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# SELECTIONS

FROM THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW

Vol. III. Feb.—May 1882.

CONTAINING ARTICLES FROM

Nos. XVIII—XXIV. June 1848—Dec. 1849.

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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

## SURAT—ITS PAST AND PRESENT.

By Rev. Dr. Anderson.

1. *Forbes' Oriental Memoirs.*
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3. *Le Voyage de M. De Thevenot.*
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IT has become of late a fashion among a certain school of our English *literateurs* to say and sing of the changes that a "new generation" has produced on the fair face of "once Merry England." The aristocracy of commerce and of manufactures, now jostling the old aristocracy of land and titles, has, whether advantageously or disadvantageously, substituted the useful for the picturesque, or, perhaps we may be allowed to say, the directly and immediately useful, for the indirectly and remotely useful. For ourselves, while noways slow to acknowledge the beauties of Manchester, we are not ashamed to confess the possession of an eye capable of seeing some beauty also in those baronial mansions that still are left to remind us of those days of heroism, which, with all their evils, were not destitute of a small kernel of good. We have a notion that even those who are the daily denizens of the long rows of window-penetrated brick-piles, will not be the worse men and women for being occasionally permitted to see and to reflect upon those other piles, which, in the midst of their aged elms and patriarchal oaks, tell of a day when cotton, to all intents and purposes, was not, and when Arkwright was as yet unborn. Such denizens will probably find on deeply pondering, for deeply ponder they can and do, that while there are many things in which the inhabitants of those mansions a few centuries ago were far inferior to themselves, yet they are also a few things in which they themselves are inferior to the inhabitants aforesaid. Or if not, yet is it something that they should at the least be occasionally reminded that they themselves are not all the world; that there is a *where* and a *when* different from the Manchester mills and the nineteenth century.

With all our respect, and it is a very sincere one for our brethren who wend betwixt the Atlantic and the Pacific, we are often persuaded, in the course of our occasional perusal of

their literature, that they would not be losers but gainers were it possible to imbue them with a smattering of this very knowledge. Without endeavouring to make them unlearn the doctrine that "the States" are the finest location in the universe, and that this present age is the most go-ahead age that has been or will be in all eternity, we should deem it *operæ pretium* could they learn that the said States are not indeed co-extensive with the universe, nor this nineteenth century co-enduring with that portion of eternity called time.

But it is not with our brethren of the Far West that we have to do. The evil that we have to complain of is one incidental to all "new countries;" and it is one from which European residents in India are not free. India, to be sure, is not a new country. But its European residents are as effectually cut off from all its antique associations as are the people of America from the associations of Yucatan, or from familiar intercourse with the Red men who still linger on the Savannahs. As for all practical purposes the ancestry of the Americans goes not back beyond the Pilgrim fathers, so that of the European sojourners in India extends not beyond, (if it reach even so far) the days of the sturdy Job Charnock.

A useful purpose may doubtless be served by researches into the locality of Palibothra, and the antiquities of Lanka and Cashi, and upon the study of such localities and such antiquities we should be very glad, indeed, if we could lead our countrymen to bestow a portion of their time: but probably more good will be done by directing them to less antediluvian themes, by laying hold of that bond which, however feebly, still connects themselves in some sort with certain scenes. We apprehend it is no unusual sensation amongst the younger portion of our countrymen to feel, on their arrival, the want of the *prestige* of antiquity in the scenes wherewith they are conversant. Every thing around them is new; cantonments stiffly laid out as if they were on parade, and the commanding officer had just given the word "Attention;" bungalows built by this Captain, that Major, or such a Civilian, and all within a generation; a race of servants even that have been formed by us, who have left their old haunts and habits, and learnt a mongrel language adapted to the comprehension of the merest griffin. If, indeed, we set out on a journey of discovery, we can find caves where Brahmans have concealed their deeds for centuries upon centuries, forts where legends of the Mogul and upstart Maratha are told, and ruins of mansions where ancient families lived, and ancient bards exercised their fascinating power. But here are not *our* homes. Home, here, has none of the pleasing associations which in England the past so plentifully supplies. At best

we may see around us traces of native generations in whom the majority of us take far too little interest, but no recollections of European and ancient forefathers furnish us with pleasant stories, or adorn our residences with unseen but not unfelt attractions.

There are perhaps few places in India that supply this want to such an extent as Surat: it thus makes up for its air of desolation and decay. It tells the inquirer many agreeable histories. It draws him—if such his turn—to speculations upon those fabulous days when Rama left Ayodhya, and with his lady love wrought wondrous actions of knight errantry; or it provides him with facts in the history of the Delhi Throne, which then presided over the destinies of India; it presents itself as the seat where the Parsis, expelled from the country of Zoroaster and inhospitably compelled to leave Dieu, found a refuge for the eternal fire; and where the Armenians in like manner gained protection from the Emperor's liberal policy. But above all, its silent records speak of Europeans; of the enterprising and zealous, too often the mercenary and fanatical, Portuguese; of the capricious and the uncolonial French; the commercial and painstaking Hollanders have here their vestiges; and so, lastly, have the "Company of London Merchants trading to the East Indies," the querulous, feeble, unworthy father of the present Anglo-Indian empire: the foundation of whose power was unquestionably laid by Dr. Boughton, Surgeon of Surat.*

If we were to believe Hamilton and others, no city is more ancient than this. It is mentioned, he says, in the Ramayana.† The truth is that in that poem we read of a country called Soorushte. Todd informs us that this is a peninsula, and was so styled, because it was inhabited by a people of the Solar race.‡ This is certainly not the derivation of the word, but probably the general term of Soorushte ("the good country,") was applied to the whole rich peninsula of Guzerat, and was subsequently restricted to Surat and its neighbourhood. Although it has from various causes ceased to possess extraordinary richness and beauty, all old accounts prove that once it fully justified its appellation. Bishop Heber's idea that the name of the city is the same as the Hindustani *Soorat* (beautiful,) is erroneous.

In its most flourishing days Surat was more celebrated for its business-like appearance than for its grandeur.§ Although

* Martin's British Colonies, Count Bjornstjernas, "British Empire in the East."

† Hamilton's Hindustan.

‡ Todd's Rajhastan, vol, I.

§ The accounts of Barthema, Mandelslo, Thevenot, Stavorinus and Forbes are in his respect contradictory.

the houses were lofty, their aspect was not imposing, on account of the narrowness of the streets. The palace was a poor residence for a wealthy Nawab; the mosques and reedghurs displayed but little of that elegance and taste of which Mussulmans have left so many traces in India; and no grand temples were raised in honor of the Hindu gods. On the other hand, when considered as a mart, the place was highly interesting. It was filled with merchandise and human beings from all parts of the world. English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Mussulmans of India, Persians, Arabs, Americans, Parsis, Jews, Mahrattis and Goozerathis composed a population of about six hundred thousand souls, and formed as motley a crowd as may be seen at the present day in Bombay. So late as 1816 the population was double that of the presidency. According to an official return received at the India House in 1825, signed "John Romer, Magistrate," there were then a hundred and twenty-four thousand inhabitants, ten thousand of whom were Parsis.* Cashmere shawls, Kinkhabs, jewels, manufactures inlaid with ivory, ebony and sandal, afforded a rich treat for the merchant's eye, and a prospect of abundant gain.

Between the outer and inner walls of the town were numerous gardens, but one especially, styled Mahmouda-Bhag, was preserved for the Nawab's pleasure. It contained the finest building in Surat, with seven hundred apartments of various sizes, including a durbar one hundred feet in length, and commanded a good prospect of the city and its environs. Here also were the Nawab's seraglio, hot-baths and fountains tastefully arranged, the water of which was introduced by what Stavorinus describes as "a kind of chain pump, to which earthen pots are fastened," —in other words, by Persian wheels. Although at the period of which we write, this edifice was only forty years old, and had been raised at a cost of nine lahks of rupees, it was then in a ruinous condition. 'The gardens," says Forbes, "were made by a former Nawab, and called after his name; they cost an immense sum, and required many years to complete them; yet his successor never resided there, nor prevented their decay: while with the iron rod of despotism, he was converting a populous part of the city into a large garden, adorned with extensive walks, groves and fountains, to surround a summer pavilion. The reigning Nawab dignified this favourite retreat with the appellation of "the gift of God"; the suffering manufacturers, driven from their quiet habitations, and shady, verdant lawns, called it "the Garden of Oppression."

Previous to the decline of the Mogul empire, the city was under a Governor to whom the Cutwal was subordinate; there

* Martin's British Colonies.

was also a Governor of the castle, the two governors being perfectly independent of each other, and solely responsible to the Emperor, who reserved to himself the power of life and death, and to whom reference was made before the infliction of capital punishments. There was a strict police surveillance, but the functionaries were, like other Orientals, accessible to bribes. The Cutwal himself was obliged to parade the streets during the night, and persons found in them were ordinarily imprisoned. Guards were placed at various stations, and at nine, twelve, and three o'clock the Cutwal passed with tom-toms, horns, and the shouts of his attendants, who were answered by the detached police. An incident, however, which occurred during Thevenot's stay, proves that all this was little more than an organized system of tyranny. A certain Armenian merchant had been robbed of two thousand four hundred sequins; at the same time two of his slaves disappeared and were suspected of the theft. After strict enquiry had been made, and yet neither money nor slaves discovered, a report gained ground that the slaves had committed the theft, that they had been drawn to the house of a certain Mussulman with whom they were in communication, and there murdered by him for the sake of the stolen property.

The Governor urged upon the Cutwal the necessity of making good the Armenian's loss; for if a report were sent to the Emperor, all blame would fall upon him. The Cutwal did not object, but simply demanded that they should wait a short time, until he might place the merchant and his servants under restraint, and examine the latter by torture. The Governor consented; but as soon as the Armenian was informed of the new turn which affairs had taken, he let the prosecution drop, and preferred losing the whole of his money to suffering the tortures which the Cutwal had in store for him.

With regard to the Custom House also we read complaints of the extortion practised. Foreigners were compelled to part even with the property which they brought for their private use at the price which the extortioners fixed. We find the Governor himself sitting at the Customs on one occasion, and after seeing amongst a traveller's baggage a bracelet and a diamond, informing him that it was his Highness's desire to purchase them. The victim's protestations that he valued them as presents from dear friends, only saved him the diamond; the Governor detained the bracelet until, as he said, the stranger should honor him with a visit, which was of course the approved Suratian version of the classical phrase *ad Græcas Kalendas.*

There was actually a tax on money; and so vexatious were the regulations, that even the gilded buttons of officers were taxed, and the purser of the English ships was compelled to pay this as often as he crossed the river.*

The city has been often pillaged. Murad, the son of Shah Jehan, sought to supply by its plunder his failing exchequer. The Portuguese, however, brought upon it the greatest misery. They ravaged it in 1512, and subsequently under Antonie de Saldague they nearly destroyed it. † We need not then be surprised that the Roumi or Turkish Admiral in 1553 describes them under no other name than "the miscreants," and, that after he had with singular gallantry resisted their attacks, the inhabitants of Surat should thus address him and his crews: "You are in the country of Guzerat; you have appeared as its liberators in the time of trouble. Yet we hope that, if it please God, the country of Guzerat will soon be reunited to the Ottoman Empire, and that this will afford the opportunity of delivering the commercial towns of India from the hands of the vile miscreants" ‡

The English, Dutch and French appear to have all enjoyed here their seasons of prosperity in trade, as also the Portuguese, but on a more contracted scale. The Swedes, too, had a factory for a short period. § Our country gained the precedence before the Dutch and French in time. Their factors at Bantam and the Moluccas recommended the opening of a trade in cloths and calicoes with Surat and Cambay, and the first English ship having arrived in 1608, after numerous difficulties, they succeeded during the year 1612, in obtaining permission to carry on their traffic. The Dutch established themselves here in 1617, and the French somewhat later. The agents of each nation lived in much splendour, but in this respect the Dutch probably outshone their rivals.

Surat and Bantam were for some time the seats of our East Indian Company's principal establishments. In 1628 the former became the seat of Government, and had superintendence over the factories of Agra, Ispahan, Masulipatam, Cambay, Baroda, Ahmedabad, Broach and Dabul. ‖ It is singular that

* A voyage to Surat by Oleef Foreen, Chaplain of the Gothic Lion, East Indiaman.—Ovington's voyage.

† Conquestes des Portugais par Lafitou. Milburn's oriental commerce.

‡ Voyagee de Sidi Aly par M. Moris.

§ Voyage of Oleef Foreen.

‖ Mill's History of India. Mandelslo's travels.

about ten years later the Company's trade here suffered a complete suspension, simply in consequence of an opposition raised by Sir William Courten, who arrived with a few ships from England; but it was soon restored, for in 1658 all the English factories and presidencies were rendered subordinate to the President and Council at Surat. In 1667 it was again languishing, so much so, that the out-factories and agencies were suppressed. In 1673 the President and Council of Surat estimated their debts at £100,000, whilst all their disposable funds amounted only to £88,228; and in the following year this debt had risen to £135,000. In 1687 the English gave offence to the powerful Aurungzebe; in 1691 their factory at Surat was consequently seized, and only returned after their most abject submission.* A short time previous to this the seat of Government had been removed to Bombay "*Ex illo fluere ac retro sublapsa referri;*" and finally a century later, the courts of Suddur Dewance and Suddur Foujdaree Adawlut were also removed to the new Presidency. †

The coast in the neighbourhood of Surat witnessed many struggles with the Portuguese before they would permit our countrymen to participate in their trade. The English vessels were attacked by them at Swally, and it was only after a successful defence that the British gained a footing. A few years later the Portuguese again made an attack under their Viceroy, but were defeated with a loss of three hundred and fifty men. In 1619 they met with a similar fate off Jasques, having engaged a fleet from Surat, and in 1630 they were again foiled at Swally, in an attempt to destroy English ships, and to procure the exclusive trade of Surat.

It is strange that at the very time trade was most flourishing, all traffic should have been rendered insecure by robbers on land and sea. Numerous bands of depredators infested the country; and just as European commerce was reviving, they so worked upon the fears of the Nawabs as to induce them to cede portions of territory for their exclusive use. Piracy was long committed "almost with impunity." Domus, now resorted to for its cool breezes and salubrious climate, was then a nest of pirates, and its inhabitants relieved the tardy and wearisome occupation of cultivating the soil, by the more exciting pursuit of maritime plunder. Many are the stories related about the connivance of the authorities in these nefarious practices; and, doubtless, high native

* Mill's History, Vol. I.

† Bombay Government orders, 26 Sept. 1828. Letter from President and Council of Surat in 1691.

functionaries found robbery a cheaper and more expeditious method of indulging their taste for finery than the vulgar process of bargaining in the bazárs. That under such circumstances commerce should improve is astonishing, and this fact affords another proof, if such were wanting—of the commercial advantages which Surat enjoyed.

But the greatest danger to European trade was indirectly wrought by the piracies of Europeans themselves. The old records which are preserved by Government shew, that at one time the factory was on this account reduced to a most pitiable plight; complaints had been made to the Great Mogul of losses which Mussulman traders had sustained from piracies, and his Majesty immediately desired the Governor of Surat to adopt stringent measures. It would appear that the Governor was in ill-odour at the Court of Delhi; and gladly seizing the opportunity of regaining his master's favour, he demanded, in 1698 of the French and Dutch, not only an indemnity for past losses, but a security in money against all piracies which should be committed for the future. Lest his demand should not meet with due attention, he added threats of violence, declared that unless his terms were conceded he would with five hundred men seize the French and Dutch chiefs and "chabuk" them to death; and at the same time he shewed that he was in earnest, by at once flogging a few brokers. Resistance appeared vain, and the required indemnity was given. All this time the English were parleying with the Governor, and fancying that they should not meet with such treatment as their European neighbours. They were mistaken. An indemnity of Rs. 1,400,000 was demanded from them, and additional security for the future. The Chief referred the matter to Sir John Gayer, Governor of Bombay, who declared that he would not give a rupee. Upon this the Governor of Surat was furious. The brokers of the factory were seized, ropes were placed round their necks, and they were led away to be hung on the castle green. At their earnest entreaty, however, they were permitted to persuade the English; and the result was that our proud islanders were forced to make concessions and to satisfy the greedy tyrant. The early records shew that such circumstances as this often occurred, and that in numerous instances the English were brought to great distress.*

Many amusing accounts of the inhabitants may be gleaned from old books, but as generally they have been proved by better

* Papers relating to the Surat factory in the Record Office of Bombay.

acquaintance with the country to be incorrect, it is needless to insert them. As a specimen we may simply notice a flattering but marvellous account of the inhabitants of the province by Ludovico Barthema, one of the first Europeans who visited the shores. He informs us that they are a mixed race, neither Moors nor Gentoos, and so abounding in good works that he is sure, if they were baptized, they would all be saved. These virtues, however, caused their sufferings, for a cruel King, by name Machamuth, took advantage of them and made them his prey. This potentate was ferocious both in appearance and reality. He wore a large beard down to his waist, and his moustachios were so large that they were tied over his head like a lady's hair. He was continually masticating betel, and if he squirted the juice upon any one, it was a signal that he was to be put to death, a sentence which was executed within the half hour. His seraglio contained between three and four thousand women, and the one upon whom he bestowed his favours was always found dead in the morning. Ovington bears the strongest testimony to the inoffensive conduct of the inhabitants of the city.*

There was one institution which especially excited the wonder and amusement of European visitors—the Banian hospital for disabled animals. Here they beheld the tenderest care bestowed upon all kinds of superannuated beasts, birds and reptiles, even upon the small vermin which infest mens' beds and persons. Forbes particularly mentions an aged tortoise, which had for seventy-five years enjoyed this refuge of the destitute. The memorialist regarded with approval that division of the institution which was set apart for the comfort of those creatures who had exhausted their strength in the service of man, and considered that they were but receiving satisfaction for their just claims upon benevolence. But perhaps a just reasoning from the analogy of nature would shew that such preservation cannot be benevolent, as it is not in conformity with the manifested intentions of the Creator and Universal Benefactor. Few animals are permitted in a wild state to suffer the infirmities of age, and Divine goodness has provided, in the economy of nature, beasts of prey which anticipate the painful and lingering progress of declining years. The revenues of this institution were estimated at six thousand rupees in the year 1775, although then considerably decayed. They were derived from fines for the violation of caste, and from one anna in each hundred rupees which the Banians gained

* Discoveries in Asia, Vol. II.

in trade. It was a common opinion that the smaller vermin fed upon the flesh of beggars hired for that purpose, but this was an amusing fabrication.

As Bombay rose into importance, Surat declined. The English drove the most profitable trade, but they were so far from satisfied with their gains in 1775, that they would have left the place altogether, had not they found it advantageous to retain as a military post, and because it was a good channel through which supplies might pass from the rich plains of Guzerat to "the barren island" of Bombay, which, said a contemporary, "must draw all its articles of provision from this place." The Dutch profits however,—much as they complained—were still prodigious. According to their own writers they had amounted to 500 or 800, and in the article of nutmegs, to the astounding profit of 1,453⅛th per cent., or according to another account, to 2,400 per cent. upon spices. The French contrived matters the most awkwardly. The native rulers were impressed with a belief that they were a nation of pirates—with what justice we cannot say; they themselves attributed the origin of such a report to their industrious but malevolent enemies. Besides, they contracted heavy debts, for the liquidation of which their property was confiscated. Thevenot mentions a certain father Ambrose, a French Capuchin, who by his reputed integrity and sanctity gained such respect from the native rulers, that he was able for a time to promote his countrymen's interests. He persuaded the Nawab that they were honest traders, and that their unfortunate reputation had solely been earned for them by one Lambert Hugo, a Dutch corsair, sailing under French colours. It is admitted, at the same time, that the Hollander had many Frenchmen on board, and that when bearing a commission from the French Consul, he attacked the vessels of the Ranee of Vizapoor, put the commandant and the carpenter, who had secreted their treasures, to the torture, threatened to cut the throat of the latter's son in his father's presence, till he by such means discovered their secret and acquired a rich booty. In palliation of this the good father declared that his King never sanctioned such proceedings, but on the contrary disapproved of the Dutchman's violence. He confessed that the expedition had been fitted out from France, but maintained that its object was to avenge an insult offered to the French crown by the Aden Arabs, who having received on friendly terms the crew of a French pinnace which had been driven there for shelter, treacherously compelled them to undergo the initiatory rite of the Mussulman religion. It appears to us that this story would have been more plausible if restitution had been offered; how-

ever that was never touched upon; and yet the Capuchin had the address to gain the good will both of the Nawab and the Emperor, as also the respect of the English chief, and to restore his countrymen to the confidence which they had lost. He enjoyed here for a long time an influence similar to that acquired by the venerable Schwartz in Tanjore. He established a convent of his order, settled disputes, not only between Roman Catholics, but Christians of other communities, was a mediator for them with the Mussulman government, and with the assistance of the Cutwal expelled from the town such as disgraced it by their irregularities. He boldly disputed for the faith in the Nawab's presence. In short, "his life was without reproach," says Thevenot, "which is no ordinary praise for a man who inhabited a country where so many nations lived in the midst of great disorders."

At this time the brigand Seewajee was laying the foundation of the Maratha power by plunder, treachery, murder and violence of all kinds. A man who was from first to last "alieni appetens," was not likely to leave such a wealthy city as Surat long unmolested. The inhabitants were frequently terrified by roving bands of his followers, who went boldly to the Governor and demanded contributions.* Twice

> "Rushed the bold eagle exultingly forth,
> From his home in the dark rolling clouds;"

Twice this bird of prey stooped upon this doomed city, and retired with its treasures to Rajghur. Father Ambrose, touched with compassion for his Christian brethren, sallied forth in search of the invader, and his intercession so far availed that Seewajee left his convent untouched, and promised not to injure Christians in their persons.† Such is the narrative of the Capuchin's admirer; but we know from other sources that neither English nor Dutch trusted to the robber's tender mercies, but by a gallant defence of their factories against the whole marauding army, saved themselves and their property from destruction.‡ However, it is satisfactory to find that the President and Council in their despatches acknowledge, with general, but grateful expressions, the favours they had received when in trouble from the Capuchin friar.§ Previous to his first attack upon Surat the adventurer assumed the dress of a faqueer, and in

* Letter of President and Council, dated 26th May 1677.
† Le voyages de M. De Thevenot.
‡ Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.
§ Letter to the Hon'ble Thos. Pittedge, dated 13th April 1700.

this diguise not only surveyed the roads which led to the object of his cupidity, but entered the town itself and reconnoitred it at leisure. He then returned to his camp, and appeared with four thousand men before the town, which he deliberately pillaged. The result was plunder in silver and gold amounting to more than thirty millions, and in one Banian's house alone he found twenty-two pounds of fine pearls.

The more praise is due to our countrymen for their courageous conduct in resisting Seewajee, when we consider how insufficient must have been their means of defence. A force of fifteen thousand men which had composed the garrison was withdrawn ; the Governor was dead, and no successor had been appointed ; the castle contained only a few hundred native troops, who were quite unable to render others any assistance. No marvel then that the former President had declared that there was no chance of holding out the factory if Seewajee should attack them.* As for our own troops, we find from Fryer that in 1675 they consisted, when the President was there, of "a double file, led by a sergeant!" When the President was not there, we presume, there were no soliders.

The English were often sadly complained of by their rivals for their jealousy, oppression, and injustice. At times their complaints were not without a cause, for they retaliated with interest the intrigues and opposition they had met with from the Dutch and Portuguese. The confessions of our own ambassador are sufficiently candid and decisive as to this point. Sir Thomas Roe informs the Company in his official letter that he is very industrious to injure the Dutch. "The Dutch," he says, "are arrived at Surat from the Red Sea, with some money and southern commodities. I have done my best to disgrace them, but could not turn them out without further danger." "The 10th, 11th and 12th, he says, I spent in giving the King and Prince advice that a Dutch ship lay before Surat, and would not declare upon what design it came till a fleet arrived, which was expected with the first fit season. This I improved to fill their heads with jealousies of the designs of the Dutch, and the dangers that might ensue from them, which was well taken, and being demanded, I gave my advice, to prevent coming to a rupture with them, and yet exclude them the trade of India."† When after suffering considerable loss, the British had gained possession of the castle in 1759, foreigners were not admitted even as visitors ; they would not suffer the French to hoist a

* Letter dated 26th May 1677.
† Collection of India Papers. Mill's History of India.

flag at their own factory; the consul of that nation was compelled, by an arbitrary exercise of power, to destroy a flight of steps descending from his garden to the river; and, together with the Nawab, they caused an interdict to be laid upon native merchants, that they might not purchase such articles as the Dutch private traders introduced.*

In the year 1800, by one of those strokes of injustice, which have too often accompanied our acquisition of power in India, and for which expediency has been the wretched plea, the East India Company took the whole administration of Surat affairs into their own hands. Any impartial person who will take the trouble to investigate this affair, will find that the helpless Nawab had reason on his side, the English force and sophistry. Whilst the British were engaged in hostilites with Mysore, they wisely suffered their claims to remain in abeyance; and the Nawab was unconscious of the coming storm. When, however, peace had given them leisure and strength to act, the Governor-General ordered the Nawab to be immediately displaced, and the Government and revenues to be wholly assumed by the English. The Mussulman ruler could not for a long time consent to resign the city which he styled "the door of Mecca," but he was eventually compelled to part with all his power, privileges and emoluments on the Company's terms

Although years have obscured the interest of this matter, yet, as it is a question in which the principles of the British Government are involved, we may afford it a brief consideration. Mill scarcely places the arguments of the Supreme Government in their proper light, although his conclusions are just. He declares that the Company acted upon the doctrine "that bad Government under any Sovereign constitutes a right and even a duty to dethrone him.†" In reality, however, with all its faults, it did not urge a plea of such absurdity as to assign to the most self-opinionated Government the largest claim of dominion. The pretence was this: At the time that the treaty with the Nawab was confirmed by the Mogul, his Majesty charged the Company "particularly to look to the peace of the inhabitants of Surat, and the preservation of his Majesty's castle." Also, "to take care of his Majesty's castle, and the preservation of the trade in those seas." Now the British Government chose to consider that this firman constituted their right of interference. They pretended they were appointed conservators of the peace and guardians of the coast; but the peace could not be preserved

* Voyages to the East Indies by Stavorinus.
† Mill's History, Vol. VI., page 259.

under such a power as the Nawab's, and the coast was exposed to enemies; hence their right to step in and undertake the management of affairs themselves!

