magic touch, become "lofty and precipitous;" and Chandernagore lays open—before the reader only—its "wild and impressive scenery," "its deep and lone ravines." These expressions, we assure our readers, are found in Mr. Carne's book, and they furnish a specimen of his fidelity. Were there no books of travels open to his inspection previous to the year 1832, by which these imaginary views might have been corrected? But the whole "life" is of the same kind: every thing is embellished, every thing overdrawn: even what is true is so disguised and dressed up, as scarcely to be recognised. It is sad to see such things, and to say them of one who comes forward as a director of public opinion. But the subject is one of moment, and truth demands a clear discussion. Mr. Carne should have paused and weighed again and again the evidence adducible for those facts, on which from the outset of his "life" he brands the character of a missionary with hypocrisy and apostacy. In this matter we argue under some disadvantage, for Mr. Carne's views are known and have been adopted. His account has been received: the counterfeit has already passed for current coin. But that it is counterfeit still, there is ample evidence. Mr. Carne's narrative occupies 20 pages, 12mo., and in this short space there are no less than *forty-five errors of fact*, which might easily have been corrected. To some of these we shall draw the attention of the candid and impartial reader.

If Mr. Carne's memoir is full of errors, that in the Asiatic Journal is not less so. It was evidently written by one who had formed but a low estimate of the usefulness of missionary labour, and thought that true religion and worldliness are not inconsistent with one another. It abounds in exaggerations and most extraordinary mistakes in dates. While evidently possessing one or two original sources of information, the author has made little inquiry by which he might illustrate the facts drawn from them. The memoir is valuable for three or four facts, not found elsewhere, and given upon the authority of those who knew their truth: some of them not only the contemporaries of the missionary, but also his correspondents.

No systematic attempt has been made hitherto to refute these misstatements in detail. Materials have not been wanting, but they require to be searched out, and it is because on examination we have found them full of profit, and have learnt the amount and depth of the mistakes current concerning Mr. Kiernander, that we have given his history a place in these pages. It is a history full of interest. Connected with the early growth of religion in Bengal not only in native but European society, it furnishes many lessons illustrative of the wise guidance of the providence of God ; of the value of that faith which he preached and taught for more than 50 years, and of its power to redeem even the degraded heathen of this land.

It may be useful to enumerate the sources from whence this sketch is drawn. In 1802 there was published in Calcutta a small volume of "Ecclesiastical Sketches in Bengal," by Asiaticus, apparently drawn up with very great care and possessing very high authority. In this work a chapter is devoted to Mr. Kiernander's labours, and in all that relates to Bengal, the facts brought forward are fully corroborated by other sources of information. This little work is evidently the basis upon which Mr. Carne's life was laid, and had he adhered to his authority, his work would have been different to what it is. Again, many most interesting facts are found in Bishop Corrie's "Sketch of the Progress of Christianity in Calcutta," a work which has been appropriated by the Rev. M. Wilkinson of Goruckpore, in his recent book of the same name, and that without acknowledgment. Need we add the reports of the C. K. Society, as well as the recent volumes of Mr. Hugh's "History of Christianity in India," so full of research and so marked by the spirit of the men whose story is therein detailed? Besides these valuable authorities, we have been kindly furnished with a few documents by the family of Mr. Kiernander, which go far to elucidate some of the more difficult portions of his history. Several years ago many other of the books and papers of the deceased missionary were in existence, but they were unfortunately destroyed by insects during the absence from Calcutta of his grandson, under whose charge they were placed. By the help of these and other authorities which we have examined with some care, we have drawn out the history which we now present to our readers. We have had no theory to prove, and no interests but those of truth to serve in recording it.

JOHN ZACHARIAH KIERNANDER was born at Linkoping, near Norkoping, in East Gothland, Sweden, on the first of

December 1711. He was of very respectable family. Two of his uncles were Colonels in the army of Charles XII, and fell at the battle of Pultowa in 1709. In after time he was wont to tell his grandchildren the story of the battle and the part which these uncles had sustained in it. While a boy, he studied several years in the the grammar school at Linkoping, and was afterwards sent to the University of Upsal to finish his education. Not content, however, with the advantages of learning afforded there, and being desirous of adding further to his attainments, when 24 years of age, he determined to visit the University of Halle. Having procured letters of introduction he proceeded thither, and arrived at Halle in November 1735.

For one designed by the providence of God to engage in the work of a missionary, no place of study could have been more appropriate. At that period Halle was peculiarly the abode of evangelical piety. In no city in Europe was the Gospel so faithfully preached, and its holy truths so practically carried out. There, a deep concern was felt for the spiritual welfare of the ignorant, and exertions were made for promoting it. It was the place in which, above all others, the missionary spirit was cultivated, missionary plans developed, and missionary operations carried on. All this had been chiefly owing, under God, to the labours of those two faithful ministers of Christ, Breithaupt and Augustus Herman Francke. Under them quite a revival of religion had taken place in Halle. The sweet spirit of love and gentleness which broke forth in every word that Francke uttered; his earnestness, simplicity and deep devotion, had been the means of effecting an amount of good now scarcely to be credited. He had founded the Orphan House at Glaucha, with its dispensary, its printing office, its vast accommodations for students as well as children, all intended to promote Christian education among the poor. He had established schools of the most efficient kind, as well for the higher as the humbler classes, over which he appointed men trained by himself, full of his own spirit, imbued with true practical piety and with the love of souls. The Canstein Bible Society, for spreading the word of God at a low price, the system of tract distribution, the Society for supporting evangelical missions, with other means of usefulness had been set in full operation. Who shall wonder then that Halle was the fountain whence flowed a thousand streams bearing with them spiritual health and life: that from its university many preachers went forth, not like the former clergy of Prussia, dead and formal in their work, but men, zealous to proclaim that Gospel which had first blessed themselves. Here, too, Francke had trained for

foreign labour, men with the spirit of apostles and martyrs. It was by him, all the early missionaries in Southern India were educated and chosen. Ziegenbalg, Plutscho, Grundler, Schultze, and others, upon whose labours those of Mr. Kiernander were grafted, were all Francke's pupils. Where could he have found better pupils? Where could they have found a better master? The fragrance of their memory long remained in the scene of their studies, and its sweet influence was only strengthened by the tidings of their labour, patience and success which from time to time arrived.

When Mr. Kiernander arrived at Halle, its palmy days were over. Augustus Herman Francke and his devoted colleagues were dead The first freshness of their success had passed away, but the institutions they had founded were in full vigour. The orphan house with 2,500 scholars taught by 160 students : its large and valuable library ; the many schools, the Bible Society were all in operation as before. Gothilf August Francke, the son of the former Professor, and well known to the readers of Schwartz's life, was director of the Orphan House and a Professor in the University. He was carrying on his father's work in his father's spirit. In him also missions found a faithful supporter. The missionaries sent from time to time, were his pupils, and he assisted their efforts by the most liberal contributions. At one time they were sustained almost entirely by the subscriptions which he forwarded. Schwartz, Gericke, Kohlhoff, Fabricius, all were from Halle. Looking at these things, who shall tell the debt of gratitude which Southern India owes to this single city.

Mr. Kiernander studied in Halle for four years, and was so esteemed by Professor Francke for his piety and attainments, that after being "for some time preceptor," he was appointed by him to the responsible office of "Inspector of the Orphan House." He was about to return to Sweden, when the Professor proposed to him, in the name of the Christian Knowledge Society, that he should go as a missionary to their newly established station at Cudalore in the Carnatic. The fact that M. Francke amongst his numerous pupils and teachers, of whom he had more than 150 under his superintendence, all well known to him and tried by him in various offices, selected Mr. Kiernander in answer to the Society's application, must surely be considered a very high testimony to his abilities and Christian character. M. Francke knew well the qualifications of a missionary, and if we look at the men whom he had previously sent, and those whom he afterwards chose, we have the strongest reason to admire the spirit and judgment with which

he executed his task. Hence it was that thirty years after this, the C. K. Society in addressing M. Gericke on his appointment, truly said : " Professor Francke is kindly pleased, on our application, to furnish us with proper labourers for the work of the Gospel; . . . persons who have, under him, been educated in good learning and the knowledge of true religion ; persons whom he hath tried in lower stations, and hath experienced them to be deserving of double honour, and capable with the blessing of God, of undertaking the more arduous labour of preaching the Gospel to the nations who know not God." That Mr. Kiernander, after some deliberation, accepted the proposal, at a time when missionary labour was but little appreciated, speaks much in his favour : and that he was one of those to whom the words of the Society, now mentioned, fully apply, his subsequent missionary career will, we trust, show. He returned no more to Sweden, but was ordained at Halle to the work of the ministry, November 20, 1739, and immediately set out for London to commence his mission. He here took up his abode with the king's chaplain, who was accustomed to receive all the missionaries who visited England : by him he was introduced to the C. K. Society, who gave him a most cordial welcome. He sailed from England in the " Colchester," at the close of the year, and he, the missionary of peace, arrived at Cudalore in the spring of 1740, a year after Nadir Shah had filled the North of India with all the horrors of war.

Before we proceed to narrate his further history, it will be well to consider the progress which had been made in the work of God previous to his arrival. The Protestant mission in Southern India had, at that time, been established upwards of 30 years. It had enjoyed the labours of many most excellent and faithful missionaries ; it had met with many trials, difficulties, and even persecutions, but it had grown strong, and its numbers rapidly multiplied every year. The men to whose charge it had been committed were not lightly endowed, and had used their endowments in no sparing way. With prudence, energy, sound judgment, and in great simplicity of heart, with all their resources, they had set themselves to seek the prosperity of their flock. By preaching and teaching the establishment of boarding and day-schools, (one of which had been formed on the model of the Orphan House at Halle ;) by the distribution of tracts and Christian books and portions of the word of God ; by the exercise of a strict and impartial discipline amongst their converts ; by constant conferences with the heathen, they had brought their mission to a high state of

efficiency, gathered a large amount of wise experience, and prepared the way for increased labours and increased success. In 1740 the mission was carried on at three separate places,—Tranquebar, Madras and Cudalore.

The mission at TRANQUEBAR was then divided into two parts; in Tranquebar itself and the Danish territory, there were eight missionaries, some of whose names are widely known for the diligence, humility and zeal of the men who bore them. There was a Portuguese congregation of 285 members, and a Tamul one of 1,003. Beyond the Danish territory, divided into six districts, there was another Tamul congregation of 1,892. In the charity school they had upwards of 200 children. Since the commencement of the mission they reckoned about 6,000 converts, and of these nearly 2,000 had been admitted to the highest privileges of church fellowship. A branch from this mission had been fixed at Negapatam, and constant intercourse was maintained with the Christians at Jaffna in Ceylon.

The mission at MADRAS had been begun in 1726, under the auspices of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and had for many years been carried on by two of the most devoted missionaries that had arrived in India, Dr. Schultz and M. Sartorius. They were both scholars, and were both thoroughly acquainted with the native languages. Dr. Schultz excelled in a knowledge of Tamul, Telugu and Hindustani; M. Sartorius in Tamul and Portuguese. Like their brethren at Tranquebar they employed all the means in their power for the spiritual good of the native population, and like them were permitted to see their labours largely blessed. Up to 1740, *i, e.*, in fourteen years, they had been joined by upwards of 700 converts, the majority of whom, though natives, had been Papists. Of these 100 were communicants.

And let it not be supposed that the large number of converts already made in these two missions were such only in name. Though all were not well-informed and consistent Christians, many were so. The missionaries and catechists were most diligent in faithfully instructing their flocks and administering among them Christian discipline. "They gloried not in the number but in the reality of their converts, wherein they found themselves obliged to use, both for conscience and prudence sake, the utmost caution, lest their good should be evil spoken of, and for fear of admitting into their congregation any such impostors, unbelievers or immoral persons as might offer themselves, . . . from worldly motives." Many proofs are given in their reports of the faith and piety of these Christian natives,

many examples of consistent Christian virtue, and many instances in which persecution was borne with patience and submission. Many a happy death-bed scene is described, in which even female converts have expressed their enjoyment and realization of the consolations and hopes of the Gospel. And besides all this, through their preaching and the spread of the word of God, missionary influence was felt, and the aim of missionary labour understood, even beyond the sphere to which it was more immediately confined.

CUDALORE, to which Mr. Kiernander had been appointed, was in many respects well adapted for an influential missionary station. It is the chief town of southern Arcot, and is situated on the coast, about twelve miles south of Pondicherry. It was then very populous, and a place of considerable trade. Though now built on both sides of the Penar river, the town was formerly confined to the south side, and contained several broad streets and commodious houses. It was fortified on all sides except the east, where it was quite open. For there the river, which in its course passes a short distance from the town on the north side before reaching the sea, suddenly turns southward, skirting the town on its east side. A bank of sand separates the river from the sea, upon which lived two villages of fishermen. The river is navigable only for boats, and has a bar across its mouth. About a mile to the north of Cudalore was Fort St. David, then the strongest fort in the possession of the East India Company. A territory larger than that of Madras was under its control, containing not only the town of Cudalore, but three or four large villages. At a short distance on the west was the large Pettah and fortified Pagoda of Trivada with a considerable population. The advantages which Madras and Cudalore possessed from being within the Company's territories were early pointed out by Ziegenbalg. He said that the security it enjoyed, and the great influence exerted by the English, would form an excellent social safeguard to the stability of missionary operations. Not that he sought for Government interference, but he knew that under English law those labours could be carried on in peace, and that converts would not be exposed to imprisonment, persecution, and death.

The steps which, in the providence of God, led to the establishment of a mission in Cudalore, are clearly traceable. Its name constantly occurs in the early missionary reports. When a journey was undertaken by one of the Tranquebar missionaries, whether for labour or for the renovation of health, it was often one of the places included in the tour. It was visited by Ziegenbalg as early as 1710, in one of

these missionary journeys. He visited it a second time in 1716 : there he saw the Pagoda of Tripalore and its heathen dances, of which he has left a description. On that occasion he established a Tamul school, one of the first set up for natives in the Company's territory, and in it Aaron, the first native ordained to the work of the ministry, was educated. Through the want of efficient superintendence, however, the school declined. In 1726 the town was visited by M. Schultze, then senior missionary at Tranquebar, and there he preached in German, Portuguese and Tamul. A year or two after, upon establishing a mission at Madras, M Schultze re-opened Zeigenbalg's school above mentioned. Again in 1734 M. Sartorius, on a journey spent several days in Cudalore, and so earnest was the application of the Governor of Fort St. David and the other English inhabitants, for the establishment of a mission, accompanied with the strongest assurances of pecuniary help, that M. Sartorius wrote to England urging the matter on the immediate attention of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. They agreed to found a mission there, and authorised the Madras missionaries to proceed to Cudalore to begin it. Accordingly in 1737 M. Sartorius and M. Geister went thither, M. Schultze remaining at Madras, and were cordially welcomed by the Governor. They at once cheerfully began their operations. They procured a house and ground in an advantageous situation, and invited the natives to visit them : M. Sartorius taking the Tamul department, and M. Geister the Portuguese. The natives were at first very unwilling to hear them, but their reluctance was soon subdued. In the midst of their preparations, Sartorius died after a short missionary life of eight years' labour. He was buried in the English burial ground at Cudalore, and all the English gentlemen there attended his interment. His death was a severe loss to the infant mission, for he was so eminently qualified to carry it on. Even the learned natives declared that he spoke Tamul like a Brahmin. But the providence of God sometimes deals thus mysteriously with the plans of His servants, to teach them the important lesson, that in the work of redemption, He is the great agent, and that it is upon Him, not upon perishable men, they should rely in their labours. M. Geister was not discouraged ; he continued his preparations, had much intercourse with the natives, encouraged them to see him privately, and opened a Portuguese school, where he taught reading, catechism and prayers in Portuguese. He was also just completing substantial buildings to accommodate two missionaries and two schools, when Mr. Kiernander arrived.

The new missionary entered upon his work under many advantages compared with some of his predecessors. Much experience had been acquired, the benefit of which he received not only from missionary letters and journals, but the practical advice of his colleagues. Such help is by no means of small value. Stores of materials also had been already provided for his labours by those who had come before him.• The excellent Tamul grammar and dictionary of Ziegenbalg ; the complete Tamul Bible (partly the work of Ziegenbalg, partly of Schultze), the Portuguese Bible ; many tracts, many school-books in Tamul, Portuguese and Telugu, with which the missions were now well provided, were all open for his use. Those who are in circumstances where these materials of missionary labour are wanting, will know how highly they ought to be prized. He was himself endowed with excellent qualifications of head and heart. He had studied for many years, was of prepossessing manner, and an excellent preacher. He brought to his work great zeal, and an earnest desire to give himself wholly to the missionary cause In carrying out plans of usefulness also, he was no novice. He had already acquired much experience at Halle in educating the young ; he had witnessed systematic efforts for the distribution of the Bible and of religious tracts. These plans, so suited in themselves to do good, and hence employed in almost all ages and all lands by the servants of Christ, he found in full operation when he arrived, and as far as the details of missionary reports serve us, he seems, like his brethren, to have employed in them the resources of his well furnished mind. In public preaching, both in the Tamul and Portuguese languages, in instructing schools, in itinerating amongst the villages, in catechising his flocks, in holding conferences with the heathen, he soon began to take a full share of labour. Thus he took his place amongst his brethren, and thus his work fitted on to, and formed a part of, that system of operations carried on in Southern India for the conversion of its inhabitants. No man can live independent of others ; who, wherever he goes, is surrounded by his fellowmen. They are influencing him in a thousand ways, and he is imperceptibly, perhaps, influencing them. Such is the law to which all living beings are subject ; and it is when we consider the qualifications of men, the sphere of their labour, the way and the degree to which they iufluence their fellows for good, that we learn how far they accomplish the end for which the Providence of God sends them to a particular spot at a particular time. To draw out these facts, to trace their working and mark their results

appears to be the true aim of a biography, and it is with this view alone the details above given are introduced.

After much difficulty, Mr. Kiernander and his colleague opened a Tamul school under a Christian schoolmaster. At first it contained eight boys, "sons of merchants and tradesmen in Cudalore," but in 1742 it contained forty scholars. They opened also a school for the Portuguese, which at first contained five scholars, who were taught and maintained gratuitously. In this, as in other missionary schools, the children were taught some useful trade to enable them to support themselves when they left school. In the same year they baptized six heathen converts and admitted two Romanists into the church. They also administered the Lord's Supper for the first time, when nine natives were admitted to the table. Next year (1743,) M. Geister was compelled by ill-health to return to Madras. This so far from dispiriting his colleague, only led him to devote himself with fresh energy to the work of the mission. He applied himself diligently to preaching, and "went into the villages twice a week with the catechist" (of whom he speaks in high terms) "to visit the new Christians, and to make known to the heathen the way of salvation." He had also two efficient schoolmasters, and with these assistants, though the work did not go on quite so fast as he desired, it still made a steady progress. In 1743, he had 97 members in his Portuguese and Tamul congregations, of whom forty-four were communicants. In 1744 twenty-two members were added, fifteen of whom were Tamulians; next year forty-five: the following year sixty-five. Thus had he the pleasure of seeing his efforts practically useful. During these years, he had many tokens of the kind remembrance of his excellent preceptor at Halle. In 1741, "the mission library was increased by a donation of books from Professor Francke." In 1742 he sent £250 to the three missions. In 1743 he sent the society "a most friendly and Christian letter full of good will to their missions at Madras and Cudalore," accompanying the letter with a donation of £250. Next year he sent £300 to the same stations: and in 1745, £200: upon which the society with thankfulness remark, that "the remittances of Professor Francke toward carrying on this pious design have been large and constant." Such help greatly cheered the labourers to whom it was transmitted. But these supplies, though large, arrived irregularly, and Mr. Kiernander with his brethren was sometimes inconvenienced by the delay; "but the Governor and other gentlemen in Fort St. David's, no sooner heard of his difficulty, then they provided him with what money he wanted."

About this time (though the date seems lost) Mr. Kiernander married Miss Fischer, sister of Colonel Fischer in the Madras army, a lady of eminent piety, and of considerable wealth.

It is not to be supposed that Mr. Kiernander found his work free from difficulties. Doubtless like all his brethren he had experienced that it is "through much tribulation we must enter the kingdom of God," and that "the carnal mind is enmity against God." But in 1746 a special trial fell upon the two missions at Madras and Cudalore, which threatened the extinction of both. Pondicherry and Cudalore were too near each other to allow the French and the English, who respectively held them, to live in terms of amity. M. Dupleix, the Governor of Pondicherry, had for four years been making great preparations for an attack on the English Company's territory, and during the whole of 1746, both parties were in momentary expectation of a collision. The fleet of Labourdonnais arrived off Negapatam in July of that year, and on the 20th September after a bombardment of five days, took possession of Madras. Though a treaty of capitulation had been agreed to by him, M. Dupleix set it aside, and in January 1747, half the Black Town, including the mission house and premises, was entirely demolished while the church was turned into a magazine. The missionary, M. Fabricius, upon this retired with a large number of his flock to Policat, where he was kindly received and protected by the Dutch Governor. Having got possession of Madras, M. Dupleix determined to seize Fort St. David likewise, and within three months, made three unsuccessful attacks upon it and Cudalore. The constant arrival and departure of troops and ships, with these attacks on the town (repeated for the fourth time in June 1748 as unsuccessfully as before) necessarily disturbed the ordinary course of missionary labour. Mr. Kiernander wrote to the society that "the confusion occasioned by the war was very great:" he in consequence sent his family and the mission property to Tranquebar. M. Geister had joined his colleague again, and was a second time compelled to leave him, but Mr. Kiernander remained and laboured diligently for the good of his flock amidst surrounding dangers. In this he experienced, as he wrote to the society, great kindness from the Governor of the Fort, Mr. Hind, a man of sincere piety and excellent judgment. But in the midst of the confusion the Governor died, and his death was reckoned by all as a great public loss. Still in these "troublous times," the faithful servant of God found his labours increasingly blessed and his prayers answered. At the close of 1746 he had in his

two congregations 180 souls, and forty-four children in his schools. To these, the following year were added 167, making his congregation, at the close of the year, 361 : a remarkable increase at a remarkable period. In the letter in which this report of the station was made, Mr. Kiernander dwells on the great importance of schools as a means of introducing Christianity among the heathen. This had become a growing conviction amongst the missionaries in South India. Only the previous year the missionaries of Tranquebar had particularly recommended schools as the most likely means to propagate Christianity, adding that "the heathen natives are many of them so civil, and fond of having their children taught, as even to contribute towards building the necessary school houses." There was, indeed, much reason for this. If we look at the report of the schools up to this period, we cannot but notice that the number of scholars receiving education is very small in proportion to the adult heathen who had been baptized. These may be reckoned by thousands, while the educated children may be numbered by tens. It was a happy change, and a sign of growing experience that they now received a larger share of attention, and that good masters, sometimes Englishmen, were appointed as their teachers. Still, greater improvement might have been made. And it is owing, we fear, very much to the comparative neglect of this important branch of missionary operations, among Christian converts especially, that these missions, which began so well, are so imperfect in more modern times.

During the war, Mr. Kiernander's supplies from Europe, including large donations from Professor Francke, were detained for four successive years together. In the end they arrived safely ; but meanwhile his friends in the fort and at Cudalore from whom, and especially the Governor, he received "extraordinary kindness," gave him ample and opportune assistance.

M. Breithaupt, a missionary, who had been appointed to Madras, now joined Mr. Kiernander for a time in his labours. Having a thorough knowledge of Tamul, he was an efficient colleague, and their united care so increased the congregation, that they proposed to build a church. This, however, was unnecessary. The Romish priests during the war had paid much more attention to politics than to Romanism : they had carried on many treasonable practices, and both at Cudalore and Madras proved themselves little better than French spies. This was the return they made for the protection they experienced at both settlements. In 1749 they were expelled by the Government from both places, and their property was confiscated. On the

25th of November an order of the council was passed at Cudalore by which their church was given to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. A similar order was made at Madras. The letter conveying the notice of the gift is published in the Society's reports, and had Mr. Carne searched those reports for even ordinary information, he must have seen it, and could not then have unjustly charged M. Kiernander with causing their expulsion. It was entirely the act of the Government, done for political reasons: the chief agent in it was Admiral Boscawen, and with it the missionaries had nothing to do. The day after the order was passed, the English, Tamul and Portuguese congregations met at different hours of the day, and the church was solemnly dedicated to God. Thus did the Lord appear for His servants, to confound their enemies, to bring good out of evil and prosper His own work. In 1748 there were baptised 49 persons and the following year 53.

In July 1750, Mr. Kiernander had the gratification of receiving into his house Mr. Schwartz and two fellow missionaries on their arrival from England In a letter to Professor Francke, the tutor and friend of them all, Mr. Schwartz mentions this circumstance: "In the evening, dear Mr. Kiernander received us and praised the name of the Lord for all the mercy he had shown us." After a short stay of ten days, they departed to Tranquebar. In a few months Mr. Huttemann returned to be M. Kiernander's colleague, and brought with him an able catechist named Rajaspen.

The war still continued in the Carnatic, the English and French leaguing themselves with the Native princes. The expedition to Debicottah, that to Trichinopoly, the seizure of the Trivada pagoda, and of the fort of Gingee, the siege of Trichinopoly by the French, the seizure and celebrated defence of Arcot, the fight at Arnee, the blockade of Seringham, the battle of Bahoor, all followed each other in a short time, while the marchings and countermarchings, the departure and return of the troops connected with Fort St. David, only added to the confusion which already existed and kept the natives in continual alarm. And now the missionaries found the worth of their position in the Company's territory. The war confined them to Cudalore and its immediate neighbourhood; but here "they found ample occupation," and received grace from above to labour zealously and in submission to their master's will. "They had learnt," as the Society expressed it, "how to possess their souls in patience under the most afflictive dispensations of His providence; how to do His blessed will and not their own; and how to resign and submit themselves to

the corrections of His fatherly hand with no less readiness than to obey His commands as their Lord and their God." They were much encouraged by the kindness of their friends around them, and sometimes received supplies and contributions from unexpected quarters. The Christians at Tranquebar sent to those at Cudalore two hundred dollars. A Jewish merchant at Madras, touched with compassion for the poor people who were suffering from the ravages of the Mahrattas, also sent them a donation: an old pupil sent them one from a distance in token of gratitude: a German nobleman, among the Dutch in Bengal, sent them 200 rupees: and at one time when their funds were exhausted, they found twenty pagodas in their charity box. Mr. Caine says that Mr. Kiernander after his marriage "needed no benefactions, nor would he receive any." The gifts of Professor Francke mentioned above, the "extraordinary" kindness of the gentleman in the fort, and these donations now detailed, furnish a sufficient answer to this statement: not to add Mr. Kiernander's thankful acknowledgements for them all.

Among their catechumens at this time were a number of Malagassies, who had been brought by the Company's ships. These were taught the English language, and an English service was established for the benefit of them and others. The zealous labours of the missionaries in 1751 and 1752 were blessed to the bringing in of 194 converts In 1754, the two colleagues were again greatly cheered by a visit to the mission from Messrs. Schwartz and Kohlhoff. It must have been very gratifying to them all, having felt so much in common at Halle, as well as being now engaged in the same work, thus to see each other once more, and to commune with each other on divine things. The notice of this visit in Schwartz's life brings to light several interesting facts which are worth notice in this sketch. The visitors arrived on Saturday. They were met by their brethren some distance from Cudalore, and "having strengthened each other in the Lord at the choultry, they proceeded up the river in a boat, and arrived safely at the mission house. There they united in prayer to Almighty God, laid their own wants and the general distress humbly, yet confidently, before him, and implored a blessing upon themselves, their brethren, and their work." They then paid various visits to the schoolmaster, the catechists, the members of the congregation and the school. Several Christians came in from the country, that they might be prepared for the Sabbath service, and were addressed by both the new brethren. The next day Mr. Schwartz preached in Tamul and Mr. Kohlhoff in Portu-

guese. On Monday they again addressed the country Christians previous to their return home. On Tuesday they held a brotherly conference for mutual edification and encouragement. This was a common thing amongst the missionaries. This day they meditated on Acts X., 36-37, and from that exhorted each other to courage in preaching Christ. For several days they all preached together to the heathen and the Christians, including the catechists, teachers and children. On the Friday they held the usual weekly conference of the labourers in the mission: another plan established by Ziegenbalg, and continued by all the missionaries at their several stations. At this conference, after prayer, each labourer related how he had been employed; and thus, not only all their engagements, but all their difficulties were made public, and each received the advice and encouragement which, in his own sphere, he might require. This weekly conference was regularly observed during all last century. On the day of separation, the four missionaries again united in thanksgiving and prayer, and in the strength of their Redeemer, entered into a covenant to be His, to serve Him with all their heart, and thenceforward, with renewed energy, to preach the Gospel to the poor Gentiles around them. "Now," said Schwartz, "the Lord has heard what we have spoken before Him. May He give us light, life, strength and prosperity." The Cudalore brethren accompanied Messrs. Kohlhoff and Schwartz a few miles on their way, and then separated, after a cordial farewell, and wishing them abundant grace and blessing. Those who have been in similar circumstances, know how precious and how profitable such a visit, and such communion must have been. How well they were enabled, through the grace of God, to fulfil their "covenant," the story of missions in South India clearly shows. They were all eminent in their work, and few more eminent than they.

In 1754, on the death of their schoolmaster, a retired soldier named John Kerr, a sincere Christian, offered his services gratuitously in the school, and at the same time, hearing of the missionaries' difficulties, he brought them all the little property he had saved, and offered it to them without interest till their supplies arrived from Europe. This good man "soon gave them convincing proof of his good abilities, diligence, zeal and exemplary conversation in Christ."

"In the country around Cudalore, the progress of religion was somewhat at a stand, through the circumstances of the times;" and the Protestant converts scattered up and down, experienced much annoyance and persecution from the Popish.

priests whose number and influence had been greatly increased by the presence of so many French troops. "These priests," it is said, "filled every village with Popish emissaries, who spread nothing but false stories and calumnies against the Protestant missionaries." Their enmity was undoubtedly sharpened by the fact that many of the converts in Cudalore and the other mission stations, had been brought by the light of the Gospel to see the errors of Romanism and to forsake its communion. Numbers thus became proselytes every year. Amidst all these difficulties, most trying to the faith of these indefatigable men, they laboured in a manner so satisfactory to the Society. that they describe them as coming "no whit behind the very chiefest of their brethren in preaching the Gospel or in God's blessing upon it." They were "diligent in training up children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord; in preparing adults for Christian baptism; in preaching the word in season and out of season to all that would hear it; and in rightly and duly administering the sacrament of the Lord's Supper" In the absence of a chaplain, they performed such services not only for the native, but also for the European community during the year 1756, and of Europeans they had 68 in their communion. As if some warning voice had shown them the evil to come, they were more earnest than ever in seeking the salvation of the heathen around them They "had many conferences with the heathen, on which occasions they never failed to exhort them to turn from the worship of idols, to that of the living and true God, through the Gospel of his Son. Though the word of God did not take effect upon all, some were convinced and became disposed for further instruction; and that these converts might not be led astray, but continue grounded in the faith, they were repeatedly visited. To the Mahommedans also who came in their way, they laid open the impostures of the false prophet, and gave such as were disposed the New Testament and Psalter in Arabic." Their school had latterly been much interrupted, but they kept up their school of industry for the support of the poor widows and orphan children. Since the commencement of the mission in 1737, they had been joined by above 850 converts.

Thus they went on till the year 1758. Rumours had not been wanting of a vast armament from France that was entirely to destroy the Company's settlements and drive every Englishman from India. The first division of this force under the Marquis de Soupires arrived at Pondicherry in September 1757, and the remainder was shortly expected. On the 28th of

April 1758 a French fleet arrived bringing the Comte de Lally, and his Irish regiment, with artillery men and cannon. That very night a large body of troops were landed, who began at once to ravage the villages in the most cruel manner. Many of the Roman Catholics fled to their church near the Governor's garden-house, hoping for protection, as being of the same faith as their pursuers. But the latter were told, that these were the Protestant Christians, and this building their church. Before the mistake was discovered, the whole were cut to pieces and the church razed to the ground. Meanwhile the missionaries and their flock were safe within the walls of Cudalore. On the 1st of May, Count Lally himself and his troops, including 2,500 Europeans and as many sepoys, a large number of troops in those days, appeared before Cudalore, and summoned it to surrender. Preparations were made the same time for besieging Fort St. David. That evening in their distress and anxiety the missionaries and their flock met together that they might cast their all upon the promises and help of God. The solemn service was interrupted by the entrance of the commandant, who said he expected the walls to be stormed every hour, and commending themselves, the garrison and inhabitants to the Lord of hosts, they retired. The next day, in the excitement and alarm with which the town was filled, hundreds of the natives brought their most valuable property to the houses of the missionaries and filled them with it: an evidence of the confidence which even the heathen had in them. Cudalore was very weakly garrisoned, its defenders being chiefly sepoys; its walls, too, were not strong, and on the East side, it will be remembered, it was open to the river and the sea. When the garrison, therefore, was summoned to surrender, Major Polier, the commanding officer, at once capitulated on the terms proposed by the enemy. Anxious to secure, if possible, the safety of the missionaries and their property, he advised them to accompany his flag of truce, and personally request protection from the French General. They accordingly went with the messenger, and found truly, that in their sudden and fearful peril, friends were raised up for them both powerful and faithful. They safely reached the choultry, where Count Lally had taken up his quarters, and had no sooner stated their case, than M. Lally replied, that they as preachers of peace and concord had nothing to fear from his army; but that he would give strict commands to spare their houses, and hurt nobody in them. In order to accomplish this humane resolution, Colonel Kennedy, one of the officers, accompanied them on their return. When Cudalore was delivered up,

M. Lally stationed Baron Heidemann with part of his cavalry at their houses to preserve them from plunder. They were thankful for such mercies, but being unwilling to take the oath of allegiance to the French, which they feared they would be required to do, they resolved to leave Cudalore and retire to Tranquebar. They accordingly wrote to their brethren requesting them to send boats for the transport of their families and goods.

On the day when the English garrison left Cudalore, Count Lally paid the missionaries a visit. He spoke kindly to them, inquired about their country, their mission and its results, and having given them passports, furnished them with two country boats to take away their property. For three days they were fully occupied in gathering all things together, and landing their boats with all they would carry. On the 6th of May all was ready. Hundreds of the natives, heathen as well as Christian, "brought them on their way, with wives and children, till they were out of the city," and then like Paul of old when leaving Tyre, they "kneeled down on the shore and prayed" that the Lord would watch over the sheep now without a shepherd. With sad and heavy hearts they then departed, and in two days arrived at Tranquebar, and were received by their brethren "with great gladness."

The very day after their departure the Jesuit priests came from Pondicherry and were not a little mortified that they had escaped. They gave vent to their displeasure against the General in no measured terms, because he had not only let them go, but had also spared their houses, and the church, in the destruction of public buildings which now took place. Thus were the missionaries mercifully preserved, nor were their prayers for their flock unheard. Many of them also left and joined their brethren at Tranquebar and other places, while those who remained were taken under the special protection of the Dutch President. The property they were compelled to leave behind was carefully kept, and when two years afterwards, on the restoration of Cudalore to the English, Mr. Huttemann returned from Tranquebar, the mission premises and church were speedily put in repair, and made as serviceable as before. They lost, however, their valued and esteemed schoolmaster Mr. Kerr, who was taken as a prisoner of war to Pondicherry. In his imprisonment he endeavoured to lead his fellow sufferers to the liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free. But the confinement destroyed his health: he died in prison, and was removed to that place where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. He showed

his affection to the mission to the last, by bequeathing it fifty pagodas.

The eighteenth century was, speaking after the manner of men, a period very unsuited to the rapid progress of Christianity in the Carnatic. The anarchy occasioned by constant and destructive wars, the confusion and distress which rolled over the land wherever the Mahrattas on their swift horses hastened to plunder, the oft-recurring famines, the diseases, the strong tie of superstition, the power and influence of heathenism almost unchecked, and therefore in its largest force, all tended to raise mighty difficulties in the way of the spread of the Gospel. But here we see how truly the goodness of God provides for an emergency the men exactly suited to meet it. Many were the Governors at Tranquebar, Fort St. David and Madras, who themselves fearing God, gave all the help in their power to the promotion of the cause of religion: constant were the supplies which were received for the support and the continuance of missions when established; so that in the face of opposition and discouragement, they were not only sustained but enlarged; not only enlarged, but greatly and continually so; not only remained, but were eminently successful. Look at the men who bore the burden of the day. And shall we not say that, as a whole, they were giant men, fit to bear the weight of the duties and the cares which fell to their lot, and able faithfully to do their part: giants, not in intellect, though many among them were learned and most able, but giants in that moral excellence which constitutes the peculiar charm of the Christian life; in those graces which only the servants of Christ can display: in depth of faith, and love, and zeal and Christian courage, and diligence, and patience, and forbearance, and steadfast resolution to do only good. Hence it was they stood prominently forward, and exhibited in their character and walk the noblest proofs of thorough consecration to the spiritual good of men. Many of them, even of the most devoted, are all but unknown to fame; still "they have their reward:" but Schwartz, who besides his spiritual-mindedness and patient zeal, preeminently exhibited the character of which it is said, "Let your conversation be without covetousness:" the meek and gentle and liberal Gericke, and Pohle, and Kohlhoff and Breithaupt, and Fabricius, in addition to those, the first founders of the Indian church, are men "whose praise is in all the churches."

The story of their toil is full of the most interesting and instructive lessons, and he who reads it must be cold indeed if he cannot thank God for the wondrous grace vouchsafed to that church, furnishing it with the noble men whose deeds it

records. It is a story so fraught with all that is solemn and yet practical in religion, relating to its consolations, its spread, its triumphs, even in the case of degraded heathen, that we question whether the history of any mission in any country can furnish any thing superior to it. All honour be to the men who thus marched in the van of the great army to whom the conquest of this country, and its subjection to the King of Kings, is entrusted. Their weapons were not the sword that hews down, the cannon that destroys: their sword was the word of God. No martial music roused them to the conflict; no shouts speeded their footsteps, or urged them onward with a false courage to their heavy toil. They were soldiers of the kingdom "which cometh not with observation;" and they were content to pursue their career, unhonoured, unobserved, and oft despised. They sought not glory in fields, whence arises the wail of widows and of orphans: theirs were bloodless victories: for they came not to wound but to heal; not to enslave but to set free; not to destroy men's lives but to save them. All honour be to the men who thus marched, who bore the brunt of the conflict; but highest honours be given to the great Captain of their salvation, who so wondrously endowed and led and blessed them: and who in their example, and in the tale of their labours, has left such lessons of profit for the ages that have followed them!

Many of the Christians, we have said, accompanied the mission to Tranquebar; they were received with a cordial welcome and all the Cudalore children were placed in the Tamul school. The two missionaries claimed a share in the labours of their Tranquebar brethren. Mr. Kiernander assisted in the Portuguese department and Mr. Huttemann in the Tamul. While continuing these labours, Mr. Kiernander received an invitation from Colonel Clive to come and establish a mission in Calcutta. Colonel Clive had of course known the mission at Cudalore well, having been connected many years with Fort St. David. The fact of the invitation is, we think, an unprejudiced testimony to Mr. Kiernander's zeal and character as a minister Even worldly men who have no religion, readily judge whether a minister preaches the word of God faithfully, and cease to esteem him if he does it otherwise. They may not like reproof, but it is an error to suppose that they will do aught but despise the man who fails to administer it rightly. The subject was laid by Mr. Kiernander before his brethren. As the immense force under M. Lally's command, and his various successes seemed at the time to warrant the inference that the English rule

would soon cease in the Carnatic, and perhaps missionary operations be suspended altogether, after mature deliberation, it was resolved that he should endeavour to establish the mission in Bengal. With the full consent of his brethren, therefore, he left them, and after a three weeks' voyage arrived at Calcutta, September the 29th, 1758.

Before we follow him thither let us remark that Mr. Huttemann, after an absence of two years and four months, returned to Cudalore on its recapture by Sir Eyre Coote. He succeeded in gathering together many of his old flock; and being soon after joined by Mr. Gericke, the united exertions of these two eminent servants of God, soon brought the mission to its former state of prosperity. After the taking of Cudalore for the second time by Hyder Ali in 1781, the mission gradually declined. At present there is a missionary stationed there, but its Catholic pensioners, its native schools divided by castes, its caste school masters and caste teachers, with the small amount of religious instruction given, make it but the shadow of what it was in the times of which we have been writing. Little indeed does it now present, that calls to mind the faithful men whose days and whose strength were spent within it.

The portion of Mr. Kiernander's life now related, occupies in Mr. Carne's narrative two pages and a half. In this short space there are no less than twelve errors of fact, and three instances in which an uncharitable judgment is given, not warranted by real facts. As we do not wish to bear false witness, we mention the following examples: Thus Mr. Carne tells us, "He was born at Akstad." Again: "at Cudalore he found a congregation, left by Sartorius, who had removed to Madras." Here are three errors in one sentence. It will be remembered that Mr. Sartorius died in 1738, and that there were no converts at all when Mr. Kiernander arrived in 1740. The gift of the church in 1749, and the kindness of Admiral Boscawen, are mentioned before the history of the mission in 1745: and its prosperity in 1746 is described as a consequence of that gift. Mr. Carne again says that Lally refused to let Mr. Kiernander remain at Cudalore, and that in retaliation for the expulsion of the Jesuits, he permitted all the mission property to be plundered, so that Mr. K. saved nothing but "a few articles of wearing apparel." The different story of these events already related is given on the authority of the journals and letters of the Tranquebar missionaries, and is found in Dr. Pearson's admirable life of Schwartz. Another very great error is that Mr. Carne has placed Mr. K. at Halle under the tuition of the elder Francke. The same mistake occurs in the

life of Schwartz in the same volume, and in Mr. Carne's sketch of the mission at Tranquebar. This is not a trivial error, as M. Francke died at Halle eight years before Mr. K. went thither, and nineteen years before Schwartz became a student. That these are mistakes may at once be seen by a reference to the reports of the C. K Society. We regret to add that though many other works of excellent authority were published previous to Mr. Carne's last edition in 1839, supplying ample evidence on the subject, Mr. Carne's mistakes remain unchanged.

By the writer of the biography in the Asiatic Journal, we are informed that Mr. Kiernander was born in 1735 (the year in which he went to college); that he arrived at Cudalore in 1758 (after he had been there *eighteen* years): that Cudalore and Fort St. David were two different settlements distant from one another; that Mr. Kiernander did no missionary work at all at Cudalore, and that all Schwartz's converts were men who had no caste to lose!

We have said that Mr. Kiernander arrived at Calcutta, Sept. 29th, 1758. He found it a very different sphere from Cudalore, but one that needed the Gospel even more. He was no longer with a faithful companion in labour, holding constant intercourse with him, and assisted by his advice He was alone in his work; and though that work was in many respects the same as he had hitherto performed, yet the circumstances in which he was placed were of a somewhat different kind, and especially different from those in which missionaries of later days find themselves. These circumstances require to be looked at, before we can form a just estimate of his position, character, and efforts. At the risk, therefore, of appearing somewhat tedious, we shall take a short review of what Calcutta was during his stay, in its physical aspect and its social condition; we shall add also a few words on its previous religious history, and trust that all will tend to put the labours and character of the missionary in a better light than that in which they have hitherto been seen.

CALCUTTA, when Mr. Kiernander arrived, was but a poor beginning of what it now is. No villas in Garden Reach, no Botanical Garden met the stranger's eye to cheer him with their beauty after his sea voyage. Where these now stand the river banks were covered with jungle, and the jhîls, and marshy swamps emitted their deadly poison in undiminished power. There were no dockyards at Kidderpore, resounding with the clang of hammers, the sign of active and laborious toil. The Fort even, was but just begun, and the earthworks were being dug among the ruined huts of the village of Govindpore, and

among the newly cut jungle that had been growing in luxuriance down to the water's edge. The river itself was all but deserted. There were no large ships anchored off the city; only small craft, snows, pinnaces and native boats were drawn up on its muddy banks. There were few ghats to land at, and no strand, save one quay in front of the river wall of the old Fort, where now the Custom House stands; while the little dockyard close by, more than sufficed for all the work required in shipping-repairs. The city was beginning to recover from the ruin which had befallen it on its capture by the Nawáb two years before: for all classes had received their compensation, and were endeavouring to render their houses habitable once more. The European portion of the town was compressed into a small space in the neighbourhood of Tank Square then called the Park. Some of the houses in the square and along the river were large; but on the whole, those inhabited by Europeans were few and mean. Then, and for several years after, Europeans kept the shops in the China Bazar, Radha Bazar and Murgihatta, even as far as the Armenian Church; while the Lall Bazar belonged to the quarter termed "respectable." The old fort remained not as the strength of war, but as a depot for the peaceful pursuits of commerce. A large part of the north face was occupied by the Company's cloth godown; warehouses and officer's houses occupied other portions of its area, while gardens were formed upon the slopes of the ruined walls. Eastward, the town extended to the Mahratta ditch, along the Boitakhana and Durrumtollah roads: but Kálinga was a native village, and Chowringhi a "thick forest." The great plain was partly jungle, partly arable land, interspersed with huts; and across it, ran a single road branching off to the two villages of Alipore and Kidderpore, at which two mean wooden bridges carried it over the Nullah. Thus the European population were near together in what is now, the mercantile part of the town. Northward was the native town with the old Chitpore road, as now, in the centre. It was well peopled, though not so densely as at present, and contained many bazars The houses were much mixed up with jungle, and surrounded by stagnant pools, and all kinds of filth. The jungle on all sides of the city was very thick During Mr. Kiernander's residence of 30 years, the town gradually enlarged; and towards the close of the century more rapidly so: the Europeans extending southward and the native population becoming more dense. In 1785 there were garden houses at Alipore, Kidderpore and Garden Reach: Chowringhi, too, had a line of houses at large intervals: the old

Government House was built, and Esplanade Road was considered quite magnificent. But when Mr. Kiernander arrived, it was, as we have described it, ruined and poor and mean, the beginning only, in every respect, of what Calcutta is at this day, both as regards its outward appearance and its inward comfort.

At that time also, there were comparatively few Europeans living in Calcutta, and they were almost all connected with the Company's service: the majority having arrived with Colonel Clive two years before. There were scarcely any ladies, and as may be imagined, without their influence the order of the settlement was not likely to remain unbroken, or the rules of society to be closely observed. The government of the city was not very complex. The Mayor and Aldermen held their little court, and the "zemindar" superintending all the fiscal as well as criminal proceedings, permitted his fellow civilians, old and young, to devote their attention to their own and the Company's trade. The police was "deplorably bad," and it was much worse for a time after the Supreme Court was established. Money was plentiful, trade was brisk, and if for a while the habits of all were simple, in a short time luxury and extravangance produced their ripened fruits. It is said there were but two carriages at the settlement, one belonging to Colonel Clive, the other to Mr. Watts; but if this be true, it did not long remain so. Shall we add, as not without its influence, that there was no printing press in the settlement for many years. Of the moral condition of society during Mr. Kiernander's residence we shall speak hereafter.

The natives during the last century were not a whit better morally, than they are now. If any thing, they were worse; while undoubtedly many of the superstitious practices of heathenism were more openly carried out and less held in check than they are at present. They well knew the advantages connected with the Company's protection. The stability given to property, the general order of the settlement, and the toleration enjoyed, made them feel that both their money-making schemes and their religion were quite secure. They found also that their rulers were in a great degree trustworthy, and were not slow to furnish them with the means of carrying on trade. Hence it was they flocked to Calcutta in great numbers, and amongst them some of the most respectable and wealthy families. But for all this their morals were very bad, and their superstitions most cruel and injurious. During the period we have named, the dancing-girls filled the temples, the car of Juggernath was covered with the most abominable figures: the Brahmans at the temples were, as now, licentious and covetous

"to an incredible extent." It was no uncommon sight to see "the fakirs, impudent beyond measure, extorting money by a "torrent of obscenity and by the threat of curses which no "Hindu will incur." The rich were oppressors, covetous and proud; the poor, thieves, cheats, liars, and knaves; while the merchants, the traders, the zemindars, were full of avarice, and sought only to amass wealth by any and every means. How they could do it, the history of many Bábus in the Company's service at that day, fearfully shows. This conduct was the fruit of their superstitions, and the influence of these was undiminished. Human sacrifices were not uncommon both at Kalighat and the temple at Chitpore; victims were drowned in the river: Satis were constantly burnt, and cruelty and force were used to make them burn; sometimes the widow buried herself in the river's bank, waiting to be drowned by the rising tide; ghât-murders were committed with impunity; all classes were under complete subjection to the Brahmans, whose extortions for ceremonial impurity were without bounds, knowledge was forbidden: the Shasters were sealed books; processions, sacrifices and all the mummeries enjoined were rigorously enforced. Such was the power of Hinduism at that day. Some of these things have changed in Calcutta only within the last twenty years. What a barrier they formed to Mr. Kiernander's labours; and how needful they show those labours to have been, may be easily imagined. We are happy to record that, in spite of all their degrading influence, some of the heathen were brought by his means to forsake idolatry and to confess the God of truth.

Of the state of religion among the Europeans in Calcutta in early times, little is known. The Rev. S. Briercliffe, who was chaplain in 1715, writing to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, speaks of the small number of Christians there, and the spiritual destitution of both the natives and Portuguese, and points out the difficulties in the way of true religion and its propagation. The early charters of the Company had bound them to support a chaplain and schoolmaster wherever a European regiment was stationed: while the chaplains were bound also to qualify themselves to give Christian instruction to the Hindu and Portuguese servants of the Company in their own tongues. The remarks in Mr. Briercliffe's letter show how needful such instruction was. But it appears these rules were never carried into effect with respect to the natives, though the English themselves sometimes enjoyed the benefit of public worship. Not long after Mr. B's letter was written, a church was built; it stood

near the North-West corner of the spot in which the Writers' Buildings stand, and opposite one of the gates of the old fort at about 50 yards distance. It was a noble building with a lofty and magnificent steeple, and was long the chief public ornament of the settlement. The church was not erected by the Company, but by the voluntary contributions of prosperous merchants and specially of captains, supercargoes and other sea-faring men trading to the settlement In those days it is said, gold was plentiful, labour cheap, and there was not one indigent European in all Calcutta. Some of the original contributors were Freemasons. and by their influence it was called St. John's. Intelligence of the event was conveyed to the Propagation Society in England, who in return sent a silver cup for the communion table as an expression of their satisfaction and good will In this church, service was constantly held. The President and all the Civil and Milltary officers of the settlement walked to it in solemn procession ; and in the absence of a chaplain, prayers and a sermon were read by some of the junior merchants for which they were duly paid. In 1732 a charity fund in connection with the church was founded by Mr. Bourchier, afterwards Governor of Bombay. He had built the Court House from his private funds,—a spacious house of one floor where the Mayor's Court and assizes were held,—and on leaving Calcutta gave it to the Company on condition of their paying annually 4,000 Arcot rupees toward this fund. A public subscription was raised for the same object, and the interest of the whole applied, partly for the support of twenty orphans taken from among the destitute children of Europeans, whether by European or native mothers, and partly for general charitable purposes. To this fund were added, from time to time, church collections and the fees for palls at funerals.

In the same year the Dutch and Germans at Chinsurah, (which somehow or other is called Calicatta in one of the C. K. Society's reports,) applied to the misssonaries at Tranquebar for a missionary, both for themselves and the natives. M. Sichterman, the Dutch Governor, approved of the measure, and promised his protection and encouragement to such a mission. The request was forwarded to England, where it excited much interest, but there was no missionary at Halle prepared to come. When afterwards three missionaries were sent to Tranquebar, one of the older Tranquebar missionaries was appointed to Bengal : but at the juncture, two of his brethren died, and the matter was again deferred. The Europeans in Bengal, however, continued their interest in missions and sent subscriptions to the Coast : an instance of this we have already

recorded. Five years after occurred the dreadful storm and earthquake, so memorable in the annals of last century, from the vast number of lives and large amount of property which they destroyed. The steeple of the church of Calcutta "fell prostrate," though the body remained standing, and was not again rebuilt. In 1756, the Nawáb Suraja Dowla completed the destruction of the building. Thus, in twenty years, two events happened, which joined to destroy all the ecclesiastical as well as civil records of the settlement. What the hurricane had spared was utterly destroyed on the capture of the city, and hence it is that we have but very few notices of the state of religion in Bengal previous to the latter of these events. In the year of the capture of Calcutta, we find two chaplains there, the Rev. Jervas Bellamy and the Rev. Mr. Mapletoft. Both took part in the defence of the fort; the former perished in the Black Hole, and the latter died a few months after at Fulta, whither the fugitives had hurried. In 1757, the way was opened for more definite and more continuous religious labours than the settlement had yet received. Hitherto no great sense of security had been felt, the power of the English had not been known. But the recapture of Calcutta, the fight at Hugly, the bombardment of Chandernagore, the battle of Plassey, and the appointment of a new New Nawáb, tended much to give stability to all English interests, and prepare the way for measures of solid and growing improvement. Two chaplains. the Rev. Henry Butler and the Rev. John Cape arrived in 1758, and as the Old Church had been destroyed, and affairs were not yet in a very settled state, a temporary Bungalow was erected for the purposes of worship within the battered fort: hence its name "The chapel of the old fort."

Such was the state of things on Mr. Kiernander's landing. Let us again return, therefore, to the story of his life. He was received very cordially by the two chaplains. Pleased with his proposals, they at once entered into his plans, and aided him in collecting subscriptions for carrying them out. It is said that at this period he appeared a man of ardent zeal, of great integrity, with a dauntless courage and decision of mind, while his talents were such as to inspire confidence that he would be able to carry out what he began. Colonel Clive also welcomed him. On the part of Government he appropriated a house for his use (in which Mr. Kiernander lived eight years): and in token of his esteem, shortly after stood as one of the sponsors to Mr. Kiernander's infant son. Mr. Carne mentions this incident in his memoir, noting, as we have done, that the child

was a *son*, yet in an after part of the same memoir the following passage, occurs, p. 319 : " If his little *girl* had but lived, what a comfort, what a blessing, he thought, would she now be to him !... Oh ! if that dear, that *only child* had lived, she would now have screened her father from the sorrows of the world, &c. ! !" Shall we comment on this ?

On the first of December 1758, Mr. Kiernander opened a school, and very soon had in it forty lads : English, Armenian, Portuguese and Bengali—some of them of from fifteen to eighteen years of age. The twenty boys supported by the charity fund were also placed under his charge. Before the close of 1759 he had admitted 174, and of these some had already left and gone to service. Out of this number, thirty-seven were maintained. They were all instructed in English, reading, writing, arithmetic and Christianity. In this first year, one of the lads, a Bengali, read through the whole English Bible, the " Whole Duty of Man," and a book entitled " Instruction for the Indians," which had been specially composed for this country. In reporting this gratifying beginning to the Society, Mr. Kiernander expressed his hope that, as the lads grew up, they would profess Christianity for themselves. In this hope he was not disappointed, as we shall subsequently see. His first two converts were a Papist and a Brahman ; and in them he had an earnest of the success he was to have in future in the two classes of Hindús and Catholics which they represented. He was not alone in his labours. He had brought two assistants with him from Cudalore, and though one of them died, his place was more than supplied by the English clerk of the Fort Chapel. Not desiring to give his time up altogether to the school, on the second of June 1759, he began a service in the Portuguese language. His congregation was at first but small, including his own family, some of his Cudalore congregation, and his Christian pupils. He also distributed many books in the English and German tongues, and sometimes preached at the newly established settlement of Serampore. He occasionally preached in English for the chaplains : but by these various engagements his time was so occupied that he had no leisure to study the native languages, and therefore wrote to England for two missionaries, one of whom might apply to Hindustaní, the other to Bengáli. During this year he baptised fifteen persons.

At the close of the year, a large and unexpected addition was made to his congregation. The Dutch expedition from Batavia, which arrived in October, had been bravely met and defeated by Commodore Wilson on the river, and by Colonel Forde on

land, and 350 Dutch, besides Malays, were taken prisoners. Most of them volunteered into the Company's army, and Mr. Kiernander preached to them in German. At the close of the following year,—the second year of his ministry,—there were in the school 231 scholars, of whom nineteen were girls, English and Portuguese; of these one-half were maintained, while some paid for their education. Mr. Kiernander supported forty at his own expense: and the funds needed for maintaining the rest were supplied by contributions in the settlement. In 1761 as his school-room was too small, from his own funds Mr. Kiernander fitted up a building which he used both as a church and a school-room and in it he held his Portuguese service. So blessed were his endeavours, that not only did he baptise eleven in the year previous, but in this year twenty-four were added, and twenty-five lads, Romanists, declared it to be their intention to become Protestants. The priests took the alarm and in various ways endeavoured to get his school-room taken away from him. But they signally failed; his hands were strong: his school prospered; another school-master from Madras joined him, and from among his former pupils several became his efficient helpers. The Rev. H. Butler, the chaplain, also wrote to the Society in London, bearing testimony to the zeal and faithfulness of the missionary, and requested the Society to send him a colleague. Though missionary work was new in Calcutta, in its growing influence upon many it already proved productive of good. In the decisive tone it at once assumed, and the energy with which its details were pushed on, we can see the zeal and skill of an experienced hand. It is a curious fact, that the classical language, taught in Mr Kiernander's school at this time, was the *Portuguese*. As is the English in the present day, so was the Portuguese then. It was in a great measure the medium of intercourse between English and natives. Though comparitively a miserable jargon and scarcely deserving the name of a language, from its admixture not only with foreign Indian words, but with words of Dutch, French and English extraction, and having few terms expressive of science or religious truth, it had been taught and cultivated in all the mission schools in the Carnatic, as well as the Tamul. Hence Mr. Kiernander having taught it in his schools, having preached in it to his congregation at Cudalore, and finding so many who understood it in Calcutta, not unnaturally employed it here. Missionaries in Calcutta of more modern times, have turned almost exclusively to English and Bengali; and with respect to natives, the plan has been, and deserves to be

successful. But should any arise whose attention may be directed specially to that degraded class of Romanists from whom Mr. Kiernander had many converts, we may hear yet again of preaching and teaching conducted in the Portuguese language. We say nothing of the propriety of this; we mention only its possibility.

In 1761 Mr. Kiernander lost his two friends, the chaplains. Both died in the same year, within a short time of each other. He also lost his excellent wife, who had been the partner of all his troubles, in leaving his old station; and had accompanied him to begin life, as it were anew, in a strange city. She died on the 9th of May. He mourned her loss several months, but in February of the following year was again married to Mrs. Woolley, a rich widow lady of Calcutta. It is said she brought him a fortune of £25,000, which, added to his former wife's property and to a legacy which he received about this time from his elder brother in Sweden, raised him to comparative affluence. The use which he made of all this wealth we shall see hereafter.

The next year, 1762, a heavy calamity fell upon the school in common with the rest of the city: a dreadful epidemic broke out in Calcutta. Amongst others, the new chaplain, Mr. Staveley, who, like his predecessors, had shown great interest in the mission, died from it. Mr. Kiernander himself was seized with it and recovered; then relapsed and recovered again, in all six times: but finally was restored to health. The parents were afraid to send their children to school, and only 40 were found in attendance. When the disease passed away, however, the school filled as before.

In this visitation we see a specimen of those ills from which Calcutta formerly suffered most severely; but from which, in a large measure, the providence of God has, in these later times, delivered it. During last century, life in Bengal was much more precarious and short than at present. The narrow streets and filthy lanes of the city, much less cleansed than at this day, even though now they are bad enough; the filth that everywhere lay unregarded, the effluvia from stagnant pools, open drains, and the muddy creek which ran through the city to the salt-water lake, bred diseases, which every now and then broke out in the most virulent and fatal form. Fever and ague, spleen and diarrhœa, liver-complaint and dysentery and dropsy, all the long catalogue of sicknesses with which this land is afflicted, fell on the community, both European and native, with ten times the force which they now exert. Measures for the prevention of disease were scarcely ever thought of; but

in this respect Calcutta was but like Europe. While the generous diet, the scarcely temperate habits of many, especially those of station and influence, the small close houses, the want of ventilation, and other means for cooling the atmosphere indoors; the dust, the malaria on every side, and a thousand other ills, all contributed their part in promoting disease and in curtailing life. Hence the great mortality which prevailed. Hence we read of a season (about 1689) in which, out of 1,200 British inhabitants, 460 were laid in the grave between August and the following January. Hence we read again of "the obstinate putrid intermitting fevers" which from 1757 downward, were so fatal every year. We find "they began with the rainy season, and continued with excessive violence during it, and for some time after." In 1768 "fever and flux" were "very fatal." In 1770, the year of famine, a dreadful fever, with "a cold stage of twelve hours," carried off, it is said, 80 000 natives and 1,500 Europeans. Calcutta was not the only place thus visited. All Bengal seems to have suffered in the same way. We are told that "the force which, under Major Kilpatrick, remained at Fulta after the capture of the city in 1756, out of 240 men, lost 210, between August and December of that year by one of these epidemics." The ships lying in the river peculiarly felt the influence of the malaria. Hundreds of sailors were cut off in a few months from the fleets which arrived. Even so late as 1809, it is said, "full three hundred sailors, *i.e.*, a fourth of the ships' crews die yearly at Diamond Harbour from diseases incident to laying up the ships at that place." The great mortality among the troops, in former days, is well known. Fires without number burned in the settlement every year. They destroyed, it is true, much property, but they served to purify the city from some of its abominations. These diseases, of course, produced many changes in the community, and while felt much in important matters, were not without their discouraging influence on even a missionary school.

In 1763 a consternation of a different kind and from a different source threatened Mr. Kiernander's little charge again. The abuse of the transit duties by the Company's servants, their grasping cupidity and oppressive exactions, fastened on the people with a power from which they had no escape, threw the whole country into disorder. The resistance of the Nawab, and the battles with him, followed at last by the massacre at Patna, produced great alarm in Calcutta. The inward strength of the Company, arising from their European troops and the discipline of their native corps, the indomitable energy which

could meet all difficulties, and meet all expenses, were at that period all but untried and unknown; consequently, the security now felt under the Company's rule was not enjoyed, and confidence was shaken at the first appearance of an enemy. Mr. Kiernander, in speaking of these things to the Society adds, that he feared the mission would be destroyed. Not only did he find these contentions unfavourable to the exercise of Christian liberality among his fellow Europeans, but the natives were so exasperated against the Company's servants for their evil practices, that the missionary found them utterly unwilling to lend an ear to truths, which his fellow Christians heeded so little. He is not the only missionary who has found the sins of Europeans a powerful barrier against the progress of the Gospel, and has had those sins retorted on him by natives as an excuse and colour for their own. Still he kept on at his work. Though the German soldiers of his congregation were obliged to march up the country, he was enabled to devote himself more fully to the natives, and he preached on the Sabbath twice in Portuguese. In the same year the charity school was provided with a master for itself, and Mr. Kiernander had only to superintend it. This was a further relief, which permitted him to confine his attention entirely to his missionary duties. In consequence the school and congregation became too large for his present building. Finding this, Mr. Vansittart, the Governor, who was anxious to assist the mission as far as he could, lent Mr. Kiernander a large and better one, and supplied him with funds to repair and alter it. These kind offices were experienced but a short time, for Mr. Vansittart soon after returned to England. Among the converts in 1764 were three Malays and three Portuguese.

In 1765 Clive returned to the country, and in a few months peace and confidence were restored to all parties. Mr. Kiernander wrote to the Society that the worst was past, and begged them once more to send out more missionaries, as they might labour with success in so secure a station as he enjoyed. The German soldiers returned to their quarters, and his congregation was again full. Thirty-five were added to his congregation this year, including twenty adults and fifteen children; of the adults eight were natives of Bengal: out of a congregation of 150, nineteen were communicants. In his report to the Society, Mr. Kiernander bears testimony to the "improvement in character of all under his charge, stating that they were more devout at public worship and more careful in conforming their lives to the precepts of the Gospel." Next year thirty-nine were added, making in all, from December 1, 1758, to the close

of 1766, 189 converts. Of these, half were Romanists, one-third were children of Romanist parents, thirty had been heathen, and one a Jew. The case of the last named convert, the Jew, was somewhat singular. In a voyage to Bombay he had been brought by sickness and the fear of death to feel the need of better comfort than the world gives, and had found such in the Gospel promises. On his recovery his impressions died away; upon coming to Calcutta, he was again sick, and again his impressions were renewed He sought out a minister, was directed to Mr. K., and under his direction, reading the Bible, became convinced of the Divinity of the Son of God. He was baptized, and continued a regular attendant in the Mission Chapel.

The mission having been established eight years, Mr. Kiernander was now able to judge of its progress, and in a measure of its fruits. He had continued in Calcutta the same plans which he had seen at Halle, and had himself carried on at Cudalore; *viz.*, instructing the young, preaching to adults, and distributing religious books. From his school he had received five teachers who were engaged with him in instructing others. Many lads had become clerks in offices, both public and private: by them truth had been spread, and if few had been converted, he hoped that the principles they had imbibed would make them in conduct better than others, and thus show the usefulness of the mission.

In 1767 the mission house, lent by Mr. Vansittart, was required for the service of Government, and as his plans were now fixed, and his congregation continually increased, Mr. Kiernander resolved to build a church for its use. We have said that his second marriage had made him a comparatively wealthy man, and the use to which he now put his wealth was to promote the cause to which his life was given up. The estimated cost of the building was Rs. 20 000 but, during its erection, several alterations were made, which added materially to this sum. The whole sum expended was Rs. 67,320, of which Rs. 1,818 only were given by friends. The death of the architect delayed its completion, but it was opened for worship at the end of December 1770, and was called Beth Tephilla, "the House of Prayer." It is now usually called the Old or Mission Church, and remains to this day a powerful illustration of Christian liberality, and a witness to the mission which the founder of it prosecuted. Though not so beautiful as the former Church of Calcutta, it is a substantial building, and at that time possessed the beauty of being the only church. Its appearance, when finished, differed somewhat from its present

one. In those days the good people of Calcutta painted the exterior of their houses; and amongst the prevailing colours, not only yellow, but also red and *blue!* were conspicuous. In accordance with this custom the church was coloured red, whence its name the "Lal Girjah" or red church. Subsequently it had large white squares painted on it, to resemble stones. Mr. Carne puts the erection of this building four years after the proper period. It is strange that it was for many years the only church in Calcutta. The unsettled state of the times immediately subsequent to the recapture of the city, had driven from the minds of the English settlers all concern about rebuilding the church which had been destroyed. Not that the funds were wanting. The Nawab Mir Jaffir had paid the restitution money for the church of St. John's; and besides this, Omichand's executor, Hozur Mull, had paid in the deceased Babu's name Rs 25,000 for the same object. Both sums were invested in Government securities, and for the time added to Mr Bourchier's charity fund above mentioned. Meanwhile the little bungalow inside the old Fort was the only chapel which Europeans had to worship in for 30 years, except the Mission Church.

During the building of the church many incidents occurred in the mission, which only proved, in a stronger degree, the necessity for its erection The court of the Emperor Shah Alum requested from Mr. Kiernander some copies of the Psalter and New Testament in Arabic; he accordingly sent them, and finding afterwards, they had been well received, transmitted all he had. In 1767 twenty-six converts were received, of whom sixteen were natives and twenty Romanists. In 1768, Father Bento de Silvestre, a Romish priest, who had been "a Popish missionary in Bengal upwards of fifteen years," and had "discovered the false zeal, hidden malice, and unwarranted doctrines" of Rome, resolved to forsake its communion. After much deliberation and earnest prayer, on the 7th of February he publicly recanted his errors and entered the Protestant church. As he was well acquainted with French, Portuguese, Hindustani and Bengali, he soon became useful in the mission. He constantly preached in Portuguese to the converts, and also visited a village called Parull, said to be a day's journey from Calcutta, in which were 500 natives, Romanists, who had been his charge previous to leaving Popery. Besides these public labours he translated the Prayer Book and Catechism into Bengali. In June 1769 another priest named Da Costa, who had recanted his errors at Madras, joined the mission congregation. These two events

so alarmed the Papists, that a priest was specially sent from Goa, if possible, to seize the converts and make them retract. M. Bento, however, gave a public answer to the Envoy, and had copies of his answer circulated amongst the Romanists in Calcutta : so that they became more acquainted than before with the reasons of his separation. The threats of the priest "did not in the smallest degree affect the Protestant mission," and he speedily retired to Goa. It is to be noticed that a large proportion of Mr. Kiernander's converts were from among the Papists. These were chiefly Portuguese. This class of persons was, and still is, numerous in Calcutta, but they were then in a most degraded and irreligious condition They had a church here as far back as 1700, enlarged in 1720 ; but the priests cared little to instruct their congregation and paid little heed to their morals. As soon as Mr Kiernander's labours began to produce good among them, the priests were afraid. and in all ways endeavoured to prevent his intercourse with them. They clandestinely baptized the children of mixed marriages ; prevented the sick from holding any converse with the missionary : and in one case they forged a will for a woman who had renounced the Romish errors, with a view to get her property for their own faith ; but the will was set aside in the Mayor's court. On another occasion they endeavoured to injure the mission school, by getting the house in which it was held for other purposes Mr. Kiernander, however, persevered. He distributed freely many tracts and books sent by the Society for his use ; and when the Portuguese who could read, requested portions of the Bible, they were furnished with them. These labours continued to be blessed. Many of these degraded Papists began to feel that it was their duty to inquire after truth ; and seeking, found it. Thus the enemy which the missionary had found both at Cudalore and Calcutta was in both places foiled. In 1769, a Bengali who had been baptized by the name of Thomas, and who knew Portuguese well, was appointed a catechist, and with Father Bento preached to the Portuguese congregation. That year's report contains accounts of the happy deaths of several members of the Mission Church of both sexes. It must have been peculiarly gratifying to the aged missionary to witness these proofs of the fruit of his labour. In this country apostacy and sin have often marred the name and profession of those who at first "did run well." But to find them amidst many imperfections stedfast to the end, and cleaving in death to Him whose faith they had embraced, is a rich though sad reward to the servant of God. Such was Mr. Kiernander's lot, and that, in cases not a few, not only in this but in other years.