The true history is this: A certain adventurer, whom Mill calls Mea Achund, but who is known as Moyen Odeen, gained possession of the city of Surat; but the Siddee or commander of the Mogul's fleet, who had long since established his own independence, secured the castle for himself. When Moyen Odeen was subsequently expelled from the city, the British interfering in his favour established him, and wresting the castle from the hands of the Siddee, appropriated it to themselves. But however important this new possession, it involved considerable expense, and the suggestion naturally arose that, if they held the town as well as the castle, they might defray all their expenses. When this was foreseen, of course, they also discovered the peculiar advantages which would result to the natives from the rule of "British clemency."

But now how were they to set up a claim? On what grounds could they assert their rights? Ordinary people would suppose that one well supported claim would be sufficient, and that this would be far better than a number of indifferent ones. However, the Supreme Government mustered eight claims. *First*, —the original treaty with Moyen Oddeen, they said, did not extend to his heirs. The answer to this was that whatever the imperfection of the treaty, the Company had always recognized the heir, and the Nawabship had descended in an hereditary line. *Secondly*,—the power which had devolved on the Company as Governor of the castle and fleet. The answer to this was, that it constituted no claim to authority over the city, which was always independent of the castle. *Thirdly*,—the right which the Company had of appointing a Naib or Deputy. Answer.—The Court of Directors, in their letter dated 17th February 1797, shewed their opinion that this right was forfeited. *Fourthly*, —the participation, renewed to the Company, of a share in the revenue of Surat. Answer.—It is true, that the imperial firman granted revenue for the support of the castle derivable from certain sources, but those sources had failed; and such failure could not constitute a claim for the disposition of the whole of the revenues and of the town itself. *Fifthly*,—the right of investiture which the Company possessed. Answer.—This right was only exercised in confirming the hereditary claimant, and so it should have been in this instance. *Sixthly*, —a consequent right of imposing on the Nawab conditions for the good government of the city. Answer.—No right of interference in the government of the city was ever before understood

or claimed. The Mogul's firman simply recommended the Company tog ive their advice. *Seventhly* and *Eighthly*,—The right of the Company to govern and defend the city in consequence of the incompetency of the Nawab. Answer.—If the Nawab's incompetency rendered his deprivation legal, still it made no right for the British in particular. The claim, if valid at all, was, as Mill says, valid "for mankind at large." The sum of the matter is this. If eight bad reasons are equal to one good one, the East India Company established their right to dispossess the Nawab; if on the other hand, nothing can compensate for the absence of any clear and valid right, the Company was guilty of injustice, which it in vain sought to conceal by special pleading and argumentative sophistry.

We have thus considered Surat as it was in the days that are gone; and how altered the state of affairs which have been ushered in with the present century! But here let us pause and ask what was the aspect of our holy faith as exhibited here by Christian traders. The French had but slight, and that short-lived influence, but their missionary contrived, as has been stated, to establish here a convent. The Dutch displayed none of that love for Church building which so distinguished them at Ceylon and other colonies; but then they were without political power. The English, who soon rose to importance, and, as we have seen, entrenched themselves in the castle nearly eighty years ago, and doubtless whose wishes were laws to the native government —how did they shew their love for the Lord who bought them? How did these powerful, thriving merchants shew their adoration of Him "without Whom nothing is strong," and "from Whom all good things do flow?" The date at which the Surat Church was built proves that they could not spare a rupee to raise a house for His glory!

Shortly, indeed, after the establishment of their factory, the English appear to have paid attention to the outward form, at least, of religion, which they afterwards neglected. Mandelslo, a German, who came here in 1638, states that there was a Chaplain, to whom great respect was shewn, and who ranked after the second in the factory; and he writes in commendation of the orderly manner in which Divine Service was conducted, adding that it was held twice every day, in the morning at six and at eight in the evening, and three times on Sunday.* In 1689 a Chaplain confirmed this account, and he informs us that there was a neat Chapel within the factory. Our strict observers of the Lord's

* Annual Register for 1806.

Day will not think this compensates for what follows. After sermon, we read, the company adjourned to the gardens, where they amused themselves by shooting at butts, "at which" says the canny German, "I made a shift to get a hundred mahmoudis or five pound sterling every week." "After these divertisements," he adds, "we had a collation of fruits and preserves, and bathed ourselves in a tank or cistern which had five foot water, where some Dutch gentlewomen served and entertained us with much civility.* Other passages of the book shew that whilst there was profuse hospitality amongst the English society, there was openly drunkenness and unbounded licentiousness. † To read of many of the habits of the English in Surat in their early day is interesting without being disgusting. They usually adopted the native costume, and a European dress was a singularity. The President had twenty or twenty-four merchants under him with whom he lived in social intercourse, "faring sumptuously every day;"‡ and once in the year the Secretaries of several subordinate factories came on business, and at the same time increased his social circle. When English or Dutch vessels arrived, there were ceremonious visits which soon melted into unreserved and festal meetings. One inoffensive luxury they enjoyed, before it had become common in England. "At our ordinary meetings every day," writes their guest, "we took only Thé, which is commonly used all over the Indies, not only amongst those of the country, but also among the Dutch and English, who take it as a drug that cleanses the stomach, and digests the superfluous humours, by a temperate heat particular thereto."§

Their dishes and plates were all of pure and massive silver, as also their drinking cups, that the palate of all might be satisfied. English, Portuguese and Indian cooks were retained; and on Sundays and public days the highest degree of luxury and splendour was displayed at their banquets. When the President issued from the factory, he always appeared in state. He and his lady were carried in palanquins, before him were two English standards, and gaily caparisoned horses were led. His Council followed in bullock gharis attended by forty peons.

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* Mandelslo's Travels into the Indies.

† See his account of his reception at Barddu and Ahmedabad.

‡ Chaplain Ovington's voyage.

§ Certainly our forefathers were never more quaint than when they discussed questions of diet. Take as an example, the following account of the famous Lord Bacon. "He was rather fanciful about his health, preferring meats which 'lead juices substantial and less dissipable,'—taking three grains of nitre daily in warm broth, and an infusion of rhubarb into white wine and beer once in six or seven days, immediately before his meal, 'that it might dry the body less.'"—Lives of the Lord Chancellors.

We cannot refrain from adding here a particular account from Fryer of the "appliances and means" by which our predecessors were enabled to sustain this luxurious mode of life. We confess, notwithstanding all that has been said, (in our own pages and elsewhere,) towards the reconcilement of the apparent disproportion between the nominal income and the indubitable expenditure of these men, there seems to us to remain a considerable residue of mystery on the subject:—

"The whole mass of the Company's servants may be comprehended in three classes, *viz*, merchants, factors and writers; some Blewcoat Boys also have been entertained under Notion of Apprentices for seven years, which being expired, if they can get security, they are capable of employments. The writers are obliged to serve five years for 10*l. per annum*, giving in Bond of 500*l.* for good behaviour, all which time they serve under some of the forementioned officers: After which they commence Factors, and rise to preferment and trust, according to seniority or favour, and therefore have a 1,000*l.* Bond exacted from them, and have their salary augmented to 20*l. per annum* for three years, then entering into new Indentures, are made Senior Factors; and lastly, Merchants after three years more; out of whom are chose Chiefs of Factories, as places fall, and are allowed 40*l. per annum* during their stay in the Company's service, besides lodgings and victuals at the Company's charges.

These in their several seigniories behave themselves after the Fundamentals of *Surat*, and in their respective factories live in the like grandeur; from whence they rise successively to be of the Council in *Surat*, which is the great Council; and if the President do not contradict, are sworn, and take their place accordingly, which consists of about five in number, besides the President, to be constantly Resident.

As for the Presidency, though the Company interpose a deserving man, yet they keep that power to themselves, none assuming that dignity till confirmed by them. His salary from the Company is 500*l.* a year; half paid here, the other half reserved to be received at home, in case of misdemeanor to make satisfaction; beside a Bond of 5,000*l. sterling* of good securities.

The Accountant has 72*l. per annum*, fifty pound paid here, the other at home: All the rest are half paid here, half at home, except the writers, who have all paid here.

Out of the Council are elected the Deputy-Governor of *Bombaim*, and Agent of *Persia;* the first a place of great Trust, the other of Profit; though, by the appointment from the Company, the second of *India* claims *Bombaim*, and the Secretary of *Surat* the Agency of *Persia*, which is connived at, and made subject to the will of the President, by the interest of those whose Lot they are; choosing rather to reside here, where consignments compensate those Emoluments, so that none of the Council, if noted in *England*, but makes considerably by his place, after the rate of Five in the Hundred Commission, and this is the *Jacob's* Ladder by which they ascend.

It would be too mean to descend to indirect ways, which are chiefly managed by the *Banyans*, the fittest tools for any deceitful undertaking; out of whom are made brokers for the Company, and private persons, who are allowed Two *per cent.* on all bargains, besides what they squeeze secretly out of the price of things bought, which cannot be well understood for want of knowledge in their language; which ignorance is safer, than to hazard

being poisoned for prying too nearly into their actions: Though the Company, to encourage young men in their service, maintain a master to learn them to write and read the language and an annuity to be annexed when they gain a perfection therein, which few attempt, and fewer attain.

To this factory belongs twenty persons in number, reckoning *Swally Marine* into the account; a Minister for Divine Service, a Chirurgion, and when the President is here, a guard of *English* soldiers, consisting of a double file led by a serjeant.

The present Deputy has only forty *Moor-men*, and a Flag-man carrying *St. George*, his colours Swallow tailed in Silk, fastened to a Silver Partisan; with a small attendance of horse with silver bridles, and furniture for the gentlemen of the house, and coaches for ladies and council.

The President besides these has a noise of trumpets, and is carried himself in a *palenkeen*, an Horse of State led before him, a *Mirchal* (a Fan of ostriches feathers) to keep off the sun, as the *Ombrahs* or Great Men have none but the Emperor have a *Sumbrero* among the *Moguls:* Besides these, every one according to his quality has his menial servants to wait on him in his chamber, and follow him out."

It is as well to notice here the steps which the Home Government took to suppress the increasing licentiousness of their servants, because, while they shew the inefficiency of legislative enactments for such a purpose, they also preach a sermon which ought to be continually impressed upon Anglo-Indians. They remark that their Factors' disorderly conduct tends to the dishonor of God, the discredit of the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the shame and scandal of the English nation, and that in order to render "the religion we profess amiable in the sight of those heathens, among whom they reside," they have thought fit to require a strict observance of certain rules and orders. They ordain that all their Chiefs should prevent profane swearing, drunkenness and fornication; that they who will not be reformed should be punished, and, if they are still hardened, that they should be sent home to England, "that they may not remain in India, to the dishonor of God, the scandal of religion, the discredit of our nation and perverting of others." They moreover directed the use of a form of prayer, which is far more appropriate than anything of the kind we have at present, and which concludes with beseeching God that "these Indian nations among whom we dwell, seeing our sober and righteous conversation, may be induced to have a just esteem for our most holy profession of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom be honor, praise and glory, now and for ever, Amen."*

The alarming state of morals in this part of India is shewn by a clergyman who visited the coast towards the end of the seventeenth century. In reference to Bombay, he writes, "I cannot

* Ovington's voyage to Surat.

without horror mention to what a pitch all vicious enormities were grown in this place. Luxury, immodesty, and a prostitute dissolution of manners, found still new matter to work upon. Wickedness was still upon the improvement, and grew to such a perfection, that no vice was so detestable as not to be extremely common, whereby Satan obtained a more despotic authority in the hearts of the Christians, than he did among the Gentiles in the pageantry of heathen worship." * The course and profane language in which their despatches were occasionally couched leads us to infer that if so little decency was manifested in public documents, there could have been but few moral restraints in the intercourse of private life. †

Before considering the change in English society, let us contemplate the native town. Few objects remain the same, except the climate and the filth. The dry air still prevails, and certain winds still bring the same heat which threatened to suffocate the Dutch admiral; but perhaps if he had been a little further in the interior, he would not have given them such a bad name; the hot winds seldom last for any length of time, and are generally soon relieved by the sea breeze. The land —at least such as is removed from the effects of salt water floods—still yields a good return, and the dirt—Government having unaccountably withdrawn an allowance for cleansing the city—exhales the same "horrid stench" which offended the nostrils of Rear Admiral Stavorinus. As in all native towns, the dogs are not only nuisances to passers by, but, from the prevalence of hydrophobia, sources of danger. We are told, that many years ago, a Portuguese captain, wishing to extract money from the compassion or superstition of the Banians, made a large collection of these animals, and avowed his intention of drowning them. The alarmed citizens immediately proffered considerable sums of money, and thus redeemed their canine property. ‡ Surely our powerful Government might with justice put the Feringee's intention into practice without imitating his cupidity or suffering a redemption.

Cleanliness is only found in the quarter allotted to the English residents, where native tenements are not permitted to come "between the wind and their nobility." In other respects, too, ruin and decay have wrought sorrowful changes. The walls which were at first built of mud, but after Sívají's invasion,

* Ovington's voyage.

† E. G. Letters in 1700 signed by Stephen Colt Prets and his Council, in which oaths are introduced; and the accounts sent home by the New Company and Sir Nicholas Waite in 1700-1.

‡ Discoveries in Asia.

of brick, are dilapidated, although less so than at most towns in this part of India, as they are useful in preventing smuggling; the gardens no longer deserve that name, being with few exceptions destroyed, or converted to the general purposes of agriculture; the holy ship which was mentioned by old writers as a curiosity, and which made an annual voyage to the Red Sea with pilgrims, was carried down the river in the monsoon, and dashed to pieces, so that in 1777 only a portion of its aged head was visible. Forbes mentions a successor at a later date, and now, three large ships, lying on their sides like dead elephants, and without rigging, are generally to be seen in the river; but we suspect that the spell is broken, and they do not possess their predecessor's sanctity. The streets have year by year become contracted in their extent, and their throngs have dwindled away, so that now eighty thousand are the most that are left of the former six hundred thousand inhabitants. This diminution is to be attributed chiefly to the decay of trade, and more especially of the manufacture of coarse cotton fabrics, which were formerly exported in considerable quantities, but have now given way to the superior productions of English factories. That mysterious disease, moreover, with which providence scourges India has here been busy; and the final work of ruin and depopulation was wrought by a fire which raged with extraordinary violence in the year 1837, and is said to have destroyed one half the town. Doubtless liquor-shops have also contributed their share to the causes of disease and death; they were always numerous, but have been lately increased by our Government with an unworthy anxiety for the augmentation of revenue, whatever may be the cost in human misery! The efforts of a few benevolent individuals who would oppose such strongholds of vice by a Teetotal Society have been quite nugatory: for although such a society exists, it is obscure and inefficient

The animal hospital still remains, but it contains few deserving pensioners. The old tortoise has been long since gathered to his fathers. Some lively poultry cackle in pensioned happiness, and an able-bodied camel lolls his head in all the hopelessness of ennui. Really wretched objects are found only in the cattle-wards; and Bishop Heber would not accuse the Brahmans here, as he did at Broach, of keeping up the institution for the sake of the good milch cows and buffaloes with which it provided them. A more miserable famished set of animals can scarcely be conceived.

But the most remarkable places in Surat, where interesting accounts of the Europeans who have been connected with it, may be gleaned, are the Dutch and English burying grounds.

Here the past and present meet in one view. The rivalry which formerly inflamed the two nations is here burning out, the traces of it are still visible even amid the mouldering tombs. They seem to have been raised by a people who dreaded obscurity, who hoped that masonry and chiselled marble would perpetuate their names, and that the vastness of their reputation would correspond with the size of their monuments. What insane efforts! How much more noble would have been even the heathen wish to hand their name down to posterity by some work of public beneficence, to have successive generations of labourers bless them as they drew water from the Dutchman's well, or bathed their weary limbs in the Englishman's tank! How still more noble some work of unostentatious love! An asylum for the poor, a decent house of prayer, which might certainly have been raised at less cost than the largest of these proud mausoleums! If such had been built by one who cared not to record his name, we should think with admiration of our own countryman. Would that they had felt the Psalmist's beautiful words, "The dead praise not Thee, O Lord, neither all they that go down into silence. The living, the living he shall praise Thee."

We can imagine that when Englishmen resolved to raise grand mausoleums to the memory of their friends, they would be at a loss to know what style to adopt. Architecture, more than any other art, displays the genius of a people, and expresses faithfully the characters of their minds. But the English and Dutch were at that time merely shop-keepers, their genius was money-making, their character a love of Mammon. Such a people could have no refined tastes, and amongst such, architecture would not find a congenial soil. Inventive talents they could not have, and they must resort to imitation. But where would they find models in their Christian countries? In the old cathedrals were monuments chiefly of a devotional stamp; but they could not immitate these; for, first, it was at that time apparently an object with Europeans to disguise from the natives the fact that they had any religion, and secondly, they did not desire merely such monuments as could be inclosed in other buildings, but they said in their hearts like the builders of Babel, "go to, let us make us a name," and their monuments must be in themselves piles of masonry which passers by might admire. For such buildings Mussulman art afforded models, and these, being ready at hand, were adopted. These Europeans tombs then are in a kind of arabesque style, being clumsy imitations of Moorish mausoleums.

The expense of them must have been considerable. When

Thevenot was here, one was being built at an expense of eight thousand francs. This, however, was a comparatively insignificant one; and an idea of what the grandest cost, may be drawn from the circumstance, that a bill of six thousand rupees was charged to the Dutch Company for merely repairing the tomb of Baron Van Reede, one of their first chiefs. This exceeded all the rest in magnificence, and it now consists of a double cupola with a gallery, with much elegant wood work in the interior, and well arranged frescoes. It is one of the few which still retain their inscriptions, the marble slabs of most of the others having been stolen; and it gives in Dutch details of the titles, distinctions and age of Van Reede, assigning the year 1691 as the date of his death. Formerly it was adorned with escutcheons and passages of scripture, which are now nearly obliterated. These last marks give something of a religious turn to this stately pile, and it is curious that we can produce corroborative evidence to shew that Van Reede was in his way a religious zealot. If a spirit of persecution and intolerance proves earnestness in a career, then certainly he was zealous towards God, as we learn from a remarkable Portuguese memoir of Padre Joseph Vaz, which has been preserved in the Asiatic Journal.* It would appear that this disciple of St. Philip Neri had, with the spirit of a fervent missionary, taught for some time in 1687 at Ceylon. Henry Van Reede, described as an obstinate Lutheran and Governor of the Dutch possessions, had before endeavoured to destroy the churches and expel the missionaries of the Jesuits; and now he formed a design of taking Padre Vaz—who was in disguise—and his congregation prisoners. On Christmas-eve, when thir altars were prepared, and they were singing before their priest's arrival the rosary of the Blessed Virgin, the soldiers entered, beat both men and women, and destroyed the altars, and took three hundred persons prisoners. On the following day they were brought before Van Reede; some were fined, eight principal persons were whipped, and one who had been a Protestant, so inhumanly, that he died under the infliction. This last, says the account, as a faithful martyr, exhorted his companions to suffer with constancy for the Roman Catholic faith. The other seven were condemned to serve in irons with hard labour, "and thus by a prolonged martyrdom consecrated their lives to God." The heretic Van Reede continued to hunt the Christians from place to place. Such is an account of him drawn from his religious opponents. A more

* For September 1821.

honourable fact is, that he was the author of Hortus Indus Malabaricus, a celebrated work in 12 vols. folio. *

The most discreditable of all the tombs in the burying ground, but yet the one which afforded infinite amusement to travellers, was that of a man who is called by our writers a ship's butler, but by another a person of distinction, the reputed father of the Prince of Orange, who was banished to Surat by the Dutch Government."† Whatever his rank, all admit that he was a notorious tippler, and that by way of commemorating his virtues, and bequeathing his example to ages yet unborn, he enjoined that a stone punch-bowl should be placed at the summit, and punch-bowls with sugar-loaves at the corners of his tomb. Here his surviving friends, say the chroniclers, were accustomed to meet, and after crowning the large bowl, and ladleing into the smaller ones, enjoyed their carouse. There they held their nightly revels, and in commemorating the departed forgot themselves, singing—

"Oh! that a Dutchman's draught could be
As deep as the rolling Zuyder Zee."

No traces of this tomb remain at present, and we should feel more comfortable if all knowledge of the disgusting example set by Christians had perished with it.

The object in raising Van Reede's monument, was to eclipse the English cemetery, and more especially the handsome tomb erected a few years earlier to the memory of Sir George Oxenden (for the name is thus spelt.) This, however, will always claim a stranger's attention on account of the talents of the deceased, and more especially the gallantry which led him, with his few European friends and attendants, to maintain his factory against the whole Maratha army. It is forty feet in height and twenty-five in diameter, and includes two domes, with staircases and galleries supported on massive pillars. It appears from the Latin inscription that the lower dome was first built to commemorate his brother Christopher, and was afterwards surmounted by one to commemorate himself. This inscription is a clumsy composition, but is worthy of being recorded.

It is as follows :—

"Askest thou friendly reader,
Why this edifice seeks such display? Take this reply:
It is proud to contain that other noble structure,
It boasts moreover because it canopies two
Generous and most brotherly of brethren
Who, had they been alive, would have been

* Olof Toreen's Voyage.
† Compare Stavorinus and Thevenot.

Closely united, as they are in death.
Would you know one? Read, elsewhere.
Would you know the other? Read, here."

Then follows the usual enumeration of the dignities and virtues of the deceased, and the conclusion is thus :—

'Alas ! Reader ! you may profit by this great man, even now that he is dead.'

When contemplating such an edifice as this, our thoughts are led to some mighty and wealthy viceroy, and we may form magnificent ideas of the departed as a founder of our empire in the East. And yet what was the position of a man over whose remains such a mass of brick and mortar was raised? Will the spectator believe that his salary was £300, "with a gratuity of £200 *per annum*, as compensation for private trade?"* Whatever might have been his other means of procuring money, Sir George Oxenden agreed to resign his privilege of private trade for £200 *per annum*, and if we do not allow for the change in the value of money, his *whole income was scarcely* equal to that of a raw civilian who has passed in one of the Oriental languages !*

Christopher Oxenden's epitaph smells strongly of the shop. It laments his short life, for it was only possible to reckon his days, and not his years, before death required the account. "Do you ask, my masters, what is your profit and loss? You have gained sorrow, he has lost his life, but *per contra* let him write 'death to me is gain.'"

There is one tomb less ostentatious, and the Latin epitaph, we think, is consistent with its appearance, in good taste, and of a more marked religious character. It is thus :—

"Stranger, pause (if at least you are a Christian), pause, I say, for a little while, nor will it be in vain. For you will know that here lieth Francis Breton, Chief for the Honorable Company of English merchants trading to the East, who, when for five years he had with the greatest diligence and strictest integrity, completed his duties, completed his life. He went unmarried to the heavenly nuptials, in the year of Christ 1649, on the 21st of July.

"It is enough, stranger, for you to know this, expend but one tear, and depart."

We shall quote but one more epitaph, which, as regards taste, presents a most unfavourable contrast with the last. One might almost consider it a specimen of the mock heroic.

"In memory of Mary Price, wife of William Andrew Price, Esq., Chief for affairs of the British nation, and Governor of

* Mill's History of India, vol. I.

the Mogul's castle and fleet of Surat, who through the spotted veil of the small-pox rendered a pure and unspotted soul to God, expecting, but not fearing death, which ended her days, April the thirteenth, Anno Domini 1761, Ætatis suæ 23.

"The virtues which in her short life were shewn
Have equalled been by few, surpassed by none."

This inscription is quite unworthy of the tombs of Governor Price and his wife, which are elegant. It is in the hamlet churchyard style.

We cannot refrain from giving a long extract regarding the most remarkable man of all that have found their long home in Surat. Of Thomas Coriat, or Coryate, or Corryatt we first learned anything from Boswell's life of Johnson; but we cannot now refer to the passage. We have since read with no little pleasure his three volumes of "Crudities," a work which contains a great deal of not valueless information under a most strange and crack-brained guise. We presume that Coryate was the first European traveller that ever came to India on a mere tour of pleasure. After visiting all that was then deemed worthy of note in Europe, he begged his way * over the greater portion of Asia, and at last terminated his pilgrimage at Surat. The following account of him we abridge from the "Voyage of the Reverend Edward Terry," chaplain to Sir Thomas Roe:—

"The 25th of September we came happily to an anchor in *Swally Road*, within the Bay of *Gambaya*, the harbour for our fleet, while they make their stay in these remote parts. On the banks whereof, amongst many more English that lie there interred, is laid up the body of Mr. *Thomas Coryate*, a man in his time *Notus nimis omnibus* very sufficiently known. He lived there, and there died, while I was in those parts, and was for some months then with my Lord Embassadour, during which time he was either my chamber-fellow or tent-mate, which gave me a full acquaintance of him. The *Greeke-travelling-Thomas* (they which know his story, know why I call him so) formerly wrote a book entitled *Coryate's Crudities*, printed in the beginning of the year 1611, and then ushered into the world by very many copies of excellent verses made by the wits of those times, which did very much advantage and improve, if not enforce, the sale thereof (doing themselves much more honour than him whom they undertook to commend in their several Encomiasticks), and if he had lived, he would have written his last travels to, and in, and out of East-India, for he resolved (if God had spared him life) to have rambled up and down the world, as sometime Ulysses did, and though not so long as he, yet ten full years at least before his return home, in which time he purposed to see Tartaria in the vast parts thereof, with as much as he could of *China*, and those other large places and provinces interposed betwixt East-India and China, whose true names we might have had from him, but yet have not. He had a purpose after this to have visited the Court of Prester John in Æthiopia, who is there called by his own people, *Ho Biot*, the King; and

* His expenses while travelling through India, he informs his mother, amounted to two-pence sterling a day, and those two-pence begged!!

after this it was in his thoughts to have cast his eyes upon many other places; which if he had done, and lived to write those relations, seeing as he did, or should, such variety of countries, cities, nations, things, and been as particular in them as he was in his Venetian Journal, they must needs have swollen into so many huge volumes, as would have prevented the perishing of paper. But undoubtedly if he had been continued in life to have written them, there might have been made very good use of his observations; for as he was a very *particular*, so was he a very *faithful relator* of things he saw; he ever disclaiming that bold liberty which divers travellers have, and do take, by speaking and writing any thing they please of remote parts, when they cannot easily be contradicted, taking a pride in their feigned relations to overspeak things; being resolved in this case

*Not only things to do, but o'er do;*
*Speaking, writing all, and more too.*

I therefore, for my part, believing this Relator to be none of those, have taken some things from his trust and credit in this my following discourse; and because he could not live to give an account unto the world of his own travels, I shall here by the way make some little discovery of his footsteps, and flittings up and down, to and fro, with something besides of him in his long peregrinations, to satisfy very many yet living, who, if they shall please to read this discourse, may recall that man once more unto their remembrance, who while he lived was like a perpetual motion, and therefore now dead, should not be quite forgotten.