It is mentioned in the same report that Captain Griffin by his will, after a few bequests, had left the residue of his property to the mission, directing that it should serve as a fund, the interest of which was to repair the Church and to support two missionaries or schoolmasters. The affairs of Captain Griffin were found to be in such confusion, that in the end not a single cowry ever reached the destined object.

The year 1770 was a peculiarly trying one to the mission. It was the year of famine, and a season of great sickness. Before the famine and sickness came on, continual fires had destroyed large storehouses full of provision, and had rendered thousands houseless. The awful desolation which swept over the land cannot be adequately described. Those who perished are reckoned by millions.* While multitudes perished, the Lord watched over His own: Mr. Kiernander in relating the calamity to the Society, expresses his thanks to God that not only had he found enough for himself and his people, but that the Lord had given him the means of supplying others. At the close of the year, as has been mentioned, the Church was completed and set apart for worship. Henceforth two services were held in it on the Sabbath day, one in English, one in Portuguese; and two in the week, on Wednesdays and Fridays, when the young were specially catechised. There were two congregations, the English and the Portuguese. The Portuguese was so named from the language which was used, though it contained also the native converts. When these arrangements came into effect there were, of English communicants, eighty-five, and of Portuguese and natives, sixty-nine. During this year eleven adult heathen were baptised and fourteen Papists received. There were in the school ninety-seven scholars.

* Our curious readers may be interested by a table of the prices of grain during that year, drawn from the unpublished Dutch records at Chinsurah. We call particular attention to the month of August:—

| | Seers for one Rupee. | 1769. Oct. | Nov. | Dec. | 1770 Jan | Feb | March | April. | May. | June. | July | Aug. | Sept. | Oct |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Fine Rice . | | 8 | 9 | 9½ | 9 | 9 | 8½ | 8 | 7 | 4 | 4 | 3 | 5 | 7 |
| Coarse ditto | | 10 | 11 | 11½ | 10 | 9½ | 9 | 8½ | 7½ | 6½ | 4¼ | 3¼ | 11 | 16 |
| Kolai ..... | | 12 | 13 | 13½ | 13 | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 7 | 5 | 4¼ | 4½ | 4 |
| Beans ..... | | 13 | 13 | 14 | 14 | 13 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 8½ | 6 | 5¼ | 7 | 10 |
| Wheat..... | | 11 | 12 | 12½ | 12 | 11 | 10 | 9 | 2 | 6¼ | 5 | 4¼ | 4½ | 4½ |
| Dál ..... | | 11 | 12 | 12 | 11 | 11 | 10 | 8½ | 7½ | 6¼ | 5 | 4 | 4 | 4 |

These details of Mr. Kiernander's labour and proofs of its efficiency may appear to our readers somewhat minute and wearisome. We beg them, however, to remember that we have a particular object before us in this history, *viz.*, the defence of a missionary's character. These details are our evidence; and those who have read Mr. Carne's accusations will see, that not one of our statements is unnecessary. We could have wished to curtail them, but fear to render our argument incomplete.

The following year (1771) six adult heathen "who had been long under instruction, and in their lives and conduct were obedient to the Gospel," with six Romanists and many children, were joined to the congregation. It is also particularly mentioned, that the preaching of the Gospel in the English language had been the means of awakening some who had long ceased to care for their souls. Thus the mission to the heathen reacted on the European, and furnished an additional illustration of its practical influence upon all classes. During the year, the priest Da Costa died after a long illness. He had purposed to return to Siam, and in the scene of his former labours, preach the truth which he had now embraced. But sickness delayed his purpose, and it was the will of God to remove him before it was carried out. His loss was made up to the mission by the recantation of two Romish priests, Mr. Hanson, and Mr. Ramalhete. The former was a very learned man, acquainted with eight modern languages. He had been priest at Bussorah: and there, by reading the Bible, had become fully convinced of the errors of Popery. When he came to Calcutta he sought out Mr. Kiernander, had much conversation with him, had his faith confirmed, and on the 1st of January 1772, in a most solemn service, publicly made his abjuration in the Mission Church. The Governor, Mr. Cartier, one of the chaplains, Dr. Burn, and many other gentlemen were present on the occasion. Both these converts wished to be employed in the Mission; and, had they been so, would doubtless have added to its usefulness. But funds were wanting; and though Mr. Ramalhete was made a catechist, and officiated very profitably while M. Bento was ill, Mr. Hanson became a writer in one of the Government offices. In the report for the year several remarkable cases of conversion are detailed. One is that of a woman, a native of Macassar, "who had an earnest desire after the knowledge of Christ, and who received instruction with an open heart." Another convert was a Papist, whose son attended the school, and was accustomed in the evening to read the New Testament to her. By this

means she acquired some knowledge of Christianity, and resolved to be a Christian. Other similar instances might be mentioned. The spirit of inquiry among the Romanists continued to spread : all were most eager for Protestant books, and there were two or three priests who, it was hoped, would embrace the truth. These things show that the mission was not a mere name, but was the means of spiritual good ; and was flourishing while all around it seemed dead. At the close of the year they were ninety-six English communicants : in the Portuguese and native Church one hundred and four, of whom nine had been admitted for the first time. In the school were ninety-four boys. The addition to the congregation during the year was forty-one, including seven heathen, eleven Papists and their children. The only drawback to the mission was the illness of M. Bento, which lasted many months. At the end of the year he renewed his labours in health. In 1773, additions were again made of fifty-five persons, including sixteen adult heathen and six Romanists. In writing to the Society the report of the year, Mr. Kiernander dwells at considerable length upon the desecration of the Sabbath in Calcutta by Europeans, at which he was greatly distressed He shows from the word of God, how justly applicable the fourth commandment is to the heathen, as well as to Christians ; and how they may be made to feel the force of its sanctions. He states that during all the time in which his Church was building, he had never allowed the Sabbath to be violated, and that thereby he had found willing workmen, and had received much respect. Would that all our countrymen paid greater attention to this important matter, requiring so much improvement even in the present day. The Sabbath is one of the wisest institutions of religion ; it is most intimately connected with its prosperity and increase, and has received the highest sanctions from God himself. Would that those who are called Christians, ceased by its violation to dishonour, before the heathen, that name which they bear ! We trust that the recent order of the Governor-General with respect to its observance by those engaged in public works, will not prove a dead letter ; and that all private individuals will scrupulously emulate the example which the Government are thus prepared to set

In June 1773, Mr. Kiernander lost his second wife after a six months' illness. Mr. Carne has said many things to this lady's dispraise, among other things asserting that she was "a young luxurious woman, who cared little for the souls of the heathen," and who drew her husband from his work to revel in the pleasures of the world. One thing is very clear from the

Reports of the Christian Knowledge Society, *viz.* that up to the time of her death Mr. Kiernander had not in the least withdrawn from his labour, nor did he for many years after, if at all; on the contrary, as we shall presently see, the Society entertained the highest esteem for his diligence and faithfulness as a missionary. As far as we have received any information concerning Mrs. Kiernander, Mr. Carne's censures are made on very insufficient grounds. She is said to have been a woman of kind and amiable temper, and ever anxious to see those around her happy. On her tombstone (which Mr. Carne considers as reared for Mr. Kiernander's first wife) she is spoken of in the following terms; "From a life in which she practised every virtue that adorns the character of a Christian, it pleased Almighty God to take her to himself . . . . in her age of forty-three years . . . . . She departed with an entire though humble confidence of a happy futurity through the merits of Jesus Christ her Redeemer; having for some time desirously waited for the hour of her dissolution with that serenity of mind which a good conscience only can inspire." These things could not have been written of her just after her decease, had Mr. Carne's testimony been true. Mrs. Kiernander fully agreed with her husband in the exercise of that Christian liberality, the fruits of which we have already seen. And one proof that bears out the truth of the character recorded upon her tomb is this; she had for some time, purposed to dispose of all her jewels for the benefit of the mission, but had not found a good opportunity of doing so before she died. In her will, however, the purpose was repeated. The jewels were given to build a school-room. They were sold for about Rs. 6,000, and with them a house containing three large school-rooms, able to hold two hundred and fifty scholars, was built to the East of the Church, on the spot where now stands the Mission Church rooms. They were opened in March 1774. In this building, then, we have another specimen of the use to which the wealth of the missionary and his wife was put. We have already seen him supporting forty children at his own expense; fitting up, from his own resources, a house for the worship of his native congregation; building at vast expense a large church, and now adding school-rooms to the same. We shall presently find a house added also. This Christian liberality was a distinguishing feature in Mr. Kiernander's character. The poor especially found in him a friend and helper. But while he sought to assist them in things pertaining to this life, he was wont more fully to direct the sorrowing heart to the source of all consolation, Jesus Christ. It is a saying in his family that at his door a poor man waited no

longer then a rich one. His gifts and charities must have amounted to not less than £12,000. Would that, in all this, he had many imitators, of whom it might be said "they have done what *they could*."

In 1774 fifteen adult heathen and two Romanists joined the congregation; of English communicants there were seventy-six; of Portuguese and natives, ninety-one. A large number of Bibles and Testaments than usual, received from Madras and Tranquebar, had been distributed among the Romanists.

We have seen that Mr. Kiernander feeling the importance of his sphere of labour, and that as he stood alone, the mission might in the event of his death fall away, had again and again written to the Society in England entreating them to send him a colleague. He had been now thirty-five years a missionary, and had been in Calcutta seventeen years labouring alone. But in 1775 a colleague arrived, and with him Mr. Kiernander's two sons, who had been to Europe for their education. The new missionary was Mr. Diemer. Like Mr. Kiernander he had been educated at Halle, and had held office in the same Institution as his predecessor had done. He was described by Professor Freylinghausen as "a young man not only endued with a sincere piety toward God, but with such a measure of discretion and learning as might qualify him for the due discharge of the office of a missionary." When he went to London and met the Committee of the Christian Knowledge Society, the President in addressing him upon his duties and labours in prospect said, among other things: "In Mr. Kiernander, this Society, highly glory, accounting him worthy of every commendation, praising God for having been pleased to send them such a servant of His, so great a friend to religion, and of such a generous disposition; worn out by his continual labours, yet still of a cheerful and courageous mind, strengthened by long experience." We think this testimony to Mr. Kiernander is justified by the story of the labours carried on by him to this time. Mr. Carne has, however, we regret to say, fastened upon Mr. Kiernander at this very period the charge of neglecting his work and living like the world. Were this true, it is impossible Mr. Kiernander could have done what he did. The two things are so inconsistent with one another. The earnest and zealous manner in which he had pursued his work from the first, its steady progress and increasing success, speak in the highest terms of his fidelity. Mr. Carne also represents that the arrival of a colleague (a fact which he puts twelve years after its proper date) was regarded as an insult and a disgrace. A disgrace! Why, Mr. Kiernander had pleaded

again and again with the Society for fifteen years for a coadjutor. Mr. Carne says, "he felt his arrival exquisitely!" He did, indeed, though in a different sense, and rejoiced over it. He thanked God and took courage, for he trusted now, that if he himself were called away, his flock would not suffer. On Mr. Diemer's landing, Mr. Kiernander took him into his own house, where he remained till he married. He proved himself an active missionary, was soon able to preach in English, and occasionally visited Chinsurah and preached in German. Meanwhile, in order to make the mission as efficient as possible, Mr. Kiernander pulled down his house near the Church, and rebuilt it on such a scale, that it would be large enough for two missionaries, as he designed that the Church, school-room, and mission-house should be near each other. About the same time he built for himself a garden-house at Bhowanipore, which he called Saron Grove. It is worthy of notice that after various changes, this house has again become the home of a missionary: for it is here, the London Missionary Society has its Christian Institution. Native Christian girls there read a Bengali translation of the word of God, a book which Mr. Kiernander never saw. A native church meets for worship, and hundreds of lads are taught in the English language, science, literature and Christian truth. What would not the builder of that house have given to see what our eyes behold, even in *one* missionary station, at this time. How much more would he have rejoiced to see in Calcutta, that vast impression made by religious truth upon the native population, the beginning of which is justly attributable to his own unassisted labours!

With an increased number of labourers, the mission continued to prosper. Fifteen Hindus and two Musalmans were baptized, and twenty-one Romanists received into the congregation in 1775. Amongst the Hindus was Gones Dás, the Persian Interpreter to the Supreme Court. This intelligent native had visited England, had seen much of Christianity there, and become well acquainted with its leading truths. After his appointment to the Supreme Court on its establishment in 1774, he frequently attended the Mission Church, and at length determined to profess Christianity. He was baptized in June 1775 by the name of Robert. His sponsors were Mrs. Chambers, senior, Sir Robert Chambers and Mr. Naylor. At his baptism we see an instance, and we shall see others presently, of persons in the higher walks of society avowing their attachment to spiritual religion. Not that they do honour to Christianity by so doing; for Christianity is their own brightest ornament. But it is pleasing, at a time when

religion was unfashionable, when coldness, formality, and worldliness were so common, to see those whose station society respects, not ashamed of that faith which they had in heart embraced: "Not many wise, not many noble are called." But a few are, and well is it for the world, when amidst the darkness which society often exhibits, some are found as lights in the world; proving by their example that religion, far from preventing men from enjoying the good of this life, is profitable to them in enabling them better to discharge its duties.

The catalogue of Indian worthies, whose excellence was displayed among the heathenism of last century, is not a small one. Several of the Governors of Fort St. David and Madras, Sir Robert Chambers, and his excellent brother Mr. William Chambers, Mr. Charles Grant, Sir John Shore, Mr. C. Weston, Mr. Udny and others, were not only esteemed upright men in their worldly calling, but exerted themselves for the promotion of religion. They saw in it not the firebrand which others deemed it, but the restorer of peace and spiritual health to the heathen. They freely avowed their conviction, and hence the cause of missions found in them real friends.

Besides the case of Gones Dás above mentioned, many other particular instances of conversion are given in the Society's reports. We should have been glad to transfer them to these pages, but from want of space must direct the reader who wishes further details to the valuable and interesting history by Mr. Hough. In a letter to the Society, Mr. Diemer mentions two or three facts which furnish illustrations of the condition of the native mind in Calcutta at that day, and which may be well contrasted with present views and practice. Amongst them he relates the following: "The other day the leg of one of their bulls was broken. The beast was immediately surrounded by many hundred people, and the Brahmans, especially, were very busy and much concerned for the bull: some brought him food, others medicine, and others ropes to remove him to a dry place. Thus was the sacred bull carried away with all possible care, and every method tried to recover him." In 1776 the mission had an accession of twenty-six heathen adults and forty-nine Romanists: in the English congregation there were 148 communicants, in the native, 105. The school had eighty-eight scholars, not reckoning many who had just left. During the ten years from 1766 to 1776 there had been added to the mission 405 members, including the children.

About this time, Mr. Kiernander, at his own expense, enclosed a piece of land which he had previously set apart for a burial ground. He also erected seventeen houses for widows and

other poor of the mission congregation. Two legacies, amounting to nearly 1,500 Rupees, had been put at his disposal for the poor, and these he invested in the public securities as the necleus of a permanent fund for their benefit. The alms of the Church were devoted to the same object.

The mission had been very prosperous hitherto, but, in the vicissitudes to which earthly things are subject. those placed over it now became unfit for duty. Mr. Diemer became consumptive, and he was compelled to retire for a twelvemonth to Chinsurah. He had recently married the daughter of Mr. Charles Weston, so well known for his consistent piety and unbounded liberality. Mrs. Diemer, like her father, was eminent in piety, and sought with a truly missionary spirit to be a fellow helper with her husband in the work of the Lord. Previous to her marriage she was very useful amongst the Romanists at Bandel, and during her stay in Calcutta was greatly beloved by the flock at the Mission Church. Mr. Bento was often sick and laid aside from labour : and at length Mr. Kiernander also lost his sight. Mr. Carne draws us a very striking picture of his condition. He tells us "he soon sat solitary in his spacious chambers . . . all was taken save the converse of Da Costa and Hanson." The very quotations contained in Mr. Carne's work show that Da Costa had died seven years before, and that Mr. Hanson had not been engaged at all in the charge of the mission. Mr. Carne has quite misunderstood the position of affairs, as further details will show. Mr. Kiernander at first could preach, but was eventually obliged to abstain from it. His eldest son, Robert, who had come out with Mr. Diemer, and was now about twenty years of age, had from the time of his arrival assisted in the school : and it was judged best by Mr. Chambers and others that, during the present weak state of the mission, he should read prayers and a sermon in his father's place. Application for help was made, at the same time, to Tranquebar, and two missionaries came from thence successively to Calcutta to take charge of the native congregation ; first M. Kœnig, afterwards M. Gerlach, whom the Rev. D. Brown describes as a man of true piety and great learning. Mr. Ramalbete continued to officiate as catechist. He was a very devoted labourer, and showed the sincerity of his attachment to the mission, by doing its work amidst the severest privations. These various efforts to carry on the duties of the mission were not in vain. The congregation continued to increase and improve. A short notice of it at this period occurs in the life of Schwartz and may be quoted. Schwartz had heard

from Mr. W. Chambers concerning it, and wrote in reply: "It is cheering to reflect on the externally devout behaviour of the congregation. O may the spirit of Jesus come on them like a rain, that the Bengal desert may become a fertile soil and fruitful field of the Lord!" In 1777, seventy-four were added; in 1778, seventy-five; in 1779 and 1780, ninety-five, and in 1781 there was an increase of thirty, amongst whom were eight heathen.

An event which took place in 1780, though not immediately connected with this history, is worthy of mention, as it illustrates the state of things at that period. On Friday, March 24th, an awful fire occurred in Bow Bazar. It extended southward, caught even the Ján Bazar and went up to Kálinga. *Fifteen thousand* straw houses were burnt down, and 190 persons suffocated in the flames. This fire is described as "the largest that was ever seen in Calcutta." Thousands were rendered houseless and died; especially children, from exposure. Other fires took place near the same spot in the following month:—

In May 1781, Mr. Kiernander recovered his sight. The surgeon of an Indiaman removed the cataract from which he suffered, and he was able to see with the help of glasses. Mr. Diemer's health, too, somewhat improved, and he again took charge of the school. In Mr. Kiernander's report to the Society, it is noticed, as an extraordinary thing, that Lady Coote took great interest in the mission, and, during a short stay in Calcutta, regularly attended the Mission Church. He adds, that her good example had produced a beneficial effect upon others. Next year, six adult heathen were baptized; the English communicants amounted to 149, the Portuguese to 109. Mr. Kiernander also completed the printing of the Portuguese Prayer Book.

In 1783, Mr. Robert Kiernander married Miss Morris, the daughter of Mr. F. Morris, formerly the Company's Standing Counsel in the old Mayor's Court. She was a young lady of pious deportment, and all her subsequent history exhibits prudence, generosity and consistency of conduct. A lakh of rupees left her by her father was settled upon her and her children. On his marriage, Mr. R. Kiernander gave a donation of 3,000 rupees to the mission poor-fund already mentioned; and Mr. Kiernander gave 1,000. About the same time the Rev. W. Hulse, Sir Eyre Coote's chaplain, presented 500 rupees to the mission. This year the labours of the mission were carried on without interruption in both congregations, and seventeen heathen of different castes were baptized. Mr. Diemer's health, however, compelled him to return to Europe.

It was in 1783 that the Moravians arrived to commence a mission in Bengal, which was, however, soon abandoned ; and in the same year the Military Orphan Asylum was founded on the proposal of Captain Kirkpatrick.

Let us pause for a moment to consider what had been the state of European society for several years previous to this, observing at the outset, that one proof of its improvement, was the readiness with which the above proposal was taken up. We have already remarked that at first Europeans in Calcutta were comparatively few, and that the habits of society were comparatively simple. In trade, however, honesty was not the golden rule by which plans and efforts were regulated ; and in this the civilians in the service set a most pernicious example. The love of money grew as it was fed, and it became the ambition of all to be rich speedily. The appearance of society soon changed. The money unfairly acquired was squandered in many instances without thought. Hospitality was practised by all ; but dinners soon became "sumptuous." Extravagance was introduced into household expenditure ; luxury and indolence got a firm footing at the presidency ; and the young men especially ran into "excesses of dissipation." Ladies were ambitious of exhibiting fine dresses and jewellery : gentlemen were proud of their equipage ; balls, races, theatrical displays and revels, with their attendant scandal, became common. But this was not all. Numerous vices, the offspring and companions of these things, followed in their train Drinking and gambling had many votaries ; and drinking and gambling led to quarrels and duels. With few ladies at the settlement, society in general was most profligate, and in this Hastings and Francis led the way. If such was the case in London, where princes of the blood royal set the example, and the manners of the aristocracy were debauched in the extreme, what could be expected in a foreign and distant settlement ? The moral aspect of Calcutta was like its physical. Noisome tanks and odours bred disease and death to the body. But the many active vices of the age bred far more disease and ruin for the soul. This was the practice of society ; and its opinions on religion were no better. Though profest infidels were few, a general disregard was felt toward all religion ; the Sabbath was openly violated to a fearful extent ; and God's law knowingly broken. It seemed as though eternity was utterly forgotten in the pleasures and pursuits of time.

These facts exhibit to us the painful position in which Mr. Kiernander was placed. He lived when Calcutta society was

in its very worst state. He was not surrounded by faithful companions, who sympathised with his labours, gave him their help, joined in his rejoicings, and bore with him his trials. But like Abdiel, he stood almost alone, "faithful among the faithless." He was even in a worse position; for while he preached the truth of the Bible to Romanists and the heathen, his fellow Europeans were defying all the laws of religion in their wicked conduct. Such practices had a most discouraging influence upon the missionary's labour. If they be not taken into account, we cannot fully realise Mr. Kiernander's work and appreciate his difficulties. His testimony for the truth amidst such irreligion was faithful and truly useful in its results. As he continued to preach to the English congregation, we notice with pleasure that it greatly improved. The number of communicants on the opening of the Church was eighty-five; but these increased gradually to 162, not reckoning the removals by death and other causes every year. At the same time Mr. Kiernander grathered around him a small number of men, such as those that have been mentioned, who were earnestly desirous of promoting the cause of religion. Some of them susequently engaged in translating the New Testament. It would seem that whatever good men there were in Calcutta, attached themselves to the Mission Church. It is said of the Rev. D. Brown, that when he arrived in 1786, "he found in Calcutta a small body of pious Christians, and in a course of years had the happiness of discovering that in hidden retreats there were unthought of individuals, living the life of faith on the Son of God, and some who, in utmost privacy, exerted themselves to stem the torrent of evil around them by a good example in their own families." Much of this good may, we think, be justly traced to Mr. Kiernander's missionary efforts. But society in general showed its improvement too. The English in Calcutta, as we learn from many testimonies, were always liberal in giving: but after his labours their liberality appears still more conspicuous. The subscriptions for the Cathedral in 1784 amounted to 1½ lakhs of Rupees. Large subscriptions were also given on the establishment of the Military Orphan Society in 1783; on that of the Free School Society in 1789, and of the Native Hospital in 1792. More decided religious improvement of every kind took place under the Rev. D. Brown and his friends, whose labours immediately followed Mr. Kiernander's. This improvement has continued to the present day; and will, we trust, never cease.

To return to the Mission. In 1785, after long sickness, Mr. Bento died, and thus Mr. Kiernander was left, at the age of

seventy-four and unfit for active duties, to take charge of the mission alone. He engaged a teacher, Mr. Franzel, for the Portuguese congregation, and gave as much assistance as he could. He wished to return to Europe with his son, and had expressed his wish to the Society; but as he could not leave the mission without a head, he remained. During the year, nineteen heathen were baptized and ten Papists received. In the English congregation were 162 communicants, and in the Native 126. In giving this report, Mr. Kiernander remarks with pleasure that the mission had been wonderfully cared for by God's good providence, so that the school and congregation had been all along regularly served and attended to as far as possible, and no part of duty had been set aside. In 1786, he baptized twenty heathens, and received fifteen Papists. Writing of these things to the Society, he observes, that the increase in the congregations had not been so great as he could have wished, but expresses his thankfulness that the duties of both had been uninterruptedly attended to. He says that the natives were beginning to understand Christianity better: and, in a subsequent letter, expresses his conviction that "a glorious prospect was opening in the country for the success of the Gospel." That prospect was indeed brightening, and of it we may judge from the progress of his own efforts. During the ten years, from 1776 to 1786, the increase to his Portuguese and Native congregation was 518. On a careful examination we find that from 1758 to 1786, a period of twenty-eight years, he baptized at least 209 adult heathen, and received into the congregation 300 Papists. Of this number of heathen we are particularly informed; others are doubtless included in the report of those years wherein the origin of the converts is not specified. Two hundred and nine heathen, the majority of whom were Hindus and Natives of Bengal! When we read these things, let us join in those thanks which Mr. Kiernander himself so appropriately renders for the success of his work.

Next year, the year 1787, his part in the Calcutta Mission closed. Mr. Kiernander became bankrupt; and the sheriff in seizing his property, seized, among other things, on the Mission Church, house, school and burying-ground. The circumstances under which the bankruptcy occurred are not widely known. Asiaticus says, "at the time they could not be accounted for, and must now remain a mystery." We trust, however, to clear up the mystery in a measure, and that in a way somewhat satisfactory to the missionary's character. The family papers give the following account, and the story which Bishop Corrie heard

accords with it. Mr. Robert Kiernander seems to have had charge of his father's property during his three years' blindness. An indication of this is found in *Hickey's Gazette* for 1780. He was very young and inexperienced, and was drawn by various parties, in accordance with the spirit of the times, into schemes for making himself rich. Of these interested parties some were natives. In 1782 he especially began to speculate in building houses, then thought to be a sure investment for money. Ready-money was necessary to a considerable amount, and this was raised by bonds. To these bonds Mr. Kiernander put his name as security; and thus the safety of his own property depended upon the success of his son's projects. Mr. Kiernander had in his hand 80,000 rupees belonging to a ward of his. The ward married a worthless attorney, who at once demanded his wife's fortune, and refused to wait for it. It was shown distinctly that if he waited three months, all the houses, finished and unfinished, with the materials, could be sold, and that after paying the above sum with all other debts, two lakhs and a half would be realized for Mr. Kiernander's estate. He still refused, other creditors were alarmed, and the whole property was attached by the Sheriff. It was sold at a ruinous loss. The mission property which cost Rs. 1,00,000 was valued at only 10,000; the house at Bhowanipore, which cost 30,000, was sold to Mr. Charles Weston for 5,000, and so on. No writ was issued against the person of Mr. Kiernander and his son. But as it was expected, they left the whole of their property (except that settled on Mrs. R. Kiernander) in the hands of their creditors and retired to Chinsurah.

Mr. Carne amongst other statements, unjustly reflecting upon Mr. Kiernander's character, attributes these losses to his extravagance. He has said that Mr. Kiernander neglected his missionary work, mixed with the world, adopted their customs, set up a barouche and four, and gave large dinner parties. With respect to his work, his constant correspondence with the C. K. Society, the regular returns from the mission, the high testimony borne to him by the Society as late as 1773, the fact that his duties were never neglected, that many friends on the spot (and who could judge better than they of his labours?) gave him funds for the mission, that the English congregation, and the number of good men around him, continued to increase; all these are evidence which lead to an opposite conclusion, and show that even to old age, the interests of religion were those about which the missionary was employed. Had he not cared for his flock, he could have left them, but he himself, when seventy-five years old, said that

he would not leave them without a pastor. Asiaticus says, "his zeal was great," and all that we read of his doings, tends to prove it. With respect to the charge of worldliness, we can state distinctly, that though he was a wealthy man, there is no proof that his wealth was abused. On the contrary, it was employed to further the cause of religion. Shall we speak again in his defence: of the charity school whose children he supported; of the gifts bestowed on the poor; of the church, the school-room the mission-house that he built, and the burial-ground which he set apart for his people? The customs of society must also be taken into the reckoning. There were in his time no hotels for strangers, and hospitality was general and proverbial In a state of society like this [not unfrequently seen in mofussil stations to this day] all classes were much mixed up together; and, in point of fact, almost all Europeans were of the higher class, being civilians and military men If Mr. Kiernander, a wealthy man, and possessing many excellent qualifications to make him esteemed, *had* mixed in general society, we do not see that *merely* on that account he should be blamed; all depends upon the tone of his conduct and the spirit in which that intercourse was carried on. We have positive testimony upon this point. A contemporary of his has stated distinctly, that "he lived modestly, and indulged in little more than the expenses befitting a respectable station; his hospitalities were not displayed in ostentatious banquets, but in a table at which the friendless scholar, the needy ecclesiastic, the disappointed civilian, and the unsuccessful merchant were welcome guests." Asiaticus in order to satisfy himself about Mr. Kiernander made many inquiries within three years after his death, and puts his character in a most favorable light, adding "after most mature deliberation and minute examination, I am not conscious of having made any misrepresentation." In answer to his inquiries, the gentlemen at Chinsurah who knew him well said: "Had he been capable of guile, he could not have displayed that serenity which always beamed from his countenance; his composed visage bespoke the tranquillity of a soul conscious of its own purity." The worst thing which Asiaticus hopes can be said of him is, that "with Swedish vanity he drove a carriage and four." Here, however, we have evidence again to the contrary; and find the son's ostentation reflected upon the father. There is distinct proof from Mr. Kiernander's own papers that the carriage and four belonged to his son. "After his marriage he [Mr. Robert Kiernander] kept up a proper establishment and equipage." As collateral

proof we may notice that in a passage in *Hickey's Gazette*, Mr. Robert Kiernander is styled "the famous Phaeton-driver."

The real evil seems to be this. Mr. Robert Kiernander after returning to Bengal, engaged in missionary work, taught in the school, read prayers, and sometimes even preached. But after this, and even while it was going on, he engaged in mercantlle speculations. It was really he who was guilty of what is laid to his father's charge. Let good testimony have its due weight; and we do not fear that Mr. Carne's unjust remarks, given without authority, will fall unheeded. Mr. Kiernander, the missionary, however, was not faultless. He encouraged his son, and continued him in spiritual labour, while he was seeking the world's wealth. More than this: he signed the bonds and thus put in jeopardy his property and usefulness; he may have done it also with the hope of adding to his own wealth. The Rev. John Owen, who was a chaplain in Calcutta at the very time of which we write, afterwards addressing a missionary in London upon his work in India, amongst other things said, 'I knew two missionaries of excellent learning, and in other respects of unexceptionable character, who were drawn aside by the suggestions of interested natives into such vexations as ended only with their lives." One of these missionaries we have no doubt was a missionary at Madras, the other Mr. Kiernander. While, therefore, we maintain that as Mr. Owen says, he was "in other respects of unexceptionable character," in encouraging the schemes of his son during the last three or four years of his missionary life, he acted injudiciously. A missionary's character should be irreproachable. His work is spiritual and has a spiritual aim. He cannot then be too careful. Many eyes watch him, and are ready to detect any inconsistency. Engagement in worldly concerns can never do him good, and always may do him harm. "No man that warreth, entangleth himself with the affairs of this life, that he may please him who hath chosen him to be a soldier." They that carry on spiritual warfare are subject to the same law. Mr. Kiernander, we think, was wrong, but let us remember, he was an old man, his son was entering upon life, and in Calcutta money-getting at that day was the one grand object of all classes. Let us remember these things and pray "Lead us not into temptation."

The church, school and burying-ground were seized, we have said, by the Sheriff, and valued at 10,000 rupees. They were at once redeemed for this sum by Charles Grant, Esq., who had recently come from Malda and joined the mission congregation. By him they were invested in trust for the use

of the mission, and given over to the Christian Knowledge Society for this purpose. The first three trustees were Mr. Grant, Mr. W. Chambers, and the Rev. David Brown. Under the superintendence of these three Christian gentlemen, the missionary work was continued as before, the Portuguese and native congregation being under the charge of Mr. Franzel. Its remaining history is soon told. An urgent appeal was made to the Society to send out one or two missionaries ; but however willing they were to adopt the suggestion, they could not find men. Two missionaries indeed arrived, but neither remained long enough to be of any service to the native congregation. It therefore languished on , the changes which it underwent did not increase its numbers ; while death and removals diminished them every year. Even in 1804, however, there remained a small remnant, taught by a catechist, under the superintendence of the Rev. D. Brown. The English congregation found many friends, amongst them Sir John Shore ; and under Mr. Brown's faithful preaching, received many additions of men truly converted to God. But the native church became extinct, and thus the first Protestant Mission to Bengal, which flourished well during thirty years, passed away, leaving no trace of its existence behind. But such we fear will always be the case with a mission supported by individuals and not by an embodied church. In the labours we have now been detailing, we must, in justice, consider Mr. Kiernander as acting almost alone. He came of his own accord to Calcutta, he received but a small amount of support from the Society in England, and collected most of his subscriptions in Calcutta itself. Indeed, had the C. K. Society wished to devote large sums to the Calcutta mission, they could not have done so. Their report show that their contributions were but small, and given by a few individuals. Out of these they had to send supplies to Madras and Cudalore. Far from proving her missionary zeal, the Established Church, as a body, left the mission to languish : then the missionary was old and weak, did little in answer to his appeals and at length " disheartened," abandoned it altogether. It is a remarkable fact, that notwithstanding so many German missionaries went to London and met the Society on their appointment, not a single Episcopal missionary (as far as we can find,) came out to India during the whole century. Yes, there was one, and he, a few months after his arrival in Calcutta, forsook his work to become a chaplain. All the missionaries who came, whether to Bengal or Southern India, were men from Germany, and chiefly Halle students. They have the honor

of beginning these missions undivided. The English Church, though she gave her money (and excellent and devoted were the men who sustained this branch of the cause), hitherto withheld her men: and it remained for men of other churches, and without the prestige of rank, to be the first *Englishmen*, who from a genuine missionary spirit in the middle classes of English society, set themselves to establish missions in Bengal by means of the Bengali language.

But to conclude Mr. Kiernander's personal history. We have said that on the seizure of his property, he left every thing to his creditors, and went with his son and his son's family to Chinsurah. He was received very kindly by an excellent lady there, Mrs. Spiegle, and lived in her house now destroyed, which stood in the garden at present belonging to G. Harklots, Esq. His son with his family lived near the south-west bastion of the fort. Up to the time of his coming to Chinsurah, religion had been but little attended to. There had been no regular chaplain at the Dutch settlement: only a reader was employed, who, on the Sabbath, read a sermon and the Dutch Psalms. On Mr. Kiernander's arrival, therefore, the Governor, Mr Titsingh, appointed him chaplain, on a salary of fifty rupees per month. Mr. Carne tells us in very feeling terms of Mr. Kiernander's impoverished condition amidst the picturesque beauties of Chinsurah. But we regret to say, he is again at fault. In the wreck of the family fortunes, the lakh of rupees settled on Mrs. Robert Kiernander was of course saved. This was invested in houses and yielded a good annual income, probably not less than 800 rupees per month, considering the high interest of those days. Upon this, the whole family lived very confortably. Mr. Kiernander was fond of botany; and at Chinsurah had two gardens wherein he delighted to cultivate his favorite science. In 1790 Mr. Robert Kiernander died, leaving his widow with the care of six children, five boys and one girl. Upon his death she removed once more to Calcutta, with her mother Mrs. Morris, her sister and her children, and there endeavoured, in the most exemplary manner, to educate the latter. Some of them are living in Calcutta to this day. The old man, however, remained, provided with many comforts suitable to his age by his affectionate daughter-in-law. He was not alone, as he had many friends at Chinsurah. One of them who is still living, himself an eminent servant of God, cherishes a most pleasing remembrance of Mr. Kiernander, and speaks of him with the deepest respect. He often visited Calcutta, sometimes spending weeks together

with his grandchildren, and they in return visited him at Chinsurah. He was always welcomed in Calcutta by his excellent successor in the Mission Church, the Rev. D. Brown. In 1793 that church was enlarged and improved ; a new chancel to the eastward being added. Mr. Kiernander was invited to be present, and to administer the Lord's Supper on the occasion. He did so, and was rejoiced to find so large an attendance. Mr. Brown, in writing of the circumstance to the Society in London, spoke of Mr. Kiernander's poverty, and the Society in return very kindly sent him a present of £40. About this time Mr. Kiernander's second son, who came out with his brother in 1775, and was an officer in the Company's service, died at Chinsurah. His voyage to India is mentioned in the Society's reports, and of his death we have heard from a living witness. In 1795 Chinsurah was taken by the English, and Mr. Kiernander became a prisoner of war. He, however, remained at liberty, and the salary given him by the Dutch was continued during the period of English rule also by Mr. Commissioner Birch. But he was growing weaker and more infirm. Next year he was eighty-five years of age, and being unable to discharge the duties of his office, he resigned it and left Chinsurah altogether. He came to his daughter-in-law's house at the close of the year and was welcomed by the family most affectionately. The house in which they lived was the one in which he had formerly resided. It was situated on the south side of Camac Street ; and was called by him Beth Saron or Saron House, in contrast to Saron Grove his other house at Bhowanipore which, since his failure, had been occupied by his good friend Mr. Weston. The family lived in a very retired manner, Mrs. Kiernander being intent chiefly on her childern's education. In this, the aged missionary now assisted, superintending their tutor, who seems to have been very irregular. He often attended the Mission Church, and was constantly visited by its worthy minister. It is very gratifying to see the affectionate interest Mr. Brown took in his aged friend, and how the trials of the Mission Church were shared by them in common. He spent much time also with Mr. Weston now sixty-seven years of age, in whose conversion he had been instrumental, and whose pious daughter had been the wife of his brother missionary. Occasionally he paid a visit to Chinsurah.

This was the quiet even tenor of his life during its last three years. His spirit, chastened by afflictions, had greatly profitted by them. His heart was full of gratitude and over-

flowing with love. His character was just such as we love to see an old man exhibit, and which none can bear but he whose treasure is laid up in heaven. His fortune was gone, he had had many trials, but he was full of peace. Strange it is that such trials should be met with such calmness! But it is the Christian law "all things work together for good, to them that love God:" and hence every child of God can say, "I have learned in whatsoever state I am, therewith to be content." This is a practical effect of practical religion, and show that there is something which a Christian can value more than wealth; something which he may possess in poverty: some thing which wealth can never buy.

An affecting but substantial proof of this, once in Mr. Kiernander's possession, is now extant. We have before us his almanac for 1797 and 1798, written with his own hand. The remarkable days, the church festivals, &c., are all noted in it, and at the end is recorded a list of the public occurrences in the year, put in one after the other as they occurred. In this diary are found many little notices of his daily life and that of the family. We make a few extracts from it that the reader may mark the spirit which animated him at the close of life.

The almanac for 1797 opens with the following prayers:

"O Lord my God, imprint deeply and daily in my heart

THIS DAILY MEMORANDUM!

That I read often and meditate frequently on the WORD of the Lord under fervent prayer for illumination from the Lord;

That I be always resigned and contented with the disposals of DIVINE PROVIDENCE;

That I may always observe a propriety of behaviour and preserve my conscience pure and just;

That I may submit to that which the Lord has ordained;

That I may acquit myself faithfully in the DUTIES of my employment;

That I may do every thing in my power to render myself as universally useful as possible;

That I may always eschew evil and do good;

That I may always remember my latter end and my going out of this world, and my entrance into the spiritual world;

That I may never forget that there can be no repentance after death: and therefore that it be my daily endeavour properly to qualify myself for a happy life in the blessed state of the spiritual world before I go hence, and

That I may carry an Angelical mind with me out of this world.

May such be always my inward state of mind!

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My daily general prayer; Our Father which art, &c.

Jehovah God-man and man-God Jesus Christ. Thou art our Lord and

our God; Thou art our Father, our Creator and Preserver, our Guide, our present helper in all need, our all in all, have mercy upon us. Create in us a new and a clean heart, renew a right spirit within us, incline our will to all what is good, enlighten our understanding to perceive the truth of thy Holy word; teach us, and lead us and establish us in the way of a willing obedience to all Thy Holy and good commandments through life and to our life's end.

Bless us and all our relations; bless all Thy children upon earth; recall and bring in to the way of truth all those who have erred and are deceived; give grace to all infidels that they may turn to Thee, repent, believe, and be saved. And further us all in the right way through this world: and out of this world into Thy heavenly kingdom, for the sake of Thy holy and glorious name.

O Lord our God and Saviour Jesus Christ, help, save and deliver us from all our own sinful, selfish, worldly and carnal snares and entanglings, that for such deliverance we may praise, honour and thank Thee ever. Prepare, qualify and sanctify our souls to Thy service; Ah, to Thy service in time and eternity! O Lord our God hear graciously our prayer, and add to us all and every grace and blessing that we want, and have mercy upon us now and for ever for Thy own name's sake. Amen."

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The following are also extracts:—

Jan. 2. The Tutor, Mr. John Turner, began the school with the children.
" 3. Mr. Turner having business, absented himself to-day.
" 6. Mr. Weston visited me.
" 9. Letter to Christian W. Gericke by favour of Captain Hogan, Commander of the *Marquis Cornwallis*.
" 10. Mrs. Mitchell visited us.
" 14. I visited Mrs. Green who is sick with a fever.
" 17. I wrote a letter for Mrs. Green to Sir Robt. Chambers.
" 19. Mr. Weston visited me.
" 25 I and the family dined with Mr. Weston [ at Bhowanipore. ]
" 27. I feel my weakness: the mortal body is gradually decaying.
" 30. The Rev. Mr Blanshard is preparing to go to England upon an American ship in about a fortnight, worth five lakhs. Mr. Owen, two and half lakhs. Mr. Johnson, three and a half lakhs.

[Note.—Mr. Blanshard had been in Calcutta twenty-three years, Mr. Owen ten years, Mr. Johnson thirteen years. It will be seen from this that the chaplains, as well as other officers last century, made money-making an object. And in it we find another proof that this was the grand evil of the time. Mr. Owen, too, was a very good man. In the address to the Society in London, already quoted, after remarking about the two missionaries who fell, he adds: "Surely these should have known that to a clergyman who finds food and raiment in his profession, there can be no lawful gain out of it!!" Shall we blame the missionary and not the chaplain?

Jan. 31. The Governor-General, Sir John Shore, and the Commander-in-Chief are gone up in the country.
Feb. 1. There seems to be a disturbance approaching above in the country: the army is recruiting and augmenting.
" 6. Letter to the Rev. D. Brown and his answer. Mr. Wade is expected as a missionary if the Bishop will permit it.
" 9. The war that threatened us is finished. Zemaun Shaw is returning to this country.
" 10. Mr. Weston visited me.

Feb. 12. Several ships from Europe, and a good number of soldiers, about 2,000, arrived in the river.
" 16. Letter to Sir R. Chambers at Cossipore.
" 19. For several days my right leg has been swelled, which has caused much pain in walking, as if I had trod upon needles.
" 27. Letter to Chr. W. Gericke and Daniel Ince, by the post The first oratorio was in the new Church, to which 700 Gold Mohurs were subscribed for the Free School, 11,200 S. Rs.
March 1. Mr. Weston visited me.
" 2. I visited the Rev. D Brown.
" 4. I visited Mr. Weston and took my leave of him as he is going up to Chinsurah.
" 9. Letter to J. Prescot with Fox's Book of Martyrs.
" 12. I visited Mrs. Green and wrote a letter for her to her agents.
" 15. To-day Turner is absent.
" 18. Jugol Mali's report. Turner absent on his own business the whole day.
" 20. Turner this afternoon:———————— went home in my Palankeen.
" 21. Turner came at nine and went away at eleven, before I could speak with him ; in the afternoon Turner promised to come regular.
" 25. Turner absent the whole day.
" 27. This day received a letter from Sir Thomas Higgins, date London, 7th August, 1796.
April 1. The heat of the weather is great and makes me very weak. Bodily strength is gone.
" 2. A young woman of the caste Warduga, is desirous to be a Christian, and desires to be baptized.
" 3. As she understands a little of the Portuguese language, I began this morning to instruct her. Turner absent the whole day.
" 7. I baptized Maria, of the Telinga caste, from the coast, about twenty years old.
" 8. Frequent great fires in the Calcutta bazars and straw houses.
" 11. The heat and dryness of this weather must be a heavy burden to others as well as to me, who am now depressed and quite faint.
" 15. The Rev. Mr. Brown is now Senior Chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Limerick the junior, and the Rev. Mr. Buchanan succeeds Mr. L. at Barrackpore
" 15. Letters from Mr. Weston and R. Birch, Esq.
" 24. Turner absented himself on his own business.
May 1. The Governor-General returned from Lucknow to Calcutta.
" 16. Letter to Mr. Gericke and George Parry by the Post.
" 22. Several very great fires have been in the Calcutta suburbs and bazars, whereby many thousands of the poorer sort of Bengalis have been sufferers, and lost all they had.
" 27. Mr. Dumpling visited me and brought me a letter from Mr. Gregorius Herklotz to come to Neelgunje and baptize his daughter.
" 28. Another great fire at the Boitakhana.
" 31. Dr. Roxburgh, Mrs. R., and George their son, paid us a visit.
June 4. I went to Anilpore and baptised Adelheid Antoinette, a daughter of Mynheer Gregorius Herklotz.
" 5. I arrived at Beth Saron at eight in the morning.
" 13. These several days much hurt has been done by lightning. At Short's bazar a brassman's shop, filled with brass pots, was struck by the lightning and consumed in fire, and seven Bengalis in the shop were killed by it.
" 27. I have for some time ago begun to revise my old sermons and to write them fair anew, and now, on this day, the 27th, finished ten sermons.
" 28. Mr. Weston and his family returned here from Chinsurah.
July 2. Mr. W. kindly visited me.

July 6. The Mahometan feast ends, not without murders.
„ 23, The family dined at Mr. Weston's ; I excused myself.
„ 26. I had a great cold, which I caught yesterday ; my great Japan Banyan coat cannot keep me warm.
„ 31. I finished the sixteenth.
August 1. My cold has quite left me, and the swelling in both legs and feet is entirely gone away ; and thanks be to God, I find myself perfectly well.
„ 21, I finished the twentieth.
„ 25. Mrs. Kiernander has a violent headache.
„ 29. The Rev. Mr. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Buchanan paid me a kind visit.
„ 30. I received a letter from Mr. Gericke.
Sept. 18. Turner absent the whole day.
„ 25. Mr. Weston visited me.
„ 26. Turner came in time. Ned had a fall and cut his foot : a very deep wound.
Oct. 12. I had a kind visit by the Rev. Mr. Brown, in company with the Prince of [ ] an officer in the English Military Service.
„ 22. I went from Calcutta to Chinsurah.
„ 23. I visited R Birch, Esq , and the sick Mr. Prescott.
„ 24. I baptised Maria Catharina, Mr. Bogaardt's daughter. I baptized Albertsi Maria, Mr. Botser s daughter.
„ 25. I baptized Christian Augustus. Captain Ethardy's son.
„ 27. I went from Chinsurah to Calcutta.
„ 30. Arrived, the Rev. Mr. W. J. Ringeltaube as the Society's Missionary for the Mission Church.
Nov. 1. The Rev. Mr. Brown and the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube visited me.
„ 3. I sent my picture to the Rev. Mr. Brown and my Portuguese books to the Rev. Mr. Ringletaube.
„ 4. Turner came in good time [so for several days.]
„ 19. I made a trial to go to Church : the joy of my heart was there.
„ 20. Mr. Weston visited me.
„ 22. Mr. Ringeltaube favoured me with his good company at breakfast and dinner, and I received much pleasure from his conversation. May the blessing of God rest on him !
„ 30. I count the days and hours I close my eighty sixth year crowned with Divine Mercy. The goodness and mercy of the Lord my God is every morning renewed. O my soul, praise the Lord for ever.
Dec. 1. 1797 / 1711 / ——— / 86 } By the mercy of the Lord, with a perfect state of health, I enter into my eighty-seventh year of age. O Lord be thou my life and my guide through this world into Heaven.
„ 3. I received the Holy Sacrament in the Mission Church : S. D. Gloria.
„ 29. I visited Mr. Ringeltaube in the Mission Church House.
„ 31. Mr Weston visited me. The whole year is gone. Time doth not stand and wait for us, but is uninterruptedly going. We must therefore make use, and good use of it, whilst we have it.

1798.
Jan. 2. Finished my address to the Roman Catholics.
„ 8. Letter to the Rev. D. Brown ; and sent for his perusal, the address to the Roman Catholics. Letter from Mr. Brown, who is of opinion that the circulation will be difficult on account of the prevailing apathy to read any thing of Religion.
„ 11. Mr. Le Beck paid me a kind visit ; he is from Tranquebar. and now returns to that place. He has studied at Upsala, and is fond of travelling over the world, &c.
„ 12. My cough has now lasted these eight days.
„ 15, Mr. Weston visited me and sent me a dose of Ipecacuanha.
„ 16. Mr. Weston visited me. I am much better.
„ 26. I have now no cough and am, thanks to God, well.
Feb. 9. I went from Calcutta to Chinsurah. Letter to Mrs. Kiernander.

Feb. 10. I visited Overbeck and Terraneau.
" 13. I visited Mr. Birch, junior. Mr. Bowman visited me.
" 14. Doctor Geissler and Mr. Verboon visited me.
" 16. I dined with Mr. Dolle. I visited Seven Biggas.
" 18. I preached German, Luke 22, 19. I baptized Peter Theodorus Gerhardus Overbeck. Do. Wm Alexander Smith. Do. Carolina Terraneau.
" 20. I went from Chinsurah to Calcutta. All well. S. D. Gloria.
" 22. Little Edward maketh now a beginning to go to school to Mr. Turner : and so they are all five boys in a good train of education ; and little Charlotte is improvised with me, and thus all six in a good way.
March 4. I dined with Mr. Weston and took my leave of him as he is going up to Chinsurah for some time.
" 9. Received the news that the Rev. Mr. Schwartz was departed from this terrestrial to the spiritual world.
" 11. Many in Calcutta are sick ; but thanks be to God, all in my family are very well, and I am in perfect health, though weak by old age and its attendant infirmity.
" 21. Letter to Mr. Ringeltaube. He sent me the Society's account for 1876.
" 22, 23 & 24. I have with much pleasure read the account of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge for 1796, and observed the glorious instances of the good Divine Providence, which gives support to my depressed spirit, and maketh me rejoice in the good Providence of God.
" 26. Letter to Mr. Ringeltaube and returned the account of the Society for 1796.

[NOTE.—This letter is extant, and we would gladly reprint it. It is full of Christian reflections upon the work of the Society and on the goodness of God which, during all the century, had raised up such men for the Indian mission, provided such support, and so filled the schools with educated natives. Mr. K. declares it, in his view, the high vocation of England to enlighten India, and expects that all the English nation will join together to form a Society for Propagating Christianity in the East Indies. One thing we quote in relation to his work : I was by *old age, fatigue, and other vexations* quite exhausted and under the necessity of leaving my post."]

April 8. Now near 400 children of the Free School were at Church to-day. Calcutta has lost nothing by the cessation of the poor Mission School. This is a blessing of God upon the good endeavours of the Rev. Mr. Brown.
June 4. At 4 o'clock I went from Calcutta to Anilpore and baptized the son of Mr. G. Herklotz, Gerhard Andreas.
" 6 Turner came, and was dismissed.
" 25 & 26 These two days Mr. Chapman [the new Tutor] did absent himself.
July 1. Now seven months are past of my eighty-seventh year. Blessed be the Lord the happy eternity draws near !
" 4. I finished revising, writing fair, the twenty-eighth Sermon.
" 12. Mr. Chapman absented himself this day. (The same many days)
" 17. Engaged Mr. John Bland as a Tutor to the six children at Rs. 100 per month.
" 24. The Rev. D. Brown visited me. We had a conference about Mr. Ringeltaube, &c. Conclusion ; to leave him to his own will to act, to stay, or go away, as he thinks proper.

[NOTE.—Mr. Ringeltaube was dissatisfied with his salary, and wrote to England about it: before the reply could arrive, be determined to leave the mission.]

July 27. Mr. Weston paid me a kind visit.
August. 1. Soli Deo Gloria! I enter into the Ninth Month of my eighty-seventh year in perfect health.
„ 16. Ringeltaube is returned to Europe.
Sept. 3. Joseph Harris began to teach the children as tutor.
October 6. First advertisement for printing the well meant address [to the Roman Catholics]
„ 7. The pain in my right eye continues the same.
„ 28 & 29. My eye remains the same.
Nov. 6. Mr. Weston paid me a visit, about the sun's not setting for fourteen days at Turrow in Lapland.
„ 13. I received a part of the address from the Printing Office.
„ 14. Mr. Michael de Rozario visited me, one given to him.
„ 19. Letter to Rev. David Brown with one well meant address.
„ 30. With this day my eighty-seventh year is ended. I heartily thank Thee, O Lord my God, for all Thy long suffering and patience with my failings, for all Thy love, mercy and blessings.
Dec. 1. This day I entered into my eighty-eighth year of age, and thanks be to my Lord and God, for good health, and for His manifold blessings. May His Commandments be my rule of life, and I His servant for ever.
„ 3. I sent ten packets of the address to Luis Baretto, &c., &c.
„ 6. Letter to Philip D'Cruz, and the address which he angrily returned.
„ 11. I began to make an almanac for the ensuing year 1799.
„ 31. This year is now at an end. But thou, O Lord, shalt endure for ever. Thou art the same, and Thy years have no end. Blessed be the Lord for ever.

The almanac which Mr. Kiernander prepared, he did not live to finish, He had lived long, expecting the coming of the Lord, and at length he was called home, "as a shock of corn fully ripe." On the 28th of April 1799, one of his old flock called to request that Mr. K. would baptize his child. He was desired to come next morning at 7 o'clock. On rising that morning from his bed, Mr. Kiernander suddenly slipped and fell. The fall broke his thigh. Medical skill was of little avail, and after lingering for a few days, he died on the 10th of May, aged eighty-eight years. He was buried in the grave of his second wife in the Mission ground, and the service was read by Rev. D. Brown.

Such was the end of this servant of God. His is an eventful history, and one which, upon his dying bed, he must have viewed with much pleasure, so tender had been the dealings of God's providence towards him. His early training, his studies at Halle, his first charge at Cudalore, his expulsion thence, the way open for a new mission in what was soon the Metropolis of India, its establishment and increasing prosperity for thirty years, his sorrows and his poverty, were the steps through which the Redeemer had let him and

through which his probation had been carried on. He had laboured for nearly fifty years in active missionary life, and in the last mission had received so many converts into the Church of God. Were not these things themes for thankfulness? He had laboured, too, not amongst the great, though some had joined his congregation, but amongst the poor,—the Natives and Portuguese. And shall we not say he was a good soldier of Jesus Christ, and bless God that, in the heathenism of last century in Calcutta, he gave such a witness for truth.

A portrait of Mr. Kiernander formerly existed, and was given by the missionary to Mr. Brown, but it has been lost. An engraving of him, from a painting by Imhoff in 1772, hangs in the Mission or Old Church Rooms, and has the following inscription in German :—

Not in thy cold, Sweeden, no,
On Ganges' bank it is thy lot God's messenger to be !

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# SIR ELIJAH IMPEY.

## By Sir John Kaye, K. C. S I.

*Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey, Knt., first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, Bengal; with anecdotes of Warren Hastings, Sir Philip Francis, Nathaniel Brassey Halhed, Esq., and other contemporaries; compiled from authentic documents, in refutation of the calumnies of the Right Hon'ble Thomas Babington Macaulay, by Elijah Barwell Impey, London: Simpkin and Marshall,* 1846.

* * * * * * *

For more than half a century Sir Elijah Impey has been one of the ogres of Indian history. Warren Hastings, for some time, shared with him—perhaps had the larger share of—the execration of an unenquiring world. But Hastings contrived to outlive his unpopularity. After long years of persecution—persecution which consumed his fortune, destroyed his health, and broke his spirit—the tide turned suddenly in his favor. Public sympathy set in strongly towards the injured statesman. All acknowledged that he had done great things: all knew that he suffered greatly. When the eloquence of Burke and Sheridan, which, for a while, rendered even Hastings himself mistrustful of his own innocence, ceased to vibrate in the ears, to touch the hearts, and to warp the judgments of the community, men began to bethink themselves of the great services he had rendered to his country, to see something noble is his daring, something admirable in the fertility of his resources, and to ask themselves whether these were not extraordinary occasions to palliate or justify his departure from ordinary rules of conduct. But for Impey there were no such pleas to be put forth in extenuation of his alleged errors. He had not saved a great empire. Services he had rendered, but they were not of the brilliant—of the dazzling kind. If evil had been done by Hastings and Impey combined, the former might have acted, nay, doubtless did act, in the heat of a fierce gladiatorial conflict, reputation for reputation, life for life, and he seemingly on the weaker side. But Impey was not a gladiator, but a judge: with the strife of parties he had nothing to do. If he erred in conjunction with Hastings, he erred not in passion, but in deliberation. He was not the originator, but the instrument. If great crimes were committed by the two, Impey must have been the passionless, calculating, sordid tool—a bravo, and yet a judge!

And all this was Impey declared to be. History set its seal on the verdict, nay, rather, history fraudulently endorsed the reckless assertions of the prosecution, for the verdict was on the other side. The denunciations of Sir Gilbert Elliot

became history—the history of the *Annual Register*, under the conduct of the master-prosecutor, Burke. From the *Annual Register*, Mill exhumed the libels, which had lain there some thirty years. He adopted, with little stint, the charges of Sir Gilbert Elliot. For any use made of it by the historian of India, Impey's defence might as well have been never spoken and never published. Other writers, without investigation, followed in the footsteps of Mill; and, in the words of the work before us, "by this most obstinate and wonderful credu-" lity, by the untiring malice of faction, and by the careless-" ness, indolence, presumption, and averseness to research of " public writers—journalists, annalists, reviewers and essayists " —the exploded calumny of sixty years ago has been kept " alive, and outrages and indignities have, at intervals of time, " continued to be heaped upon Sir Elijah's memory." *

And never did calumny run a more successful career. To the unreflecting and unenquiring public Sir Elijah Impey has, during more than half a century, been known only as a corrupt and cruel judge—one who stained the judicial ermine by acts of almost unparalleled turpitude. It was so easy to describe such a character—so easy to understand it. The crimes of the first Chief Justice of Bengal were both in India and in England traditionary. People for the most part knew as much about him as they knew about Blue Beard. He was rather the embodiment of certain qualities than an actual historical personage—the incarnation of judicial baseness as Blue Beard of marital cruelty. It is so pleasant to take things for granted —to adopt a faith without the trouble of enquiry. The criminality of Sir Elijah Impey was a belief, which few people knew how they came by, though all clung to it as tenaciously as to Gospel truth: and when at last Mr. Macaulay emphatically declared, that "no other such judge had dishonored the English ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the tower," he only gave utterance to an opinion which had been for sixty years rooted in the public mind. In that one crushing sentence was embodied the creed of the million, handed down from sire to son. Its enunciation in such unmistakeable terms, brought matters to a crisis. This was the turning point of the fortune of Sir Elijah's reputation. Thousands had gone down to the grave with a rooted faith in his official turpitude—thousands had grown up from youth to manhood, and declined from manhood

* Mr. Impey says, in his *Memoirs of Sir Elijah Impey*, that Mill "seems never so much as to have known of my father's printed defence." This is a mistake. The historian refers to it in a note at page 382, Vol. II., first (4to.) edition.

into grey-haired age clinging to the same convictions. It has been said that every lie has sentence of death written down against it from the day of its birth. A lie cannot live for ever. The sentence may be long before it is put in execution ; it was very long in the case now before us—but the lie *was* destroyed at last.

In the year 1841, there appeared in the *Edinburgh Review* one of the most brilliant articles that had ever adorned that celebrated publication. The subject of this paper was the career of Warren Hastings. Its author, as all the world knew, was Mr. Thomas Babington Macaulay. A short time before, an article from the same fascinating pen, had been devoted to the kindred history of Lord Clive. In India, these glowing articles were perused with even greater avidity than in England. Accustomed as we were to study Indian history in the erudite, but somewhat sterile volumes of Mill, it was refreshing indeed to dwell upon such graphic sketches as these, rife with all the accessories of romance : vivid, picturesque, heart-stirring ; full of incident and of character ; in matter most suggestive, in manner most eloquent. Suddenly, as by the wand of the enchanter, the dry branches of history were clothed with leafy verdure—the barren plain became a flowering garden. Nothing so life-like—so gorgeous—so, all in all, characteristic of the " shining orient " had ever before been written. It was impossible not to recognise the hand of the master in these sketches—impossible not to discern those touches of nature, with which even the master-hand, not guided by the experience of the senses, would have been powerless to impart life and reality to the whole.

Mr. Macaulay had seen at least something of the scenes that he described. He had resided some years amongst us. It is true that he had not travelled far ; that the actual range of his observation had not been very extensive. A dull man would have made little of such opportunities. But Mr. Macaulay being the very reverse of a dull man, saw as much one morning from the verandah of his house in Chowringhi, as an ordinary person would have seen in a year. A drive through the Chitpore bazar was as suggestive in such a case, as under ordinary circumstances, a journey to Delhi or Lucknow. If Macaulay had spent only a week in Calcutta, he would have returned to England better qualified to write a history of India, than when his ship left the London docks.

Nay, this much may be said of any man with ordinary powers of observation. The gain may not be much, but it will be something. To such a man as Macaulay, the gain would

have been immense. It is the faculty of genius to crowd into a week the experience of years.

And this glowing article—read, admired, commented upon, quoted in all the public journals, and studied even by men who cared little about any graver literature than that of the *Pickwick Papers*, albiet with the blue and yellow party-stamp upon it—was received as genuine history. The statements it contained were not questioned. The graces of the style—the vivid word-painting—the graphic portraiture, bringing past scenes before us distinctly, as in a moving panorama, and historical personages with all the fidelity of actual life,—led the imagination captive, and defied the criticism of documentary research. Men read the memoir of Warren Hastings as eagerly as though it were a new and brilliant romance. If they pondered at all, it were only to assure themselves that statements put forth with such a dashing air of truth, with such a semblance of a whole-hearted reliance upon the justice of the denunciations they contained, and the general soundness of the views they enunciated, could not be otherwise than in strict accordance with clearly ascertained fact.

It is not to be denied that this gorgeous chapter of Indian History, or Indian Romance, added much to Mr. Macaulay's reputation as an eloquent, a vigorous, a graphic chronicler of the past. The article was red by thousands upon thousands in the pages of the *Edinburgh Review*, whence in a short time it was elevated into the upper air of recognized history, to become part and parcel of the essayist's collected works, and in that form to attract to itself new thousands of admiring readers. Four large impressions of the "Historical and Critical Essays, by Thomas Babington Macualay," have now found their way into circulation. The work has taken its place in almost every library in Great Britain; and it is precisely one of those books which are never permitted to rest long on the library shelves. The dust never accumulates about them. Hundreds and thousands of books are purchased every year, as furniture, like chairs and tables. But no man ever purchased Macaulay's essays without reading them; and few who purchase and read these captivating volumes do not retain them to read again and again. They never find their way to the book-stall; but the place of all others where you are most sure to chance upon them, is the table of the library or the drawing-room.

And of these charming volumes, it is not to be questioned that the memoir of Warren Hastings has long constituted the main charm. No similiar essay has ever achieved so ex-

tensive a popularity ; and yet it would have been better for Mr. Macaulay's reputation if that article had never been written. Six years have passed away since it was first published. The graces of the diction, the picturesque sketches, the skilful contrasts and combinations—the entire cleverness of the whole piece—still remain unquestioned. But it now stands before the world as a cheat—a delusion— a painted sepulchre. It no longer, in the convictions of men, glows and scintillates with truth. Our faith in its revelations is broken down for ever. The religion which we once professed has been shown to be a great imposture.

The history of the exposure is soon told. To hundreds and thousands of English families Mr. Macaulay's volumes were a source of unmingled pleasure ; to one English family they brought nothing but unmitigated pain. That one family was the family of Sir Elijah Impey. "If there be a slanderer," writes one of the sons of the Chief Justice in emphatic italics, "base enough to find pleasure and triumph in having tortured "the feelings of delicate and sensitive women, aged and "honorable men, he may take my assurance for the fact, that "these calumnies have not only embittered the remnants of "life, but mingled with the sharpness of death." These sufferings had been long silently endured, but the silence was now to be broken. Whilst the article on Warren Hastings remained unacknowledged, it was treated by the sons of Sir Elijah Impey as an anonymous libel. The republication of the essay, with the name of the author on the title page, gave a new aspect to the affair. Forbearance no longer appeared to be a virtue ; and the surviving children of the deceased judge bethought themselves of coming forward, now at the eleventh hour, to vindicate the fame of a revered and beloved parent, whose integrity they could not question, and whose mercy they could not doubt.

The language in which Mr. Macaulay had spoken of the conduct of Sir Elijah Impey was harshly, bitterly, comdemnatory, beyond the limits of calm historical discussion. It was a mixture of sarcasm and invective—of broad denunciation and subtle inuendo. It was at once vehement and venomous ; the nature of the wolf and of the serpent combined. A few familiar samples will suffice to indicate the character of Mr. Macaulay's vituperations :—' The Chief Justice was Sir Elijah "Impey. He was an old acquaintance of Hastings ; and it "is probable that the Governor-General, if he had searched "through all the Inns of Court, could not have found a "more serviceable tool." " It is our deliberate opinion, that

"Impey, sitting as a judge, put a man unjustly to death in order "to serve a political purpose." "The bargain was struck, "Bengal was saved, an appeal to force was averted, and the "Chief Justice was rich, quiet, and infamous." "No other "such judge has dishonored the English ermine since Jefferies "drank himself to death in the tower." It would be difficult to throw a greater amount of bitterness into a few short sentences, than we see in these extracts from the "Historical Essay." A son might well resent such imputations as these upon the memory of a beloved father: and if some expressions of warmth were to creep into a vindication suggested by filial love and piety, it would be hard to condemn, with much severity, the vehemence of the offended writer. These and other similar passages consigning to everlasting infamy the character of the first Chief Justice of Bengal, were indeed too surely calculated to excite the indignation of the children of Sir Elijah Impey, and, in due course, one came forward to rescue from obloquy the name of one whom party virulence had ranked with the basest, the most degraded *notorieties* of the age in which he lived.

It appears that when the public vindication of the character of Sir Elijah Impey was first determined upon, the precise course, which under all the circumstances of the case, it was most expedient to adopt, became a subject of much and earnest consideration. Various modes of procedure were canvassed and rejected. Among these the question of a prosecution in a court of law was considered. Not, we believe, that the family of Sir Elijah Impey ever seriously contemplated a resort to such a tribunal, but that the question, in its legal bearings, was incidentally discussed. The question has been before considered, and that, too, by such eminent authoriteis as Dr. Johnson and Mr. Solicitor General Murray.* The latter contended that there should be reparation in such cases, unless the author could establish the truth of the condemnatory assertions put forward in his work; whilst Johnson, with far greater truth, and more comprehensive regard for the interests of society, maintained, that if nothing were written but what could be proved in a court of law, the wheels of history would be locked for ever, and that it was of far greater consequence that truth should be told, than that the feelings of surviving relatives should not be hurt. For our own part we are of opinion that nothing could more effectually prevent all freedom of historical investigation, than the power of commencing such actions, in courts of law, against free-spoken historians; and that, therefore, the recognition of any such principle would be to the last degree injurious to the

* [illegible] led astray by a similarity of names.

literature of the country. Whatever we may think of the case, as it stands between Mr. Macaulay and the relatives of Sir Elijah Impey, we cannot for one moment question the right of the former to treat the character of the Chief Justice with as much freedom as he would treat that of Sir Thomas More, or Lord Strafford, or any other historical personage. Hastings and Impey are public property, no less than Oliver Cromwell and Lord Bacon. Literature can assert its own prerogative. There are literary courts more cogent than any courts of law, and in these, sooner or later, the calumniator of the dead will meet with fitting punishment. History must not have the sword of the law hanging over it by a single thread. Falsehood—whether born of malice or of carelessness—will perish without the aid of the law. The public is the best—the safest—arbiter in such cases. There are no such severe damages as those of a lost reputation.*

The Impey family, without encouraging such convictions as these, abandoned, as soon as formed, the idea of a prosecution in a court of law. Other paths were open to them. They might have taken up the defence of Sir Elijah Impey in the public journals; they might, perhaps, have obtained the insertion, in a rival review, of an antagonistic article, which, avoiding direct controversy, might have neutralised the venom of the paper in the *Edinburgh*; or they might have prepared a more elaborating memoir of the Chief Justice, setting forth the whole truth as established by the evidence of public records and other undeniably authentic documents. The last of these three courses it was finally determined to adopt, and the task of preparing this elaborate defence of an injured man, devolved upon Mr. Elijah Barwell Impey—a son of the Chief Justice; a gentleman of quiet, scholarly habits, well acquainted with ancient and modern tongues; possessed of no inconsiderable knowledge of history, especially the history of those modern times which embrace the Government and trial of Warren Hastings; an intimate and confidential friend of that great man, and of other celebrated contemporaries of Sir Elijah Impey. All this and much more; but little skilled in book-making,

* A different opinion, on this subject, appears to be prevalent in France. There literary disputes are often settled by legal tribunals. Even last spring, Alexandre Dumas was cited for having defamed, in a work of fiction, an ancestor of the Marquis St. Luc—one who flourished as far back as the times of Henry III. of France. The court, after reading the work, sentenced the romance-writer to substitute, in all future editions of his tale, some other name for those of the Marquis' calumniated ancestor. Imagine Mr. Macaulay being condemned to make restitution, after this fashion, and in all future editions of his "Historical Essays," to substitute the name of Zechariah Macaulay for that of Elijah Impey!

Mr. Impey addressed himself to the task of composing his father's biography, animated by the purest filial piety, and fixed in the determination, at all hazards, to speak the truth. If in so doing, under the influence of feelings which in moderation are commendable, and in excess venial, he has been betrayed into expressions of undue warmth—if he has written, in some parts of his work, with an acrimony which he may himself regret, and marred the effect of the whole by imparting to it a controversial rather than an historical character, and has, in his eagerness to leave nothing unsaid, fallen into frequent repetitions by anticipating the progress of his narrative, and retarded that progress by ever and anon halting to deliver himself of feelings of personal indignation and animosity no longer to be controlled,—the man and the critic must alike forgive him. The provocation was great; the temptation very grievous. And a "sense of intolerable wrong" will, at times, lash even the patient man into a whirlpool of excitement, and make the most self-collected forget himself.

But we may deeply deplore what we cannot severely censure. Mr. Impey has spoilt his book, and damaged his cause—spoilt a good book and damaged a good cause. Had he thought only of convincing—not at all of convicting—he would have made for himself a larger circle of readers, and gathered around him a denser crowd of sympathising friends. The controversial character of the "Memoir of Sir Elijah Impey" will limit the sphere of its influence. It should have been the determination of the filial biographer to send into the world such a standard history of the life and times of the calumniated Chief Justice as should supersede all other histories, and, based upon evidence heaped up, pile above pile, form the staple of all future histories of the same memorable times. For ourselves we lament that such a work was not written more than a quarter of a century ago. The error which has so long taken root in the public mind is more difficult to weed out than one only just beginning to strike. Sir Elijah Impey died in 1809. Had a memoir of the deceased judge been put forth shortly after this period, the present generation would not have grown up in the belief that Sir Elijah Impey was a corrupt judge, and Mr. Macaulay would not have set his seal upon the injurious error.

For we hold that Mr. Macaulay, though a prejudiced writer, is not a dishonest one. He would not knowingly falsify history. The leading Reviews of Great Britain are avowedly party publications; and a leaning, even in historical dissertations, to one side or the other, is an understood result of the connexion

with Whiggism or Toryism. If the reader be not an arrant simpleton, he makes allowance for this taint of party; and knowing this, the writer is induced—we might almost say compelled to give way—in some measure to exaggeration, just as the huckster, who knows that he is to be beaten down, is compelled to ask for his goods a higher price than they are worth. This, perhaps, will be granted by Mr. Impey and his friend; but it will be expected, on the other hand, that an anonymous article in a Review is one thing, a volume of "Historical Essays," bearing the author's name, is another. It must, however, be borne in mind that Mr. Macaulay published his essays avowedly as "Contributions to the *Edinburgh Review*." There is no attempt upon *his* part to elevate them into higher regions of literature than those to which they originally belonged. He sent them forth to the world with the stamp of the *Edinburgh Review* upon them, and left the world to make what abatements they might think fit.

Moreover, it ought not to be forgotten, that the assertions made by Mr. Macaulay had often been made before—that the view he took of the character of Sir Elijah Impey was the view which public writers had almost always taken—that grave historians had done their best to perpetuate, and that the public had accepted it, without stint or qualification. Mr. Macaulay may have added a few bitter drops to the cup of censure which had been passed from hand to hand, but he did not poison the stream of public opinion. That he took, somewhat too readily, for granted all that Burke, Francis and Elliot had declaimed in Parliament, and Mill had recorded in his ponderous history, and reproduced their calumnies in his own striking antithetical language, with, perhaps, somewhat too keen a relish, is not to be denied. But we do not doubt the strength of his convictions. He believed that he was uttering the truth; and the fact that Mr. Mill had more than a quarter of a century before denounced "the atrocious condemnation and execution" of Nuncomar—adding, that "all regard to decorum, to the character of the English government, to substantial justice, to the prevention of misrule and the detection of ministerial crimes, was sacrificed to personal interests and personal passions, the impartial enquirer cannot hesitate to pronounce"—the fact, we say, that these broad assertions had been made in the only standard history of India in 1817, and that up to 1841, no contradiction had been put forth, might have done something to rivet—as indeed it was well calculated to do—the error which the reviewer imbibed at school, took with him to college, and clung to, without misgivings, on his entrance into public life.

Some such considerations as these, we think, might have blunted the edge of Mr. Impey's resentment. The conduct of Mr. Thornton appears to us more indefensible and more inexplicable than that of Mr. Macaulay. When the former gentlemen was publishing his History of India by periodical instalments, Mr. Impey called upon him at the India House and offered to place at his disposal all the family papers, manuscript letters, books and other documents in his possession, relative to the career of Sir Elijah Impey. "Politely, but coldly enough," says Mr. Impey, "he declined accepting "my offer. I spoke of the difficulty of finding any copy "of Sir Elijah Impey's defence, and of the importance and con- "clusive nature of the vouchers contained in that volume. "But he wanted not the loan of my book, and I left him "upon receiving his assurance that '*full justice would* be *done* "*by him* to *Sir Elijah:*' within a short space of time his part "came out. The justice which Mr. Thornton had done my "father had been, to take upon trust the charges of his "persecutors, to repeat the slanders of Mr. Mill, and to "modulate his abuse in the manner of Mr. Macaulay."

We have read this passage with no small measure of astonishment. Mr. Thornton we have always regarded as a prejudiced, but in the main, an honest and a temperate writer; and we are totally incompetent to understand upon what grounds he could have refused to examine the papers offered to him by Mr. Impey. So strange, so indefensible, appeared such conduct to the latter gentleman, that "in the heat of the moment" he, in conjunction with his brother Admiral Impey, "presented an ineffectual memorial to the East India Company." "We ought," adds Mr. Impey, "rather to have despised so impotant an attack. The dullness of Mr. Thornton's book was quite sufficient to limit its circulation. It is already consigned to merited oblivion. I have not met the person that has read it." The memorialist urged that as the book had been gratuitously circulated by the E I. Company to many of the proprietors of India Stock, they, in some measure, rendered themselves responsible for its contents. This, however, the court denied. They had only "given their patronage to the work." We confess that the gratuitous circulation of a work, written by one of their servants, if not tantamount to an approval of its contents, is very likely to be mistaken for it. The ordinary patronage of the court would signify nothing. The court might with propriety extend its patronage to a work of a generally useful character, without regarding all the opinions expressed

in it, with unmixed approbation. Were no latitude of this kind allowed, the liberality of the India House could not flow, as now, through a broad channel. But it may be questioned whether that extraordinary patronage, which extends as far as the gratuitous circulation to proprietors of East India stock, of a work compiled by an India House official, does not, in some degree, render the Court responsible for the opinions contained in the work thus liberally patronised. The endorsement does not lie in the purchase of a certain number of copies of a book, but in the gratuitous circulation of it; and we are well aware that many of the proprietors, who in this manner received Mr. Thornton's volumes, considered that the book had the India House stamp upon it, and contained the only authorised version of Indian History yet given to the world.

We may now leave the controversy, to which we have already devoted too large a portion of our article, and pass at once to the biography of the first Chief Justice of Bengal.

Elijah Impey was born at Hammersmith, on the 13th of June 1732. His father was a London merchant, connected largely with the East Indian trade; and his mother the daughter of Dr. Fraser, the historian of Nadir Shah, uncle of that Lady Lovat, whom the notorious Simon Fraser married, or rather outraged, under circumstances of almost unparalleled atrocity. Elijah was the youngest of three sons, between the second of whom and himself there was an interval of nearly eleven years—a circumstance which was advantageous to the subject of this article, inasmuch as, that James Impey, with tender fraternal regard, devoted much of his time to the education of his younger brother, and subsequently left him the greater part of his fortune.

The process of home education, however, was arrested at a very early age. In his seventh year Elijah Impey was sent to Westminster school, then under the superintendence of Dr. Nicoll. The celebrated Latinist, Vincent Bourne, who wrote the tidiest verses and wore the most untidy clothes, was one of the under masters; and among the students—Impey's school-fellows—were many who, in after years, and in various fields of honourable ambition, obtained for themselves lasting reputations. There was the trembling sensitive Cowper, who durst scarcely lift his eyes above the shoe-buckle of the elder boys—the morbid, broken-spirited poet over whose young mind, in that cruel Westminster school, passed the first faint shadows of that huge affliction which in his manhood thickened into total darkness. There

was Churchill, the vigorous, but course-minded, who in that scene of boyish strife hardened himself for the after-life of antagonism, in which he seemed to exult—the very antithesis of Cowper as a man, and yet as a poet, in some sort, his model. And there, too, was Warren Hastings, who as a boy, even as a man, took the lead of all his fellows, whose great mind, encased in a weakly body, shot ever in advance of all difficulties and triumphed over all obstacles; who beat all his contemporaries at Westminster, as he outshone all his associates in India and would have been, on any arena, the foremost man of his age. There, too, were the proud-spirited, the ill-starred Lloyd; the scholarly and successful Colman; the voluminous, self-satisfied Cumberland; and many men of note as politicians and divines, as Lords Stormont and Shelburne—the Bagots—Sir Richard Sutton: * a crowd of men to whom the Georgian æra owes much of its varied lustre. Many of these were Impey's personal friends—nearly of the same age and of the same standing in the school.† Impey and Hastings were close allies and constant associates. "Stimulated," says Mr. Impey, "by the same generous emulation, they were friendly rivals in every boyish exercise, whether of play or study. They swam in the Thames, and rowed upon it with each other; they played at cricket and capped verses together." "We may safely venture," writes Mr. Macaulay, under an incontrollable impulse to deliver himself, at all hazards, of something smart, "that whenever Hastings wished to play any trick more than usually naughty, he hired Impey with a ball or a tart to act as a fag in the worst part of the prank"—an inuendo, which we think Mr. Impey might well have left without any serious notice. Such "guesses" as these may be abandoned, with perfect safety, to the judgment of the public, which can never experience much difficulty in deciding whether they most damage the object, or the author of the impertinent surmise.

In 1747 young Impey was a candidate for admission to the

* It is believed by some—and we acknowledge that it was once an article of our own faith, that Thurlow was among this glorious batch of Westminster schoolboys. His intimacy with Cowper and Impey, and his acquaintance at least with Hastings, warranted the supposition. Indeed, we remember reading many years ago, an interesting series of sketches, or rather *tableaux*, based upon the hypothesis that Cowper, Hastings and Thurlow were school-fellows. The last was never at a public school. Cowper was his fellow student in a solicitor's office; and his (Thurlow's) acquaintance with Impey commenced in the Inns of Court. They were born in the same year; but Thurlow had considerably the start of him as a man, having quitted Cambridge, in disgrace, before Impey's matriculation.

† Impey was born in 1732; Hastings, in 1732; Cowper, in 1731; Churchill, in 1731; Lloyd, in 1733.

benefits of the foundation. On the list of King's scholars, nominated on this occasion, Hastings held the first place and Impey the fourth. In 1750, the former sailed for Calcutta, but it was not until the following year that the latter quitted Westminster school and "was admitted pensioner of Trinity College, Cambridge, having on the 8th of December entered as a law student at Lincoln's Inn." At Cambridge he greatly distinguished himself. Every year added something to his honours. He was a Wrangler and a Chancellor's Medallist—second in the tripos of 1756; and in the following year he obtained a Trinity Fellowship. In the meanwhile (1756) he was called to the Bar. "There," writes Mr. Impey, "he soon "became acquainted with all the most eminent or rising charac-"ters in the profession of that day." Among these was Thurlow, a man of rare talents and little courtesy, who had learnt early in life the true worth of genuine manhood, and carried the independence of the schoolboy through all the stages of his journey to the Woolsack, who looked down upon the proudest peers, and with level eyes confronted the throne. Among them, too, was Dunning, a man of more genial and kindly nature: who dearly loved a joke, and never forgot a friend.* Among them, too, were Mansfield, Wallace, Heath and the upright Kenyon, who, years after the return of Impey from the East, nodded, one day, from his seat in the Queen's Bench, familiar recognition at his old fellow student, and with characteristic cordiality exclaimed: "Ah! Impey, had you stayed at home, you might have been seated here."

With no ordinary powers of application did Impey devote himself to the cultivation of the law. He was assiduous in his chamber studies, and regular in his attendance in the courts. We have now before us a manuscript volume in Impey's handwriting, containing a recital of cases tried in the King's Bench, Guildhall, Westminister, &c., &c., commencing shortly after his call to the Bar, which indicates the earnestness with which he devoted himself, from the very outset to his profession, and the systematic vigour with which, as time advanced, he prosecuted his calling. Business, however, did not flow in very rapidly; it seldom does, under like circumstances. He who would pluck the golden apples of the law must be content to wait for years beneath the cold shadow of the tree. In 1766-67, Impey was not so overburthened with business that he could not find leisure to take "an extensive tour on the

* To Thurlow and to Dunning, Impey constantly wrote from Calcutta, details of all his proceedings—but with very different results. Thurlow had a knack of forgetting his old friends.

continent." Setting out with Dunning and Popham as his travelling companions, he visited Naples and Rome. At the former place, he shed some fraternal tears over the grave of his brother James, and in the latter, he sat for his bust to Nollekens, then just at the outset of his eccentric career. Before the close of 1767, he found himself again in England.

In January 1768, he took an important step—he married. The lady of his choice was the daughter of Sir John Reade, Baronet, of Shipton-court, in the county of Oxford. In one of those streets leading from the Strand to the river Thames, now principally occupied by attorneys and courtesans, though once favorite and fashionable localities, they took up their abode. Mr. Impey says that his father "lived sparingly and "worked very hard as became a barrister who had to make his "way without patronage or extraneous support." The last expression is somewhat ambiguous. It can scarcely signify that his parents were in straitened circumstances; that they relied entirely on the professional earnings of the young lawyer, for James Impey died in 1756, and "left a considerable property to his youngest and favorite brother," Elijah, who was not the man to squander a comfortable fortune in a few years. Be this as it may, they lived quietly and happily. "I have "often heard my dear mother say," writes Mr. Impey in the memoir before us, "that this was by far the happiest "period of their lives. An increasing family was a stimulus "to exertion, and his warm affections rendered toil easy. In "all the cares, crosses, and vexations attendant on an always "harassing profession, he was never known to lose his sweetness "and cheerfulness of temper." And this we can readily believe —Impey retained to the very last all the characteristics of an affectionate husband, an indulgent parent, and an amiable man—an assertion which we have no doubt Mr. Macaulay would treat with a sneer of the same quality as that with which he received a certain plea, real or imaginary, in behalf of King Charles the first.

Impey went the western circuit. In those days, it was not uncommon for lawyers to ride their own horses from town to town;* and lawyer Impey's hack was as well known

* A horse, indeed, appears to have been as indispensable to a lawyer as a wig and gown. Lord Campbell tells a story of Thurlow to the effect that, in order to procure a nag to carry him round the circuit, not having one of his own, and being overburthened neither with money nor honesty, "he went to a horse-dealer and said to him that he wished to purchase a good roadster—price being no object to him—but that he must have a fair trial of the animal's paces. The trial being conceded, he rode off to Winchester, and having been well carried all the way round, but still without any professional luck, he returned the horse to his owner saying, 'the animal,

as himself. Dunning went the same circuit, and *led;* Impey held the second place, and distinguished himself in several difficult cases, to one of which in particular the biographer attributes much of his father's ultimate success. Impey was opposed to Dunning and beat him. The witnesses of the latter could not withstand the searching examinations of his friend. How much this case, which was tried in the picturesque city of Exeter, at the Assizes of 1769, may have contributed to the making of Impey's fortune, we are not competent to determine—but there is another more celebrated case, in which Impey was prominently concerned, but of which his son makes no mention, not to be lightly regarded in the estimate of the causes of his professional advancement—the well-known Cumberland and Grosvenor case, in which Impey was employed as counsel on the side of the Duke.

That Impey's old associate, Thurlow, was mainly instrumental in obtaining for him the well-salaried Indian appointment, we have the recipient's own authority for believing. In the letters of the Indian judge to the English lawyer, then making his way by rapid strides to the woolsack, we find many such allusions as these:—"It is to you I shall always hold myself responsible for my conduct;" and again, "it is to you I hold myself answerable, and to whom I look up for protection." But still more unmistakeable is the import of the following:—"My income is much larger than I had any hope to expect "when in England, and your kindness gave it to me at a time, "when the critical situation of my affairs made me look to little "further than to being extricated from embarrassment."* We do not think that, after perusing these passages, any reader will hesitate to believe that Impey was indebted for his judgeship to the recommendation of Thurlow.

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notwithstanding some good points, did not altogether suit him."—*Lives of the Chancellors, Vol. V.*

* MS. letters (unpublished) in the British Museum, deposited by Mr. E. B Impey. It is right to add, that Sir Elijah never forgot his obligations to Thurlow. He constantly wrote to his old friend; constantly expressed his gratitude. But that friend was the most uncourteous of men, and never answered his letters. Thurlow had some good qualities, and was a great lawyer; but he was not a gentleman. He was intensely selfish; utterly incapable of generous friendship. Cowper complained of his neglect—or rather spoke of it without complaining. He described the character of the man *ad unquem* when he said, "He will give grudgingly in answer to solicitation, but delights in surprising those he esteems with his bounty." And again, "he is well aware of the tricks that are played on such occasions, and after fifteen years' interruption of all intercourse between us, would translate my letter" [he did not write it] "into this language—pray remember the poor. This would disgust him, because he would think our former intimacy disgraced by such an oblique application." Impey did not understand him so well. He wrote constantly, often asking for support and assistance, and Thurlow, in all probability, thought him a bore.

Whatever may have been the secret history of Impey's elevation to the bench—and we have no right to seek for any other cause than that which lies on the surface, the merits of the man—he was selected in 1773 to fill the office of Chief Justice in the Supreme Court of Judicature at Calcutta, then recently erected under the Regulating Act. The ostensible recommendation came, of course, from the Lord Chancellor (Bathurst) and on Impey's old school-fellow, Lord Shelbourne, devolved the duty of making out his commission. Under the Regulating Act, the new court was composed of a Chief Justice and three puisne judges; the former with a salary of £8,000 per annum, the latter of £6,000. The amount being fixed according to the English currency, was a constant source of trouble and perplexity to Impey and his associates, who were nominally allowed the sum mentioned, and yet never knew how to remit it, and seldom how to obtain it.

The other judges were Chambers—a man of high character and good parts, who had been Vinerian Professor at Oxford and an associate of Dr. Johnson; Hyde, who had gone the western circuit with Impey, and Le Maistre, who appears also to have been an acquaintance of the Chief Justice. Indeed, there is reason to suppose, that both Hyde and Le Maistre owed their appointments, in some measure, to Impey's recommendation, for we find him, three or four years afterwards, writing to Thurlow, "I have every day more and more reason to "be concerned at my having assisted in getting Hyde and La "Maistre appointed judges."* The cause of his concern we shall come presently to consider.

Early in April 1774, Impey, who had been previously knighted, embarked on board the *Anson*, then bound for Calcutta. His wife was the companion of his voyage. She does not appear to have hesitated. The undertaking was not only a formidable but a painful one. People in those days had a much greater dread than at present, both of the Indian climate and the Indian voyage; and Lady Impey was called upon to leave her young children in England—a trial which, even in these days of rapid communication, breaks the spirits of many a mother, and which seventy years ago, when it was the work of a year to receive and respond to tidings from home, must have well nigh broken the heart.

Of the incidents of the voyage from England to Calcutta we have few particulars. In these days a voyage round the Cape is principally remarkable for an utter absence of incident

* Unpublished letters in the British Museum.

of every kind, and the description of one such passage may, with scarcely a variation, be rendered applicable to all. But in the last century, even under ordinary circumstances, an Indian voyage was far more eventful than in these peaceable prosaic days, and that was no ordinary voyage, which witnessed the assemblage in one vessel of Francis, Clavering, Monson, Impey, Chambers, Hyde and Le Maistre. Mrs. and the Misses Clavering appear to have accompanied the General; whilst Lady Anne Monson also followed the fortunes of her husband. It was more than ten years later that Mrs. Shore allowed her husband to embark alone because, as the biographer of Lord Teignmouth affirms: "The voyage was then seldom attempted by ladies."*

On the 15th of October, the *Anson* reached Kedgeree, † but it was not until the 19th that she was opposite to Chandpal Ghat. Mr. Impey seems to question the truth of the story relative to the offence given to the new councillors by the salute of seventeen guns "Mr. Macaulay," says the biographer, "who loves to put every thing pointedly and "dramatically, and who seldom objects to a loud report or "striking effect, says that the Members of Council expected "a salute of twenty-one guns from the batteries of Fort "William, that the Governor-General allowed them only "seventeen, and that this trifle was sufficient to give occasion "for dispute." Now this story is not Mr. Macaulay's; but Mr. Gleig's—or rather Warren Hastings', on whose authority that gentleman narrates it. We see no reason to doubt its authenticity. Another anecdote, more immediately relating to the subject of this article, has obtained for itself greater currency than it deserves. It is said that Impey, when the vessel anchored off Calcutta, was greatly moved by the sight of so many bare-legged and ill-clothed people, and exclaimed to one of his brother judges—"See the wretched victims of "tyranny? The Crown Court was not established before it was "needed. I trust that it will not have been long in operation "before all these poor people will be comfortably clothed in

* See "Calcutta Review," Vol. I. Art. "Lord Teignmouth."

† Impey and his family appear to have received much attention during the voyage from one of the ship's officers—a Lieutenant Atkinson—and it is a proof of the kindly and grateful nature of the Chief Justice, that he never forgot this man; but subsequently exerted himself greatly to serve him, and succeeded in obtaining for him the command of a ship. Impey endeavoured to obtain for him the good offices of Thurlow, whom he appears to have offended by a strange bit of *gaucherie*; for, calling at the great lawyer's house, a little way out of town, and not succeeding in obtaining admission through the door, he made good his entrance by the window. Thurlow seems, however, to have forgiven the rough sailor; and subsequently to have appreciated his rugged worth—*MSS. letters in the British Museum.*

"shoes and stockings" The joke is a very good one; but it appears to be at least apocryhal

In the meanwhile Warren Hastings was chewing the cud of bitter fancies in Calcutta. It was not possible that he should have regarded with any complacency the appointment of the new Members of Council, and the establishment of the Supreme Court He saw before him endless embarrassments and undying contentions. It was beyond the limits of reasonable expectation, that even with the best intentions on all sides, peace should be long maintained. Here were suddenly let loose upon the Indian Government seven gentlemen of mature years, educated in the courts of law, the bureaus, or the saloons of Great Britain, with all their English prejudices and predilections strong upon them; and with just as much knowledge of Iudia, its laws and institutions, the temper and character of the people, the fiscal and judicial systems of our own provinces, and the politics of neighbouring states, as though they had been transported to a new planet. Impey appears to have been the most Indianised of the whole batch of Europe importation, for his father was a real East-Indian merchant, and his maternal grandfather had written a history of Nadir Shah ! !

But the prospect before the Governor-General was not all evil. Impey was his old associate and friend. The schoolfellows appear to have renewed their intimacy, when Hastings visited England in 1765; and the intelligence of Impey's appointment to the chief seat in the new court was a source, to his harrassed mind, of infinite consolation. As early as the month of August, he addressed a letter to the new Chief Justice, intended to meet him at Madras, in which he says, "My dear Impey, advices from England seldom afford either "pleasure or pain unmixed, but the news of your new appoint- "ment to preside over the high Court of Justice, constituted "by Parliament, affords me every cause of satisfaction without "a circumstance of regret to alloy it. In truth, my friend, "nothing else could have reconciled me to that part of the "Act, which, if any latitude is left to you in its first establish- "ment, may, and I am sure will, be made a source of the most "valuable benefits to this country. I need not say how much "I rejoice in the prospect of seeing so old a friend, indepen- "dently of the public advantages which that friendship, "cemented (if it required it) by the same connexions, cannot "fail to produce in the conduct of such affairs as are likely to "fall to our respective or common lot."* And a few months

* Gleig's Memoirs of Warren Hastings.

afterwards he wrote to Sulivan :—"The court of justice is a "dreadful clog on the Government, but I thank God the head "of it is a man of sense and moderation. In all England a "choice could not have been made of a man more disposed to do "good and avoid mischief—which, however is not wholly in his "power, and I am sorry for it." And again he wrote to his friend Palk :—"I find Sir Elijah the man you describe him, "and much as I have always known him, moderate, sensible, "and to myself friendly. It is happy for this country and for "the Company that he is so, and that two persons, so mutually "well inclined, are at the head of two departments most admir- "ably adapted for hostility." And because such was Impey's disposition, Mr. Macaulay has asserted, that in all the Inns of Court, Hastings could not have found so serviceable a tool. This, however, at least is certain, that if Impey were well inclined to be a tool, he showed very little worldly wisdom in placing himself in the weaker hand. To have conspired with Francis would have been a much safer game, and no man knew this better than Impey himself.

It was, as we have said, on the 19th of October 1774, that Impey and the other judges of the Supreme Court landed at Chandpal Ghat. Without loss of time they "proceeded to open the King's Commission, and to organise and establish the Supreme Court. The XIIIth clause of the "Regulating Act" had established a Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William, "to consist of a Chief Justice and three other Judges; which said Supreme Court shall have full powers to exercise all civil, criminal, admiralty, and ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and appoint such clerks and other ministerial officers, with such salaries as shall be approved of by the said Governor-General and Council, &c., and also, shall be at all times a court of record, and a court of oyer and terminer and goal delivery, in, and for the said town of Calcutta and factory of Fort William in Bengal, and the limits thereof, and the factories subordinate thereto." The next clause defined the precise limits of the court's jurisdiction, which was to extend to all British subjects residing in Bengal, Behar and Orissa—to all the Company's servants, and to all other European subjects of the Crown. The court had no power to try the Governor-General and Members of Council for any offence not being treason or felony; but was competent to try all other persons being His Majesty's subjects, on all suits or actions against any inhabitant of the provinces above mentioned. Another clause enacted, that all offences should be tried by a jury of British subjects resident at Calcutta. But though the Regulating Act thus defined

the powers of the Supreme Court, it was deemed expedient more fully to declare the precise boundaries both of the competency and responsibility : and in the letters patent issued, 26th March 1774, establishing the Supreme Court, it was declared competent to adjudicate 'in all trespasses against the Company, Mayor's Court of Calcutta, or others in Bengal, or others who have resided there, or who have effects there, or are, or have been in the Company's service or of the Mayor's Court, or of others, but not against such as have never resided there"; and in the XIXth clause, the court is commanded "in all respects to administer criminal justice, in such or the like manner and form, or as nearly as the conditions and circumstances of the place and the persons will admit of, as in the courts of oyer and terminer, in that part of Great Britain called England, and to hear and determine and award judgment and execution of all treasons, murders, felonies, forgeries, &c., committed in the districts and provinces called Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, by British subjects, or other persons who shall at the time of committing them, have been employed by, or shall have been directly or indirectly in the services of the Company." It further makes it "unlawful for offenders to object to locality, or the court's jurisdiction, or to juries ; and orders all offenders to be tried, as if their crimes had been committed in Calcutta." Nor will it be amiss to add, that the XXXIXth clause, strictly "charges and commands all the King's governors, commanders, magistrates, officers and ministers, civil and military, and all his Majesty's liege subjects in Bengal, Behar and Orissa, &c., that they be aiding, assisting, and obedient in all things unto the Supreme Court, as they shall answer for the contrary at their peril."

Such was, in its main features, the constitution of the new Court of Judicature in Bengal. It is right, that at least we should do this much to render the nature and scope of its powers intelligible to our readers. We should be carried even beyond those extended limits which we have allowed ourselves on the present occasion, if we were to discourse, however relevant to our subject, and however interesting the enquiry, upon the condition of public justice in Bengal prior to the establishment of the Supreme Court, and the general effect of its establishment on the natives of the country. It is necessary that we should assume the possession by our readers of a certain amount of information on these and many other points incidental to our narrative—some of which have, indeed, been already enlarged upon in the pages of this journal, and others may hereafter present themselves for separate discussion.

That it must have cost the new judges an immensity of labour to get the machinery of the new court into working order; no one, who has the least acquaintance with the nature of the judicial establishments which had preceded it, will find any difficulty in believing. On Impey the principal share of the toil necessarily descended; and he did not shrink from the trouble or from the responsibility. He appears to have applied himself, from the very day of his arrival, with unfailing assiduity to his official business, drawing up the necessary rules and orders for the regulation of the procedure of the new court, and yet finding time to devote to the study of the Persian language The business of the Supreme Court was to be carried on in the English tongue; but Impey well knew how much his efficiency as a judge would be enhanced by an acquaintance with the ordinary judicial language of the country. "I am laboring hard at the Persian language," he wrote to his brother, not long after his arrival, "and therefore, hope you will not neglect sending me Richardson's dictionary." At the same time he made great and successful efforts to acquire a competent colloquial knowledge of the Bengali. There have been judges since on the Indian bench, who at the close of their career, have possessed scarcely as much knowledge of the native languages as would enable a subaltern officer to qualify himself for the command of a company.

But there was other and more exciting work in store for the new judges. Scarcely was the machinery of the court in order, when it was applied with all its formalities and technicalities to the trial of an exalted offender. The first criminal brought before it was the Maharajah Nuncomar. He thought himself—all Bengal thought him—too high for the law to reach. He had wealth—influence—caste—the support of the Supreme Council. He was the head of the Brahmans of Bengal. He was the friend of Francis, of Clavering, and of Monson. He would have been at the head of the native administration of the province, if Hastings had not shivered to atoms the double government at a blow Strong in all these outward adjuncts, he was stronger still in himself. His unscrupulous audacity was almost sublime. Actuated alike by avarice and ambition, there was no wickedness so great as to appal him in the pursuit of his own ends. Baffled by human agency, his malice and vindictiveness were as boundless as the rapacity of his desires. The Governor-General had foiled him, and against the Governor-General he employed all the artifices of consummate craft, and all the energies of untiring hatred. The time seemed auspicious. The enmity

of the majority was a great fact, which he at once resolved to turn to account. It appeared easy to compass the destruction of the Governor-General He attempted; and was on the brink of success.

Hastings, as we have seen, had regarded with no little jealousy and apprehension the establishment of the Supreme Court. The erection, at the very gates of the Council Chamber, of a totally independent estate—armed with gigantic power and competent to sit in judgment upon the Governor-General himself—was enough to alarm the sagacious understanding of one who well knew the necessity of retaining that broad margin of official rectitude, which in a more settled state of society, it is not only safe but expedient to narrow. He little thought how soon this tremendous engine would be set at work for his own salvation. Nuncomar brought his charges, and the Council heard them. A charge was also brought against Nuncomar; and the terrible truth soon began to dawn upon him, that there was a power in Bengal even stronger than the Supreme Council itself; and that that power was now to be put forth for his destruction.

But it was some time before the Brahman came to a full understanding of this stupendous truth. He was arrested on a charge of forgery. This was a small matter. He thought nothing of the crime. His countrymen thought nothing of it. It was almost as common as lying, in a country where a false oath can be bought for a few pence. Forgery and perjury had long been Nuncomar's stock-in-trade. It seemed strange that so small a matter as the forgery of a bond—and that, too, five or six years before—should ever bring him into trouble: incredible that it should bring him to the gallows.

Nuncomar, at the time of his arrest, was under recognizances, together with Mr. Fowke, to appear before the judges to answer to a charge of conspiracy preferred against them by Mr. Hastings. Other parties had been accused, but after a searching examination, Impey and his brethren decided that the evidence against Nuncomar and Fowke alone was sufficient to warrant their being called upon to give bail. Hastings was bound over to prosecute.

Nuncomar was at large and in high honor, for the majority having elevated him to the rank of a hero, were paying him all possible honors, when on the 6th of May, he was arrested for the forgery of which we have spoken. The crime had been committed some years before; and since the date of its commission Nuncomar had been honored and rewarded by the Government. But it does not, therefore, follow that the

offence was one which had for years escaped recognition. The fact is that Nuncomar had been charged by the same party, with the commission of the identical offence, during the existence of the old Mayor's Court ; he had, too, been arrested and committed, but subsequently released through the instrumentality of Mr. Hastings. The forged instrument was, on the arrival of the new judges, in the archives of the old Mayor's Court, from which it was rescued by Sir Elijah Impey and his colleagues, and by them returned to the original prosecutor, Mohunpersad, some time before Nuncomar brought his charges against the Governor-General. It is right that these circumstances should be kept distinctly in view ; for it is often urged, and generally believed, that the offence for which Nuncomar was executed, had been wholly unnoticed until it suited the purpose of his enemies, six years after the crime had been committed, to produce the evidences of his guilt. That there are at least certain coincidences to give a color to the suspicion, that the ostensible prosecutor was influenced by other motives than those of mere private revenge, it would be dishonesty upon our part to deny. But at the same time it must be stated that, assuming no concealed influence were employed, nothing can be more intelligible than the conduct of the ostensible prosecutor. He had brought his charges against Nuncomar during the existence of the old Mayor's Court ; but the Governor-General was stronger than that court, and had obtained the liberation of Nuncomar. On the dissolution of that tribunal, the document, which had been lodged as proof of Nuncomar's guilt, was, as we have shown, returned to the prosecutor ; and nothing can be more probable than that he, on learning that the new court was wholly independent of the Government, should now have felt himself in a position to recommence the prosecution with every prospect of success.

Mr. Macaulay has, with characteristic confidence, asserted that " it is the opinion of every body—idiots and biographers excepted—that Hastings was the real mover in the business." We should not be inclined to judge him very harshly if he were ; but for Impey there could have been no valid excuse if he really became, as alleged, the judicial tool of the Governor-General. There is, however, no sort of evidence to criminate the Chief Justice. Nuncomar had been arraigned for the identical offence before the appointment of the new judges, who found the condemnatory document, which hanged the wily native, among the records of the Mayor's Court, and returned it to the original prosecutor some time before they could by any possibility have suspected the uses to which it

would be turned. Much has been made of certain coincidences of time and circumstances; but nothing has been written or spoken to shew that the Supreme Court did not, from the commitment to the execution of Nuncomar, proceed through every judicial stage, with the strictest formality. Nuncomar could not have been committed sooner or later—or tried sooner or later—than he was. And as to circumstances, nothing, as we have said, can be more probable than that the prosecutor took advantage of the circumstance of the establishment of the new court, the circumstance of its independence, and the circumstance of the strife between the Governor-General and his old opponent, to renew the charges against the latter.

It was on the 6th of May 1775—just two months after Nuncomar had placed in the hands of the majority his charges against Hastings—that the Maharajah was arrested on a charge of forgery, under a warrant issued by judge Le Maistre.* He was thrown into prison—the "common gaol of Calcutta." Francis and his associates, exasperated almost to madness, vainly endeavoured to rescue their baffled confederate. The offence was not a bailable offence. The judges could not be induced to swerve from the straight line of formal justice. Nuncomar was cast into prison; and there he remained to take his trial.

But the councillors who could not remove him from the prison, could at all events visit him there. They could flatter and console him; could buoy him up with false hopes, and heap upon him empty honors. His son Gúrúdas was promoted, and his prison was turned into a durbar. The majority visited him in state, and all their *posse comitatus* of hangers-on and protegés flocked eagerly to prison. Lady Anne Monson, and the ladies of General Clavering's family, sent friendly messages of condolence; and the aides-de-camp and secretaries of the General were always passing and repassing between his house and the gaol. Men on the look-out for promotion—the crawling creeping adventurers who, in those days, swarmed in the dusty atmosphere of Calcutta, found a visit to the felon's prison more serviceable than attendance at the General's levee. Fellows, who in their hearts hated and despised every native in the country, thinking them all, from Nuncomar downwards, only fit to be hanged like dogs, now were suddenly filled with virtuous sympathy and enlarged tolera-

* Le Maistre was the sitting magistrate when the charge was exhibited. He subsequently requested the assistance of Hyde, and the examination which ensued, lasted from nine in the morning till nearly ten at night. The commitment was then made out in the usual form, under the authority of the two judges.

tion. Great men talked about what they would do; and little ones echoed their opinions. The judges were threatened with disgrace; it was generally believed that a rescue would be attempted, and the prisoner was promised an eventual triumph, greater than any he had achieved before. And Nuncomar hoped and hoped; and hope grew into confidence, for he did not know the strength of the law.

The scorching month of May wore on to its close. In spite of the sultriness of the weather, Nuncomar's levees were well attended. His prison-quarters were not so intolerable as they were represented It was afterwards shown in evidence that the apartments to which he was removed were better than those in which he was arrested. Every effort, indeed, was made by the judges and their officers to alleviate the bitterness of his lot. His rooms were in a detached part of the gaol, separate from those of the other felons. Every possible convenience was allowed to him for the performance of his ablutions and the ceremonial observances of his caste. Free access was permitted to his presence; and the Chief Justice sent frequent messages to the keeper of the gaol, desiring him to treat the prisoner with all possible consideration and respect. He did more than this When it was reported to him that Nuncomar's health was failing, he immediately sent a physician to him; and subsequently, against the remonstrances of Judge Le Maistre, permitted the prisoner to "eat the air" outside the prison walls.

In due course the day of trial arrived. Nuncomar, it has been seen, was arrested on the 6th of May. In June the sessions commenced A true bill was found against the prisoner; and on the 8th, he was called to the bar to take his trial for forgery, before the Chief Justice, the three puisne judges, and a jury of twelve British subjects. Chambers was of opinion that the indictment should be laid under an Act of Queen Elizabeth, in whose time forgery was not a capital offence; but this suggestion was overruled by the other judges, who could see nothing to absolve them from the necessity of administering the English law as at that time administered in England The Regulating Act, indeed, plainly interpreted, had left them no alternative. Much has been said and written to show that Nuncomar was not within the jurisdiction of the court, and that the English law was not applicable to India; but we confess our inability to understand how any man of ordinary comprehension, with the Regulating Act and letters patent before him, can so interpret the clauses of either, as to arrive at a conviction that a British subject, like

Nuncomar—one actually in the employment of Government—was not amenable to the English law. The articles of Sir Gilbert Elliot's wordy impeachment contains nothing to shake our conviction of the legality of the indictment. The assertion that the Supreme Court had not "any criminal jurisdiction whatever, in any case whatever, over the native inhabitants of the provinces" named in the Act, is in these days valued at its true worth. The most desperate party-writer would not venture to endorse it.

But there is something more plausible in the assertion, that Nuncomar was rited unjustly by an *ex post facto* law. The felony had been committed some years before the erection of the Supreme Court; and to try a man capitally for an offence which was not capital at the time of its commission, would clearly have been a gross violation of the principles of justice. All this is undeniable; but the argument proceeds upon the assumption, that forgery was not a capital offence in Calcutta, when Nuncomar forged the instrument on account of which he was summoned to take his trial in the Supreme Court. But the assumption is mere assumption. Nuncomar might have been hanged for forgery, if the Supreme Court had never been established. Some years before, a native of rank, named Radachand Mittra, had been tried for forgery and sentenced to be hanged—but had been subsequently pardoned; and it appears from the evidence of Mr. Barwell, a man of unimpeachable integrity, that before the establishment of the Supreme Court, natives of Calcutta *had been* hanged for forgery. It would be monstrous, therefore, to assert that Nuncomar was ignorant of the penalty attaching to the crime of forgery. He must have known that it was a capital offence.* He might have been hanged, if he had been tried before the old Mayor's Court: and no man knew this better than Nuncomar himself.

The trial came on. The court was densely crowded. In the suffocating month of June—just before the first falls of rain freshen the arid dust-charged earth and revive the languid energies of prostrate humanity—Nuncomar was formally arraigned. Men of different countries and of all classes, regardless of the exhausting heat, thronged into the sultry court. The European and native communities were alike interested in the issue of the trial The Company's servants, civil and

* This is not mere conjecture. Nuncomar was one of those who signed the petition in favor of Radachand Mittra—which petition urged, that the sentence of death, without the execution—if the penalty were remitted—would be sufficient to deter other natives from the commission of the crime.

military, of all ranks, made their way into the court-house, and the natives of Calcutta and the sourrounding country, the highest and the wealthiest, jostled and strained and sweated, with outstretched necks, eager to catch a sight of the new judges, in their robes of office, and of the exalted culprit, by many hated and by many feared. The Chief Justice and the three puisne judges were on the bench; Mr. Farrer and Mr. Brix, two of the most eminent English lawyers in the settlement, were retained for the prisoner. The counsel did not question the competency of the court. Nuncomar did not doubt it. The principal witness, Mohunpersad, was called in, and stated his case with great distinctness. Witness followed witness. Evidence was accumulated upon evidence. It was made clear to the court—to all the assembled spectators—that Nuncomar had been guilty, not of one act of forgery but of many. His own witnesses were called in; and the grossness of his iniquity was rendered more and more apparent to all present. New lies were told—new perjuries committed—nay, indeed, new forgeries were perpetrated. There is always an unlimited amount of false swearing to be obtained in India at the smallest possible price. Nuncomar made the most of this facility—but his witnesses swore to no purpose. The trial was an unusually long one. There was no limit to the swearing; and there were two langagues spoken in court. The necessity of interpreting every word greatly protracted the natural length of the proceedings. The court summed up, and with what fairness, all who read the charge may determine. There could be no doubt of the sufficiency of the evidence; but Impey, as the presiding judge, leaned, as far as mercy may assert itself without a culpable violation of justice, towards the case of the prisoner. But the jury did not hestiate. A verdict of guilty was returned—and one without qualification. The twelve Englishmen who sat in the jury-box could see no good reason to recommend the prisoner to mercy. The judges then proceeded to pass sentence. Impey, as Chief Justice, was of course the mouth-piece of the court, but not his alone, the sentence. The judges were unanimous. Even Chambers, who had objected to the manner of the indictment, did not demur to the sentence; and sentence of death was passed. Nuncomar heard it with fortitude; but in this there was something more than the stoic patience of his race. His confidence in the strength and constancy of the "majority" had not forsaken him. They had made large promises—vaunted their supremacy without stint—and the unhappy prisoner had relied on the genuine worth of all their

protestations. Even when he left the Supreme Court a convicted felon—condemned to the gallows—he had not yet learnt to estimate the omnipotence of the *law.*

And we would here pause to consider the charge of inhumanity brought against Sir Elijah Impey—inhumanity manifested in the absence of all efforts to save the unhappy prisoner—but that his own defence of his conduct is on record; and every point of attack is fairly repelled in the annexed passage of a manuscript letter to Governor Johnstone, in the archives of the British Museum:—

"My wishes to have represented him as an object of mercy, and to have procured the extension of it to him, were (considering the heavy task I had on my hands), give me leave to say, more strong than yours could possibly be: and I call God to witness it was my firm intention to do so, in case he should be convicted, had not the conduct of that unhappy man, and of the gentleman who possessed the powers of Government, in my opinion, rendered it absolutely necessary both in support of the administration of justice and of my own honour, to pursue different measures. The fabrication of new forgeries, and the most gross perjuries during the time of his confinement, and even during the course of the trial, was an atrocious aggravation of the original offence. The eyes of the whole country were drawn to it; it was attended by men of all ranks in the service; and the principal natives in and round Calcutta, for a considerable distance, flocked to it. The grossness of the forgeries and perjuries was much more striking to those who saw the witnesses and heard the *vivâ voce* examinations than they can be to those who read the trial, gross even as they there appear.

No explanation could have made the natives (if the Europeans had been inclined to think better of us) understand that the escape from justice, If the sentence had not been carried into execution, had not been occasioned by the artifices of the prisoner, unless, indeed, it had been attributed to corruption or timidity in the judges, or a controlling power in the Governor-General and Council. I leave it to your consideration the effect any of these opinions must have had, on the institution of a new court of justice, among the inhabitants whom the weight and terror of their oppressions have enslaved, bowed and depraved, that the most intolerable injuries cannot rouse them to sufficient confidence to look up to the purest and firmest tribunal. This consideration had certainly great influence on my mind. Corruption in this country has no doubt been, in all courts of justice, a most efficacious instrument. The natives have thought it, and with reason, infallible and omnipotent..... Had this criminal escaped, no force of argument, no future experience would have prevailed on a single native to believe that the judges had not weighed gold against justice, and that it would ever preponderate. In India it was universally believed that large sums were offered to the judges, and perhaps a rumour of the kind may have reached England. When the charges were first exhibited against the Rajah, those who ought to have used their authority to strengthen employed it to weaken and insult the administration of justice, to overawe, and even to threaten the judges. Not only public compliments, such as were never received by natives of a rank much above his, from Europeans, were paid to him, but the prison was converted into a Durbar: Ladies of the first rank condescended to send public condolences; those who meant to pay court knew they did it more effectually by an attendance at

the gaol, than at the breakfasts and levees of their patrons Aides-de-camp, and secretaries paid daily visits, and publicly repeated assurances of safety and protection. These assurances made too great an impression on the unhappy man; they gave him and his dependants a security and insolence ill-suited to his circumstances; they gave out that the judges dare not execute the sentence. To this he was too much encouraged by those in power here and influence at home. The Governor-General and Council interfered in the process, claimed a power to protect, examined the officers of justice, and attempted to overrule the proceedings of the judges, and some of the members of that Board openly threatened to procure the dismission of these judges if they did not relax their sentence. It was afterwards confidently asserted by one member, that he had effected the dismission of those judges who were most obnoxious to him, and that it would be brought out by the ships of the season. Besides what was open, many private intrigues and insinuations were put on foot to prejudice the opinion of the public, both with regard to the institution of the Court and the character of the judges ..... I am sure you will give me credit for sufficient common sense to prevent me from flattering myself that the measure was likely to be either popular or serviceable to me in England ..... I knew the relations of what part here would be accompanied by partial representations, false colorings, and even false facts and direct accusations. A paper was introduced into Council here intended to be recorded as an accusation personally against me, but the person who presented it, after a little consideration, did not dare to persist in his first intention. He changed it, and himself moved that it should be burnt by the hands of the hangman, and it was burnt accordingly. I knew the power and weight in England that gentleman possessed ..... I trust that you will give credit to the acuteness of my sensations, when I found myself inevitably urged to carry into execution a sentence against a prisoner, whom, taking into consideration his original crime only, I most ardently desired to have saved, and would have done it, even under the aggravated circumstances, had it been reconcileable to the sense I had of the trust committed to my care. I had great reason to believe that I wished more to save him than those who promised him protection. I suffered much by the necessity I was under, perhaps as much as the convict himself, but I had a public character to support, in which a numerous people here was interested, and therefore of more consequence than my reputation in England, where I am but an obscure man, and could only be individually affected. I had the dignity, integrity, independence and utility of that court to maintain, which I enthusiastically labored to make a blessing to the country To produce that effect I knew it to be absolutely necessary to convince the natives that it was superior to imposition, corruption, influence or control. I thought I did my duty, and therefore determined to sacrifice my feelings and abide every consequence. Had I taken the part those feelings strongly biassed me to, I had the fullest assurances that that influence which was held forth as a terror to me, and which, in truth, I had reason to dread, would have been exerted to its utmost extent to my benefit."

All this and much more may be found clearly stated in Sir Elijah's printed defence; but, perhaps, the substance of the argument has never been put forth in more succinct and yet more lucid language, than in this extract from an unpublished letter, without date, in the Impey collection. The letter was written from India, long before Sir Elijah could have enter-

tained any reasonable apprehension that the conviction and execution of Nuncomar would have formed the principal article of a great parliamentary impeachment of his conduct on the bench at Calcutta. It is remarkable that in the above extract, the interference of the Governor-General and Council is spoken, as though Hastings and the "majority" had co-operated in an endeavour to save Nuncomar. And it is worthy of remark that Impey appears at this time to have entertained a mistaken impression of the course pursued by Clavering and Francis in Council, relative to the introduction of the paper, which was burnt by the hands of the hangman—the libellous petition of Nuncomar to which we shall presently allude.

The Maharajah—now a convicted felon, under sentence of death—was sent back to the common gaol. No man lifted a voice to save him. Europeans and natives, all were equally silent.* Even the family of the convict gave no sign; perhaps they relied on the power of the majority. It was a broken reed; and they were betrayed.

A petition, however, was addressed to the Council. It came from Nuncomar himself. On the 4th of August it was left at the private residence of General Clavering. It was opened on the 6th. On the 5th Nuncomar was hanged.

Up to the very day of his execution it appears that the unhappy man, relying upon the influence of Clavering and Monson, was confident that the sentence of the law would not be carried into effect. These gentlemen sent frequent messages to him; but the more cautious Francis appears to have been silent and inactive. Much, it would seem, was said—much promised—but nothing was done. The majority if they talked about rescuing Nuncomar, resorted to the strangest method of doing it. Clavering, who, according to Mr. Macaulay, vowed that he would save the Maharajah at the foot of the gallows, would not open a letter he received from Nuncomar, because he thought it "might contain some request that he should take steps to intercede for him."

And so Nuncomar was hanged Of the memorable scene of the great native's execution a vivid picture is extant. It was said to have been drawn on the very day of the event by Mr. Macrabie, the sheriff; but no body had the good fortune to see it until twelve years after the Maharajah had expiated his

* So Mr Impey—and so Sir Elijah in his defence; but it would appear from the Appendix of the Report of the Select Committee of 1781, that a letter was sent to Impey by the Nawab of Múrshedabad, the precise nature of which is only to be inferred. Sir Gilbert Elliot declared that petitions had been sent in by the Nawab and others.

guilt upon the gallows. Like the manuscript of *Dictys Cretensis*, after long inhumation, it was cast up by an earthquake. A great political convulsion brought the long-buried document to light; and Sir Gilbert Elliot hurled it, with terrible vehemence, at the head of the Chief Justice.

In this remarkable paper, of which Mr. Macaulay has made such effective use, the fortitude of Nuncomar—the grief of his relatives—the consternation of the natives—the gathering of the multitude on the great plain—their incredulity before the execution—their horror when the drop descended—the tumultuous rush of the howling crowd towards the river, to wash away the guilt of having witnessed so terrible an impiety—all are described with graphic minuteness of detail. The description must be received with caution. It is a suspicious circumstance that so interesting and important a document, if drawn up at the time of the execution, should have remained for twelve years in utter obscurity; and perhaps it is a still more suspicious circumstance that the writer of this long-buried document was the brother-in-law of Philip Francis.

On the 14th of August the Council met and went into the Secret Department. General Clavering then stated, that on the 4th a paper in the Persian language had been brought to his house open, by a servant of Nuncomar. "As I imagined," said the General, "that the paper might contain some request that I should take some steps to intercede for him, and being resolved not to make any application whatever in his favour, I left the paper on my table until the 6th, which was the day after his execution, when I ordered it to be translated by my interpreter. As it appears to me that paper contains several circumstances, which it may be proper for the Court of Directors and His Majesty's ministers to be acquainted with, I have brought it with me here, and desire that the Board will instruct me what I have to do with it: the title of it is "a representation from Maharajah Nuncomar to the General and Gentlemen of Council." Upon this Francis moved that the paper should be laid before the Board. Barwell then said, that he could not understand how a question could arise regarding it. The paper having been addressed to the Council, ought of course to be laid on the Council-table. After some explanation from the General, Colonel Monson expressed his opinion that the paper should be laid before the Board; the Governor-General then declared his inability to understand the air of mystery which enveloped so very obvious a matter; and it was finally "resolved that the paper delivered by the servant of Nuncomar to General Clavering be produced and read." It was accordingly read, in

the translation of the General's intrepreter; but was subsequently, it would appear, sent back for revised translation, and on the 16th was produced again and read in the Secret Department.

It then appeared that the petition was addressed, not to the General and the Gentlemen of Council but to the Governor-General and Council in the usual form. The petition set forth his case, in no very striking terms, adding, "Lord Impey "and the other judges have tried me by the English laws, which "are contrary to the customs of this country in which there was "never any such administration of justice before; and taking "the evidence of my enemies in proof of my crime, have con-"demned me to death. But by my death, the King's justice will "let the actions of no person remain concealed; and now "that the hour of death approaches, I shall not, for the sake of "this world, be regardless of the next, but represent the truth "to the Gentlemen of the Council. The forgery of the bond "of which I am accused never proceeded from me. Many "principal people of this country, who are acquainted with my "honesty, frequently requested of the judges to suspend my "execution till the King's pleasure should be known, but this "they refused, and unjustly take away my life. For God's "sake, Gentlemen of the Council, you who are just, and "whose words are truth, let me not undergo this injury but "wait the King's pleasure. If I am unjustly put to death, "I will, with my family, demand justice in the next life. "They put me to death out of enmity, and from partiality "to the gentlemen who have betrayed their trust: and in this "case the thread of life being cut, I, in my last moment, again "request that you, gentlemen, will write my case particularly "to the just King of England. I suffer, but my innocence "will certainly be made known to him."*

The paper having been read, Hastings moved that a copy of it should be sent to the judges of the Supreme Court. To this Francis objected, saying, that he "considered the insinuations contained in it against them (the judges) as wholly unsupported and of a libellous nature;" and he, therefore, proposed that "orders should be given to the sheriff, to cause the

* The judges applied to the Council for a copy of this document, and were told that it was *impossible* to furnish them with a copy, "having ordered the original and translations to be destroyed and no copy to be kept." In this same letter Hastings and the other members of Council, beg to be informed "from whom you (the judges) received the imputed information which appears to have been conveyed to you, on this and other occasions, of the proceedings of this Board in our Secret Department." No man was more competent to supply the answer than Hastings himself.

original to be burned publicly by the hands of the common hangman." And by the hands of the common hangman Nuncomar's petition was burnt, as an atrocious libel on the judges of the Supreme Court. Many years afterwards, Francis, staggered by a reference to this circumstance, asserted that the document was libellous, not because it reflected upon Sir Elijah Impey, but because it equally condemned the conduct of the other judges. The lie was as transparent as it was malicious.

But although Francis had proposed that the libel should be burnt by the common hangman, and Clavering had openly declared that he could not bring himself to read it before Nuncomar was hanged, the majority very soon began to repeat, in numberless letters to England, the substance of the libel; and to enter, in official minutes forwarded to the India House, condemnatory remarks of a similar tendency. In the following January, Impey, writing Mr. Smith on the subject of the appointment of an Advocate-General, remarked—

"You will see me most egregiously abused. The treatment I have met with from the moment I landed is most injurious, to a degree, that can hardly be credited. I don't think your mind is prepared to receive the worst impressions of my humanity or integrity. Do not believe declamatory abuse. Let facts and arguments be alluded to, and I shall stand fair with every honest and candid man."*

And again, writing to Thurlow, under the same date, he says—

"Dear Thurlow, by the *Godfrey*, I have despatched to Lord Rockford, remarks and answers to some virulent charges made upon the judges, in minutes dated 15th of September and 21st of November, by General C., Colonel M., and Mr. F., and which have been long since sent to the India [House]. They were meant to be secret, and it was but this week that I had intelligence of them, when Mr. Hastings communicated them to me, under an oath of secrecy, that I would not disclose the contents in Calcutta. I wrote to you before that I suspected that secret attacks were made on me. I had no suspicion of the malignancy of them. I fear that as there has been no possibility of answering them before, they may have made a bad impression in England. I must beseech you to suspend your judgment till the facts can be examined, and the answers and proofs, which I have sent up, can be read .... I do most solemnly assure (you) that I have to the best of my ability assisted in every instance, though the gentlemen complain of the Court's giving opposition to Government. The hauteur, insolence, and superior air of authority which the new members of the council use to the Court, may be partly discernible in the style of their minutes; but on the spot they maintain no colour of decency. My conduct to them has been absolutely the reverse, and I believe they are the more angry with me for it.' †

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* Unpublished MSS, letters in the British Museum

† Unpublished correspondence in the British Museum.

The judges had taken the precaution of sending home a complete report of Nuncomar's trial. Alexander Elliot, a young civilian of high promise, an intimate friend of the Chief Justice—he, whose early death Hastings subsequently deplored in the well known Horatian he addressed to Mr. Shore,* was entrusted with this authenticated version of the judicial proceedings. All the four judges had appended their names to a document authorising the publication of this report; Elliot was, moreover, the bearer of numerous letters to the friends of the Chief Justice and his associates. He had interpreted, throughout the trial; and, perhaps, there was not in the whole country a man better qualified to afford the fullest possible information regarding all the circumstances of this memorable event. To him Impey entrusted his reputation; and it could not have been in better keeping. Strange that we should have to add, that the Sir Gilbert Elliot, who moved the articles of impeachment against Impey—the most venomous of all the assailants of the Chief Justice—was the brother of that young man.

"This version of the trial," writes Mr. Impey, "was drawn "up by Samuel Tolfrey (the under-sheriff) by the order of "all the judges, and with the assistance of three of them. "The materials for it consisted of notes taken by the sheriff "and by the under-sheriff; by *the counsel for* the prisoner; "and by Mr. Elliot, who had acted as interpreter; by the "judges, and by one or two other parties. *All* the judges "at different times looked over the trial, whilst Tolfrey was "writing; when it was finished it was sent round to the judges; "and the authority for publishing was signed by all." Some years afterwards, that Mackintosh, of whom we have spoken in a former paper, † declared in his travels in *Europe, Asia and Africa*, that "the trial published in England is universally declared, on this side, to be spurious and false."—A statement which is very much on a par with other statements, affecting the characters of Hastings and Impey in that veracious work.

Mr. Impey asserts that no such person as Mackintosh was ever heard of, and Mr. Macfarlane, in his *Indian Empire*, has hazarded a similar opinion. It is surmised that Francis was

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* An early death was Elliot's doom;
I saw his opening virtues bloom,
And manly sense unfold,
Too soon to fade! I bade the stone
Record his name midst hordes unknown,
Unknowing what it told.

† "Calcutta Review," No. IV. Art. Sir. P. Francis.

the real author of the book. Now Mackintosh was quite as real, though not as distinguished a personage as Francis, and abundant mention of him, his character, his appearance, his sayings, and his doings may be found in the pamphlets of the day.* Some anecdotes of the man have already been recorded in the pages of this journal. Mackintosh was a tool of Francis, but he was not Francis himself—*alter et idem;* Junius in disguise. His book, indeed, is in no wise worthy of the honor of such putative paternity. It is a very dull affair. We confess that we expected to find in it much more cleverness and pungency. The personalities are neither very numerous, nor very stinging. It has scarcely the air of a book written for a political purpose.

There are, however, occasional passages in the *Travels*, venomous enough to be attributed to Francis, and of these the most vigorous are condemnatory of the conduct of Impey, Hyde, and Le Maistre. The following is, perhaps, the most remarkable :—

"Corruption hath usurped the sacred seat of justice and, shielded by the power of a venal government, hath held quiet possession of this station for six lingering years, without even the veil of hypocrisy to shade the horrors of oppression and savage violence Here, however, I might joyfully remark a single exception in the soul of Sir Robert Chambers, had nature extending to this amiable person her kind liberality, fortified his virtue with resolution to withstand magisterial frowns and supercilious arrogance. The mind overwhelmed with a confusion of cruel, iniquitious and violent decisions and executions, is incapable of arranging the various ideas that occur upon this subject of horror. . . . . Let the protectors of such men demonstrate their disappointment and concern at their conduct, by yielding them up as sacrifices to that justice, which they have so heniously offended." The writer goes on to declare that the offences of the judges "cry aloud for examples of just vengeance upon the spot where the abominable deeds were perpetrated;" and as a proof of "the rapacity of the Court, he alleges that the fees of processes and writs issuing from the Supreme Court have amounted annually to the enormous sum of £426,000."

It is not impossible that Francis may have thrown in a few touches here and there with his bold, masterly hand, but the main stock of the work is obviously the production of the swarthy creole.

Impey, it will have been seen, soon found that the chief seat in the Supreme Court was not a bed of roses Every month seemed to add something to the perplexities which worried him. It was barely possible that even, with the best understanding between the Council and the Court, no inconvenience should

* Especially in those of Captain Price. Mr. Impey speaks of Price's single pamphlet. But the sea-captain was a very prolific scribe; he must have written a dozen pamphlets.

have resulted from the exercise of the powers of the latter. The application of a new and mighty machinery to a condition of society in no wise adapted to it, must, under any combination of circumstances, have thrown the country into a state of disorder, but with the supreme legal authority at open war with the Supreme Government, it is difficult to conceive a more embarassing and more disastrous concurrence of events. Writing as we are a memoir not of the law but of the judge, it would be beside our present purpose to enlarge upon the characteristics of the former. It will be sufficient, on this occasion to observe, that the Supreme Court of Calcutta was established for the special protection of the natives of India against the presumed rapacity and oppression of the Company's servants. It is probable that,—as Francis and the other members of the new council sailed for India with very exaggerated ideas of the oppressive character of the Indian Government—of the general corruption which had been eating its way along the whole length and breadth of the country,—the judges also may (for it was a popular belief) have somewhat magnified the evil influence of the Company's Courts, and looked upon themselves too confidently as the saviours and deliverers of the country. Relying, without any misgivings, on the salutary effects of that "perfection of human reason," the English law, and knowing little or nothing of the peculiar prejudices of the people of India—their religion, their institutions, their laws of caste, their customs and ceremonies—they seem to have overlooked the fact that an instrument of protection may, unfitly applied, become an instrument of oppression. That the establishment of the Supreme Court did not bring with it the blessings with which it was intended to be laden, we may readily admit, without casting any heavy slurs upon the character of the Chief Justice and his judicial brethren. The problem to be solved was the most difficult of all difficult problems. There is no doubt that the state of things, before the passing of the Regulating Act, was sufficiently bad; that the law required radical reform; that justice had, in many instances, been set at naught most flagrantly; and that the people of India had really no remedy against the oppressions to which they were subject. But it might have puzzled even a greater lawyer than Elijah Impey—a greater statesmen than Warren Hastings—greater lawyers and statesmen than those in England who had been concerned in the framing of the Regulating Act—to determine how to render the English law a blessing to the natives of India. "The Company's Treasury," wrote Impey in 1776, "is full, but the country is depopulated. The ryots are

"leaving their lands and flocks; and turning fakeers, or enter-
"ing among the banditti. Everything has been undone by
"the present rulers, and nothing substituted." That Impey was impressed with the conviction that the Supreme Court would, in process of time, remedy much of this evil, we confidently believe. It was not unnatural that he should have relied on the efficacy of the English law; nor have we any reason to doubt the sincerity of his conviction.

But Impey, though imbued with strong faith in the general excellence of the English law, could not but see the defects inherent in the constitution of the new Court. The Regulating Act had been framed in a most slovenly manner; the powers of the Supreme Court were not distinctly defined, and it was liable, therefore, every day to find, that the legality of its acts was openly questioned. That Impey was not only willing, but anxious to have these defects formally remedied by the British legislature, is a matter of fact, not of conjecture. He wrote, by almost every ship, urgent letters to the most eminent English lawyers—to Lord Chancellor Bathurst, to Thurlow, to Dunning, and sometimes to the minister, Lord North. Hastings, too, bore frequent testimony to the moderation, the sound sense, and the good intentions of the Chief Justice. "I
"assure you," he wrote to Sullivan in March 1776, "that it is
"scarcely possible to have acted with more moderation or caution
"than Sir Elijah has observed in all cases in which the ordinary
"process of the Supreme Court was likely to affect the collec-
"tion and management of the public revenue. Indeed, the other
"judges merit the same testimony in their favor. Had a
"cordial understanding subsisted between the Court and the
"Council, much of the inconvenience that has arisen from the
"writs of the Court, would have been avoided, nor would the
"revenue have been in the least affected by them; but it *seems*
"*to have been a maxim of the Board to force the Court into extre-*
"*mities for the purpose of finding fault with it.* Yet, in many
"cases, the acts of the Court have been, and must continue to be,
"the unavoidable cause of embarrassment. This is owing to a
"defect in its constitution. By the limitation of its powers it
"must ever remain a doubt what is the extent of them, as
"every man in the provinces is in reality subjected to the au-
"thority of the Company. If it was constituted to protect the
"people from oppression, that design would be entirely frus-
"trated, were the Board at liberty to employ agents who should
"be exempt from its authority; and *you will have seen many*
"*instances in the papers which I have sent home, of the most glaring*
"*acts of oppression committed by the Board, which would have*

"*produced the ruin of the parties over whom they were exercised,* "*but for the protection of the Court.* Great complaints have been "made of Zemindars and others, who are not liable to the "jurisdiction of the Court, by the plain construction of the "Act, having been arrested, and some thrown into prison by "its warrants. But no attention has been paid to the ne- "cessity which there is of bringing the persons, who are even "excluded by the Act from the jurisdiction of the Court, in "the same way before it to establish their exemption. They "may plead to its jurisdiction, and obtain their discharge; but "till this is done, I cannot see how it is possible to make the "distinction; for if every man, who declared himself to be no "British subject, nor employed by any, *was in virtue of his own* "*declaration to be exempted from their authority, all men would* "*make the plea*... The truth is that a thing done by halves "is worse done than if it were not done at all. The powers "of the Court must be universal, or it would be better to "repeal them altogether..... I hope that my plan will "be found to provide the most effectual relief against all the "imperfections of the Act as it now stands. On the one hand, "it proposes to give to the Supreme Court an unlimited (but "not exclusive) authority over all, and on the other, it pro- "vides for the administration of justice in all cases to which "its jurisdiction cannot conveniently extend without the "danger of a competition with it. In this coalition of the "British judicature with the Dewany, the latter will obtain "a more steady and confirmed authority than it has ever yet "possessed; and; being open to the daily inspection and control "of the judges, the Dewany courts will acquire a more regu- "lar and legal form than they could have, if left to them- "selves."–*(Gleig's Hastings.)* This new scheme, the heads of which were laid down by Hastings, was put into legal shape by Impey, and sent to England for the adoption of his Majesty's Government.* It shared the fate of many other propositions for the better Government of our Indian territories. It was quietly shelved, and there left for the dust to accumu-

* Writing, a few months afterwards, Hastings observed, "I grieve that the Chief "Justice's Bill did not go home eighteen months ago. My diffidence of my own "ability on a subject so remote from all my occupations, deterred me from attempt- "ing anything of the kind: and I found, when I seriously pressed Sir Elijah on "the subject, that he was withheld from it by the want of local experience, and had "expected me to form the plan of a judicial establishment for the whole country. "How we missed the knowledge of each other's sentiments on such a subject, and "with a daily communication, I know not; as soon as I knew his, I instantly set "about it. My plan was written on the eve of the close of one packet, and his Bill, "for similar causes and from sickness, was begun and finished during the despatch "of another."

late upon it. Lord North thought that he had done enough in sending out the new councillors and the new judges, and having plunged the settlement in civil discord, he thought it best to leave the combatants to fight it out in their own way.

The private letter from the Governor-General which we have quoted above, is marked by his characteristic good sense, and is written in a conciliatory spirit. He did not always express himself with equal moderation and candour when writing official minutes on the subject of the proceedings of the Supreme Court. Indeed, in the prosecution of the present enquiry, the conviction has been forced upon us, that the character of Hastings is fairly chargeable with extreme duplicity. Some allowance must be made for the embarrassments of his position; he may have felt that perpetual antagonism to the Council, whilst distressing to himself, was injurious to the interests of the State, and may therefore sometimes have put his name to letters and resolutions which had not received his cordial approbation; but, whatever may have been the cause, we find it difficult to reconcile the conflicting expressions which, from time to time, present themselves in the course of such an investigation as this; and are forced, therefore, into the utterance of an opinion that candour and single-mindedness were not elements in the character of Warren Hastings.

But whilst allowing all possible weight to the mitigating circumstances set forth by the Governor-General, it is impossible to close one's eyes against the conviction, that the operations of the Supreme Court were often attended with violence and injustice—that outrages were commited on individuals, and that the affairs of Government were obstructed by improper unauthorised judicial interference. It may not be strictly true that "a reign of terror began," but there is no doubt that many very unrighteous acts were committed in the name of the Supreme Court. Seventy years have passed away since the time of which we are now writing; and still do the understrappers of the law, whether in the employ of the Queen's or the Company's courts, commit inconceivable outrages in the name of public justice. Alas! for our magistrates and judges, if they were answerable for all the iniquities committed by the Police!

That the myrmidons of the Supreme Court committed excesses for which there is no justification, it is impossible to deny. The vivid sketch of the "reign of terror," under the new judicial system—a sketch which forms one of the most striking passages in Mr. Macaulay's glowing article—is, doubtless, in the

recollection of our readers. That passage is founded upon undeniable fact; but it is excessively over-charged. The rhetoric overlays the truth. The article throughout resembles the brilliant address of a prosecuting counsel, not the dispassionate summing-up of a judge. The extreme cases spoken of, as of frequent occurrence, were not many but few; and even these few cases, stript of all adventitious aids of strong language and passionate appeals to the imagination, and reduced to the sober guise of matter-of-fact evidence, wear a very different aspect from that which they assume in Mr. Macaulay's *Historical* Essays.