In the year 1612 he shipped himself from London for Constantinople, now called by the Turks *Stombole* where he took special notice of all things there most observable. In which place he found very great respect and encouragement from Sir Paul Pinder, then and there Embassadour, to whose house he had free and welcome access whensoever he pleased. Being there for some time, he took his opportunities to view divers parts in Grecia, and in the Hellespont, took special notice of those two castles directly opposed to each other, called Sestos and Abydos, which stand on the several banks that bound that very narrow sea; which places Musæus makes famous in his very antient poem of Hero and Leander.

He desired much to see where those seven churches sometimes famous in Asia the Less stood; but since their sin so darkened their light, and God removed their candlesticks from them (as before He threatened), those places lie so in the dark, that it cannot be well discovered where they once were: Only Smyrna is famous at this present day for trade, but not religion: and Ephesus, and some others of them, keep their names still, though they left and lost their faith, and profession of truth, with the rest.

He saw what yet remains of the ruins of sometimes great *Troy*, but

*Nam Seges est ubi Troja fuit;*

That place which was once so populous as if it had been sown with people

*And seeded thus, had after born*
*Millions of Men, now's sown with Corn.*

And—*O jam periere Ruinæ*, the very ruins of that place are almost all gone to ruin: The most observable thing there yet remaining, is part of an exceeding great house, which is continued by tradition to have been sometimes a part of the famous Palace of great King Priamus.

From Smyrna he ound a passage to Alexandria in Egypt,—Egypt that is called by some, in regard of the plenty it produceth,—the Granary or

Storehouse of the world. And in Egypt, near Grand Cairo (antiently called Memphis), he observed what remains of the once fam'd Pyramids. Returning thence back to Alexandria with one Englishman more, they found a pass by sea to Jaffa, antiently called Joppa, and there they met some others going to Jerusalem, which is about twenty English miles distant from Joppa, whence they departed together towards Jerusalem, and found it a very solitary, rocky, uncomfortable way, full of danger, by reason of the wild Arabs who keep about those passages to make poor travellers their prey and spoil. But they came safe to Jerusalem, now inhabited by Turks, and that place called by them *Cutts*;* where he told me, that himself and his companion were courteously received by the Father Guardian of the Convent of Franciscan Friars, that keep their residence in Jerusalem, and by some of them were met at the gate of the city, where they were compelled by the Turkish soldiers who keep those gates (as all others that bear the names of Christians are) at their first coming thither to redeem their heads, by paying each of them the value of five shillings, before they could have admittance into that place; which they had no sooner entered, but they were presently carried by those Franciscans which met them to the convent; and then the first thing they did to, or for them, they washed their feet, and set some comfortable refection before them, and after went in procession about a little cloyster they had, praising God that he had brought in safety those two Votaries (as they called them) to visit that holy place. A day or two after they accompanied them to Bethlehem, the place of our Blessed Saviour's berth, about five English miles distant from Jerusalem; and in the way betwixt those two places shewed them a rock, on which (as they said) the Blessed Virgin sat down, as she went on a time betwixt Jerusalem and Bethlehem, to give her babe suck; and that the rock might not feel hard under her, it yielded (as they told them) to her body like a cushion, and that impression made by her so sitting remaineth unto this day; and is most devoutly kissed by votaries as they pass up and down. After this they returning back shewed them all that was to be seen in and about Jerusalem. Many particulars they told them (stories that are there kept by tradition) concerning our Blessed Saviour and His Mother: Then they had a sight of as much of Mount Calvarie (where our Blessed Saviour suffered) as could be shewed them, that hill being now enclosed within the walls of Jerusalem. They undertook to shew them afterwards the place wherein our Blessed Saviour was buried; and after that Mount Olivet, the very place whence He after ascended; where upon a rock there was an impression of the former part of two feet, such as is seen in soft earth, when a man lifts up his body to leap thence; and these Franciscans confidently affirmed, and seemed undoubtedly to believe, that it was so as they shewed and told them. Many other things they affirmed, which being but circumstances, (though appertaining to the best of all stories,) were enough for these pilgrims to believe, and enough to make doubt of.

* * * * * * * *

Now after that himself and comrade had seen what they desired in and about Jerusalem, they took their leave of those *Franciscans*, leaving with them money to recompense the curtesy they had received from them; the friars being very poor, and consequently unable to entertain them freely without requitals.

From hence they took their way to take a view of the Dead Sea (so called either because the water therein is still, and moves not, or because no living creature is in it, and nothing thrives on the banks thereof) the place where

* *Al khuds* (the holy).—Ed. "C. R."

Sodom and Gomorrah, and Admah and Zeboim once stood, those cities *which Almighty God overthrew in anger and repented not:* Jer. 20—16. Hence they went to have a sight of the river Jordan, which dischargeth itself into that most uncomfortable Lake; and from hence they journied north-east through those ten tribes (which for the sin of Solomon were rent from his son Rehoboam), till they came to Mount Libanus. Thence back to Sidon, which retaineth that name still. And here he told me, as his last observation made in that land of Canaan, sometimes *(like the garden of the Lord)* flowing with *milk and honey;* being then enriched with great variety, and abundance of God's good creatures; and in the days of David so populous, that there were numbered in it at one time *thirteen hundred thousand fighting men,* 2 Sam. 24—9., besides women and children, and others unfit to draw swords; which was a most wonderful thing to consider that such a spot of ground in comparison, not above one hundred and sixty miles in length, from Dan to Beersheba, and not above sixty miles in breadth from Joppa to Jordan, should be able to bear and feed such a numerous people; and now the very self same tract of earth, either for want of manuring, or (which is rather to be conceived) for the want of the blessing of Almighty God, which once shined upon it, but now long since withdrawn from it *(for a fruitful land the Lord makes barren for the wickedness of them that dwell therein,* Psal 107—34) is now become unable to sustain one in a hundred of such a number.

From Sidon they got a passage by sea unto Alexandretta, now called Scanderoon (in the extremest bottom of the Mediterranean Sea, which is one of the unwholesomest places in the world) where I have often heard that no stranger (that was born far from it) comes to continue there for the space of one month, but is sure to meet with a sickness, which very often proves mortal. At this place his English companion left him, and turned his face toward England, and he presently took his way towards Aleppo in Syria, about seventy miles or more distant from Scanderoon, which is as much renowned for wholesomeness as the place before named for being unwholesome; and therefore it is called *sweet-air'd Aleppo.* Here he being kindly received by the English Consul, stayed a time to gain the company of a caravan, which consists of a great mixed multitude of people from divers parts, which get and keep together travelling those parts, for fear of the incursions and violences by thieves and murderers, which they would undoubtedly meet withal, if they travelled single, or but few together. With these he after set forwards towards, and to that city antiently called Nineveh in Assyria, which we find in the prophesy of Jonah was sometimes *a great and excellent city of three days' journey.* Jonah 3—3, but now so exceedingly lessen'd and lodg'd in obscurity, that passengers cannot say of it, *this was Nineveh,* which now hath its old name changed and is called Mozel. From hence they journied to Babylon in Chaldæa, situated upon the river Euphrates, once likewise so great that Aristotle called it a Country, not a City, but now is very much contracted, and 'tis called Bagdat. From this place they proceeded through both the Armeniaes, and either did, or else our traveller was made to believe that he saw the very mountain Ararat whereon the *Ark of Noah rested after the flood,* Gen. 8. And from hence they went forward towards the Kingdom of Persia, and there to Uzspahan, the usual place of residence for that great King, then called Sha Abbas, or King Abbas. And after they went to Seras, antiently called Shushan, where the great King Ahasuerus kept his royal and most magnificent court, *Est.* 1. From hence they journied afterwards to Candahar, the first province north-east under the subjection of the Great Mogol, and so to Lahore, the chiefest city but one belonging to that great empire; a place, as I have been often told by *Tom Coryate* and others, of very great trade

wealth, and delight, lying more temperately out of the parching sun than any other of his great cities do: And to this city he wanted not company, nor afterwards to Agra the Mogol's metropolis or chief city.

And here it is very observable, that from Lahore to Agra is four hundred English miles, and that the country betwixt both these great cities is rich, even pleasant and flat, a Campania, and the roadway on both sides, all this long distance, planted with great trees, which are all the year clothed with leaves, exceeding beneficial unto travellers for the shade they afford them in those hot climes. This very much extended length of way 'twixt these two places is called by travellers the Long Walk, very full of villages and towns for passengers every where to find provision.

At Agra our traveller made an halt, being there lovingly received in the English factory, where he staid 'till he had gotten to his Turkish, and Morisco or Arabian languages, some good knowledge in the Persian and Indostan tongues, in which study he was always very apt, and in little time shewed much proficiency. The first of those two, the Persian, is the more quaint; the other, the Indostan, the vulgar language spoken in East-India: In both these he suddenly got such a knowledge and mastery, that it did exceedingly afterwards advantage him in his travels up and down the Mogol's territories, he wearing always the habit of that nation, and speaking their language.

In the first of these, the Persian tongue, he made afterwards an oration to the Great Mogol, bringing in that story of the Queen of Sheba, 1 *King* 10, (in which parts of that sacred history the Mahometans have some knowledge) and he told him, that as the Queen of Sheba having heard of the fame of King Solomon, came from far to visit him, which, when she had done, she confessed that though she had heard very much of him, and many things beyond her belief, yet now seeing what she did, acknowledged that she had not heard half of that which she now saw concerning the wisdom and greatness, and retinue and riches of Solomon: so our orator told the Mogol, that he had heard very much of him before he had the honour to see him (when he was very far off in his own country), but now what he beheld did exceedingly surmount all those former reports of him which came to his ears at such a distance from him: Then larding his short speech with some other pieces of flattery, which the Mogol liked well, concluded: And when he had done, the Mogol gave him one hundred Roopus, which amounts to the value of twelve pounds and ten shillings of our English money; looking upon him as a Derveese, or votary, or pilgrim, (for so he called him) and such as bear that name in that country seem not much to care for money, and that was the reason (I conceive) that he gave him not a more plentiful reward.

After this he having got a great mastery in the Indostan, or more vulgar language, there was a woman, a landress, belonging to my Lord Embassadour's house, who had such a freedom and liberty of speech, that she would sometimes scould, brawl, and rail from the sun-rising to sun set; one day he undertook her in her own language, and by eight of the clock in the morning so silenced her, that she had not one word more to speak.

Upon a time one Mr. Richard Steel, a merchant and servant to the East-India Company, came unto us from Surat to Mandoa, the place then of the Mogol's residence, at which time Mr. *Coryate* was there with us: This merchant had not long before travelled overland from East-India through Persia and so to Constantinople, and so for England; who in his travel homeward had met with *Tom Coryate*, as he was journeying towards East-India; Mr. Steel then told him, that when he was in England, King James (then living) enquired after him, and when he had certified the King of his meeting him

on the way, the King replied: *Is that fool yet living?* which when our pilgrim heard, it seemed to trouble him very much, because the King spoke no more, nor no better of him; saying, that Kings would speak of poor men what they pleased.

At another time, when he was ready to depart from us, my Lord Embassadour gave him a letter, and in that a bill to receive ten pounds at Aleppo when he should return thither: The letter was directed unto Mr. Libbeus Chapman, there Consul at that time, in which that which concerned our traveller was thus: "Mr. Chapman, when you shall hand these letters, I desire you to receive the bearer of them, Mr. *Tomas Coryate*, with courtesy, for you shall find him a very honest poor wretch; and further I must intreat you to furnish him with ten pounds, which shall be repayed, &c." Our pilgrim lik'd the gift well, but the language by which he should have receiv'd it did not at all content him, telling me, that my Lord had even spoiled his courtesy in the carriage thereof. so that if he had been a very fool indeed, he could have said very little less of him than he did, *honest poor wretch!* and to say no more of him was to say as much as nothing. And furthermore he then told me, that when he was formerly undertaking his journey to Venice, a person of honour wrote thus in his behalf unto Sir Henry Wotton, then and there Embassadour: "My Lord, good wine needs no bush, neither a worthy man letters commendatory, because whithersoever he comes he is his own epistle, &c." There (said he) was some language on my behalf; but now for my Lord to write nothing of me by way of commendation but *honest poor wretch*, is rather to trouble me than to please me with his favour. And therefore afterwards his letter was phras'd up to his mind, but he never liv'd to receive the money. By which his old acquaintance may see how tender this poor man was to be touched in any thing that might in the least measure discourage him. O what pains this poor man took to make himself a subject for present and after discourse, being troubled at nothing for the present, unless with the fear of not living to reap that fruit he was so ambitious of in all his undertakings. And certainly he was surprized with some such thoughts and fears (for so he told us afterwards) when upon a time he being at Mandoa with us, and there standing in a room against a stone pillar, where the Embassadour was, and myself present with them, upon a sudden he fell into such a swoon, that we had very much ado to recover him out of it; but at last, being come to himself, he told us that some sad thoughts had immediately before presented themselves to his fancy, which, as he conceived. put him into that distemper; like Fannius in Martial——*Ne moriare mori* to prevent death by dying: For he told us that there were great expectations in England of the large accounts he should give of his travels after his return home; and that he was now shortly to leave us, and he being at present not very well, if he should die in the way towards Surat, whither he was now intended to go (which place he had not as yet seen), he might be buried in obscurity, and none of his friends ever know what became of him, he travelling now, as he usually did, alone. Upon which my Lord willed him to stay longer with us, but he thankfully refused that offer, and turned his face presently after towards Surat, which was then about three hundred miles distant from us, and he lived to come safely thither; but there, being over kindly used by some of the English who gave him sack, which they had brought from England, he calling for it as soon as he heard of it, and crying, "*Sack, sack*, is there any such thing as *sack?* I pray, you give me some *sack;*" and drinking of it, though I conceive moderately (for he was a very temperate man), it increased his Flux which he had then upon him; and this caused him, within a few days after his very tedious

and troublesome travels, (for he went most on foot) at this place to come to his journies end ; for here he overtook death in the month of December 1617, and was buried (as aforesaid) under a little monument, like one of those are usually made in our churchyards : on which he should have been remembered by this or the like epitaph, if it could have been there engraved upon his tomb."

[Here follows a rhyming epitaph, which does not present in a very favorable light the poetical talents of Mr. Terry.]

"*Sic exit Coryatus :* Hence he went off the stage, and so must all after him, how long soever their parts seem to be : For if one should go to the extremest part of the world East, another West, another North, and another South, they must all meet at last together in the Field of Bones, wherein our traveller hath now taken up his lodging, and where I leave him."

We believe our readers will not object to the great length of this extract, relating as it does, to a very remarkable man, one who, as he had no predecessor as an amateur Indian traveller, so had, and probably will have, no successor to emulate the extent of his travels with such inadequate means.

When men ceased to build these vain memorials of human greatness, then, and not till then, did they raise a monument to God's glory. They then cared less for the houses of the dead, and began to think of a church for the living God. Dean Prideaux stated in 1694, that there was "not so much as a chapel in any of the English settlements for the true religion, except at Fort St. George only (Madras)." A church had been built there at the expense of a private individual, without any aid or even countenance from the Company.* In other places the mess-room was the house of prayer ; and at Meerut, a plan was sanctioned in the present century for erecting an edifice which should answer the double purpose of a church and a riding-school.† A provision was made in the Company's Charter a few years after Dean Prideaux's letter was written, by which ministers who should learn the native language and instruct the native servants of the Company were appointed to be established,‡ but this provision was always grossly violated.

However, some years later, the cathedral of Bombay was built through the influence and exertions of Mr. Cobbe, the chaplain, and after another hundred years, it was actually proposed to take a second step in church building. Accordingly in 1815 Archdeacon Barnes transmitted a plan for a church at Surat to the first Bishop of Calcutta ; but that great prelate having some taste in these matters, disapproved of it and styled it "a barn-like edifice." Subsequently, when it had under-

* Buchanan's Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment.
†Le Bas's life of Bishop Middleton.
‡ Charter 10th, William III, 5th September 1698.

gone revision, his lordship declared that it was entirely to his satisfaction. Mr. Carr was at that time chaplain, and the Bishop thought it necessary to caution him about building the church East and West. A cross, too, had been placed over the church in the plan, but Bishop Middleton cautiously avoided what might appear a tendency to symbolism, and suggested that a weather-cock should be substituted.* Others may think that the cross is better suited to a place where are preached the doctrines of that gospel which are "the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever," than the proverbial emblem of variableness.

After many difficulties and additions to the delays which in India always attend on church building, the first stone of the present edifice was laid by Mr. Elphinstone, on the 16th of February 1820. It was opened in 1822, and consecrated by Bishop Heber, April the 17th, 1825.† The following extract from the *Bombay Courier* of the 12th October 1822, will, we are sure, be interesting to many of our readers :—"The new church at Surat, which has been for some years building, under the superintendence of Captain Drummond of the engineers, was opened for divine service on Sunday the 29th September. The Rev. T. Carr, the chaplain, preached a very excellent discourse ; and in the evening six liberated slaves were publicly baptized during the service, which very much added to the interest of the occasion. The church is a neat building and well finished, but does not convey sufficiently the external character and appearance of a place dedicated to the service of Almighty God ... This is the first English church which has been built at any of the stations under the Presidency, and we are happy to find that two others are now being built, one at Poona and another at Kaira." Many Europeans will learn with pleasure that the respected Bishop of Bombay shewed twenty-five years ago the same earnestness in this holy cause for which they know him to be distinguished, that he opened the first church built at any outstation of Western India, and that he was engaged in bringing the first-fruits of heathenism to a Saviour. We must, however, admit the justice of the critic's remark, for the building does not possess a sufficiently ecclesiastical character. The cost was upwards of fifty-eight thousand rupees, a much larger sum than Government appropriate in these days for similar purposes, and which was in this case most prodigally expended.

For long a very thriving people in Surat have been the Bosers, whose Moulla resides here, and is said to be in the

* Le Bas's life of Middleton.

† Bishop Heber's Journal. *Bombay Courier* for February 26, 1820.

enjoyment of a very large income. Bishop Heber, in his charming and engaging style, gives an account of the triumphant return of the Moulla at that time, who having gone into Malwa, had narrowly escaped death at the hands of the Patans, in a quarrel with whom his sect was then engaged, one of their Súni teachers having been killed by the Bosers in an affray at Mundipore. Although most old travellers mention this remarkable people, they did not gain much acquaintance with them and their opinions. They are descended from a tribe of Arabs, and are stigmatised as Shías by the Súni sect of Mussulmans. In reality they belong to neither sect; they recognize the peculiar claims of Ali, but also reverence the twelve Tenaums: indeed, each successive Moulla is viewed by them as a new Tenaum. Their founder seems to have been of *via media* principles, and to have endeavoured to steer between the Súni's and Shía's; consequently they are regarded with hatred and contempt by both. Having settled in Guzerat, they devoted themselves exclusively to trade, and as they prospered in this, became the wealthy merchants of the country. Hence their name from the Hindustani, *byohara*, which in its Sanskrit original, signifies one engaged in any business.* They are generally frugal and economical, but liberally impart a portion of their gains to their religious teacher, who is thus enabled (as they doubtless suppose) to reflect credit upon the caste by his superior style of living. He supports a college at, it is said, an expense of nearly eight thousand rupees a month, which is entirely defrayed by himself. Here upwards of a hundred students learn Arabic and the Koran, are fed and lodged in dormitories, which however despicable they might appear to a modern Oxonian, are in native estimation exceedingly comfortable, and would have perhaps been thought so at Oxford a few centuries ago. The tombs of these people, as compared with those of Europeans, present a contrast which would be sufficient subject for an essay. On the one side are structures ponderous, dark and gloomy, where rank grass and intrusive shrubs dispute possession of the ground, where the builder's work is crumbling away, and pillar and capital rolling in the dust; where there are scarce any trace of religion; where the architecture expresses no character but that of total indifference to all creeds, and lying epitaphs would lead you to suppose that all was purity and nobility of mind, where in reality there was so much of corruption, selfishness and avarice. Now turn the picture, follow the false prophet's sectarian worshipper in his evening walk to the

* بيوهرا from व्यवहारिक, and that from व्यवहार.

tombs he reverences. How neat and carefully swept the pavement! When night throws over them her sable mantle, numerous lights still display the silk which covers, and the rich carving which canopies them; the bodies of the departed are here carefully cherished, for their Koran is but a perversion of our Scriptures, and although it does not teach them of Christ's incarnation, it teaches them its result (of which idolaters know nothing), and that is, the sanctification of matter as well as spirit. Their care, moreover, for the departed, the beauty and cheerfulness of the place, point out their belief in a resurrection. The entrances and floors of the mausoleums are all of white marble, and the rest of highly polished chunam: they are old, but kept in excellent repair. The domed architecture is of the style which, at once from its similitude, calls to mind the turbaned brow, and leads the memory back to the ages of Moorish zeal and conquest. In the same quadrangle is an extensive mosque, suggesting that men should pass from thoughts of mortality to prayer. The builders, too, added no epitaphs, and it is pleasant to find the honour of the treasured dead at least not disgraced by falsehood.

The other inhabitants of Surat, peculiar to this side of India, are the Parsis, who are too well known to require description. For the last hundred years they have been divided into two sects: the Rusmi, which embraces the majority, and the Kudimi. Strange to say, the origin of their dispute is the same as one which for long caused a difference between the Eastern and Western Churches of Christendom—a question about the computation of time; the one beginning the year a month earlier than the other! It is highly amusing to find one writer on visiting Guzerat comparing them, on account of their frugality and business habits, to Quakers. The drab coloured gentry would feel sadly scandalised if they were to know that they have been likened to the wealthy race who drive the gayest equipages, and are the most particular in their dress, of any people in Bombay.

There are about twenty Armenians with their priests. We know not how to account for the large proportion of women amongst them, but such there is; and, when a report of the population of Surat was sent to England in 1824, the case was precisely the same, although in all other instances the numbers of males and females were about equal.* The occupation of these once active people is almost gone. No greater testimony could have been given to their industry, honesty and ability than the circumstance, that they were employed by our factories to carry on their trade in the interior, the Company admitting that they could

* The report is given in Martin's British Colonies.

conduct it better than their own agents. In their altered position they still retain the respectability and love of order for which they are generally so distinguished.

Not so the Portuguese. There is a sad falling of. They had formerly two churches, one only of which is now used, but the other still exists. The oldest was built in 1624, and it is very remarkable that it was endowed with a monthly income of a hundred and twenty-six rupees paid by the Nawab, according to a sunnud of the Emperor. There is now no pecuniary payment for its support, but there is still connected with it certain landed property.

Efforts have been long made by Protestant missionaries for the conversion of the natives, and for thirty years a mission has been established. There is a good mission house and a neat chapel. English and vernacular schools have been opened, but Parsi, Mohammedan and Hindu are as the deaf adder which refuseth to hear the voice of the charmer. The London Mission have prudently resigned the field to Irish Presbyterians, and have transplanted their missionaries to a more favourable soil There is also a school established by Government at considerable expense, which is well conducted and numerously attended. As all religious instruction is excluded from its routine, it draws, as might be expected, heathen boys from the church and mission institutions, where some knowledge of the Gospel is imparted.

We cannot conclude without again drawing the reader's attention to the number, presented by the history of Surat, of the varieties and distinctions which exist amongst the human race. Here, we find the willing slaves of Mussulman despots, the republicans of Holland, the subjects of France and England's mixed monarchies all thrown together; here, too, was every shade of colour which distinguishes the human countenance, and here were multiplied forms of religion and superstition. Christians, who professed allegiance to the Pope of Rome, the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Catholicus of Armenia; Christians whs disowned all allegiance and were called Independents; follower- of the Anglican Communion, the Synod of Dort, the Westminster confession; Súni, Shía, and Boser disciples of the Prophet; heathenism in all its degrees, from the worship of "the eye of day," to the adoration of a monkey-god, or a daub of red paint —all were here. Where else shall we find such variety? A history of Surat would be a most important chapter in a universal history of mankind.

# THE BENGAL ARTILLERY.

BY COLONEL BROOME AND SIR N. STAPLES.

1. *General Orders of the Bengal Army.*
2. *Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Bengal Army.*—Calcutta Star, 1844.
3. *Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery; from the British Indian Military Repository.*
4. *Report of the Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose of making a revision in the several equipments in the British Artillery Service.* 1819—*Ibid.*
5. *Proceedings of the Special Board of Artillery Officers assembled at Calcutta.* 1836-38.
6. *Remarks on the organization of the Corps of Artillery in the British service.* 1818.
7. *Memorandum on Horse Artillery; from the East India United Service Journal.*

IN the article on the subject of Lord Hardinge's Administration, in the XVIth No. of this Review, we entered somewhat in detail upon the nature and extent of the reductions that had been rendered necessary in the military establishment of India, by the state of the Government finances. We then expressed our opinion that these reductions, being unavoidable under the circumstances of the time, had been carried out in a manner at once prudent and considerate towards the interests of those concerned; and we particularly alluded to the circumstance that no reduction whatever had been attempted in the ordnance establishments, but that, on the contrary, they had been put upon a more efficient footing generally, and more especially as regarded the condition of the siege and field artillery on and near the frontier.

Since that article was written, events have occurred on the continent of Europe, startling from their rapidity and most important in the results they are calculated to produce—events, too, which must ultimately, to a certain extent, affect our military position in the East.

Revolution has shaken empires to their foundations, dynasties have been overthrown, and a spirit of anarchy, under the specious name of liberty, has diffused itself over the length and breadth of the old world. At such a crisis, when a single false step on the part of any one of the leading nations of Europe might give rise to a general war; when all eyes are turned towards Egypt, whose fate is hanging on the slender thread of an old man's life; when our amicable relations with China are overclouded, and conspiracy and rebellion are rife upon our imme-

diate frontier ;—common prudence demands that we should look carefully to our means for meeting the threatened storm and adopt every necessary precaution to encounter all probable contingencies.

The condition of our military establishment is the chief and most immediate point that calls for minute and careful investigation. This should be conducted in a spirit of firmness and prudence, equally removed from the reckless extravagance of a newly-created alarm, or the more objectionable parsimony of an over-weening security.

A general consideration of the various details connected with this most important subject, would far exceed the limits of a Review article or the scope of a single pen. We therefore purpose confining ourselves,for the present, to an investigation of the actual condition and requirements of one single arm, that of the artillery ; an arm which the rapid progress of mechanical science, and the modern improvements in the art of war, are daily bringing into a position of greater prominence all over the civilized world. Of the importance attached to the efficient condition of this arm in our own country, we have recently seen a remarkable instance, in the fact, that while the general question of national defence was left open to public discussion, Government promptly adopted the first precaution of making a large increase to the establishment of the Royal Regiment of Artillery.