It would occupy too much of our space if we were to enter minutely into the merits even of those few cases, which were brought prominently to the notice of the public; and which really created some sensation in Bengal. But to one or two of these we may briefly allude. The well-known "Patna cause" present itself first for notice; and it is one of so complicated a nature, that we may well despair of being able to lay before our readers, in a small space, such an abstract as will enable them to comprehend it in all its bearings. There was a Mussulman adventurer, named Shah-baz Khan, who came from Kabul to seek his fortune in Hindustan. Like most of his race, he was an expert horseman and a good soldier; and after a while obtained service from the British Government as commander of a body of horse. He was recommended, it would appear, by Mr. Watts, and cast no discredit upon his patron. At the close of the war with Kassim Ali, having obtained some wealth in the service, and received a grant of land in Behar from the Mogul, he retired from active life and settled down quietly at Patna. There he married a young wife, but begat no children—a circumstance which his needy relatives were not long in turning to good account. A nephew came down to Patna to comfort the old man; and was soon duly installed as his adopted son. In due course, the veteran died, and there was a disputed inheritance. The widow, Nadarah Begum claimed the proceeds of his estate; and Bahadur Beg, the nephew, asserted his right to the whole. The young man lost no time in sending in a petition to the Patna Council, and the case was referred to the Mahommedan law officers, who were directed to take an inventory of the goods of the deceased, for it was alleged that the Begum who was in possession, was secreting and carrying off the money and other valuables. This was accordingly done. The kazi and muftis went to the Begum's residence: and, after some slight resistance upon her part, proceeded to carry out the direc-

tions of the council—the widow, whilst the process was going on, having moved out of her accustomed apartments into another part of the house. Having taken the inventory, the law officers proceeded to investigate the respective claims of the two parties to the inheritance. In behalf of the widow, it was alleged that the property had been made over to her by Shah-baz Khan, and a deed of gift, to this effect, was produced. The nephew on the other hand alleged that this was a forged instrument, and claimed the estate as adopted son and heir at law. The kazi and muftis, after examining several witnesses, declared their opinion that the deeds produced by the Begum's vakil were spurious; and accordingly decided that the widow should receive a fourth of the estate, and that Bahadur Beg should possess himself of the residue. This decision was confirmed by the Patna council; and the Mahommedan law officers proceeded to the house of the late Shah-baz Khan to divide his effects in accordance with this decree. On this the Begum, in great dudgeon, quitted the house; took up her abode in a nest of fakirs, situated in another part of the town, and refused to take possession of the property which had been legally assigned to her.

After some months, it occurred, or was suggested to the Begum, that she might obtain redress from the Supreme Court. She had obstinately refused compliance with the orders of the Patna council; and accordingly a guard of sepoys had been placed over her, for she had carried off with her all the slave-girls and the title-deeds of her husband's estates. The armed force had no effect upon her, and it was withdrawn. The Begum then set off for Calcutta.

Then she brought an action in the Supreme Court against Bahadur Beg, the kazi and the muftis, for assault and battery, trespass and false imprisonment—alleging that she had been grossly injured and insulted—and laying her damages at six lakhs of sicca rupees.*

Bahadur Beg pleaded that he was out of the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, and that he was "not guilty." The Mussalman law officers pleaded generally "not guilty." The former alleged that he was in no wise, directly or indirectly, in the employment of the Company; but the plea was overruled on the score that he was the farmer of certain lands held under the British Government. It is true that he was not avowedly the farmer of the district, but only security for

* Mr. Impey says, that Nanderah Begum commenced her action in 1779. This is either a mistake or a misprint. The action was commenced in 1777.

the ostensible and recognised farmer—a circumstance, which could scarcely, by any forced construction, have brought him within the jurisdiction of the Court, had it not been alleged, by certain witnesses, that he was generally regarded as the *bonâ fide* farmer of the land. Public opinion, at all events, pointed to him in that capacity; and the Court determined that the jurisdiction was made out. The attempted justification was not more successful. Bahadur Beg set forth that he was only a suitor in the Patna Court, and the law officers that they acted in accordance with the instructions of higher authority; but both pleas were set aside.

An European bailiff—one Savrey by name—was accordingly sent to Patna to arrest the parties accused. This officer was, it appears, instructed not to receive bail under an amount of four lakhs of rupees. On the 13th of December 1777, Bahadur Beg and the kazi were arrested in the public streets. The latter, an old man of three-score, was on his way home from cutcherry, in a palanquin, attended by the officers of his court. The indignity offered to the person of a public servant of such high rank, seems to have astounded the Patna council. They met, deliberated, and finally resolved to bail the kazi. He and Bahadur Khan, had been put on board a boat in close arrest, and the bailiff declared his inability to accept bail for one prisoner, with the terms of the recognisances including all the rest. He, however, consented to refer the case to the judges; and the issue was that, on the 29th of December, the case having also been referred by the Patna Board to the Governor-General and Council, bail was accepted for the whole party, and the two prisoners were released.

Bahadur Beg was soon afterwards sent down to Calcutta to surrender to his bail; but there, the Government bailed him again, and he was sent back to Patna in the month of July, there to await the issue of the trial. The case did not come on for adjudication before the beginning of the year 1779. The proceedings lasted for several days; and on the 3rd of February, judgment was given. The defendants were cast in damages to the amount of 3,00,000 sicca rupees; with 9,000 rupees costs. The kazi's salary was a *hundred* rupees a month, that of each of the muftis about *twenty-five*.

Judgment having been given, the defendants were sent down to Calcutta to surrender. The kazi died upon the way.* Bahadur Beg and the two muftis, not so fortunate,

* It is to this, perhaps, that Mr. Macaulay alludes, when we says, that "there were instances, in which men of the most venerable dignity, persecuted without a cause by extortioners, died of rage and shame in the gripe of the vile alguazils of Impey."

were cast into the common gaol of Calcutta, and confined in a filthy, reeking dungeon, used by the prisoners as a cookroom, and turned to much viler uses.

After some time the prisoners, at the instigation of Sir John D'Oyly, were removed to more endurable apartments; and there they remained for about the space of two years. Bahadur Beg, in the course of the autumn of 1779, sent in a memorial, which was referred to the Advocate-General, Sir John Day, who undertook, with the permission of the Governor-General and Council, to afford the prisoners all the legal assistance in his power towards obtaining constitutional redress. The result was that there was an appeal to the Privy Council: the "Patna cause," with others were investigated by a Parliamentary Committee, on the receipt of the memorial of the British inhabitants, generally known as Touchet's petition, and the prisoners were ordered to be released;* it is from the report of this committee, with its numerous appendices, that we have drawn up this abstract of the case. Nine years elapsed before the appeal was heard in Privy Council, and then it was dismissed. The case formed the second article of the Impeachment against Impey in 1787, but was never brought on to a hearing. The proceedings were quashed after the production of the Nuncomar charge.

The friends of Sir Elijah Impey have reason to regret that he had not an opportunity of vindicating himself against *all* the calumnies cast upon him. The Patna case appears, *primâ facie*, to indicate considerable harshness, to say the least, on the part of the judges of the Supreme Court. Bahadur Beg seems to have been brought, by a very forced construction, within the jurisdiction of the Court, but we may not unreasonably suspect, that there was something more than is apparent on the face of the Committee's report, to render him

* The muftis, it appears, were subsequently restored to their appointments. It is curious, on perusing in these days, the Articles of Impeachment drawn up by Sir Gilbert Elliot, to stumble upon such passages as the following:—"That in particular, the said Impey, in endeavouring to establish the corruption of the kazi and muftis, and thereby to obtain a colorable pretence for their persecution, did state that corruption was the necessary consequence of poverty, declaring that it was not surprising that they should be mean, weak, ignorant and corrupt, when the salary of the principal Judge does not exceed 100 Rupees a month. That the said principle (continued Elliot) is false, scandalous, and immoral, highly disgraceful in the lips of a British judge, and highly dangerous to that stability and purity of character which is absolutely necessary to the adequate performance of the duties of his high office." This false, scandalous, and immoral principle has since been universally recognised by men of all degrees, from the Sovereign downwards, and is now beginning to be acted upon. When Bishop Corrie, on his consecration, went to kiss the King's hands, His Majesty (William IV.) told him that he did not like to hear so much about the reduction of salaries of the Company's servants, as he was afraid, that if their incomes were reduced, a new reign of corruption would commence.

amenable to the English law. An autograph note, in Sir Elijah Impey's copy of this report, now before us, states that Bahadur Beg was brought within the jurisdiction of the Court, *not because he was a farmer of land, but because he was a farmer of revenue.* The law officers, there is little reason to doubt, greatly exceeded their authority, and were guilty of excesses, for which there was no justification. But far greater excesses were committed by the officers of the Supreme Court; and under any circumstances, it may be questioned whether a sentence, tantamount to imprisonment for life (for it was totally impossible for the muftis, whose joint salaries had not exceeded fifty rupees a month, to pay such exorbitant damages) was not out of all proportion to the offence. That Impey himself was confident in the justice of the Court's decision, we believe. On receiving the report of the Parliamentary Committee, he wrote to Dunning and others:—"In the report, appendix, &c., I see many things I never heard of before; many things which excite my ridicule as well as indignation. *That the Patna cause should, by any temper, be turned against the Court, astonishes me. It is sufficient to damp the zeal of any man.*"* That the committee, the list of which includes the names of Burke, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Mr. Farrer (who had been Nuncomar's counsel) and others, who were certainly not prejudiced in favor of the judges, drew up a report not distinguished by any extraordinary amount of candour and impartiality, is obvious on the very face of the proceedings; but we regret that no detailed defence is on record; and that even Mr. Impey, in his memoir of the Chief Justice, is not quite as full and satisfactory in his explanations as we could desire.

Upon the "Dacca Case," though one of more general interest, we do not purpose to enlarge. Sir Elijah Impey was not held responsible for the outrages which attended it. He was absent from his duties on account of ill-health at the time that it occurred, and the official documents connected with it, for the most part, bear the signature of Mr. Justice Hyde. The case is briefly this: In the autumn of 1777, a writ was issued for the arrest of one Juggernat, dewan of the Principal Fouzdar of the Dacca Court, to whose house Mr. Peat, the sheriff, with his *posse comitatus* proceeded in force. The gateway was broken down, and there was a serious affray, in the course of which the father of the Fouzdar was wounded on the head by a blow from a tulwar, and his brother-in-law dangerously injured by a pistol discharged by Mr. Peat himself.

* Impey's Memoirs, page 345.

These proceedings appear to have thrown the affairs of the whole province into disorder. Mr. Peat himself was in such danger, that he applied for the protection of a military force; and a guard was accordingly placed over his house. The excitement which prevailed in the neighbourhood, was almost unprecedented; and the administration of justice seems to have been for some time at a stand-still,—so great was the alarm occasioned by this attack, *vi et armis*, on the principal officers of the provincial court. That Mr. Peat, the deputy sheriff—a young, hot-headed attorney, clerk to Mr. Justice Hyde, was guilty of great indiscretion; that unjustifiable acts of violence were committed, and that the province was thrown into great disorder by these unwarrantable proceedings, we see no reason to question; but it has not been alleged by the enemies of Sir Elijah Impey that he was responsible for these outrages. We may, therefore, pass them by without further comment.

The "Cossijurah Cause" is more immediately mixed up with the career of Sir Elijah Impey. In this case the Supreme Council and the Supreme Court were brought into open collision. The spectacle which presented itself was a most unseemly one. The Government were driven to resort to measures, which they confessed to be illegal; and in a short time, the Company's troops were actually waging war against those of the sheriff. The case is one of considerable interest. There was a native merchant in Calcutta, one Cossinath Babú, who had managed the Zemindary of the Rajah of Cossijurah in the district of Midnapore, and stood security for the payments of the rents accruing to Government: some of these payments having fallen into arrears, Cossinath was arrested and confined, under orders from the Governor-General and Council; upon which an application for a writ of Habeas Corpus was applied for to the Supreme Court and obtained, but on account of some informality, it could not take immediate effect. Cossinath, however, was released by the consent of Government, on his undertaking to make good the balance against him, if the final settlement were not in his favor, and eventually depositing the amount. This took place in 1777. Two years passed away, and the matter still remained unsettled. At last Cossinath, weary of the delay, applied for an immediate decision of the matter in dispute. The case was referred to the superintendent of Kalsa records, but whilst it was still under investigation, Cossinath brought it before another tribunal, by flinging himself into the arms of the Supreme Court.

In August 1779, he commenced a suit against the Rajah of Cossijurah; Mr. Justice Hyde received the Babú's affidavit

and issued a writ of Capias for the apprehension of the Rajah. The sheriff was authorised to take bail; but it was not to fall short of three lakhs of rupees. The writ went forth. The Zemindar concealed himself. The Collector of Midnapore wrote immediately to the Governor-General and Council asking for instructions. The Board referred the matter to Sir John Day, the Advocate General, who declared his opinion, that under the extraordinary circumstances of the case, the Government would be justified in sanctioning a resistance of the process of the Court. Upon this the Board wrote at once to the Collector, that the Rajah was out of the jurisdiction of the Court, and desiring him in no wise to recognise its authority At the same time the Collector was ordered not to call out the military without further instructions.

Those instructions, however, were soon issued. The first writ having been returned as unexecuted, on account of the concealment of the Rajah, a second writ was issued by Mr. Justice Hyde, ordering the sequestration of his lands and effects. Determined not to be baulked this time, the sheriff mustered a strong force of peons—increasing the levy by getting together a party of those private sepoys, whom, armed and accoutred after the fashion of the Company's troops, we may even now see posted at the gates of some of the principal native houses in the neighbourhood of Calcutta—and still further increased his force by picking out of the gullys and bazars, the punch-houses and the brothels, all the dissolute, discharged seamen to be found adrift in the town. This levy of desperate men, the Babú took care to arm with musquets, and bayonets, and tulwars; and thus equipped the sheriff's army set out for Midnapore. The Council being apprized of their march, lost no time in issuing orders for the preparation of an antagonistic force. A letter was despatched to Colonel Auchmuty, commanding at Midnapore, stating all the circumstances of the case, and ordering him to detach a sufficient force to intercept the sheriff's party, apprehend them, and keep them in custody till further orders.

But before the military could seize their prey, the sheriff's *posse comitatus*—a vile and disorderly crew—had beseiged the Rajah's house, beaten his servants, seized his gods, violated the sanctity of his zenana, defiled his place of worship, and stripped the ornaments from his idol-gods. Their victory was but of brief duration. On the 3rd of December, a detachment of Company's troops, under Lieutenant Bunford, appeared in sight, and in a short time had made prisoners of about sixty of the rioters.

The next step taken by the Government was a heavy blow

to the Court. On the 17th of December the Governor-General and Council issued a proclamation to all the zemindars, chaudris and talúkdars, requiring them as "not being (except in certain cases afterwards stated) subject to the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, not—in case of any summons, warrant, or other process of the said Supreme Court, being served upon them by the sheriff or his officers—to appear, nor plead, nor do, nor suffer any act which may amount on their part to a recognition of the authority of the judicature, as extending to themselves;" and so open war was declared by Government against the Supreme Court. The prisoners taken by the former were brought down to Calcutta and released; but the severity of the conflict in no degree abated The Court, on the 18th of January, moved an attachment against the Assistant Collector of Midnapore, and against Lieut. Bunford for contempt of Court, in rescuing the house and property of the Rajah from the clutches of the law. But before the attachment was issued, the Governor-General and Council apprehending the course that would be adopted by the Court, had ordered all the parties concerned to resist the execution of any writ that might be issued, in consequence of the protection afforded by them to the person and property of the Rajah.

Nor were these the limits of the Court's daring. It was moved that rules should be made against the Governor-General, Mr. Barwell, and Mr. North Naylor, the Company's attorney. To this the Chief Justice strenuously objected. He alleged that as regarded the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell, it would be preposterous to grant a rule which the Court could not enforce; but he ordered that there should be a rule to show cause why an attachment should not be issued against Mr. Swainston and Lieutenant Bunford and Mr. Naylor; that the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell should be served with copies of the rules, and all the members of Council should be called upon to assist in executing them.

But the Governor-General and Council, after again consulting the Advocate-General, determined to adhere to their original opinions, and to act in accordance with them. The sheriff's officers had attempted to arrest Mr. Swainston and Lieutenant Bunford, but General Auchmuty had defended the cantonment too well for the law officers to obtain ingress; and the Court was again baffled. Upon this, the sheriff officially demanded assistance from the members of Council, separately and collectively; but received no reply. Soon afterwards, Mr. North Naylor was arrested and thrown into the common gaol of Calcutta.

Early in March, Mr. Naylor was committed to prison. On the 16th he was released. In the course of the following August, he died. He was a friend and protegé of Impey, to whom he had been recommended by Dunning. The Chief Justice was greatly attached to him, and deeply deplored his early death.

An attempt was subsequently made to prove that the treatment to which Naylor was subjected occasioned the illness which terminated his life. The Select Committee, in their report of 1782, state that "Naylor's death had been, in all probability, hastened, if not caused, by his sufferings under confinement." It is stated also that he was imprisoned for *upwards of a month*, and that he died soon after his release. All this is readily disproved: but when Mr. Impey, in his memoirs of his father, endeavours to show that the Chief Justice had nothing to do with the committal of Mr Naylor, he falls into an error, which we are sure he will be anxious, in a future edition, to correct.

"On the 1st of March," says the biographer, "North Naylor "was committed to prison at Calcutta; on the 16th he was "set at liberty. From the 6th of July 1778, to the 15th "of March in the following year, my father was with his "family at Chittagong, above three hundred and sixteen miles "from Calcutta. He was in ill-health, and my mother brought "to bed at that place, which will account for so long an "absence; and during those seven months, Mr. Justice Hyde "presided in the Supreme Court. It was Hyde, therefore, "and not the Chief Justice, who committed Naylor to prison." We are sorry to shake the credit of such a circumstantial alibi as this. We do not doubt that what Mr Impey asserts, relative to the absence of his father from Calcutta during the time specified, is strictly correct; but unfortunately it was not during that period that the proceedings connected with the attachment of Mr. North Naylor took place. The events connected with the great Cossijurah cause, of which we have given a rapid outline above, occurred, not in 1778-79, but in 1779-80, —a year after Sir Elijah's absence with his family at Chittagong. It was in March 1780 that North Naylor was committed. Sir Elijah Impey presided in court, and personally ordered the attachment. It was the Chief Justice who refused to accept bail. It was the Chief Justice who said:—"The Court must vindicate its authority. If we accepted bail, it could be no punishment. We mean to inflict an exemplary one." And it is added, in the minutes of the Supreme Court, "lest the sheriff should not understand the mode of confinement on attachment, it is necessary he should understand that he must

confine his prisoner within the walls of the gaol."—These proceedings are dated 4th March 1780. All the three judges were present: Impey, Chambers, and Hyde. Le Maistre had died more than two years before, and no successor had been appointed.

We need not pursue further the annals of this great strife, which indeed belong rather to the general history of India than to the biography of an individual. It is our conviction that Impey sincerely believed the course he took upon this occasion was the only one that could with propriety have been taken without an utter sacrifice of the dignity and an abnegation of the powers of the Supreme Court. But we are also convinced that he permitted his conscientious desire to uphold the integrity of the Court to carry him beyond the limits of common prudence; and that by straining the powers of the law to an undue extent, he violated the principles of moral justice and oppressed where he sought to protect. It is true that much of the evil which arose from the execution of the orders of the Court resulted directly from the inefficiency of the tools which he was compelled to employ; but it must, at the same time, be acknowledged, that it was the great mistake of Impey's judicial life, that he did not sufficiently bear in mind the danger of working with such tools It does not seem to have occurred to him, that the authority of the law, however excellent in itself, is the most dangerous of all dangerous weapons in the hands of the vicious or the weak. It would be hard to render a Chief Justice responsible for the excesses committed by a sheriff's officer; but the judges must, early in their career, have learnt how liable they were to have their decrees executed with violence and tyranny—so as to render the law not a blessing but a terror and a scourge to the people; and this knowledge, at least, ought to have taught them more caution. Wedded too, indissolubly to their conviction of the infallibility of the law, they determined to assert its supremacy on all occasions. It was an article of their religion that the law could do no wrong, and in place and out of place, in season and out of season, the processes of the King's Court were deemed sovereign remedies for all social evils. We are not sure that there was not some infatuation in this, but there was, at all events, no dishonesty. And we may question whether there was a lawyer in any of the Inns of Court when the Regulating Act was passed, who would not, under similar circumstances, have been equally prone to magnify the advantages of the English law, and to push the jurisdiction of the King's Court into places which it was never intended to reach.

It must also be borne in mind, by all who would take an impartial view of the conduct of the judges, that the opposition which the new court encountered from the first day of its establishment was but too surely calculated to impel the judges to push its powers to the utmost limit. The judges believed that they were contending for a great principle: the supremacy of the law, the stability of British justice. They saw in the opposition erected against it, the most striking proof of the indispensability of the new court; and they felt that the only means of rendering the institution one to be respected and revered, was by the maintenance of its rights in all their integrity and an assertion of its utmost powers. They were anxious to demonstrate, in the eyes of the natives of India, the majesty of British justice The opposition of the Council at once opened their eyes to the necessity of acting vigorously and fearlessly, as a body amenable to no higher power in India, and subject to no control from the Governor-General and Council. The Government would gladly have rendered the Court a mere subordinate agency, taking its cue from the Council Chamber; but the Court was not so to be influenced It determined to assert its independence; and in so doing was betrayed into errors, which humanity must deeply deplore. The independence of the Court it was essential to demonstrate, but independence "in its largeness and overflow" degenerates into excess; and we are afraid that the control of the Government is not the only control which it resisted.

We believe that with the exception of Chambers, the Chief Justice was the most moderate of the four judges. There was any thing but unanimity on the bench. Hyde and Le Maistre were anxious to carry the interference of the Court in the affairs of Government to an extent which the Chief Justice could not sanction. Impey always contended that it would be dangerous and unjustifiable for the Court to interfere in revenue matters, and by so doing, disorder the whole fiscal system of the country: but Hyde and Le Maistre desired to coerce the tax-gatherers and throw the ægis of the Court's protection over the taxed. The contentions within the Court appear to have risen almost to fever heat. In August 1777 we find the Chief Justice writing to Dunning, "Every day's experience shows "me more and more the truth of your prediction about Hyde. "He and Le Maistre are violent beyond measure. They have "set themselves in direct and determined opposition to me, and "Hyde is even abusive on the bench, to which I have never "been provoked to reply. Chambers, on the contrary, supports

"me, and behaves very handsomely to me."—And again to Thurlow, "I have every day more and more reason to be con-"cerned at my having assisted in getting Hyde and Le Mais-"tre appointed judges. Hyde, (in whom the seeds of the "disorder which he had a little before he left England still "remain) and Le Maistre are violent beyond all measure. "They have set themselves in direct and determined opposi-"tion to me in every thing. Hyde is peculiarly abusive to me "even on the bench, to which I have not, nor ever will, be pro-"voked to reply. The sole object of disgust to Hyde and Le "Maistre is, my not having joined them in opinion to prevent "the collection of the revenues being enforced by the officers "of the Company."* Impey elsewhere mentions that his possession of the casting vote was a thorn in the side of his colleagues.

Hyde, indeed, appears to have been the most uncompromising of the judges; and to do him justice, the most indefatigable. He was the acting justice of the peace, and therefore, his name appears with much greater frequency, than those of his colleagues, on the different legal instruments handed down to us in connexion with the great causes to which we have referred. He seems seldom or never to have been absent from his post; and if there were any culpability in these transactions, he was assuredly more culpable than Impey, for he it was who generally committed the Court to a line of conduct from which, once entered upon, it could not depart. Chambers on the other hand exhibited a much greater disposition to side with the Council. He was the intimate friend and constant associate of General Clavering, who was extremely anxious to see Impey removed and Chambers promoted in his stead. There was, however, no want of cordiality between the two judges, and the intimacy between them lasted till death removed one from the scene. Chambers died at Paris in 1802; and Impey attended him throughout his last illness, "arranged his funeral, and followed him to the grave."

To Impey himself this violent contention between the Court and the Council was a constant source of pain and mortification. Attached, as he was, to the Governor-General, and anxious, as far as was possible, without sacrificing the honor of the Court, to promote the interests of the Supreme Government, the open war in which he was now engaged preyed upon his spirits and injured his health. "The public outrages," he wrote to Dunning, "committed against the Court have been without any

* Unpublished letters in the British Museum.

"provocation. *The power which is exerted against me, would "not have existed in the hands in which it is, if I had not myself "helped to keep it there*, and it was used against me at the time "when, to all appearance, I was living, in the utmost confidence "and familiarity with the possessor of it;" and again, in the same letter, "I was a guest in his house, when he meditated "these hostilities, without my receiving the least intimation of "his discontent with the Court. I only learnt it by the mili- "tary force of the Company being used to oppose the process "of the Court in the ordinary course of justice. This has "hurt me much more than any anxiety which I felt, during all "the time that I knew Clavering was endeavouring to ruin me "in England .... No situation can possibly be more irksome. "I have scarcely a social comfort beyond my own family. "The flattering expectation of credit and reputation from the "happiness I was bestowing on this country, and the benefits I "thought would from thence have been derived to my own, "totally blasted, and my private fortune and public duty "compelling me to remain where I must waste my life in "perpetual vexation and ineffectual struggle." About the same time Hastings wrote to Sullivan: "I suffer beyond mea- "sure by the present contest, and my spirits are, at times, so "depressed as to affect my health. I feel an injury done me by "a man for whom I have borne a sincere and steady friendship "during more than thirty years, *and to whose support I was, at "one time, indebted for the safety of my fortune, honour, and re- "putation*, with a tenfold sensibility. And, under every con- "sciousness of the necessity which has influenced my own "conduct, and the temper with which I have regulated it, I "am ready to pass the most painful reproaches on myself on "the least symptom of returning kindness from him. Such is "my weakness, if this be a weakness .... We are both of us "unhappily situated and associated. Myself linked in the "same cause with a man equally his enemy and mine*—he "with one man, who has made no scruple to avow himself my "enemy†—God knows why—and another, who, though not "personally indisposed to me, but governed by a harsh and "petulant temper, and possessed of the most extravagant opi- "nion of the omnipotency of his office, is the acting justice of "the peace, and issues almost every preparatory process of the "Court, which his colleagues must maintain, or their authority "and dignity suffer by a diminution of his. In him our pre- "sent controversy originated, and from acts of which, however

* Francis. † Chambers.

"the Chief Justice may now think of them, I in my heart "believe it impossible for him to have been the author." We need not add that the party here described is Mr. Justice Hyde. It was to the eager haste with which Hyde issued his processes that much of the evils which arose must in fairness be attributed.

It is hard to say whether Hastings or Impey felt more keenly the severance of those ties which had bound them together since their boyhood. It is probable that they both exclaimed, in the touching words of the afflicted David, each imputing the greater blame to the other :—"For it is not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonour ; neither was it mine adversary that did magnify himself against me ; for then peradventure I could have borne it, but it was even thou, my companion, my guide and my own familiar friend." It was the very closeness of their former intimacy which rendered their present separation so galling.*

Nothing hurt Impey so much as the circumstance that at the very time when the Governor-General struck the most crushing blow at the Chief Justice, the latter was a guest in the former's house. There had been, previously, some coolness between them, as indicated by a modification of the familiar style of address observed in their respective letters ; but about November 1779, Impey having fallen sick, we find Hastings writing to offer him the use of his country house. In September their correspondence had been stiff and formal. The "dear friend " and "dear Hastings " had grown into " dear Sir;" and Impey had even written to Hastings complaining of an additional affront from Government," which had been put upon the Supreme Court ; but friendly relations had been re-established, and Impey with his family had taken up his abode in the Governor-General's house.† It was not long, however, before

* We cannot offer a better proof of the strong friendship that existed between them, than is to be found in the following passage of a characteristic letter from Hastings to Impey, which is contained in the manuscript correspondence in the British Museum—"My mind is not without its painful sensations, and those are often "the most painful which are confined to it. As I write to you what is uppermost, "and from the disposition which prevails at the instant, you must bear with me if "I am petulant ; you must allow me to exult in the moment of levity, and let it "pass if what I write is nonsense. May God bless you, my friend, and give you "confirmed health."

† Hastings wrote, "I have examined the house, and hope I have provided such accommodations as will be acceptable to you, and I venture to make it my request—a request in which Mrs. Hastings joins me -that you will come and make trial of them... .. one circumstance. I must apprise you of, which did not occur to me when I saw you : that we shall be obliged to return to town for a few days, on account of a wedding which is to be celebrated in our family on the 28th, and will require some previous arrangement. . We shall return again presently after for an indefi-

they stood in a very different relation towards each other. For a time they "stood aloof"—neither, we may venture to say, ceasing to take the deepest interest in the welfare of his old friend, but outwardly frigid and distant. The cold weather of 1779-80 saw a great chasm between them. There is a note in Hastings' own writing, in the Impey collection, commencing "Mr. and Mrs. Hastings present their compliments to Sir Elijah and Lady Impey, and request to know how their little Marian is." The child was a god-daughter of Mrs. Hastings, who took the liveliest interest in the little girl. In the time of their alliance, letters of affectionate inquiry were constantly passing between the two families.

It was about this time that Impey wrote to his friend, Dr. Flemming, then with the army, a letter containing the following passages :—

"As to my public situation, it has been rendered so irksome to me, that the very reciting the circumstances is too disgustful to me to suffer me to enter on the subject. All that I shall say on it is, that at the very time the Governor-General was caressing me and entertaining me as his guest in his house, after my recovery from a tedious illness, he was meditating a stroke, which must interest both my fortune and reputation, the first intimation of which came to my knowledge by the èclat of the Company's military forces having committed hostilities against the officers of the Court. *This behaviour from a man, who would not have been in the Government, if I had not contributed to support him, you may imagine must have been a little galling*, especially as no provocation had been given him. We were only proceeding in the ordinary course of our business, as it had been practised ever since our establishment. As this is diametrically opposite to repeated and warm promises made to me, it is unaccountable, except from lust of power to which all things must yield, and unless I was to be made a sacrifice to new connections. But however close the present union may be between Mr. H. and Mr. F., I believe, you will join with me in thinking that it cannot be durable. Mr. H. seemed to be very glad to get rid of Barwell, and no doubt would likewise be pleased if I was out of the way. But though the treatment I have received from him is not what I had reason to expect, I am resolved not to act adversary to him in any respect, but in the cases in which he has, or shall make it necessary to me so to do for self-defence. I am determined to leave this country (except my situation should be mended) as soon as I can with honor to myself and justice to my family."*

The reader will observe in the letter from Hastings to Sullivan, and in those from Impey to Dunning and Dr. Flemming, passages of a similar tendency, distinguished by italics

nite time, and it will afford both Mrs. Hasting and myself great pleasure to have you, Lady Impey, and your little ones of the party."—*MSS. correspondence in British Museum.*

* This letter contains much matter relative to a commission sent to Dr. Flemming to purchase a set of pearls for Lady Impey—which is only noticeable as setting forth Impey's character in an amiable light as an affectionate and indulgent husband.

Mr. Macaulay asserts "that the 'strong words' in the Governor-General's letter can refer only to the case of Nuncomar, and they must mean that Impey hanged Nuncomar in order to support Hastings." If Impey really committed this judicial murder, it is strange, indeed, that he should have boasted of it both to his friends in India and England. But the fact is that the strong words, which "could only refer to the case of Nuncomar," in all probability refer to a totally different affair. The interpretation lies much nearer at hand. It was to the support of Impey that Hastings was mainly indebted for his continuance in office after General Clavering had attempted to usurp the Government—an event of which we have not spoken in its proper place, partly because it belongs more to the general history of India than to the biography of Sir Elijah Impey, and, partly because, in a former article, we gave some particulars of the memorable circumstances attending the attempt to wrest the reins of Government from the hands of the only man who was capable of holding them. But to return to the breach between Hastings and Impey: Affairs were in this condition when the Governor-General, deeply sensible of the disastrous consequences attending a continued struggle between the Government and the Supreme Court, entered, on the 29th of September 1780, the following proposal in the Minutes of Council:—

That the Chief Justice be requested to accept of the charge and superintendency of the office of Sudder Dewany Adalut under its present regulations, and such other as the Board shall think proper to add to them or to its substitute in their stead, and that on his acceptance of it, he be appointed to it and styled the judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut.

I shall beg leave to add a few words in support of this proposition on different grounds. I am well aware that the choice which I have made for so important an office, and one which will minutely and nearly overlook every rank of the Civil Service, will subject me to much popular prejudice, as its real tendency will be misunderstood by many, misrepresented by more, and perhaps dreaded by a few.

I shall patiently submit to the consequences, because I am conscious of the rectitude of my intentions, and certain that the event will justify me, and prove that in whatever light it may be superficially viewed, I shall be found to have studied the true interests of the Service, and contributed the most effectually to its credit.

The want of legal powers, except such as were implied in very doubtful constructions of the Act of Parliament, and the hazards to which the superiors of the Dewany Courts are exposed in their own persons from the exercise of their functions, has been the cause of their remissness, and equally of the disregard which has been, in many instances, shown to their authority, they will be enabled to act with confidence, nor will any man dare to contest their right of acting, when their proceedings are held under the sanction and immediate patronage of the first member of the Supreme Court and with his participation in the instances of such as are brought in appeal before him, and regulated by his instructions.

They very much require an instructor, and no one will doubt the superior qualifications of the Chief Justice for such a duty.

It will be the means of lessening the distance between the Board and the Supreme Court, which has perhaps been, more than the undefined powers assumed to each, the cause of the want of that accommodating temper which ought to have influenced their intercourse with each other.

The contest in which we have been unfortunately engaged with the Court, bore at one time so alarming a tendency, that I believe every member of the Board foreboded the most dangerous consequences to the peace and resources of this Government from them. They are at present composed; but we cannot be certain that the calm will last beyond the actual vacation, since the same grounds and material of disunion subsist, and the revival of it at a time like this, added to our other troubles, might, if carried to extremities, prove fatal.

The proposition which I have submitted to the Board may, nor have I a doubt that it will, prove an instrument of conciliation with the Court; and it will preclude the necessity of assuming a jurisdiction over persons exempted by our construction of the Act of Parliament from it; it will facilitate and give vigour to the course of justice; it will lessen the cases of the Board, and add to their leisure for occupations more urgent and better suited to the genius and principles of Government; nor will it be any accession of power to the Court, when that portion of authority which is proposed to be given, is given only to a single man of the Court, and may be revoked whenever the Board shall think proper to resume it."

Against this proposition, Mr. Wheeler, who had succeeded to the place in Council left vacant by the death of Colonel Monson, entered a long minute. Francis vigorously protested against it; but urged that he had "no idea of personal disrespect to the Chief Justice." And Sir Eyre Coote, occupying the place of General Clavering, who had been carried off by one of the scourges of the country, gave his assent to the proposal as a provisional arrangement. Mr. Gleig, in his life of Warren Hastings, asserts that "Mr. Barwell, who had not yet retired, gave it his support;" and the resolution was carried. But it appears that the proposal was not put forth before the 29th of September 1780, and that Barwell left India in the preceding March.

Still the measure was carried, for Sir Eyre Coote voted with Hastings and the Governor-General had the casting vote. On the 24th of October, it was resolved "that the "Chief Justice should be requested to accept of the charge and "superintendence of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, under its "present regulations, and such other as the Board shall think "fit to add to them, or to substitute in their stead; and that on "his acceptance of it, he be appointed to it, and styled the "judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut." Nothing was said about salary; but on the following day the appointment was offered to Impey and accepted.

Two or three weeks afterwards the Chief Justice wrote to his brother, that the Sudder Dewany had been offered to him

and accepted adding, "such a trust reposed in me under "circumstances, which bear the strongest testimony of my "having acted, though in a manner adverse to them, yet under "a sense of public duty, cannot but be flattering to me. This "new office must be attended with much additional labour; "yet in the hope that I may be able to convert these courts, "which from ignorance and corruption have hitherto been a "curse, into a blessing, I have resolved to accept it. No pecu- "niary satisfaction has been offered or even mentioned to me, "but I do not imagine it is intended that my trouble is to go "unrecompensed."* On the 22nd of December, the Council agreed upon the salary of the new judge, and advised the Court of Directors of their proceedings.

On the 27th of January 1781, Impey wrote to Barwell— "The Sudder Dewany Adalut is placed under my manage- "ment. It will be no agreeable thing to me, but as it was the "Governor's act, I am contented." He appears to have devoted himself to the duties of his new office with characteristic assiduity—drawing up rules and regulations for the Company's Court, and otherwise superintending its machinery; but though he toiled and toiled, so that his little stock of health soon failed him, he never drew the salary attached to the apppintment. He appears very soon to have doubted the propriety of accept- ing the emoluments of an office, under the control of the Company, without the consent of His Majesty's Government; and in the following July he addressed a letter to the Council Board, in the Revenue department, declining to appropriate any part of the salary attached to the judgeship of the Sudder Dewany. On this point, the Council replied, "We can "offer no opinion upon that resolution, which appears to have "proceeded from a delicacy of which you yourself can be the "only proper judge. But we must express our regret that "you should have thought it necessary to prescribe to yourself "this forbearance, because the labour and importance of the "office which you have accepted from us, would most certainly "entitle any person who possessed it, to an adequate recom- "pense, and must, in our estimation, be considered as more "especially your due, from the very qualifications which are "immediately connected with the only circumstance that could "have given occasion to your doubts of the propriety of receiv- "ing it." But still Impey refused to accept the salary, and kept strict account of all the fees paid into Court, during the the time that he presided at the Sudder Dewany (a period of

* See private correspondence in Impey's Memoirs.

only a few months) in order that these sums might be paid into the General Treasury. And that they were so paid, there is in the India House incontestible documentary evidence to prove. The truth appears to be, that Impey took upon himself an immense amount of labour and never profited by it to the extent of a farthing.

And it was for this that Impey was recalled from Calcutta—it was for this, in part, that he was impeached—it was for this that Macaulay declared that no other such judge has dishonored the British ermine since Jefferies drank himself to death in the tower!

The hot weather of 1781 was more than usually trying to the constitution of Sir Elijah Impey. An accumulation of labor in a country, whose exhausting and deteriorating climate renders excessive intellectual exercise always dangerous and often fatal, had made it necessary that the Chief Justice should seek, in change of air and comparative relaxation, a remedy for his complicated ailments. He accordingly determined upon taking a river-trip; and, with Lady Impey, put himself on board a pinnace, towards the close of the month of July. It was characteristic of the man, that even in this shattered state, he could not induce himself to take a voyage solely for the purpose of renovating his health, but was desirous of turning his journey to purposes of public utility, by inspecting the different local Courts subject to the Sudder Dewany. With this view, he sailed from Calcutta, turning the head of his pinnace up the river.

The Governor-General was, at this time, in the Mofussil. The memorable affairs of Benares were engaging his attention; but when Impey quitted Calcutta, no danger was apprehended. The crisis arrived on the 16th of August. Mrs. Hastings was at Monghyr, were Sir Elijah and Lady Impey joined her, and by their kindness did much to console her at this most anxious period of her life.* "When the insurgents," says Mr.

* By this time the friendly relations between the two families had been completely re-established. Hastings wrote frequently to his friend, and often on common and familiar subjects. It is amusing to find the Governor-General writing to the Chief Justice about the best means of keeping his pinance cool. In the M. S. collection deposited by Mr. Impey in the British Museum, there is a letter in which Hastings says, "I am afraid that you do not contrive well, as you complain "of the heat of your pinnace. You should keep a broad awning spread over the "deck of your cabin, and continue on the sunny side of it moveable canvas purdahs, "sloping beyond the bottom of your windows in this manner,"—and then he appends a diagram, with references. On the 13th of December 1781, the Governor-General wrote from Chota Mirzapore: "The cheerfulness and satisfaction expressed in your "letter afforded me the greatest pleasure, and it is with a happiness, at least equal to "yours, that I see so perfect a cordiality confirmed between our families. I have no "doubt of its lasting as long as we live. It has ever been the wish of my heart."

Impey, "had driven the Governor-General from Benares to "the rock of Chunar, and when his life was in peril, he wrote "a hasty note in pencil to the Chief Justice. The purport of "it was to request him to urge on the marching of troops to "Chunar, where for some time the Governor-General was left "with only fifty men. Sir Elijah did urge on the troops, and "promoted, by other measures, the relief of Mr. Hastings from "his perilous situation."

On the 1st of October the Governor-General wrote to Impey from Benares to thank him and his lady for their kindness to Mrs. Hastings, adding, "I have written that I should "desire Mrs. Hastings to proceed to this place, and in that case, "I shall still hope that you and Lady Impey will be of the "party." A fortnight afterwards he wrote another letter to the same effect, addressed to Lady Impey; and about the 26th of October—some three months after they had quitted Calcutta—the Chief Justice and his party reached Benares.

It was whilst at Benares—having proceeded so far in pursuance of his original project—that the Chief Justice was solicited by Hastings to continue his journey as far as Lucknow, that he might take certain affidavits which were required to substantiate the Governor-General's "Narrative" of the proceedings at Benares and in Oude. With those proceedings, which form so interesting and so important a chapter in the history of British India, we have assumed the reader's acquaintance; nothing more was required from Impey than that he should take the affidavits. He proceeded to Lucknow and took them. He did not pretend that he had any jurisdiction in Oude; he did not pretend that the business was one which properly came within the scope of his office. He went out of his way to render, what he believed to be, a service to the State. "I have yet to learn," he said in after times, "that official "men are restricted, by the exact line of their official functions, "from doing essential, though extraordinary service, to the "State." That he did not read the affidavits he acknowledged; but he contended, at the same time, that he was not bound to do so—that the party taking an affidavit has nothing to do with its contents. He, indeed, refrained from mixing himself up in any way with the proceedings, so as to make himself reponsible for the measures which rendered the affidavits necessary. He merely acted as *amicus curiæ* in a great emergency—giving the stamp of authenticity to documents, which were necessary to substantiate the statements of the Governor-General. He had nothing to do with the truth or falsehood of those documents. It was his part only to stamp them, as being what

they professed to be—the genuine depositions of the parties whose names were appended to them.

"After the business of the affidavits was finished," writes Mr. Impey, "the Chief Justice returned to Calcutta with his "wife and attendants, travelling leisurely, though not quite so "slowly as he had done from that capital to Lucknow. He was "thanked by the members of the Supreme Council, and nearly "every Englishman for the trouble he had incurred."

Early in the following year Sir Elijah Impey, who had been previously employed in perfecting the machinery of the court, took his seat in the Sudder Dewany. He appears to have presided throughout the months of April, May, June, July, August and September. But his career as a Company's judge was soon cut short. Sir Elijah Impey was recalled.

Francis had quitted India soon after the Sudder Dewany had been conferred upon Impey. He had protested against the appointment; and we see no reason to doubt the sincerity of the protest. But he hated Impey with a deep and unrelenting hatred; he hated him as the friend of Hastings, and he hated him on his own account.* When he left Calcutta he knew nothing more than that the appointment had been offered to Impey, and had been accepted. Not a word had been said about salary. But Francis had no sooner set foot again on the shores of England, than he began to scatter abroad insinuations fatal to the character of the Chief Justice. From insinuations he proceeded to direct aspersion; the press was called into his aid. Junius knew how to write,† and it was soon currently believed that Impey had accepted the judgeship of the Sudder Dewany, with a salary of about £8,000 a year.

The question of the legality and propriety of the combination of the two judgeships in the person of Impey soon came under discussion at the India House. Mr. Impey says, "that the "Directors had at first expressed their unqualified approbation "of the measure; that is to say, so long as they understood the "appointment to have been accepted—as it had been without the "salary. But at the close of 1781, six months after the return "of Francis from the East, taking umbrage at his report of "the acceptance of a salary, the Directors resorted to legal "advice." We may fairly question the propriety of such an imputation as this—but we have no space to discuss the subject.

* We need not here refer to the Grand and Francis case, tried before the judges of the Supreme Court.—See *Calcutta Review*, No. IV. Art. *Sir P. Francis.*

† Among other pamphlets published at this time, was one entitled "Extract from an original letter from Calcutta, relative to the administration of justice by Sir Elijah Impey—1780." It was undoubtedly written by Francis Mackintosh's Travels soon followed.

The point was referred, as a point of law, to three of the most eminent lawyers of the day—Dunning, Wallace, and James Mansfield. The opinion returned was conveyed in the following words :—

"The appointment of the Chief Justice to the office of judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, and giving him a salary, besides what he is entitled to as Chief Justice, does not appear to us to be illegal, either as being contrary to the 13th George III., or incompatible with his duty as Chief Justice, nor do we see anything in the Act 21, George III., which affects this question.

(Signed) J. DUNNING
JAS. WALLACE.
*Lincoln's Inn, 19th Dec.* 1781. JAS. MANSFIELD.

Three days after the date of this opinion, Mansfield, who was Solicitor-General, began to entertain some misgivings as to the soundness of his decision; and accordingly wrote, that he had reconsidered the matter, and it was "by no means clear to him that the acceptance of such an office, with a salary or other profit annexed to it, is not forbidden and rendered illegal" by the 13th George III. Mr. Rous, the Company's standing counsel, expressed a similar opinion; but the decision in both cases was grounded upon the supposition that Sir Elijah Impey had received the salary, as well as the office of the Sudder Dewany.

The Court of Directors appear to have taken a very dispassionate and correct view of the case. They recorded their opinion that "It would hardly have been expected that the "Chief Justice should give up his hours of relaxation, and "enter on a fresh scene of labour and perplexity without "compensation. The offer of a salary was at once a neces- "sity and a judicious sacrifice. But the property of the Com- "pany has by no means been wantonly lavished. £8,000 bore "no proportion to the sums which must eventually be saved. "Perhaps, they were ten times the amount; and of this salary "we are yet to learn that a single shilling has ever been re- "ceived, though the appointment was passed in Council in "October 1780." This passage is sufficient to clear the Court from the imputation of mean and unworthy conduct cast upon them by Mr. Impey.

And there is little doubt that the Chief Justice, thus supported at the India House, would have triumphed in spite of the malignant activity of Philip Francis, if just at this time the administration of Lord North had not tottered and fallen to the ground. In March 1782, there was a change of ministry, and with the Marquis of Rockingham and Lord Shelburne, Mr.

Burke came into power. The influence of the great orator over the mind of the Prime Minister, especially in all that related to Indian affairs, has never, we believe, been questioned. Burke was for a time dominant; and with the new administration, new influence sprung up in the India House: but not altogether, we are inclined to think, of the character which Mr. Impey, whom we are now about to quote, supposes. There was, we believe, a change of persons —

"A few weeks *before* the resignation of Lord North, they negatived a motion for removing Sir Elijah Impey from the office of judge of their Adalut. A few weeks *after* the formation of the Rockingham and Shelburne administration, they did the very opposite to this, voting on the 30th April, that the Governor-General should be written to, and the Chief Justice removed from the said office on the receipt of their letter.

"This decision only went to deprive my father of the laborious and unpaid presidency of their Court of Appeal, which was a relief rather than a deprivation. But Mr Burke, who had by this time deeply imbibed all the prejudices of his inferior, was not disposed to rest satisfied with this simple measure. Francis had openly declared, as well in India as in England, that he would bring about my father's recall; and to this object he and his party applied themselves with the greatest ardour and activity.

"On the 3rd May 1782, three days after the vote of the Court of Directors an address to the King was carried in the House of Commons for the immediate recall of Sir Elijah Impey, to answer the charge "of having accepted an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the Act 13 George III." On the 24th June following, notice of motion was given in the House of Commons for a censure on Mr. Chambers, for having accepted the office of Company's Chief Justice at Chinsurah. But General Smith, who had given notice of this motion, thought proper to postpone it until the next session. The next session came, and was allowed to elapse without any such motion being made; and thus Mr. Justice Chambers was not even so much as censured, though the Chief Justice was recalled. This cannot but appear strange, until accounted for; and the solution of the mystery is this: General Richard Smith had, in the interim, become not only the friend and ally of Francis, but chairman of the Committees of the House of Commons, which drew up the charges of accusation against Sir Elijah Impey.

"A large salary, variously stated from £3 000 to £5,000 per annum, was attached to the office which Chambers accepted from the Company, and afterwards, upon his resigning this Chinsurah judgeship, he accepted the superintendence of the police, with another salary, which he enjoyed so long as he remained in India. Mr. Justice Hyde, another of my father's assessors, was allowed to unite to his office of puisne judge in the Supreme Court that of another judgeship, and to receive another salary from the Company. Yet as far as I have been able to discover, after the faint attempt to obtain the vote of censure upon Justice Chambers in the House of Commons, neither their conduct nor their motives were ever publicly called in question, and far—very far—be it from me to question them."

In the manuscript collection in the British Museum there is a singular commentary upon this passage—and one which, on many accounts, is worth quoting. On the 13th of November 1782, Mr. Macpherson wrote to the Chief Justice :—

"I further think that you cannot, *with safety to yourself*, even if the government permitted it, exercise the ultimate power of decision in the Adaluts from the arrival of the new Act, which should certainly have been immediately published, as I told the Governor on my return. I beg you to consider this matter calmly, and to consider whether your friend in England means more in his letter than that you should not move under the impressions of a recall, until the event takes place—an event he thinks he can counteract. I have a letter of authority which mentions, that even in the Direction in January last, when Sulivan was in the chair, the number for and against your new appointment and salary were equal; the treasurer drew the choice in your favor. But the new Direction will proceed with violence on the subject of the salary and other appointments to refund.* I have a letter from Mr. Macdonald which is friendly to you, but which states, that the Chancellor fended off the first impressions in the House of Lords from your acceptance of the Adaluts, by disavowing the charge as a fact. I wish you to reflect whether it would not be essential to your interests, if you remain here as the head of your own Court (which I heartily wish you to do) that the act of relinquishing the charge of the Adaluts should be your own, and that it should be followed with more marks and testimonies of approbation upon the part of the Government, which would show the public utility of what you had done, and whether all should not go home by this packet under the proper date I declare to you candidly that I mention this would be the step to serve yourself and Mr. Hastings in what is passed and what is to come.—(*Unpublished MSS. in the British Museum.*)

From a very rough draft of a reply to this letter in the MSS. correspondence, it would appear that Impey refused to throw up the appointment on the ground that the act would have been tantamount to a confession of culpability in accepting the Sudder Dewany. There is an allusion in it to the legality of acceptance of office in connexion with the question of refunding; but we confess that we do not very clearly understand this part of the correspondence. The passage in Macpherson's letter is totally unintelligible. It is obvious that if Sir E. Impey accepted neither salary nor fees, he had nothing to refund. The "refunding," in all probability, referred entirely to the "other appointments," which we conclude were those held by Chambers and Hyde.

Whether this reply to Macpherson's letter was ever sent or not, we have no means of ascertaining; but it is obvious that the friendly advice of that gentleman had some effect upon the Chief Justice, for, two days afterwards, Impey resigned the presidency of the Adaluts. On the 27th of January he received, under the hand of Lord Shelburne, who had made out his original appointment, official notice of his recall.

But it was not before the following December that the Chief

* *Sic* in original.—ED.

Justice and his family were able to embark for England. Had he sailed earlier he would in all probability have been captured by the French fleet in the Bay of Bengal. When he finally set sail on board the *Worcester*, he appears to have carried with him the regrets and the good wishes of a considerable portion of the community of Calcutta. "In public addresses and in "other less ceremonious forms," says Mr. Impey, "Sir Elijah "brought away with him many testimonials of regard and affec- "tion, and left behind him more than one memorial, publicly "voted, to preserve the remembrance of his fame and person "among the wealthier inhabitants of Bengal."

We must hurry on to a conclusion of our narrative. Our article has already far transgressed the usual limits, and what remains must be briefly told. The *Worcester* sprang a leak on the way home; the captain of the vessel died; and the ship was nearly wrecked off St. Helena. Landing on the rocky island, he secured a passage, which cost him a thousand pounds, in a safe vessel, and proceeded homewards in the *Dutton*. "The voyage from St. Helena," writes Mr. Impey, "must have been drawing towards its close, when I witnessed a "little domestic scene on board the *Dutton*, which is embalm- "ed in my memory as one of my first and tenderest recollec- "tions. On a calm evening the ship was under easy sail, and "my father standing on deck, surrounded by his wife and three "children, with our ayahs or Indian nurses. There, on the "deck of the old *Dutton*, I well remember his playfully des- "cribing to us the new scenes to which we were about to be "introduced, the new brothers and sisters, uncle and aunt and "governess, with whom we were shortly to be made acquainted; "and well do I recall to my mind the transition from playful- "ness to gravity which passed over his features. when, change- "ing his tone, he began thus early to instil into our minds "the duty we were bound to pay to those several relations."

In June 1784, Sir Elijah Impey again planted his foot on the shores of old England; his friends and ancient associates welcomed him with cordiality. He did not appear among them as a disgraced man. Dunning was dead; but Bathurst, Thurlow, Dutton, James Mansfield and others were still living. All held out the hand of friendship, and Impey was soon settled in London, with a house and establishment provided for him by the family of the first of these eminent lawyers.

Impey had been recalled from India to answer to the charge of having accepted the presidency of the Company's Court contrary to the existing law; but he was not removed from

the office of Chief Justice. He, indeed, continued to draw the salary of the appointment for some years* after his arrival in England, and his return to India appears to have been contemplated by others, though never by himself. For the specific offence, on account of which he was summoned home, he was never called upon to answer; and it was not before 1787, that any other direct charges were brought against him, though malice was busy with his name. Then it was that Burke moved the articles of impeachment against Warren Hastings. The Nuncomar charge was one of them; and the criminality of Sir Elijah Impey was urged in a torrent of vituperatory eloquence.

It was on the 4th April that the charges against Hastings were moved by Mr. Burke On the 12th December, Sir Gilbert Elliot presented to the House of Commons six articles of impeachment, charging Sir Elijah Impey with high crimes and misdemeanours committed in the capacity of Chief Justice of Bengal. Sir Gilbert Elliot was the friend of Burke and Fox—the friend of Sir Philip Francis, to whose specious representations he had lent a too willing ear. There can be no doubt of the ability with which the charges were set forth. The *Annual Register*, indeed, asserts, that "in the style of persuasive eloquence, it was never exceeded in either House of Parliament." He began, of course, by pleading an exemption from the ordinary weaknesses of humanity; he was not influenced by personal feeling; he was not influenced by party spirit. He talked about great principles. He contended that India must either be redressed or lost. He then laid down, "that the only means left of reforming Indian abuse was the punishment, in some great and signal instances, of Indian delinquency" He then proceeded to speak, in general terms, of Sir Elijah Impey's delinquency—declared that the Chief Justice had been sent out to protect the people of India, and had oppressed them,—and then advancing from generals to particulars, brought forward his specific charges. The articles of impeachment occupy 128 pages. We can only, therefore, give the heads of them, as contained in the *Annual Register*, and the details, which we have given of the events which form the basis of them, render it unnecessary that we should do more:—

"The first related to the trial and execution of the *Maha Rajah Nuncomar*."

* That is, till November 1787.

The second, to the conduct of Sir Elijah Impey in a cause commonly known by the name of the *Patna Cause.*

The third is entitled, *Extension of Jurisdiction*, and comprehends various instances, in which the jurisdiction of the Court was extended illegally and oppressively, both as to persons and subject matter, beyond the intention of the Act and Charter.

The fourth charge is entitled, *The Cossijurah Cause*, and belongs also to the class of offence contained in the third charge, being another instance of illegal extension of jurisdiction ; but it was distinguished by such circumstances of peculiar violence, and led to consequences so important, as to become properly the subject of a separate article.

The fifth charge is for his acceptance of the office of *Judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut*, which was contrary to law, and not only repugnant to the spirit of the Act and Charter, but fundamentally subversive of all its material purposes.

The sixth and last charge relates to his conduct in the provinces of *Oude and Benares*, where the Chief Justice became the agent and tool of Mr. Hastings in the oppression and plunder of the Begums.

" Such are the charges," said Sir Gilbert Elliot, " which I have thought it my duty to present at this time to the House. I will venture to say, that there never was an accusation which became better recommended to your enquiry and investigation ; and it is matter of the most substantial comfort to my mind, that in accusing a fellow-citizen of crimes so atrocious, I do not trust to my own vain imagination and opinion, but am prompted in every line by the previous judgment of this House of Parliament, and of every authoritative body by whom the transactions was cognizable.

" The conduct of the Supreme Court, and especially of Sir Elijah Impey, had been the subject of complaint and accusation in India from the first months of its institution. He was accused, by a majority of the Supreme Council, of one of the most atrocious offences that was ever laid to the account of man ; and this made the subject of the *first charge.* Parliament judged it proper, on the report made by the Select Committee of the *Patna Cause*, to express its sense of the injustice and oppression of that judgment, by delivering the defendants from its consequences, and ordering an indemnification for the losses and injuries they had sustained under it. Parliament has not only granted the indemnity desired by the members of council, for resisting the acts of the Supreme Court, but has expressly abridged that court of the extravagant and oppressive, as well as mischievous jurisdiction claimed in the instances comprised in my *third charge :* and these were similar, though somewhat inferior to the pretensions which produced the singular occurrences in the *Cossijurah Cause*, detailed in the *fourth charge.* The House recalled Sir Elijah Impey from his office of Chief Justice, expressly for having accepted that of judge of the Sudder Dewany Adalut, which is the subject of the *fifth charge.* And Mr Hastings was at that moment under the prosecution of this House, by impeachment before the lords, for the very crime in which the *sixth charge* accuses Sir Elijah Impey as accessory."

The charges were referred to a committee of the whole House, and the 4th of February 1788 was the day appointed for its sitting. Before the committee proceeded to business, a petition was presented from Sir Elijah Impey, praying to be heard at the bar of the House. This was granted ; and the

accused appeared, attended by his counsel, the Attorney-General (Pepper Arden) the Solicitor-General (Sir Archibald Macdonald) and assisted by his son Archibald Impey, then a young student at law. The defence was not read, but orally delivered. In this Impey had greatly the advantage over his distinguished friend, whose impeachment had led the way to his own. Hastings had read his defence, Impey spoke, distinctly and impressively, retaining his self-possession throughout his long and masterly address. In this oration, he spoke only to the first charge, declaring that, "his mind had been so strongly affected, and even his health so much impaired by the anxiety and horror he had felt at being charged with having committed a deliberate legal murder, that he feared he should be unequal to the exertion of entering into his defence against the other articles, before he was acquitted of the first. That the rest he considered as so light in comparision with this, that he had scarce any objection to their going without further discussion to the Lords, if this were decided against him. To this request Sir Gilbert Elliot gave his consent." *

Of Sir Elijah Impey's defence we are unable, at this advanced stage of our article, to afford our readers any adequate idea. The defence was printed by Stockdale, and corrected by Sir Elijah himself. Very few copies of it are in existence. There was not one in the British Museum until Mr. Impey there deposited his own private copy. It has been supposed that the greater part of the impression was bought up and destroyed.

The defence, a considerable part of which is printed in Mr. Impey's memoir of his father, and which is, therefore, accessible to all our readers, we conceive to be a triumphant one. It relates entirely, as we have said, to the Nuncomar charge. Much of the substance of it we have, in a manner, anticipated, when dwelling upon the events of the trial. After alluding to the specific charge upon which he had been recalled—a charge referring to a period much later than the date of the principal crimes which were imputed to him, he said:—

"It is now twelve years since this nation has been deluded by false and perpetual informations, that the Supreme Court of Judicature had most absurdly, cruelly, and without authority obtruded the complex and intricate criminal laws of England on the populous nations of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, whose law, religion, and habits, were particularly abhorrent to them, that a Native of Bengal of high rank, had been tried and convicted on a

* *Annual Register*, 1788.

capital law of England for an offence punishable in the place where it was committed by a fine only; and that the Court which had tried him, had no jurisdiction over his person; that he was brought within the limits of the jurisdiction by force, and in that state, that the Court adjudged that its jurisdiction had attached upon him: and to sum up all, in the words most deservedly odious to an English ear, he was finally executed under that, which, if a law at all, was *ex post facto* law."

He then complained of the numerous calumnies that had been heaped upon him by the press—quoted in his favor the authority of Blackstone, who had greatly commended his conduct—of Mansfield, of Dunning, all of whom had been falsely reported to have condemned his proceedings; asked if such men would have supported him, if he had been the atrocious criminal his enemies had represented him to be. He then spoke to the immediate charge: firstly of the question of jurisdiction:—

"An Hindu inhabitant of Calcutta," said he, "was as much amenable to the English law in Calcutta, as if the said Hindu had been an inhabitant of London. The unjust, with equal propriety, objects to being tried by any law but that of his native country; at the Old Bailey as at the Court-house in Calcutta. Gibraltar, in the kingdom of Spain, is—Calais, in that of France was—part of the kingdom of his realm: admitting the laws of England to have been introduced into these towns, a French inhabitant of Calais, or a Spanish inhabitant of Gibraltar, having offended against the law under which he dwelt, might with equal reason complain, that he was not tried by the law of the place of his nativity, as an Hindu in Calcutta, because that town is situated in Bengal. There is nothing in the quality of an Hindu that makes the law of the country wherein he was born more attached to him than to a Frenchman or a Spaniard: all must be obedient to the law that protects them. It was not till since the seat of government, and the collection of the revenue has been brought to Calcutta, that it has become populous, by the influx of black inhabitants. The laws have not been obtruded on them, they have come to the laws of England.

He then commented on the case of Radachund Mittra—demonstrated that the inhabitants of Calcutta were conversant with the state of the law as regarded the capital nature of the crime of forgery; denied that Nuncomar had been brought to Calcutta by force, and showed that he was proved to be a settled inhabitant of Calcutta. He then proceeded to say:—

"I was particularly informed by a gentleman, formerly a member of the Council in Bengal, and now of this House,* who has this day repeated to me the same information, that he had himself carried such sentence into execution against two Brahmans, without any disturbance, and even with the consent of the Hindus themselves. The prosecutor who sued for the execution in this case, was an Hindu, many of the witnesses were Hindus; what the

* Mr. Barwell.

sentence must be, was well known to the prisoner, the prosecutor, and all the Hindus in the settlement : yet no objection was made by the prisoner, or his counsel, before or after the sentence was pronounced, to the mode by which he was to suffer death ; no evidence was given of its being shocking to the religious opinions of the Hindus ; no mention is made of it in the address of the Hindus.

He then referred to the circumstances of the previous prosecution of Nuncomar in the Mayor's Court, proved that he could not have been tried a day earlier or a day later than he really was. He urged that the judges had been unanimous, that he had no recollection of any appeal in favour of Nuncomar ; maintained that there were no grounds for granting a respite ; spoke of the honors which had been shown to Nuncomar in prison, and went over, at much greater length, the ground travelled in the letter to Governor Johnston, which we quoted at an earlier stage of our article. He then commented upon the extraordinary story of Nuncomar's petition, intimating that he had a copy of it in his possession, and the conduct of General Clavering in keeping it back until after the execution ; pointed out that the petition had been burnt by order of the Council as a libel on the Court, and concluded with* an unanswerable protest against the injustice of arraigning him individually, for acts committed by the Court in its collective capacity :—

"Though called to answer," he said, "as for acts done by me singly" those acts not only were not, but would not have been done by me individually ; I was one member sitting in a Court consisting of four members ; all the four members concurred in the acts imputed to me ; my voice, singly and by itself, could have had no operation. I might have been overruled by a majority of three to one. I was not more concerned in the proceedings than any other judge ; I was less so than two. Informations had been laid against the criminal before two of the judges (Le Maistre and Hyde) who by committing him for felony, had applied this law to his case without my knowledge or privity. I was, indeed, applied to by the Council, as to the mode of his confinement ; I had no right to revise the acts of the judges ; their authority was equal to mine ; I did what humanity required ; I made the strictest inquiries of the pundits as to the effect of his imprisonment on his caste and religion ; I learned that they would not be hurt. I gave directions to the sheriff, that he should have the best accommodation the gaol would afford : the jailor and his family quitted their apartments and gave them up to him. I directed that every indulgence, consistent with his safe custody, should be granted him. These only were my individual acts, and these appear on the report of your committee. If it had

* With regard to Chambers he affirmed, that that judge was anxious to carry the sentence still further, by seizing and sealing up all Nuncomar's effects both in Calcutta and Murshedabad.

been just so to do, it was not I but the Court which must have afforded protection to the criminal because the accuser of Mr. Hastings; it was not I but the Court that must have quashed that indictment: it was not I but the Court which retained the prosecution; had Sir Robert Chambers been overruled, it was not I but the Court that could have overruled him; it was not I but the whole Court that rejected the appeal,—if there was an appeal—that refused the respite, and carried the sentence into execution. All signed the calendar; I executed no act of authority as a magistrate, but sitting in open Court assisted by all the judges; even those acts which are peculiarly objected to me, as mine individually, though I was the proper channel of the Court to pronounce them, are not my individual acts; as Chief Justice I presided in the Court—was the mouth of the Court; all questions put, or observations made by me, were with the judges sitting on my right hand and on my left; those questions and those observations were not mine, but the questions and observations of the Court. I did not presume to make observations in my summing up to the jury, without having first communicated with the judges and taken their unanimous opinion on every article."

And then referring to his own personal character, said:

"It is hardly conceivable that any man whose constant habits of life have been known to be such as mine have been—and there are not wanting members in this House who know both how, and with whom the earlier part of my life, down to the time I quitted this country, had been spent—that I, a man, I will assume to say, who left this country with a character, at least unimpeachable, who maintained that character till May 1775, should, in the course of the last month, have been so totally lost to every principle of justice, every duty of office, every sense of shame, every feeling of humanity, to have been so deeply immersed and hardened in inquity, as to be able deliberately to plan and steadily to perpetrate murder, with all the circumstances with which it is here charged and aggravated.—*Nemo repente fuit turpissimus.*"

"I now finally submit," were his last words, "whether under all the circumstances, with which I have fatigued the House, it be consistent with its candour, wisdom and justice to put me alone at the bar of the House of Lords, to answer criminally for the judicial acts of an unanimous court."

The speech made a deep impression on the House. Pitt said he scarcely doubted, that under all the circumstances of the case, he should have acted as Impey had done. The accusers were staggered and lost heart. Francis appears to have been astounded by the intimation that a copy of Nuncomar's petition, which he himself had consigned to the hangman as a libel on the court, was still in existence. When the committee met after the first hearing of the accused, Francis moved that Sir Elijah Impey should be required to produce a copy of the petition. To this the House objected; the motion was then amended, and it was carried, "that the

speaker should ask Sir Elijah Impey if he had any objection to produce the paper in question." Impey consented to do so; but many days afterwards, when Francis rose to offer an explanation, he could do no more than acknowledge the fact, and accuse Hastings of having betrayed his colleagues, in publishing what had passed in the Secret Department.

This was on the 27th February. On the 28th of April, the evidence having been taken, Elliot began his reply—resumed it on the 7th, and completed it on the 9th of May. It was towards the end of this speech that he read the famous account of the execution of Nuncomar, attributed to Sheriff Macrable. Sir Richard Sutton, Mr. Pulteney, the Solicitor and Attorney-General, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, spoke in favour of Sir Elijah Impey; Fox, Burke, and Colonel Fullerton supported the impeachment. When the House divided, the motion was lost;—*fifty-five* members voting for, and *seventy-three* against it.

The Patna Cause stood next on the list; but as it was then before the Privy Council, the motion for its hearing was negatived; and after some discussion in which Pitt took part, the further consideration of the charges was deferred to that day three months. And so ended the impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey!

He survived his acquittal for nearly a quarter of a century; but took little part in public affairs. Mr. Impey says, that it was intimated to his father by Government, "through a proper channel, that he might even yet return to Calcutta as Chief Justice, and with that seat in the Supreme Council, which he had so earnestly and vainly solicited while in India."* But he wisely determined not to rush again into the burning fiery furnace, which had so nearly destroyed him. Chambers was appointed in his stead.

He, however, turned his thoughts towards Parliament, and in 1780 canvassed the borough of Stafford. Here the Sheridan interest opposed him. The Nuncomar charge was not forgotten. His opponents paraded the streets with an effigy of a black man hanging from a gallows. Impey was defeated; but soon afterwards was returned for New Romney.

He was a regular attendant at the House—an useful member of Committee—but he seldom spoke. He felt that it was "too late a week" for him to enter, with distinction, upon a

* Impey had applied for the seat in Council, on the death of Monson—the death of Clavering, and again on the retirement of Barwell.

new theatre of action. His presence seems to have been galling to Fox, Sheridan, and others; and on one occasion he brought down upon his head a shower of vituperation from his own assailants. He replied with dignity, but with spirit; and the attempt to intimidate him does not seem to have been repeated.

We next find Sir Elijah Impey in the character of a country gentleman. In the spring of 1794, he removed from a residence, which he had occupied, on the skirts of Salisbury Plain, to Newick Park, in the county of Sussex; and there, says Mr. Impey, "became a busy and rather enthusiastic horti-"culturist and farmer. I hardly ever saw him on the morning "of a working day at Newick, without a garden spade in his "hand; and he took his full share in most of the gardener's "active operations. He enjoyed excellent health and excellent "spirits Time passed pleasantly away. He read, and he "studied chemistry; fitted up a laboratory and experimental-"ised; received his friends; wrote verses; superintended the "education of his younger children, and corresponded with his "elder ones; and was beloved and respected by all the mem-"bers of his household."

At the close of 1801, Sir Elijah Impey, with his wife and two of his children set out for Paris, were he had invested a part of his fortune, and was in a fair way to lose it. Here Impey fell in with the *cidevant* Madame Grand, now Madame de Talleyrand; and here took place that remarkable meeting of Mr. and Mrs. Fox—Sir Elijah and Lady Impey—M. and Madame de Talleyrand—Sir Philip Francis and M. Grand, which, in a former article, we ventured to pronounce apocryphal. Mr. Impey, however, vouches for the truth of the story —*and he was there.* We contradict it, on the authority of M. Grand, who declares that he never saw his wife after she left India, and especially denies the truth of the assertion, that he met her at Talleyrand's. The matter is of no importance—though a somewhat curious point of enquiry—for, assuredly, a more extraordinary meeting never took place before or since.