We are not sufficiently acquainted with the subordinate details of the ordnance corps at Madras and Bombay, to admit of our taking up the subject of the whole Indian artillery, and are consequently compelled to limit our remarks to the condition of that arm in Bengal alone ; but as the general system and organisation of the three corps are very similar, as their proportionate strength and composition closely correspond, as their acknowledged merits and defects are nearly alike, and their relative positions with regard to the other branches of the service, are influenced by the same regulations and circumstances, the arguments and observations that bear upon the one, will be found generally applicable to the other two.

In entering upon this undertaking, to the difficulties of which we are fully alive, we have but one object in view,—the conscientious desire to represent the true condition of the service in its various bearings, to excite the attention of all concerned towards evident defects, and by temperate and unbiassed investigation to trace the root of such evils, and suggest the most advantageous means of remedy. We have no desire to magnify merits or to carp at deficiencies: we would, " nothing extenuate nor set down aught in malice." We have no interests of our own to

further and none of others to subserve, neither have we any pet theories to foster and support. Thus free from the trammels of partizan influence or prejudice, we enter upon the task we have placed before us, if not with confidence, at least, with some hope that our intentions may be appreciated and our labour not altogether unproductive of good results

A history of the rise and progress of the several ordnance corps in India, is a great desideratum, but one which, as regards Bengal at least, we hope ere long to see supplied. The advantages possessed by Europeans over the natives of India in practical science and the mechanical arts, even in the earliest days of their mutual connection, naturally led to the employment of artillery by the Portuguese, the first European conquerors and settlers in Hindustan ; and from that date down to the present time, a white face and foreign tongue have passed the native armies as valid diplomas of efficiency in all the mysteries of "the great arte of artillerie," and "the shooting of great ordinance," as the early writers quaintly expressed themselves. The English, when at length admitted to a participation in the benefits of Indian commerce and adventure, did not neglect the advantages to be obtained by the possession of cannon, and of a few gunners to serve them ; though the former were probably confined to heavy ship and garrison pieces, and intended merely for defence, and the gunners either formed a portion of the ordinary guards or were taken on emergency from the shipping, which, even for many years subsequent, was the source whence the *personnel* of the Indian artillery was mainly obtained. In Bengal, although the first settlements of the English East India Company professed to be purely mercantile, we find that almost from their commencement, a few artillerymen formed a portion of the guard maintained for the protection of the factories. As early as 1664 it is recorded that Shaistah Khan, the Subadar of Bengal, applied to the British factory at Hugly for the aid of a party of European gunners, in a war he was then waging against the King of Arracan ; and though at first denied he appears to have gained his object, by the effectual threat of putting a stop to the English traffic in saltpetre. About twenty years after this, when the Company, galled by the avarice and oppression of the various native rulers and functionaries in Bengal, had determined on the adoption of a bolder policy, and the establishment of a strong military position at Chittagong, no less than 200 pieces of ordnance were sent out in the fleet commanded by Admiral Nicholson, for the defence of the military works ; and as six companies of infantry were sent out at the same time, there

can be little doubt that some provision was also made for the service of such a considerable amount of artillery. Whatever addition, if any, was made to that branch, it subsequently shared in the general reduction of the military establishment that was enforced on the re-admission of the English into Bengal, and the settlement of Job Charnock at Calcutta in 1690.

From this period it appears, from the occasional mention made of them in still-existing records, that "the gunner and his crew," or "the gun-room crew," as the artillery detail was designated, continued gradually to increase, though still on a very limited scale, until the year 1748, (exactly a century ago,) when consequent on orders from the Court of Directors, the designation of "gun-room crew" was abolished and a regular company of artillery was organized at each of the three Presidencies. These companies consisted each of one Second Captain in actual command, one Captain Lieutenant and Director of the Laboratory, (the Ordnance Commissary of that day,) one First Lieutenant Fireworker, one Second Lieutenant Fireworker, one Ensign Fireworker, four Sergeant Bombardiers, four Corporal Bombardiers, two drummers, and 100 gunners. That able artillerist, Mr. Benjamin Robins, was nominated Captain of each company, with the rank of Engineer General and Commander-in-Chief of artillery in India.

The bigoted jealousy of the time and the absurd mystery observed in the laboratory, afford a marked contrast to the more wise and liberal spirit that now prevails. Not only were Roman Catholics excluded from the company, but also protestants married to catholics; it was, moreover, ordered that any officer or soldier in the company who should marry a catholic, or whose wife should become a convert to that religion, should be transferred to the infantry. The Court further directed that "no foreigner, whether in our service or not, "(except such as hath been admitted into it by the Court "of Directors) nor no Indian black, or persons of a mixed "breed, nor any Roman Catholic of what nation soever, shall "on any pretence be admitted to set foot in our laboratories "or any of the military magazines, either out of curiosity or "to be employed in them, or to come near them, so as to see "what is doing or contained therein; nor shall any such "persons have a copy or sight of any accounts or papers "relating to any military stores whatever."

Such regulations would be somewhat inconvenient in the present day, when so large a proportion of the men are Irish Roman Catholics, and the chief laboratory duties are performed by "Indian blacks." It should be noticed that five years

previous to this order, the introduction of Lascars as assistants to the artillery had taken place, and received the sanction of the Court of Directors.

Notwithstanding these arrangements for placing this branch of the force upon a proper and efficient footing, we find that partly from an unwise feeling of security and partly from a spirit of false economy, (the two great and constant obstacles to all military efficiency,) the authorised establishment was gradually diminished, and the ordnance material so much neglected, as to call forth a strong remonstrance from Captain Jasper Leigh Jones, commanding the company in 1755. But it was in the following year that the full evil of this neglect and inefficiency was made practically and painfully manifest, on the commencement of hostilities by the Nawb Súraj-ú-Dowlah. On the investment of Calcutta by that chief, the strength of the artillery company, exculsive of the details detached at the outposts, was only forty-five of all ranks. The defences were in bad condition, the ammunition and stores insufficient and of inferior quality, ordnance that had been sent out from England, was lying useless and dismounted outside the fort, other guns were mounted where they could not be fired, and above all, the powder was damaged. The company was commanded by Captain Lieutenant Witherington, whose conduct appears to justify the description given of him by Mr. Holwell, "a laborious active officer, but confused, who would have "few objections to his character, diligence, or conduct, had "he been fortunate in having any Commander-in-Chief to "have had a proper eye over him and to take care that he did "his duty."

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, the artillery performed their part manfully during the siege, but their exertions were unavailing, and the greater portion either fell during the operations, or perished with their officers in the *Black Hole.* A small remnant escaped to Fultah, with the other Europeans, where they were reinforced by the details from the outposts, by volunteers from the shipping and fugitive inhabitants, as also by a few gunners that had arrived from Madras with Major Kirkpatrick; some of the civilians volunteered their services as officers, amongst whom was Mr. John Johnstone, who afterwards rendered himself remarkable by his opposition in Council to Vansittart and Clive.

In December following, Colonel Clive arrived with a force from Madras, including eighty artillery under the command of Lieutenant Jennings, who immediately assumed charge of the whole of that arm, which was actively engaged in the subse-

quent operations for the recapture of Calcutta and the defeat of the Nawab on the 4th February 1757.

In March a detachment of Royal Artillery arrived from Bombay under the command of Captain Robert Barker, on whom, as the senior officer, the command of the whole artillery then devolved; which command he exercised at the capture of Chandernagore. Shortly afterwards he was ordered to Madras to assume the command of the artillery at that Presidency, when Lieutenant Jennings with the rank of Captain Lieutenant, reassumed the charge of the details in Bengal. He commanded this arm at the battle of Plassey, the brunt of which action fell upon the artillery, who had ten field pieces to a force of about 3,000 men, or one gun to every 300 firelocks. After the action a couple of field pieces accompanied the detachment under Major Eyre Coote, which proceeded as far as Chupprah, in pursuit of the French force under Monsieur Law. The greater portion of the artillery accompained Colonel Clive in the beginning of 1758 to Patna, where a small party, with two guns, appears to have been left, when the force returned to the Presidency. In June the various details were all incorporated by Lord Clive into one company and permanently attached to the Bengal Presidency, when Jennings was promoted to the rank of Captain. In September of that year they were subdivided into two companies; the command of the first, with the general control of the whole artillery, appears to have been vested in Captain Jennings, and the command of the other company was conferred on Captain John Broadbridge, who was promoted on the occasion, and who appears to have belonged to the Royal Artillery detail which came round from Bombay. This officer with his command, accompained Colonel Ford's expedition to the Northern Circars, where the company greatly distinguished itself, especially in the battle of Condore and the siege of Masulipatam. A battery or *field train*, as it was then termed, of six 6-pounders and one field howitzer, was attached, together with eleven siege pieces of sorts.

The company left at the Presidency, had an opportunity of performing equally good service during the Dutch invasion in 1759, and mainly contributed to the brilliant and important victory at Bedarrah on the 25th November of that year.

In the beginning of the year 1760, the detail left at Patna was nearly annihilated in an action with the forces of the Emperor Shah Allum, which took place close to that city. The second company having returned, nearly the whole of this arm was actively employed in the subsequent operations under Major Calliand, Captain Knox and Major Carnac.

On the breaking out of hostilities Mír Kassim Khan in

1763, the second company under the command of Captain John Kinch was stationed at Patna, where, owing to the rashness of the civil agent, Mr. Ellis, the whole were made prisoners and subsequently perished in the awful massacre of October.

On the receipt of the first intelligence of this disaster, the force at the Presidency being about to take the field, the first company which had recently been reinforced, was again divided into two, and the new command devolved upon Captain Ralph Winwood, who had previously attained that rank by the death of Captain Broadbridge. These two companies participated in the fatigues and honors of Major Adams' brilliant campaign, and bore a prominent part in the action of Gherriah, at the lines of Udwah Nullah, and at the capture of Patna. The proportion of artillery to infantry during this campaign was of necessity small, giving little more than one gun to 500 muskets and sabres; but this being found very inadequate, as acknowledged by Council in their minute of 17th September 1763, a third company of artillery was raised, the command of which was nominally given to Captain Nathaniel Kindersley of the Royal Artillery, who arrived shortly after with a body of artillery recruits from England. His services, however, being required in the field, the command of this company, the head-quarters of which were in Fort William, was given to Captain Fleming Martin, the Chief Engineer. The circumstances under which that officer was appointed to the command, afford a curious instance of the mode in which such matters were arranged in those days. Captain Martin was then employed on the buildings of the new fort, and applied to be appointed superintendent of the brick manufactory, which he designated "a very considerable post," and stated that the perquisites attached to it were equal to twice his salary as Chief Engineer. The Council, having some other friend to serve, refused his request, but to make him amends for the loss, they gave him a company of artillery; that is, they gave him the emoluments of one, the actual command being of necessity exercised by the next senior officer.

During the mutiny at Sant in 1764, the artillery appears to have been the only portion of the force that retained its discipline and subordination; a circumstance which may possibly be ascribed to their regard for Captain Jennings, on whom the command of the whole force had then devolved.

During the campaigns of that and the ensuing year, the artillery bore its full share of service and maintained its already well established reputation, especially in the actions at Patna in April, and at Buxar in October 1764, as also in the sieges of Chunar and Allahabad and the action at Culpí in 1765. The

proportion of artillery to infantry was now much increased, and at Buxar, which may be considered as the most important, as it was also one of the hardest fought actions in the early annals of British conquest in Bengal, there was nearly one gun to every two hundred men,—the number of the former being 28 and of the latter 6,084. But admirably as these guns were served and handled, they were far too weak in number and calibre to compete with the heavy battery of the enemy, and that action, like the majority of those that have succeeded it in this country, was mainly won by the indomitable courage and formidable bayonets of the infantry, with of course the usual and necessary concomitant of very heavy casualties. Another circumstance which also has been repeated in many subsequent actions, is worthy of note; the whole of the enemy's guns, 133 in number, were captured; their bullock draught not admitting of their being carried off with sufficient celerity. The same evil must of course have resulted on the British side, in the event of a defeat; as then, and for many years later, no draught but that of bullocks was employed for field guns. The consequence was that in every campaign, we read of numerous instances of the movements of the army being delayed on account of the artillery, and not unfrequently of accidents and contretemps arising from this inefficient and most absurd system, which, strange to say, still partially obtains. On the 5th August 1765, Lord Clive who had reassumed the Government of Bengal, formed the army into three brigades of equal strength and with fixed establishments, which may be considered the commencement of a regular system in the Bengal army. Each brigade consisted of one battalion of European and (nominally seven but practically) six of Native Infantry, one Russallah of irregular cavalry and one Company of European artillery.

A fourth company of artillery was now raised, to admit of one being exclusively employed for the garrison of Fort William. The first and second companies were attached to the first and second brigades, the third company being in Fort William, remained there, and the new or fourth company was attached to the third brigade. The whole four companies appear to have been under the general control of Major Jennings, who had previously obtained that rank, but he also retained the special command of his own (the 1st) company, according to the rule and practice then in force in the infantry, by which all field officers held companies. Accordingly the four companies appear to have been commanded by Major Jennings, Captains Winwood, Martin, and Kindersley.

Each company consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieuten-

ant, one first lieutenant, one second lieutenant, three lieutenant, fireworkers, four sergeants, four corporals, two drummers, two fifers, ten bombardiers, twenty-two gunners and sixty Matrosses giving seven officers to one hundred and two men ; in addition to which an adjutant and a quarter-master, both effective, were allowed to each company, as also two conductors. The non-commissioned staff were non-effective. Commissaries and Deputy Commissaries of Ordnance were appointed for the charge of ordnance stores at the different stations and attached to the several companies according to their localities ; these were selected from the commissioned and warrant grades and were exclusive of the regular establishment. A field train or battery of six 6-pounders and two howitzers was attached to each Company, besides an indefinite number of seige guns according to what was available or likely to be required ; each battalion of infantry had also two field pieces attached ; for some years these were of a motley character, 12, 6 and 3-pounders, 5½ and 4⅘ inch howitzers, some brass and some iron,—in short, whatever were to be had. To assist in working the field train and seige guns, and also for employment with the battalion guns, a considerable body of Lascars was attached to each company, and two European gunners were also allowed for the guns of each battalion.

As this was the first regular and proportionate organisation of the army, and one which formed the basis of subsequent arrangements for many years, and as moreover it was carried out, after long and careful consideration by Lord Clive, who was aptly termed a "heaven-born-General," and who had an intimate knowledge of the requirements of an Indian force, it is advisable to consider the proportions of the several arms then deemed requisite. Excluding the garrison company, the number of guns in the three brigade field trains and with the battalions amounted to sixty-six ; giving more than three guns to each battalion, and as the total infantry amounted to 18,086, allowing one gun to every 275 men. The wide difference between the proportions of officers to men, and of cannon to musketry, as fixed by this arrangement, and as sanctioned in the present day, are very remarkable and deserve consideration.

Major Jennings died shortly after the organisation of the corps of which he was the first commandant ; he was succeeded in the command by Major Winwood, who had previously obtained that rank by brevet, consequent on his standing. In 1766 the general and serious mutiny of the the Bengal officers took place, caused by the reduction of their batta, on which occasion the artillery did not escape the contagion ; three captain lieutenants and several subalterns being actively concerned in it. Captain Lieutenant

Patrick Duff was one of the ringleaders, and though subsequently restored to the service, the Court of Directors ordered that he should not be promoted above the rank he then held; this order, however, was not acted on, as he ultimately rose to the rank of Major-General, and also to the command of the Regiment. In 1768 Major Winwood resigned the service and proceeded to England, when he obtained an exchange into the infantry, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, finding that a much more lucrative and advantageous line. He was succeeded in the command by Captain Fleming Martin, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel. The appointment of this officer to the command of the artillery was as remarkable as his introduction into that branch as a Captain. In addition to his command of a company, he was, as already stated, Chief Engineer, and the duties of that office, together with the erection of the fort, with the perquisites attached, fully occupied his time. Matters not having gone on very satisfactorily in that department, the Court of Directors sent out Captain Campbell, of the Royal Engineers, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, to be Chief Engineer in Bengal, and to carry on the works of Fort William; upon which the local Government took advantage of Captain Winwood's resignation, to appoint Captain Martin to the command of the artillery, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, so as to place him on a footing with his successor. Captain Kindersley, who was his senior officer, remonstrated against this supercession, but in vain; he however obtained the rank of Major, and he retained the actual command of the corps, as Colonel Martin continued to conduct the duties of Chief Engineer until Colonel Campbell's arrival in November 1768, when he resigned and returned to England with a large fortune, as did every one who was concerned in the erection of Fort William. Major Kindersley now obtained the command of the artillery, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, his place being occupied by Lieutenant Deane Pearse of the Royal Artillery, an intelligent and distinguished officer, who had been specially selected by the Court of Directors, and previously sent out with the rank of Major of the corps. Lieutenaut-Colonel Kindersley died in October 1769, and the command then devolved upon Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse, who retained it for twenty years, and to whom is mainly to be attributed the subsequent efficiency of the corps.

In 1770, a new organisation took place under the auspices of a special committee of which the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Robert Barker, himself an artillery officer, was the active member. A fifth company was raised for garrison duty, as a single one was found insufficient for the duties of the Fort and the river re-

doubts at Budge-Budge, where the old fort had been repaired and mounted with guns and three heavy batteries erected.

The corps was now formed into a battalion of five companies, with a Lieutenant Colonel to command, a Major and an effective Adjutant to the battalion. Field officers were no longer allowed to retain the command of companies, the rank of Second Lieutenant was abolished, and a Deputy Commissary was permanently attached to each company. The appointments of Adjutant and Quarter-master to the company were also united in one person. The non-commissioned rank was increased, and the staff of that grade made effective. Each company now consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieutenant, three Lieutenants, three Lieutenant Fireworkers, one Commissioned Adjutant and Quarter-master, one Deputy Commissary, two conductors, one Sergeant Major, one Quarter-master sergeant, six sergeants, six corporals, three drums and fifes, eight bombardiers, twenty-four gunners, and fifty-three Matrosses ; giving eight commissioned officers, exclusive of the staff, to 102 men.

The field trains were now enlarged, and fixed at eight 6-pounders and two howitzers each ; in addition to which two iron 24-pounders and two 12-pounders were attached to each of the three bridgade companies for siege purposes. Battalion guns were withdrawn from the European battalions; but still retained with the Sipahi corps. From these last, however, the Lascar details were mostly withdrawn, and a portion of the Sipahis of each regiment were trained to the exercise of the field guns ; an European artilleryman being attached to each piece, which men were extra to the establishment of the companies.

The number of Lascars was reduced and fixed at five divisions to each European company of artillery, making a total of twenty-five divisions. Each of these divisions consisted of one European non-commissioned officer, two Serangs, eight Tindals, and one hundred Lascars, whom the Special Committee recommended, and Government ordered to be " disciplined to the exercise of great guns."

The establishments of draught bullocks for each company was 393 exclusive of 256 attached to the twelve battalion guns of each brigade.

By this new arrangement it will be observed, that an additional subaltern was granted to each company, which, in other respects, retained its previous strength, but with a better distribution of the several grades. The formation of the whole arm into a battalion was advisable, as it afforded the opportunity of giving the officers their share of the higher grades, to which considerable emoluments were then attached, and invested the senior with

a more complete and regular control over the whole, whilst he was relieved from the special charge of any separate portion. As the corps increased in strength, and the number of battalions multiplied, this principle continued to be acted on when it was no longer advantageous.

The evils of slow promotion, inferior emoluments in the lower grades, and deprivation of the general advantages of staff employ and detached command, so long the bane of this branch of the service, were already beginning to manifest themselves to the serious injury of the corps; especially by their tendency to keep out qualified and intelligent officers who could possibly obtain employment in any other branch of the service. The Special Committee themselves noticed this result, and stated in their report that "the quick rise in the infantry "compared to that in the artillery, is so discouraging a cir- "cumstance to those in the latter corps, that few would enter "into it were the choice optional." Colonel Pearse himself, shortly before obtaining the command, wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, applying to be transferred to the infantry, on account of the disadvantages of the artillery service, after alluding to which he observes, "The infantry points out a very different "prospect; assures those who are happy enough to be in it, "that they will arrive at rank, by which they may be sure to "secure a competency, or at least something sufficient to make "their latter days not burdensome to themselves or their friends; "and though the chief command of the artillery may promise "as fair a chance of obtaining a competency, yet I can truly "assert that I know it not; and that command is less an object "of my wishes than removal from the corps; and happy should "I think myself could I obtain a removal from the artillery "to the infantry with the rank I have."*

As might be expected, the result of these disadvantages was the introduction of a class of officers generally inferior in qualifications and pretensions to those of the infantry. Colonel Pearse observes on this point in a letter written in 1775, "When I first came "into the command of the corps, I was astonished at the igno- "rance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to "make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India "ships, an officer of artillery, from a strange idea that a know- "ledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in

* A similar opinion appears to prevail generally at present. Many officers in the service, including some belonging to the artillery, having exerted themselves to exchange the cadetships obtained for their sons from the artillery to the infantry service, and instances alone have not unfrequently occurred of officers passing for the artillery at Addiscombe, but coming out in the infantry from their own choice.

"the knowledge of artillery. They were almost all of this "class; and their ideas consonant to the elegant military educa- "tion they had received. But thank God I have got rid of "them all but seven."

Although the establishments, cattle and material connected with the field trains, were on a liberal footing as regarded quantity, the carriages, ammunition and stores generally were of exceedingly inferior quality, supplied by contractors, who having interest to obtain the contracts, had also sufficient influence to force their wretched produce into the service, and to cover themselves from loss or exposure, by getting all power of choice or rejection taken from the hands of the artillery officers. Colonel Pearse observes on this subject in a letter to General Desaguliers, "When I was at practice in 1770, the fuzes burnt from 19 to 48 "seconds, though of the same nature. The portfires were "continually going out. The tubes would not burn, the powder "was infamous. The cartridges were made conical, and if it "was necessary to prime with loose powder, a great quantity was "required to fill the vacant cavity round the cartridge. The "carriages flew into pieces with common firing in a week.

"All this I represented, but my representation was quashed; "the contractors still make the carriages, the laboratory is in "the same hands, and I have no more to do with it than his "Holiness at Rome.

"Now I have got all the laboratory implements with me at "practice, and I am going to teach the officers what they never "saw."

By dint of persevering and strenuous representations, aided by his personal influence with Warren Hastings, the Governor of Bengal, Colonel Pearse overcame these obstacles step by step and gradually brought the corps into a high state of efficiency, and raised the character of the service to its proper position. In these endeavours he was assisted by the Court of Directors who exerted themselves to obtain and send out qualified officers from the Military College at Woolwich. In this, however, they only partially succeeded, and a considerable portion of the officers were transferred from the infantry to the artillery. For their benefit and for the general instruction of the corps, a mathematical teacher was subsequently allowed at headquarters, on a salary of Rs. 500 per mensem, which appointment continued in force, until 1796, when it was abolished, and peremptory orders were issued against the admission of any officers except those educated at Woolwich.

The organization of 1770 remained unaltered for several years, with the exception of the Lascar details which were reduced;

the complement being fixed at four divisions instead of five to the field companies and only one division to each European company in garrison. In 1774 the second company served with its brigade in the Rohilla campaign under Colonel Champion, and did most effective service at the battle of St. George. On this occasion the force engaged consisted of one European regiment and six battalions of Sipahis, the whole mustering little more than five thousand firelocks, with twenty pieces of artillery or one to every two hundred men.

In February 1775 General Clavering, then Commander-in-Chief, ordered, for the sake of uniformity, an exchange of numbers between the third and fourth companies; by which arrangement the first, second, and third companies were attached to the corresponding brigades, and the fourth and fifth became the garrison companies. In the same year a number of officers were attached to the army of the Nawab Vizier, for the purpose of disciplining and instructing the several branches of that force, on which occasion a Captain Lieutenant and two subalterns of artillery were temporarily transferred to the Oude artillery.

In April of that year a Board of Ordnance was established, the foundation of the present Military Board. This new body was composed of the Governor-General as President, the Commander-in-Chief, Members of Council, Commissary General, Commandant of Artillery, Chief Engineer, Commissary of Stores, and the Military Store-keeper. To this Board all reports regarding the material equipment of the artillery were to be referred, and by it all arrangements were to be made for the supply of field trains and magazines, the granting of contracts, and the general supervision of military stores. The appointment of the Governor-General and Council to this Board, was little more than nominal, the Commander-in-Chief generally presiding and the Military members only being constant in attendance. The natural result (and there is reason to believe that this was one of the objects in view,) was to destroy the authority of the only responsible officer, the Commandant of Artillery, and to throw the whole arrangements for the equipment of his corps into the hands of the Commissary General and Military Store-keeper who, from being themselves contractors and suppliers, or connected in interest with contractors, were the very parties least fitted for such authority. The evil was further aggravated by the personal enmity borne by General Clavering, Colonel Watson, the Chief Engineer, and Colonel Dow, the Commissary General, towards Col. Pearse. This arrangement was a serious blow to the growing efficiency of the regiment, and one

from which, owing to a partial continuance of the evil principle it has never recovered to the present day. One of the first acts of this Board was to withdraw the charge of the ordnance, stores, cattle and Lascars attached to each field park from the artillery officer commanding the company, whilst in cantonment, and transferring to the Commissary of Ordnance at the Station, to be issued when the company marched on service or when any portion might be required. In a word, taking the charge from the responsible Captain and making it over to a subaltern, and this, sometimes, a subaltern of infantry, for the Ordnance Department was now made a portion of the army staff, and occasionally thrown open to the whole service. The Lascar details attached to each company were accordingly reduced to two Serangs, four Tindals and 100 Lascars in cantonment, and increased from the magazine, when proceeding on service, to six Serangs, twelve Tindals, and 325 Lascars. The only object of this arrangement appears to have been to convey a slight to the artillery, and to deprive the battery officer proceeding on service, of all knowledge of the condition of the equipments then made over to him, or of the character of the men placed under his command.

In August 1777, consequent on arrangements with the Nawab Vizier, the Oude troops, which had been partially disciplined by European officers, were organized and formed into a brigade, consisting of three regiments of cavalry, nine regiments of Sipahis, and three companies of native artillery or Golundaz. These troops were nominally borne in equal portions upon the strength of the three regular brigades, but in reality were kept together in the Nawab's territories, and formed, what was called, the Temporary Brigade.

The strength of these Golundaz companies was fixed at one Captain Lieutenant, two subalterns, three sergeants, one Subadar, three Jemadars, sixteen non-commissioned and drums and fifes, and eighty Golundaz. To the three companies were allowed one Major in command of the whole, one Adjutant, one Quarter-master, and one Sergeant Major. Major Patrick Duff was nominated to the general command, and Captain Lieutenants Thomas Harris, Justly Hill, and George Sampson obtained the command of the companies, with two subalterns each. Lieutenants Cornelius Davis and Christopher Green were appointed as Adjutant and Quarter-master: six companies of Lascars were raised and attached, two to each Golundaz company; and each of the latter was furnished with a field train or battery of two light 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, and two howitzers, which was then the equipment of an European brigade field train. This arrange-

ment gave thirty field pieces to three cavalry and nine infantry regiments, or about one gun to two hundred and seventy muskets and sabres.

The liberal and efficient establishment of these Golundaz companies as compared with all subsequent organizations, especially in the proportion of European officers, is worthy of notice. Well would it have been for the Government and for the service if this example had been afterwards borne in remembrance. Consequent on the hostilities commenced with the Mahrattas and the probabilities of a war with France and with Hyder Ali, it was found expedient, in July 1778, considerably to increase the artillery. Accordingly two additional European companies were raised, being chiefly composed of drafts from the European regiments, artillery recruits not being available.

An European company of artillery invalids was also formed and stationed at Chunar and Fort William.

At the same time, at the earnest recommendation of Colonel Pearse, three battalions of Golundaz were organized on a plan submitted by that officer, who urged upon Government the prudence and the real economy of incurring a comparatively small outlay, to convert the inefficient Lascars into efficient artillerymen, by the simple process of changing the marine designations of the several grades from Serang, Tindal and Lascar, to Subadar, Jemader and Golundaz, by increasing their pay, placing them on a footing with the infantry Sipahis, giving them a proportion of European officers, instilling a pride and confidence in themselves and their profession ; in a word, by raising their condition from that of military helots to soldiers. These battalions were raised at Futtyghur, Cawnpore, and the Presidency, and were composed of a selection from the Lascars, new recruits, and the 2nd and 3rd artillery companies of the Oude brigade, which were incorporated with them. The first of these companies had already been attached to Colonel Leslie's, afterwards Colonel Goddard's detachment, which was ordered to proceed from Culpí across the peninsula of India to Surat ; which company, during the long and arduous duties of that detachment, distinguished itself in a marked manner, by its zeal, fidelity and efficiency. Each of the new battalions, was composed of eight companies and each company of two Jemadars, eight Havildars, eight Naicks, two drummers, and one hundred private Golundaz. Each battalion was commanded by a Captain, with one Subadar as Native Commandant, one Subadar as Adjutant, and one Havildar Major. One of the objects of this arrangement, and one which, whilst it materially added to the efficiency of the service generally, also tended to render the measure an economical one, was the

abolition of the system of battalion guns, by which thirty Sipahis heretofore employed to work each brigade of two 6-pounders were rendered available for their legitimate duties as infantry, to which extent each battalion of Sipahis was virtually increased. When guns were required for detached battalions or outposts, they were to be furnished from the Golundaz, and each brigade of two guns was always to be under the command of a subaltern officer, who was held responsible for his detail of Golundaz, and also for the condition of the ordnance equipments and draught cattle under his charge.

The artillery was no longer considered as forming a portion of the general brigades, but was organised as an independent brigade in itself, consisting of one European regiment, composed of seven service and one invalid company, and three battalions of Golundaz of eight companies each. The establishment of officers was increased to meet this extended organisation, and was fixed on the following scale:

One Colonel Commandant, having the general control of the whole brigade, with a staff of one Brigade Major, one aid-de-camp, and one head surgeon, equivalent to a Superintending Surgeon of the present day. The rank of Colonel was, however, withheld from Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse until every officer in the infantry, his senior in the service, was promoted, which took place in the following year.

The European regiment consisted of one Lieutenant-Colonel, two Majors, one Adjutant, one Quarter-master, one Surgeon, three Assistant Surgeons, and seven effective non-commissioned staff.

The companies retained the same strength of officers and men as before, but the company Adjutant and Quarter-master was abolished; the Deputy Commissioners and conductors had been previously struck off the strength of companies. To the three Golundaz battalions, one Major was allowed for the command of the whole, with one Adjutant and Quarter-master, one Surgeon, three Assistant Surgeons, one Sergeant Major and one Quarter-master sergeant. Gun Lascars were entirely abolished, with exception to three divisions, which were attached to the first Oude company, then with Goddard's detachment, and which had marched prior to this new organisation. Like the Sipahi battalions of that detachment it was considered extra to the regular establishment. The officers attached to it, viz., one Captain (Brevet Major Baillie), one Captain Lieutenant, and four subalterns were also borne as supernumeraries. The distribution of the corps was as follows:—one European and four Golundaz companies at Futtyghur; one European and four Golundaz companies at Cawnpore; half the invalid company

at Chunar; five European companies and the remainder of the invalids, with two battalions of Golundaz at the presidency.

The companies at the field stations, formed what was designated *the field train*, which was placed under the command of a Field Officer, with a staff of one Adjutant, one Quarter-master, one Surgeon, one Assistant Surgeon, one Sergeant Major, one drill sergeant and one drill Corporal. All expenses attending the ordnance, stores and cattle were charged to the artillery brigade, on which account a separate pay-master was also sanctioned.

The ordnance attached to the field train was fixed by M. C. 29th July 1778, at three field parks or batteries, each consisting of two 12-pounders, six 6-pounders, and two howitzers. One of these batteries was attached to each of the European companies, and the third to one of the Golundaz companies, probably to one of the Oude companies, both of which had a battery before. Exclusive of these batteries were the field pieces which had formerly constituted the battalion guns, and which though now attached to the Golundaz, were not reduced in number.

Such was the complete footing on which the artillery was now placed, chiefly owing to the exertions of Colonel Pearse, who was enabled to carry out his views with comparatively little difficulty, owing to his old opponent General Clavering having recently died.

Although embodied little more than a year, the Golundaz battalions attained a high degree of efficiency and excited general admiration; but unfortunately the Court of Directors took alarm at a measure, entertaining an opinion, which was sedulously fostered by interested parties in India, that it was dangerous to teach natives the use of artillery; forgetting that in the mere serving of a gun, the Golundaz in the several native armies heretofore opposed to us, had shown themselves quite as efficient as any European artillery; but that whatever might be their manual proficiency, without qualified European officers, they were comparatively harmless; and further, that the same amount of instruction was communicated whether the receivers bore the designation of Lascars or Golundaz, and was also imparted to the Sipahis told off for the service of the battalion guns. Actuated by this absurd apprehension, the Court of Directors ordered the reduction of the whole of the Golundaz. This order might have been evaded or suspended by the local authorities, as were, at the time, many others of equal import, and with less show of reason for so doing; but Sir Eyre

Coote, who had assumed the office of Commander-in-Chief, succeeded also to his predecessor's animosity towards Colonel Pearse, towards whom, moreover, there was a general feeling of jealousy, whilst the interests of the Line were enlisted against the maintenance of the Golundaz. Colonel Pearse had stepped almost immediately from the rank of Lieutenant in the Royal Artillery to that of Lieutenant-Colonel in Bengal, and consequently had superceded many officers his seniors in years and length of service. The emoluments attached to his extensive command, which were considerable, also excited envy; but the greatest opposition arose from the loss experienced by the officers commanding infantry battalions, consequent on the withdrawal of the battalion guns, to which establishments many desirable prequisites were attached in those days; the Lascars belonging to them being used as private servants, and the tumbrils employed for the conveyance of private property. These various interests and prejudices combined, were successful in their object; and in spite of a firm but respectful remonstrance on the part of Colonel Pearse, the three battalions of Golundaz were reduced in the end of 1779. The only portion of this splendid body that escaped, was the company with General Goddard's detachment. The Lascars were re-embodied, but the system of battalion guns was not restored. The Golundaz were allowed the option of re-entering the Lascar battalions or entertaining for the infantry. The first alternative none would of course adopt, considering it as a degradation; many did enlist as Sipahis, but the majority returned to their homes, or took service with the native powers, where they were subsequently encountered, opposed to the British troops, and that with the conduct and spirit which might have been expected from them. Thus was brought about the very evil which it was the object of this measure to prevent.

This extensive reduction of the artillery force,—at a time when the Government was involved in hostilities with the Mahrattas, and assistance was urgently required in the Madras presidency, which was hard pressed by Hyder Ali,—rendered some other arrangement necessary to make up for the deficiency. Accordingly three additional European companies were raised, and the occasion of a reorganization of the Line, was taken to reform the artillery which was now constituted a regiment, composed of two battalions, each battalion consisting of five companies. One Colonel Commandant was allowed to the regiment, with a staff of one Adjutant, one Aide-de-camp, one head surgeon, and one paymaster. The Brigade Major was permitted to retain that position which he then held, in place of the Adjutancy allowed by the regulations.

Each battalion was allowed one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, one Adjutant, and one Quarter-master. The strength of companies in officers and men remaining as before. Thus, exclusive of the commandant and staff, there was an effective complement of forty-two officers to each battalion, or nearly double the present *nominal* establishment. The Lascars were also formed into a regiment of ten battalions, each battalion of six companies, and each company composed of one Serang, two Tindals, two Cassabs (a new designation derived, like the others, from the marine service) and fifty Lascars. One of these battalions, 330 strong, was attached to each company of Europeans and a Serang commandant was allowed to each of them. Thus 2,700 inefficient Lascars was substituted for 2,400 efficient Golundaz. It was, however, ordered that the Lascars should be "instructed in the usual services of artillery, that of loading and pointing of guns and mortars excepted." They were now, for the first time, furnished with arms, which were ordered to be "light pikes, so constructed as to form a chevaux de frize occasionally." It was further ordered that this corps should perform the whole services dependant on the artillery. Two companies of artillery with two battalions of Lascars were attached to the brigade on frontier service; and the same to the brigade next for frontier duty; the remaining six companies and six battalions of Lascars were retained at the Presidency, including one company at Berhampore, and half a company at Midnapore.

Staff officers were sanctioned for the separate details in the field, and the returns of the period exhibit five Adjutants and five Quarter-masters on the establishment. The invalid company was no longer considered a component part of the regular establishment, but was to be similarly clothed and equipped and under the orders of the commandant of artillery. When invalid artillery officers were available, they were to be attached to it, and when this was not the case, one Captain and two subalterns were to be detached from the corps without prejudice to their rank.

Instead of battalion guns, it was ordered that when regiments were detached or ordered to march, they were to be supplied with two or more 6-pounders from the field park, under a subaltern of artillery, with a detail of Europeans and Lascars;—the field park to be furnished with 6-pounders to meet this demand at the rate of two pieces for each battalion of infantry.

After much discussion and opposition Lieut.-Col. Pearse at length obtained the rank of Colonel, his command being however restricted to his own corps. So strong was the interested feeling against this measure, that Col. Champion, when Commander-in-

Chief, had coolly recorded his opinion that no artillery officer ought to be allowed that rank, but that as a compensation, the senior officer of that branch might have *the bullock contract*; from which it is to be inferred that he deemed so lightly of the artillery, as to suppose that their military pride and ambition would give way before the sop of a lucrative monopoly.

During the year 1780, two of the field companies were actively employed, the one with Major Carnac and the other with Major Popham's detachment; the former sharing in the victory over Scindia's troops, and the latter in the operations against Gohud and Gwalior.

Two European companies, completed to the full strength with their complement of Lascars, accompanied Sir Eyre Coote by sea from Calcutta to Madras, and another company was shortly after attached to the force ordered to Madras by land. This detachment, which consisted of six native battalions, was placed under the command of Colonel Pearse, who was specially selected for the duty, in despite of the remonstrance of General Stibbert, the provisional Commander-in-Chief. The latter strongly objected to the principle of employing artillery officers on general commands, although no regulation existed to the contrary; although the practice was consonant to that of the Royal service, and was supported by various precedents in India, especially in the cases of Major Jennings and Sir Robert Barker in Bengal, Major Horne at Madras, and Colonels Maitland and Keating at Bombay; and above all, in the face of the evidence, that the interests of Government were best served by the appointment of Colonel Pearse, whom the best judges had pronounced to be the fittest person.

Consequent on the mutiny of one corps and a new organisation of the infantry, this detachment was reformed in five regiments, each of two battalions; the sixth battalion being incorporated with them. But for this force, Colonel Pearse did not consider one company of artillery sufficient, and as no more Europeans could be spared, a company of Golundaz was raised from the old material, and attached to his command. The field ordnance he took with him consisted of four 12-pounders, four howitzers and twenty 6-pounders, calculated at two of the latter for each battalion of infantry. He had thus 28 guns to 5,000 muskets, or about one to 180. These four companies, thus sent by different routes to Madras, remained on the coast during the continuance of the campaign, in which they bore a distinguished part. In 1784 they all returned to Bengal.

Lieut.-Col. Patrick Duff succeeded to the command of the regiment, during Colonel Pearse's absence, and Capt. Charles Deare

who was the first Brigade Major, having accompanied the detachment to Madras, the appointment was suspended, and Captain George Deare was nominated to act as Adjutant of the regiment. Capt. Charles Deare resumed his situation as Brigade Major on his return in 1784.

The demand for artillery continuing, and European recruits not being available for an increase of that branch, it was found necessary, in spite of the Court's orders, to form three additional Golundaz companies in 1782. These were raised from the old Golundaz who had enlisted in the infantry battalions, and were stationed severally at Fort William, Dinapore and Chunar. As soon as the war pressure relaxed, these were again reduced, two in 1784, and one in 1785. In the latter year the two remaining companies, that had so highly distinguished themselves with General Goddard's and Colonel Pearse's detachments, were also reduced, to the regret of all who had the opportunity of appreciating their merits. Previous to his departure in 1785, Warren Hastings recorded a minute highly favourable to these two companies, which he strongly recommended to be retained on the establishment, with their officers complete; both on account of the excellent service they had performed, and the great want of artillery;—the existing establishment being practically too limited, so much so, as to admit of no European companies being stationed between Cawnpore and the presidency. With this view he had stationed these two companies at Chunar and Dinapore, when the other Golundaz companies were broken up. But he had scarcely embarked, when the new regimé, which could see nothing good in his arrangements, disregarded his recommendation and issued the orders for their reduction. In the same spirit and with a view of annoying Col. Pearse, who was obnoxious as a staunch partizan of Mr. Hastings, the artillery, which, as being composed of two battalions of Europeans and ten of Lascars, had been considered and treated as a brigade, was in November 1785 formed into one battalion of ten companies. By this change his allowance as a Brigadier was taken away, whilst the appointment of Brigade Major was abolished, and that of Adjutant to the corps substituted. Captain Deare resigned rather than hold the appointment on its reduced position.

In May 1786, consequent on the receipt of positive and detailed orders from home, a complete reorganisation of the whole army took place, by which the artillery was formed into a regiment of three battalions, each battallon composed of five weak companies, and each company of one captain, two lieutenants, two lieutenant fireworkers, four sergeants, four corporals, two drums and fifes, eight gunners and fifty-six Matrosses,—

giving five officers to seventy-four men, which was a reduction of the previous proportion. A colonel was allowed for the general command, and one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, one non-effective Adjutant and one non-effective Quarter-master to each battalion. The establishment of Lascars was considerably reduced, the whole being formed into thirty companies, two of which were attached to each European company. These companies consisted of one Serang, two first Tindals, two second Tindals, and fifty-six Lascars. This establishment was exclusive of the invalid company, an independent company raised for and stationed at Bencoolen, and a separate detail at Prince of Wales' Island. As the artillery was still not designated a brigade, and no mention was made in the Court's orders of a Brigade Major, (an evident oversight, as no regimental staff was provided for, and the recent arrangement abolishing the Brigade Major was unknown at the date of the Court's letter,) the local authorities refused to appoint a Brigade Major and retained the situation of Adjutant to the corps. Col. Perase in vain remonstrated against this measure, but in May 1787, subsequent orders were received from the Court, directing that the artillery should be formed into a brigade, and distinctly ordering the appointment of a Brigade Major. This decided the question ; a Brigade Major was accordingly nominated, *but he was an infantry officer*, a Captain Cullen. However, on his resignation in the following year, the appointment was allowed to revert to the artillery, and Lieutenant Grace was nominated to it.

On this footing the artillery remained until the year 1796, with the exception of some slight change of arrangements as regarded the Lascar companies, which were rendered independent of the artillery companies and attached to them in a greater or less proportion, according to the exigencies of the service ; and subsequently the companies in the field were allowed an addition of fifty Lascars.

In June 1789, Colonel Deane Pearse, who, for so long a period had commanded the corps, with so much credit to himself and benefit to the State, died in Calcutta at the age of forty-seven. Of this period ten years had been spent in the Royal, and twenty-one in the Company's service ; for twenty years he had held the command of the artillery, and during the last three, he was the senior officer of the Bengal army, which gave him the rank of second in command with an increase of emoluments.

Lieutenant-Colonel George Deare succeeded him in the command.

At the close of the year 1789, six companies embarked for

Madras, consequent on hostilities with Tippoo Sahib ; four were attached to the field train, and six remained at the presidency.

The six companies that proceeded to Madras were actively employed during the two succeeding years in the campaign in Mysore under General Medows and Lord Cornwallis. Lieut.-Col. Patrick Duff, who went round in command of them, was appointed commandant of the whole artillery of the force, including a large portion of the Madras and two companies of Royal artillery. Aided by these last, the Bengal artillery manned the siege train, which consisted of fifty-six pieces, and also furnished the field artillery of the right wing ; the Madras artillery supplying the left wing and reserve. During the whole of this campaign in which the number of sieges brought the artillery into more than usual employment, the Bengal companies maintained their reputation and elicited the highest encomiums from Lord Cornwallis. Majors Montague and Woodburn were specially distinguished. Nine officers were killed, or died from fatigue and exposure during the operations. In 1792, the whole returned to Bengal. Three of them, with four fresh companies, were again sent round in the following year, consequent on the war with the French ; but all returned within a few months.

In 1794 two companies joined Sir R. Abercrombie's force and were present at the action of Beetorah against the Rohillas, when they lost two officers. In October of this year a general order was issued to the effect that "all reports and returns of whatever nature respecting his line of the service, comprehending that of the commissary of ordnance" were to be made through the senior artillery officer to the Adjutant General, and all orders respecting the magazine and artillery to be issued to him, as he was held "solely responsible to the Commander-in-Chief for the management of his department." In 1795, one company was again sent to the Coast, and in 1796, another company was ordered to the Northern Circars, and two proceeded to Ceylon, where operations were commenced against the Dutch. In the year, five companies were in the field, three on foreign service, and seven at the presidency.

In 1796, a new and important organization of the army took place, involving a radical change in its general constitution, introducing a greater assimilation to the system in force in the Royal army, and forming the basis of the existing arrangements. These changes involved a considerable reduction in the infantry, but gave a greater proportion of officers to men, and of field officers to captains and subalterns. The strength of the artil-

lery was nominally unaltered, but the proportion of officers to men was virtually reduced, not because it was found too large before, but in order to assimilate it to that of the infantry.

The whole force was divided into three regiments of European infantry each of one battalion, and twelve regiments of native infantry each of two battalions: nominally four, but in reality two regiments of cavalry, one battalion of engineers, and three battalions of artillery. Each battalion of artillery consisted of five companies and was allowed one Colonel, one Lieut. Colonel and one Major, with an Adjutant and a Quartermaster, both non-effective, and six non-commissioned staff, likewise non-effective.

Each company consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieutenant, two Lieutenants, one Lieutenant Fireworker, four sergeants, four corporals, eight gunners, two drums and fifes, and fifty-six Matrosses: thus affording exactly the same number of officers and men as before, but substituting a Captain Lieutenant for a Lieutenant Fireworker, which was an advantage to the officers, who also gained by the addition of the Colonel to each battalion instead of one to the whole corps as before.

The senior Colonel was now appointed to the command, with the title of Colonel Commandant, and his allowances were fixed at Rs. 1,000 per mensem. Major General Deare retained the command. The appointment of aide-de-camp was abolished, but that of Brigade Major was retained on the previous footing. The establishment of Lascars was continued at thirty companies as before, each consisting of one Serang, two first and two second Tindals, with fifty-six Lascars.

By this organisation one of the great and professed objects,—the equalisation of the several arms in the proportionate advantages of rank,—was for the time nearly attained. The proportion of field officers to captains and subalterns was in the European infantry as 1 to $7\frac{2}{3}$; in the native infantry, the cavalry and engineers as 1 to 8, and in the artillery as 1 to $8\frac{1}{3}$.

The proportions the several arms bore to each other in relative strength was—engineers 1, cavalry 2, artillery 3, and infantry 15.

These proportions it will be seen were not of long duration. Several important privileges were now granted to the whole army; foremost amongst which were Royal Commissions in India, the furlough, and the retiring regulations. In the line, the promotion, instead of going on in one general gradation list as heretofore, took place now in regiments to the rank of Major; and, in all branches, absentees and staff employés were borne on the strength of the regiment to which they belonged. It

was this circumstance that practically reduced the strength of officers in the artillery; as previously, all officers on general or regimental staff, and in most cases those on battalion or company staff, were effective and extra to the fixed establishment: so also were those on detached employ; whilst officers on leave to Europe went through the form of temporary resignation and were struck off the rolls of the corps. These were now all borne on the strength of their respective battalions or companies, thereby materially reducing the number of working officers. No increase of establishment was allowed to meet this drain; whereas in the infantry, this evil was counterbalanced by the number of officers to each battalion being more than doubled.

But considerable as was this reduction of the proportion of artillery officers when compared with the previous establishments, it still left the corps far better off than it is at present. A company then consisted nominally of five officers and seventy-four men, or a trifle more than one to fifteen. On the present establishment, the average is one officer to twenty-three men, whilst the proportion of absentees, is of necessity much increased.

But there was another material point in which this organisation bore very hardly upon the artillery. Their entire increase consisted of only two field officers, the strength of men remaining the same. Now the native infantry, previous to this order, consisted of thirty-six native battalions, with an establishment of six Lieut. Colonels, six Majors, thirty-six Captains and 324 subalterns, making a total of 372 or 10⅓ per battalion.

By this new arrangement the force was reduced to twenty-four battalions, to which were allowed twelve Colonels, twenty-four Lieutenant Colonels, twenty-four Majors, eighty-four Captains, twelve Captain Lieutenants, and 384 subalterns, giving a total of 540 officers or 22½ per battalion.

The whole of the officers permanently appointed to the cavalry, were moreover withwrawn from the infantry. Thus the latter branch had a great increase of promotion; whilst the artillery, suffering under a practical reduction, all the staff and absentees being thrown upon the several grades as supernumeraries, received a great check to promotion. The result was a long list of supernumeraries, and a large portion of each grade holding the brevet of the next superior rank.

One means of partially remedying this evil might have been found, in allowing an extra body of officers for the Ordnance Commissariat, for the duties of which department effective offi-

cers are as imperatively required as for companies. The establishment of that department then consisted of twelve commissaries and deputies, in which eight officers were employed. The opportunity was, however, neglected, and the omission passed into a precedent, which has been acted upon to the present day.

In the beginning of 1797, the three battalions of artillery were formed into a regiment, the head-quarters being fixed in Fort William. The head-quarters of two battalions were also established there, and the remaining battalion in the field, with two companies at Futtyghur, two at Cawnpore, and one at Dinapore. Arrangements were made for periodical relief of men and officers. The Lascar companies were permanently re-attached, two to each European company, and those in the field were increased to seventy Lascars each ; to this strength the whole of the Lascar companies in the field were raised in the following year. The weakness of the establishment of Europeans was now practically experienced, and in November 1797 each company was increased by ten men drafted from the Infantry. Hostilities recommencing at Madras, and Zeman Shah, the ruler of Kabul, threatening an invasion from the North, a further increase to the artillery was found necessary ; but European recruits not being obtainable even to complete the companies already existing, some of which were reduced to mere skeletons, resort was had once more to the Golundaz. A new plan, however, was now adopted ; instead of forming them into separate companies, they were incorporated as "component parts" of the European companies—each detail consisting of one Jemadar, three Havildars, three Naiks and forty Golundaz. These were raised from the Lascars, and in the first instance, attached only to the eleven companies then at Bengal,—those for the remaining four companies on foreign service, not being added until the following year. In the formation of these details, it was ordered that Mahommedans should be preferred, and that all should be entertained for sea and foreign service. By this arrangement the stringent orders of the Court that no corps of Golundaz was to be again raised, were not disobeyed in letter if they were in spirit ; as these "component parts" did not form a corps, and, moreover, it was argued that they were indispensable to fill up the existing deficiencies in the European details, and might be reduced when the latter were completed. This increase had scarcely been in orders a month, when, consequent on instructions from the Court of Directors, the European companies were augmented and fixed at five sergeants, five corporals, ten gunners, two drums,

and seventy Matrosses; the officers remaining as before. By these additions the strength of the corps was nearly doubled, whilst the establishment of officers remained unchanged. Whereas during the same period, the infantry had been increased by five regiments or ten battalions, to each of which the full complement of officers was allowed; whilst the cavalry, now formed into four corps, received a full establishment of officers permanently transferred from the infantry. Notwithstanding the order of 1797, limiting the field artillery to five companies, seven were in the field all that year, one on the Coast and two at Ceylon. In the following year the company on the Coast marched to Hyderabad, and one of the companies at Ceylon proceeded to Madras, as did also two companies from Fort William. In 1799 the three companies at Madras and the one from Hyderabad joined the army in Mysore under General Harris, and were employed at the siege and capture of Seringapatam in May of that year; on which occasion Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Montague, a highly distinguished, intelligent and experienced officer, who commanded the Bengal detail, lost his life. In 1800 all the companies returned from foreign service except two in Ceylon.

In March 1797 Major General Duff, on his arrival from England, was appointed Colonel Commandant of the regiment, superceding General Deare; but in June of that year, a resolution was passed in Council that General officers were not eligible to the command of the corps. Accordingly Colonel Hussey, the next senior, not a General officer, was appointed to the command with a seat at the Military Board; Generals Duff and Deare being both nominated to the General staff. In 1798 Colonel Hussey, on being promoted, was in like manner succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel Christopher Greene, who held the command until his death in July 1805.

In 1800 the first instance of the introduction of horse draught for artillery in Bengal occurred; an experimental brigade of two horse artillery guns being organized at Dum-Dum under the command of Lieutenant Clements Brown. For these guns, which were light six-pounders of 4½ cwt., carriages were purposely prepared, which weighed only 5½ cwt., giving a total of only 10 cwt. to the gun and carriage. The *personnel* consisted of one subaltern in command, one sergeant, one corporal, four gunners and eight Matrosses,—these being allotted to the guns, and two native drivers (troopers) for the wagons; together with a detail of two Tindals and twenty Lascars. The staff consisted only of one farrier. The number of horses allowed was twenty, which were allotted four to each gun, and two

to each tumbril, three for the two non-commissioned officers and the farrier, and three spare. It would appear that in this experiment the gunners must have been carried on the carriages. Early in the following year, this detail was increased to one conductor, four sergeants, four corporals, ten gunners, one farrier, and twenty-two Matrosses; with two Havildars, two Naiks and twenty-four Golundaz, to which were also added one Jemadar, two Havildars, two Naiks and twenty-two troopers of the Governor-General's body-guard, to ride the troop horses in harness; a detail of three Tindals and forty Lascars was also attached. With a battery of four light 6-pounders and two 3-pounder guns, this detail embarked for Egypt to join the force under General Baird; the number of horses embarked does not appear, nor is the mode of organisation known. A foot artillery detachment consisting of one captain, two subalterns, thirty-eight European artillery, forty-seven Golundaz and one hundred Lascars also accompained this expedition.