Having settled his business—or rather having had it settled for him, for he lost his money, and was nearly losing his liberty—Impey returned to England. In the course of 1804, the family was again reunited at Newick. "The event," writes Mr Impey, "of my dear father's arrival and reception there "lives still fresh and joyous in my memory, as the old family

" coach-and-four, which had met us at East Grinstead, drove " through the Newick turnpike, and, rolling over the beautiful " rural green, passed the scattered hamlet : in its approach to " the church, we were greeted from the steeple by a merry " peal of bells ; handkerchiefs waved from every cottage win- " dow, and we were accompanied up Fount Hill, and through " the Park lodge by a band of honest peasants, who ran at each " side of the coach, shouting a heartly welcome to the good old " man, who had so often encouraged their labours and assisted " at their pastimes."

Impey was, at this time, seventy-two, but his trials were not over. He had not been long settled at Newick when he received from India, the heart-breaking tidings of the death of his beloved son Hastings. He never wholly recovered from the shock, though outwardly, after a time, he recovered his wonted spirits. Up to the year of his death he appears to have been healthy, cheerful and active, and in the enjoyment of constant social intercourse with his old friends, including the oldest—Hastings. He fell sick at last in September 1809, but made light of his ailments, and seemed, above all things, desirous not to distress or alarm his family. But the truth could not long be disguised. He rapidly grew worse, and though he retained his memory and all his intellectual faculties, and indulged in the old Latin quotations to which he was ever prone, it was obvious that death was approaching. On the 1st of October he breathed his last, " surrounded by an afflicted family, in charity with all men, and in communion with the holy Protestant Church of Christ." " The last and most affecting trait of his character," writes Mr. Impey, " whilst sense and sensibility yet remained, was displayed in the ten- derness with which he treated, in his very last moments, a female servant who assisted in removing him from the sofa to his bed. He had leaned upon her bosom, so as to produce a slight ejaculation of pain. ' Did I hurt you, my dear ?' were his last distinguishable words." In the family vault at Ham- mersmith, where a monument is erected to his memory, repose the ashes of the first Chief Justice of Bengal. His reputa- tion has survived the calumnies of party ; and our sons will yet do him the justice which our fathers have denied.

# HINDU MEDICINE.

## By Dr. F. J. Mouat.

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9. *The History of British India*, by James Mill, Esq. edited with notes and continuation, by H. H. Wilson, Esq., M. A, F. R. S. 8vo. London. Book II, Cap. 10, Vol. 2nd.
10. *Essai d'une Histoire Pragmatique de la Medecine, par Kurt Sprengel, traduit sur la deuxieme edition*, par C. F. Geiger. 2 vols 8vo. Paris 1809. Section III. Vol 1, Medecine Indienne.
11. *The History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the World to the commencement of the 19th Century*, by W. Hamilton, M. B. 2 Vols. 12mo. London, 1831. Cap. 1. Vol. 1. History of Medicine from the time of Adam to the birth of Hippocrates.

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capacities, are so often exposed to the influence of disease, to accidents from flood and field, and to various mishaps and mischances, far removed from medical aid and attendance, as to render a little knowledge of medicine and surgery not only a valuable but a tolerably general acquisition. Few sportsmen and Indigo planters are without their medical reminiscences, sometimes of a ludicrous, but far more frequently of a sad and melancholy character; and the time is not far removed when the military and medical charge of small detachments devolved upon the gallant subaltern in command, aided by a compounder picked up for the nonce, and as ignorant of the rudiments as was the renowned Japhet himself, when first placed under the charge of the sagacious Cophagus, and in the companionship of the facetious Timothy.

The first contact with disease in a tropical form is well calculated to startle the novice. Its deadly grasp and giant strides —the ruddy health of the morning followed by the pallor and collapse of the evening—the rapid death of the victim of cholera, fever, and the other plagues and pestilences of the jungle and the marsh, enforce an attention not easily called into existence in the more favored regions of the fair earth.

An acute observer has remarked, that "every one desires to live as long as he can. Every one values health 'above all gold, and treasure.' Every one knows that as far as his own individual good is concerned, protracted life and a frame of body, sound and strong, free from the thousand pains which flesh is heir to, are unspeakably more important than all other [earthly] objects, because life and health must be secured before any possible result of any possible circumstance can be of consequence to him.

Possessed then of this knowledge, and knowing the class of readers we are about to address, as well as being anxious that all departments of literature and science which appertain to the gorgeous East, should find a fitting place in the *Calcutta Review;* need we apologize for introducing to their notice and consideration the subject of "Hindu Medicine."

The first question that demands attention in an examination of Hindu Medicine is its claim to a high degree of antiquity, for upon this must rest its chief recommendations to pre-eminence over other systems which have obtained celebrity, and led to the present advanced state of the art and science of medicine in modern Europe.

It would be difficult, if not impossible to decide with certainty the exact age in which the various Hindu medical

treatises were produced, and with every respect for the profound attainments and acute reasoning of the eminent oriental scholars, who have at various times attempted to unravel this tangled thread of mystery, we cannot regard the conclusions at which they have arrived in any other light than that of probable conjecture.

Dr. Wise has treated this portion of his subject with much candour and acumen in the introductory remarks prefixed to his Commentary, and appears carefully to have consulted all accessible authorities regarding it.

It is now generally admitted that the three first Yugs or ages of Hindu Chronology are purely fanciful and fabulous, and that the present degenerate age or Kali-yug is the only one concerning which any really trustworthy information has been, or can be afforded. The Hindus themselves pretend, that this era began 3101 B. C., or 756 before the Deluge; and from the manner in which their calculations were conducted, as well as the basis upon which they rested, the proofs of the antiquity, both of the nation and of its system of Astronomy were for some time supposed to be complete and perfect. It was adopted by the celebrated Bailly in his elegant history of Astronomy, accepted by the scientific circles of Paris at that time, and advocated in England by Playfair, Robertson, and other eminent authorities; but subsequent investigation has demonstrated, "that the series of Astronomical phenomena which Bailly regarded as affording decisive evidence of the extreme antiquity of the Hindu nation, in reality established the very reverse, for they have been shown not to have been taken from actual observation, but framed from calculating *backwards* on tables constructed during a period consistent with authentic history, and to contain, in consequence, several errors which the more accurate researches of later times have proved, are inconsistent with what must have occurred."*

Bentley has shown, in his paper on the "Hindu systems of Astronomy, and their connections with history in ancient and modern times †" that there is no reason for believing the Kali-yug to have commenced at an earlier period than 1004 B. C., or rather more than two centuries and a half subsequent to the occurrence of the Argonautic expedition, and the conjectured existence of Æsculapius. This would render the existence of Hindu records, if we suppose them to have been produced during the present age, more recent by six centuries and a half, than

* Alison.

† Asiatic Researches, vol. viii.

the first mention of medicine and its followers in the Mosaic writings.

Without, however, adopting the views of Bentley,* as strictly correct, notwithstanding their general truthfulness having been endorsed by Laplace and Delambre, or coinciding to the full extent in his remark that no dependence is to be placed on Hindu opinions, "since when thoroughly sifted and examined, they are principally founded in vanity, ignorance, and credulity,"—there can be no valid reason advanced or solid proof adduced, to shew that the medicine of the Hindus is more ancient than that of the Egyptians and Hebrews—although it appears subsequently to have attained more of the dignity of a science, and to have been cultivated with a greater degree of assiduity and success.

* "The name of Mr. Bentley will descend with great distinction to postery for his intelligent criticism on the antiquity of the Brahmanical books and their astronomical computations. It was a bold undertaking to be the first to break the spell of credulity which was lulling Europe into such an unphilosophical lethargy, but he will soon find himself rewarded by his success. We are satisfied that the venerated books of the Brahmins need only to be translated, in order to enable every man who can read, to discover their imposture; but till these translations appear, the researches of Mr. Bentley and those of our Sanskrit students, who follow his footsteps, will be wanted to undeceive such as have been hitherto deluded. Lieutenant Wilford, who is familiar with the Puranas, and has personally experienced the frauds of the modern Brahmins, has so far advanced in the progress to true criticism and common sense as to tell us that with regard to history the Hindus really have nothing but romances He says their works, whether historical or geographical, are most extravagant compositions, in which little regard, indeed, is paid to truth. In their treatises on geography they seem to view the globe through a prism, as if adorned with the liveliest colours: mountains are of solid gold, bright like ten thousand suns, and others are of precious gems Some of silver borrow the mild and dewy beams of the moon. There are rivers and seas of liquid amber, clarified butter, milk, curds, and intoxicating liquors. Geographical truth is sacrificed to a symmetrical arrangement of countries, mountains, lakes, nd rivers, with which they are highly delighted. There are two geographical systems among the Hindus. The first and most ancient is according to the Puranas, in which the earth is considered as a convex surface gradually sloping towards the borders and surrounded by the ocean. The second and modern system is that adopted by astronomers, and certainly the worst of the two. The Puranics considering the earth as a flat surface, or nearly so, their knowledge does not extend much beyond the old continent or the superior hemisphere; but astronomers being acquainted with the globular shape of the earth, and, of course, with an inferior hemisphere, were under the necessity of borrowing largely from the superior part, in order to fill up the inferior one. Thus their astronomical knowledge, instead of being of service to geography, has augmented the confusion, distorted and dislocated every part, every country, in the old continent."

"Even Mr. H. Colebrook, who still looks at these books with an eye of favour, in his last Essay confesses, that the mythology of the orthodox Hindu, that present chronology adapted to astronomical periods, their legendary tales, their mystical allegories, are abundantly extravagant."—*Quarterly Review, Vol.* I. *pp.* 66-67.

"We do not believe that even the Vedas are nearly so old as the poems of Homer, and we are satisfied that some of the Puranas are very modern."—*Ibid.* p. 67.

Dr. Maskeleyne adds his testimony to the general correctness of Bentley's views, in the following terms:—

"I think Bentley right: he has proved by his calculations that there was no real observation made at the beginning of the Kali-yuga. Bailly was a pleasing historical writer, but he had more imagination than judgment: and I know he was condemned by his friends, LaLande and LaPlace, as a *superficial astronomer*, and a very *indifferent calculator.* These two gentlemen entertained the same opinion with myself with respect to the antiquity of Hindu astronomy, and I think that Mr. Bentley has made out satisfactorily the real antiquity of the *Surya Siddhanta!*

To the Hindus must undoubtedly be assigned the merit of having been the first to practise dissection of the human body, as we shall have occasion to show hereafter, and to have possessed a complete series of treatises upon the different branches of medicine.

It is difficult to imagine how so learned and laborious a scholar as Sir Wm. Jones could have fallen into so serious an error as to state, that there was no evidence to prove the existence in any language of Asia of any original treatise on medicine considered as science. The ignorance of the Brahmans concerning the medical Shastras could scarcely have been so great as to render them unacquainted with their existence, although they might not have been conversant with their contents. However much the Mahomedan conquerors may have neglected and despised the medical science of the Hindus, such was not the case with the hereditary physicians of Hindustan, and although *they* may have been unwilling to part with, or make known, the contents of their long transmitted and highly prized manuscripts, they would scarcely have denied or concealed the fact of their existence from their own countrymen.

The mistake of Mill is still greater, and cannot be excused, since a little more dilligent examination of what was then known, would have dispelled the delusion under which he laboured. Without admitting their exaggerated pretensions to antiquity, or recognizing the absurdities of their fabulous chronology, he ought to have been better acquainted with the state in which the civilization, sciences, and institutions of the Hindus were found by Alexander in his Indian campaigns, as related by Arrian and Plutarch, and with the numerous well authenticated facts scattered through various modern writers, who had partially investigated the subject and published their remarks and observations prior to the appearance of the history of India.

Elphinstone mentions Charaka and Susruta as the earliest medical writers extant, but does not attempt to establish the date of either of them, further than specifying, upon the authority of Royle, the commentary written upon the latter in Kashmír in the twelfth or thirteenth century—probably not the first that was called into existence by the text in question. In the preliminary observations prefixed to the second volume of Ainslie's Materia Indica, are collected together various arguments derived from different sources concerning the antiquity and nature of the scientific knowledge generally of the Hindus, and particularly of their medicine, but that writer has not succeeded in throwing any light upon the question of their exact age, and, indeed, acknowledges his inability to do so, while he

inclines to the belief of their being as old as, and not borrowed from, the sciences of the Egyptians. "The Hindu medical treatises, we are told, were all written many hundred years ago, but at what exact period it is next to impossible to ascertain, as dates are very rarely affixed to the manuscripts, and whatever questions are put touching particular eras to those Brahmans, who might be supposed best able to reply to them, they are invariably answered in an unsatisfactory manner"*—a result experienced by most others who have pursued the same path of enquiry, with the attempted aid of such inefficient and ignorant guides as the great majority of the present race of Pandits.

By far the most elaborate and successful attempt to establish the antiquity of Hindu medicine is that of Professor Royle, whose able and argumentative treatise has become the standard of reference of all systematic writers upon the subject. The learned and dilligent author of the Botany of the Himalayas appears, during the period of his exile and servitude, to have devoted much of his time to the collection and investigation of various articles of the indigenous Materia Medica found in the bazars of India, and this led him to study and trace their history and properties with such aid as can be obtained in this country alone. Although the author is not a Sanskrit scholar, he certainly appears to us to have established, by a train of ingenious and occasionally complete evidence, that the medicine of the Hindus was older than that of the Arabs and of the Greeks, that it was *probably original*, and not borrowed from any other nation; and that it contained much that was interesting and deserving of further research and enquiry.

The following extract from Royle's Essay will give our readers a fair idea of the nature and force of the reasoning brought to bear upon this difficult question :—

"Hindu works on Medicine having been proved to have existed prior to the Arabs, little doubt can be entertained. I conceive, respecting their originality; as we know of no source from which they could have been borrowed, except from the Greeks, and there is little probability of the Hindus having had access to any original or translated works at so early a period, as must have been the case from their containing no traces of the Galenical doctrines so conspicuous in the writings of the Arabs. Some coincidences would appear rather to be that of observers of the same fact, than of borrowers from the same books. The description of some diseases which seem to have been first known in India, as well as the internal administration of metals, they could not have borrowed from the Greeks. That there must have been independent observers in India, at a very early age of the world, we have proofs in the commerce of their manufactures and of their medicines. Many of the latter may be found described in the works of the Greeks, but we see no trace of European medicines in those of the

* Ainslie, Op. cit.

Hindus; and though knowledge may travel from north to south, tropical products can, in our hemisphere only, travel from south to north. Their employment, therefore, in the latter, proves their previous investigation by a people resident in the countries of their growth. On such grounds, therefore, I conceive we may infer the antiquity of Hindu medicine; and while unable to get any positive dates for their works, we may yet, by circumstantial evidence, obtain an approximation which will, I think, prove its independent origin. We may, however, conceive it to be the remains of a still more ancient system of which we have no records, but of the existence of which there can be no doubt, as Herodotus relates, that in his time, in Egypt, there were distinct physicians for different diseases, which were classed according to their seat in the human body; and from Diodorus Siculus we learn, that every physician was obliged to follow a written code. Hence it is more than probable that there was early in Egypt a distinct system of medicine, and we have notices also in the works of the ancients of its being a subject much attended to by the Persian magi. Notwithstanding that the Greeks travelled to the East and to Egypt in quest of knowledge, it has been said, that Egyptian medicine consisted chiefly in incantation; but this explanation is as likely to have been owing to the ignorance of the narrators as of the physicians; for even in our own day, we seldom see even well-informed writers able to explain or to describe correctly facts of a scientific nature. In the same manner, those who were unable to decypher their hieroglyphics, pronounced all the knowledge of the Egyptian priesthood to consist in magic.

The only direct testimony we have with respect to the date of the works of Charaka and of Susruta, is that of Professor Wilson, who states that from their being mentioned in the Puranas, the ninth or tenth century is the most modern limit of our conjecture; while the style of the authors,* as well as their having become the heroes of fable, indicate a long anterior date. The Arabs must have become acquainted with the translations in the eighth, or early in the ninth century, as Harun-al-Rashid and Al-Mamoon, succeeded respectively in the years 786 and 813 to the Caliphate, when it stretched to the Indus: the latter survived only twenty years. Geber is supposed to have lived in the seventh or eighth century, and we have shown the probability of his having had access to the chemical knowledge of the Hindus. But for their merits to have been sufficiently established for their works to be translated at the same time with those of the principal Greek authors, these Hindu physicians must certainly have lived and written long before, to allow their fame to extend into foreign countries, in an age when the communication of literature must have been at least as slow as it now is in the East."*

In addition to proving the priority of the Hindus to the Greeks and Arabs in the matters above mentioned, the Professor has traced, in an extended though cursory chain of arguments, the commerce, science, arts, literature, and civilization of the Brahmans from the earliest period of their own authentic records, as well as from the testimony afforded by the literary remains of other nations, and by the application of this combined mass of evidence, has satisfactorily established the fact he intended to prove. In the validity, however, of some of his arguments we are not inclined to coincide, nor do we think, that he has

* Royle's Essay, pp. 62. 3. 4.

always been happy in tracing the identity between Greek and Arabic terms. There is no more fruitful source of error than the ambiguity of nomenclature in ages and among nations which had no fixed standards of comparision, and whose complete ignorance of the essential characters of plants and even of mineral bodies, renders it difficult, if not impossible, to identify the substance described and spoken of. In the writings of so comparatively recent an author as Diosocrides, whose works have been illustrated and annotated by "swarms of commentators," out of seven hundred plants contained in his Materia Medica, not more than four hundred have been correctly ascertained: nor have Theophrastus,—the Father of Botany,—Pliny, and even Celsus fared much better. To enter into any detailed analysis of such minor points of objection, or, indeed, further to prolong our remarks upon this preliminary portion of our enquiry into the Hindu system of medicine, would be out of place in the necessarily narrow limits to which we must confine our article, were we even possessed of the leisure and eastern lore requisite for the prosecution of such a task. We cannot, however, quit a topic of which probably many of our readers are already heartily tired, without a passing reference to the paper of Horace Hayman Wilson, published in the *Oriental Magazine* for 1823, and quoted by Royle in the essay above referred to. Unlike most of the other writers upon this subject, Professor Wilson is universally acknowledged to be one of the most profound and accomplished Sanskrit scholars in existence, and his evidence, delivered with the modesty and caution of one well acquainted with the nature and extent of the materials at his command, is entitled to the highest consideration. We can only venture upon the following extracts from his paper:—

"There is reason to conclude, from the imperfect opportunities of investigation we possess, that in medicine, as in astronomy and metaphysics, the Hindus once kept pace with the most enlightened nations of the world; and that they attained as thorough a proficiency in medicine and surgery, as any people, whose acquisitions are recorded, and as indeed was practicable, before anatomy was made known to us, by the discoveries of modern inquirers.

* * * * * * * *

The *Ayur Veda*, as the medical writings of highest antiquity and authority are collectively called, is considered to be a portion of the fourth or *Atharva Veda*, and is consequently the work of BRAHMA—by him it was communicated to DACSHA, the *Prajapati*, and by him, the two ASWINS, or sons of SURYA, the Sun, were instructed in it, and they then became the medical attendants of the gods—a genealogy, that cannot fail recalling to us the two sons of *Æsculapius*, and their descent from *Apollo*. Now, what were the duties of the ASWINS, according to Hindu authorities?—the gods, enjoying eternal youth and health, stood in no need of physicians, and consequently these held no such sinecure station. The wars between the

gods and demons, however, and the conflicts amongst the gods themselves, in which wounds might be suffered, although death was not inflicted, required chirurgical aid—and it was this, accordingly, which the two ASWINS rendered. They performed many extraordinary cures, as might have been expected from their superhuman character.

The meaning of these legendary absurdities is clear enough, and is conformable to the tenor of all history. Man, in the semi-barbarous state, if not more subject to external injuries than internal disease, was at least more likely to seek remedies for the former, which were obvious to his senses, than to imagine the means of relieving the latter, whose nature he could so little comprehend.

Surgical, therefore, preceded medicinal skill; as Celsus has asserted, when commenting on Homer's account of Podalirius and Machaon, who were not consulted, he says, during the plague in the Grecian camp, although regularly employed to extract darts and heal wounds. The same position is maintained, as we shall hereafter see by the Hindu writers, in plain, as well as in legendary language.

According to some authorities, the ASWINS instructed INDRA, and INDRA was the preceptor of DHANWANTARI; but others make ATREYA, BHARADWAJA and CHARAKA prior to the latter. CHARAKA'S work, which goes by his name, is extant; DHANWANTARI is also styled KASIRAJA, prince of *Kasi* or Benares. His disciple was SUSRUTA, the son of VISWAMITRA, and consequently a contemporary of RAMA: his work also exists, and is our chief guide at present. It is unquestionably of some antiquity, but it is not easy to form any conjecture of its real date, except that it cannot have the prodigious age which Hindu fable assigns it: it is sufficient to know, that it is perhaps the oldest work on the subject, excepting that of CHARAKA, which the Hindus possess. One commentary on the text, made by UBHATTA, a Cashmerian, is probably as old as the twelfth or thirteenth century, and his comment, it is believed, was preceded by others. The work is divided into six portions: the *Sutra St'hana*, or CHIRURGICAL DEFINITIONS; the *Nidana St'hana*, or section on SYMPTOMS or DIAGNOSIS; *Saria St'hana* ANATOMY; *Chikitsa St'hana*, the internal application of Medicines: *Kulpa St'hana*, ANTIDOTES: *Uttara St'hana*, or a supplementary section on various local diseases or affections of the eye, ear, &c. In all these divisions, however, surgery, and not general medicine, is the object of the *Susruta*.

The *Ayur Veda*, which originially consisted of one hundred sections, of a thousand stanzas each, was adapted to the limited faculties and life of man, by its distribution into eight sub-divisions, the enumeration of which conveys to us an accurate idea of the objects of the *Ars Medendi* amongst the Hindus. The divisions are thus enumerated: 1. *Salya*; 2. *Salakya*; 3. *Kaya Chikitsa*; 4. *Bhutavidya*; 5. *Kaumarabhritya*; 6. *Agada*; 7. *Rasayana*, and 8. *Bajikarana*. They are explained as follows:—

*Salya* is the art of extracting extraneous substances, whether of grass, wood, earth, metal, bone, &c., violently or accidently introduced into the human body; with the treatment of the inflamation and suppuration thereby induced; and by analogy, the cure of all phlegmonoid tumours and abscesses. The word *Salya* means a dart or arrow, and points clearly to the origin of this branch of Hindu science. In like manner the Ἰατρὸς, or physician of the Greeks, was derived according to *Sextus Empiricus* from Ἰὸς, an arrow or dart.

2. *Salakya* is the treatment of external organic affections, or diseases of the eyes, ears, nose, &c. It is derived from *Salaka* which means any thin and sharp instrument; and is either applicable in the same manner as *Salya*, to the active causes of the morbid state, or it is borrowed from the

generic name of the slender probes and needless used in operations on the parts affected.

3. *Kaya Chikitsa* is, as the name implies, the application of the Ars Medendi (*Chikitsa*) to the body in general (*Kaya*), and forms what we mean by the science of Medicine; the two preceding divisions constitute the surgery of modern schools.

4. *Bhutavidya* is the restoration of the faculties from a disorganised state, induced by Demoniacal possession. This art has vanished before the diffusion of knowledge, but it formed a very important branch of medical practice through all the schools, Greek, Arabic, or European, and descended to days very near our own, as a reference to *Burton's* Anatomy of Melancholy may prove to general readers.

5. *Kaumarabhritya* means the care of infancy, comprehending not only the management of children from their birth, but the treatment of irregular lactic secretion, and puerperal disorders in mothers and nurses; this holds with us also the place that its importance claims.

6. *Agada* is the administration of antidotes—a subject which, as far as it rests upon scientific principles, is blended with our medicine and surgery.

7. *Rasayana* is chemistry, or more correctly alchemy, as the chief end of the chemical combinations it describes, and which are mostly metallurgic, is the discovery of the universal medicine—the elixir, that was to render health permanent, and life perpetual.

8. The last branch, *Bajikarana*, professes to promote the increase of the human race—an illusory research, which, as well as the preceding, is not without its parallel in ancient and modern times." *

Before entering upon the detailed examination of the different departments of Hindu Medicine as developed in Wise's Commentary, it may not be uninteresting to the general reader to give a brief sketch of the Medicine of the Hebrews and of the Egyptians—so as to enable him to institute some degree of comparison between them.

The sacred writings of the Jews, and the existence of authentic historical monuments, prove that Egypt was partially civilized at a period when the rest of the then known world was in a state of complete ignorance and barbarism. The Hindus contest the palm of superior antiquity and civilization with the Egyptians, but upon uncertain, and, in many respects, purely imaginary grounds, while few facts are now more completely established, than the high state of cultivation of the arts and sciences at a very remote period of the existence of ancient Egypt, whereas there are, on the other hand, few things more easy to disprove than the fabulous chronology of the Brahmans. No people could have been more favourably situated for the early cultivation of science than the inhabitants of the fertile banks of the Nile, and none have left more magnificient monuments of their skill, civilization, and the wonderful degree of perfection they attained, when a more than

* The Oriental Magazine, vol. i, p. 207—12.

Cimmerian darkness enveloped the rest of the habitable globe, so far as we now are capable of judging.

It would be out of place in any work not specially devoted to the history of Medicine, to attempt to trace its origin, or to speculate upon the nature of the various divinities to whom the ancients ascribed the virtue of healing. Upon these matters we have no more certain or trustworthy guides than fabulous traditions or crude conjectures, based upon an imperfect knowledge of the nature of man in a savage state, and of the particular wants to which he is supposed to be most liable in such a condition. It is in reality of no great consequence, in the present advanced stage of the science, to ascertain whether the natural and inherent preservative instinct of man led him to distinguish alimentary from medicinal, and these from poisonous substances, or whether, as an ingenious author has attempted to prove, animals were the earliest physicians: it is sufficient for our purposes to know, that some knowledge of medicine must have been among the earliest of human arts, and most probably long before it attained the dignity of a science. There can be little doubt, also, that in the infancy of the great human family diseases must have been few and simple, and cured more by the *vis medicatrix naturæ* than by the efficacy of any drugs then known and used. This is abundantly evident and apparent in an examination of the earlier systems of medicine transmitted to us, in all of which diet and regimen, air and exercise, are constantly insisted upon as among the most efficacious means of removing disease and of restoring health. Many of the ancient medical philosophers appear to have been very much of the opinion of the modern poet, that

> "The first physicians by debauch were made,
> Excess began, and sloth sustains the trade.
> By chase our long-liv'd fathers earn'd their food;
> Toil strung the nerves, and purify'd the blood.
> But we their sons, a pamper'd race of men,
> Are dwindled down to threescore years and ten.
> Better to hunt in fields for health unbought,
> Than fee the doctor for a nauseous draught.
> The wise for cure on exercise depend:
> God never made his work for man to mend."

Among the early Egyptians, as among many more modern nations, the practice of medicine was originally usurped by the priesthood, who built their temples in healthy positions, and excited the imaginations of their patients by a variety of ceremonies and practices, compounds of magic and imposture, not altogether unknown in the more systematic and learned empiricism of recent times as exhibited in the wonders of Cagliostro, and the manipulations of sundry pretenders of the present day.

The credit of all cures was assumed for the particular deities presiding over each temple, and the cause of all failures was adroitly ascribed to the anger of some offended divinity, whose wrath was not to be appeased by mortal means: they consequently branded the unfortunate incurables as criminals under punishment for unpardonable sins! Something not far removed from this, will be found in the medicine of the Hindus, and is recorded in the earliest writings of the Greek poets. The classical reader will doubtless remember, that when, at the siege of Troy, the plague reigned and raged in the Grecian camp, Homer describes its progress, but is silent upon the human efforts made to arrest it and obviate its fatality. In fact his advice is to let

> ———" Some prophet or some sacred sage,
> Explore the cause of great Apollo's rage;
> Or learn the wasteful vengeance to remove,
> By mystic dreams; for dreams descend from Jove.
> If broken vows this heavy curse have laid,
> Let altars smoke, and hecatombs be paid.
> So heav'n aton'd, shall dying Greece restore,
> And Phœbus dart his burning shafts no more."

The medical priesthood of Egypt consisted of an exclusive caste of considerable dignity, inasmuch as the rulers of the land were also then selected from the priestly faculty. They were haughty, reserved, austere, and never relaxed the fixed and melancholy appearance of their countenances in the presence of their patients. Their food consisted exclusively of vegetables and the sacrificial meats—the flesh of all other animals being carefully rejected as unwholesome, and as the cause of the forms of leprosy, ophthalmia, and other formidable diseases, which appear, even at that early period, to have been common in the land of the Pharaohs. Whether the drink of these aboriginal sons of Æsculapius was wine or water, has been a subject of much discussion: the balance of evidence is in favour of their having been worshippers of the rosy god.

Herodotus maintains that in his time Egypt was a species of medical paradise, and that every disease had its own special practitioner—a subdivision of duty that must have been marvellously inconvenient for those who laboured under complicated disorders.

The practice of the early physicians would seem to have been simple, the disease being in general left to the curative powers of Nature, with the occasional exhibition of some evacuant remedy,—a literal verification of the modern definition of physic as 'the art of amusing the patient, while Nature cures the disease.'

The surgical skill of the Egyptians has been called in ques-

tion in consequence of their having been unable to cure a simple sprain, or to reduce the dislocated ankle of Darius, the son of Hystaspes.

The soothsayers prognosticated the changes and terminations of diseases, the cure of which was generally undertaken by the ordinary priests, and *they* could not treat any acute affection before the fourth day of its manifestation, except upon their personal responsibility.

The two principal departments of medicine, in which the claim of early distinction and proficiency has been made for the Egyptians, are Anatomy and Chemistry. Their knowledge of the former was entirely confined to the art of embalming in the various forms in which it was practised, and entitles them to no such credit. In this respect we shall find them infinitely inferior to the Hindus, and their writings contain the grossest anatomical blunders, even more absurd than the Chinese drawings of human dissections, in which the outline is filled up with the internal structures of various animals. Their chemical skill and knowledge were undoubtedly in a much more advanced state, for they have left metallurgic and other results which are still enigmas for the most eminent of our modern chemical philosophers, and are far in advance of anything of the kind ever found in Hindustan.

They practised periodical evacuations; treated rheumatism by friction with crocodile's fat; employed fumigation; were acquainted with the uses of balsam, spices and myrrh; and appear also to have used alum, plasters, and various ointments, in the latter of which white lead and verdigris were occasionally ingredients. The last mentioned fact has been called in question, and is supposed to be true only of the Egyptians at a much later period.

The early medicine of the Hebrews, appears from the incidental remarks contained in the Bible, to have attained a considerable degree of perfection. Their remedial agents were chiefly of a hygienic nature, and consisted of circumcision, strict attention to diet, separation, frequent ablution, and the combustion of infected garments. Every Christian reader must be well acquainted with the minute directions and descriptions contained in the book of Leviticus; the cure of Naaman's leprosy; the odoriferous confections and ointments mentioned in the 30th chapter of Exodus, as compounded "after the art of the apothecary;" the employment of music as a cure for melancholy; the use of antimony as a face paint; and the mention in various places of the Fig, the Olive, Saffron, Myrrh, Bdellium, Galbanum, Cumin, Coriander,

Balm of Gilead, Frankincense, Cassia, Cinnamon, the Pomegranate, Dill, and it is conjectured Colocynth and Castor Oil.

In medicine and natural history the great lawgiver, Moses, not only surpassed his Egyptian masters, but possessed the secret of reducing gold to powder, as related in the 32nd chapter of Exodus—"And he took the calf which they had made, and burnt it in the fire, and ground it to powder, and strawed it upon the water, and made the children of Israel drink of it." He also sweetened the bitter waters of Marah, and has left a most accurate account of the various forms of leprosy.

The wisdom of Solomon has since become a proverb.

"And God gave Solomon wisdom and understanding exceeding much, and largeness of heart even as the sand that is on the sea shore."

"And Solomon's wisdom exceeded the wisdom of all the children of the East country, and all the wisdom of Egypt."

"For he was wiser than all men," * * * * * * and his fame was in all nations round about."

"And he spake three thousand proverbs: and his songs were a thousand and five."

"And he spake of trees, from the cedar tree that is in Lebanon, even unto the hyssop that springeth out of the wall: he spake also of beasts, and of fowl, and of creeping things, and of fishes."*

Hartwell Horne† who appears to have consulted and collated almost every existing authority upon the subject, in his section "*On the diseases mentioned in the scriptures*," has the following passage upon the origin of medicine among the Hebrews, and the nature and duties of their physicians.

"The Jews ascribed the *origin* of the healing art to God himself (Ecclus. XXXVIII 1. 2) and the Egyptians attributed their invention of it to their God Thaut or Hermes, or to Osiris or Isis.

Antiently at Babylon, the sick, when they were first attacked by a disease, were left in the streets, for the purpose of learning from those who might pass them, what practices or what medicines had been of assistance to them, when afflicted with similar diseases. The Egyptians carried their sick into the temple of Serapis; the Greeks carried theirs into those of Æsculapius. In the temples of both these deities there were preserved written receipts of the means by which various cures had been effected. With the aid of these

* I. Kings, Cap. iv,

A modern writer, however, commenting on this fact, has the following remarks:—"Gold is so ductile that it is very difficult to grind it to powder, and it is still more difficult to dissolve it in water. Here is an exploit which the greatest chemists of the present day could not do more than perform—a sufficient proof of the scientific skill of Moses, and consequently of the Egyptians, from whom he drew his knowledge. But there seems no reason for believing that Moses possessed any chemical knowledge whatever. He broke the calf in pieces, and reduced it to as small fragments as he could; these he threw into water, and made the Israelites drink of that liquid. We are sure that the gold was not dissolved in the water, because gold, in a state of solution, is one of the most virulent of poisons, and could not, therefore, have been administered to the Israelites with impunity."—*Ed. Review, Vol. L. p.* 257.

† Horne's introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Vol. iii. chapter ix. § 1. p. 501 to 11.

recorded remedies, the art of healing assumed in the progress of time the aspect of a science. It assumed such a form first in Egypt, and at a much more recent period in Greece; but it was not long before those of the former were surpassed in excellence by the physicians of the latter country. That the Egyptians, however, had no little skill in medicine, may be gathered from what is said in the Pentateuch respecting the marks of leprosy. That some of the medicinal prescriptions should fail of bringing the expected relief is by no means strange, since Pliny himself mentions some which are far from producing the effects he ascribes to them * Physicians are first mentioned in Gen. 1. 2. Exod. xxi. 19. Job xiii. 4. Some acquaintance with chirurgical operations is implied in the rite of circumcision † (Gen. xvii. 11-14.) There is ample evidence that the Israelites had some acquaintance with the internal structure of the human system, although it does not appear that dissections of the human body, for medical purposes, were made till as late as the time of Ptolemy. ‡ That Physicians sometimes undertook to exercise their skill in removing diseases of an internal nature is evident from the circumstance of David's playing upon the harp to cure the melancholy of Saul. (1 Sam. xvi. 16) The art of healing was committed among the Hebrews as well as among the Egyptians, to the priests, who, indeed, were obliged by a law of the state, to take cognizance of leprosies. (Lev. xiii. 1-14, 57. Deut. xxiv. 8, 9.) Reference is made to physicians who were not priests, and to instances of sickness, disease, healing, &c, in various parts of the scriptures."

The diseases mentioned in the sacred writings § are cancers, consumption, dropsy, fevers, epilepsy, lunacy, leprosy in its

* This is by no means confined to Pliny and the ancients—our modern systems of Materia Medica abound and are overloaded with remedies to which suppositious virtues are ascribed, and contain many which are inert and useless, or on the other hand, positively mischievous. Few circumstances have operated so prejudically upon the advance of the therapeutical department of medicine, as the ignorance, carelessness, and we fear occasionally, the culpable and wilful misrepresentations which characterise a large proportion of the observations published on the actions and uses of medicinal agents.

† This, however, can only be admitted as evidence of the lowest possible degree of surgical skill. Circumcision and Nymphotomy, an analogous operation, still continues to be practised among the Copts, Egyptians, Arabs, Ethiopians and other eastern nations. They are performed by the most ignorant and lowest order of practitioners, demanding a very moderate amount of knowledge and skill. Buffon, in alluding to the latter operation says—"d'apres Niebuhr, cette operation se fait vers l'age de dix ans, sans ceremonie religieuse, et en y attachant si peu d'importance qu'on ne la fait pratiquer que lorsque les femmes qui font ce metier passent accidentellement dans la rue." (Hist. Nat. Tom. iv.) They are on a level in fact with the corn cutters and bone setters of modern Europe.

‡ ANATOMY does not appear to have been cultivated by the Hebrews, among whom the contact with a dead body rendered an individual unclean, even with purification for seven days, as related in the 19th chapter of Numbers from the 11th verse, and also alluded to in the book of Leviticus.

Their knowledge of PHYSIOLOGY was exceedingly restricted. They regarded the bones as important organs, and as the seat of severe diseases, and considered the umbilical region and epigastrium as exercising a great degree of influence over the health of the individual. But on these and other ordinary matters connected with the *natural* sciences and arts, the Jews were left very much to their own resources. It never was the design of true *Revelation* to supersede the exercise of the human faculties in any department of knowledge to the cultivation of which these may be fully competent. On the contrary, its general intent has been to brace, invigorate and expand all the powers and susceptibilities of the soul, and to encourage, under due regulation, the application of these to every pursuit calculated to enlarge the boundaries of useful knowledge or confer fresh benefits on the family of man.

§ Horne, loc. cit.

various forms, as contagious or non-contagious—described with a degree of minuteness and accuracy to which it is scarcely possible for a modern observer to make a single addition from external examination alone, as may daily be seen in the streets of this city—elephantiasis with a species of which the patriarch Job is conjectured to have been afflicted; the disease of the Philistines, variously supposed to have been either dysentery, or hœmorrhoids; the disease of Saul, melancholia; the disease of Jehoram, King of Israel, dysentery, with ulceration and discharge of portions of intestine; the disease with which Hezekiah was afflicted, said to have been either a pleurisy, or the plague, elephantiasis, or a quinsey, but conjectured by most to have been fever terminating in abscess; and the hypochondriasis of Nebuchadnezzar.

We do not refer to the diseases, remedies, and other medical matters mentioned in the New Testament, as they are of much more recent date, and can scarcely be taken to have any connection with the *antiquity* of Hebrew Medicine.

Much of the learning of the ancient Israelites was probably derived from the Egyptians, in the frequent intercourse that took place in the time of Abraham and his descendants, as well as during the four centuries of bondage of the successors of Jacob. There is no doubt, however, that much more was peculiar to themselves, and like their faith and customs, handed down from the remotest periods.

The claims of the Chinese will not bear investigation, either as to the extent or antiquity of their knowledge of medicine when compared with the Hebrews, the Egyptians, or the Hindus.

There can be equally little, or possibly even less, doubt concerning the more modern claims of the Arabs, who have not only been proved to have had access to, and quoted from, the Charaka and Susruta,—but to have been well acquainted with the writings of the Greek Fathers of Medicine. In fact, the doctrines of Hippocrates and Galen were early taught in their schools, and no credit can be assigned to them of having been among the *earliest* cultivators of any of the arts and sciences. They belong altogether to a much more recent era, and were in the first instance chiefly indebted for their knowledge to the Hindus and Greeks.

Although the Greeks cannot pretend to the antiquity in knowledge of the Hindus, the Egyptians, or the Hebrews—"it is neither in Egypt, nor in India, nor in Palestine, nor in Rome, that the first germs of the *systematic* study of science are to be found, but in Greece alone."

To the Hindus and to the Egyptians the modern world,

owes nothing of its advance in science and civilization, but to Greece, the cradle of learning and liberty, the debt of gratitude in every department of literature and art is immense and universally acknowledged. Among them none have derived more positive benefit, or been more firmly impressed with the sterling stamp of wisdom than Medicine, and the branches of human knowledge collaterally or immediately connected with it. With the single exception of Chemistry, in which the credit of a high degree of cultivation and success, subsequently reflected in the brilliant researches and discoveries of our own time, belongs undoubtedly to the Arabs, every other branch of European Medicine may be traced to a Grecian origin ; and in many of them, the doctrines and practices of the old fathers of physic are still quoted with deference, and acknowledged with respect. The dogmatism of Hippocrates and his successors ; the professed empiricism which reigned in the schools from the time of Serapion to the commencement of the Christian Æra ; the methodism which partially commenced with Themison and continued until the reign of Marcus Aurelius, when it was firmly established by Galen, the physician and peripatetic ; and the peripatetic dogmatism that prevailed from his time to the period when that strange compound of mountebank, quack, and philosopher Paracelsus, the cotemporary of Charles the V., appeared upon the stage, all had their influence upon the succeeding revolutions of medicine,—embracing the chemical dogmatism that ceased with the discovery of the circulation, by the immortal Harvey, in the reign of Charles I ; the mechanical dogmatism that obtained possession of the schools to the period of Boerhave in the commencement of the 18th century, and then merged into the general dogmatism with its infinite varieties and off-shoots, including the learned empiricisms of Homæopathy, Hydropathy, and others of still more doubtful character, that still continue to occupy the learned, attract the vulgar, delude the ignorant, and mystify the multitude. All this, however, is foreign to our present purpose, and we must retrace our steps from the light of Greece to the obscurity of Hindustan.

To enable our readers to estimate correctly the value and extent of the addition contributed to the history of medicine by Wise's Commentary, a brief and rapid review of our previous knowledge of the subject, may not be deemed altogether uninteresting or out of place.

To the full and candid work of the learned LeClerc, we have not access at present,—but if our memory be not faulty, it contains little, if any, positive information upon the medicine of

the Hindus, except possibly a few incidental allusions borrowed from the writings of the Arabian physicians, who were not very profoundly acquainted with the matter themselves.

The history of medicine from the time of Galen to the commencement of the 16th century, by Friend, is equally silent.

Of Black's history of medicine and surgery published in 1782, it is sufficient to repeat the opinion entertained by a cotemporaneous writer, that it was—"prolix in ancient history, meagre in the middle ages, superficial in later times, and in the most modern, completely uninformed."

The first of the works with which we have any acquaintance that alludes directly to the Hindus as among the earliest of the successful cultivators of the healing art, is the 'infinitely important and valuable' Essai d'une histoire pragmatique de la Medecine, by Kurt Sprengel—a work to which we have been much indebted in the passing remarks upon Egyptian and Hebrew medicine.

His chapter upon Indian Medicine is chiefly compiled from the Greek writers and the statements of modern travellers and authorities, but from having had no access to the original Sanskrit historians, of the existence even of most of which he appears to have been unacquainted, his information is necessarily meagre, and in some respects, not very correct.

Bostock, although a diligent reader, and evidently acquainted with the writings of nearly every author of repute and trust connected with the origin and progress of physic, has not even mentioned the Hindus in his History of Medicine, evidently regarding the little information then extant as too scanty and fabulous to deserve notice.

Dr. Wm. Hamilton is somewhat more explicit on the subject, and sums up his opinions in the following paragraph, which contains, indeed, the whole of the space devoted to the Hindus in his "History of Medicine, Surgery, and Anatomy, from the creation of the world to the commencement of the Nineteenth Century."

"Notwithstanding the progress which recent researches, no less than ancient traditions inform us, was made by the inhabitants of Hindustan, at the most remote periods in other branches of knowledge, and in the abstruse science of Astronomy more especially; their proficiency in the art of healing does not appear, from any evidence which either ancient history or modern discovery affords, to have equalled that of nations, in other respects far less enlightened. Their chief dependence, in the cure of disease, consisted, as Strabo informs us, in a rigid attention to diet, and the external application of cataplasms, and other tropical remedies. Medicine appears to have been practised chiefly, if not wholly, by persons who were termed Σαμανατοι or Samaneans, who exercised their calling by the special permission, and under the immediate superintendence, of the magistrates.

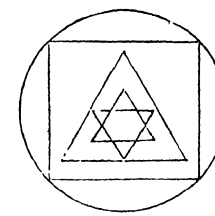
But their practice was encumbered with many difficulties, and the spirit of useful inquiry repressed by sanguinary, mistaken, and injudicious laws. The disclosure of a substance injurious to health, unaccompanied by its corresponding antidote, was punished with the penalty of death; and the door of improvement closed at the hazard of a halter against him who should dare to enter imprudently. The most valuable remedies were proscribed, from the apprehension of mischief arising from their injudicious application: and the courageous practitioner, who had ventured to employ some of those active preparations which are in every day use among modern physicians, would have endangered his neck, had he been unable to point out the remedy for their noxious effects, when wielded by the hands of malice, of ignorance, or of presumption. The mere existence of such a law sufficiently marks the low ebb of medical knowledge among the people who framed it: since it presupposes the fact, unconfirmed by any experience, of every posion having its appropriate and specific antidote, as every disease was believed, down almost to the present day, to possess its specific and peculiar remedy."

The eminent and excellent missionary, William Ward, of Serampore, in his view of the "History, Literature, and Mythology of the Hindus," a work containing much valuable information, has devoted a section to the medical Shastras. He appears to coincide, with a little qualification, in the opinion of Sir Wm. Jones, that Eastern "physic is a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies," and gives a brief abstract of some of the Hindu notions concerning fever, dysentery, and other internal diseases, with an enumeration of the medical shastras still extant. The amount of information accumulated by him is scanty, imperfect, and not obtained from the most ancient or purest sources. The question of its probable antiquity is left untouched, and the impression produced by the perusal of the chapter, is certainly unfavorable to the science, information, and method really possessed by the Hindu physicians of a remote date.

In the "Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India," published in a handsome, illustrated 4 to volume in 1814, by Dr. Heyne, of the Madras medical department, are portions of a translation of some Hindu works on medicine. The author sets out by stating, that "it is common in India to hear the native physicians represented by some Europeans as a set of ignorant cheats, and extolled by others as miracles of knowledge and wisdom. The fact, however, is, that the great body of medical men in India consists of illiterate pretenders to knowledge, few being entitled to be considered as possessors of real knowledge. Most of them are quacks, possessors and vendors of nostrums. The medical works of the Hindus are neither to be regarded as miraculous productions of wisdom, nor as depositories of nonsense. Their practical, principles, as far as I can judge, are very similar to our own, even their theories may be reconciled

with ours, if we make allowance for their ignorance of anatomy, and the imperfections of their physiological speculations."

He furnishes a long and interesting list of medical plants most in use, with their Sanskrit, Telinga, and Linnean names, to which are appended a few directions for keeping, gathering, compounding, and administering them. Some of these injunctions are simple and sensible, others ridiculous and childish. The middle of every medicine room was furnished with a sacred spot, consecrated by a mystical sign so very masonic in its form, that we are tempted to transfer it to our pages for the benefit of those among our readers, who may delight in researches upon symbols and signs, and have a firm belief in the antiquity and eastern origin of the mysteries of the masonic brotherhood.



This is followed by an abstract of an Indian treatise on medicine, containing—advice to physicians! a curious chapter on the pulse—Chinese in its childishness and prolixity, with an occasional glimmer of sense and correctness;—remarks on the diagnosis of the three principal diseases produced by *Wadum*, *Pittum*, and *Chestum*. or wind, bile, and slime, with a detail of the numerous diseases that result from these causes—a catalogue of nonsense and a medley of maladies strangely incongruous in their nature and relations. This is succeeded by remarks on the general causes of diseases; a section on diet; one on fever; another upon an unknown disorder termed *Sanny*, which seems to be a jumbling together of many of the worst symytoms of several diseases. The subject of prognosis meets with a due degree of attention, and a general summary of the whole concludes with the following curt and pithy sentences:—

"Thus have I finished the translations of this most extraordinary treatise, and I dare say my readers are by this time as fatigued as I am myself. It may be considered as a summary of all the medical knowledge of the Hindus. We see their absolute ignorance of anatomy, and every thing connected with the functions of the human body; that their system is entirely chimerical and connected with their religious opinions: and the long fasts to which they subject their patients are probably by far the most efficacious of their remedies. I had originally added long notes upon this little treatise, exhibiting the various opinions of other medical writers upon the subject discussed in the text, but upon farther reflection, I have been induced to withdraw them, conceiving that the treatise itself exhibited a banquet of absurdity sufficient to satisfy the most voracious guests; while different views, of the same ridiculous opinions, could not serve to add to the information of the most inquisitive reader."

Dr. Whitelaw Ainslie, in his excellent and detailed work on the Materia Medica of India,—to which we shall probably

have occasion to refer again, when remarking upon the section of Dr. Wise's commentary devoted to this department—has in his preliminary observations, recorded a few remarks upon the subject of the probable antiquity of the medicine of the Hindus, and of its present claims to consideration, more especially as known and practised in Southern India. He has also published a list of Hindu and Mahommedan works on various departments of physic. He does not profess, however, to be learned in Eastern lore, and has evidently obtained the greater part of his information at second hand, from "Tamul and Telingu practitioners, who were most probably themselves unacquainted with the original Sanskrit works," of which, according to Heyne, the translations into the dialects of Southern India, are full of errors from the translators having been frequently unequal to their task.

The transactions of the Asiatic Society of Bengal are comparatively poor in the matter of contributions to our knowledge of Hindu Medicine, containing in eighteen parts or volumes scarcely as many separate papers on the subject, and of these not one that can lay claim to any degree of learning or research. In the first, a paper by *Goverdhan Caul*, on the Literature of the Hindus, their medical writings are dismissed in about a dozen lines of very general remarks.

The second is the well known passage from the last anniversary dissertation of the eminent and learned President of the Society, delivered in February 1794, which, as embodying the views of that gifted and discriminating scholar, we have no hesitation in quoting for the information of those who have not access to the Asiatic Researches—the early volumes of which are gradually becoming rare and scarce—or who may not be in possession of Lord Teignmouth's edition of the works of Sir Wm. Jones:—

"I have no evidence that in any language of Asia, there exists one original treatise on medicine, considered as science; physic, indeed, appears in these regions to have been from time immemorial, as we see it practised at this day by Hindus and Muselmans, a mere empirical history of diseases and remedies; useful, I admit, in a high degree, and worthy of attentive examination, but wholly foreign to the subject before us. Though the Arabs, however, have chiefly followed the Greeks in this branch of knowledge, and have themselves been implicitly followed by other Mohammedan writers, yet (not to mention the Chinese, of whose medical works I can at present say nothing with confidence) we still have access to a number of Sanscrit books on the old Indian practice of physic, from which, if the Hindus had a theoretical system, we might easily collect it. The *Ayurvéda*, supposed to be the work of a celestial physician, is almost entirely lost, unfortunately, perhaps, for the curious European, but happily for the patient Hindu; since a revealed science precludes improvement from experience, to which that of medicine ought, above all others, to be left

perpetually open: but I have myself met with curious fragments of that primeval work: and, in the *Véda* itself, I found with astonishment an entire *Upanishad* on the internal parts of the human body; with an enumeration of nerves, veins, and arteries; a description of the heart, spleen, and liver; and various disquisitions on the formation and growth of the fœtus. From the laws, indeed, of MANU, which have lately appeared in our own language, we may perceive that the ancient Hindus were fond of reasoning, in their way, on the mysteries of animal generation, and on the comparative influence of the sexes in the production of perfect offspring; and we may collect from the authorities adduced in the learned Essay on *Egypt* and the *Nile*, that their physiological disputes led to violent schisms in religion, and even to bloody wars. On the whole, we cannot expect to acquire many valuable truths from an examination of eastern books on the science of medicine; but examine them we must, if we wish to complete the history of universal philosophy, and to supply the scholars of Europe with authentic materials for an account of the opinions anciently formed on this head by the philosophers of Asia. To know, indeed, with certainty, that so much and no more can be known on any branch of science, would in itself be very important and useful knowledge, if it had no other effect than to check the boundless curiosity of mankind, and to fix them in the straight path of attainable science, especially of such as relates to their duties, and may conduce to their happiness."

The remaining papers are mere monographs upon various topics of interest connected with the practice of medicine in this country, and afford no information respecting its indigenous history, antiquity, doctrines, or authorities.

The "Transactions of the Calcutta Medical and Physical Society," a rich repository of valuable practical facts and opinions respecting the topography, diseases—endemic and epidemic—and some of the indigenous remedies of India, together with details of the most appropriate means of managing various tropical maladies, are singularly and unaccountably deficient in the investigation of the medical literature of the Hindus.

With the exception of two or three contributions of no great importance from the pen of Professor Wilson, the only reference to the subject that a cursory examination has enabled us to fall in with, is the following extract from the preface to the 1st volume of the Transactions, published in 1825:—

"The history of medicine is of more interest than utility. Disease may be alleviated or subdued without a knowledge of those stages, by which the skill that has been successfully exerted, is brought within the reach of its possessor. Neither can it be expected that the imperfect science of the *Baids* or *Hakims* of India, shall offer any instructive lessons to their better educated brethren of Europe: still, to liberal and cultivated minds, the progress and condition of science in all ages, and in all climes, must be objects of interest; and they will gladly welcome the light that may be thrown upon the past or present existence of Oriental medicine, by information gathered from authentic sources, or derived from actual observation.

The history of Mahommedan medicine, comprising the most flourishing periods of the schools of Bagdad and Cordova, has already been fully elucidated, but it stops with the decline of the power of the Caliphs: a long subsequent period is, therefore, enveloped in obscurity in this branch of enquiry, and the medical history of the Hindus is hitherto an utter blank. In these respects, therefore, there is ample scope for investigation, novel at least and interesting, and perhaps not wholly uninstructive, which may be prosecuted with every advantage in the country in which we at present sojourn."*

This is a matter much to be regretted when we consider the number of able and eminent oriental scholars of which the Medical Department could boast, prior to the comparatively recent existence in its ranks of probably one of the most profound and learned of them all, Horace Hayman Wilson, who, with a solitary exception, has contributed more to our knowledge of Hindu medicine than any other authority prior to the appearance of the commentary now under review.

The paper of the late lamented painstaking traveller and antiquary Csoma de Koros published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1835, exhibits a brief abstract of certain portions of one of the Hindu medical shastras which appears to have been translated into the Tibetan tongue: it is an interesting fragment, but gives no detailed or connected view of the subject.

The most minute and intrinsically valuable of all the various sketches with which we are acquainted, is undoubtedly the "Essay upon the antiquity of Hindu medicine" already noticed, of Dr. Royle, who now occupies an important practical chair at the King's College of London, and has recently produced a systematic treatise upon the department of medicine which he is employed to teach. It is chiefly valuable on account of the careful industry and logical acumen with which the various steps of the difficult enquiry are successively conducted, and of probably all the then known authorities having been consulted and collated.

The chapter on Hindu Medicine in Elphinstone's History of India is brief and chiefly taken from the essay of Royle, the work of Ward, and a paper by Mr. Coates in the Transactions of the Literary Society of Bombay, which we have been unable to consult. The following extract embodies the whole of the information which he has afforded upon the subject:—

"Their acquaintance with medicines seems to have been very extensive. We are not surprised at their knowledge of simples, in which they gave early lessons to Europe, and more recently taught us the benefit of smoking datura in asthma, and the use of cowitch against worms: their chemical skill is a fact more striking and more unexpected.

* Medical and Physical Transactions, Vol. I. p. iv. Preface.

They knew how to prepare sulphuric and nitric acid, and muriatic acid; the oxide of copper, iron, lead (of which they had both the red oxide and litharge), tin, and zinc; the sulphuret of iron, copper, mercury, antimony, and arsenic; the sulphate of copper, zinc. and iron; and carbonates of lead and iron. Their modes of preparing those substances, seem, in some instances, if not in all, to have been peculiar to themselves.

Their use of these medicines seems to have been very bold. They were the first nation who employed minerals internally, and they not only gave mercury in that manner, but arsenic and arsenious acid, which where remedies in intermittents. They have long used cinnabar for fumigations, by which they produce a speedy and safe salivation.

Their surgery is as remarkable as their medicine, especially when we recollect their ignorance of anatomy. They cut for the stone, couched for the cataract, and extracted the fœtus from the womb, and, in their early works enumerate no less than 127 sorts of surgical instruments. But their instruments where probably always rude. At present they are so much so that, though very successful in cataract, their operations for the stone are often fatal.

They have long practised inoculation; but still many lives were lost from small pox, until the introduction of vaccination.

The Hindu physicians are attentive to the pulse and to the state of the skin, of the tongue, eyes, &c., and to the nature of the evacuations; and they are said to form correct prognostics from the observation of the symptoms. But their practice is all empirical, their theory only tending to mislead them. Nor are they always judicious in their treatment: in fevers, for instance they shut up the patient in a room artificially heated, and deprive him not only of food, but drink.

They call in astrology and magic to the aid of their medicine, applying their remedies at appropriate situations of the planets, and often accompanying them with mystical verses and charms.

Many of these defects probably belonged to the art in its best days, but the science has no doubt declined; chemists can conduct their preparations successfully without having the least knowledge of the principles by which the desired changes are effected; physicians follow the practice of their instructors without inquiry; and surgery is so far neglected, that bleeding is left to the barber, bone-setting to the herdsman, and every man is ready to administer a blister, which is done with the juice of the euphorbium, and still oftener with the actual cautery."*

We shall now proceed to examine and analyse briefly the commentary which forms the text of our remarks, and endeavour to investigate the claims that it affords, from internal evidence, of the nature and extent of the practical and theoretical knowledge possessed by the Brahmanical sect of medical philosophers.

Dr. Wise's work is divided into five books; the first treating of the History of Medicine; the second being devoted to the subject of Anatomy and Physiology; the third containing the department of Therapeutics; the fourth that of the Practice of Physic; and the last that of Midwifery, and the diseases of women and children. This is a convenient and simple arrangement.

* Elphinstone's India, vol. I, p. 279-81.

of the subject, and embodies in a condensed form a vast mass of matter, of which we can only hope, in the space allotted to us, to present our readers with a brief review of the most prominent and salient points of interest.

The first chapter contains, as might be expected, the Hindu notions of the origin and history of medicine, and belongs so exclusiyely to the regions of fable and fiction, as to be deserving of little notice and less credit. Most nations, in the early stages of their existence, have attributed all remarkable and incomprehensible occurrences to the influence of the deities worshipped in the forms of their various superstitions and idolatries, so that diseases, and a multitude of natural phenomena, have been ascribed by them to supernatural agency.* The Hindu Mythology out-herods all others in absurdity and extravagance, and in this particular is in no way inferior to the legends and traditions of the most unclvilized of savages. The four immortal Vedas are stated to have been produced in the first or golden age "during which mankind remained prosperous, virtuous, happy, and free from disease." Disease, misery, the shortening of life, and their attendant woes, appeared in the Treta Yuga, or second age † when "a third of mankind were reprobate." In the third age, half of the human race were depraved; and the climax of corruption characterises the present, or Kali Yuga. Brahma, from sheer benevolence and compassion for a fallen race, produce the Upavédas, of which the Ayur-véda, already noticed, is regarded as the sacred medical record of the Hindus, besides being of the highest antiquity and authority. The Shastras ascribe the production of thls veda to Shiva. A fragment only of the lac of slokas of which it originally consisted, has survived the

* "Morbos vero ad iram deorum immortalium relatos, et *ab iisdem* opem posci solitam."—*Celsus.*

† How unfavorably does the Hindu mystery and prolixity contrast with the simple, clear, and forcible exposition of the same subject contained in Horne's work:

"The diseases to which the human frame is subject would naturally lead one to try to alleviate or remove them: hence sprang the ART OF MEDICINE. In the early ages of the world, indeed, there could not be much occasion for an art which is now so necessary to the health and happiness of mankind. The simplicity of their manners, the plainness of their diet, their temperance in meat and drink, and their active life, (being generally occupied in the field and in rural affairs,) would naturally tend to strengthen the body, and to afford a greater share of health than what we now enjoy. So long as our first parents continued in that state of righteousness in which they were created, there was a tree emphatically termed the tree of life, the fruit of which was divinely appointed for the preservation of health; but, after the fall, being expelled from Eden, and, consequently, banished for ever from that tree, they became liable to various diseases, which doubtless, they would endeavour to remove or to mitigate in various ways. From the longevity of the Patriarchs, it is evident that diseases were not very frequent in the early ages of the world, and they seem to have enjoyed a sufficiently vigorous old age, except that the eyes became dim and the sight feeble."—*Horne, Op. Cit. Vol.* iii. *p.* 502.

ravages of time. The medical shastras appear to have been very numerous, and of them the works of Charaka and Susruta are held in the highest repute: for a brief summary of their contents, we must refer the curious to the commentary.

The second chapter is devoted to the discussion of the rank of practitioners and duties of teachers. It commences with the fabulous birth of the first of the Vaidya or medical caste, from whom the hereditary physicians of the present time are descended, and declares that "Brahmans learn the medical shastras for their advantage; Khetriyas for the benefit of their health, and Vaidyas for their subsistence." Other castes may study medicine. "when they are learned, honest, and men of good descent."

The old race of professors appear to have been peripatetic practitioners, who wandered from place to place in search of knowledge, general and professional, attended by their train of pupils, lectured in the open air, and taught by means of prelections which were carefully noted by their scholars.

The present generation of Vaidyas take a few house pupils whom they educate either with or without reward, the gratuitous being the most honorable course of instruction, "procuring renown in this world, and the highest benefits in a future state:" in some instances, however, they are pensioners of the wealthy.

The qualifications of a good teacher are such as might find a place in the most unexceptionable code of modern medical ethics:—

"A good teacher is like rain falling upon the germinating seed, and should possess the following qualifications:—A perfect knowledge of the Shastras, joined to extensive practical knowledge and skill. He should be kind and humble to every one; he should have no defects of body, and should always be ready to expose the good rather than the bad qualities of others; he should be clean and neat in his person, and possess and exhibit to his pupils all kinds of medicines and instruments. He should always be increasing his knowledge of books, and should neither be angry at the improprieties of others, nor fatigued by their importunities. He should be kind and considerate to his pupils, and be able to explain the most complicated statements, in the simplest and most perspicuous language. Such a person as this, who instructs a pupil, when of good parentage, is like the seasonable cloud and rain upon the corn field, which quickly matures its valuable produce"*

Bad teachers are denounced, and the class of physicians generally are painted in very favourable colors, as being often more learned and less proud than the Brahmans, as well as usually poets, grammarians, rhetoricians, and moralists, and esteemed as the most virtuous and amiable of the Hindus.

* Wise, Op. Cit. p. 12.

Although not occupying the same elevated position as the medical hierarchy of Egypt and Israel, the Hindu physican held a respectable and useful office, and was generally esteemed in proportion to his individual deserts. The Hindus appear in fact to have been fully aware, that "an enlightened physician and a skilful surgeon, are in the daily habit of administering to their fellowmen more real and unquestionable good than is communicated, or communicable by any other class of human beings."

With some few exceptions, however, the modern race of Vaidyas do not appear to be so learned, or so much looked up to as their predecessors were, and we doubt much whether the Hindus of our own time are of opinion, that

> "A wise physician skill'd our wounds to heal,
> Is more than armies to the public weal."

The estimation in which the professors of medicine were held by the ancient Greeks is well known to every classical student, from the divine honors paid to Æsculapius and the history of his sons Podalirius and Machaon, down to the celebrated saying of Cicero, "Neque enim ullâ aliâ re homines propius ad deos accedunt, quam salutem hominibus dando."

The duties and character of pupils are laid down with a considerable degree of minuteness, and not a little attention to the superstitious observances which disfigure the Hindu systems of education. He is to commence his studies on a lucky day, not to cut his beard or nails during the prosecution of his professional acquirements, not to read the medical shastras "on unlucky days, or when the sun is obscured by clouds; on the first two days of a new moon; when it thunders; at unseasonable times; at the morning dawn or the evening twilight. He must not study on holidays, on the day on which he meets a corpse, on which the governor of the province is sick, when fighting occurs, or when war approaches." "When at his lesson care must be taken not to allow any one to pass between the pupil and teacher, as it will interrupt the supposed passage of good qualities from the latter to the former." If the student seek for long life, he should eat with his face to the east; if for exalted fame, to the south; if for prosperity, to the west; if for truth and its reward, to the north."—(*Manu, p.* 28, *cap.* 2, 52.)

As a set-off against these absurdities, he is strictly enjoined the practice of industry, perseverance, sobriety, chastity, humility, and most of the other qualities that tend to produce a good scholar and a learned man.

The chapter upon the duties of the physician, of his attendants, and of the patient, exhibits a ludicrous admixture of truth and error, light and darkness, sobriety and extravagance, sound practical wisdom and empty puerilities. The person, character, acquirements, and observances of the practitioner are minutely detailed, and occasionally with a remarkable degree of truth and acuteness, as in the following description of an ignorant physician:—

"Without such a knowledge of books he will be confused like a soldier afraid in the time of action, will be a great sinner, and should be capitally punished by the Rajah. On the other hand, a want of practical knowledge will impede his advancement, and his senses will be bewildered when called on to treat acute diseases. Such a physician will not be esteemed by the great, as he cannot practice with success when only instructed in half his duty. Such a person is the murderer of his species, and the medicines prescribed by him may be compared to posion or lightning—such ignorance prevents all the good effects of remedies. As the two wheels of a chariot, or the two wings of a bird, assist in their progress, so will the knowledge of the shastras and of practice lead the physician to proceed with safety and success in the treatment of the diseased, but should the physician want either of these essential qualifications, his progress will be impeded, as one wing or one wheel will impede the progress of the bird or the chariot.

Such persons flatter the patient's friends, are diligent, take reduced fees, are hesitating and doubtful in performing difficult operations, and pretend that their bad success is caused by the bad attendants, &c.

Still some patients will be saved under the care of such a physician, as a worm in destroying the sacred shastras will sometimes leave in its depredations, the wise representations of some of the sacred letters. A bad physician may cure one patient, by which he endeavours to establish his fame, without considering the thousands he has killed; such a person is like a boat in a storm without a pilot, or a blind man in the performance of any work, and is to be lookd upon as the angel of death."

A quaint old writer has somewhere denominated medicine a "meditation upon death," and a more recent authority has defined it to be "the art of amusing the patient, while nature cures the disease." The Hindus knew better, and declared that in skilful hands "medicine becomes like the water of immortality *(Amrita)*." Their characteristics of a good physician embody almost every human and divine perfection, "such as," says the Commentator, "is rarely to be found even in heaven." Among other professional distinctions he should "carry an unbrella and stick in his hand," rather a remote and respectable origin for the gold-headed cane, so well known in Europe during the last century. The indications which are supposed to qualify for success and eminence are, "an agreeable voice, a small tongue, eyes and nose straight, with thin lips, short teeth which do not expose the gums, and thick hair which retains its vigour." This may

be contrasted with the more modern qualities considered necessary for a complete surgeon, "the eye of an eagle, the heart of a lion, and the hand of a lady."

Among the observances enjoined are many of the most childish and absurd nature, with an enumeration of good and bad omens, of which not a few are embodied in the popular superstitions of the middle ages, and still continue current among the ignorant and credulous of our own times. The subject of fees is not forgotten, and as usual the Brahmans derive the chief benefit of the physician's gratuitous labours. There is much more concerning these matters contained in the Commentary which will repay the trouble of perusal, and quite enough to prove that the medical ethics of the Hindus, in spite of their numerous conceits and crudities, were by no means of a low and contemptible order, and occasionally exhibit evidences of sound reasoning and practical good sense, quite as applicable to the practice of the profession at the present day, as they were at the time of their production.

The second book plunges "in medias res," and introduces us to the Anatomy and Physiology of the Hindus. They regarded the body as a species of Microcosm with divisions corresponding to those of the globe, possessing its mountains, its frigid, temperate, and torrid regions, with its oceans and fluids under astral influence, all composed of the five elements which form the body corporate of our planet, *viz.*, earth, water, air, fire, and ether. Each of these communicates its special influence to the structure in which it preponderates, and after digestion, by an inherent property, joins its fellow in the frame. Skin, vessels, bone, hair, and flesh are conjectured to be chiefly compounded of earth; the excretions, some of the secreted matters, blood, and phlegm, of water; hunger, thirst, and insensibility are attributed to fire; movement, conscience, termination of a work, and retaining happiness fall to the lot of air; while desire, revenge, stupidity, fear, and shame emanate from ether, all connected with an active or warm, and a passive or cold principle, which are increased and strengthened by the rays of the sun and moon. To all living bodies thus compounded, the element producing life or action is superadded.

This sol-lunar and elemental theory, the offspring of fancy and imagination, is not a whit inferior in absurdity to the doctrines taught and maintained by the most profound and eminent of the philosophers of ancient Greece, nor was any substantial advance made in the matter, until chemistry had

descended from its golden dreams* to the level of common sense, and by increasing the number of true elements, diminished the amount of error pervading all the older theories concerning the composition of both inorganic and organic bodies—the latter department of the interesting and wonderful science which has nearly revolutionized the face of nature, and exercised the most extraordinary influence upon the arts, sciences, and civilization of the universe, being still comparatively in its infancy.

The subjects of generation and the growth of the body which are not only unsuited for discussion in our pages, but are of the same fanciful and incomprehensible character as the wildest flights of imagination of the alchemists or the most unmeaning mysteries of their peculiar jargon, are next detailed, and those who are curious in the matter, will find abundant means for its gratification in the pages of the commentary, and in the learned work of Professor Webb, entitled "Pathologia Indica," to which we hope hereafter to have a more fitting opportunity of referring, in connection with the origin and progress of the Medical College of Bengal, of which Institution that gentleman is by no means the least distinguished ornament.