During the same year one company proceeded to Bombay, whence it was destined for subsequent service in Egypt had the campaign in that country continued; another company proceeded with the expedition sent to China.

About the same time a brigade of two 6-pounder guns, generally termed "gallopers," was authorised for each regiment of cavalry, European and native; the guns to be worked by troopers, with an artillery sergeant and corporal to each brigade, and a small detail of Lascars. In 1802 the Court of Directors, consequent on the probability of hostilities with the Mahrattas and the repeated and urgent representations of the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, as to the inefficient and incomplete state of the artillery, but above all, alarmed at the intelligence of the formation of the Golundaz—"component parts,"—sent orders to increase the battalions to seven companies each, and to reduce the Golundaz details. Six new European companies were accordingly raised for the purpose and allotted two to each battalion. The strength of all the companies was increased by the addition of one lieutenant fireworker and ten Matrosses; but no additional proportion of field officers was sanctioned; although in the augmentation of the infantry and cavalry, which now amounted, since the formation of 1796, to fourteen battalions of the former and four regiments of the latter, all received their due proportion of field officers. Against this injustice, the corps memorialised the Court of Directors, who in 1805 sent out orders for the addition of one Lieutenant Colonel and one Major to each battalion, which once more restored the original proportion, giving one field officer to

8⅔ captains and subalterns; this, however, was not carried into effect until June 1806. In 1802 six companies were in the field, of which three were employed against the forts of Sarsni, Bidgyghur and Cutchowra; two companies were still at Ceylon and one at Bombay.

In 1803, the horse artillery detail having returned from Egypt was formed into a troop, designated "the experimental troop," and joined the army then in the field with Lord Lake during the whole of which campaign it did excellent service, under the command of its original founder Captain-Lieutenant Clements Brown. The ordnance establishment of the troop was six light 4½ cwt. 6-pounders, and the establishment consisted of one captain, two subalterns, four sergeants, four corporals, ten gunners and forty Matrosses, together with the previous details of Golundaz and Lascars. The complement of horses was only eighty-six, and as the artillerymen, European and native, rode upon the carriages, it was rather a horse field battery than a troop of horse artillery. Notwithstanding the light weight of the ordnance and carriages, this small complement of horses was found quite inadequate to ensure sufficient celerity of movement, and accordingly bullocks were also attached for draught on the line of march, reserving the horses for action; but this double draught equipment being found inefficient and inconvenient in practice, the number of horses was increased in October 1804, to 120. The attempt was now made to render the battery really one of horse artillery, by mounting some of the gunners on separate horses, but the establishment being found too limited for this, it was increased to 156 horses in June 1805. In 1806 Captain Pennington succeeded Captain Brown in the command, and two of the 6-pounders were exchanged for light 5½ inch howitzers. The Golundaz detail was also replaced by an equivalent establishment of drivers, and in July 1808 the horses were augmented to 163.

During the year 1803, seven companies joined the army under Lord Lake, two were employed in the Cuttack Provinces against the Rajah of Berar, two were on service in Bundelcund and the company that had proceeded to Bombay was now employed in Rajpútana. Thus fourteen companies and one troop were employed on service, or more than two-thirds of the force.

In 1804, the two companies so long stationed in Ceylon, returned from it, but the remaining companies in the field continued to be actively employed during that and the two ensuing years having in this arduous campaign shared in the glories of Allyghur, Delhi, Laswarrie, Agra, Deig, and the honorable though unsuccessful siege of Bhurtpore. Owing to the misconduct of the

officer left for their support, half a company was unfortunately cut up and destroyed near Kúnch in Bundelcund. Two companies were attached to the force employed under Colonel Monson, and did their duty nobly during that disastrous retreat. Captain Winbolt lost his life, but Captain Huchinson, who was left with his company and a few Sipahis in command at Rampúrah, not only held that fort in spite of all opposition, but also made himself master of several neighbouring strongholds, inflicting considerable loss upon the enemy, and covering himself and his handful of men with honor.

This retreat being one of the first serious reverses experienced by the Bengal troops, afforded an ample proof of the inefficiency of bullock draught, especially with a retiring force. These animals, though the establishment was liberal and nothing had occurred to injure their condition, were unable to keep up with the infantry, and the result was that early in the retreat, the whole of the guns were abandoned to the enemy; and the same thing occurred with a reinforcement obtained at and taken on from Rampúrah.

The necessity for risking an assault at Allyghur, the delay and loss before Sarsni, Bidgyghur, Deig and subsequently before Kumona and Ganowrie, and the failure and fearful casualties at Bhurtpore, afforded painful evidence of the insufficiency of the artillery, both *personnel* and *materiel*.

The inability to meet the demand for this arm, led to an expedient in 1805 to add to the number of companies, with a view to increase the real, though not the numerical strength of the corps. This arrangement was effected by collecting the Golundaz details attached to the European companies, into five separate companies designated the Golundaz corps. The plan of Native "component parts" to European companies had never been found to work well. Although the service in the distinct companies of Golundaz had formerly been most popular amogst the natives, no respectable man was found willing to enter into these new details; the result was, as stated by Col. Horsford, "that as recruits could not be obtained for such a monstrous "corps, the 'component part' was for the most part made up "from the gun Lascars, who, for the sake of Re. 1-8 per month "increase of pay and the certainty that they might return to their "former corps on disbanding their new one, came in without "much hesitation." Such material added to the evil of the system, and its practical working is graphically described by the able officer above referred to, in the following words:—

"Nothing so much betrayed our ignorance of the prejudices "of the natives and our own countrymen than this project of a

"'component part.' Europeans and Natives were amalgamated "in one company. The European saw a native make a consti- "tuent part of that detail of the posts of a gun, of which he was "one; he viewed this native with jealousy, and diffident of "his ablity (perhaps without reason,) to serve the vent and "manage the portfire, he positively refused to stand between "the wheels as either sponge-man or loader, urging, in spite of "reasoning on the matter, that 'it was hard to be blown away "by a black fellow.' The native on the other hand, perceiving "the European hostile to him and suspicious of mischief, "refused in his turn to take the spunge staff or be server, "declaring that he might be blown away by the design or care- "lessness of the European. Discord, recrimination and hatred "were the consequence.

"But this was not all, the 'component part' looked around "and saw itself a miserable handful of men isolated and put "down in a company, composed of men of different country "and language, and dissimilar habits and religion;—unsup- "ported by number, and marked as an inferior body by having "no higher rank amongst them than that of Jemadar. They soon "considered themselves as so many shreds and patches on the "coat of an European company, and were pointed at by the "Sepoys as a laughing-stock;—lastly, that in the eyes of their "own officers they were viewed as unprofitable interlopers, who "brought no promotion or return for the disciplining them. "Such a corps, as might have been expected, degraded in "their own opinion, and despised by those with whom they "were composed, lost all energy and regard for character, and "were the worst soldiers in the service."

As already stated, orders had been received from the Court for their reduction, which was actually commenced upon, but the war breaking out just at that time, the Commander-in-Chief not only suspended its further operation, but was compelled, owing to the paucity of Europeans, to complete and even increase the Golundaz details, by entertaining a number of Golundaz taken prisoners from the enemy. "Then, when too late," as subse- quently observed by Colonel Horsford, "it was deplored that "the original corps of Golundaz (Colonel Pearse's) which long "ere this would have been the first in the service and most "perfect in discipline, was not in existence to meet the exigen- "cy; but that 400 prisoners of war, whose hands were sarcely "dry of the blood of our countrymen and fellow native soldiers "were callled to take their place."

These Golundaz, who were taken, or who came over from the enemy, were finally formed into a body called the "irregular

Golundaz," and stationed at Delhi, where they were gradually absorbed by casualties.

Had the "component parts" been composed of good material, kept exclusively to particular guns by themselves, or employed with the 6-pounders detached with infantry battalions, the result might have been very different. Each of the Golundaz companies now formed was composed of 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 8 Havildars, 8 Naiks and 100 Golundaz. A subaltern was allowed to each company, to be taken from the European companies, no addition being made to the corps on this account. One drill sergeant and one drill corporal was also sanctioned. In 1808, three additional companies were raised, when the whole were placed under the command of a Captain taken from the regiment, and a Sergeant Major was granted in addition. Here again, although every addition made to the infantry and cavalry involved the increase of a full complement of officers, a strong battalion was added to the artillery, without the grant of a single officer in addition.

In 1805 Colonel Carnegie succeeded to the command of the corps on the death of General Greene, Colonel Horsford retaining the command of the artillery in the field, with the rank of a brigadier when employed on service. In 1806-7-8 the whole of the Golundaz, the experimental troop, and twelve companies of Europeans were attached to the field train and frequently employed on active service. In the latter year Colonel Horsford obtained the command of the regiment, which could not have been in abler hands.

In August 1809 the Governor-General in Council, "adverting "to the original establishment of the experimental troop of "horse artillery, the success of which on various occasions "in the field, had fully confirmed the judgment which was formed "of the superior efficacy of a corps of that description for "service in India, determined to make a considerable augmen-"tation to the corps of horse artillery, and to place it on a "permanent establishment." Accordingly orders were issued for the formation of a corps of horse artillery consisting of three brigades or troops, to be formed on the experimental troop, the additional officers and men being drawn from the foot artillery. These troops, each consisted of one captain, one captain lieutenant, three lieutenants, six sergeants, six corporals, ten gunners and eighty Matrosses, two trumpeters and two farriers; with a detail of one Serang, two Tindals, and twenty-four gun Lascars. An effective riding-master, a sergeant major and a quarter-master sergeant were allowed to the whole corps, as also an adjutant and quarter-master, a rough rider and drill sergeant non-effective. A battery of six pieces was attached to each

troop, composed of two 12-pounders, two 6-pounders, and two 5½-inch howitzers, with ten light tumbrils.

For the draught of this battery, 145 horses were assigned, allotted as follows :—two teams of six horses each, with one spare per team to the six guns ; five horses to each of the light tumbrils (four being in draught) and the remaining eleven for the six sergeants and the staff.

The organisation of these troops was adopted as one of expediency, and was the same that still exists in the Bengal artillery, though entirely peculiar to that corps. It was suggested by Colonel Horsford, at a time when the dread of expense was considered an insurmountable objection to the introduction of this description of artillery, and it was therefore framed upon principles of extreme economy—an economy which Colonel Horsford himself represented, as detrimental to its efficiency. In a separate report on the organisation of the corps, he recommended the establishment of a troop to consist of a *personnel* of 120 and a draught of 185 horses, and even this establishment was calculated for light wagons, with only a single set of horses.

The gunners to work the ordnance of these troops were carried on the off horses, so that each horse in draught was mounted ; to make up for which the second team was allotted to each gun. The wagons being light were not supposed to require this assistance. In practice, however, their complement was found insufficient ; and, consequently, since it was essential they should keep up with the guns, that the horses of the spare teams were partially allotted to their aid The evil of this economical arrangement was not only present but prospective, as the same principle has been carried out in all subsequent additions to the number of troops.

Captain Pennington who was appointed to the command of the horse artillery, protested against this scanty establishment of horses, more especially as regarded the allotment of only single sets for the wagons, and was solely induced to accede to Colonel Horsford's arrangement, on his explanation "that "the fear of the whole plan failing on account of the expense" "(which had been strongly objected to by the Auditor General,) "deterred him from proposing establishments as full as might "be deemed necessary, leaving the remedy to time."

In the same year two independent companies of Golundaz were also raised for the duties of the Lower Provinces and the Islands, and were severally stationed at Fort William and Penang.

Thus to meet the demands for a force of artillery proportionate

to the other branches of the service, which had now increased to eight regiments of cavalry and fifty-four battalions of infantry, *all with their full complement of officers*, no less than ten companies of foot and three troops of horse artillery had been added to the corps, *without the addition of a single officer* to meet the drain thus occasioned.

The difficulties and disadvantages attending the system of contracts and the employment of untrained drivers and cattle for the ordnance, led in 1810 to the establishment of an organized and permanent corps of ordnance drivers, consisting of twenty-six companies, each company 5 sirdars and 105 drivers, allowing one driver for every pair of bullocks required.

These companies were assimilated, as far as practicable, to the Lascar establishment; they were placed under the immediate charge of the artillery officers to whose companies they were attached, but were under the general control of the senior artillery officer at the station. They were rendered available for the service of the siege and field trains attached to the companies of artillery, and also for the battalion guns, and it was with reference to these last that they were fixed at the strength of 105 drivers and 210 bullocks, as one sirdar, 21 drivers and 42 bullocks was the complement required for each brigade of two guns; thus each driver company was equal to the service of five brigades of battalion guns. Three additional companies were subsequently added, but soon reduced again.

In 1811 one European company proceeded with the expedition against the Mauritius; and two European companies, together with the independent Golundaz from Fort William, joined the expedition to Java; and in the following year, a Native troop of horse artillery was also raised for that expedition; but it was never numbered or brought on the permanent establishment, and when the force returned from Java in 1815, it was reduced. In 1812 a third, and in 1814 a fourth company of independent Golundaz was raised. In the latter year an extra company of regulars was ordered for the service of posts and out-posts on the frontier, which in 1815 was incorporated into four new companies of Golundaz that were raised at Cawnpore in consequence of the Nepal war, and added to the establishment of the Golundaz corps. Thus the much dreaded Golundaz had again increased to sixteen companies, which, together with the three troops of horse artillery, gave a numeral total of *more than half the corps without any establishment of officers.*

The three troops and four European companies were employed during the Nepal campaigns of 1814-15-16.

But whilst the members of the corps were employing their best exertions for the benefit of the State, a serious blow was struck at their prospects and interests, which had its origin in partial and interested representations from India. Since the decision on Colonel Pearse's claims to the general staff, the principle of throwing open the advantages to all branches of the service had been acknowledged and acted upon, and had formed a specific portion of the guiding regulations of 1796; since which date one engineer and two artillery officers had been appointed to the staff, and three artillery officers had vacated the command on attaining the rank of Major-General, though this last rule had not been acted upon in two recent cases of artillery command. The Court of Directors, however, in a letter dated 10th February 1814, ordered that no general officer of engineers or artillery was thereafter to be put upon the general staff of the army, but that a selection was to be made from the seniors, whether General officers or not, of such as were considered most fit to command their respective corps.

In 1816 a rocket troop was organized, consisting of one captain and three subalterns, with eighty-six non-commissioned and rank and file. Four light rocket cars were attached to this troop, for which, and for the non-commissioned staff, twenty horses were sanctioned; sixty of the men were mounted on camels guided by Suwans, and ten reserve camels were allowed. Each car conveyed sixty rockets, each mounted camel eight, and each reserve camel twenty-four. After a three years' trial, the camels were found unsuitable to the purpose, and cars with horses were substituted in 1819.

In 1813 the Company established a military college of their own at Addiscombe in Surrey, for the education of officers intended for the Indian artillery and engineers.

In 1817 the gallopers with the cavalry were withdrawn and formed into three native troops, the men being composed of such of the cavalry troopers as chose to enter the horse artillery, completed by a selection from the Golundaz. One captain and two subalterns were attached to each of these troops; but as the foot artillery could bear no further reduction of officers, Government at length authorised an increase to the corps of twenty-six officers, being the number actually required for the six troops of horse artillery and the rocket troop. This increase in the several grades was one major, six captains, one captain lieutenant, eleven lieutenants and seven lieutenant fire-workers. Here, again, was an injustice to the corps, in allowing only one field officer to the seven troops, and the twenty-five captains and subalterns, when the due proportion would have been three. The sixteen companies of Golundaz were still left

quite unprovided for. During this year an addition of two horses per wagon, or twenty per troop, was allowed to the horse artillery. As, however, the wagon then in use contained little more than half the quantity of ammunition now employed, this increase rendered the troops more effective than the same establishment does at present. Nearly at the same time, an experimental light 12-pounder battery, drawn by horses, was organized and placed under the command of Captain Battine. This was the first step towards the important measure, not yet completed, of equiping the whole field artillery with horses. The usual dread of expense operated on this as on subsequent occasions, to impair the efficiency of the measure, by the scanty draught establishment allowed; which was limited to ninety-nine horses, allowing six in draught to each gun and wagon, and three for the staff. The ordnance, however, were very light, weighing only eight cwt. each, and as four horses were probably found to answer for the wagons, there then remained two spare for each gun and wagon. The seven troops of horse and rocket artillery, nine European and eight Golundaz companies were attached to the several divisions of the grand army formed under the command of the Marquis of Hastings in 1817, including one troop and one company attached to the Nagpore force under Colonel Adams. Of these, two troops of horse artillery and the rocket troop, six companies of European and four of Native artillery were previously employed at the siege of Hattrass, where, for the first time, the ordnance establishment was placed on anything like a liberal footing. The advantages of this change were clearly shown by the speedy and complete success of the operations and the comparative freedom from loss.

One company of independent Golundaz was at Penang and another at Ceylon, giving a total of three-fifths of the whole arm on service. On the 20th April 1817, Major-General Sir John Horsford died at Cawnpore, ten days after his return from Hattrass. This able officer had served in the regiment thirty-nine years, having originally entered it as a Private, under the assumed named of Rover. His highly honorable character, his talent, industry, and energy, added to his great experience and intimate knowledge of all professional details, rendered him an ornament to the corps and an invaluable servant to the Government.

In July 1818, two additional companies of independent Golundaz were raised, but one of these, and two of the regular companies were subsequently reduced, and the remaining companies were formed into one battalion, in carrying out the operation of a new organisation ordered in September of that year.

By this arrangement the whole corps was formed into one

brigade of horse artillery of seven troops, including the rocket troop; three battalions of European foot artillery of eight companies each, and one battalion of Native artillery of fifteen companies.

To the brigade of horse artillery the staff allowed was one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels, and two Majors, with a non-effective Adjutant. One Captain and four first Lieutenants were sanctioned per troop, the strength in men remaining unaltered, but the non-commissioned staff of the brigade were rendered effective.

To each European battalion, one Colonel, two Lieutenant-Colonels and two Majors, with a non-effective Adjutant were attached, and one Captain, two first and two second Lieutenants to each company, being a reduction of one officer, the details of men remaining as before.

The proportion of officers to the Native battalion was remarkable, consisting of one Major, thirteen Captains, four first and four second Lieutenants, with a non-effective Adjutant and an effective European and Native non-commissioned staff.

Each company of artillery, European and Native, had a company of Lascars attached, consisting of one Native commissioned officer, two Havildars, two Naiks and seventy Privates. The Native officer of one company in each battalion being a Subadar, in the others Jemadars.

The rank of Captain Lieutenant was abolished, and the designations of Lieutenant and Lieutenant Fireworker changed to first and second Lieutenant. In the same way the designations of gunner and Matross were changed to bombardier and gunner, and in the Lascar details, the marine designations of Serang Major, Serang, first and second Tindals were exchanged for the military titles of Subadar, Jemadar, Havildar and Naik.

This arrangement, which involved a total increase of thirty-six officers, was of great benefit to the corps, but still the remedy was partial and unfair in its operation. Of the thirty-six officers added, fifteen were required for the three new European companies, so that the actual increase was only twenty-one. Of these, fourteen were added to the horse artillery, which benefited more than any other branch of the corps, though it only secured its fair and requisite complement. Thus it will be seen that only seven officers were in reality added for the fifteen companies of Golundaz, the remainder so attached being obtained by the reduction of one officer per company from the European foot artillery.

The history of the peculiar and inconsistent number assigned to the Golundaz battalion is curious. This organisation was ordered by the Court of Directors, who not only laid down the

principles, but also calculated and fixed the details. In doing this, they, for the first time, acknowledged the propriety of making an allowance in the establishment for the ordnance department, and accordingly assigned ten Captains for that purpose. But unfortunately they entirely overlooked the rocket troop, and calculated the Golundaz corps according to the number of companies on the establishment by the last advices received, when there were sixteen, to each of which they assigned an officer, dividing the number between the three grades of Captain and subalterns. They also allowed one field officer to command. Their plan will be more clearly shewn in the following tabular statement:—

| | Cols. | Lieut. Cols. | Majors. | Capts. | 1st Lieuts. | 2nd Lieuts. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 Brigade of Horse Artillery, (6 Troops ... | 1 | 2 | 2 | 6 | 24 | 0 |
| 3 Battalions European Artillery, (24 companies) ..... | 3 | 6 | 6 | 24 | 48 | 48 |
| 1 Battalion Golundaz, (16 companies) ..... | 0 | 0 | 1 | 4 | 8 | 4 |
| Ordnance Commissariat... | 0 | 0 | 0 | 10 | 0 | 0 |
| Total .. | 4 | 8 | 9 | 44 | 80 | 52 |

In carrying out this arrangement, the local Government, to rectify the omission of the rocket troop, took one Captain from the ordnance list, and four first Lieutenants from the Golundaz battalion, and, considering it necessary to post the remaining nine ordnance captains to some part of the regiment, they attached them all to the Golundaz, thus leaving the incongruous proprotion of thirteen captains and eight subalterns. This organisation increased the proportion of field officers to captains and subalterns to 1 to $8\frac{2}{3}$, or very nearly the standard of the Regulation of 1796, but the proportion of officers to men per company, was now reduced to one to thirty, or exactly one-half of the original scale.

Previous to the publication of this order the ordnance commissariat had been remodelled, and officers were now assigned to it. The regulations were those still in force, by which the department was divided into six grades above the rank of conductor, of which the two junior grades were filled exclusively by warrant officers.

Another important and very beneficial arrangement was effected by the same orders. Since the first establishment of Colonel Pearse's Golundaz corps in 1778, the previous system of

battalion guns, which rendered them a component part of the infantry battalion, had been abandoned, in lieu of which, each corps when detached was supplied with a brigade of two 6-pounders, which were manned by artillerymen, either European or Native, according to circumstances, aided by Lascars.

During the late campaign, although the proportion of two field pieces per battalion was retained, when several corps were brigaded together, their guns instead of being invariably divided amongst the battalions, two to each, were occasionally collected in one battery; whilst the extra field pieces of various calibres, forming what was called the field train, was always so employed. The advantages of this measure and the example of the armies of Europe, led at length to the adoption of a permanent system of field batteries, and accordingly it was now ordered that all the battalion guns should be formed into field batteries of mixed calibres of eight pieces each. The number of batteries was fixed so as to give the old proportion of two guns per battalion, which were to be still available from the batteries when a battalion was detached. The result of this measure was the establishment of seventeen field batteries, including the experimental 12-pounder battery, each of the remaining sixteen being equipped with bullocks, and composed of two 12-pounders, four 6-pounders and two 5½ inch howitzers. A company of artillery, European or native, was attached to each battery. By several orders of 1818-19, three of the 17 batteries fixed for the establishment were ordered to be horsed; the 12-pounder experimental battery was included in these, its ordnance being changed. These batteries were allowed a complement of ninety-six horses each, being six to each carriage, viz., eight guns and eight wagons. As four horses were considered sufficient for the light wagons, this establishment included all contingencies for spare cattle. None were allowed for the non-commissioned staff, which was a serious defect. These, at first, were raised as an experiment, but being found to answer even with their limited establishments far better than bullocks, they were rendered permanent in October 1819. Two were stationed in the field and one at the presidency. In July 1820 owing to the establishment of fourteen bullock batteries being found inadequate to the supply of guns for all the detached corps and posts, especially after Nimuch and Mhow were occupied by Bengal troops, an additional battery was allowed, making a total of eighteen field batteries of eight guns each, and six troops of six guns each, or 180 pieces of field ordnance, besides the rocket troop. At that time the Bengal army consisted of eight cavalry regiments, one European and sixty native battalions

which excluding Her Majesty's regiments, gave about 2½ guns per battalion. By the returns submitted to Parliament in 1830, we find that the establishment of regular troops, cavalry and infantry, in Bengal, during 1820, including His Majesty's regiments, gives a total, officers and all, of 84,393, so that the proportion was about one gun to 470 men.

From 1818 to 1824 the strength of the regiment itself remained unchanged, but in July 1822 the Lascars attached to European companies were reduced, in consequence of the introduction of field batteries and the abolition of drag rope movements with field guns. The details were now fixed at one Havildar, two Naiks and twenty-four privates per company, being the same complement allowed to troops of horse artillery. From the Golundaz companies they were withdrawn altogether, and have never since been restored. The Lascars, thus reduced, were formed into sixteen companies of store Lascars to serve in magazines and depôts, and "to provide for the efficient services of the siege equipment of the army." Each company consisted of one Subadar, one Jemadar, four Havildars, four Naiks and eighty privates.

During the period above referred to, various details of the corps were employed on service with Sir John Arnold's force in the Bhutti country and at Kotah.

In February 1824, the Golundaz battalion was increased by five additional companies, two of which were raised at Cawnpore and three at Dum-Dum.

In May of that year a new organisation was ordered under instructions from the Court of Directors, for the armies of the three presidencies. The two battalions of each native infantry regiment were formed into separate regiments, and a Colonel allowed to each. The establishment of regiments or battalions of all arms was now fixed at one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, five Captains, ten Lieutenants and five second Lieutenants or Ensigns.

In the artillery four companies of Europeans were reduced, and five European troops of horse artillery were raised, making a total of twelve troops, including the rocket troop. These were formed into three brigades each, consisting of three European and one native troop, with their full complement of officers. The remaining twenty companies of Europeans were formed into five battalions of four companies each. The Golundaz continued to form one battalion of twenty companies, with only the regular establishment of officers for a single battalion, or exactly one-half what was allowed to a similar body of infantry.

Thus the corps was composed of nine brigades and battalions. The whole army was benefited in promotion and in the increase of officers caused by this arrangement, but as usual, the artillery much less so than any other branch. The total addition to that arm amounted to only ten officers, not more than sufficient for the increase in the horse artillery, and the five new companies of Golundaz. In the infantry an equal body of nine battalions obtained an addition of twenty-seven officers without any increase of men, whilst the eight regiments of cavalry, a still smaller body, gained twenty-eight officers in the same way.* But independent of these comparative disadvantages, the real hardship and injustice was in only allowing half the complement of officers for the Golundaz, an useful and highly deserving body, which had the strongest claims to the support of the authorities, and yet was invariably treated with neglect; a line of conduct that, of course, in time produced its natural effect.

Assimilation of the several branches was the object of this arrangement, to insure which, the allotment of officers to battalions with reference to the number of companies was laid aside, and thus the establishment shewed a surplus of eight Captains in the horse and European artillery, and a deficiency of fifteen in the Golundaz. The distribution of subalterns was equally inconsistent, and moreover involved a decrease in the troops and European companies. The only real benefit obtained by this organisation was the improved proportion of field officers, which was now fixed at 1 to $6\frac{2}{3}$ subordinates, the same as in the infantry and cavalry. The increase of the horse artillery, though now sanctioned in orders, can scarcely be considered as one of the advantages of this arrangement, as the manifest necessity far a large increase to the light field artillery would have rendered that measure inevitable under any circumstances. The reduction of an equivalent portion of the European foot artillery was an ill-judged measure, the evils of which were sensibly experienced within a very short period. One highly beneficial act of justice was however accorded to the corps of artillery and engineers by this regulation, which was the restoration of the right and privilege to share in the advantages of the general staff of the army, which had been withdrawn by the Court's general letter of 10th February, 1814. It was now distinctly ordered that General officers of the artillery and engineers were to be considered eligible for the general staff, on which account an additional divisional command was added to the establishment of each presidency. It was further ordered that

the command of these two corps should devolve on the senior Colonel or other field officer, not a Major General. Thus has this important question been finally set at rest. In 1837 Sir Henry Fane endeavoured to re-open it, but his views met the concurrence and support of neither the home nor local authorities, and the appointments of Generals C. Brown and Sir T. Anbury to the commands of Benares and Saugor, afforded the best practical comment on his objections.

The number of field batteries on the establishment was thirty, viz. twelve batteries of horse artillery of six guns each, and eighteen of foot artillery of eight guns each, giving a total of 216 pieces; a larger establishment and much larger proportion than that of the present day. The number of regiments and battalions of infantry and cavalry in the Company's service was seventy-seven, affording nearly thee guns per corps. The returns already quoted, give a total of the regular force of European and native cavalry and infantry, including the royal corps of 87,769 of all ranks, so that the proportion was about one gun to every 400 men.

The establishment of lascars to European companies was shortly after this increased to forty-eight privates, and the companies of store lascars were gradually reduced. During this year the Burmese war having commenced, one troop of horse artillery and half the rocket troop, together with two European companies and a field battery, proceeded to Rangoon to join the force under Sir Archibald Campbell, when they bore their full share of the privations and the honors of the campaign. The troop took with it an equipment of the royal pattern block trail carriages, which were now first introduced into the service, a measure of great advantage, to which Government and the corps are chiefly indebted to the late Major C. H. Campbell, who then had the charge of the gun carriage agency at Cossipore.

Three European companies were also employed with the force in Arracan. But such was still the deficiency of artillery for general employment, that when it was found necessary to erect batteries at Chittagong, two or three companies of magazine lascars were sent under a Captain of artillery to work the guns.

In the cold season of 1825-6, a large army was formed under the personal command of Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, for the siege of Bhurtpore, a fortress deemed impregnable by the natives, a reputation not a little increased by the failure of Lord Lake's force in 1804, consequent on the limited amount of ordance material at his commaud. On the present occasion a very different system was adopted. To cover and support the

operations, a force of 23,000 infantry and cavalry was assembled, to which was attached eight troops of horse artillery, of which, however, three were incomplete and without guns, nine European and eight native companies of artillery, with fifty field pieces, and a siege train of 112 pieces, consisting of forty guns, twelve howitzers and sixty mortars, together with a highly efficient engineer park, to which were attached many of the ablest officers of that highly distinguished branch.

Although every available officer of the artillery joined this force, the total number present belonging to the foot artillery, was four field officers, seven captains, and twenty subalterns, which, deducting field officers and staff, give less than two officers per company,—and this too, for the conduct of important siege operations, on the success of which the very safety of the British Empire in India may be said to have depended.

The horse artillery shared in the duties of the trenches, notwithstanding which, such was the want of officers, that a complete relief could never be afforded, and the majority were in the batteries for more than three weeks at a time. The fatigues and privations attendant on such circumstances, were cheerfully borne, but it was most fortunate the weather was fine and admitted of such continued exposure.

Peace having been restored, reduction was again resorted to, and in November 1826, four of the Golundaz companies were lopped off

In June 1827, an order was issued, which it is much to be regretted, was not fully acted upon. The number of field batteries was reduced to twelve, but these were all ordered to be horsed, three being so already. And as it was considered unadvisable to detach guns from these batteries to the smaller stations and outposts, twenty-eight brigades, each of two 6-pounders, were attached to twenty-three different stations, manned from the Golundaz companies, and drawn by bullocks. These details were ordered to be placed under the charge of artillery subalterns, "as far as practicable,"—a cautious proviso, as it would have been difficult to say where twenty-eight subalterns for the purpose were to come from. European artillery was attached to eight of the batteries, and Golundaz to the remaining four.

This establishment gave a total of 224 field-pieces, to a force of 94,597 regular cavalry and infantry (royal corps included) or about one gun to 420 men.

In September of the same year, on the occasion of a battalion of officers being granted to the engineer corps, the Court of Directors gave their tardy sanction to the formation of the Gov

lundaz into two battalions, with their full complement of officers to each. The General Order for this addition states that "by "the attachment of twenty-three European commissioned offi- "cers per battalion, the artillery branch of the force will be "organized upon the principle which obtains in the infantry, "viz., that of assigning the same number of European com- "missioned officers to an European as to a native regiment, "whilst the companies in each are as one to two." A virtual acknowledgement of the injury and injustice the corps had so long sustained! It is a remarkable circumstance that though this increase had been recommended by the Local Government to the Court, the commissions of the officers promoted, only dated from the order for the increase; whilst the commissions of the officers promoted in the six extra infantry regiments, though the formation of those corps was twice refused by the Court, were finally antedated to the period of their first temporary formation.

Thus for the first time since the formation of 1796, was the fair proportion of officers allowed, as compared with the other branches of the service. But still with reference to the duties to be performed, the establishment was much too small. Instead, however, of efficiency and increase, economy and reduction were now the objects of Government, and in May 1828, orders were issued reducing the cavalry to 400 troopers and the infantry to 700 sipahis per regiment, but leaving the strength of the artillery untouched. The field batteries were however each reduced from eight to six guns, and what was a greater evil, the order for horsing all the batteries was suspended. Still the extensive reduction of the other arms left the established proportion of field-pieces to sabres and muskets greater than it was before. Two batteries which were already horsed were broken up and bullocks substituted. In May 1829, a further reduction took place; the regiments of cavalry were reduced from eight to six troops, and those of infantry from ten to eight companies, in consequence of which three subalterns were taken away from each corps. Strong as was the spirit of military economy then existing, it was not considered advisable or safe to effect any reduction in the strength of the artillery, except in the complement of officers, from which, *on the principle of assimilation*, thirty subalterns were struck off, though not a single man was reduced, and at the time scarcely a single post gun detail had a subaltern attached. In November 1830, the last blow was struck at the efficiency of the corps by reducing the three remaining horse field batteries. and substituting bullocks, which were now established as the draught of all field artillery

In this lamentably crippled and inefficient condition the corps remained until the year 1838, when the campaign in Affghanistan commenced; since which date owing to the constant demands upon the services of this arm, a gradual but decided improvement has been constantly going on, and hopes may now be entertained that it will finally arrive at and retain a proper state of efficiency.

It should be mentioned that in 1835 a special board of artillery officers selected from the three presidencies, was assembled in Calcutta to draw out a plan for the uniform equipment and organisation of the several artillery corps in India. These officers, whose sitting lasted two years, placed upon record a mass of valuable information, and submitted a series of plans for the complete organisation of the Indian artillery in all its branches. They recommended a considerable increase to the establishments of horse artillery troops, in men and horses, with the general introduction of the detachment system, and further that all field batteries should be equipped with horses. They drew out elaborate tables for the equipment of siege trains, and advocated the adoption of a new description of field carriage, with a contracted check trail, and also strongly recommended the establishment of a Depot of Instruction at the head-quarters of each corps, for the more perfect training of the officers and men of artillery.

Of all these plans framed with much care and labour, which were mostly excellent in principle and generally liberal in detail, though duly observant of real economy, not a single one was adopted; and the one that was most open to objection, the introduction of a new pattern carriage, was the only one that appears to have received any consideration. The state of suspense in which matters were held, pending a decision on the material points reported on, was productive of considerable practical inconvenience.

In 1838, a camel battery was raised after several experiments, and one of the batteries ordered on service was equipped with horses. These were however subsequently withdrawn and again restored, each change involving heavy loss to Government.

At the close of the year, four troops and four companies with the two above mentioned batteries and a small siege train formed a portion of the army of the Indus assembled at Ferozepore; but only two troops and two companies with the camel battery and the siege guns accompanied the division that marched under Sir Willoughby Cotton and joined Sir John Keane's army. To these were subsequently added two troops of native horse artillery, raised in a very short time and under peculiar difficulties, by Captain W. Anderson for the ser-

vice of Shah Shújah, which were frequently employed with admirable effect during the campaign, especially at Kelat, at Gonine, and in the various actions fought in the neighbourhood of Candahar. One troop returned with General Nott, viâ Ghuzni and Kabul, and the other with General Wiltshire's division, viâ Quetta and Sindh. After their return the two were formed into one troop and brought on the establishment, being attached to the 1st brigade. A mountain train battery was also raised and commanded by Captain J. B. Backhouse, which did excellent service, especially during the investment of Jellalabad and at Charíkar. The formation of this train being altogether a novel experiment, was attended with many and unavoidable difficulties, notwithstanding which, the able officer in command brought it to a very high state of perfection, which elicited the admiration of all who saw it employed on service. After the return of the army, this useful body was reduced, the men composing it having the option of entering into the Golundaz battalions. Independent of these batteries, during the whole campaign from 1838 to 1842, five troops and five companies were at different times employed. A native troop under the command of Lieutenant Murray Mackenzie, made a march which is probably unexampled in the records of artillery movements, having crossed the Hindu Khúsh from Ghuzni to Bamean, over mountain routes of the most dangerous and difficult description, which had been pronounced totally impracticable for wheel carriages, and thence advancing into Turkistan, greatly contributed to the victory at Sygan, over the troops of Wullí of Khúlúm, and the Amír Dost Mahommed. The employment of camels proving a failure, the battery to which those animals had been attached was equipped with horses, and under the able management of its commander, Captain Augustus Abbott, performed valuable service on many occasions, especially at Jellalabad, where it formed a portion of the illustrious garrison. One troop, the oldest in the service, was annihilated during the disastrous retreat from Kabul in the winter of 1841-42. But sad as was the fate of this body, the conduct of both officers and men in those trying circumstances, nobly upheld the credit of the corps and the special character of that distinguished troop,—exhibiting to the last a glorious example of gallantry and devotion. Nor was their fall unavenged; the deeds of "the red men of Jugdulluk" will be long remembered even by their deadly but admiring enemies who conferred upon them that "name of fear."

During the period of these operations another change was made in the constitution of the European battalions, the four companies composing them being formed in 1841 into five

weaker companies, but with a better allotment of the several grades. The new establishment consisted of one staff sergeant, six sergeants, six corporals, six bombardiers, two buglers and sixty gunners. Such is the strength of the companies at present, and were they kept complete, it is we think the best arrangement that could be made; since, with reference to the batteries being composed of six pieces, this hexade formation is particularly convenient. The only objection is, that the proportion of gunners is small, when the frequent occurrence of casaulties is considered, and the apparent impossibility of keeping a company complete.

At the close of the Affghanistan campaign a large army of reserve was formed at Ferozepore, and on the return of the divisions under Generals Pollock and Nott, the whole force was reviewed before the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Sikh Envoys from Lahore. On this occasion six troops of horse and six batteries of foot artillery were assembled, besides reserve companies and the mountain train, mustering about 100 pieces of artillery, siege and field.

In 1843 a large force of artillery was again called into the field for the Gwalior campaign, on which occasion five troops of horse, and thirteen companies of foot artillery, with three field batteries and a siege train of fifty pieces of ordnance were collected. The greater portion of the heavy guns were left behind at Dholpore, but some of the heavy howitzers were taken on and employed. These troops and companies were present at the actions either of Maharajpore or Punniar, which were fought on the same day.

At the conclusion of this campaign, four companies with batteries attached were raised for the Gwalior contingent, and officered from the regiment, as also was a horse field battery attached to the Bundelcund legion, which, soon after it was raised, proceeded to Sindh, and on its return in 1846, was incorporated in the corps.

The number of regular horse field batteries had been gradually increased to five. These were at first eqipped with eighty-nine horses, which allowed six horses each for six guns and six wagons, one spare per team, and five for the staff; the gun teams were subsequently allowed eight horses each. In 1845 the number of the batteries was increased to nine and the complement of horses to each fixed at 120, which gave eight horses to each gun and wagon, and allowed a team for the forge cart, with six saddle horses, including one spare and one spare draught horse per team. On the frontier, or on service, ten additional horses were sanctioned. There are now ten batteries horsed.

In July 1845 a new organisation of the whole of the Indian artillery took place, by which the corps in Bengal received a nominal increase, but a practical decrease, except in the establishment of officers. The five European battalions of five companies each, were formed into six battalions of four companies each, and the two Golundaz battalions of ten companies, into three battalions of six companies each, causing a total reduction of one European and two native companies, and this, with every probability, of an early campaign being inevitable.

One important advantage was, however, obtained by the increase of European officers, the want of which had been seriously felt on various previous occasions. The relief thus granted could not of course be felt immediately, but its beneficial effect is now gradually becoming manifest.

This gave an establishment of three brigades and nine battalions, each having a complement of officers similar to the infantry, with the exception that an additional Captain was allowed to the latter, which has not been accorded to the artillery, although greatly wanted.

At the close of that year, and the commencement of 1846 the campaign of the Sutlej was carried on; and during that arduous but glorious struggle, eleven out of the thirteen troops, together with eight European and five native companies, with four batteries and a siege train, were employed with the army; whilst one troop and two batteries were attached to Sir Charles Napier's force advancing from Sindh; giving a total of one-half the corps employed on service, with which were about three-fourths of the officers then in India, who were ordered to join from all quarters.

During May and June 1847, two European and one native company were employed in the severe and trying duties attendant on the operations against the fort of Kangra.

Since that period seven troops and thirteen companies have been stationed on or beyond the Sutlej; a force, which recent events have shown, it would be unwise to decrease, but which it may be found necessary to strengthen. Moreover, in the present state of affairs, there is every probability of both the siege and field artillery finding some employment during the ensuing cold season.

Having thus traced the progress of this arm from its origin to the present time, we shall be better enabled to understand its constitution, which we will now proceed to examine more in detail, especially with reference to such points as are generally considered to call for alteration or reform.

# PURI AND THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH.

By Colonel Laurie.

1. *An Account, Geographical, Statistical and Historical of Orissa Proper, or Cuttack.* By A. Stirling, Esq.

2. *The History of Púrí: with a account of Jagannáth; also a succint description of the Southern Division of Zillah Cuttack.* By Brij Kishore Ghose, Head Clerk. Cuttack, 1848.

3. *Indian Report of the Orissa Baptist Mission*—for the year 1846.

4. *India's Cries to British Humanity, &c.* By J. Peggs, late Missionary at Cuttack, Orissa. London, 1830.

5. *Sketches chiefly relating to the History, Religion, Learning and manners of the Hindus, &c.* By Q. Craufurd. London, 1792.

6. *Heeren's Historical Researches. Translated from the German. Vol. III. Asiatic Nations. Indians. Oxford,* 1833.

7. *The Hindu Pantheon* By Edward Moor, F.R.S. London, 1810.

8. *Madras Journal of Literature and Science.* No. 32, January—June, 1847.

9. *Elphinstone's History of India.* London, 1481.

10. *The Despatches, &c. of the Marquess Wellesley, K. G.*

11. *Regulations of Government.*

12. *Various Official Documents and Correspondence, (hitherto unpublished.)*

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ORISSA may be compared to a huge cauldron, which has been boiling for many hundreds of years,—into which ignorance, stupidity, and bigotry, have cast so many poisonous ingredients, that it is difficult to say when the contents will become purified and good.

Its early history is perhaps more wrapped in obscurity than that of any other province. Ignorance, oppression, and superstition, garnished with the deceitful trappings of romance, either by, or through the means of self-interested potentates, have for many ages gilded the misery which has been endured by its poor deluded inhabitants. Filth and every abomination of the earth have been converted by the heathen poets into sacred streams, and fragrant flowers and fruits of exquisite flavour. Idolatry has sanctioned these descriptions as well suited to her purpose. And yonder!—leaning against the threshold of the

small temple over which he presides—behold the bigoted Brahman, with a countenance seeming to glory, as is it were, in his fallen state. If you ask him concerning any of the beautiful and wonderful remains of the former greatness of his country, he knows nothing about them, save what consists in a few words, like the reply to the question respecting ruins in the *Antiquary*—"they were made by the monks lang syne."

It is related by the annalists of Orissa, that "when the famous Sivai Jay Singh, the general of Akbar, marched with an army into the country in 1580, A. D, he was struck with amazement at the sight of its sacred river the Mahánuddi,—its vast crowds of Brahmans, its lofty temples of stone, and all the wonders of the ancient captial Bhuvaneswar,—and exclaimed, 'this country is not a fit subject for conquest and schemes of human ambition. It belongs wholly to the gods, and is one entire Tirth.* He accordingly interfered little in its affairs, and soon returned to Hindustan." We imagine from this burst of admiration, that the "general of Akbar" proceeded no further than Bhobanéser—as we shall term it according to the modern pronunciation—which certainly is, even at the present day, a wondrous sight to see. Imagine a vast space of some two or three miles in extent, abounding with beautiful temples, some entire, some in ruins—the former, as it were, representing the Brahmanical scientific genius and vivid imagination of former ages,—the latter emblematic of these gifts now fallen to decay. But more of this ancient "city" hereafter: a powerful illustration of the freedom of Hindu intellect, checked by a pitiful fanaticism, and the stern resolution of millions to pass a useless life.

Orissa is entirely indebted for celebrity to its temples, places of pilgrimage, and its Brahmanical institutions. But, among these, the Hindus look upon the name—*Jagannáth*—the Lord of the World—as the inspiring soul of all;—and the town of Púrí, or Púrí Jagannáth, owes its importance entirely to its connexion with the temple. This Mecca of Hindustan is resorted to by pilgrims from every quarter of India. It is, as is well known, the chief seat in Eastern India of Brahmanical power, and the principal stronghold of Hindu superstition. Connected with Púrí Jagannáth, there is much that is interesting and amusing in the fabulous records of the early sovereigns of Orissa.

The four ages of the Hindus are the Satya Yûg, the Treta Yûg, the Dwapar Yûg, the Kali Yûg—or present age—these

* *Tirth*—a sacred place of pilgrimage.

ages corresponding in their natures to the golden, silver, brazen and iron ages of the Greeks. The history of Orissa begins with princes connected with the "Mahá Bhárat" or the *great war* about the opening of the Kali Yûg or evil age, according to Hindu chronology, 3001 B. C. Krishna—who in his youth was a shepherd, and is likened in this capacity as Gopala the herdsman, to the pastoral Apollo, in various Hindu works, is said to be the most remarkable incarnation of Vishnu. Jagannáth again is said to be one of the many names of Vishnu, in the manifestation of Krishna. About the commencement of the Orissan annals, the Brahmans, with their accustomed ingenuity, cause thirteen of their traditionary Rajahs to reign for 3,173 years.

Thirteen *bonâ fide* kings only may have reigned during the above enormous space of time; "but," says Stirling, "in relating the succession of reigns, no distinction is drawn between those personages who were local or dependant princes and these whom it is intended to represent as the monarchs of a large part of India."

As we may with justice suppose the feudal system to have been a popular one in Orissa's ancient times, it is not improbable that the minor feudal chiefs may have played their cards like so many Robespierres of the great French Revolution:—for ever on the alert to kill a *king*.

During the reign of the fifth of these few ancient monarchs of Orissa, considerably before the Christian era, the province extended from Húgly, in Lower Bengal, to the Godavery at Rajahmundry; which capital is said to have been founded by Mahendra Deo.

Of course, to establish a sort of antiquity for their beloved idol, some of these sovereigns are painted as most devout in their offerings to Jagannáth; among whom is particularly cited the Rajah Shewak Deo—the eight in the line.

Some three or four hundred years before the Christian era the *Yavanas*, "foreigners," frequently invaded Orissa; but the invaders are reported to have been, at that period, invariably repelled. It is a disputed point whether these Yavanas were Persians, or Affghans, or Tartars. Stirling states that in the original Uryia the word is written *Jaban* or *Javan* —interpreted by the translators of his authorities, "Mogul."

Dr. Buchanan remarks—"The word Yavana properly signifies an European, but as the Hindus speak with great confusion concerning the northern and western nations, it is often confounded with the Turks, Arabs, and Tartars, and all these terms are frequently applied to the Mussulman." Moor, in the

*Hindu Pantheon*, thinks that Yavana might have meant—simply *a mixed people* and gives a root—*yu* to mix, like *misra*. Elphinstone seems to think it absurd—and we think so too—to suppose with the natives, that even the invading "Yávans," some centuries later, were Mussulmans. This historian, in a note, alludes to the "Yavans of Telingána"—the neighbouring country to Orissa—"who, by the bye, have all Sanskrit names."

We think the easiest—if not the most satisfactory—solution to the word *Yavana* is that given by Captain Congreve:—"By Yavana," says he "I apprehend, is meant the children of Yavana or Javan, the great ancestor of the Greeks, though by slight alteration it might be read *Yu*vana or *Eu*vana, that is, the country of Europeans or Europe." In other words, Javan, the fourth son of Japhet, was the father of the Javanians or *Jaones* of the Greeks, and the *Yavanas* of the Hindus. The prophet Daniel in the original Hebrew calls Greece itself *Javan*; and Homer styles the people *Jaones*. The early Yávanas, therefore, may have been Bactrian Greeks—the remnant of the Asiatic glory of Alexander

But who the early Orissan invaders really were is a mystery, which few will consider of sufficient importance to unravel; although it would be interesting to learn who were the antagonists of the *Uryias* with whom so many bloody battles were fought, always to the advantage of the latter, in ages long past away. What are called effeminate, stupid people now, might have been comparatively *giants* in those days. At least, it is certain, that their name and language were formerly carried over "a vast extent of territory, both on the sea shore and in the hills," including, besides Orissa,* a part of Bengal and Telingána.

Among the legendary annals of the ancient Rajahs of Orissa, there is a story, not without a seeming colouring of truth, related by Stirling, of an extraordinary occurrence which took place A. D. 318. A Yávana, or foreigner, *Rakta Bahu*, (the red-armed), is by curious means discovered with a fleet containing a large army, about to approach the shores of Púrí, and take the town by surprise. The Rajah, Subhan Deo, a timid prince, apparently becomes more alarmed for the safety of the idol Jagannáth, than for that of his own subjects; and, in

* That is Orissa, (*Or Desa*, or *Oresa*, the old original seat of the *Or* or Odra tribe,) *properly* so called—the country of the Uryia nation, the capital of which is Cuttack:—*Kutak*. in Sanskrit, a seat of Empire. The four modern zillahs of Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the Jungle Mehals, &c., formed the chief portion of the grand Orissa of old; and even, says Stirling, at no very remote period. In talking of Orissa at the present day, Orisas proper or the Cuttack Province, we merely include Cuttack, Balasore, and Púrí.

consequence, flies and hides the image, with all its jewels and trappings, in the west of the province. The Rajah at length hears of the doings of the invaders, who had landed and plundered the town and temple. His fears increase—he buries the image in the ground—and seeks refuge in the jungles, where he eventually dies. The Yavanas, meanwhile, have drawn out their force "to chastise the ocean," for making known to the Rajah the proposed invasion, and giving him time for flight. The sea retreats nearly two miles, and the invaders take up position upon the vast sands: they rush on—the tide suddenly rushes in, swallows up a great portion of the army and inundates a great part of the country. Such is the "extraordinary occurrence;" and the beautiful and picturesque Chilka lake, which at the present day charms the Indian traveller, is said to be formed "by the irruption of the waters of the ocean" at the above eventful inundation!

Regarding this tradition of the Yávana, Rakta Bahu, Stirling thinks it may have some connection with "the religious disputes which raged between the worshippers of Brahma and Buddha" about the same period—which ended in the expulsion of many of the disciples of the latter from India.

From these hostilities between the Buddhists and Brahmans, which existed at the beginning of the fourth century, it is highly probable that the above legend derives its origin; and so having advanced thus far, we may perhaps be allowed to enter into a slight analogical investigation if only to please the curious.

Was Foé or Fo, Buddha? If not, who was then the much disputed Fo, whose doctrines were promulgated throughout China and other parts of the Eastern hemisphere? If Buddha, he is simply what Krishna, the origin of Jagannáth, is said to be—one of the incarnations of the popular Hindu Vishnu.* If the Buddhism of India, which became the Lamaism of Thibet at the commencement of the Christian era, extended through Tartary as far as Persia—and there is every reason to believe it did three or four centuries after—may not some Tartar or Persian proselytes have sent an expedition to put down Brahmanical influence in India. And, while the Brahmans were persecuting the Buddhists and stirring up the Hindu people against them—styling them atheists, which they were not—

* "Such Hindus as admit Buddha to be an incarnation of Vishnu, agree in his being the last important appearance of the deity on earth; but many among the Brahmans and other tribes, deny their identity."—*Moor's Hindu Pantheon*, "*p.* 220.

haters of science, and art, and religion, which they were not—is it not at least probable that the first object of the invaders' revenge would be the Brahmanical stronghold, Púrí Jagannáth?

We are not speaking of the most ancient of the Buddha sects; for in primitive Buddhism, the *being* of a god is said to have been entirely denied. From the commencement of the Christian era, the Buddhists had reversed their belief; and in the fourth century—the time of which we write—it is probable that in Buddhism there was a purer belief in the Supreme Being than then existed in Brahmanism.

"Fo is considered by Jones, Klaproth and Remusat to be the same person as Buddha,—Fo being Buddha according to Chinese orthography."* The Chinese having no B in their alphabet—called him Fo, or Fo—hi.

It is written that Fo was the son of a prince of India;—that he was born there, about 1200 years before the Christian era; and that "he was called *Cheka*, or Xaca, to the age of thirty, when he took the name of Foé."†

"Craufurd likewise states—"I think there is little doubt that the *Samana Kantama* of Pegu, the *Samana Codum* of Siam, and the Foé, or *Xaca* of China and Japan, is the same person, and probably the Hindu Vishnu in one of his pretended incarnations."