The physiology of the Hindus is of an extremely imperfect character, as might have been expected, and consists chiefly of crude speculation and absurd hypotheses, of which the following account of the important process of digestion is an adequate and striking example:

"Six varieties of the digested part of food or chyle are known. When the food is astringent, sour, moist, &c., the chyle will become of the same nature. When digestion is accomplished, the respective elements unite with those which had entered into the formation of the body; the earth unites with the earth, the water with water, &c., and they, acting on the inherent qualities of each of the five elements, mix and increase those in the body; smell is the property of earth, with that of the body; taste with water, touch with air, and noise with ether (ákása.) The juice thus separated from its impurities is called chyle (rassa) which nourishes, strengthens, and gives color to the body."

Some imagine twenty-four hours, others six days, and a third set a month to be necessary for the complete performance of the function of assimilation!

The strength or vital principle *(oja or tej)* is supposed to be situated in the centre of the chest, and to be the result of "a mixture of the pure fluid, in the same manner as a bee sucks the juice from different flowers, and produces honey."

* Chemistry was defined by Suidas, who lived in the tenth century, and published a Lexicon, to be "*the art of making gold and silver.*"

The stomach again is compared to "a cooking pot containing water and food, which is boiled by the heat of the bile beneath it."

Under the head of structural anatomy, it appears that the body consists of humours and essential parts with their appendages. The humours are air (vàyu), bile (pitta), and phlegm (kofa), the three pillars or supports of the system. "As the moon sheds moisture, and abstracts the sun's rays, which dry up and bestow energy upon the earth, and the air moves from place to place, so phlegm bestows moisture, bile withdraws it by its heat, and air wafts it about in the microcosm or animal body," say the Hindu physicians, to which the learned Commentator appends the following note :—

"This ingenious theory which has been so frequently renewed, and was for so many ages universally believed, seems to have been derived from the Hindus; from whom it was adopted by the Egyptian and Grecian priesthood. It is defective, however, in excluding the blood which, notwithstanding, has been stated as one of the fundamental parts of the body."

We are not altogether prepared to coincide in this view and incline rather to the opinion expressed by Sir Wm. Jones in regard to the identity between the divisions of the zodiac in the Astronomy of India and of Greece, *viz.*: that both received it from an older nation, "from whom the Greeks and the Hindus, as their similarity in language and religion fully evinces, had a common descent."

The humours are described in detail, and with an occasional gleam of sense in the general gloom pervading the theories regarding them. Among other points of interest, it is said, that "the pure part of digested food is of a milky color, and is conveyed to the heart by means of the domonic vessels, where it is mixed with the blood. Charaka calls these vessels the chyle carrying vessels (rasyani)." Are we to believe from this that the Hindu physiologists were acquainted with the existence of the lacteals, as well as of the thoracic duct? The existence of the latter may possibly have been known to them, but we doubt much whether any satisfactory evidence concerning their knowledge of the former can be adduced. Has Charaka given any account of the vessels such as would at once enable us to determine the point? Upon this, and many similar topics, Dr. Wise's commentary does not furnish us with the exact kind of information that would have been most satisfactory and desirable—*viz.*: detailed translations of the passages relating to them contained in the works from which the abstracts of their opinions have been derived. Should the commentary ever come to a second edition, and we regard it as far too valuable a contribution to the history of medicine

to disappear from the list of permanent authorities upon the subject, we trust that the author will supply this important desideratum, either in the form of notes, or incorporated in the text in such manner as to be easily distinguished from it.

The essential parts or the supporters of the body consist of "the hard and soft parts, and fluids," seven in number, comprising "chyle, blood, flesh, fat, bone, marrow, and semen"—all of which attracted the attention of Hindu physiologists, and were described by them with a considerable degree of ingenuity. Some of their qualities were as correctly ascertained as could have, under any circumstances, been accomplished without the aid of modern science and means of investigation, while, as usual, the fanciful and speculative predominated over the sober and rational in the theories concerning their production and uses.

The Sanskrit authors enumerated 300 as the number of bones belonging to the body, which Dr. Wise seems to regard as the true number according to modern anatomists—and among them we are surprised to find him place the cartilages of the larynx and trachea of the external ear, and of the ribs, &c. Surely there must be some error in this, for we are not aware of the existence of any modern anatomical authority by whom bones and cartilages are regarded as identical structures, and classed accordingly. That the one may pass into the other, and that bones are originally of a cartilaginous structure in which osseous matter is subsequently deposited, is well known, but unless the trachea and costal cartilages become ossified from age or disease, they can scarcely be considered as belonging to the osseous system properly so called.

The excretions are regarded as the impurities of the seven essential parts, and their nature was by no means correctly known or understood. Among them, for example, is placed the milk which is certainly not an effete matter, nor is the blood, which according to Manu, was ranked among the twelve impurities of the frame.

Joints were divided into the movable and immovable, and among them were classed the teeth, sockets of the teeth, and the "connection of vessels with the heart and organ of thirst, eighteen in number," showing that with some truth, much error and invention were mixed. They counted eight varieties comprising in all 210 joints.

The ligaments, with which the nerves are confounded, consisted of four varieties, and were no less than 900 in number, concerning which, beyond a bare enumeration, the commentary supplies us with no information.

The muscles are supposed to serve the purpose of covering, strengthening, and retaining in their places vessels, tendons, bones, and joints, and mount up to five hundred in the male, and five hundred and twenty in the female. Concerning the action of muscles nothing is said, and we suppose, therefore, that nothing was known.

The Hindu notions concerning the vascular system were of the most fantastic nature, and evidently more the result of fancy than of actual observation. They considered the umbilicus as the origin of all the vessels, and the principal seat of life (prán): the vessels themselves were regarded as conduits of blood, bile, air, and phlegm, and consisted of forty principal trunks, ten for each, subdivided into 175 branches, making in all 700 branches. With the exception of a few correct ideas concerning the blood, their knowledge was of the most superficial and incorrect nature. The arteries were regarded as air vessels, doubtless from being found empty after death, although we do not find the fact mentioned.

The sections concerning the canals, cellular tissue, fasciæ, receptacles, and orifices of the body, contain little that is striking or valuable, yet they serve to evince the care and diligence with which the study of Anatomy must have been pursued.

The skin was divided into seven layers which were likened to the pellicle formed on the surface of milk when boiled, and were evidently produced by the manner of dissecting macerated bodies with brushes made of reeds or bamboo bark.

The subject of dissection is one of so much interest in the history of medicine, and of such vital importance in its proper pursuit and practice, that we are tempted to quote the whole of the short section regarding it:—

"All the Rishis are said to have recommended the dissection of the human body, as proper and necessary. Manu, the great legislator, and the one most respected by the Hindu sages, says (85) "one who has touched a corpse, is made pure by bathing;" and again (77) "should a Brahman touch a fresh human bone he is purified by bathing; and if it be dry, by stroking a cow, or by looking at the sun, having sprinkled his mouth duly with water."

Charaka, one of the Munis and physicians, says that a practitioner should know all the parts of the body, both external and internal, and their relative positions with regard to each other. Without such knowledge he cannot be a proper practitioner.

Susruta, a Rishi of the highest rank, says that a Jogi (a holy man) should dissect, in order that he may know the different parts of the human body; and a surgeon and physician should not only know the external appearances, but internal structure of the body, in order to possess an intimate knowledge of the diseases to which it is liable, and to perform surgical operations so as to avoid the vital parts. It is by combining a knowledge of books with practical dissection, that the practitioner will alone attain an intimate knowledge of the subject of his profession.

The body which is to be examined by dissection should be that of a person who had neither been destroyed by poison, nor had died of a long disease, as the structure of the body will be altered by the deleterious substance taken, or destroyed by the ravages of disease. In like manner the person should not have been very old, and all the members should be in a perfect state.

When a proper body for the purpose has been selected, the dejections are to be removed, the body washed, and placed in a frame work of wood, properly secured, by means of grass, hemp, or the like. The body is then to be placed in still water in a situation in which it will not be destroyed by birds, fishes, or animals. It is to remain for seven days in the water, when it will have become putrid. It is then to be removed to a convenient situation, and with a brush, made of reeds, hair, or bamboo bark, the body is to be rubbed so as, by degrees, to exhibit, the skin, flesh, &c., which are each in their turn to be observed before being removed. In this manner the different corporeal parts of the body already enumerated will be exhibited; but the life of the body is too ethereal to be distinguished by this process, and, its properties must therefore be learned with the assistance of the explanations of holy medical practitioners, and payers offered up to God, by which, conjoined with the exercise of the reasoning and understanding faculties, conviction will be certain."*

We have already seen that the mere touch of a corpse was prohibited among the Jews as a pollution, and that the Egyptian knowledge of anatomy was principally confined to the low and wretched outcasts employed to embalm and disembowel the bodies of the dead, who were so much the type of every thing that was low, polluted, and degraded among the Egyptians, that no corpse of a royal or beautiful female was ever handed over to the emblamers until unequivocal indications of decay and decomposition had been exhibited. Among the earlier Greeks the study of anatomy was neglected by the Asclepiades, and the laws of Athens were so strict respecting the prompt burial of all bodies, that it was considered a sacred duty, and its neglect punished with such severity, that six officers of rank were condemned to death, notwithstanding their having gained a brilliant victory, for not having taken sufficient pains to recover the bodies of the slain warriors which had fallen into the sea.† During the seige of Troy hostilities were intermitted at Priam's request to permit of the burning of the dead, and after each action the first duty of the victors was to bury the bodies of such of their foes as were left dead upon the field. The fear of the fate of the victors of Arginusa, prevented Chabrias from following up his victory near Naxos, until he had provided for the sepulture of the slain.‡ The anatomical knowledge of Empedocles, Alcmeon. Democritus, and Hippocrates was exclusively

* Wise, Op. Cit. pp. 68-69. † Xenophon, Hist. Græ. lib. 1.
‡ Diodor. lib. xv. c. 35.

derived from the dissection of animals, and so also would that of Aristotle appear to have been, since although in his works he often institutes comparisons between the structure of the bodies of animals and of man, the most diligent and learned enquirers are unable to adduce substantial proof of his having practised human anatomy. The two immediate successors of Ptolemy Soter were the first to permit and encourage, by their own example, the dissection of the human body, as Celsus relates in his preface, and Herophilus and Erasistratus were the two first and most celebrated of the Greek anatomists; they flourished in the third century preceding the Christian Era. It is well known that the prejudices of the vulgar in Europe to the pursuit of anatomy have extended even to our own times: in the middle ages so rare were the opportunities afforded of dissection, that in the 14th century, Mundinus, professor at Bologna, astonished the world by the public dissection of two human bodies; and in the 17th century, Cortesius, professor of anatomy at the same place, and subsequently of medicine at Messina, "had long began a treatise on practical anatomy which he had an earnest desire to finish, but so great was the difficulty of prosecuting the study even in Italy, that in twenty-four years he could only twice procure an opportunity of dissecting a human body, and even then with difficulty and in a hurry." The melancholy history of the eminent anatomist Vesalius is well known, but what will our readers say to the following exhibition of a barbarism worthy of the worst days of the dark ages, which occurred in Edinburgh, the "Modern Athens," on Sunday the 29th of June 1823:—

"A coach containing an empty coffin, and two men was observed proceeding along the south bridge The people suspecting that it was to convey a body taken from some church-yard, seized the coach. It was with difficulty that the police protected the men from the assaults of the populace, the coach they had no power to preserve. The horses were taken from it, and together with the coffin, after having been trundled a mile and a half through the streets of the city, it was deliberately projected over the steep side of the mound, and smashed into a thousand pieces. The people following it to the bottom, kindled a fire with its fragments, and surrounded it like the savages in Robinson Crusoe, till it was entirely consumed. In this case there was no foundation for their suspicions. The coffin was intended to have conveyed to his house in Edinburgh, the body of a physician who that morning had died in a cottage in the neighbourhood.*

In the winter session of 1822-3, a body was discovered on its way to the lecture-room of an anatomist in Glasgow, and in spite of the exertions of the police, aided by those of the military, this gentlemen's pre-

* *Westminster Review*, p. 84.

mises and their contents, which were valuable, were entirely destroyed by the mob. For some time after this achievement, it was necessary to station a military guard at the house of all the medical professors in that city."*

Lizars, an eminent professor of anatomy in Edinburgh, who published a few years since a well-known system of anatomical plates, says in the preface to the second part :—

"In place of living in a civilized and enlightened period, we appear as if we had been thrown back some centuries into the dark ages of ignorance, bigotry and superstition. Prejudices, worthy only of the multitude, have been conjured up and appealed to, in order to call forth popular indignation against those whose business it is to exhibit demonstratively the structure of the human body, and the functions of its different organs. The public journals, from a vicious propensity to pander to the vulgar appetite for excitement, have raked up and industriously circulated stories of the exhumation of dead bodies, tending to exasperate and influence the passions of the mob; and persons, who by their own showing, are friendly to the interests of science, have in the excess of their zeal that bodies should remain undisturbed in their progress to decomposition, laboured to destroy in this country, that art, whose province it is to free living bodies from the consequences inseparable from accident and disease."

It is true that these prejudices were directed more towards the revolting practice of exhumation and its attendant horrors, than against the mere dissection of the human body, yet it brought public odium upon anatomy and its professors to an extent which nearly extinguished its scientific prosecution in Great Britain. Nor were the prejudice and violence confined to Scotland. We ourselves, not sixteen years since, have seen the door of a large London hospital besieged by a mob of violent and demented Irishmen, who threatened to hang the house surgeon on the nearest lamp-post, for having made a *post mortem* examination of the body of a deceased bricklayer who died from the effects of a fall from a lofty scaffolding; and there is no doubt they would have executed their threats, had they succeeded in obtaining possession of his person.

Knowing all this then, we find it impossible to award too high a degree of praise to the sound and philosophical views entertained by the old race of Hindu philosophers respecting the "uses of the dead to the living," and we think it scarcely possible to withhold from them the immortal credit of being the first scientific and successful cultivators of the most important and most essential of all the departments of medical knowledge.

The description of the vital parts of the body, and the consequences of their being wounded, "afford," as Dr. Wise properly remarks, "a convincing proof of the great practical

* *Westminster Review*, p. 84.

experience of the Hindu writers"—a knowledge and experience only to be acquired by frequent and careful dissection. "In Susruta the dangerous parts are all named and described, and the necessity of avoiding them in operations pointed out. The consequences of wounds near the great toe in causing tetanus; in the palm of the hand, in producing such a degree of hœmorrhage as will require amputation of the arm; of the effects of wounds of the testicle and groin, and of fractured bones of the head and breast, which are to be raised or removed, &c., are all stated in this practical work."*

The vital parts of the body are by them supposed to be one hundred and seven in number.

Life, according to the Hindus, consists in the "combination of the soul, the mind, the five senses, and the three qualities of goodness, passion, and inertness,"† which, however incorrect, is a more just and rational view of the subject than the Pythagorean doctrine or those of Heraclitus, Plato, and the Stoics, with all of whom heat or fire, in some form or other, was supposed to be the origin and chief constituent of the vital principle.

The *soul* which plays an important part, both in the cosmogony and the metaphysics of the Hindus, is represented to be "a shadow or emanation from God the Eternal, who is without beginning or end, is invisible, immortal, and is only known by reflection:—When it bedews the five elements it produces the living body, and becomes by its actions evident. It is liable to decrease, and is influenced by medicine. There is no difference between the human soul and the soul of the world; this being only the exterior and condescending manifestation of God, while the human soul is its reflection into itself, and its elevation above itself is the Divine soul."‡

The Soul is supposed to be the animating principle of the body, to communicate knowledge, judgment, and happiness; to preside over sleeping and waking; always to be pure in itself, but not to act usefully without the mind "and the female energy" (prakriti.) It is equally the source of the knowledge and ignorance, happiness and misery, goodness and wickedness, and other spiritual qualities of the individual. It is represented by some of their medical writers to exist also in "beasts, animals, and demi-gods according to its conduct in former states of existence"—and when it has bedewed the body with its twenty-four qualities, it performs all the functions of the body generally, as well as of the organs of special sense.

United with the mind, in addition to being the motive agent in the production of the mental and moral qualities, it produces

* Wise, Op. Cit. p. 69. † Ibid, p. 74. ‡ Ibid, p. 75.

inspiration and expiration, the opening and closing of the eyelids, &c.

The *mind* (mana) according to most of the authorities is "a quality or power of the soul by which a person reasons and thinks"—is incomprehensible, and known only through the operation of the senses; is chiefly seated in the head between the eyebrows, but by some conjectured to be lodged in the heart, and "resembles the light of a lamp by which the person hears, sees, tastes, and knows." "Some Pandits say that the soul and the mind are the same essence; as there can be no soul without mind, nor mind without the soul."

The five elements are represented as forming the five organs of sense, the five objects of sense, and the five perceptive judgments over which the mind presides, and throw which its operations become manifest. Too much or too little exercise injures, while a moderate amount of use maintains them in health.

The Commentator concludes this section with the observation that, "from these remarks it appears that the soul, the emanation from the deity, united with the mind and senses, performs all the vital actions of the body." and that "the body, mind, and soul are considered, therefore, as the three great pillars which support the system."

We much regret that in addition to his own condensed abstract, Dr. Wise should not have given us more copious specimens of the exact mode and style of reasoning adopted in the Hindu Medical Shastras upon this interesting and difficult subject of enquiry. Their opinions, so far as we are able to judge from the scanty evidence before us, although tinctured with some of the peculiarities inseparable from Eastern philosophy and speculation, are upon the whole more sound and elevated than those of most of even the highest order of Grecian metaphysicians, and far superior to the doctrines of any other contemporaneous nations with which we are acquainted. To enable our readers to form a comparative estimate, we have subjoined in a note a very brief abstract of the views of some of the most eminent physicians and philosophers of ancient Greece concerning the soul and life.*

* The assertion that the soul consists of two parts, the one intellectual φρένες, and the other non-intellectual, θυμος and that the former is seated in the brain, and the latter in the heart, is attributed to PYTHAGORAS. According to the same authority, the senses are, so to speak, drops of the intellectual soul, which is seated in the brain, and immortal.

EMPEDOCLES, at a later period, thought that every thing in nature is animated, or full of divinities; in consequence of which, human souls are not only identical with Gods, but likewise with the souls of animals, because they are all emanations from the great soul of the world.

The chapter on Temperaments is a curious specimen of the intimate and inseparable conjunction of sense and nonsense,

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ANAXAGORAS not only maintained that the soul was of an igneous or ethereal nature, but according to Aristotle, was the first who regarded it as immortal. He likewise professed the opinion of all nature being animated, and of the human soul, as well as the soul of animals of plants being nothing more than emanations from the general soul of the world: he also considered that the hands were the most characteristic distinction between man and animals, and contained the principle of the superior intelligence of the former.

DEMOCRITUS regarded the soul as the motive power, and supposed it to be of a spherical form, of an igneous and ethereal nature, and indivisible; thought, motion and sensation, he, therefore, conjectured to be the result of the activity of one and the same substance. His principle was essentially a distinct form of materialism, which he was the first to promulgate.

HERACLITUS, whose system exercised a marked influence over subsequent medical theories in Greece, regarded all bodies as owing their origin to the condensation and rarefaction of fire; by the condensation of fire, according to him, air was produced, by the condensation of air, water, and by the condensation of water, earth. According to these notions, the most subtle principles always entered first into the formation of bodies; the soul, therefore, as the first cause of all motion, was attributed to the evaporation of fire. The human soul, being still regarded as an emanation from the soul of the world, was intellectual in proportion to its participation in its igneous nature.

Without attempting to enter into an analysis of the platonic system of Psychology it may be mentioned that PLATO taught the doctrine of the creation of sublunary beings after the model of Divine Natures, and also the creation of a class of spirits or sub-divinities, to whom was assigned the task of creating all natural objects. These spirits revolving round the world like the sun, the moon, and the stars, were occupied, among other duties, in creating animals, with the bodies or souls of which they incorporated themselves, and which in consequence, partook more or less of their own nature; it was thus that every human soul had a divine, intelligent constituent part, and a corporeal constituent part, destitute of intelligence. From its participation in the celestial nature, the soul prior to its creation was placed in the upper regions of light and truth, in the happy abode of spirits, where it participated in the divine nature of the creator; it was afterwards joined to the body of an animal, which served as a prison until its deliverance by death occurred

The divine spirit first constituted our bodies an accordance with the wise intentions of the supreme intelligence, with extremely minute and slender figures, resembling the triangular form of flame, to which, after the addition of the special matter mixing the body and soul together, God adds the soul, placing it chiefly in the brain, of which the form is spherical, &c. Life consists of fire and spirit, the former of which is maintained by the heat of the blood. The soul from its divine nature is the most noble part of man, and the head, from being the seat of the intelligent soul, is the most noble part of the body. The soul destitute of intelligence, which is the cause of anger, love, hope, &c., was placed in the chest, and in order that the intelligent soul might not be disturbed or incommoded by the passions, the neck, which is long and bony, was interposed between them.

By the expression *soul* ψυχή, the followers of HIPPOCRATES, like HERACLITUS, concur in the idea of a subtle matter, ethereal or igneous, produced by the admixture of the elements, but chiefly by the union of fire and water. The humid part of the fire and the dry part of the water by their union constitute the intelligence of the soul. It is upon the igneous element that the soul, the mind, extension, growth, motion, decrease, change, sleeping, and waking depend. This is the reason of the intelligent principle being located in the left ventricle of the heart, whence it rules over the rest of the soul.

The STOICS also lodged the soul in the heart, and assigned the most absurd and contradictory reasons for its being so placed: they imagined it to be nothing more than a vapour or exhalation from all bodies, that the igneous nature of the soul was refreshed and restored by respiration, and by contact with atmospheric air; and that the human soul was a vapour exhaled from the blood.

reason and absurdity, which pervade the opinions of the Hindus upon most speculative subjects. The predominance of one or more of the humours with the mental and moral qualities of the individual, stamped the type of the temperament, and in the more delicate shades of character and constitution frequently observed, the dispositions of Gods, sages, demons, birds, beasts, fishes and even trees,* were called in to assist in the coloring and completion of the picture. There were seven temperaments acknowledged, "one produced by an excess of air, another of bile, and a third of phlegm; a fourth, fifth and sixth from an excess of two of these humours; and a seventh temperament is produced by an excess of three humours, air bile, and phlegm."

"1. When air is in excess, the person is not inclined to sleep, or to become warm. His disposition is bad and he becomes a thief; is proud and has no honour; is always singing and dancing; his hands and feet split, his hair and nails are dry, and he is always angry and boisterous He speaks untruth, he is always grinding his teeth and biting his nails, he is always impatient, is not a firm friend, is changeable and forgets good actions. His body is slender and dry, he always walks fast, is always in motion, and his eyes are always rolling. He dreams that he is flying about the air, friends are few, and his riches of little value. Such persons as have an excess of air have the disposition of the goat, jackall, hare, camel, dog vulture, crow, and ass."

We suspect that few of our readers were previously aware, of the important and multifarious character assumed by an "excess of air" in their constitutions, should it exist, or that it could produce so zoological a disposition as to range between the frisking propensities of "odorate capricorn" and the patient endurance of that horrisonous emblem of wisdom, the ass.

2nd. A person with an excess of bile perspires much, and he has a bad smell. His skin is of a yellowish color, his flesh is soft: his nails, eyes,

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ARISTOTLE believed the soul to be simple, to be the form of matter, and the principle of primary movement in natural bodies, to be susceptible of vivification and animation, and to contain the principle of the vital functions. Although he maintained the immaterial nature of the soul, he was unable entirely to divest himself of the notion, that like all bodies, it could only act through the agency of an intervening medium; this medium he mentions under the various denominations, used indiscriminately, of *fire, spirit, air or ether*. He regarded the brain as primarily cold in its nature, in consequence of which the heart, at that time supposed to be the source of the blood, was considered the seat of the soul.

PRAXAGORAS who was the first to establish the difference betweeen the arteries and veins, and who imagined the former, from their constant emptiness after death, to be air vessels, assumed that the air contained in them was thick and vaporous, because he also partook of the general opinion of the time, that the vital power or soul was an evaporation or exhalation from the blood.

The celebrated peripatetic STRATO of Lampsacus, who lived at Alexandria and was attached to the court of the Ptolemies, regarded the soul as the resultant of the operation of the senses, or the union of all sensation, the seat of which he supposed to be between the eyebrows.—KURT SPRENGEL: Op. Cit. *passim.*

* "Men, having the disposition of *trees*, always wish to remain in one place, are always eating, will not work"— not a very incorrect portraiture of many Bengalis, whose lazy and anti-locomotive propensities are essentially of the arboraceous type.

palate, tongue, lips, and the palm of his hands and soles of his feet are of a copper colour; his fortune is bad, and his hair soon becomes gray, the upper part of his head bald, and his skin wrinkled as if by age. He eats much, and dislikes warm articles of food, is soon angry and is as soon pacified, is of moderate strength and does not live long. His memory is good, he is a good man of business, and speaks accurately and to the purpose. His appearance is fine, and in company he excels in speaking. He dreams of gold and yellow flowers, fire, lightning, and falling meteors, dislikes saluting a person, and is angry at others not doing so, is never content, &c. His disposition resembles serpents, owls, cats, monkies, tigers, and bears."

The bilious temperament is, therefore, responsible for more than most modern physiologists have attributed to it, and includes in its circle many and anomalous characters from the alchemist to the orator :—

"3rd. Phlegm in excess produces a light greenish or blue colour of the body. The person's fortune is propitious, he is pleasant to look on and handsome, likes sweet things, is grateful, constant, just, and forgiving, and is not covetous, is strong and understands with difficulty, and is an implacable enemy. His eyes are white, his hair is fine, black, and waving. He is wealthy and his voice is strong and loud. He dreams of lilies, geese, and large fine tanks. The angles of his eyes are red, his color pleasing and his members are well formed. His regard is mild, his disposition is very good, and he is charitable. He is active, honors respectable persons, and is kind to them; and knows the sciences. He retains his friend, and health remains constant; he is careful but gives much. He is of the nature of Brahma, Indra, Shiva, and Varuna; of lions, horses, elephants, cows, and bulls, and of the bird upon which Vishnu rides."

which the learned commentator states to be "something between a man and a goose," by no means an inapt image of such a novel species of Caliban, as a phlegmatic Hindu, painted by one of his own sages. Our remark need not, however, be taken in the disparaging sense attached by Europeans to the goose, since, according to Wilkins, this much injured bird is adopted as the emblem of elegance and eloquence by the Hindu poets—and who is not acquainted with the historical celebrity of the Roman geese?

The Hindus divide the life of man into three ages, *viz.*: 1st *childhood*, subdivided into three periods, (a) the period of suckling to the 1st year; (b) when milk and rice are the food, extending to the second year, and (c) when the food is rice, extending from the 3rd to the 15th year, when phelgm is in excess: 2nd. *manhood*, extending from the 16th to the 70th year, and embracing four stages, (a) *Vriddhi* or growth from 16 to 20; (b) *Jauvana* from 20 to 30; (c) *Sampúrnatá* from 30 to 40, when all is in perfection and complete development, and (d) *Háni* from 40 to 70, when all the powers of life are gradually diminishing, and bile is in excess: 3rd *Decrepitude*, from 70 until death closes the scene, the "age that melts in unperceived decay," and in

which the body "resembles an old house in the rainy season with many props," when air is in excess and nervous diseases prevail :—when,

"Time hovers o'er, impatient to destroy,
And closes all the avenues of joy.
In vain their gifts the bounteous seasons pour,
The fruit autumnal and the vernal shower;
With listless eyes the dotard views the store,
He views and wonders that they please no more.
Now pall the tasteless meats and joyless wines,
And luxury with sighs her slave resigns."

until man reaches the last stage of his strange eventful history : —and then,

"In life's last scene what prodigies surprise?
Tears of the brave and follies of the wise."

The male is supposed to attain maturity at 25, and the female at 16—a just and important observation which the modern Hindus have neglected and lost sight of, to the deterioration of their race by early marriages and still earlier vices. The age of the individual had its influence upon the general nature of the treatment to which he was subjected, being so far in accordance with the views entertained by the Greek physicians, and followed, to a still greater extent, in the modern practice of physic.

The eight subdivisions of life observed by the Hindu sages, forcibly remind us of the "seven ages" of Shakspeare, which although so well known and often quoted as to have become familiar as a thrice told tale, we are tempted to repeat :—

"At first, the infant,
Mewling and puking in the nurse's arms;
And then, the whining school-boy, with his satchell,
And shining morning face, creeping like snail
Unwillingly to school: And then the lover;
Sighing like furnace, with a woeful ballad
Made to his mistress' eye brow: Then a soldier;
Full of strange oaths, and bearded like the pard,
Jealous in honor, sudden and quick in quarrel,
Seeking the bubble reputation
Even in the cannon's mouth: And then, the justice:
In fair round belly, with good capon lin'd,
With eyes severe and beard of formal cut,
Full of wise saws and modern instances
And so he plays his part: The sixth age shifts
Into the lean and slipper'd pantaloon;
With spectacles on nose and pouch on side;
His youthful hose well sav'd, a world too wide
For his shrunk shank: and his big manly voice,
Turning again toward childish treble, pipes
And whistles in his sound: Last scene of all
That ends this strange eventful history,
Is second childishness, and mere oblivion,
Sans teeth, sans eyes, sans taste, sans every thing."

Human nature is the same every where, and were proof wanting of the accuracy of observation aad faithfulness of

record of the Hindus, in matters wherein they are neither trammelled by superstition nor fettered by prejudice, it may be found in their correct division of the stages of life; the modern physiology of the same matter differing but little in essentials from those above detailed, by observers so far removed from and dissimilar to each other in every sense.

The chapter on Death contains many sound and just remarks, and is characterized generally by a degree of poetic truth and accuracy, worthy of a higher and a purer faith than that of the followers of Manu. Death is defined to be "the separation of the soul from the body," and is supposed to occur in one hundred and one ways, of which one only is natural, the remainder being accidental. What can be more correct and philosophical than the following reflections concerning it:—

"Death is always near, and when it occurs, nothing but the sins and virtuous actions accompany the soul."

A mansion infested by age and sorrow, the seat of maladies, harassed with pains, haunted with the qualities of darkness, and incapable of standing long: such a mansion of the vital soul let its occupier always cheerfully quit.*

When a person leaves his corpse, like a log or a lump of clay, on the ground, his kindred retire with averted faces; but his virtue accompanies his soul; continually, therefore, let him collect virtue, for the sake of securing an inseparable companion with which he may traverse a gloom, how hard to be traversed! For, in his passage to the next world, neither his father, nor his mother, nor his wife, nor his son, nor his kinsmen, will remain in his company: his virtue alone will adhere to him. Single is each man born; single he dies; single he receives the reward of his good, and single the punishment of his evil deeds."†

All are said to die alike, and the holy to be the least afraid of dissolution as being the best prepared for the change: the body after death is likened to a house without a tenant, and is burnt, that its elements may be purified to join the mass of the same elements of which the earth is composed:—

"What then dies? not the body, for it only changes its form; and certainly not the soul; why then regret the death of relations and friends if they have passed through life with propriety! Such grief is indeed natural, for it is universal, but it is the offspring of our ignorance and of our selfishness.

As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is merely one of these changes. The body is frail, but the soul is incorruptible. The body is alone destroyed, not the soul; as it only changes its position, like a person who casts off his worn out garments. Cutting instruments may wound him, and air may dry him up, but the soul remains always the same. Those who are born must die, and whoever dies must be born again; and as the elements were invisible and separated

* Manu, Cap. vi. p. 77. † Manu, Cap. iv. pp. 239, 240, 241, 243.

before the formation of the body, in like manner they are again separated and dispersed upon its dissolution."*

* It is pleasing to compare and contrast some of these sentiments, with similar thoughts expressed in analogous terms by many of the poets and philosophers of ancient Greece and Rome. A very few familia examples will exhibit the direct parallelism between writers and observers, who could have had no intercommunication or knowledge of each other's works :—

| HINDU | |
|---|---|
| "The wise and foolish, the great in rank, the low in condition, all die in the same way. | " Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas. Regumque turres." |
| "Death is always near." | " Prima quæ vitam dedit hora carpsit : Nascentes morimur, finisque ab origine pendet." |
| | " Nam nox nulla diem, neque noctem aurora secuta est, Quæ non audierit mistos vagitibus ægris Ploratus, mortis comites et funeris atri." |
| " Those who are born must die." | ——" Crudelis ubique Luctus, ubique pavor et plurimæ mortis imago." |
| | " Mors et fugacem persequitur virum ; Nec parcit imbellis juventæ. Poplitibus timidoque tergo. Ille licet ferro cautus se condat et aere, Mors tamen inclusum protrahit inde caput " |
| | "Omnia sub leges mors vocat atra suas." |
| | "Sed rigidum just est, et inevitabile mortis." |
| " As the body is continually changing in its progress through life, so death is but one of these changes." | " Jam mihi deterior canis aspergitur ætas, Jamque meos vultus ruga senilis arat ; Jam vigor et quasso languent in corpore vires, Nec juveni lusus qui placêre juvant, Nec me si subito vide as agnoscere possis Ætatis facta est tanta ruinæ meæ. Confiteor facere hos annos,"—..... |
| " There are a hundred and one ways in which a man may die." | Mille modis morimur mortales, nascimur uno ; Una vita est, moriendi mile figuræ." |
| " Death is the separation of the soul from the body." | ——" Tum vita per auras, Concessit mæsta, ad manes corpusque reliquit." |

Innumerable other passages, to the same effect, might readily be collected had we the library or the leisure requisite for the task.

The sublime references to Death contained in the sacred writings we have purposely refrained from referring to, for reasons which will suggest themselves to most of our readers. In majesty, beauty, and truth they are unapproachable.

Whether the doctrines of *Metempsychosis* or the transmigration of the soul, taught and illustrated by Plato and Pythagoras, was borrowed from the Egyptian Priesthood, and originated with the latter, can scarcely now be determined, yet it is curious that it is contained in the oldest of the Hindu medical records.

At the moment of death the material elements of the body separate, and the vital soul, which has an invisible body, resembles the forms of the body it had inhabited, and retains the organs of sense and of action. *On separating from one it joins itself to another*, and according to the actions the person had performed in his former state of existence, so will be its future condition.†

†Wise's Commentary, page 82.

Some of these expressions may almost be compared in beauty, simplicity, and truthfulness, to the affecting images by which the Jews were wont to characterize death, as a journey or departure; a sleep and rest when the toils of life are over; or a gathering of the deceased to his fathers, or to his people!

The third book is occupied with the therapeutical department, which is discussed under the appropriate heads of Hygeology, Materia Medica, Pharmacy, and Surgery, the practice of Physic having a book to itself, probably from its great extent and the difficulty of bringing it under the head of Therapeutics alone.

Diseases are declared to owe their origin, 1stly, to sins committed in a former state of existence, to which—as among the Egyptians—the Hindu physicians knowingly assigned their incurable cases, as it placed them beyond the opprobrium of medicine, and absolved practitioners from the reflections that might have been attached to the imperfections of their art or to their own want of skill: 2ndly, to derangements of the humours, the only diseases that yielded to remedial measures; and 3rdly, to a combination of the two, which also came under the incurable category, and gave an additional means of escape to the unwary practitioner who might have, in his diagnosis, pronounced a *humoral* judgment upon an affection which would not get well in spite of his efforts, and in which, when medicine had done its best (or worst) he called in the aid of prayer, penance, and sacrifice to place it beyond the reach of his drugs and simples. The ingenuity and craft of such a system appear in some measure to have been adopted by certain manipulators of our own times, with the modern refinement of attributing failure, to a want of '*rapport*' between the magnetizer and his subject, or to the adverse influence of perverse currents of air, slight febrile disturbances, unusual noises, and similarly profound agents in the disturbance of the rebellious or intractable system.

The Hygeology, or Hygeine as it is more commonly called, of the Hindus was of a very detailed description, and descended to minutiæ and trifles unthought of in the systems of other nations, but not always of minor and secondary importance in a tropical country, where the causes of disease are so numerous and active in their operation, as to demand the aid of religion to assist in saving mankind from the ravages that would be caused by neglect or inattention to them. Without a regular system of medical police, the Hindus paid

great and deserved attention to the prevention of diseases, were acute observers of the changes of season and climate, and well aware of the influence of soil and vegetation in the maintenance or deterioration of health. Their meteorology was necessarily of the most rude and imperfect nature, yet much in advance of anything that has reached us from contemporaneous nations.

The following remarks from the pen of the commentator will be read with interest concerning the seasons and people of Bengal:

"There are three prevailing seasons in Bengal, the hot, cold, and rainy seasons. From the end of February, and during March and a part of April, may be considered as spring months, and are the most agreeable of any of the year. Towards the end of March, and during the months of April, May, and a part of June the weather is very hot; and in the northern and more inland provinces a violent hot wind blows from the west, loaded with almost imperceptible particles of sand. In this season the weather is so oppressive as to confine the inhabitants to their houses during the great heat of the day. Vegetation is destroyed, and these provinces are reduced to a burning tract of sand, while the air of the neighbouring mountains remains cool and pleasant, during these hot months.

In the Upper Provinces the rains begin in April and May; but in the plains they do not commence till the beginning of June, and continue to fall till the end of July. The rain disperses the accumulated heat, which would otherwise be insupportable. During the months of August and Sept. the rain falls less frequently and copiously, and the long day and high altitude of the sun, with an atmosphere loaded with moisture, render the weather excessively oppressive and sultry; particularly when the air is calm, which is of frequent occurrence, as the Monsoon changes at this time. The cold season commences in the month of October, when dews are heavy; the cold increases, and during the months of November, December and January, it is often intense in Bengal and Behar. In these provinces the cold has generally a damp disagreeable feel, whereas, in the northern and western provinces, snow and ice are common on the mountains, and the air is dry and bracing.

From such an extensive country, and variety of soil and climate, the vegetable and animal productions are of the most varied description in the different latitudes, heights, and exposures; and man himself affords great varieties in his physical and mental powers in the different situations and climates in which he resides. In the Northern Provinces of Hindustan, the men are all strong and active, and are distinguished by their courage and mental qualities; as we advance to the more sultry and moist climate of Bengal, the inhabitants become of lower stature, possess greater agility, and are capable of enduring great fatigue, have little courage or mental aptitude, but great cunning and retentiveness. They are generally of a fair olive colour, handsome in their youth, and in after life in proportion to their rank, and healthy and guarded occupation; but become of a dark olive colour and plain exterior, in proportion as they inhabit low and damp houses, live on unhealthy food, and are much exposed to labour, and to the inclemency of the weather. In general the head and face of the Hindu are small and oval, the nose and lips prominent and well formed, the eyes black, and the

eyebrows regular and full.* The females are distinguished for the gracefulness of their forms, the softness of their skins, their long and black hair, dark eyes, and delicate persons. These peculiarities are marked in youth, but rapidly fade. The fairness of the skin also differs—depending on that of the parents, and on the occupation and exposure of the individual to the sun, &c. †

The personal duties, including all operations connected with the toilet and dress, as well as the subject of dietetics generally, appear to have been carefully inculcated and enjoined, in many respects in a clear and sensible manner, admirably adapted to the moral and social circumstances of the people. Habits of cleanliness and the frequent use of baths, and anointing were among the religious duties of all respectable individuals, and correctly deemed essential for the preservation of health.

In the olden times neither wine nor animal food of proper quality and in moderate quantity were interdicted, which are regarded, and we think justly, as "one reason of the superiority of the ancient Brahmans over their more degenerate descendants, who are small in stature, and incapable of those mental and corporeal exertions which raise a people in the rank of nations" As among the Jews and Egyptians the flesh of certain animals of unclean habits, or which were known to have an injurious effect upon the frame were interdicted, but during the three first ages, even the flesh of the cow and of the buffaloe were ranked among the wholesome and invigorating articles of diet, and were freely partaken of, with many varieties of the finny and feathery tribes, and a goodly allowance of condiments, fruits, and vegetables. All nature has been bountiful to the inhabitants of Hindustan: man himself in these favored regions has been his own chief and greatest enemy. The whole of this part of the commentary is replete with interest to every reader, and to the European medical practitioner will suggest many valuable hints for the prevention and cure of disease, and attention to the habits suited to the climate and seasons, which our countrymen are, to their cost, too much in the habit of treating with neglect and derision. How many of the fevers, liver complaints, and other scourges of a tropical region may be traced to the persistence in habits

* "The intelligence of the Bengalis is much more marked in the higher classes than among the lower. In the former, the brisk and intelligent boy, that receives instruction readily, is fickle and restless; and from the short period he attends school, from the enervating nature of the climate, and the vitiating influence of Hindu society, is too often transformed into the stupid and sensual man."

† Wise, Op. Cit., pp. 91-92.

and indulgences scarcely practised with impunity even in a cold climate, and which are heavily laden with disease and destruction on this side of the equator. Were it not foreign to our present purpose, we could write a longer lecture on this topic than most of our readers would be willing to read or profit by: should opportunity offer, and the very limited leisure at our disposal admit of it, we may take a future occasion of directing attention to the modification of European habits most required in India, and best adapted to enable the exile to return to his hearth and home, with health and strength to enjoy their peculiar blessings and benefits.

The MATERIA MEDICA of the Hindus is an extended and complex branch of their medicine, embracing the collection, preparation, uses, doses, combinations, and effects of an immense variety of agents chiefly derived from the vegetable kingdom including also a small number of inorganic and animal substances. Their pharmacy appears to have comprised most of the forms in which medicines are compounded according to modern pharmacopeias, but their processes were uncertain, variable, and in many important particulars, incorrect. The proper time for gathering vegetable medicines was strictly attended to, and most pharmaceutical processes were preluded with particular forms of prayers, to drive away devils or secure divine aid to increase the efficacy of their remedies. Polypharmacy was their great and besetting sin, and although simples were known and studied by them, they do not appear to have placed so much faith in them, as in their heterogeneous, and in the majority of instances, inert and nauseating mixtures and potions. They used preparations of mercury, gold, silver, zinc, antimony, iron and arsenic, with a degree of boldness that would have delighted the soul of Philippus Theophrastus Bombastus Paracelsus, and have fairly distanced the "currus triumphalis antimonii" of Basil Valentine. As their measure of time commenced with fifteen winks of the eye, so their apothecaries' weight began with "four of the particles of dust which are seen floating in the sun's rays as it enters a dark room"!

They were Allopathists, and therefore anti-homœopathic in their practice, since they declare that "medicines given in too small doses will be like throwing a little water upon a large fire that rather increases than diminishes it"! The doses of medicines were carefully and properly regulated by the age, sex, and temperament of the patient, as well as the stage of the disease; and their administration of remedies was guided by precise and minute rules often bordering on the childish and

ridiculous: for example, one kind was to be taken *with* each morsel of food, another sort *after* each morsel of food, and in all cases the patient was prohibited from making faces when he takes a medicine, as this is like Brahma and Shiva, and it is sinful so to act."

The Charaka directs the exhibition of simple medicines in the form of decoction and arranges them under forty-five distinct heads, beginning with *Jívanîya*, or that form which gives longevity, and concluding with *Badanâsthâpana*, those which remove pains produced by external causes, as injuries, &c.

Susruta divides them into two classes, the evacuant, of bad humours from the body, and those which diminish the exalted action of the humours and restore them to the healthy state.

Other authors arrange them according to their supposed virtues in curing air, bile, or phlegm, or according to their action on certain organs. Dr. Wise has given a list of the chief simples so arranged, with their Sanskrit and Latin names. The actions of medicines are classed under the heads of *diaphoretics*, *emetics*, *purgatives*, *salines*, *stimulants*, *emmenagogues*, *diuretics*, *parturifacients*, *sialogogues* and *alteratives* which are pervaded with all the errors of their humoral pathology, but contain indigenous remedies that may be found worthy of examination by European practitioners, a subject which has not yet been well or properly investigated. The department of special pharmacology has not been entered upon, probably from its complication and extent, nor would it have admitted of analysis in the limits at our disposal.

The Hindus had a notion that every disease has its appropriate remedy if we could only discover it, hence probably the immense number of inert and dangerous substances introduced into their Materia Medica.

SURGERY, although more simple, obvious, and early in its adoption by most nations than medicine, does not appear to have been cultivated to the same extent by the Hindus, if we are to judge from the limited space devoted to its consideration in the Commentary, and the comparatively small number of capital operations performed, when we reflect upon the zeal and industry with which the all-essential pursuit of anatomy and dissection was prosecuted. Bold and delicate operations were, however, performed, such as cutting for stone, extraction of the dead fœtus, &c., "which distinguished their ancient surgeons, and form such a remarkable contrast to the present

ignorant and timorous surgeons of Bengal." As in modern surgery, inflammation and its varieties, with their effects and consequences comprised a great portion of the surgical practice of the Hindus, and although their erroneous humoral pathology rendered their doctrines and theories valueless, their remedial measures were sometimes of a simple, sensible, and successful nature.

The form of their surgical instruments has not been handed down in delineations, but has been supplied in a series of ingenious diagrams by Dr. Wise. Amputations and operations upon vessels are not mentioned among the eight kinds of manual means adopted. Bandages were commonly, and apparently, appropriately applied; venesection was resorted to as a depleting agent in fitting situations and to a judicious extent: scarification, cupping with a smooth cut horn, and leeching were known and practised; while styptics and cauteries, both potential and actual, were enjoined in many cases for arresting hœmorrhages, removing internal diseases, suppressing discharges and similar purposes. Cold and ice were used to stop bleeding. The nature and treatment of burns and scalds are briefly indicated, and the directions for performing surgical operations minutely detailed. Sacrifices were to be offered up, propitious times selected, the entrance of devils into the wound prevented by burning sweet-scented substances in the room, appropriate forms of prayer repeated, the patient and the operator to be placed in particular positions, the knife to be held in a peculiar manner, and the subsequent treatment of the patient to be carefully attended to. Wounds, their varieties and treatment, together with the restoration of damaged ears and noses, and the management of fractures and dislocations complete the surgical section of the Commentary. Although it contains nothing very profound or striking, it is. on the whole, creditable to the dexterity, skill, and anatomical knowledge and boldness of the early Hindu surgeons, affords evidence of careful observation, is less beset with the superstitious influences of their faith than other departments of their medicine, and is undoubtedly much in advance of the state of information upon the subject which prevailed in other countries for several centuries subsequent to the production of the older Shastras. The gross ignorance and contemptible cowardice of the present indigenous race of Hindu surgeons stand out in strange relief to the intellectual superiority of their more gifted and manly-minded predecessors —whose mantle appears, however, to have descended upon the shoulders of some of the sub-assistant surgeons educated in

the Medical College of Bengal, as we shall take a future, and if possible, an early opportunity of pointing out.

The PRACTICE of PHYSIC occupies by far the largest book of the Commentary, and is treated with a degree of minuteness and care proportioned to its extent and interest.

The ÆTIOLOGY and NOSOLOGY of the Hindus, from being inseparably connected with their religious belief and dependent upon their erroneous doctrines regarding the elements, were crude, imperfect, and not founded upon any firm or philosophical basis. Prominent symptoms, acute and chronic, primitive and consecutive, external and internal, local and general, hereditary and acquired, contagious and non-contagious, derangement of one or more elements, and similar principles were the chief characteristics and foundations of their arrangements: the peculiarities of the symptoms and their combinations, influenced and modified by the structure and functions of organs, entered not into their calculations. Thirst, appetite, sleep, and death were regarded as *natural diseases* which give pain to the soul; and the "abuse of Deities or Brahmans, the contempt of spiritual instructions, with other similarly heinous offences, were boldly declared to be the existing cause of loathsome and incurable disorders." The latter, very properly, were deemed to require for their alleviation serious and prolonged penance, mysterious performances, and liberality to those banes of Hindu society and improvement—yclept the "Sacred Brahmans."

A kind of numerical method is found in some of the older writings, and three appears to be the critical number: thus *Charaka* states that there are three general causes of diseases; three sorts of medicine—one that cleanses internally, another that purifies externally, and a third, to embrace surgical means; three objects of enquiry in this world—the first and chief being the means of preserving health, the second, the means of acquiring wealth, and the last the procuration of happiness in the next world—an expanded interpretation of the familiar phrase, "to be healthy, wealthy, and wise":—with three means of preserving life, "proper food, sleep, and the proper government of the senses and passions." Sin is the "fons et origo" of a form of disease which "is to be suspected, when a disease is not cured by the means pointed out by the Shastras"—which is to be removed by good actions, prayers, penances, &c., and for which MANU prescribes a course of Flying-Dutchman or Wandering-Jew treatment. "If a disease is incurable, let the patient advance in a straight path, towards the invisible

North-eastern point, feeding on air and water, till his mortal frame totally decay, and his soul becomes linked with the Supreme Being."—(MANU, Cap. 6, § 31.)

Diagnosis among the Hindus was founded upon the common sense method of personal examination, and the nature of the disease ascertained by the appearance of the organs of sense, by the feeling, temperature, &c., of the body, and by ascertaining the age, sex, temperament, country, and history of the individual and his disorder. The senses were all employed in the task, and *hearing* was the method resorted to of "distinguishing the state of the lungs, by the peculiar noise of the breathing"—an early adoption of ausculation as a means of diagnosis. The pulse is stated to have been little regarded by Charaka and Susruta, but to have risen subsequently into great repute in the recognition and treatment of disease. This modern knowledge exhibits every evidence of being borrowed, probably from the Chinese, and most likely was introduced more for the purpose of *intra-purdah* examinations, than from any well founded conviction of its real value.

The Hindus were partial to prognostics, and recorded correctly many minute and apparently unimportant particulars connected with various diseases. This they mixed up with more than the usual amount of superstition, placing unlimited faith in all sorts of extraordinary omens, down even to the walking of a goose and the scratching of the patient's back!

There was a good deal of what is now popularly known under the slang designation of "artful dodging," in these omens—the practitioners taking care to protect themselves from being disturbed at noonday or at midnight, when at their toilet or their meals, when asleep or when otherwise unwilling to be interrupted, by declaring them all to be "unfavorable omens" as to the event of the disease they were called upon to treat.

The diseases of the humors, and fevers with their origin, varieties, progress, termination, and treatment are next referred to, and exhibit the usual amount of sense and nonsense, accuracy of description of symptoms and incorrectness of causes to which they are assigned, with many serious errors of practice in their management. Small-pox and measles appear to have been known to the Hindus long before they travelled into Europe, and were described by the Arabian physicians of the sixth century. There is no doubt that the former malady was also known to the Chinese; its history being among the most curious of the records of scourges that have afflicted mankind, and for which the Western was certainly indebted to the

Eastern hemisphere, as it has been more recently for another pestilence of equally fatal and formidable character—the Asiatic Cholera.

Rheumatism, swellings, obesity, emaciation, burning sensations of the body and feet, nervous diseases, in which are included all affections of the tendinous structures, the various forms of leprosy, urticaria, epilepsy, boils, pustules, and hœmorrhages were all known to and described by the Hindu physicians.

The diseases of the mind were reckoned to be swooning, epilepsy, six varieties of insanity, and devil-madness—the last a curious compound of fancy and absurdity.

Eleven varieties of headache, twenty diseases of the ear, thirty-one of the nose, seventy-six of the eye, sixty-five of the mouth and its appendages, and a large number of disorders of the throat, are briefly referred to in Dr. Wise's work as contained in the Hindu Medical Shastras.

Among diseases of the chest, consumption, usually supposed to be infrequent in warm climates, is stated to be both frequent and fatal, and to have had a fabulous origin, to wit, that the "moon married seven sisters, but attaching himself to one, the others complained to their father, who punished the moon, by declaring that he should be afflicted with consumption." !!

Many other morbid conditions of particular systems and regions of the body will be found to have been common in various parts of Hindustan, and testify the minuteness and extent of the professional knowledge of its physicians employed in their investigation and treatment: they do not, however, admit of analysis, and for the most part possess little or no interest for the general reader.

The low standard of moral principle pervading Hindu society, the facility of commission and difficulty of detection of crimes unattended with marks of personal violence, together with the unrelenting atrocity and cold-blooded calculation that accompanied the feelings of interest, enmity and revenge, rendered POISONING an early and frequent means of murder—hence the department of Toxicology, including poisons and their antidotes, attracted a large amount of attention.

Like most other branches, poisoning commenced in mystery and fable, but chiefly obtained notice, because the "enemies of the Rajah, bad women, and ungrateful servants, sometimes mix poisons with food. On this account the cook should be of a good family, virtuous, faithful, and not covetous, not subject to anger, pride or laziness. He should also be cleanly and skilful in his business." The doctor's duty began where

the cook's ended; he was to be well acquainted with the qualities of poisons, to examine the food intended for the Rajah, and if it exhibited any signs of suspicion, to give it to certain animals, the effects upon which were regarded as the tests of its innocence or injurious nature. The operation and effects of poisons must have been very imperfectly understood, and the nature of the treatment indicated was calculated to secure a fatal result in most cases of active vegetable or mineral poisons.

The animal poisons include snake bites, certain animals that have poison in their teeth and nails, such as dogs, cats, snub-nosed aligators, a kind of fish called *paka mucha*, a shell-fish (*sambuka*), and lizards: others that have noxious excretions; a kind of flea, a species of leech, and certain fishes that have poisonous bites. The treatment of snake bites was judicious, sensible, and in most respects the same as would be adopted by a prompt European practitioner. Hydrophobia and the poison of various insects were noticed, as well as a long catalogue of deleterious agents from the vegetable kingdom.

The commentary closes with a brief abstract of the Obstetric Medicine and Infantile Therapeutics of the Hindus, neither of which were in a particularly advanced state: they do not admit of analysis in the pages of a non-professional review.

We have now redeemed our promise of presenting a cursory outline of the many matters of interest connected with the medicine of the Hindus, which are contained in the work placed at the head of the list prefixed to this article: but before concluding we have few words to say respecting the literary merits of Dr. Wise's performance.

Although fully convinced of the laborious industry and patient investigation of the learned author, we are by no means satisfied that the method of translation adopted was the best calculated to secure accuracy. We have been informed, upon authority of which we cannot doubt the correctness, that the native gentlemen named in the preface turned the Sanskrit into a vernacular medium, from which it was subsequently "done into English" by Dr. Wise, who is not, we are told, a Sanskrit scholar, and therefore, himself incapable of detecting any errors of interpretation, should such have occurred, a result by no means improbable. The identification of medicines and diseases is also liable to some degree of doubt for a similar reason, as well as because we know that the majority of scientific terms in Sanskrit have no synonymes in Bengali or Hindui. It was originally our intention to have procured authentic copies of

the Sanskrit medical authorities referred to, and to have had portions translated by competent Sanskrit scholars, who kindly offered us their services upon the occasion, for the purpose of testing the general accuracy of the Commentary. Various circumstances have combined to prevent the realization of our design, and we must leave the task to others, who with a larger amount of leisure, combined a greater degree of fitness to execute it, with the care, attention, and accuracy requisite.

Another defect of the Commentary which has struck us forcibly as somewhat diminishing its value, has been the difficulty of ascertaining in all places whether the remarks referred to the older or more recent medical writers; for we hold the modern medicine of the Hindus to be of a very low order, and are of opinion that any features of excellence it may possess, were derived from their Mahommedan conquerors, whose works embodied almost all that was valuable in the medicine of the Greeks, in addition to their own discoveries in chemistry and other departments. An occasional foot note would readily have remedied this imperfection.

The Commentary also abounds in typographical errors, for which the author must have been indebted to the kind but careless or incompetent friend, who brought the pages through the press during his absence from Calcutta.

In spite of all these imperfections, which we trust will disappear in a second and enlarged edition, we hold the Commentary to be a valuable addition to the history of medicine, to contain much that ought to be known to all who study and practice the treatment of tropical diseases, and to be creditable, in every sense, to the learning and ability of its accomplished author.

# LORD WELLESLEY'S ADMINISTRATION.

## W. KNIGHTON, ESQ.

1. *Memoirs and Correspondence of the most noble Richard, Marquess Wellesley, &c., &c.*, by R. R. Pearce, Esq., London, Richard Bentley, 1846.
2. *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George the third*, by Henry, Lord Brougham, &c., &c., *Third series*, London, Charles Knight and Co., 1843.
3. *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley*, 5 vols. London, W. Allen and Co., 1837.
4. *Mill's History of British India*, vol. VI.
5. *Thornton's History of British India*, vol. III.

THERE are few more glorious situations in which a man of ability can be placed than those in which his energy, zeal and talent may benefit a nation in its time of trouble. Nor would we envy the cynical indifference of those who could sneeringly smile at the pleased satisfaction with which such a man would listen to the praise won by his honest patriotism. It is a noble thing to serve one's country under any circumstances, peculiarly so when that country is in danger, and it must be a gratifying thing to find that service rewarded by honor and fame. This, however, is but the portion of a few—the favored ones of humanity, on whom nature and fortune have equally smiled, whom both have loaded with their choicest gifts. There is still another source of gratification somewhat smaller in degree, but equally honest and unblameable. It is when one's near relations—his father, or sons or brothers or sisters—have won a nation's gratitude and admiration by their services or talents. A generous nature exults in the prosperity of the loved relation as if it were his own, and joins in the public applause with an inward overflow of the heart's satisfaction of which the crowd knows nothing. If modern history presents a single illustrious example of a man who might honestly and justly indulge in this two-fold species of gratification, that man was the Marquess Wellesley. Great himself as a statesman and politician, eminently successful as a ruler, and placed in the midst of a period in the world's history when his talents could not well be concealed, and were eminently useful to his country, it was his rare good-fortune to see his brothers also shine out from amongst the crowd, in the ranks of the greatest of his fellow-countrymen. It was his peculiar privilege, after he had won honors and fame, with a distinguished niche in the world's history for himself, to see the brother, whose earlier essays in arms he had patronize and directed, gradually rise to the summit of

military fame, and finally become the conqueror of the great modern Alexander. The history of the world cannot disclose to us a nobler instance of true family greatness. Let us endeavour to picture to ourselves what were the feelings of the mother* of these distinguished men when she saw one of them take his seat in the British House of Peers, and in the highest order of peerage, the acknowledged warrior and champion of his country —another in the second order, known to the world as the saviour of the Indian empire of Britain and the most popular viceroy of a third part of the kingdom—a third and a fourth also Peers, distinguished as diplomatists and statesmen, and yet not one of these sat there by hereditary right, for they had all raised themselves to that eminence by superior ability and talent! When we picture to ourselves what the feelings of the Countess of Mornington were under these circumstances, we will have some faint idea of the noblest and most honest pride that ever entered into the female breast. When the slow sure finger of time has obliterated from the minds of men the jealousies and party feelings of the day, the family of the Wellesleys will shine forth in the history of the world with a lustre beside which even that of the Gracchi will appear obscure. It shall be our endeavour in the subsequent pages to give a brief, but clear and impartial account of the events which marked the early career and Indian administration of the eldest of those illustrious brothers, the Marquess Wellesley.

The family whence the subject of our notice was descended, was one of antiquity and renown, and although the renown of their ancestors, or the antiquity of their family, can add nothing to the admiration with which we would regard such men as the Duke of Wellington or the Marquess Wellesley, yet it is a pleasing thing to reflect that men so distinguished, should have been derived from those, who, in ages long past, had proved themselves superior to the herd. The venerable oak which has for centuries stood the shocks of tempests and of desolation, frequently proves itself more able to resist the wintry blast and equinoctial gale than the more youthful offspring of fifty years of growth. The Earl of Mornington, the father of the distinguished Marquess, was a Privy Councillor of Ireland and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Meath; he was more distinguished for his musical compositions than his statesmanship, and had he not produced such sons as those of whom we have spoken

* It is related of Lady Mornington, that on a crowd pressing round and obstructing her carriage when on a visit to the House late in her life, she said to Lord Cowley who accompanied her, so much for the honour of being mother of the Gracchi!"—*Brougham's Statesmen, &c., 3rd series.*

would have gone down to his grave "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung" by the muse of history.

On the 20th of June 1760, the subsequently celebrated Marquess was born, either at Dengan Castle in Meath, or in Grafton Street, Dublin; his biographer does not decide in which. Whatever the evils then, which Ireland has been the innocent or guilty means of inflicting upon the British empire, let us not forget when reflecting on them, that she has given to that empire the greatest of her modern warriors, and the most brilliant of her eastern statesmen. At Eton, whither our hero was speedily sent, the intellectual energy which he possessed, displayed itself in a passionate love of ancient literature, and a devotion to the Greek, Latin,* and English muse. In 1778 he matriculated in Christ's Church College, Oxford, as a nobleman, and there he remained till the death of his father in 1781, which called him away from his university studies before he had taken his degree. At Oxford he gained the Latin verse prize in 1780, by a poem

* At the age of eighteen we find him contributing the following neat and harmonious lines to the "Musæ Etonenses."

AD GENIUM LOCI.

O levis Fanni et Dryadum sodalis,
Finium tutela vigil meorum!
Qui meos colles et aprica lætus
Prata nemusque.
Mobili lustras pede, nunc susurros
Arborum captans, modo murmurantis
Fluminis servans vitreos reducta in
Valle meatus!
Dic ubi attollat melius superbum
Verticem pinus? regidosque quercus
Implicans ramos nimis æstuosam
Leniat horam?
Namque Tu saltu tibi destinato
Excubas custos operosus, almæ
Fertilem silvæ sterilem que doctus
Noscere terram.
Dum malum noctis piceæ tenello
Seniter verris folio vaporem, et
Sedulus virgulta foves, futuræ
Providus umbræ.
Lauream sed campus Apollinarem
Parturit myrtosque vigentiores;
Omnis et te luxuriat renascens
Auspice tellus;
Te, rosa pulchrum caput impedita,
Candidi conjux facilis Favoni
Ambit, ut vernos tuearis æquo
Numine flores.
Lætus O! faustusque adeas, precamur,
Nil mei prosunt sine te labores,
Nil valeat cultum nisi tu secundes,
Rustica cura.

on the death of the celebrated navigator, Captain Cook.* The month following his father's death he attained his majority, and voluntarily took upon himself the numerous pecuniary obligations of his deceased father, placing the family estates under the management of his mother. At this period his second brother, William Wellesley Pole, afterwards Lord Maryborough, was eighteen, and Arthur Wellesley, *the* Duke, but twelve years of age; the care of their education devolved on the Countess, a duty which she discharged with a success unexampled perhaps in history "This truly venerable matron," says a personal friend of the Marquess, "was permitted by Divine Providence to reap the highest rewards which such rare virtues as adorned her character, can, in this stage of our existence, receive; for her life was extended to an extreme old age; she saw all the glories of Hindustan, of Spain, and of Waterloo."

Lord Mornington, as our hero was now styled, launched at once into the stormy sea of political life, on attaining his majority. The year 1781 when he first took his seat in the Irish House of Peers in College Green, Dublin, was one which witnessed some of the most exciting events either in their commencement, progress, or completion, which modern history unfolds. France was in all the agony of a revolution-birth; groaning in its endeavours to work out the great problem of liberty to all, excited with new views of life, politics, religion and economy, the central object of attention to all the neighbouring powers, and of study to all the great minds of Britain and continental Europe. In America a new theory of Government was being worked out, so extraordinary in its nature, so unique in its character, and so simply majestic in its features, that all the world was anxiously awaiting its future development. Nor was it abroad alone that there existed objects of study and matter of reflection for the youthful statesman. In England Parliamentary Reform was the agitating question of that, as it has been since of a much later day—an oppressive debt, a wasting war, intestine tumults, and treasonable agitations were the subjects of contemplation which the politician had before him,—and then the politicians themselves! Could the noble youth just entering on public life be insensible to the talented patriotism of Pitt, doing battle violently, but wisely, against the profound political wisdom and philosophy of Burke, the practical statesmanship and vehement eloquence of Fox, the brilliancy and vigor of Windham, Sheridan, North and Erskine? Such were the men, such the contest in the sister isle; whilst in Dublin itself, there was a

* "In obitum viri eximii et celeberrimi navigatoris Jacobi Cook."

man standing on the arena of public life, equal to most of these in many respects, superior in some—Henry Grattan—a man "so born, so gifted, that poetry, forensic skill, elegant literature, and all the highest attainments of human genius were within his reach; but he thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free,"* and so he gave up his talents and his powers to one object, and that, not his own fame, but the good of his country.

Lord Mornington appears to have entered upon his political life impressed with liberal and enlightened ideas. A zealous student and ardent admirer as he was of antiquity—he was also an admirer, but not a blind, or over-enthusiastic one, of the constitution, which had been bequeathed by their forefathers to Englishmen, and to the maintenance of the more excellent features of this constitution he ardently devoted himself, whilst he was by no means blind to those parts of it which required amendment. The removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics in Ireland he regarded as a measure of bare justice, not of favour, and did what he could towards its accomplishment; whilst he was one of the first to exclaim against the want of economy which pervaded every department of the State. The only occasion, however, on which he appears to have signalized himself in the Irish House was on the appearance of the "volunteer" delegates in military uniforms in the House of Commons towards the end of 1783, headed by Mr. Flood. The proceedings of that body he considered unconstitutional, and did not fail loudly to declaim against them. During the same year, but somewhat previous to the speech to which we have thus incidentally referred, the order of St. Patrick was first instituted by letters patent, and Lord Mornington was amongst the first knights then enrolled.

In the following year he left Ireland to enter the English House of Commons where a wider field presented itself for distinguishing himself. He was elected Member for Beeralston, in Devonshire, a nomination borough in the patronage of the Earl of Beverley, which he vacated in 1786, on being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury in England when he took the ministerial borough of Saltash in Cornwall. A petition, however, unseated him shortly after, and he was obliged to return to his former position until 1788, when he was elected for the royal borough of Windsor. During this year the important question of the Regency was debated, in which debate Lord Mornington took a prominent part, as well as subsequently when it came to be considered in the Irish House of Lords. On this occasion, as the students of Parliamentary history will remember, the Par-

*Rev. Sydney Smith.

liaments of Great Britain and Ireland were at variance with each other, the former having voted that the Prince Regent should exercise and administer all regal powers, jurisdictions and prerogatives, subject to certain limitations and exceptions specified, whilst the latter gave over all such powers, jurisdictions and prerogatives to him without any exception whatever. Lord Mornington loudly and spiritedly protested against this act of the Legislature of Ireland, which, had not the speedy recovery of George III. prevented it, would unquestionably have entailed serious consequences. There can be little doubt, however, that it was one of the proximate causes of the act of Union between the two countries. Lord Mornington's opposition to the wishes of the Irish Parliament was not forgotten by the King on his recovery, and to the personal favour which he thus obtained, something of his subsequent success is to be attributed.

We have seen the future Governor-General of India as yet but in the character of a politician and diplomatist; we have now to view him in the far higher and nobler character of a friend to suffering humanity. The philosopher in his study, the man of generous impulses in the bosom of his family, may imagine that it requires little moral resolution, little generosity of heart, little benevolence in the statesman, to raise his voice against the abuses of the political world or system in which he lives, but in estimating what the merit or demerit of the statesman's actions is, we must take into account, also the trammels of party, the influence of his colleagues, the position in which he stands. The statesman is not an isolated individual who can judge and act according to the dictates of his own heart or intellect, irrespective of every other consideration—he is a portion of the political machinery—he knows that he is such—and that a deviation from the law of his party may involve irregularity in the whole political machinery of the State. It is a noble thing when we can point to a statesman in the British Senate, and say of him, "in this instance he saw what humanity and reason dictated, and, disregarding the ties of party or the obligations of interest, he boldly declared the right, posterity assuring us, that it *was* the right." *This* we can say of Lord Mornington's conduct in the debate on Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave-trade. This was in 1792. On the 25th of April of that year he moved that the slave-trade should end from the first of January 1793, but his motion was lost by a majority of 49. A subsequent amendment to Mr. Dundas' motion that the trade in slaves should not be lawful after the 1st of January 1800, "in which he proposed that it should end at the commencement of 1795, was also lost, the year following being fixed upon as the termination of the traffic." On this occasion he delivered a power-

ful speech of which we extract a few sentences—nervous, feeling and convincing :—

"Gentlemen had said in aformer debate, that time should be allowed to the planters to cool, and to discover the truth of the assertions of those who contended that the abolition would ultimately be for their advantage. What length of time it would require to cool them, and for truth to make its way among the planters, while the liberty and happiness of thousands were exposed to invasion during the tedious process. it was impossible for him to say. If he were to put the question mathematically, he would say, "The force of truth being given, and the hardness of a planter's heart being ascertained, in what space of time will the former be able to penetrate the latter?" For his part he was free to say that he had known great numbers of planters of the clearest heads, and most quick and lively conceptions ; and he believed they were, in general, persons who would not be the last to discover the truth of a proposition. On this occasion, however, he meant to allow them two years ; and he would ask whether (if all that was wanted was to convince the planters that the abolition would not injure them) two years would not do as well as seven ? He believed the committee would be of opinion that the time proposed for the purpose of convincing their judgment was much too long , for that, in point of fact, they were convinced already ; and it was nothing but mean and sordid avarice that induced them to wish for the continuance of this abominable, infamous, bloody traffic—this commerce in human flesh, this spilling of human blood, this sacrifice of human right, this insolence to justice, this outrage to humanity, this disgrace to human nature Private follies from habit had sometimes been excused by the charitable ; they affected chiefly those who d splayed them ; they were objects of compassion to some, and from the most severe they met nothing but ridicule : but for crimes, and those of the most public, notorious, hateful, detested nature, nothing could be said as an excuse or palliative. Every hour that this nefarious traffic was allowed to be continued was a disgrace to Great Britain."

The same year witnessed the introduction by Mr. Grey of his momentous proposition for the reform of Parliament. Several different orders of minds would be delighted at such a proposition as this. The sanguine, the enthusiastic, the discontented, the aspiring and the man of vast foresight would all be probably banded together in favor of such a measure, whilst, on the other hand, the timid, the cautious, the contented, those accustomed to look at the best side of things, the reverers of antiquity and of constituted system would be found amongst its opposers. Lord Mornington was of the latter class, and the arguments which he brought forward against the measure may be briefly summed up thus. The safety of life, liberty, and property is the great end of Government ; this the British constitution, as it was, secured—again, that constitution had worked excellently well hitherto, from the union of monarchical, aristocratical and democratic principles which it involved, why then endanger this working by infusing more of the democratic principle ? Lastly, the infusion of the democratic principle into the Government in France was working much evil in that unfortunate country, why not in England also ? Such were the chief grounds on which Lord Mornington based his opposition to Mr. Grey's motion. Before 1832, however, his views on the subject had changed, for he was then a member of the Government which carried the Reform Bill.

The future Governor-General was in a manner prepared for the consideration of those questions which were likely to come then under his notice by his appointment in June 1793, as a Commissioner for the affairs of India in the new Board of Control under Mr. Pitt's act. This he did not regard as a merely nominal office, but applied himself to the study of the various affairs of Indian interest which presented themselves, with his accustomed zeal and ability. "He acquainted himself," says his biographer, "as far as possible, with the details of every fact bearing upon the commerce, the Government, and the laws of that country (India); and with the instinctive sagacity of great genius, pondered upon the future destiny and the possible exigencies of Hindustan. He appears to have directed his attention to it from the beginning of his career in the English Parliament; and very probably regarded the post of Commissioner for the affairs of India as a stepping-stone to the splendid appointment of Governor-General."

In the following year occurred the celebrated debate on the war with France which ensued on the death of Louis XVI, and in which Lord Mornington as a ministerialist, supported its policy, whilst Fox and Sheridan vehemently pleaded against it. The battle on this occasion was fought on either side, not by the leaders of the two great parties, but by their talented supporters, Mornington and Sheridan. The speech delivered by the former of these two celebrated disputants on that occasion, was certainly the greatest and most memorable of his political life—it had been previously prepared, and was subsequently published by his Lordship as a separate pamphlet, whilst it was replied to by Sheridan in a continued burst of unpremeditated and passionate eloquence, such as the House of Commons has seldom witnessed since. To attempt any thing like a sufficient analysis of the noble Earl's speech on this occasion would much exceed our limit: suffice it to say, that he commenced by shewing the absolute impossibility of receding with honor from the contest in which they had engaged, shewing that the principles which guided revolutionary France in her intercourse with other powers, were those of aggrandizement and ambition, which England was necessitated to submit to, or to repel. He then entered upon a review of the acts of revolutionary France to prove the truth of his assertions, exposing in strong and forcible, but still in sufficiently temperate language, the want of faith and scorn of obligations which pervaded every action of the convention. "The seizure," he exclaimed in the course of this review, "the seizure of the property of the clergy and the nobility was a revolutionary measure;—the assassinations of Foulon and Berthier at Paris, and of the King's guards at Versailles in the year 1789 were revolutionary measures. All

the succeeding outrages, the burning of the title deeds and country houses of all gentlemen of landed property, the numberless confiscations, banishments, proscriptions, and murders of innocent persons—all these were revolutionary measures :—the massacres of the 10th August and the 2nd September—the attempt to extend the miseries of civil discord over the whole world, the more successful project of involving all Europe in the calamities of a general war were *truly* revolutionary measures—the insulting mockery of a pretended trial to which they subjected their humane and benevolent sovereign, and the horrid cruelty of his unjust, precipitate, and execrable murder were most revolutionary measures : it has been the art of the ruling faction of the present hour to compound and to consolidate the substance of all these dreadful transactions into one mass, to concentrate all these noxious principles, and by a new process, to extract from them a spirit which combines the malignity of each with the violence of all, and *that* is the true spirit of a *Revolutionary Government!*" The system of finance pursued by that Government, the public renunciation of religion, the worship of reason, and the source whence its revenue was derived, was each then in its turn discussed ; this memorable speech being wound up with a peroration worthy of the subject and of the speaker. From this we can only extract a few sentences :—

"All the circumstances of your situation are now before you—you are now to make your option—you are now to decide whether it best becomes the dignity, the wisdom, and the spirit of a great nation, to rely for existence on the arbitrary will of a restless and implacable enemy, or on her own sword: you are now to decide, whether you will entrust to the valor and skill of British fleets and British armies, to the approved faith and united strength of your numerous and powerful allies, the defence of the limited monarchy of these realms, of the constitution of Parliament, of all the established ranks and orders of society among us, of the sacred rights of property and of the whole frame of our laws, our liberty, and our religion ; or whether you will deliver over the guardianship of all these blessings to the justice of Cambon, the plunderer of the Netherlands, who, to sustain the baseless fabric of his depreciated assignats, defrauds whole nations of their rights of property, and mortgages the aggregate wealth of Europe ;—to the moderation of Danton, who first promulgated that unknown law of Nature, which ordains that the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine, should be the only boundaries of the French dominion ;—to the religion of Robespierre, whose practice of piety is to murder his own sovereign ; who exhorts all mankind to embrace the same faith and to assassinate their kings for the honor of God ; to the friendship of Barrère who avows in the face of all Europe, that the fundamental articles of the revolutionary government of France is the ruin and annihilation of the British empire ;—or finally, to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their crimes !"

The marriage and subsequent separation of the Marquess Wellesley from his wife is a portion of his domestic history

which his Lordship's biographer has left unexplained. The fact is bluntly announced in the commencement of Pearce's fifth chapter, that "on the 29th of November 1794, the Earl of Mornington was married, at St. George's Church, Hanover-Square, to Mademoiselle Hyacinthe Gabriel Roland, a native of France"—a lady, he subsequently informs us, whose beauty and accomplishments had for some years exercised a powerful influence over him. The biographer further assures us that they lived together on terms of the utmost affectionate harmony till the period of the noble Lord's appointment as Governor-General, that after his return from India they "did not live long together," and were not again reconciled. This is an unsatisfactory and bald account of a step so important in our hero's life. Why did not Lady Mornington accompany the Governor-General to India? and what was the cause, or what were the causes, of the subsequent disagreement—are questions which suggest themselves to every mind on reading this passage of his life—and they are questions which *we* have no means of answering with certainty, whilst it would serve little for us to endeavour to supply by conjecture, facts which are hidden from us by the veil of intended concealment.

In November 1795, Lord Mornington made his last speech in the House of Commons prior to his appointment as Governor-General. It was in the debate on the Seditious Meetings Bills, and in the course of his remarks he drew rather an alarming picture of the treasonable assemblies which infected London, and of the publications which issued from these associations. In replying to these observations of Lord Mornington, Mr. Sheridan held up his Lordship to ridicule for the anxiety with which he had hunted for plots, and the laborious exertions he had made to scrape together proofs of sedition, with that happy mixture of eloquent satire and malicious irony, of which he was so thoroughly master.

Having thus arrived at the conclusion of the first Parliamentary career of our hero, it may not be amiss to notice the description which Sheridan once incidentally gave of his manner and appearance when speaking; "exactly two years ago" said he, "at the opening of the session, he remembered to have seen the noble Lord with the same sonorous voice, the same placid countenance, in the same attitude, leaning gracefully upon the table; and giving an account from shreds and patches of Brissot, that the French republic would last but a few months longer." Lord Mornington appears, indeed, to have studied much the graces of elocution—his voice, his gestures, and his enunciation were all equally subjects to which he at first devoted

considerable attention ; and although he cannot be said to have ever attained *greatness* as an *orator*, yet his parliamentary career gave abundant evidence of the solidity and strength of mind, as well as of the sound good sense and unrivalled perspicuity which subsequently distinguished him

In October 1797 Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General of India. Lord Teignmouth had resigned that office early in the same year, apparently weary of the cares of Government, and anxious to enjoy his newly gained nobility in England. The Marquess Cornwallis had been named to succeed him ; but appears to have resigned in consequence of the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland having been held out to him as a bait to induce him so to do. However this may be, certain it is that shortly after his nomination, the Directors announced "that various circumstances had induced the Marquess Cornwallis to resign his appointments," and that "under circumstances, and for reasons of a peculiar nature," the Earl of Mornington had been appointed to succeed him. This high and most responsible office was one for which the Earl had been in training apparently for three years and upwards, that is, since his appointment to the Board of Control, whilst the first despatches that he sent to India, as we shall subsequently see, prove that he had studied with extraordinary attention, and reflected with no ordinary ability, upon the various questions which, as Governor-General, came under his immediate notice. Before referring to these despatches more particularly, however, it will be well for us to take a glance at the state of India at this period, and at the policy which had been pursued then by the British Government up to the date of Lord Mornington's appointment.

In political questions connected with India, there are few sources of fallacies more fertile of evil than the application of principles adapted to the constitution of Europe to the affairs of the East. This is a truth which constantly-recurring experience must have taught to every student of Indian history. Wherever civilization comes in contact with barbarism or semi-civilization, it must necessarily be, and consequently always has been, aggressive. The dictates of prudence are as little acted upon systematically by barbarous tribes as by semi-civilized states ; and if civilization, in its higher developments, is to exist in their vicinity at all, it can only do so by quelling the turbulence and overcoming the aggression of its neighbours. Hence it arose that from the period when the British first set foot in India as governors, their course *must* have been one of progressive conquest, or else they must have allowed themselves to be driven from the country. Their progress since that period we are all acquainted with, and that it verifies the remarks we have just

made, will not, we conceive, be denied. True, they have been at times *more* aggressive than was required; there *were* periods, undoubtedly, when a cessation from warlike operations was allowed them, and on some occasions they availed themselves of this advantage, as in the few years of Lord Teignmouth's administration, during which periods any acts of aggression would have been at once impolitic and unjust, but those who imagine the same policy could have been always maintained, must be lamentably ignorant of the state of India, or must be unreasonably biassed against our British rulers. "Suppose ever so fixed a purpose to be entertained," says a distinguished statesman writing of India, "that no consideration should tempt us to increase our dominions, no man could maintain such a resolution inflexibly in all circumstances, and, indeed, least of all in the very event most likely to happen, namely, of some neighbouring state, greatly increasing its force, attacking us or overpowering our allies, or even only menacing us, and endangering our existence, should no measures be adopted of a counteracting tendency. "In truth, we had gotten into a position," he continues, writing of the period of Lord Mornington's appointment, "from which, as it was impossible to retire, so was it not by any means within our own power to determine whether we should stand still in it or advance; and it might happen that the only choice was a total abandonment of our dominion or an extension of its boundaries."*

These considerations will suffice to shew us the absurdity of that outcry which has been raised, echoed, and re-echoed by a section of politicians in India and England against every war in the former country which has tended to the aggrandisement of the latter. Such aggrandisement was a necessary consequence of the position of the British in India, the state of India itself, and the superior military skill of the Europeans. Advance or retrogression were the only alternatives; to remain at rest, *in statu quo*, was an impossibility. He who imagines, however, that it is our intention in these remarks to justify *every* Indian war must strangely misunderstand their import. What we have said proves, we trust, that progress was necessary, and consequently that *some* wars were necessary, whilst it leaves each individual war to be judged of, as to its justice or injustice, on its own merits.

The system which had been pursued by Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) of non-interference with independent native states, had been one of the means whereby he was enabled to maintain peace during his administration; experience may have since left

* Lord Brougham's "Statesmen of the time of George III." Third Series, page 276.

it doubtful whether it was the most politic, inasmuch as it tended, it has been argued, to decrease our influence throughout India, and consequently to weaken our hold of it. The evil in this case, however, if evil it was, as has been previously shewn in the pages of this Review,* lay, not with that excellent Governor, but with the Government of England; and consequently the then Government, and not the Governor-General should be responsible for its effects. But at the period when Lord Mornington undertook the Goverment of British India, it was necessary that a change should be made in its policy. A revolution, silent but important, had been progressing in the native states, and consequently in their relative position with each other and with the English Government. To have continued longer the former system under these altered circumstances would have been extreme political folly, and the approbation expressed by the Home Government of the more vigorous policy of Lord Mornington sufficiently proves that a conviction of its necessity had been forced upon them. The non-interference system was, as has been sufficiently proved, we trust, in the pages of this Review previously, the most politic when native states were quarrelling with each other, *and no dangers to be apprehended to our own territories from their wars*, but when the invasion of Zeman Shah was expected in the North, when a French army, with Napoleon at its head, was in Egypt, burning to reach India, when Tippú Sultan in the South was openly threatening us with invasion, and pushing forward his preparations with all the energy of a genius, when a French force of 14,000 men was at Hyderabad, ruling the Nizam, our most constant ally, because less powerful than his neighbours—when all these things threatened British India, it was surely time for its Government to be up and doing, it was surely time to strike a blow such as would convince the native powers and the world that the military energy which directed the operations of Clive and Cornwallis had been but slumbering, and was not dead. Altered circumstances required an altered policy, and to have maintained the policy of 1794 in 1798, would have been as foolish as to fall back in 1848 upon the system of 1800. The circumstances, however, are too intimately connected with our present subject, and too important in themselves, to be thus summarily dismissed.

The treaty of Seringapatam had been supposed to establish peace on the foundation which secured it in Europe—the balance of power. Irrespective of the great dissimilarity between the condition of Europe and India, principles, only applicable to the former, had been acted upon in the latter, and with what result?

*No. I, page 92.

With that result which all rules of experience and of sound judgment must have led the judicious to anticipate. The balance was a chimera, a thing which from the commencement had no real existence, and even the appearance of which, very shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, was totally annihilated. In the first place, the British Government was incomparably stronger than the Mahrattas, and the Mahrattas were very much stronger than the Nizam, and all three united, that is, if united in reality and not in name only, would have been more than a counterpoise for two Tippús and to Mysores. Such was the pretended balance of power! Scarcely had the treaty, which was to secure peace, been concluded, when open war broke out between the pretended allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam,—a war the most impolitic and capricious,—between those whom European politicians had expected would be governed by the rules of western diplomacy. Do we require then a stronger proof that the principles which direct the states of Europe in their intercourse with each other are totally inapplicable to the East? The consequence of this war was what might have been expected. The Nizam was reduced in strength and crippled in resources, and were it not for the dissensions of the conquerors, would have been rendered powerless for the future. His only reliance, indeed, was a body of troops collected and disciplined by Raymond, a Frenchman, which, though it consisted in 1792, but of one or two battalions, was very shortly after increased to 10,000, and before 1798 to 14,000 men. This large and comparatively well-disciplined force was officered entirely by Frenchmen, who of course obtained very considerable influence at the Court of Hyderabad, and who lost no opportunity of instilling into the minds of the Nizam and his officers "the probability of the French nation acquiring, at no distant period, decided ascendancy in India, as well as in Europe."* The treaty of Seringapatam had provided for the maintenance of an offensive and defensive alliance between the English, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, with a mutual guarantee against the common object of their apprehension, the Sultan of Mysore. On this basis peace was then supposed to be secured, but how much had not the relative situations of the parties to the treaty altered since 1792? The Nizam and the Mahrattas, we have already seen, were deadly enemies to each other in the first place,—what common co-operation between them, then, could be anticipated or hoped for? Tippú, it was well known, in the second place, looked to the French, as the allies by whose aid he was to obtain full revenge for all that he

* Major Kirkpatrick's answers to Lord Mornington's queries.—Despatches, &c., vol. I, p. 638.

had suffered from the British, whilst the Nizam and his court were directed by French officers and influenced by French ideas. What prospect was there then that in case of aggression from Mysore the British Government would obtain any assistance from the Nizam? or rather, on the other hand, was there not every prospect of the French corps of 14,000 marching to the ranks of Tippú in such a case, and thus increasing the number of our enemy? "In the event of a war with Mysore," wrote the Governor-General in 1798, "there can be no doubt that the wishes and interests of this part of the Nizam's army must be favorable to the cause of Tippú Sultan, more especially under the actual circumstances of his having concluded an alliance with France, and having admitted a body of French troops into his service."

Nor was the state of affairs at the court of Púna more favorable to British interests. Such had been the diminution of the influence and power of the Peishwa, caused by the inordinate ambition and power of Scindia, that it was not to be expected the inferior chiefs would hold themselves bound by a treaty concluded by the Peishwa alone, and that too, with powers, one of whom they openly hated and despised, the other, whom they secretly feared and were opposed to; whilst in addition to all this, there was the overweening influence of Scindia prevalent at Púna, an influence which it was well known would be directed in any other direction than in favor of the British. Indeed, it was more than suspected at the time, that Scindia and Tippú were on the best terms with each other, and anxious to advance each other's interests.

Such was the condition of two of the parties to the triple treaty in 1792—was it not time then for the British Government in 1798 to look about for the means of bringing back affairs to their position in the former year, or so to alter them as to provide for itself efficient assistance against its great enemy in the South, whenever that assistance was required—since the intrigues and exertions of Tippú left little doubt that that period would soon arrive?

A celebrated historian of British India, Mill, in pursuance of his object which appears to be on every occasion to shew the injustice, incapability and corruption of his countrymen, has unduly depreciated the character of Tippú. In proportion to the low estimate which we form of his abilities and activity will be our contempt of the alarm which the British rulers felt of him at this period, and such is precisely the feeling which Mill would excite in us. A very cursory consideration of the energetic measures pursued by the Sultan to bring about the consummation which he so devoutly desired, the humiliation

of the British, will be sufficient to prove how dangerous an enemy he was, and that, in directing his policy towards anticipating the great outbreak which he expected in that quarter, Lord Mornington was but taking the part of wisdom. During the six years of peace which followed the treaty of Seringapatam, the whole energy of Tippú's active mind was directed towards the re-establishment of his military power; an ordinary chief would have been contented with this alone, but Tippú was far from being such, and, in the pursuance of his great plan, made his influence be felt at one and the same time in Paris, in Kabul, in Hyderabad and in Púna.

His embassy to the unfortunate Louis XVI in 1787, had been unsuccessful in consequence of the disorganized condition of France at the period, and the apprehensions of its sovereign. The humiliation of Tippú subsequently, in the war which ended in the partition of half of his dominions, did not prevent his still looking forward to aid from the same country, and although his representations were confined to the Government of Mauritius, they were not the less urgent or amicable. At length in 1797 the accident of a privateer from Mauritius having been driven dismasted into Mangalore afforded him, he hoped, the opportunity so long sought, of arraying the French forces with his own against his former conquerors. The French captain represented himself as the second in command at Mauritius, and as having been sent to ascertain the Sultan's views relative to the co-operation of a French force with that of Mysore, for the expulsion of the English from India. Tippú too anxiously desired these representations to be true, to allow of his entertaining a doubt respecting them, and entered upon the negotiation with zeal. Ambassadors were sent by him to the island, who arrived there in January 1798, with a letter from Tippú to the Governor. They found their expectations miserably disappointed: there was no force prepared to accompany them back to Mysore; no preparation had been made, and the expedition finally resulted in the issuing of an absurd proclamation by General Malartic, the Governor of the island and in their being accompanied on their return, not by a powerful French army, but by a few of the rabble from the Mauritius, whose number did not exceed two hundred.

Nor was it from European assistance alone that Tippú hoped to see the object of his wishes finally accomplished. Zeman Shah, King of the Affghans, succeeded his father Timur, in 1792, and speedily announced his determination to restore the Mogul Empire in Hindustan. All India, but particulariy the Mahratta State, was excited at this intelligence; some with hope

others, like the nation mentioned, with fear. In 1796, in pursuance of his object, the Shah advanced to Lahore with a force of upwards of 30,000 men. The Shiks did not oppose his progress; the Mahrattas loudly call upon the British to assist them, whilst their internal dissensions prevented their acting with energy or a chance of success; all was confusion and dismay, when Zeman was recalled to his own capital by a rebellion, and thus for a time were the fears of the Mahrattas allayed. Tippú did not fail to take advantage of this new enemy—he sent ambassadors to the Shah, and awaited with anxiety the day when the British would be arrayed against them in the north, in order to strike them down in the south.

Aware of the dissensions amongst the Mahrattas, the Sultan carried on his intrigues vigorously at Púna, to attach some chiefs to his own interests, and to detach others from that of the British, and so effectually were these different objects accomplished, that it would have been consummate folly in any British general acting against Mysore to expect efficient aid from the court of Púna. Nor was the influence of the sovereign of Mysore felt less at Hyderabad than at the capital of the Mahrattas. *There* he had a force of 14,000 men, officered by his allies, governing the Nizam and the country at the time when they were in the closest alliance with himself. Such was the extent of the intrigues of Tippú! and yet, whilst these were being thus vigorously prosecuted, politicians, such as Mill, would have us believe, that there existed no valid ground for apprehension on the part of the British!

The Earl of Mornington arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on his passage to India in February 1798, and whilst there the *Houghton* and other vessels, with India despatches on board, arrived from Bengal. These, the new Governor-General thought it fit to peruse in the then critical state of the country, and their contents he carefully examined. He was fortunate also in meeting at the Cape with Major Kirkpatrick, formerly resident at Hyderabad, from whom he derived the most valuable information relative to the condition of the Nizam and other native powers. The despatches, which he thence addressed to the President of the Board of Control, and to the Court of Directors, sufficiently prove how deeply he had studied Indian politics, and how sound the views were by which his procedure then and subsequently was directed. "It is a remarkable, and I believe an unexampled circumstance," says Lord Brougham, "showing how accurately Lord Wellesley's opinions and plans were formed, that whole pages of his minute of the 12th August at Calcutta, explaining his views, after they were perfected by a six months' residence in

the country, are taken from the letters written by him at the Cape in February!" The jeopardy in which British interests were placed at Hyderabad by the existence of the formidable French force there under Raymond, was forcibly pointed out by Major Kirkpatrick, and profoundly weighed by Lord Mornington. In the despatches referred to, he lays down with his usual ability and prolixity (for both are equally characteristics of his writings) the plan by which he proposed to remove the danger, and to make the force of Hyderabad become the agents of the British, instead of being what they then were, the tools of Tippú and the French.

The four measures proposed by Major Kirkpartrick to bring about this object were, 1st.—The introduction of British subjects, or other Europeans, the subjects of friendly powers, into the service of the Nizam, care being taken that their characters should be such as that reliance might be placed upon them. This measure, he hoped, would have the effect, in the first place, of counterbalancing the corps of Raymond, and ultimately of suppressing it. 2ndly—That the dismission of the corps should be pointedly and firmly demanded, and the Nizam, at the same time informed that in case of refusal to comply with this demand, the British Government should withdraw itself from its existing engagements with him. 3rdly.—The holding out of suitable inducements to the European officers in the corps, to leave the Nizam's service and enter that of the British, and 4thly—That the connexion between the Company and the Nizam, according to the expressed wish of the latter, should be drawn closer, and such an augmentation of the detachment of British troops in the Nizam's service made, as would preclude the necessity of his retaining Raymond's corps. With regard to the first of these measures Lord Mornington, in his Cape despatches, says, "I do not think this measure likely to be effectual to any good purpose, and it might even aggravate the evil which it is proposed to remove. A party so consolidated and united as that of Raymond's, which has been strengthening itself for a period of several years at Hyderabad, and has established the means of recruiting and augmenting its numbers, will not be counteracted by the irregular and desultory opposition of such adventurers as might be induced by our encouragement to seek employment in the service of the Nizam; persons of this description (and we cannot expect that any others will engage in such an undertaking,) would want the system and concert necessary to give vigor to their opperations." Few, we imagine, will be disposed to deny the wisdom of this last observation. With regard to the second proposed measure, the Earl wrote," "certainly no

representation from one friendly State to another could ever be more solidly founded than ours might be to the Nizam in the case before us. But besides that, Major Kirkpatrick expects no benefit from representation and demand unconnected with the offer of some advantage to the Nizam ; I doubt whether our manifesting, in the first instance, the extent of our anxiety for the dismission of Raymond's corps might not embarrass us in the progress of the most effectual measures for that desirable end ; at present the court of Hyderabad seems willing to purchase a closer connection with us by great sacrifices, and if that conection should not appear objectionable on other grounds, it may probably take place on much more advantageous terms to us, if we grant it as a matter of favour to the solicitations of the Nizam, than if we commence the negotiation by demanding the dismission of any part of the Nizam's military establishment." Major Kirkpatrick's third proposal, as may readily be supposed, did not obtain much favour in the eyes of the Governor-General. "I should never think it worth while," says he, "even in the cases supposed of a rupture with the Nizam, or of an attack from Raymond, to repel the aggression by corrupting the officers of the hostile army ; I trust, that in either case, we should soon find a more certain as well as a more honorable mode of effectually destroying this French party and its adherents." The fourth of the Major's proposals was that which met most favour from the Earl. The Nizam's Empire, as we have previously noticed, had been, for some time, very much on the decline amongst the native powers of India. In influence, in power, in resources, in weight, it had been considerably reduced. Now, with the eagle eye of political wisdom, the Earl of Mornington saw that the reinstatement of that power, in its original greatness, would not only raise up a barrier against Mysorean and Mahrattan ambition, but serve also to draw tighter the bonds which connected the empire of the Nizam with that of the Company. Here then was the fulcrum of his entire political machinery. The Nizam desired a closer alliance with the British—he desired a larger subsidiary British force, and the Governor-General wisely determined that he should have both, the price demanded for both being the disbandment of Raymond's corps and the departure of its officers from India, together with the abolition of the peiscush paid on account of the Northern Circars. By these means would a doubtful enemy be changed into a faithful friend—by these means would a barrier be raised up against Mysore and the Mahrattas, whilst the resources of a large empire would be put into our hands.

In April 1798 the Governor-General arrived at Madras, where

he employed a few days of leisure in examining the condition of that presidency, and getting an insight into the character of the leading men there. The following month he landed at Calcutta.

On the 8th June, a paper was published in Calcutta purporting to be a copy of a proclamation* made by the Governor of Mauritius, General Malartic, which naturally attracted the attention of the Government. In this very impolitic and extraordinary document, the French Governor declared that he had received ambassadors from Tippú who desired to enter into an offensive and defensive league with the French, a nation with which the British Empire was then at war. "*He waits only*," says this proclamation, "*the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.*"

* The following is a copy of this curious document :—

Liberté Republique Française Egalite.
Une et indivisible.

PROCLAMATION.

Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, General-en-Chef, Governeur-General des Isles des France, et de la Réunion et Commandant, général des Etablissements Français, à l'est du Cap de Bonne Espérance.

Citoyens,

Connaissant depuis plusieues années votre zèle et votre attachment pour les intérêsts et la gloire de votre Republique, nous sommes très-empressés et nous nous faisons un devoir de vous donner connaissance de toutes les propositions que nous fait Tippú Sultaun, par deux ambassadeurs qu'il nous a dépéchés.

Ce prince a écrit des lettres particulières à l' Assemblée Coloniale, à tous les Généraux qui sont employés dans ce gouvernement, et nous a addressé un paque pour le Directoire Executif.

1. Il demande a faire une alliance offensive et défensive avec les Français, en proposant d' entretenir à ses frais, tant que la guerre durera dans l'Inde, les troupes qu'on pourra lui envoyer.

2. Il promet de fournir toutes les choses nécessaires pour faire cette guerre, excepté le Vin et l'Eau de vie dont il se trouve absolument denié.

3. Il assure que tous les préparatifs sont faits pour recevoir les secours qu'on lui donnera, et qu' à l'arrivée des troupes, les Chefs et officiers trouveront toutes les choses necessaires pour faire une guerre à laquelle les Européens sont peu accoutumés.

4 Enfin il n'attend plus que le moment oú les Français viendront à son secours, pour déclarer la guerre aux Anglais, desirant avec ardeur pouvoir les chasser de l'Inde.

Comme il nous est impossible de diminuer le nombre des soldates des 107 et 103 regimens, et de la garde soldée du Port de la Fraternité, à cause des secours que nous avons à envoyés notres alliés les Hollandais ; nos invitons tous les citoyens de bonne volonté, a se faire inscrire dans leurs municipalités respectives, pour aller servir sous les drapeaux de Tippú.

Ce prince desire aussi avoir des citoyens de couleur, libres, et nous invitons tous ceux qui voudront aller servir sous ses drapeaux, à se faire aussi inscrire.

Nous pouvons assurer tous les citoyens qui se feront inscrire, que Tippú leur fera des traitements avantageux qui seront fixés avec ses ambassadeurs qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur souverain à ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ses armées, ne puissent jamais y être retenus quand ils voudront rentrer dans leur patrié.

Fait au Port Nord-Ouest, le 10 Pluviose, l'an six de la République Française, une et indivsible.

(Signé) MALARTIC.

On being assured that this document was authentic, the Earl of Mornington naturally formed the determination of not waiting till the dominions which he governed were attacked, but resolved to urge on the measures on which he had determined relative to the Nizam and the Mahrattas, whilst he directed General Harris, then acting Governor as well as Commander-in-Chief at Madras, quietly to concentrate a force sufficient to repel Tippú in case of attack, and which should form the nucleus of an invading army if an invasion were rendered necessary.

In these preparations Mr. Mill can perceive nothing but the results of that "state of inflammation" in which the mind of the Governor-General was, and which precluded anything like sound judgment. The fact of his advocating as speedy an attack as possible upon Tippú proves, says that historian, either that he "condemned the policy of the treaty which was concluded by Lord Cornwallis, and highly applauded by the ministers, by the Parliament, and by the people of England; or such was the change in circumstances that the enmity of Tippú, which was neither formidable nor offered any reasonable prospect of being formidable in 1792, had become intensely formidable in 1798; or lastly, the mind of the Governor-General was, in a state of inflammation, and decided upon suggestions totally different from a cool and accurate contemplation of the circumstances of the case." This last is, of course, in the opinion of our historian, the only allowable hypothesis. The fact was that, by his embassy to the Mauritius, Tippú himself had altered the relations subsisting between him and the British. The question was one of time merely, and we think few who consider the matter will agree with Mr. Mill in thinking that it would have been wiser in Lord Mornington to allow Tippú to choose his own time for making the attack, or to allow him the chance of ultimately receiving French assistance, instead of anticipating him, and thus saving the expense of keeping up a large armament to await him. Such a procedure as the former would have been in opposition to every recognized principle of military or political tactics.

But in the meantime a circumstance had occurred in Europe, which rendered it doubly necessary, that Tippú should be speedily disabled—an event which, combined with the proclamation of General Malartic, caused the Court of Directors, through their Secret Committee, to write out to Lord Mornington on the 18th June of this year, "recommending" him "not to wait for his attack, but to take the most immediate and the most decisive measures to carry their arms into the enemy's country." The event referred to, was the sailing of the expedition from Toulon in May of the same year under Napoleon, an expedition evidently

intended for Egypt in the first place, and for India ultimately. Had the Earl of Mornington then pursued the policy recommended by Mill, he would not only have been placing the British Indian empire in peril, but have been acting in direct contradiction to the recommendations of the Court of Directors.

No unbiassed individual, we conceive, can reflect on the position in which India at this period stood, without perceiving the absolute necessity which existed for energetic proceedings on the part of its Government. France was thundering in Egypt under the modern Alexander, whose ambition would be as little likely to be bounded by the Indus as by the Rhine. The Affghan King had sworn to restore the Mogul empire in its integrity, and from his capital to Delhi there was no power to oppose him with any chance of success, whilst Tippú, with 100,000 men,* was threatening our empire in the South, and ceaselessly intriguing to throw the enemies of the British power upon the Empire. As soon, therefore, as explicit information relative to the intrigues of Tippú with the French had reached him, Lord Mornington lost no time in urging upon General Harris the necessity of making every possible preparation for an immediate and decisive attack upon Tippú—a measure, however, which "the dispersed state of the army on the coast of Coromandel and certain radical defects in its establishments," as he declares in one of his despatches, "rendered a much more tedious and difficult operation" than he had anticipated.

The interval which elapsed from the commencement of the preparations for an attack upon Tippú to their close was by no means left unoccupied by the Governor-General. We have already seen that the disbanding of the French force in the service of the Nizam at Hyderabad was a fundamental part of his policy for raising up a check to Tippú and the Mahrattas. With a view to this, on the 8th of July, he instructed the Resident at the Nizam's Court to propose a new treaty between the two powers which, whilst in accordance with the Nizam's wish, it should unite the two powers more closely together, would, at the same time, be the means of bringing to pass the Governor-General's wish relative to the French force. By this treaty the British subsidiary force in the service of the Nizam was increased to 4,400, whilst the annual subsidy to be paid by His Highness in consequence amounted to about nineteen lakhs of rupees (£190,000). This treaty was ratified on the 18th of September, with the full concurrence of the Peishwa, to whom all its stipulations were communicated. On the 10th October the

* Vide Appendix C. Wellesley Despatches. 1st vol.

subsidiary force under Lieutenant-Colonel Roberts reached Hyderabad, and on the 22nd, by His Highness's orders, and in concert with a body of his cavalry, it surrounded the camp of the French army, then 10,000 strong, the remainder being out on detachment duty. Forunately for the British interests, a mutiny had broken out in the camp the previous day, and the sepoys had imprisoned their French officers, so that the capture of these officers by the British force, which immediately followed, was looked upon by them as a release from captivity, and, perhaps, from death. They were treated with every possible respect —their claims upon the Government were settled—and they were subsequently sent to Europe, not however as prisoners of war, but without detention or restraint. The success of this admirable stroke of policy is mainly attributable to the partiality for the English exhibited by the new minister at Hyderabad—Azim-ul-omra. Whilst this important success was being gained at Hyderabad, a change of ministry at Púna occurred, which gave every promise of being favourable to British interests. Nana Furnevese, a chief noted for his attachment to the English, had been restored to the ministry, and had publicly taken charge of the affairs of the Government. "Neither Tippú nor the French," says Lord Mornington, "will ever acquire any influence at Púna, while Nana shall hold the reins of power."* True it is that the influence of Scindia was very great, and that he was decidedly hostile to the British, but he, too, was kept in check by the threatened invasion of Zeman Shah, an event which rendered it decidedly his interest to cultivate the alliance of the British, by whose aid alone he could hope to preserve his dominions in the north.

The news contained in the letter of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, relative to the departure of the Toulon Armament, did not reach the Governor-General until the 18th October. It naturally rendered him more anxious than he had previously been to hurry on the expedition against Tippú, so that if the French did succeed in reaching India, they might not do so until his power had been destroyed, and the great fulcrum of their intended operations thus removed. A fortnight later, intelligence arrived of the total defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelson at Aboukir, which Lord Mornington lost no time in communicating to Tippú, at the same time taking occasion to mention the alarm which the military preparations of Tippú and his intrigues with the French had caused to the Company and its allies. "The Peishwa, and his Highness

* Despatches, Vol. I, p. 341.

the Nizam," continued the Governor-General, "concur with me in the observations which I have offered to you in this letter; and which in the name of the Company, and of the allies, I recommend to your most earnest consideration; but as I am also desirous of communicating to you, on behalf of the Company and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all partis, I propose to depute to you, for this purpose, Major Doveton, who is well known to you, and who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself, and to the allies of the Company, to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations." To this Tippú replied on the 18th December, that he had no connection with the men who represented themselves as his ambassadors at the Mauritius, and that the treaties already entered into by the four states "were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable," nor could he "imagine that means more effectual than these could be adopted, for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." In this way he eluded the request of the Governor-General that a Resident at his court should be appointed. This answer reached Lord Mornington at Madras whither he had gone to urge on the preparations for the invasion in concert with Lord Clive, the Governor, and General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief.

Although still anxious to settle the matter, if possible, by negotiation, Lord Mornington did not allow the delays caused by the dilatoriness of Tippú to pass unimproved. On the 9th January in the succeeding year, he addressed another letter to the Sultan, in which he recapitulated the various grounds of complaint which the British and their allies had against him, particular reference being made to the proclamation of General Malartic; "even under all these circumstances of provocation," continued his Lordship, "the allies entertain the most earnest desire to establish with your Highness a real and substantial peace accompanied by the intercourse and good offices usual among friendly and contiguous states." Shortly afterwards, he declares that "a new arrangement is become indispensable, in consequence of your Highness's new engagements with the common enemy of the allies; and I again entreat your Highness" (he adds) "to meet with cordiality, the friendly and moderate advance of the allies, towards an amicable settlement of every ground of jealousy and danger." Finally he calls upon

the Sultan "in the most serious and solemn manner" to admit Major Doveton as a British ambassador to his court. There is here unquestionably no evidence of that eagerness for war, none of that rabid hatred of Tippú, none of that exaggerated alarm which Mill would have us believe existed in the mind of the Governor-General.

Notwithstanding the earnest request contained in the letter just referred to, that an answer would speedily be returned to it, and notwithstanding the subsequent transmission of a letter from the Turkish Emperor to Tippú by the Governor-General, in which he was strongly dissuaded by that high Mahommedan authority from an alliance with the French, no answer was received in Madras till the 13th of February, and that which then arrived was without date and contained little to the purpose, besides an ungracious permission for the embassy of Major Doveton. "Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding on a hunting expedition. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written,) slightly attended (or unattended)." Although the Mysorean sovereign was thus dilatory, however, in replying to the repeated representations of the British ruler, he was not equally careless about keeping up his communication with the French. Whilst his letters professed the greatest amity and an assurance of continued peace, he lost no time in making preparations for war, and, on the 7th of February, he despatched Dubuc as his agent to the Directory of Paris, again desiring assistance. His design, in the delays which he allowed to intervene in his correspondence with Madras, was clearly perceived by the Governor-General, who now felt convinced that, until an invading army had entered his territory, he would not be likely to come to any reasonable understanding with the British and their allies.

During the absence of the Governor-General from Calcutta, the chief duties of Government devolved upon Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, whose services were required in the North, in consequence of the apprehended invasion of Zeman Shah. The command of the expedition against Mysore devolved therefore upon General Harris. It consisted of two thousand six hundred cavalry (of whom about a thousand were Europeans), six hundred European artillery, four thousand five hundred European infantry, eleven thousand Native infantry, and two thousand seven hundred gun-lascars and pioneers—altogether forming a force of twenty-one thousand men, with sixty field pieces; with this force, another of six thousand men co-operated from the Bombay side under General Stuart. On the

5th of March, General Harris entered the territory of Mysore, and on the same date, in the ensuing month, took up his ground for the seige of Seringapatam. Upon the details of the march of the army, or of the operations connected with the fall of the capital, it will not be necessary for us to dilate, they have been too frequently described before to render any new abstract of them interesting. whilst our limits prevent our entering upon them with that minuteness, which would be necessary to allow of our judging them impartially. Suffice it to say, that on the 4th May, Seringapatam was taken by assault, Tippú Sultan himself being slain in the attack, and the territory of Mysore lay at the mercy of the Governor-General of British India.

Whilst there might possibly have been found many men capable of conducting the army against Mysore, and of bringing the war to a successful issue, we very much doubt if another statesman could be found in the East at this period, who would have exhibited the same wisdom and ability in the settlement of the country when conquered, as Lord Mornington. In other words, the qualities of courage, mental energy, tact and foresight are much more commonly found united than those of wisdom, moderation, prudence, and address in the midst of a victory. Here was a kingdom to be disposed of; here were two rapacious allies to be satisfied and rewarded, at the same time that their mutual jealousy or cupidity was to be guarded against; here was a new empire at the feet of the Britsh power in India to be got rid of, so as on the one hand, to avoid alarming all the native states by its annexation, and on the other, to prevent the loss of all the future advantages to be derived from our success! Suspicion, odium, and hatred on the one hand, danger and contempt on the other: these were the Scylla and Charybdis of the British Indian politics at this time between which the Governor-General was to steer; and, had he been an ordinary statesman, doubtless he would but have sheered off from the whirlpool of danger to be wrecked upon the rocks of odium and hatred. But the pilot was equal to the task which he had undertaken—the vessel of State was borne triumphantly through the difficulties which beset its course, without a single accident, and finally landed in the haven of security.

The principles by which he was guided in the settlement of Mysore are thus clearly developed in a despatch of the Governor-General to the Court of Directors.* "To have divided the whole territory equally between the Company and the Nizam, to the

* Despatches, &c, Vol. 2, p. 74.

exclusion of any other state, would have afforded strong ground of jealousy to the Mahrattas, and aggrandized the Nizam's power beyond all bounds of discretion; under whatever form such a partition could have been made, it must have placed in the hands of the Nizam many of the strong fortresses on the northern frontier of Mysore, and exposed our frontier in that quarter to every predatory incursion; such a partition would have laid the foundation of perpetual differences, not only between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, but between the Company and both these powers.

"To have divided the country into three equal portions, allowing the Mahrattas, (who had borne no part in the expense or hazard of the war) an equal share with the other two branches of the triple alliance, in the advantages of the peace, would have been unjust towards the Nizam and towards the Company; impolitic, as furnishing an evil example to other allies in India, and dangerous, as effecting a considerable aggrandizement of the Mahratta empire, at the expense of the Company and of the Nizam. This mode of partition also, must have placed Chittledrúg, and some of the most important northern fortresses, in the hands of the Mahrattas, while the remainder of the fortresses in the same line would have been occupied by the Nizam, and our unfortified and open frontier in Mysore, would have been exposed to the excesses of the undisciplined troops of both powers. * * * It was, however, desirable to conciliate their good will, and to offer to them such a portion of territory as might give them an interest in the new settlement without offence or injury to the Nizam, and without danger to the frontier of the Company's possessions. On the other hand, it was prudent to limit the territory retained in the hands of the Company and of the Nizam within such bounds of moderation as should bear a due proportion to their respective expenses in the contest, and to the necessary means of securing the public safety of their respective dominions."

In conformity with the views here expounded a settlement was made which the concurring testimony of the enemies and friends of the Government has declared to be distinguished by wisdom, sagacity, moderation and prudence. Whilst a portion of the country surrounding the capital, and yielding an annual revenue of upwards of £500,000, was reserved for the formation of a new Mysorean kingdom, dependant, of course, on British supremacy, the rest was divided amongst the allies according to the principles above enunciated. To the British and the Nizam, portions of territory of equal value (realizing annual revenues approaching to £250,000) were allotted, whilst the

Mahrattas were to obtain a tract of somewhat more than half the value of those assigned to the other allies. For the Company's share were allotted the districts of Canara, Coimbatúr, Daraporam and Mujnad, with all the territory lying below the ghâts between their possessions in the Carnatic and those in Malabar. By this addition a valuable portion of land, forming an uninterrupted tract between the coast of Coromandel and Malabar, was joined to the territories of the Company in the south; which now included the entire sea-coast of the kingdom of Mysore and the base of all the eastern, western and southern ghâts. To these were added the forts and posts forming the heads of all the passes above the ghâts on the table land, with the fortress, city, and island of Seringapatam. This settlement was provided for by "the treaty of Mysore" between the Company, the Nizam Ali, and the Peishwa, which was concluded on the 22nd of June 1799.

The grounds on which a portion of Mysore, equal to that taken by the Company and given to the Nizam, was refused to the Peishwa, are given above. It is evident, indeed, that he had no claim whatever to any, the smallest portion, in as much as he had contributed nothing to the expense of the war, and had run no risk. The destruction of the power of Tippú was, besides, to the Peishwa, a decided advantage,—an advantage, in fact, of the very utmost importance and value, for by the destruction of that power, a formidable neighbour was destroyed, and the enmity of a man opposed by creed, principle, and the force of circumstances to the great Hindú power, removed. If then, under these circumstances, any part of the territory of Mysore were granted to the Mahrattas, it must have been solely as a free gift, as a bonus, in return for which their gratitude and friendship where due. But was it expedient, after granting one favor, to press upon them another without some remuneration? Lord Mornington thought not, and therefore, for the territory proposed to be ceded, he demanded that they should guarantee the inviolability of the new Mysorean kingdom, that they should make the Company arbitor in their disputes with the Nizam, that they should not allow European foreigners to enter their service, and that they should enter into a defensive treaty with the Company against the French, should they invade India. These, Lord Mornington conceived, were trifling concessions compared with the addition to their territory, power, and influence, to be gained by the increase of their possessions. He even believed that they would be gladly accepted, but he was deceived, for he was here applying the principles which guide *civilized* diplomacy to that of a state which was *semi barba-*

*rous.* The Peishwa demanded, in the first place, an equal share with the Nizam and the Company, and that, too, without conditions! * A State in Europe, under similar circumstances, would be considered bereft of reason were it to do so. When the smaller portion was offered, with the conditions annexed, it was indignantly refused, and the territory set apart for this purpose was, in consequence, divided between the Company and the Nizam.

The appointment of a sovereign for the new dependant kingdom of Mysore was a matter of no ordinary importance or delicacy. The four sons of Tippú would of course be the first individuals upon whom the Governor-General's attention would be fixed, as being the candidates for the honor most nearly and intimately connected with its former sovereign. But to the elevation of any one of those to the vacant musnud, there were some very serious objections—objections of such weight, that Lord Mornington at once decided to supersede these candidates in favor of the ancient royal family of Mysore. The sons of Tippú would have imbibed, it was to be expected, much of the character and disposition of their father. Brought up in the hope of succeeding to the highest rank in the State as independent princes, it was not to be supposed that they would look upon the partition of half the empire with any other than hostile eyes. True, the power of the State was crippled and a great proportion of its means of offence removed, but there could be little doubt that when at the head of his nominally independent State, a son of Tippú would but wait the first opportunity to strike a blow at the British for revenge or retribution. The appearance of humility and gratitude an Oriental Prince would not find it difficult to exchange for the menaces of hostility. Had a son of Tippú then been appointed, the British Government must have remained in an attitude of defence and preparation, whilst the French would still have a basis for their operations when a convenient opportunity presented itself for invading India. How different, on the other hand, would be the feelings, principles, and predilections of the Government of Mysore if, instead of a son of Tippú, the descendant of the ancient family dethroned by Hyder were placed upon its throne! The one would regard the British as his natural enemies, the other as his truest friends. The one would look

* This circumstance is a curious illustration of the native character *politically*. It reminds us of an anecdote which illustrates it *individually*. An European officer at the risk of his life lately saved a coolie who had fallen from a vessel into the Húgly. The first words, the rescued man uttered when he returned to consciousness on the deck of the vessel, whilst the officer was standing over him, were "*buckshish, sahib!*" Would any European sailor or porter have done so?

upon British interference as the bane of his Government, the other as its support. The one would regard each successive Governor-General as the ruler on whose head hung the blood of his forefather and the ruin of his independence, the other as the representative of that power to which he owed his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, and by whose arm his own authority was upheld. Thus, on the one hand, family predilections, pride, self-interest, and passion counselled hostility to the British, on the other, self-interest, gratitude, and fear counselled a love of, and dependence upon them. When we add to all this that a religious feud of the most deadly nature—that between Mahommedanism and Hinduism—separated the two royal families, and that the former had been for many years triumphant, we shall then be able to form an estimate of the strength of the bond which would unite the descendant of the ancient Mysorean dynasty when elevated to the throne, with the power by which that elevation was effected.

Influenced by considerations similar to these the Governor-General* resolved on the restoration of the heir of the ancient family to the throne, and accordingly, on the 30th June, the Rajah of Mysore was formally installed on the musnud, by the commissioners appointed for the settlement of the country, aided by the representative of the Nizam. Whilst the title of sovereign was granted to this prince, however, the real *authority* was assumed by the British. The military defence and protection of the country were retained by the latter for a subsidy of about £280,000 yearly, whilst the Rajah and his Government were clearly given to understand that the British reserved to themselves the right of interfering in the internal management of the country when they saw fit, as well as of increasing the subsidy in cases of necessity. The sons of Tippú were removed to Vellore; Lieut.-Colonel Close was appointed Resident at the court of the new Rajah, whose seat of Government was fixed at Mysore, the ancient capital; whilst Col. Arthur Wellesley was appointed commandant at Seringapatam. Thus were concluded the conquest and final settlement of the Empire of Tippú.

During the period which elapsed between the commencement of Lord Mornington's administration and the final settlement of Mysore, other matters of importance, besides those whose progress we have narrated, engaged the attention of the Governor-General. Of these one of the most important was the succession to the throne of Tanjore. In 1786 Tuljají, the ruling Rajah, died, leaving a half brother, Amír Singh,

* See his views on the subject detailed at length in a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated August 1799, vol. 2, page 80.

and an adopted son, Serbojí, as competitors for the crown. The rival princes appealed to the Madras Government as being the protector of the State, and as the English had no interest in the matter, they resolved to have the question decided by Hindu law; Amír Singh being appointed protector during the minority of his rival, still a child. The question of succession was referred to a council of pundits, learned in Hindu lore, but which the British Government took little care to preserve from corruption. This seems to have been the head and front of its offending in the matter. The consequences were what might have been expected. Amír Singh had the resources of the country in his hands; his rival was a child subject to his authority; and the council, with true oriental sagacity, was speedily convinced that the stronger party was the one on whose side the justice lay.

The administration of Amír Singh, however, gave little satisfaction to his supporters. His cruel treatment of Serbojí, his oppression of his subjects, his reckless profligacy were daily subjects of complaint, and it was at length resolved by the British Government that Serbojí and the widows of the former Rajah should be removed to Madras. Here the claims of the latter to the throne were again brought before the notice of the Supreme Government, and Sir John Shore entered upon their investigation. The opinions of pundits at Benares and elsewhere were again sought, and with the success which might have been anticipated. If the British Government were not favorable to Serbojí, doubtless these learned orientals argued, they would not again solicit our opinion, and *ergo*, Serbojí has the best right to the throne. No decision less acute could have been anticipated from the astute doctors of Hindu law. Let us mark the transaction, for it is worthy of note as a development of the native character. Amír and Serbojí are the two competitors: Amír is in power, Serbojí an insignificant infant—the Hindu doctors are asked which has the best right to the throne—they doubtless smile at the useless interrogation, and give numerous reasons of great weight to shew that the wearer of the crown is its rightful possessor. But anon a stronger than Amír steps into the field, takes Serbojí by the hand, and calls upon the learned doctors again to pronounce which of the two has the best right to the throne. How absurd to doubt of the reply! The pundit salaams to the most powerful again, and sets vigorously to work to destroy those arguments which a few years before he assured us were of adamantine strength. Such is oriental probity! Such, the uprightness and consistency of the "grave and reverend" expounders of Hindu law!

The elevation of Serbojí to the musnud was the occasion of a new treaty between the British Government and Tanjore. By this treaty the security of Amír Singh was provided, and a revenue of nearly £10,000 per annum assigned to him; the military and civil administration of the country were taken by the British, and an annual revenue of £40,000, secured to Serbojí. "This arrangement," says the apologist of the honorable Company,* "was undoubtedly beneficial to the interests of Great Britain; but it is no exaggeration to say that it was far more beneficial to the people of Tanjore. It delivered them from the effects of native oppression and European cupidity. It gave them what they had never before possessed—the security derived from the administration of justice." The treaty by which these important advantages were secured to Tanjore, was concluded on the 25th October 1799, and ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 29th November following.

A revolution somewhat similar was brought about in the city of Surat by causes very different. This city had acquired considerable importance from its extensive commerce, and from its being the port whence the pilgrims to the tomb of the prophet usually sailed to Mecca. A factory had been established there by the British at a very early period, and they had subsequently obtained considerable authority in consequence of having bravely defended the territory from the attack of the founder of the Mahratta empire. A century aftewards the command of the castle and fleet, which had been previously independent of the civil power, was granted to the British and confirmed by the Imperial Court of Delhi, of which the Nabob of Surat was a dependant. The subsequent destruction of the Supreme Power at Delhi caused the Nabob to assume an independence which, without the aid of the British, he could not maintain. The first ground of difference between the two was the alleged insufficiency of the funds allowed by the Nabob for the military and naval forces, an amount which, however, he was extremely unwilling, and professed himself to be unable, to increase. Remonstrances, and answers to them, passed continually between the two until the death of the reigning Nabob, early in 1799, afforded an opportunity to the Company's Government for authoritatively pressing its claims. It was quite evident, indeed, that two powers almost independent of each other, a military and a civil one, could not continue to exist in this small territory without the ultimate absorption of the one in the other. The question was whether the British were to resign

* Thornton, vol. III, p. 103.

the authority they had received from the Imperial Court into the hands of the Nabob, or whether the latter was to become the dependant of the former. There was little of *right* on either side, but what there was of it, certainly attached to the side of the Nabob. The forces of the Company, however, were an unanswerable argument, of which its officers knew well how to avail themselves. We question whether any other power would have acted differently.

The death of the Nabob early in 1799, as we have said, afforded an opportunity for the British Government to press its claims upon Surat. An infant, his sole progeny survived him only a few weeks, and its uncle as heir, claimed the Government. Without the permission of the British he could not obtain it, and the price which they demanded for their assistance was the delivery of the entire civil and military administration of the city and territory into their hands. A treaty to this effect was drawn up by the Governor-General and sent to Bombay where it was a subject of negociation till May 1800, when it was ultimately agreed to by the Nabob. "By this treaty it was provided that the management and collection of the 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, should be vested for ever, entirely and exclusively in the Honorable East India Company." A lakh of rupees annually was set aside for the revenue of the Nabob, whilst he was allowed to retain his titles and honor as formerly.

Another proof of the Earl of Mornington's desire to consolidate the British Government in India, and to remove those festering sores which so much impeded the proper action of the body politic, was exhibited in his transactions with the Carnatic and its Nabob. With regard to the wretched condition into which this portion of India had been brought by the rule of Mahomed Ali and his successor Omdat-ul-Omra, no controversy can be maintained. These Nabobs had entered into engagements with the British Government relative to the support of subsidiary forces, which they took little care to discharge properly, and the consequence was the accumulation of debts and embarrassments which no proper means were taken to liquidate or remove. Remonstrances on the part of the Madras Government were met by evasive answers from Arcot. Europeans of no principle but of considerable sagacity carried on intrigues of the most openly profligate character at the Nabob's court. The revenue was badly managed, whilst the people were ground to the

dust by its collectors, and ruin, in its most appalling form, was fast extending over the country. To this state of things the Governor-General was by no means blind, and although not disposed to violate the letter of the last treaty concluded with the Nabob in 1792, was yet anxious, if possible, to find some means of preventing the spread of ruin over the entire country. For this purpose Lord Mornington early addressed the reigning Prince, calling his attention particularly to the large debt which he owed the Company, and proposing that a portion of his territory should be ceded to the British Government for its liquidation. The answer of His Highness the Nabob was courteous but decisive—he referred to the treaty of 1792, and hoped it was still binding—"Is it so nominated in the bond?"—was his answer to every proposal. The opinions of the Governor-General on the subject are to be found in his despatch to the Board of Control, dated March 5th, 1800. "The double Government of the Carnatic," he there states, "is a difficulty which continues to present the most serious and alarming obstacles to every attempt at reform,"—"nor could he cherish the slightest hope," he adds, "of an improvement during the life of the reigning Nabob." "I am thoroughly convinced," he continues in another part of this very voluminous despatch, "that no effectual remedy can ever be applied to the evils which afflict that country, without obtaining from the Nabob powers at least as extensive as those vested in the Company by the late treaty of Tanjore"—an arrangement which he hoped might be made on the death of Omdat-ul-Omra. It is evident, indeed, that it was Lord Mornington's intention, long before he dreamt of a treasonable correspondence between that Prince and Tippú, to bring about a change in the administration of the Carnatic: and it is to the fact of his having promulgated this opinion before the proofs of this treachery were made apparent, that we probably owe the attacks which have subsequently been made upon him for the course which he pursued in reference to the Carnatic. Let us proceed with the history of the transaction first, however, and make what remarks upon it as may appear necessary subsequently. During the march of the British army into the territory of Tippú, the officers, civil and military, of the Nabob had acted in such a manner as to throw the most considerable difficulties into the way of its advance, whilst they were bound by treaty and engagements to afford it every facility. "During the whole course of the late war," wrote the Governor-General, "the conduct of all the Nabob's officers, without exception, amounted nearly to positive hostility in every part of his territories through which the British army, or that of the Nizam marched, or even

in which supplies were ordered to be procured or collected for their use. When complaints were stated to his Highness he promised redress, but never, in any instance, afforded it." This conduct on the part of the Nabob and his ministers naturally excited in Lord Mornington a suspicion that Omdat-ul-Omra was a friend of Tippú, or if not so, at least no well-wisher to the British Government. Papers found in Seringapatam on the capture of that fortress, sufficiently proved that such was actually the case, and that the treason of the Nabob had extended even to the communicating of intelligence which tended to promote the interests of the Mysorean Prince and impede the progress of the British. "Nothing, surely," says Mr. Mill, "ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time!" That this discovery rendered the Governor-General less reluctant to carry out his views on the Carnatic by force, than he would otherwise have been, is certain, and so far was it "fortunate"—but if Mr. Mill's exclamation is intended, as the sequel appears to prove,* to imply that the whole discovery was a fraud and the papers forgeries, we repudiate his insinuation with disgust, and can only lament that any Englishman could be found to cast such an imputation on one of the most upright Governments that India ever enjoyed.

By these documents it was evident that the Nabob of Arcot had placed himself completely without the protection of treaties and engagements, for he had directly violated the tenth article of the treaty of 1792 in opening a correspondence with the Sultan of Mysore at all, whilst the entire communication proved the falsity of his expressions of pretended regard for the British, and the enmity which slumbered in his breast. These facts cannot be denied, and he would be a strange politician truly, who, in contemplation of them, would blame Lord Mornington for his harshness to a Prince, who, without the means of averting or opposing it, had thus wantonly excited the resentment of the British Government. The Governor-General, however, did not proceed in the matter with any ill-judged or

* "When the Governor-General, and all his superiors, and all his subordinates in the Government of India, were languishing and panting for the possession of the Carnatic, but afraid, without some more plausible reason than they yet possessed, to commence the seizure, here it was provided for them in extraordinary perfection." And again—"As the British Government was situated with regard to the papers of Tippú, it was, it may be affirmed, the easiest thing in the world to prepare evidence for any purpose which it pleased."—Mill's British India, vol. vi, p. 311.

With regard to this disgraceful charge, the biographer of Lord Wellesley justly observes that, not only must the Governor-General have been the grand mover of the forgery, but General Harris, General Baird, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Colonel Close, Hon. Henry Wellesley, Captain Macaulay, Mr. Edmonstone, the Interpreter, and Mr. Webbe, the Secretary to Government, must have been also "the vile instruments" of this "unmanly fraud." This is surely *satis superque* on the subject.

unnecessary haste. It was not till the 28th of May 1881, that he issued his final orders on the subject, having previously made himself acquainted with the wishes of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors. He then wrote to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, authorizing him to propose a new treaty to the Nabob, requiring him to cede the civil and military government of the Carnatic to the East India Company. He despatched at the same time a letter to the Nabob, informing him of the nature of the discoveries which had been made, and referring him to the Governor of Madras for information as to the new footing on which his connexion with the Company was to be put. This letter, however, never reached him. When it arrived at Madras, Omdut was laboring under mortal disease, and lest it should aggravate the complaint by inducing mental anxiety, it was withheld. On the 15th July of the same year he died, and his will having, with some difficulty, been procured by Mr. Webbe and Col. Close, it was found that the Nabob had left all his rights, possessions, and properties, including the government of the Carnatic, to his reputed son Ali Hussein. With him Lord Clive offered to conclude the new treaty, but the youth refused to consent to the arrangement, and the Governor accordingly raised another member of the family to the musnud, Azim-ul-Dowlah by name, who gladly occupied it on the terms offered; an ample provision being, of course, made for the support of his princely dignity.

Such was the conclusion of this much-canvassed affair, and such is a succinct account of the proceedings which led to that result. Where then, we may well ask, in this history, are the grounds for that severe censure with which the British Government of the day has been visited for the part which it then acted? A Prince had entered into arrangements with the Company which he took no active precautions to fulfil. He allows himself to get deeply into arrears with the remittances which he has to make, and wrings from a half-ruined population contributions which tend to render his country a desert, in order to supply the wants caused by his own extravagance and want of care. He is remonstrated with, and neither gives nor promises satisfaction. He is threatened, and appeals to the faith of treaties which he has not himself properly fulfilled. Here for a time the matter ends, but after an interval, a mass of evidence is thrown into the hands of the forbearing party, proving that this prince, who holds so hard by the altar for protection, has himself violated the sanctuary, that he has systematically broken the treaties which he is so earnest in quoting; in fine, that he has been acting for years as the secret enemy of his generous creditor, and as the secret

friend of that creditor's enemy. This fact discovered, what mercy can he hope? He has a right to nothing at the hands of the pretended friend whom he has thus wantonly betrayed but open hostility. He is unable to ward off that hostility, and of course the insulted friend comes to him with an angry brow, throws off the cloak of friendship with indignation, and says, "you have abused my confidence, and favored my enemies, I now therefore strip you of every remnant of your power, whilst, out of my generosity, I give you funds amply sufficient to supply the trivialities and childish amusements in which you personally delight. Take them and live henceforth with the name of a Prince, but the power of a subject." Who can blame the stronger party in such a case as this?

Even Mill himself, the great opponent of every Indo-British Government, thus honestly confesses that the change for the Carnatic was a beneficial one—"Though we may suspect the servants of the Company of some exaggeration, when they describe the horrible effects of the Nabob's administration, there is no doubt that they were deplorable: It is equally certain, that no considerable improvement could be introduced while the powers of civil administration remained at the disposal of the Nabob: and, though what the Company had attempted for improving the condition of their subjects, where they possessed the undivided powers, had hitherto displayed but little either of skill or success, some efforts had been nobly intended, and will doubtless be followed by more judicious expedients. Even under the bad system of taxation and the bad system of judicature which the English would employ, the people would immediately suffer less than under the still more defective systems of the Nabob; and they would reap the benefit of all the improvements which a more enlightened people may be expected to introduce. *On this ground, we should have deemed the Company justified, in proportion as the feelings of millions are of more value than the feelings of an individual, in seizing the Government of the Carnatic long before;* and, on the same principle, we should rejoice, that every inch of ground within the limits of India were subject to their sway. In matters of detail, I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company's Government than to praise it; and, till the business of Government is much better understood, whoever writes history with a view solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thankless task to perform; yet I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good-will towards them, have shown less of a selfish attachment to mis-

chievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe."*

The policy pursued by Lord Mornington (who in December 1799, was created Marquess Wellesley, by which name we shall in future style him) with reference to Oude did not give more general satisfaction to one class of politicians than the measures which we have just detailed. Very shortly after his arrival in Bengal he signified to the resident at Lucknow his disapproval of the policy of the reigning Vizier,† Saadut Ali Khan, and the necessity which he conceived there existed for a more substantial guarantee for the payment of the Company's subsidies than the promises of a capricious and wavering eastern despot afforded. Saadut Ali Khan was of a disposition somewhat different from that which usually characterises the princes of India. His ruling passion was avarice; his mental failings cowardice and irresolution. He did not, it is true, waste the treasures wrung from the hard labour of his subjects in wild extravagance, but he rendered them equally, if not more, useless to the country at large, by hoarding them in a private treasury. He had a body of ministers, but in them he put no trust, for he looked upon them as the tools of the English resident. He had a body of troops, which, had it been disciplined, we might have styled an army, but in it he felt little confidence, nay, rather was he in fear on account of it, for the wages of his soldiers were safely locked in his own coffers—he preferred the gold which justly belonged to *them*, to their love and fidelity, looking for consolation in their tumults and disturbances to the treasures of which he was depriving them, and relying on a foreign power for protection against their violence. Such a Prince, in such a position, might excite contempt in the proud, or pity in the humane, but respect he could win from none.

The military force, which we have just referred to, was the particular part of the Vizier's establishment which the Governor-General considered most defective, and that, in which a "reform" might be best commenced, and this he was not slow in recommending,—urging that the funds which were consumed in the support of these "numerous disorderly battalions," which were in the service of the Vizier, would be amply sufficient to

* Mill's British India. Vol. vi, p. 330.

† We do not here notice the rebellion of Vizier Ali and its consequences, as these events have been already amply detailed in the pages of this Review. See No. I, p. 75, and "Postscript."

defray the expense of a subsidiary British force which had "become indispensably necessary to the security of His Excellency's dominions." "This," as Mill truly and sarcastically remarks, "was what the Governor-General, with other Englishmen, called a *reform* of the military establishments of the Vizier; the total annihilation of his military power, and the resignation of himself and his country to the army of another State." Let us not forget, however, that the state of Oude was almost as completely in the power of the British Government before, as after this reform. The troops of the Vizier were utterly incapable of competing with those of the Company in their disorganized and disorderly condition, whilst there seemed little probability of anything like a real reform during the government of Saadut Ali Khan. The question was then, not whether the troops of Oude were more likely to uphold the Vizier's authority than the British troops, but which was the more likely to be of utility to Oude itself? The disciplined army of the Company able and ready to oppose foreign invaders, such as the Affghan King, or the plundering disorganized bands of the Vizier?

In the progress of the negotiation Lord Wellesley seems to have fixed his eyes at an early period upon Colonel Scott as a man more able and politic than the existing resident. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Lumsden that "as he was aware he would require the assistance of some able military officer in the execution of the arrangement proposed, he (Lord Wellesley) had requested Sir A. Clarke to dispense with the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the Adjutant General, who would be directed to proceed to Lucknow immediately." This Mr. Lumsden naturally looked upon us an insidious supercession of himself, and sent in his resignation accordingly. His conduct in this transaction, we conceive, most people will admire more than that pursued by the Governor-General. Openness and candour demanded, in our opinion, that the latter should have given the appointment at once to Colonel Scott if he conceived Mr. Lumsden incapable, instead of thus attempting to give the former the power, and the latter the name merely of Resident.

From a letter addressed on the 5th November 1799 by Lord Wellesley to the Vizier, it would appear that the former made use of the threatened invasion of Zeman Shah merely as an excuse for thrusting *permanently* upon the authorities at Lucknow the maintenance of a force intended at first but for the emergency mentioned. In that letter he says, "it might not be in the power of the British Government, on a sudden emergency to reinforce the troops in your Excellency's country with sufficient

expedition; my firm opinion, therefore, is that the Company can in no other way effectually fulfill their engagements "to defend the dominions of your Excellency against all enemies," *than by maintaining constantly in these dominions such a force as shall be at all times adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcement which the exigency might otherwise require,* but which might not be disposable in proper season."* It is not often that we can concur with the censures of Mr. Mill, but in this point we must confess to considering his observations strictly just. "This was," he says, "in other words, an explicit declaration that the military force for the protection of Oude ought to be, at all times, even in the bosom of the most profound peace, at the utmost extent of a war establishment, than which a more monstrous proposition never issued from human organs!" One is almost tempted to suppose this proposition made with the sole intention of rousing the opposition of the Vizier, that advantage might be taken of that opposition to his own destruction, or at least to the destruction of his authority. If such were really the object, it would certainly have been more manly and straightforward in the Governor-General to place his alternatives before the Vizier, and say "accept of one of these, or reject both at your peril. The British Government has the power, and I have the will, to force compliance." The expense incurred by this augmentation, Lord Wellesley again reminded him, might be defrayed by disbanding his own disorderly legions.

The Vizier continued irresolute and indisposed to give any final answer, continually urging that he had a proposition of his own to bring forward, which he hoped would supersede the necessity of this measure being forced upon him: after much delay this proposal was unfolded by him in person to the Resident. It was that he had entertained for some time "an earnest desire to relinquish a Government which he could not manage with satisfaction to himself or advantage to his subjects." This communication Col. Scott heard with pleasure, giving intimation of it, of course, as speedily as possible to the Governor-General. Lord Wellesely, however, with more keen-sighted policy, considered that if his Excellency could but be persuaded to renounce the civil and military administration of Oude in favor of the Company, it would be better far than an abdication,—more advantageous to the latter at least. This proposition, however, the Vizier would by no means agree to. He naturally asked, if he complied with His Lordship's wishes, how much

* Despatches, II. p. 134.

of his authority would descend to his successors, and being told that the scheme did not provide for a successor at all, he indignantly, and, as we conceive, naturally rejected it. His intention, so far as we can gather it from an attentive perusal of Col. Scott's despatches, in originally having made the proposal, appears to have been, not to renounce the sovereignty of Oude on behalf of himself and his family (if he could do so) for ever, but merely to shift the burden of government upon another, contenting himself with a private station and the enjoyment of his amassed wealth. When Lord Wellesley was informed, however, of the refusal of Saadut Ali to ratify the treaty proposed, he professed to consider his conduct as wholly indefensible, and "intended to defeat by artificial delays, the proposed reform of his Excellency's military establishments," * and again he writes that "he was extremely disgusted at the duplicity and insincerity which mark the conduct of the Nabob Vizier on the present occasion." This duplicity and insincerity may certainly have been exhibited in other transactions by the Vizier, but not, that we can discover, in that to which the above refers—his proposal of abdication in favor of his son. On these charges against this unfortunate Prince, Thornton is very wisely silent—he judiciously says in his very brief notice of the affair, "whether he had ever entertained any sincere intention of relinquishing it (the government of Oude) is a question on which it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion."

The Nabob Vizier being now understood to have refused both the propositions of the Governor-General, that is either to resign his civil and military power altogether, or to allow of such an augmentation of his forces as would be likely to render Oude secure in the case of the threatened invasion by Zeman Shah, Lord Wellesley resolved to force the latter measure upon him, whether he agreed to it or not. The march of the troops intended to occupy that country was therefore ordered forthwith. This was on the 31st August, 1800. The Vizier protested against the measure, and the Governor-General was again angry at his protest. The troops were marched on, but no funds were forthcoming from the Vizier for their maintenance. After much delay, and a most voluminous correspondence, he at length acceded to the disbanding of his forces, a measure which the Resident and those acting with him performed with consummate ability—no disturbance of any kind resulting from a measure which the Vizier considered would plunge his country into "a sea of troubles." The funds derivable from this measure, however, were not found

* Despatches, II., p. 199.

to be so great as was anticipated, and the Vizier at length declared his utter inability to afford sufficient for the maintenance of the European squadrons. This declaration once made, it was immediately seized upon by the Governor-General as a reason for insisting upon the performance of the second alternative which had been submitted to his Excellency—"you will require his Excellency," were the orders given to the Resident in January 1801, "to make a cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories, as shall be fully adequate, in their present impoverished condition, to defray these indispensable charges." The portion thus marked out comprised the Doab and Rohilcund, with Azimghur and Goruckpore, if the former should be found insufficient; that is, nearly two-thirds of the Vizier's entire dominions.

This cession, it is not to be supposed, that the Vizier would readily agree to, and he accordingly endeavored to ward off, for a time at least, if he could not entirely avert the evil by correspondence. This correspondence continued till June 1801, when the Vizier communicated directly to the Governor-General a number of proposals as conditions on which he should agree to the sacrifice required. These, however, did not meet Lord Wellesley's approval, and he accordingly replied that he had demanded this territorial security "as a matter of right and justice, which required no correspondent concession on the part of the Company." For many months after this the negotiation "dragged its slow length along," without anything decisive occurring—the Vizier declaring that unless the Governor-General granted the concessions he demanded, he would not give up so large a share of his territories, and the Governor-General urging upon him the necessity of compliance and submission.

At length Lord Wellesley, who was then on a journey through the Upper Provinces, sent his brother. Mr. Henry Wellesley,* to Lucknow to conclude the negotiation. On the 5th September that gentleman met the Vizier, and informed him of the fixed determination of the Governor-General to proceed with the measure which had been commenced, in defiance of every obstacle. At length in November of the same year, a treaty was concluded on the terms desired by the British rule. The Vizier, by this engagement, bound himself "to cede territory yielding one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, including expenses of collection, in commutation of all claims upon the British Government, and he in return was released from all future demands on account of the protection of Oude or its dependencies.

* Subsequently Lord Cowley.

On the 10th January 1802 the Governor-General was met at Cawnpore by the Vizier, who conducted him to Lucknow, where several minor matters, relating particularly to the better government of the territories still left to the tender mercies of the Vizier's government, were decided. A commission was also formed, about the same time, for the settlement of the ceded provinces, at the head of which Mr. H. Wellesley was placed—the abilities which he had displayed in the negotiation, having satisfied his brother the Marquess, that the settlement of the country could not be placed in more able hands. To this appointment the Court of Directors objected as being a virtual supercession of the rights of their civil service, an objection which was immediately overruled, however, by the Board of Control. In the course of this settlement the relationship in which the Nabob of Furruckabad stood to the Company came naturally under consideration. This Prince had annually paid to the Vizier a stipulated tribute, in consideration of which the latter sovereign defended his dominions and supplied him with soldiers. This tribute being transferred to the Company, Mr. Wellesley conceived it would be greatly to the advantage of the Government which he served, if the Nabob would transfer to him all his civil and military jurisdiction, a portion of the revenues of the district, sufficiently ample, being reserved for the Nabob's private use. To this arrangement the Nabob was unwilling to agree, but Mr. Wellesley pressed the matter, and he at length "reluctantly yielded." "It is to be wished," says Mr. Thornton, "that the transfer had been effected in a less summary way."*

We have now seen the attention of the indefatigable Governor-General directed during the same period to Surat in the West, Tanjore in the South, and Oude in the North, whilst he was planning extensive reforms also in Bengal, but these labours and topics, great as they were, were not the only ones which occupied his mind. Equally formed to grasp the most extensive subject in all its magnificence and entirety, or to pry into the details of the most complicated political mechanism, we have seen him on first approaching the shores of India, planning a great scheme of political action and diplomacy, whereby the dangers impending on British India might be averted, and the British power consolidated, whilst we have subsequently viewed him entering into every minutia of the progress of those great political schemes—the disbanding of the French corps at Hyderabad, the conquest of Mysore, the assumption of the civil and military

* Vol. III., p. 239.

power of Surat, the settlement of Oude. Differing as these various measures did in importance, in their effects, and in their nature, he neglected none of them—his "Despatches" remain an imperishable monument of the universality and greatness of his mental grasp, as they do also of the minuteness with which he entered into every question. We have now to view him providing against the incursion of Zeman Shah, by bringing another power into the field against him, whilst he was providing also against his appearance by the concentration of troops and settlement of territories in his own neighbourhood. We refer to his embassy to the Khan of Persia early in 1800, which was despatched from Bombay. Captain Malcolm, who had proved himself worthy of trust at Hyderabad, was chosen for this service, and acquitted himself in it with distinction. Before the close of 1800 a treaty was concluded with that Prince, by which he bound himself to renew his attack on Khorassan, and to prevent the establishment of the French on any portion of his dominions. This attack was the means of recalling Zeman Shah to his dominions, whilst the assistance given by the Persian ruler to Zeman's brother, kindled a civil war which ended in the elevation of the latter to the throne, and the dethronement of the boaster who was to drive the English from India.

During the same year the Marquess prepared an expedition, which was concentrated at Trincomalee, for the purpose of resisting any act of aggression on the part of the French in the East, or of repelling an attack on India itself, should such be contemplated. The Mauritius, he conceived, might with this force, be easily subdued, and thus great loss to the English commercial navy be prevented by occupying an island, whence numerous cruizers and privateers were continually despatched. To carry out this measure, the Governor-General requested the co-operation of Admiral Rainier, then commanding the British navy in the East, a co-operation which, to his surprise and disappointment, was refused, apparently on the ground that the Admiral had no orders from home to engage in such an expedition. The Marquess remonstrated, but without avail, and the expedition was accordingly sent to Egypt under General Baird to act against the French army there under Napoleon. It consisted of about a thousand Europeans, four thousand Native infantry, escorted by a squadron of Company's cruizers under Admiral Blankett. Thus, for the first time, were the natives of 'utmost Ind,' in co-operation with their European fellow subjects, brought to the banks of the Nile to do battle with the Gallic invaders of the East. Roman history tells us of no such event—it was reserved for that empire on which the sun never sets to embattle the Indian sepoy and the Briton

against the Frank, and that, too, in the land of the pyramids! The fate of Egypt, however, had been decided before the arrival of General Baird, so that a toilsome march through the desert and the heroic endurance of hardships, were the only claims which he had to military honors.

We have seen the Governor-General hitherto successful in every thing which he undertook, the course of his administration uniformly prosperous; when we are informed, therefore, that, on the first of January 1802, he intimated to the Court of Directors his desire to resign his high office at the end of that year, we must look for the causes of this announcement to something differing entirely from unsuccessful policy or disappointed ambition. His reasons for this announcement were not detailed in the despatch alluded to, but are to be found in a private letter to Mr. Addington, which has been prefixed to the 3rd volume of the Wellesley despatches. The causes there detailed, he enumerates under the three following heads—first, that the Court of Directors had manifested a want of confidence in his administration; secondly, that they had directly interfered "in several of the most important details of the local executive Government of India," by dismissing persons either directly appointed by Lord Wellesley, or whose appointment had met his approbation, and selecting others for their situations, "whose appointment" was "entirely contrary to his judgment"—the Court intimating further that they intended to pursue the same course subsequently, and thirdly, that the Directors had "positively disapproved" several measures of his administration and withholden its sanction from others. It would occupy too much of our limited space were we to enumerate the particular instances of the Court's opposition which are alluded to under the above heads. Suffice it to mention, the peremptory order to reduce the military strength of British India; the peremptory order to reduce the salaries and allowances of several officers which had been increased subsequently to the Mysore campaign, and amongst others those of the Marquess' brother, General Arthur Wellesley; the positive order to rescind Col. Kirkpatrick's appointment as secretary in the political department; the order to revise Col. Scott's appointment as resident at Lucknow "with a view to rescind it"; the peremptory order to appoint Mr. Speke, acting President of the Board of Trade, with the refusal to sanction the Governor-General's scheme regarding the College at Fort William, (full particulars of which have formerly appeared in this Review).* In answer to his application, the Court requested him to continue in office for another year, that is, till the beginning of 1804, "being persuaded that his Lordship

* See No. IX—Article 2—"The College of Fort William."

would be enabled, in the course of another season, to terminate with honor to himself and advantage to the Company, every measure of importance connected with their recent acquisition." The war with the Mahrattas, however, prevented his departure till the summer of 1805.

The rise and progress of the Mahratta power form one of the most deeply interesting chapters of Indian history—its later career was worthy of its origin, aggressive, turbulent, fearless and unreflecting. But the spirit which had animated the first energetic leader of the lawless bands of the Mahrattas had now died out in the Court of Púna and in the breast of the Peishwa; it was to be found only in the untameable ambition of a few predatory chiefs, whose personal daring and hazardous exploits emulated the fame and deeds of the founder of the Empire to which they nominally owed subjection. Harassed as the Peishwa was, however, by his turbulent and ambitious *subject* princes (as they nominally were), and feeble as the Court of Púna had become, still that sovereign was universally recognized by the native states of India and by the British Government as the head of the Mahrattan confederacy—if confederacy that collection of states can be called which was not united by any regular form, any system of constitutional laws, or of established treaties; whose only bonds of union lay in a vague and indefinite sense of common interest, the recollections of a common origin, the similarity of their civil and religious usages, and finally in their common habits of lawless depredation. In 1792 the Peishwa had materially benefitted by the partition of the conquered and ceded portions of Tippú's dominions, an opportunity of which Lord Cornwallis had availed himself to enter into an alliance with that Prince which was intended to be beneficial, of course, to British interests. Between the years 1792 and 98, however, the authority of the Peishwa had been so materially lessened by Scindia, one of his own military officers, that the latter may be said to have entirely usurped the Government, and thus frustrated any advantages which were expected from the treaty of Seringapatam. The power of Scindia was upheld by that kind of support of which the Mahrattas, better than any other people, understood, the influence, an army, the artillery and regular infantry of which had been trained by French officers—that of the Peishwa, by right and hereditary title, bases of sand or water in such a State as that. In the condition to which the latter Prince was thus reduced, Lord Wellesley conceived he saw the means of promoting British interests at Púna, if he could but persuade the Peishwa to accept the aid of a British force to reinstate him in his hereditary throne a lawful piece of diplomacy unquestionably, and in the subsequent development of which, we shall find little to censure. At the same time that overtures of this nature were

made to the nominal head, the real fountain of power was not forgotten. Propositions of the most amicable nature were offered to Scindia, which were, however, immediately rejected. To his influence also the Governor-General attributed the rejection of his offers to the Peishwa, and the breach of treaty by that Prince, in the last war with Mysore.* The circumstances which led the Governor-General to repeat his offers of assistance are thus detailed by himself:—

"The Mahratta states, unconnected with any European ally, could never become formidable to the British Government, excepting in the event of an actual union of the feudal chiefs of the empire, under an efficient sovereign power, or in the event of a revolution, which should unite the command of the resources of a large portion of the Mahratta territory, in the hands of an active and enterprising chief. Such events, however to be deprecated, might have been encountered without apprehension by the British Government, in the commanding position of its foreign relations, and in the vigorous condition of its internal resources and concentrated strength.

But it was obviously prudent to employ every endeavour to effect such an arrangement, as should preclude the union of the Mahratta state under any circumstances, which might menace interruption to the tranquillity of our possessions, or of those of our allies. With this view, it appeared to be expedient to receive under the protection of the general defensive system, of which the foundation was laid by the treaty with the Nizam concluded in 1800, such of the Mahratta states as might be disposed to enter into subsidiary engagements with the British Government: on this principal a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the Guikwar in 1802, the operation of which attached that state to the Company, and secured to the Company a valuable and important territorial establishment in the maritime province of Guzerat. The most effectual arrangement, however, for securing the British Government against any danger from the Mahratta states, appeared to be an intimate alliance with the acknowledged sovereign power of the Mahratta empire, founded upon principles, which should render the British influence and military force the main support of that power. Such an arrangement appeared to afford the best security for preserving a due balance between the several states constituting the confederacy of the Mahratta empire, as well as for preventing any dangerous union, or diversion of the resources of that empire.

It has always been a principal object of the British Government to prevent the sovereign power of the Mahratta state, or the power of any great branch of the Mahratta empire, from passing into the hands of France. While the views of the Government of France shall be directed to the establishment of its authority within the peninsula of Hindustan, it is manifestly the policy of the British Government to accomplish such a system of alliances with the powers of India, as may preclude the occurrence of those internal convulsions, which would afford to France the most favorable opportunity of effecting her ambitious purpose.

The disturbed state of the Mahratta empire would have afforded an advantageous opportunity to the Government of France, for the successful prosecution of its favorite object, of establishing a dominion within the peninsula of Hindustan, by the introduction of a military force, for the purpose of aiding the cause of one of the contending parties; and the views of France would have been materially favoured by the strength and efficiency of Monsieur Perron's force, established with a great territorial dominion

* See his views on the subject at length in his "Notes relative to the late transactions in the Mahratta Empire," an extract from which is given in the "Despatches," vol. iii, p. xxvi—xli.

extending towards the left bank of the Indus through the Punjab, and comprehending Agra, Delhi, and a large portion of the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, on the most vulnerable part of our north-western frontier of Hindustan; and holding the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Alum, (the deposed Mogul emperor,) in the most abject and degrading subjection."

In this position of affairs Lord Wellesley considered it no less desirable from policy than from prudence that the Peishwa should be induced, if possible, to place himself in such connexion with the British Government as would have preserved the influence of the former amongst the Mahratta chiefs, and insured that of the latter in the Court of Púna. This connexion the Peishwa resolutely prevented until circumstances compelled him in 1802 to throw himself upon the generosity of the British Goverment, and ask its aid to re-establish himself on his hereditary throne. These circumstances it shall now be our aim briefly to narrate.

The authority which Scindia possessed at Púna was extended over those parts of the Mahratta empire which will lingly acknowledged the superior autllority of the Peíshwa. Is a dispute respecting the sovereignty of a territory in Malwa between two brothers of the Holkar family, Scindia had exerted his authority to raise one of them Cashí Rao Holkar to the throne, in consequence, as it is said, of a bribe, variously stated at six and fifteen lakhs of rupees. The other brother he attacked with a military force and slew, dispersing his attendants, taking care however to obtain possession of his infant son Khundeh Rao as soon as born. Cashí Rao appears to have been a man of no energy or independence, and the consequence of these violent proceedings was that the Holkar estates were really administered by Scindia himself. Jeswunt Rao, an illigitimate brother of Cashí's, had espoused the cause of the slain aspirant to the throne, and after many romantic adventures, succeeded at length in collecting and disciplining a force by means of which he hoped to be able to reinstate the infant Khundeh on the throne. On the 14th October 1801, Scindia met him with a considerable force near Indore and completely defeated him; but Jeswunt was not to be extinguished by a single defeat. He employed himself in busily re-organizing and adding to his shattered force, changing the field of his operations from Malwa to Púna, and so effectually had he succeeded in regaining his power, that early in 1802, he was more formidable than he had ever been before.

In the meantime, the Peíshwa had been considering more favorably of the offer of Lord Wellesley, and consented to take six battalions of British troops into his service, proposing to

yield a territory, however, as security for the subsidy requisite, over which his authority was but nominal—a security which the Governor-General did not deem sufficient. The advance of Jeswunt Holkar to Púna, and his avowed determination of releasing the Peishwa from the authority of Scindia, and of placing Khundeh on the throne of Malwa, thoroughly alarmed the authorities there, but did not frighten the Peishwa into accepting the Governor-General's offer, until a battle had been fought in October, between the rival chieftains—Scindia and Holkar, in which the troops of Holkar were completely victorious. The Peishwa then fled with precipitation, sending his minister at the same time to the British Resident, Colonel Close, offering to cede to the Company territory in Guzerat, or the southern portion of his dominions, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-six lakhs for the subsidy. This was all that the Governor-General desired, and on the engagement being transmitted to him, he ratified it immediately.

Púna, in the meantime, had fallen into the hands of Holkar, who having failed in obtaining possession of the Peishwa, administered affairs in the name of Amrut Rao,* an adopted son of the Peishwa's father; whilst the fugitive Prince hastened to Ṣavendrúg, whence a British ship conveyed him to Bassein in the vicinity of Bombay, where he awaited the answer of the Governor-General to his engagement. Colonel Close followed the Peishwa to ratify the proposed treaty as speedily as circumstances would permit. On the 6th December, the Governor-General's approbation of the Peishwa's offers was received, and on the 31st of the same month, the important treaty of Bassein was concluded. It consisted of nineteen articles,† of which we shall only notice the more important, and that as briefly as possible.

The first and second clauses declare perpetual peace between the two contracting powers, the British Government engaging to defend the rights and territories of the Peishwa, from all acts of unprovoked hostility and aggression, for which purpose, in the third article, the Company agrees to give, and the Peishwa to receive, a "permanent subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular native infantry, with the usual proportion of field pieces, and European artillerymen attached," which force, it was added, was to be stationed in perpetuity in his Highness' territories. For the support of this force, certain portions of

*Amrut Rao he nominated Regent for his son Vinayak Rao, who was raised to the Musnud.

† It will be found by the student entire in the Wellesley "Despatches," vol. iii, p. 627.

his dominions, estimated to produce twenty-six lakhs, were made over by the Peishwa in the 4th, 5th and 6th articles. Then followed sundry stipulations relative to the manner in which the promised territories were to be ceded, and the employment of the subsidiary force which the Peishwa required. In the eleventh article, it was stipulated that any Europeans in the service of the Peishwa belonging to a State with which the British nation might be at war, should be dismissed from such service and not allowed to reside in the Peishwa's dominions, so soon as it should be proved that these persons entertained hostile feelings, or had entered into intrigues hostile to the British nation. The succeeding clauses prohibited the Peishwa from committing any act of aggression against the Company's allies or dependants, whilst he was to accept of, and abide by, the Company's mediation in his disputes with various native powers specified. Such were the principal stipulations in the celebrated treaty of Bassein, a treaty unquestionably of the utmost importance to the British Government in India, securing as it did, their supremacy and influence in a State, which circumstances, neither improbable nor remote, might have made one of the most formidable, as it certainly was, one of the most turbulent, with which that Government would have to deal.

The reinstatement of the Peishwa upon the throne at Púna, and the ratification of friendly treaties with Scindia or Holkar, were now the principal objects of the British ruler. To accomplish the latter, negotiations were commenced with the former chieftain intended to gain his amicable consent to the arrangements entered into with the Peishwa, and to induce him to become a party to the system of defensive alliance, whilst Holkar was informed of the treaty and requested to allow its peaceful fulfillment.* To this policy the keen observer cannot but attribute unqualified praise, whatever the snarling sarcasms of hostile criticism may insinuate, for it certainly was the wisest course which the Governor-General could pursue, not precipitately to bring the contest between Scindia and Holkar to a close by abruptly marching troops against them, but to gain, if possible, the friendship of one or both. The evasive answers of Scindia to the requests made, and the exorbitant demands of Holkar, the satisfaction of which, he said, would alone induce him to meet the wishes of the British Government, were sufficient to weary out the most patient, and to irritate the most forbearing Troops were accordingly marched from all quarters upon Púna

* These negotiations did not delay for a single day, however, the reinstatement of the Peishwa, on his throne at Púna.

The Nizam's contingent reached the western frontier of the Nizam's territories, one hundred and sixteen miles from the Peishwa's capital, on the 25th March 1803. Major-General Wellesley advanced from the south, with a considerable British force, aided by two thousand five hundred of the Rajah of Mysore's horse, and, on the 15th, affected a junction with the Nizam's contingent. On the 20th, by a forced march with his cavalry, this enterprising General (whose deeds were so soon to pronounce him, what his European campaigns subsequently confirmed, the first of modern tacticians) was seen before Púna, which, it is said, the Commander of Holkar's forces there had orders to destroy before letting it fall into the hands of the British. Púna was preserved, the family of the Peishwa recovered, and that Prince reinstated on his hereditary throne. Such was the opening scene of the great drama which was now to be enacted on the Mahratta territories; the Wellesleys, Scindia, and Holkar the principal actors; all the world the spectators.

In the march of this force, and the reinstatement of the Peishwa upon the musnud, the Governor-General was far from anticipating the commencement of a long and bloody war. That the Mahratta chiefs, or at least the more powerful of them, would be far from being pleased with the stipulations of the treaty of Bassein, he was perfectly aware, but the Rajah of Berar he knew to be an indolent and pacific Prince, whose rights were not directly invaded by the treaty, and whom therefore he judged not likely to measure swords with the overpowering strength of British India, for a point of honor. Scindia and Holkar were at variance, and even if they united, their raw troops could not be expected long to stand before the valour of the British veterans, whilst they could each enjoy the government of their own territories, or their mutual war, without interference in consequence of the treaty of Bassein. Lord Wellesley's hopes of peace therefore were founded upon the friendship of the Peishwa, the apathy of the Rajah of Berar, and the prudence of the two hostile leaders, Scindia and Holkar; but he was deceived—the "friendship" of the Peishwa had been better designated by the name of enmity, the "apathy" of the Rajah by that of unreflecting resentment, and the "prudence" of the rival chiefs by that of rashness. It is easy for the historian *now* to say that his expectation of peace was folly; his only error was in believing that the Mahratta chiefs would act as prudence dictated that they should act.

The refusal of Scindia to give his consent to the treaty of Bassein, the gradual approach of that chieftain and the Rajah of

Berar towards each other, and the opening up of communications between them and Holkar, all tended to dissipate the dreams of peace which had for some months occupied the Governor-General's mind, and bade him prepare for war. This he did with his characteristic energy and ability. On the 28th June, General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, then on the northern frontier, was instructed to put the army under his command in a state of preparation for the field, with as little delay as possible, whilst General Wellesley in the south was to advance upon the territories of Scindia to the south of the Godavery. These measures of course were not taken until it was plainly apparent that the discontented chieftains were determined to resist the operation of the treaty of Bassein by force. With his characteristic comprehensiveness of design, the Marquess determined, as war was now inevitable, not to sheathe the sword until such a settlement was affected "as should afford a reasonable prospect of continued peace and security to the British Government and its allies." For this purpose the plan of operations in the north was constituted to accomplish two great military and two political ends—that in the south a great political object and two conquests. "The first of the military objects was to conquer the whole of that portion of Scindia's dominions, which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna; destroying completely the French force" under General Perron, "by which that district was protected; extending the Company's frontier to the Jumna, and including the cities of Delhi and Agra, with a chain of posts, sufficient for protecting the navigation of the river, on the right bank of the Jumna." The second was the annexation of Bundelcund. The political objects were, first, the possession of the unfortunate Shah Alum, and his nominal authority as the Mogul, now in the hands of General Perron, and the extension to the minor Mahratta states of his subsidising military system. On the south General Wellesley was to defeat Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, thereby protecting the Company's territories and the Governments of the Nizam, the Peishwa and the Guikwar. The two conquests to be made on this side were the extensive province of Cuttack from the Rajah of Berar, which would connect Bengal with the Northern Circars, and the port of Baroach from Scindia, with its contiguous district on the coast of Guzerat. Such were the great objects to which the unprovoked war so madly entered upon by the combined chiefs, were to be made subservient! Such the comprehensive ends which the statesman-like mind of a Wellesley saw might be effected when the sword was once drawn! But thus is it ever with genius—the seeming obstructions that start up in its path

are but made the stepping-stones to aims which it had scarcely dared to hope previously might sometime be effected.

It is not our intention, as it would not comport with our limited space, to enter upon a detailed account of the military operations carried on respectively by Generals Lake and Wellesley. A brief notice of the advance of each, however, and at least the names of the battles fought, will be necessary to the due understanding of the Governor-General's subsequent measures. On the 4th June General Wellesley, with a force of about 9,000 men, advanced from Púna to attack Scindia's fort of Ahmednuggur. His progress was impeded by the weather, so that it was not till the 8th of August that he summoned the Killedar of the fort to a surrender. The summons was disregarded, and the Pettah was taken by force next day. On the 10th a small battery was opened upon the fort, and on the 12th it was surrendered. The possession of Ahmednuggur left the whole of Scindia's territories south of the Godavery at the mercy of the British. On the 29th of the same month the fort of Baroach was taken, after a vigorous resistance by Colonel Woodington, acting under the orders of the General. Advancing from Ahmednuggur the British Commander was informed that Scindia and the Rajah of Berar had entered the territories of the Nizam, and were pushing on with a considerable force of cavalry, it was supposed to attack Hyderabad. General Wellesley moved with his force, now diminished by garrisons and losses to about half its previous number, so as to counteract them, and on the 21st September, communicated with Col. Stephenson, who commanded the Nizam's contingent and horse, when a plan was concerted to attack the combined force at Bokerdun on the morning of the 24th. The force which the British General thus decided to attack had been increased a few days before by a large body of infantry under Colonel Pohlman, a French man—no effort having been made apparently on the other side to prevent this junction, a circumstance which strikes us as extraordinary. On the morning of the 23rd, Gen. Wellesley arrived at Naulniah by the eastern route round the hills between Budnapur and Jalna, expecting Colonel Stephenson next day by the western. When there, however, the General heard that the cavalry of the enemy were moving off and the infantry about to follow; he therefore resolved on immediately attacking them as they stood, their cavalry resting on Bokerdun, their infantry on Assye.* The battle which followed

* Thornton says, "it turned out that the information upon which the plan had been arranged had deceived the commander," and subsequently "misinformation brought the battle prematurely on."—Vol. iii., p. 327 and 330. General Wellesley, in his despatch to the Governor-General from the field of battle, writes: "I found the whole combined army encamped on the bank of the Raitna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed that they occupied."—Wellesley Despatches, iii, p. 324.

has long been matter of history, and has afforded much ground for comment—it was bravely fought, and won, with much bloodshed, by the handful of troops which the General commanded; ninety pieces of cannon being left in the hands of the British. "This victory," said their illustrious commander, "which was certainly complete, has cost us dear."

On Colonel Stephenson joining Wellesley on the 24th, he was despatched in pursuit of the defeated host. The latter body proceeded westward, apparently threatening Púna. To prevent any attack on that quarter, General Wellesley remained himself in the south, ordering Stephenson to the north to attack Burhanpore and Assirghur. This threatened attack Scindia moved to the northward to prevent, whilst the Rajah marched towards Chandore. To oppose Scindia, General Wellesley was again obliged to make a harrassing march to the northward, and when Scindia's object had been defeated, he again came southward, passing Aurungabad on the 29th October. Stephenson's force had been completely successful—Burhanpore had been evacuated by the enemy on his approach, and on the 21st of the same month, Assirghur, "the key of Dekhan," surrendered, with all Scindia's dominions in that province. Thence this division proceeded to Berar, threatening Gawilghur, the principal fortress of the Rajah. This movement the Rajah marched to counteract—Wellesley advancing also, to support Colonel Stephenson's detachment. On the 29th November the two divisions of the British army united, taking up a position, six miles from the Rajah's force, which was posted on the plains of Argaum. On being apprised of the proximity of the enemy, the British General, with that characteristic intrepidity and confidence which so eminently distinguished all his campaigns, whether in India or in Europe, resolved to attack them immediately. The battle of Argaum was fought in the evening and resulted in the complete defeat of the Rajah's force; thirty-eight pieces of cannon remaining in the hands of the assailants. In consequence of this success no time was lost in investing Gawilghur, which was reached after a very toilsome march through the mountains, and taken on the 14th December, after a hard-fought and desperate struggle, in which the bravery and courage of the British forces were especially notable. Thus were the operations against Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in the South completely successful, nor were those conducted by the Commander-in-Chief in the north less able in their progress or satisfactory in their results.

On the 7th August General Lake broke up from Cawnpore, intending directly to attack General Perron, the French officer in Scindia's service formerly mentioned, who, in consequence of his chief's protracted absence at Púna, had acquired and

assumed sovereign power and state in northern Hindustan. On the morning of the 29th the British troops entered the Mahratta territory—Perron having drawn up his troops apparently waiting for the conflict in a strong position near Alyghur. On the approach of the British cavalry, however, the French force speedily retreated, leaving the town of Coel in possession of the attacking force. Preparations were then made for attacking the fortress of Alyghur, which were protracted, however, for a few days to try the effects of negotiation and bribery. These proving unsuccessful, an assault was determined on, and on the 4th September, after a very severe engagement, Alyghur was taken by storm. A vast quantity of military stores, and two hundred and eighty-one pieces of cannon thus fell into the hands of the British. The fall of Alyghur was speedily followed by Perron's surrender to the Commander-in-Chief, a circumstance caused, not so much by the progress of the British arms, as by the loss of Scindia's favor and the unfaithfulness of the French General's subordinates. The indecision and apparent pusillanimity of Perron, however, had not been communicated to Bourquin, one of his generals of division. On the 11th of September that officer met General Lake, about six miles from Delhi, and there took up his position with such judgment and skill, that it was not until the British commander had drawn him from his advantageous post by a stratagem, that victory declared for the forces of the Company. This was the final blow to French power on the Jumna: three days after the battle, Bourquin and four other French officers surrendered themselves to the British.

The conquerors lost no time in advancing to Delhi, where they were joyously received by the heir of the Moguls—the unfortunate and aged Shah Allum, who, in all the misery of helplessness and blindness, had dragged on a wretched existence subject to the power of Scindia and his French generals. The contrast between the former state and present condition of the Mogul Emperors is thus eloquently described by Thornton :—

"The triumph of the British arms under General Lake opened a new scene Immediately after the battle the Emperor had despatched a message to the victorious commander, offering the monarch's congratulations and soliciting protection. An appropriate answer was returned; and on the 16th of September the heir of Timur, so long the victim of adverse fortune, seated in the capital of his ancestors, gave audience to the English general. In that place his predecessors clothed in the most gorgeous productions of the loom, had sat upon thrones formed of gold, and made radiant by a dazzling profusion of the most costly jewels. Around them had stood hundreds of obsequious guards and dependents, waiting in mute and watchful attention the expression of their sovereign's will and ready to give it effect as soon as uttered; while vassals from distant countries, or their representatives, tendered respectful homage to the lord of the faithful throughout India, and wooed his favour by presents worthy of his rank. Far different was the scene which met the eye of the British general and his

attendants. Beneath a small and ragged canopy, the appearance of which seemed a mockery of regal state, sat one whose age exceeded that usually attained by man, but in whose appearance the operation of time was less apparent than that of long and hopeless misery. Eighty-three years had passed over his head, and they had been filled with trouble and sorrow. While his name was held in reverence throughout India, his life had been passed amid poverty, danger, and suffering, and all around him at this moment indicated the most wretched destitution. But there was one element of misery greater than all. The light of heaven, the common source of enjoyment to the prosperous and the wretched, shone not for him—the face of nature was to him a blank. The miserable satisfaction of contrasting the appearance of all things around him then with former scenes was denied him. Strangers from a far distant country stood before him—in their hands was his fate—they addressed to him words of sympathy, and kindness, and comfort, but he could not read in their countenances a confirmation of the friendly language which fell on his ear. Poor, dependent, aged, infirm, and sightless, the head of the empire illustrated in his person the widespread ruin which had overwhelmed the empire itself."

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony to hold Delhi with a competent force, the Commander-in-Chief next directed his attention to Agra, which he reached on the 4th of October. Here a sharp conflict awaited the British troops in the town and principal mosque (which were occupied by seven battalions of regular infantry) ere approaches could be made to the fort. On the 10th an attack was made upon this force which was perfectly successful, and with all the fickleness of Asiatics, no sooner had these battalions been defeated, than they transferred their services to the British commander. Seven days subsequently the fort surrendered, a practicable breach having been opened in its ramparts.

Of all the regular forces of Scindia in this part of India there remained now fifteen regular battalions untouched which had been sent to the north by him early in the campaign, and two others which had joined these from Delhi. They were occupying a situation near Laswarri, about thirty miles north-east of Agra, and, from their excellent artillery, were an object of considerable apprehension to the Commander-in-Chief. He resolved, therefore, to march against them at once, a project which he put into execution at the end of October. Arriving first with his cavalry, although he found them strongly entrenched, he resolved to attack them at once with that arm, aided by his mounted artillery. No impression could be made, however, upon the well-appointed and compact masses of the Mahrattas, until the arrival of the infantry, when a hard-fought battle, with severe loss, gave victory at last to the British. "I never," wrote General Lake to Marquess Wellesley, "I never was in so severe a business in my life, or any thing like it, and pray to God, I never may be in such a situation again;" and again, "I think, without exception, yesterday was the most anxious day I ever experienced, for had we been beaten by these brigades, the conseqences attending such

a defeat must have been most fatal. These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes, and had we not made a disposition for attack in a style that we should have done against the most formidable army that we could have been opposed to, I verily believe from the position they had taken, we might have failed."* These assertions of the General will serve to give some idea of the terrible nature of the battle of Laswarri which our limits compel us thus cursorily to notice. It was, in its results, however completely successful, all the enemy's battalions were cut up or taken, and seventy guns captured, with all their baggage and ammunition.

Thus, after a struggle of three months, of which the concluding blow was the most desperate, fell the dominions of Scindia upon the Jumna, with the seat of the Mogul, into the hands of the British. General Lake's progress had been one of uninterrupted success, a success, so easily obtained in the first part of the compaign, that his conduct in the battle of Laswarri may be justly accused of rashness, but as that battle was the one in which he was most near to being defeated, so was it that also which entailed the greatest loss on the enemy, and which was far the most decisive in its results.

We now return to General Wellesley's operations in the south. The battle of Argaum gained, that intrepid chief had invested and taken, as we have said, with considerable difficulty the fortress of Gawilghur. These two successes following so rapidly upon each other, at length aroused the Mahratta chiefs to a sense of the necessity of making peace if they wished any portion of territory to remain to them, and accordingly, the Rajah of Berar lost no time in concluding a separate treaty with the British General, who for this purpose, had been armed with plenipotentiary powers. General Wellesley was not a man to be tampered with by Mahratta trickery, and he plainly told the ministers of the Rajah what concessions would satisfy the British Government, and that these *must* be made faithfully and truly, or he should proceed conquering. On one occasion when the Vakil of the Rajah had exclaimed against the exorbitance of these demands, the General coolly replied that "the Rajah was a great politician; that he ought to have better calculated his chances of success before he began the war, but that having commenced it, it was proper, he should suffer, before he should get out of the scrape." The Mahratta was convinced at length that with such an unbending character, diplomacy, however cunning, was useless, and on the 17th December 1803, a treaty was concluded, by which the Rajah yielded to his conquerors the province of Cuttack with Balasore, together with all the territories of which he had collected the revenues in conjunction with the

* Wellesley Despatches, Vol., III., p. 41.

Subadhar of the Dekhan, westward of the Wurdah. He was further to renounce all claims on the territories of the Company or its allies, and to admit of the mediation of the former in any disputes with the latter. Further he was to take into his service no French or Americans, nor any Europeans without the consent of the Company.

This important treaty concluded, and the whole force of Berar thus detached from the alliance, Scindia could have little prospect of success. He was therefore anxious to conclude a treaty also with the British General, but was at least equally anxious also to avoid the concession which the conquerors were determined to extort. At length by the 30th, his consent was reluctantly obtained to all the stipulations deemed necessary, and on that day, the treaty was signed, by which he lost the greater part of his dominions. By this agreement he ceded all his rights of sovereignty in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to the northward of the territories belonging to the Rajahs of Jeypúr, Judepúr and Gohud, with each of whom subsequent treaties were concluded; he ceded the fort and territory of Baroach, which were retained by the British, as well as those of Ahmednugger, which they gave to the Peishwa; the territory between the Adjunti hills and the Godavery, which Scindia gave up by this treaty, the British transferred to the Nizam, as well as the territory to the westward of the Wurdah obtained from Berar; lastly, Scindia renounced all claims upon Shah Allum, upon the British Government, or its allies the Subadhar, the Peishwa, and the Guikwar. Certain lands belonging to the family of Scindia in the districts by this treaty ceded to the British, it was stipulated, should still remain in their former occupancy, whilst pensions allotted by this chief to his dependants derived from simlar land, were confirmed to the extent of seventeen lakhs of rupees a year. On the whole, then, we can scarcely allow that he was treated with any extraordinary severity in the treaty under consideration: he had voluntarily drawn his sword against the British power; he had been totally defeated, and lay at the mercy of that power; a great portion of his territories was certainly taken from him, but the whole lay at the mercy of his conquerors, so that instead of bewailing their rapacity, he should rather, we conceive, have applauded their clemency.

Two months subsequently, on the 27th February 1804, a supplementary treaty to the former was concluded with Scindia, intended to place him in a situation capable of opposing Holkar, if necessary, to whose movements and projects our attention must be speedily directed. By this agreement the British Gov-

vernment was to supply Scindia with a force of 6,000 infantry, and the usual proportion of artillery, the expense of which was to be defrayed from the resources of the ceded districts, whilst it was expressly stipulated by that crafty chieftain, and agreed to by the British General, that this force was not to be stationed within his territory, evidently with the intention that it might not there acquire influence. The policy of these concessions by Colonel Wellesley. has been applauded by various writers, and was not certainly impugned by the Governor-General; we must confess to not seeing in it, however, either prudence or wisdom. Scindia was very much reduced, it is true, and may have been inferior to Holkar in strength, but in what lay the necessity of putting them on a footing of equality? Besides, was it not known previously that they had hushed up their mutual grounds of quarrel, in order to act together against the British, and why might they not do so again? And, if such a contingency was, however distantly, to be apprehended, would it not be impolitic to make one of the parties stronger than he would otherwise be? Again it was argued that Scindia was now poor and could not support this force from his own resources—this fact granted, we conceive, proves more convincingly the ease with which his future enmity might have been frustrated did he really want the force, by its being insisted on that it should be quartered in his territories.

Thus, by the able movements and masterly operations of Lake in the north, and Wellesley in the south, was peace re-established, a peace which the Governor-General fondly hoped would be, if not perpetual, at least, prolonged. The Peishwa had been restored to his throne, and to a *nominal* sovereignty, the British Government obtaining the *reality*—the Rajah of Berar had been convinced of his own impotence, and an extensive and valuable province of his kingdom added to the British possessions—the French force threatening the north-western frontier had been destroyed, and the seat of the Moguls transferred to the British—Scindia, the crafty, proud and energetic Prince, who had been so long accustomed to success, that he believed he had for ever parted company with defeat, had been humbled—his finest provinces, his strongest fortresses had been torn from his iron grip, and a force granted to *protect* him by that power in which he thought it was presumption ere while to conclude a treaty with the Peishwa without his consent. Besides all this, too, the Nizam had gained extensive territories, and the Peishwa's dominions had been strengthened and increased—so that the greatest of the British allies shared in the consequences of their success. Reflecting on all that had been

done, then, we can scarcely wonder that the Marquess Wellesley now anticipated a prolonged peace—an anticipation, which, however reasonable, was destined to be disappointed.

Hitherto we have seen the British arms triumphant in every serious encounter with the Mahrattas. We have now, however, to view a new phase of this strange, eventful history, and to behold those arms lately so victorious, sullied by defeat and tarnished by flight.

Jeswunt Rao Holkar, we have said, was a party to the alliance between Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in the late war. He had not given these chiefs, however, any effectual assistance in consequence of the panic produced by the battle of Assye, at its very commencement. In December 1803 Holkar, with his army, took up a positon threatening the allies of the British, and commenced a series of depredations to which the latter were not disposed to submit, however much they might be the practice of his nation. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, on the conclusion of the war just narrated, did not disband his army, but kept it at Agra ready for operations, if such should prove necessary. A correspondence commenced between the two leaders in January 1804, which led to no satisfactory results —General Lake requiring that Holkar should retire to his own dominions, or at least to those of his family which he claimed, whilst that chief in return made demands so exorbitant the price of his compliance as entirely to preclude any probability of a settlement. Under these circumstances there was no resource but for the British Government to compel a retreat, and this the Commander-in-Chief, under instructions from the Governor-General, marched to effect in the month of April.

We have already noticed the progress of an unpolitic and vain confidence in the breast of General Lake, which had nearly been the cause of a defeat at Laswarri. This overweening reliance in British resources, and undue contempt for those of their enemies, had been gradually developing themselves in the Commander-in-Chief's mind from the first period of his first advance into the Mahratta territories, and a considerable portion of the disasters which we have now to record, may, we conceive, be traced to the consequences of this folly.

The territories of the Rajah of Jynaghur being threatened by Holkar's position, General Lake sent a detachment of three battalions under Colonel Monson of H. M. 76th Regt. to protect them. The approach of this force caused Holkar to suspend his depredations and retreat rapidly to the south. Colonel Monson pursued, the Commander-in-Chief advancing also in his rear.

On the 10th May a happy omen of future success attended the British in the capture of the fort of Tonk Rampúra, by Colonel Don, dispatched from the main body for that purpose—an omen, however, which subsequent events unfortunately belied. The flight of Holkar, for it can scarcely be called a retreat, was rapid in the extreme, so much so, indeed, that the Commander-in-Chief became weary of pursuing so despicable a "freebooter," and accordingly marched back his troops into quarters, leaving Monson to guard against Holkar's return, with whom it was expected that Colonel Murray from Guzerat, acting under General Wellesley's orders, would co-operate. It has been asserted that this retreat of General Lake was necessitated by the sufferings his army endured in consequence of the hot winds, but if so, how were Colonels Monson and Murray, with their detachments, expected to survive them? The fact was, General Lake despised Holkar's force too much, and believed Monson's detachment alone more than a match for him.*

The first reverses experienced were in the newly-acquired province of Bundelcund, where one of Holkar's generals fell suddenly upon two companies of British sepoys and artillerymen, whom he completely destroyed, taking their guns and tumbrils. In the meantime Holkar continued retreating and Monson advancing—the latter having been considerably reinforced. Kotah and the pass of Mokundra were successively passed by both armies, and on the 1st of July the British leader attacked and took the strong fortress of Hinglaisghur, one of the oldest possessions of Holkar's family. About fifty miles in advance of the Mokundra pass, whither Monson now proceeded, he expected to get supplies and to communicate with Colonel Murray, whom he supposed to be advancing from Guzerat to Oujein. The supplies, however, were not forthcoming in the abundance which he had anticipated, and Murray had formed the extraordinary resolution of retreating behind the Mahie river, and was now actually falling back for that purpose. This posture of affairs was doubtless what Holkar was waiting for. Like the wary tiger he had been but flying to entice his enemy into toils whence he could not extricate himself, and was now preparing for a fatal spring. When Murray resolved on retreating, he was in Malwa, at the other side of the Chumbul river. This he now re-crossed with his army and confronted Monson. The British officer resolved to retreat to the Mokundra pass, instead of measuring swords with the

* See his letter to the Governor-General, dated July 21, 1804. Wellesley Despatches, IV, 178.

Mahratta "freebooter," as General Lake was fond of styling him. Two reasons induced him to take this step: first, a scarcity of grain, and secondly, the absence of two detachments of his force, one gone for a supply, and another advancing from Hinglaisghur. On the 8th before daybreak he commenced his retreat —a retreat as impolitic and unwise as had been his advance— leaving his cavalry on the ground he had occupied, with orders to follow in half an hour. When he had advanced twelve miles on the road, intelligence was brought that the cavalry left behind had been cut to pieces by Holkar's. On the 9th he reached the Mokundra pass in safety. On the 10th the Mahratta army made its appearance, and on the 11th Holkar summoned Colonel Monson to surrender. This modest request was of course refused and an attack from the enemy was the result, which was bravely repulsed. The British leader, however, felt no return of confidence in his own resources in consequence of this success. Next morning he was on the road to Kotah, were he hoped to obtain shelter and provisions—leaving his camp standing to deceive the enemy.

The retreat of a dispirited army in the midst of severe rain and overinundated roads, with a powerful enemy in its rear, was not calculated to win to it many friends or to confirm the wavering in their allegiance. Arrived, after enduring numerous hardships at Kotah, the Rajah told Colonel Monson that he had no provisions and could not admit him into the town. Without food or rest or hope therefore this disastrous retreat was to be continued—the heavens still conspiring to render it more toilsome and gloomy by repeated deluges of rain. On the 15th, scarcely a week after the foolish and vain-glorious advance, the guns were obliged to be abandoned, and the march was continued over a country completely covered with water. At length the Chumbul was reached and re-crossed, the two armies having exactly reversed their situation since they had last forded it—Monson now flying, and Holkar pursuing. On the 29th the British force reached Tonk Rampúra, where it was joined by a reinforcement of two battalions and some artillery, and where Monson, by his delaying, appeared to have decided on making a stand, as he certainly might have done. But no! retreat, retreat was still the cry the moment the enemy made his appearance, and whilst the Commander-in-Chief, with that supercilious contempt of his enemy which led to so many disasters, was writing to the Governor-General that Holkar's "insolence" was "abominable!" and that he would not easily "get his cavalry again to attack British infantry."* that "freebooter" was driving before him with pre-

* Despatches IV, p. 178.

cipitate and headlong haste the force which had been intended to "crush him."

On the 22nd of August Colonel Monson reached the Banas river, which was found unfordable for two days, an interval which gave the Mahrattas time to approach. They were again beaten off, however, and the river crossed on the 24th with the loss of the British baggage, whilst no attempt whatever appears to have been made to prevent the passage of the enemy. On the night of the 28th Rúshailghur was reached, where the British leader met with convincing proofs of Scindia's hostility in an attack from a portion of his troops. Disasters were now thickening round this devoted army: the want of resolution in their leader, the strength of their enemy's cavalry, the defection of their friends, the loss of their artillery, the inclemency of the weather, all combined to depress their spirits and cut off all chance of ultimate safety. At Rúshailghur two companies of infantry and four hundred horse deserted to the enemy—on the 28th all order on the march was lost,—numbers perished—and, by the 30th of August, all who had escaped the enemy, arrived at Agra. Such was the consummation of Holkar's "abominable insolence!"

The consequences of this most disastrous retreat were serious and lamentable. By the successes of the British troops in the Dekhan and Hindustan during the previous war with Scindia and Berar, the Native Princes had been convinced of the superiority of the British power to any forces which they could bring into the field—battle after battle had been won, fortress after fortress had been taken; however numerous the enemy, however strongly fortified the place of refuge, success attended the British arms with uniformity, and seemed stamped upon their banner. But how easy is the work of destruction, how difficult that of construction! A maniac may, in playful or malicious madness, destroy the monument of architecture which was reared by genius and labor, and has stood for centuries! One year of impolicy, imbecility or irresolution may irreparably injure the political fabric which it has taken a hundred years to consolidate! and so the *prestige* which a hundred victories has scarcely sufficed to confirm may be shaken or destroyed by one signal reverse. So was it in the present instance. Scindia and the petty chiefs on the borders of the British territories began now to look again with hope for a restoration of lost power, and where fear and humility formerly prevailed, resolution and defiance were now to be met. The influence acquired by the victories of Assye, Argaum, Gawilghur, Delhi, Agra and Laswarri had well nigh been destroyed by the fatal consequences of Lake's vain confidence and Monson's temerity—that unfortunate retreat.

Immediate measures were taken by the British authorities to put matters on a different footing and to check the "abominable insolence" of Holkar. An army equipped for light movements was assembled by the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore, and marched against Holkar on the 3rd of September. On the 22nd, it had arrived at Agra, another portion of the army of Hindustan being posted at Secundra, only six miles distant. On the advance of the British forces towards Muttra early in October, Holkar drew off to the north-west along the bank of the Jumna, the Commander-in-Chief using his utmost exertions to bring the enemy to action, but without effect. Holkar not only knew when to strike, but when to retreat also. Whilst this distinguished "freebooter" was gradually leading the British general to the north-west, he had despatched his infantry and artillery to surprise Delhi, then defended by a small force of about 800 men under Colonel Ochterlony, the Resident. General Lake had ordered that in case of an attack, the city should be deserted and the citadel alone defended, an order which Ochterlony promptly gave to the Commandant, Colonel Burn, on the appearance of Holkar's immense force. But that brave officer declared that the city also should be defended, extensive as it was, dilapidated as was the surrounding wall, and small as was the force to defend it. For nine days did this small band (some companies of which were in a state bordering on open mutiny,) with its gallant officers withstand the attack of 20,000 of Holkar's best troops, backed by the cannonade of 100 guns. The Mahrattas were foiled and retired from Delhi in disgrace—the British troops, in this gallant defence, proved that the valour and ability which had heretofore guided their arms had not yet fled, and that they were still the men who had fought at Plassy, at Assye, and at Laswarri.

General Lake reached Delhi on the 18th of October, where he remained till the 31st, a period which Holkar busily employed in laying waste the newly-acquired British provinces between the Jumna and the Ganges. On the 31st, the British forces were divided into two parts to oppose the two divisions of the enemy—that under General Frazer going in pursuit of Holkar's artillery and infantry, that under the Commander-in-Chief proceeding against Holkar's cavalry in the Doab. On the 12th of November, General Frazer's forces came up with the army of which they were in search in the vicinity of Goburdun, the left of the enemy resting on the fort of Deeg, whence the battle that ensued gets its name. On the 13th the enemy, who were strongly posted, and defended by a very powerful park of artillery, were attacked by the British forces on all sides and driven

from the field, with the loss of two thousand men and eighty-seven pieces of cannon. This victory was purchased by the loss of nearly six hundred on the side of the British, with their brave commander, who died a few days after the battle in consequence of a wound received in it.

On the 17th of the same month the victory of Deeg was followed by another, still more decisive, gained by General Lake. On the night of that day Holkar's camp with its thousands of slumbering horse and men, was surprised by the British cavalry riding in, to put an end to its quietude and their slumbers. The "freebooter" rode off with all the attendants he could muster, speedily as his horse could carry him. three thousand of his men having fallen in the attack, whilst his force was still further decreased by desertion and dispersion. The completeness of the surprise may be estimated from the fact of the British force having lost but two men killed and twenty wounded.

The fortress of Deeg, which belonged to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, was the next object of attack by the British forces. *Professedly* an ally of the British, the Rajah had shewn his *real* sentiments by aiding the Mahrattas with a body of horse, and firing on the British forces from Deeg during the battle fought under its walls. On the 13th December, Lord Lake took up his position for the seige—on the sixteenth a breaching battery was opened, and on the 23rd the fortress was stormed. Thus was the year 1804 brought to a close in the midst of renewed successes gained by the British forces. Nor were those recorded the only ones so gained. Holkar's dominion south of the Tapti and west of the Chumbul in the Dekhan, were respectively taken possession of by Colonels Wallace and Murray.

Into the history of the succeeding six months of the Marquess Wellesley's administration we cannot particularly enter. A brief digest of the operations of the armies such as we have hitherto given, may suffice to convey some idea to the reader of the manner in which those operations were directed, and of the never-tiring energy of the head of the Government who planned them. But the history of a siege, such as that of Bhurtpore, or the proofs of Scindia's treason, and the interminable diplomacy to which it gave rise, are not matters which can be crowded into the small remaining space now left us. Suffice it therefore to state, that on the 1st of January 1805, Bhurtpore was invested by Lord Lake, that in numerous assaults he was repulsed, and that finally the Rajah appears to have become so convinced of the hopelessness of Holkar's cause, that he was

glad to conclude a treaty in April of the same year. greatly to the advantage of his enemies. The failure in this siege is probably to be attributed to the want of an efficient artillery in the British camp, a want arising, perhaps, from Lord Lake's undue depreciation of the strength of the fort and of the Rajah's resources, as much as from his undue confidence in the valour of his troops—that valour was as conspicuous in the siege as it had been before, but against deep ditches and mud walls, defended by undaunted men, valour alone could do little.*

The loss of so powerful an ally as the Rajah of Bhurtpore reduced Holkar to the lowest position as a chief and as a leader. Other chieftains also were ready again to join what appeared to them to be the strongest side and to desert him whom fortune had already deserted. Surrender, however, he does not seem to have thought of, but continued to carry on a desultory warfare with his cavalry, ravaging the country when there was any thing to be gained by so doing, flying when his enemies advanced, and advancing when they retreated—but still looking probably to the co-operation of Scindia as the one gleam of light still left him in the deepening gloom of his horizon. Scindia appers to have been misled by the defence of Bhurtpore into the belief that matters were again becoming more favorable for the Mahrattas, and that if he joined Holkar at this crisis, the British might be routed. But he was not a man of sufficient energy of character to strike at the proper time. Anxious to ward off the consequences of his march if events turned out unpropitiously, he still maintained communications with the British, protesting, in reply to the Resident's remonstrances, that his only object was to make peace between the two enemies. On the 15th of April, two days previous to the signing of the treaty between the British and the Rajah of Bhurtpore, Holkar joined Scindia, the latter still temporising with the British. The

* A writer in the *East India United Service Journal* fully bears us out in this censure of Lord Lake. Writing of the superintending Engineer he says "if an officer of the requisite ability and experience had been present, it is doubtful whether he would have been attended to, *for so confident was the General in the resistless bravery of his troops, and so impatient withal, that he could hardly brook the delay that was necessary to enable his guns to make a breach in the ramparts* He had undertaken to besiege a large, populous, and strong place, with means that were totally inadequate for such an enterprise; *and in a military point of view he was highly culpable.*

The attentive student of Lord Lake's campaigns cannot, we conceive, fail to be struck with the progress of overweening confidence in British resources which possessed him. The ease with which he destroyed or dispersed the French corps of General Perron in his first campaign appears to have done him infinite harm. In the storming of Agra he was indebted for success to the unconquerable resolution of his men alone —at Laswarri his vain confidence had well nigh caused him to lose the victory—at Bhurtpore it occasioned the loss of thousands and ultimate defeat. To us it appears strange that this failing did not prominently strike the historians of British India— Mill and Thornton; even Wilson only incidentally notices it.

junction with Holkar, and the refusal to comply with the Governor-General's wishes, induced the British resident to demand from Scindia leave to depart, a permission which was not granted, however, although enforced by the authoritative order of the Governor-General. Compliance would have been speedily enforced by the weighty arguments of Lord Lake's artillery, had not a change come over the spirit of the councils at Calcutta. Towards the end of July the Marquess Cornwallis arrived in India, and superseded his illustrious predecessor in its Government. Lord Wellesley, aware that he must speedily arrive, had somewhat delayed the execution of measures which he conceived to be absolutely necessary in order that his successor might have an opportunity of confirming them or pursuing others without embarrassment. Accordingly, when Lord Cornwallis arrived, affairs were in the position we have indicated. Holkar, Scindia, and all the other insurgent spirits of the Mahrattas were together; Lord Lake was prepared for hostilities; the British resident was still detained by Scindia, and the demands of that chief were as exorbitant as ever. Into the policy pursued by the successor of the Marquess Wellesley, in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, or into the course followed by Sir George Barlow on Lord Cornwallis' death, it does not come within the scope of this article for us to enter—suffice it to say, *that* policy seems to have been dictated by but one principle—the desire to conclude a peace on *any* terms; Scindia's insults were to be submitted to, and the demands of the conquered Holkar were to be complied with; the faithful allies of the British were to be surrendered to the tender mercies of Mahrattan "freebooters," and the successes of three years of war were to be recompensed by the surrender of territories, and the abandonment of friends!

We have now brought the administration of the Marquess Wellesley to a close, and in briefly summing up the character of that administration, it will not be necessary for us to enter particularly into its various acts. These have been freely criticised as they successively came before our notice. We have shewn ourselves, we trust, no blind or indiscriminate admirers of his government: where wrong was apparent, we have duly noted it, where injustice was done, we have not feared to denounce it, where praise appeared to us to be due, it has been given. Our sketch is imperfect and somewhat hurried, but our limits must be remembered—the acts of Lord Wellesley's government, recorded at any length, would fill a volume, not merely an article in a Review.

It has been urged that the Marquess' administration was characterised by excessive ambition and rapacity, that his system

of defensive alliance "was impolitic and unsound," that in opposition to the dictates of wisdom, he was fond of engaging in war. That his procedure with regard to the minor states brought under British control during his government, is not in every case to be defended, we have already shewn to be our conviction, but that his administration was characterised by rapacity, we unhesitatingly deny—and as to his ambition, we have yet to learn that ambition is a crime. That he was not rapacious may be proved by his conduct to Mysore: there the whole country was at his mercy, he could have annexed it all to the British territories, but he did not do so. Oude lay at his mercy; he did not annex it, but merely provided for the safety of the British frontier, as policy demanded that he should do. Berar was conquered; he took only a part and left the rest; Scindia's force was annihilated, and he restored him to a great portion of his dominions. If these be instances of rapacity, we strangely misunderstand the term. But he was ambitious! He was—but not inordinately or traitorously so. He was ambitious that the British empire in India should be supreme—that British interests should be secure —that the lives of British subjects should be safe. Does *this* ambition then, we ask, criminate a British ruler? If so, we should be glad to learn *what* ambition would be commendable in him.

The failure of Lord Wellesley's system of defensive alliance in the case of Scindia is surely not sufficient to brand that system as utterly impolitic in the face of numerous examples to the contrary. Had Scindia acted with ordinary prudence, with ordinary sagacity, with ordinary regard for his own interests, he would never have allowed himself to have been drawn into alliance with Holkar when Holkar was defeated, and when there existed not a chance of success. Against the mad acts of capricious folly in those entrusted with power, what system can secure us? Scindia's defection is to be ascribed to Scindia's folly, not to the impolicy of Wellesley's system. In Mysore that system of subsidiary alliance appeared to be successful—in Hyderabad it was the means of preventing insurrection, and forwarding British interests—in Oude its results were so far beneficial to the people and their sovereigns—in Púna it accomplished all that was anticipated. If these facts be true, then can it justly be objected that the system was impolitic and unsound? It accomplished all that was expected of it, and to condemn it for not accomplishing more, would be as absurd as to condemn the conductor of a railway-carriage, because he could not bring it up the side of a mountain.

The charge of his being fond of war is so ably refuted in Thornton's history, that it will not be necessary to travel over the same ground here. It appears paradoxical to assert, and yet is unquestionably true, that Wellesley's administration was

a pacific one, although almost constantly engaged in war. The fact is, war was the necessity, peace the choice. If it had been prudence to wait for Tippu's attack, if it had been prudence to allow Scindia and the Rajah of Berar to ravage the British territories, if it had been prudence to remain in quarters till Holkar chose to invade them, then, indeed, were the wars we have briefly recorded in the foregoing pages, unnecessary—not otherwise.

In conclusion, it only remains for us to point out one or two of the distinguishing excellencies of the administration we have just chronicled. Lord Wellesley's first great excellence as a Governor has not escaped the notice of the leading historians of India. The excellent choice he made of the men by whom his projects were to be carried out, and his suiting of the character, disposition and previous habits of the man to the work he was called on to perform. Kirkpatrick and Malcolm at Hyderabad were the able effectors of the reform there carried out—a reform of so much importance, and so eminently useful to the British Government. Generals Harris, Baird and Wellesley were the instruments of the conquest of Mysore, and what enterprise was ever more thoroughly successful or more ably consummated? Mr. Webbe in Madras was the instrument through which several important negotiations were conducted by the Governor-General, and the perfect success which attended these, proves the capacity of the agent. Colonel Scott and Mr. Henry Wellesley in Oude fully answered the Governor-General's expectations in bringing about the settlement of that impracticable country. In fine, we shall find on a cursory review of the history of the Wellesley administration, that whenever the choice of his subordinates lay in the Governor-General's power, that choice was exercised with a discretion and foresight, which gave the strongest proofs of genius and ability. In this he resembled all great rulers. Discrimination in the choice of their inferiors was equally a characteristic of Cæsar, of Napoleon, of the Duke of Wellington, and of the Marquess Wellesley.

Nor were the plans which these men were called on to carry out unworthy of the men themselves. Comprehensive in the extreme, suited to the circumstances of the country and to the desiderata to be supplied, they afforded the strongest proofs of the talent and capacity of the source whence they emanated. No omission was left to be supplied, no error to be corrected, no contingency was forgotten—and whether their object was the disbanding of a tumultuous enemy as at Hyderabad, the conquest of a powerful kingdom such as Tippu's, the settlement of a difficult question such as that connected with the Mahrattas,

or the prevention of the evils anticipated from the Affghan's invasion, every particular of the plan, as well as of the result to be attained, was laid down with a precision, an exactitude, and an ability which proved the capacity of the drawer. The Wellesley "Despatches" will ever remain an imperishable monument of the indefatigability, the zeal, and the talent of the Marquess.

Lastly, we cannot, even on the most cursory inspection of this administration, avoid being struck with the promptitude with which every means were seized by which these comprehensive plans could be forwarded. Circumstances, apparently the most inimical, were made the means of bringing about results the most important and benefical. The existence of the French corps at Hyderabad was made the instrument of effecting the complete prostration of the Nizam's resources, and his entire dependance on the British. The threatened invasion of Zeman Shah led to an offensive and defensive alliance with Persia, as well as to the settlement of Oude, whilst the flight of the Peishwa from Púna was the foundation of British supremacy amongst the Mahrattas. In this particular the Maquess Wellesley gave the most decisive proof of his possession of genius, which ever thus shapes and moulds the circumstances of the times and its own position, whether those circumstances be favorable or not, into the means of carrying out its own plans and accomplishing the objects which it desires.

This discrimination then in the choice of the men whom he employed, this comprehensiveness of plan which characterised all his schemes, this moulding of all circumstances to work out his own ends,—these were the principal characteristics of the Marquess Wellesley as a Governor, and these were the efficient causes of that success which so eminently distinguished his administration. He found the British power in India a secondrate, if not a subordinate power—, he left it supreme, the arbiter of the destinies of the country. Let this then be his highest praise as it was his noblest work. He added another to that noble list of statesmen and of administrations which distinguish the pages of British Indian history, and in the long list of worthies whose deeds that history chronicles, we dare boldly to affirm, that there is no name which, in future ages, will shine more brightly on the roll than that of Wellesley ; none of whom the future British historian may more justly be proud. Clive's name will ever be associated in that history with successful warfare—Hastings' with unrivalled diplomacy—Cornwallis' with consummate prudence,—but that of Wellesley alone with victory, diplomacy, and prudence combined.

The brief notice which we have given at the commencement of this article of Lord Wellesley's early career, previous to his appointment as Governor-General, renders it necessary for us shortly to notice his subsequent appointments and employments. He returned from India in January 1806 only to witness the death of his former benefactor and friend Pitt, with whom he had but a single interview subsequent to his return. "Wait till Mornington comes from India, and then we shall know something of it!" was an observation once made by that distinguished statesman, fully proving, that he relied on the Marquess' ability and talent for observation. Lord Wellesley was solicited to take a place in the new cabinet, formed on Pitt's death, by the Duke of Portland, but refused to take office until the House of Commons had expressed its opinion on the charges brought against his Indian administration by Mr. Paull, and subsequently supported by Lord Folkstone. The charges "of high crimes and misdemeanors committed by Richard Colley, Marquess Wellesley, &c., &c.," related principally to the settlement of Oude. Lord Folkstone's resolutions were negatived by a large majority—31 voting in favor of, 182 against them. A subsequent resolution, commendatory of the Marquess' conduct in the transaction referred to, was moved by Sir John Anstruther and carried triumphantly. In May 1808, the question of an impeachment was again brought before the House by Sir Thomas Turton (in reference to the Carnatic settlement) whose "speech remains as a standing disgrace to the speaker," says Lord Wellesley's biographer. In the course of that speech he openly charged the Marquess and Lord Clive with having connived at the murder of the heir to the Nawab's throne. "Sir Thomas Turton's resolutions and motion were indignantly negatived by the House; and Mr. Wallace at once moved a vote of approbation on the conduct of the Marquess. It was carried;—there being but nineteen votes against it."

On the 1st of April 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed General-in-Chief of the English forces in the Spanish Peninsula, then overrun by the legions of Napoleon; and on the 30th of the same month, his elder brother the Marquess was nominated "Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the Seventh." Thus were the distinguished abilities, military and diplomatic, of these two distinguished brothers of an illustrious house, brought to bear against the talent and good fortune of the great French conqueror in the field which he had chosen as the battle-ground of Europe; and never were operations more successfully conducted than those which gradually resulted in the expulsion of the French from

Spain. The enthusiasm with which the Marquess was received may be judged of from the following account of his arrival at Seville, by Mr. Jacot, M. P., who witnessed it :—

"The arrival of this celebrated nobleman in Seville produced an extraordinary sensation, certainly neither prepared nor fostered by the body to whom he was sent, whose narrow souls were jealous of his character, and apprehensive lest his powerful talents should detect and expose their contracted policy and futile projects. All the respectable inhabitants of the city, among whom were many of those men whose information, patriotism, and energetic minds, had planned and effected the first revolution, became the leaders on this occasion also, and conducted the triumphal entry of the British minister. Seville was emptied of its population, and the expecting crowds patiently endured, without the city, the heat of the sun, the privation of their meals and of their siesta, and tranquilly waited from morning till dark to welcome the approach of a man whose high rank and distinguished capacity were considered as pledges of the generous and disinterested intentions of the monarch he represented.

The shouts of the people, and the acclamations of the multitude, were genuine and unequivocal demonstrations of the strong feelings of the nation; but the conduct of their rulers discovered merely that routine of compliments which the hollow intrigues of a Court may teach,—but what he who had ruled such Courts in India, knew how to appreciate The welcome of Lord Wellesley had, perhaps, been increased by the news of his brother's victory at Talavera; but at Seville all was unmixed pure joy at the arrival of a man whose nation was venerated, whose character had preceded him, and to whose high qualities they looked up for deliverance from the Government of a body of men fortuitously raised to the unlimited exercise of the executive and legislative power of a great nation."

The abilities of the talented Marquess were, however, speedly sought again in England itself, and his important mission in Spain was transferred to his brother Mr. Henry Wellesley, by whom it was ably fulfilled.

The duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and the subsequent retirement of the Duke of Portland, having broken up the cabinet of which the last-mentioned nobleman had been the head, Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool proceeded to form another without delay, in which the Marquess Wellesley received the appointment of "Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." Into the negotiations which the Marquess conducted with the United States of America, in this new capacity, which negotiations led remotely to the war of 1812; or into the part which Lord Wellesley took in the Regency question in January of that year, it will not be possible for us to enter; suffice it to say, that in all that emanated from his pen or tongue, as well as in his actions, he upheld the dignity of his office and his country, without compromising himself individually. But it was in the energetic assistance which he gave to his brothers in the Peninsula, that his position in the Secretariat was of most use and importance to the welfare of England. *There* the blow was first struck which, in conjunction with the retreat from Moscow, humbled the power of Napoleon and levelled his pride with the dust.

On the 19th February 1812 the Marquess resigned his position in the Government, in consequence of differences of opinion with his colleagues as to the manner in which the war in Spain should be supported, the Government in Ireland conducted, and with reference also to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, a measure which he strongly advocated. In May of the same year, the Prince Regent called upon him in conjunction with the Earl of Moira (subsequently the Marquess Hastings and Governor-General of India) to form a ministry, which, however, he was unable to accomplish, and accordingly Lord Liverpool remained at the head of affairs. In the course of the same year he distinguished himself greatly by a speech on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, which proved at once his liberal ideas, his argumentative power, and his goodness of heart.

From this period till 1821 we find the Marquess principally engaged as a Parliamentary speaker, alternately condemning and lauding the measures of the Government, as they seemed to him to be fraught with evil or good to the country. In that year he was appointed to the high office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in which his taste for splendor and magnificence was displayed in the grandeur of the viceregal court, no less than was his wisdom in the settlement of the troubles of that unfortunate country, then, as now, convulsed with tumult and disorder. During his administration the most even-handed justice was dealt out to all parties in the island. The Orange societies, on the one hand, were discouraged, the associations of Ribbonmen, on the other, were suppressed. In 1825 his domestic happiness was secured by a second marriage to a lady who appears to have been in every way worthy of him. She was the daughter of Mr. Caton, of Baltimore, in America, and widow of Mr. Paterson, and, what is somewhat remarkable for the descendant of a republican, sister of the Duchess of Leeds, and of Lady Stafford. A difference of opinion between the Marquess and his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, when the latter was Premier in 1828, led to the retirement of the former from the high office which he held. The subject of difference was the much-debated question of Catholic emancipation which his Grace then opposed, although in the following year he carried it himself.

In 1830 Lord Wellesley became Lord Stewart of the Household in Earl Grey's ministry; in the discussions on the Reform Bill he took a prominent part, although he was far from opposing that measure, and in 1833 he resumed the government of Ireland which he held until the summary dismissal of the Whig Cabinet by King William the Fourth in the following year.

In 1835 the Whigs were restored, and the noble Marquess once more accepted office as Lord Chamberlain, which he resigned, however, after a month's service, when he retired into private life in his seventy-fifth year. In retirement he occupied himself in those literary pursuits which had been the employment and delight of his earlier years, dedicating in his eigty-first year a volume of poems ("Primitiæ and Reliquiæ"), "Amico suo dilectissimo," Lord Brougham. In reply to a beautiful Latin ode from the Provost of Eton, he sent the following touching lines, on the occasion of his bust being placed in that college :—

"Affulsit mihi supremæ meta ultima Famæ
Iam mihi cum Lauro juncta Cupressus erit ;
Mater amata, meam quœ fovit Etona juventam,
Ipsa recedentem signat honore Senem."

Thus translated by himself :—

"On my last steps fame sheds her purest rays,
And wreathes with Bays the Cypress and the Yew,
Eton, blest guardian of my youthful days,
Greets my retiring age with honors new."

Finally in 1841, the year preceding his death, the Marquess, full of years and honor, had the satisfaction of finding his former honorable masters, the East India Company, acknowledging their sense of his Indian administration by placing his statue in the India House, and thus tacitly censuring the opposition which their predecessors of 1801 to 1805 had offered to the Marquess' schemes and policy.

"Last scene of all"—he died on the 26th of September 1842, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was buried with unusual pomp in the chapel of his old "alma mater," Eton College.