In an attempt to trace out a connexion between Brahmanism and Buddhism, we little thought we should find, in "Stillingfleet's defence"—(A. D. 1676)—such a remarkable passage as the following:—"Among the Saints of the Brahmans, *Ram* is "in very great estimation, being the restorer of their *religion*, and "a great *patron* of their Brahmans; Kircher supposeth him "to be the same with him whom the *Japanese* call *Xaca*, and "the *Chinese Ken Kian*, saith Kircher *Xacia* or *Thic-ca*, saith "Marini, and those of *Tunquin, Chiaga*..... in all which parts "he is in very great *veneration*; him they look on as the great "propagator of their religion in the *Eastern* parts, and they say "he had 80,000 disciples, but he chose ten out of them all to "disperse his opinions. From whence it is supposed that the "*religion* of the *Brahmans* hath spread itself not only over *In-*"*dosthan*, but *Camboia, Tunquin, Cochin-China*, nay *China* "itself, and Japan too; where it is an usual thing for persons "*to drown, burn or famish themselves for the honor of Xaca.*

* See the 8th number of this Journal—"Indian Buddhism—its Origin and Diffusion."

† Craufurd.

"This *Sect* was brought into China sixty-five years after Christ "from Indosthan;"—which sect, in short, is generally believed to have been formed of the Indian Buddhists.

Some violent speculators might at once deduce from the above extract from Dr. Stillingfleet,—one of the most celebrated of our English divines, who, in addition to numerous other authorities, cites Xavier, Bernier, and Bartoli, for the account of his "two sects in the East Indies;" that Brahmanism and Buddhism were originally one and the same thing; that Buddhism—so called—is only a sect produced by a division among the upholders of Brahmanism. It is the *Ram or Rama* in the passage—which hero is often made synonymous with Krishna—that might lead to such a conjecture. But we shall not rush to any violent conclusions of this kind. As we proceed, the reader, it is hoped, will be able to form his own judgment on the matter. Nearest to the date or computation of the era of Buddha, as above given by Craufurd, is Abul Fazel, in the Ayin Akbery, who places it 1366 B. C. The Chinese assign his birth to 1036 B. C.; the Tibetians to 957—differing by a few years from the majority of their countrymen. The dates of the Siamese, Japanese, and Ceylonese are 544 and 542—the first two agreeing in date; and Monsieur Bailly and Sir W. Jones nearly agree with the Chinese in assigning to the era of Buddha the dates of 1031 and about 1000 B. C. There must, it has been supposed, have been two Buddhas—one, perhaps, the incarnation of Vishnu; the other, the original Buddha, or Budha, probably a king of India—to have produced that decided difference of opinion which has so long existed, and which now exists more than ever, regarding the era of the founder of the Buddhists.

It is well known that one of the chief doctrines of Buddha was the abolition of *caste*. In favour of the supposition that the Hindu Vishnu has ought to do with Fo—which personage we shall assume to be the same as Buddha—it may be cited that the people of many castes, at the pagoda of Jagannáth, mingle and eat together.* This peculiarity is said to be in commemoration of Krishna, "who always recommended kindness and affection for each other." This advice of the Hindu philospher is more Buddhistical than Brahmanical.

Allowing that the two religions sprang from one common origin—and this is one of the great points of dispute—there

* We have heard it asserted the *people of every caste*. Some of the very low castes are not admitted to the temple.

is, with all its error, a seeming purity, an honesty, a sincerity of purpose about Buddhism, which we search for in vain in Brahmanism. There is in it less of that selfishness, that barbarous despotism, that bestiality, which at present characterises, and has so long tainted the latter religion. There is about Buddhism a grand freedom, which never could have, at least to such a degree, corrupted the moral sense, debased the human intellect, and deadened the best affections of the human heart. The Brahmans appear before us in dark colours as a set of despots, shorn of all their scientific glory, whose chief delight is to fetter the human intellect by domineering over the inferior masses of mankind.

Among the Buddhists of later centuries—including those of the present time—the adoration of a *Great Supreme, unseen*, is more apparent than among the Brahmans. The present Brahmanical system, which has so long existed, is founded on outward display, licentiousness and mammon. Yet, true it is, that this neglect of the Spirit pervading all things, is forbidden in the principal Shástras, and by various *Brahmanical* authors —when it is stated that "it is for the ignorant to view God in wood and stone: the wise behold Him in spirit alone."

Let us now turn from this digression and proceed with our historical and general sketch.

About the middle of the fourth century A. D., a Yavana dynasty is said to have held the government of Orissa, which extended over a space of 146 years. But these foreigners are of no importance in the Orissan annals; and Stirling is disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province, from the accession of the Rajahs, styled the Kesari *Pat* or Vansa, A. D. 473. The Kesari, or Kesur family, though nothing is known of their origin and pedigree, play a most conspicuous part in early Orissan history. The founder of the new dynasty Yáyáti Kesari, cleared his dominions of the Yavanas; restored the confidence of the officiating priests of Jagannáth; discovered the images, which were said to have been hid since the time of Raktá Báhu; and revived the worship of the idol "in all its ancient splendour." We now beg the reader's attention to the following interesting particulars from Stirling, as, in some respect, the head clerk of Púrí differs from the high authority. To the revival of the worship, the formation of a new image being considered an indispensible preliminary, the priests proceeded into the woods to look for a proper *daru* or piece of timber, and having found one with all

the requisite qualities indicated by the Shastras, they brought it to the Rajah, who filled with pious zeal, clothed both it and the old images in rich robes, and conducted them in great state to Púrí. *A new temple was then erected* on the site of the old one, which was found to be much dilapidated and overwhelmed with sand. The four images were afterwards duly prepared and set up on their sinhason, or throne, with much pomp and solemnity on the 5th of Kakara (Cancer) the thirteenth year of the Rajah's reign, amidst the shouts and rejoicings of the multitude. At the same time the necessary officers were appointed, feasts and festivals established, sasans founded, and the whole country around Púrí assigned as endowments for the maintenance of the temple. On this memorable occasion the Rajah received by general acclamation the title of the second Indradyumna."*

To Rajah Yáyáti Kesari, then, according to Stirling, the worship of Jagannáth is indebted for its lasting celebrity; or at least, with this Rajah, the temple appears to have been brought out of fable into light. The head clerk of Púrí says—"During "Satya Yug, or golden age, the temple at Púrí was erected by "Maharajah Indradyumna, who placed within it the three idols, "*Jagannáth*, his brother *Bulbhudra*, and his sister *Súbhudra*." —(*History of Púrí, page* 10). A fabulous story of the famed Maharajah's proceeding to heaven to invite Brahma to consecrate Jagannáth, follows the above extracts—which is similar to one related by Stirling—who in no way connects it with history, but merely alludes to it as a fable, or one of the many ingenious speculations which have been hazarded upon "the origin and meaning of the worship of Jagannáth." Both authorities have their great monarch or Indradyumna, in the "Satya Yug;"—but Stirling has two, an ancient and a modern—or at least, the latter prince was honored with the title of Indradyumna—which, as it were, qualifies the whole business. It must be to the latter of these that the head clerk alludes: then will come with some propriety his assertion that, "sub-"sequently, the temple was entirely covered with sand, in "which it remained buried for a long time. This circum-"stance was brought to the notice of Rajah Unung Bhím "Deb, who immediately set out to discover it, and happened "to find the spot where it had sunk; he then *removed the* "*sand*, and the temple was restored A. D. 1198." Here it is asserted that Anang, or Unung Bhím Deb, or Deo, only

* Stirling's Account of Orissa, pp. 103-4.

removed the sand and restored the temple—while Stirling says* the great temple was *erected* by the above Rajah's orders. But Stirling has *erected a new temple* on the site of some old temple or other, in the reign of Yayati Kesari —the particulars of which form our last quotation from that authority. We may then justly say there have been *two* temples of Jagannáth erected in the Christian era.

The head clerk of Púrí gives a new period—and it is most probable, a period of his own—for the reigning of the Rajahs of the Kesari line. This authority builds the temple of Bhobanéser in 1128, A. D. "The temple was erected by Rajah Lulat Kesur." (page 69.) Now Rajah Lulat Kesur, according to Stirling, began to reign A. D. 617; and built the temple of Bhobanéser in 657: and this we may believe to be the more correct date.

The Kesari family, it is said, became extinct at the commencement of the twelfth century. The head clerk writes that the famous temple of the sun, or "the black pagoda," was *erected* by one of the Kesari Rajahs, or "Kesoree," as he terms it, in 1273. (page 71.) This edifice, says Stirling, "it is well known was built by Rajah Langora Narsinh Deo, A. D. 1241, under the superintendence of his minister Shibai Sautra.†" The black pagoda was completed, according to the same authority in 1277. If Anang Bhím Deb did not build the entire present temple of Jagannáth, to him is attributed the erection of the grand tower. He probably likewise built the whole of the minor temples within the enclosure,—while he was engaged, at an enormous expense, in flooding Púrí with a barbarous magnificence—which has lasted even to the present day. It is known that the architecture of the Hindus originated with the pyramid—that is the ancient temple architecture —in which form the ancient pagodas in the South of India are invariably built. We may here be allowed to remark that the monuments of Hindu architecture, are, with great propriety, divided into three classes,—the first comprising subterraneous temples or caves hewn out of the rock,—the second, similar to these, but having only a portion of the sanctury subterraneous; the third includes all buildings commonly called temples or pagodas. It is the opinion of Professor Heeren—the correctness of which has been generally admitted—that the above order of the enumeration of these classes appears to

* See "Account," p. 154. † Stirling, p. 185.

agree with the progressive eras of their construction.

Stirling assigns in one place the date 1196, to the completion of the temple of Jagganáth, as it at present stands; and in another, he says that the present edifice was completed A. D. 1198. The latter date is that generally quoted We know it to be the opinion of authorities in Orissa, that the three temples of Jagannáth, Bhobanéser, and the Black Pagoda, as they are at present, were all built within a century or less of each other. And, on this belief, the head clerk of Púrí has probably been content to rest some of his dates, without taking the trouble of further investigation.

Among the last great actions of the Kesari family, are chronicled the planting of a city on the site of the modern Cuttack, about 989 A. D., and the construction of a stone revetment on the Mahanuddi and Cajori—"probably the ancient one of which the remains are yet to be seen."

It would appear that, at the above period, the large and populous city of Bhobanéser—the city with its forty-two streets, and clusters of magnificient temples—first became desolate. What had formed the seat of government of the Kesari princes became the victim of ruin on the accession of a new dynasty. But we think that this desertion of the city can partly be accounted for. We are informed that the change of dynasty was brought about by "a person named Chúrany or Chor Ganga"—a native of the Carnatic, who was invited by a rebel against the Orissan court and government to invade the province. This personage probably considered, not unwisely, that Cuttack was the best place of defence against invading powers—particularly against any rivals in the Carnatic—who might feel inclined to wrench from him his treacherously acquired sovereignty. Or, the cause of Bhobanéser's becoming desolate might have been a fancied hatred to anything which owed its greatness to the Kesari family,—and a wish of the usurper to assume as his own bantling the rising city of Cuttack, and thereby gratify a noble ambition by making Cuttack in commerce what Bhobanéser had once been in religion.

The descendants of this chief reigned four centuries "a period fertile in great names and events of importance, and which forms unquestionably the most brilliant and interesting portion of Orissan history. The Ganga Vansa princes are distinguished for their liberality in the erection of public works; and next to Anang Bhím Deo, in point of lasting celebrity, may be placed Rajah Langora Narsinh Deo, who built the

black pagoda. There is also honourable mention made of another of the Ganga Vansas-Gajapatis,* who, in the year 1300, built "the fine bridge at the entrance of Púrí."

Nothing of any great importance appears to have been done for the next 150 years. Orissa seems, during that period, to have enjoyed a sort of repose; but there was no such repose in other quarters. The irruption of the Mahommedans, at the very commencement of the eleventh century—the greatest scourge that ever befel the Hindu nation—had produced a race of men, fierce, bigoted, and cruel; whose enjoyment was cruelty, and part of whose mission was to destroy by force the worship of the Hindú trinity. But the greatest scourge of them all was Tammerlane—that terrific angry meteor—through whose agency priests were tortured, temples thrown down; and into those sacred places, where the footsteps of invaders had probably never before been heard, entered fearlessly to their worship the followers of the conqueror of Arabia.

It was not until the year 1451, that the Mahommedans turned their attention towards Orissa; and their power did not fairly extend over any part of the province till about the middle of the sixteenth century. The overthrow of the independent sovereignty of Orissa is dated A. D. 1558. Towards the close of that century, the Mahommedans took entire possession, and did every thing in their power to annoy the pious Hindus; and we now begin to picture in imagination a most ludicrous, though it was to them a most serious business,—namely, that of the high priest of Jagannáth, with other zealous assistants, stealing away, in a covered cart with three carefully wrapped-up images, to conceal their hideous treasures in the hills adjacent to the Chilka lake—until a favourable opportunity for again setting them upon their throne in the temple. From this petty warfare, the much talked-of but little understood pilgrim-tax derived its origin. The following remarks concerning it, from the compilation of the indefatigable Mr. Peggs, will interest the reader:—"This religious warfare was at last "set at rest by the institution of the tax on pilgrims; which, "if we may credit, the author of the work translated by Gladwin "under the title of 'History of Bengal,' yielded the Mogul "Government a revenue of 900,000 rupees. The Mahrattas,

* From *Gaja*, an elephant, and *pati* (potens,) a master, or potentate. Rajah Anang Bhím Deo was the first to undertake the measurement of the whole of the land comprised within the dominions of the Gajapatis, which are said to have included more than 40,000 square miles.

"who succeeded the Mussulmans in the Government of Orissa, "levied the tax, and the British followed the example of their "predecessors. Before this place (Jagannáth) fell into the "hands of the English, the king, a Mahratta chief, exacted "tolls from the pilgrims passing through his territories to Ja- "gannáth. At one place the toll was not less than £1. 9*s.* for "each foot passenger, if he had so much property with him. "When a Bengalí Rajah used to go, he was accompanied by "one or two thousand people, for every one of whom he was "obliged to pay toll. The Hon'ble Company's Government "levied a tax of from one to six rupees on each passenger,"* The pilgrim-tax is supposed to have been established at Gya and Allahabad, by the Moguls, about the same time as that at Jagannáth.

In the seventh year of Akbar's reign (1563,) we read that all taxes on pilgrims were abolished.†

During the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, in which the followers of Mahommed delighted to revel, in the middle of the sixteenth century, Brahmanical science in Orissa (as in many other provinces), which had been long withering, perished. The learning, which was in the sole possession of the priests, fled before tyranny and persecution;—and those gorgeous pagodas of Hindustan, to which science had at least lent some grandeur, though but a vestige of what the annals of antiquity ascribe to the Brahmans, became only vile nests of iniquity—which they are at the present day.

The downfall of the Affghans in Bengal took place about 1564, under the auspices of Akbar.

His generals first drove them out of Behar, when Patna is said to have become the capital of that province. In 1592, the Affghans were, by order of Akbar, driven out of Orissa by Rajah Man Singh, the imperial Lieutenant of Bengal. Eventually, those fierce barbarians, the Mahrattas, entered the province (1743), and plundered, massacred, and oppressed the people. The veteran Aliverdy Khan, Viceroy of Bengal, Behar and Orissa—a sworn enemy to this race of free-booters—delivered up the province to their entire government in 1755. It is said that this gallant old soldier and statesman, "struggled for ten years to keep the Mahrattas from conquering Bengal."‡

It will always be difficult to know which of the two powers—

* Stirling—Peggs—Ward. † See Elphinstone's India, vol. 2, page 326.
‡ "Outline of the History of Bengal," p. 132.

the Mahommedan or Mahratta—did the most mischief in Orissa. We are inclined to think, for the time they reigned, that the Mahrattas bear away the palm. The Mahommedans at first harrassed priests and broke up idols, with a zeal in some degree excusable in men seeking to uphold a falling yet popular religion ; but, doubtless, this treatment of the Uryias was in a great measure put a stop to when the Mogul government discovered that the Hindu pilgrimage to Jagannáth brought them a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees.

The Mahrattas had no new religion to uphold. To get money was their aim, to supply the court which governed them ; —and the freebooters did not scruple to barter the ruin and misery of the people of Orissa, for heaps of gold and silver. The magic kettle-drum of the Affghan conqueror, " at the sound of which the ears and feet of the idols would drop off for many coss all round," while it lasted, could hardly have struck more terror into the poor Uryias, than did the oppressive and wrenching system of the Mahrattas. Four years after their possession of the province, the Mahratta power was at its zenith. The Mogul empire in India was on the eve of being extinguished. The expense for the maintenance and equipment of the Mahratta armies became enormous. It had an army of well-paid and well-mounted cavalry " in the direct service of the State," and 10,000 disciplined infantry, superior to any ever before raised and commanded by native chiefs in India. The Mahrattas had also a train of artillery surpassing that of the Moguls.*

It is not difficult to imagine the cruel measures which would be resorted to, in the getting of money by this upstart people, when they were about to take the field against the Mahommedan confederacy. The grand army of the Mahrattas was, notwithstanding, defeated.†

Yet, this people, in the gradual sunset of their glory, even with all their rapacity and violence, must have commanded a considerable portion of Hindu veneration. They adhered strictly to the religion of Brahma. This, in the eyes of the people of Orissa, must have covered a multitude of sins. They were famous for mutual harmony, and a marked hospitality to strangers. These qualities were particularly apparent among them in their original country on the Coast of Malabar. The excesses they committed, therefore, cannot justly be ascribed to a natural ferocity of character ; they may have been " dictated by policy or inspired by revenge." They may sometimes have

* Elphinstone.

† Battle of Paniput—the Mahrattas defeated by Ahmed Shah, A. D. 1760.

wished to obtain that by the dread of their invasions, which otherwise would only have been effected by a tedious war, or they may have been provoked to retaliate on the Mahommedans the cruelties they had so long exercised on their countrymen.*

During the administration of the Mahrattas in Orissa, we have not been able to discover that they treated pilgrims to Jagannáth otherwise than with a degree of consideration and attention. Like the Moguls, eventually, it was of course their interest to do so. To take particular care about the collection of the pilgrim tax—to entice as many pilgrims to come as possible—to afford them the protection of the State while they enjoyed their devotions in the "Holy Land"—as the ground about Jagannáth is called—was a portion of their policy. And the pilgrim-hunters of the latter half of the eighteenth century must have found little difficulty in causing multitudes to undertake the pilgrimage, especially when the Mahratta power and name extended from the Himalayas to nearly the extremity of the peninsula.

From an old document before us, we learn that the forefathers of a certain class of Brahmans, from time immemorial, visited Jagannáth; and they were permitted to perform their ceremonies without "impediment, delay, or molestation," by the successive Rajahs or chieftains of the district. The descendants of these Brahmans and their relations, at different times visited the temple, while it was under the Mahratta jurisdiction, and were invariably treated with every attention and assistance by the Pundahs, or priests. These people term Jagannáth "a venerable fane of Hindu reverence." In their opinion, a pilgrimage to Púrí is one of the most important acts of observance, enjoined to a Hindu, in the ritual of his religion. "At this resting place," say, the deluded creatures, "the mind receives its last solace—when all prospects in life are commonly drawing to a close." Before carrying the reader to the town and temple, it may be as well to state that the title of Maharajah of Orissa of the Zemindari race of sovereigns, was first enjoyed by a distant connexion of an ancient royal house of the province—Ranai Raotra—who was raised to that rank and dignity, A. D. 1580, under the title of Ramchander Deo. This popular Zemindar, who commenced the line of the Rajahs of Khurdah, and from whom the present Rajah or superintendent of the temple is a descendant, was confirmed in the appointment by Sivái

* Craufurd—*Sketches of the Hindus*, vol. 2, p. 308.

Jay Singh, the General of Akbar, who, as we have before mentioned, was struck with admiration and astonishment at the "magnificent" temples of Orissa.

The office of the old Maharajahs at Jagannáth, was that of *Chandal* (sweeper) at the Ruth Jatra,—and the superintendent is to be seen with his broom performing his annual duty at the present day.

And now let us turn our attention to the town of Púrí and the temple.

* * * * * *

"It is affirmed that Púrí was, in former ages, under the sands," and that "a great part of it was overrun by forest trees, underwood, and grass: these dense thickets were the theatres of the austerities and actions of many gods and ascetics."*

Such, according to the Hindu mythology, was ancient Púrí; and, from the present aspect of the place, with even a slight knowledge of the locality, we think that the antiquary might be able to form some probable account out of the legend. Approaching Púrí, the landscape is naked and cheerless; there is nothing to satisfy or please the eye. It is just what Claude Lorraine would have avoided, as wanting the slightest natural grandeur for any sort of painting. Had he attempted to place a land-storm over it, with all the accompaniment of angry clouds and storms howling on the canvas, he still would have produced a poor painting;—for a picture the country is so flat, dry, "stale and unprofitable." In the sandy precincts of the town, a human skull, occasionally, may arrest the wandering eye of the traveller. He must hail as a companion, this emblem of mortality; for he may find no other.

Storms and hurricanes of a world gone by, it would seem, have torn up the wild sands of Púrí, so that you perceive, on reaching the houses of English residents, no equality of surface. At the present time, according to the Hindus, forty miles south of Madras, at Mavalipuram, where are the temples and ruins styled "the seven pagodas," the surf rolls and roars over the ancient city of the great Bali. The old ruins and temples there are chiefly dedicated to Vishnu. Perhaps, then, the submerging of ancient Púrí, and that of the city of Bali, are Hindu legends of the same date and of the same origin,—the sea having receded in the one case, while it encroached on the land in the other. The traveller must

* "History of Púrí," p. 34.

retire nearly three quarters of a mile from the sea before he can consider himself fairly in modern Púrí.

The wonderful city of Dwarka, too, is said to have been swallowed up by the sea—Dwarka from which Vishnu is said to have marched in one of his freaks to Mavalipuram.

The city of Dwarka, celebrated in the peom of "Ramayana," is said to have been built, by command of Krishna, on the sea-shore, in the province of *Gujarat*. Púrí, as it was some five and twenty years ago, and with the exception of an increased number of houses, consequent upon the increased population, as it is now, is thus graphically described by Stirling :—

"The town of Púrí Jagannáth contains 5,741 houses. Every span of it is holy ground, and the whole of the land is held free of rent, on the tenure of performing certain services, in and about the temple. The principal street is composed almost entirely of the religious establishments called Maths, built of masonry, having low pillared verandas in front, and plantations of trees interspersed. Being very wide, with the temple rising majestically at the southern end, it presents by no means an unpicturesque appearance; but the filth and stench, the swarms of religious mendicants and other nauseous objects, which offend one's senses in every part of the town, quite dispel any illusion which the scene might otherwise possess. Fine luxuriant gardens and groves enclose the town on the land side, and produce the best fruit in the province. The stately and beautiful Callophyllum Inophyllum, called by Dr. Ainslie the Alexandrian laurel, grows here in great abundance, and the Cashew-nut thrives with peculiar luxuriance. The environs exhibit some fine tanks, as the Indra Daman, Chandan, Márkandeswar Talao, &c., which are supposed to be very ancient; and the inquisitive stranger who may be disposed to explore amidst the sand hills situated between the sea and the S.-W. face of the town, will find many ancient and curious looking religious edifices, nearly overwhelmed with sand, to excite and reward attention."*

The climate of Púrí, during the hot months, is considered highly salubrious.

At the time of which Stirling writes, the population of Púrí was considerably under 40,000 :—that is including besides the regular inhabitants of the town, all those who made only a temporary residence there, or who, having come from afar to visit their friends and relations, as well as to pay their devotions to Jagannáth, made a longer stay than the usual influx of pilgrims either did or were allowed to do.

Brij Kishore Ghose writes thus in his "History of Púrí" :—
"It is a celebrated place of Hindu worship, situated on the "western coast of the Bay of Bengal,† in the province of "Orissa, forty-two miles,‡ south of Cuttack, and 298 miles "from Calcutta. It is also called Jagannáth, which name is "derived from that of the prodigious idol which is venerated

* Account of Orissa, p, 31. † Long. 85°54′ E, lat. 19°49′ N.
‡ 49, according to English calculation.

" by the Hindus. In this place is a celebrated temple, and three " cars for the ancient festival..... The population of the town " is estimated at 80,000, of which four thousand are priests or " attendants upon Jagannáth."*

The most striking features about Púrí, it would seem, are the numerous divisions of the town, and the establishment of games on a small scale—reminding us a little of the Grecian Olympia of old.

At these are carried on : wrestling matches and various gymnastic exercises—the general excitement heightened by means of harsh music and debauchery.

* * * * * *

Let us now act the part of the " inquisitive stranger," and explore a little amidst the sand-hills between the sea and the south-west face of the town.

It is sunset, and the sun has just brightened the dingy hue of Jagannáth's temple—while the sea sends forth its never-intermitting roar.

About half a mile from the town, on the sea shore, is a place of note, styled " Surgdwar "—Swerga-dwara—the gate of heaven. Here the relatives of deceased Hindus bury or burn the corpses —when they are believed sure of an immediate entrance into paradise, body as well as soul.

Swerja is the paradise of Indra, the god of the elements. The reader probably remembers the lines in the Kehama, where Indra says—

> " No child of man, Ereenia, in the bowers
> Of bliss may sojourn, till he hath put off
> His mortal part ; for on mortality
> Time and infirmity and death attend."

There is a terrible reality about the last line in the present instance ; for, sure enough, " infirmity and death " do attend, in their blackest colours the many fanatics who, year after year, visit the Swerga-dwara of Púrí.

About two miles to the south-west of the town is a small temple dedicated to Siva, the temple of Lokenath—concerning which minute details will be founded in the history."

Lokenath is merely one of the numerous representations of Siva—the destructive and generative energy of the Hindu pantheon.

There are several other small temples near the sea shore, among which we may mention that of Belessur to the north-east, dedicated to Bal Iswar, or Baliswara, one of the names of Siva.

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* History, &c., p. 1.

To satisfy Parvati, the wife of Siva, (Devi,) Mahadeva (Siva) was born again, in the character of Baleswara, or Iswara, *the infant*; "but suddenly became a man under the title of Sileswara, or Iswara, *who gives delight.*"*

Near the Belessur temple is the Púrí burial-ground, a small magazine of mortality, not unworthy of a visit.

Here will be found in a small space enclosed by a brick wall, tombs of three of the most important classes in India—the military man, the civilian, and the missionary.† According to a "report" before us, the above missionary was one of the earliest in the field of Orissa. Upwards of forty-two years ago, Dr. Buchanan pitched his tent on the banks of the Chilka lake, when he had a distant view of the lofty tower of Jagannáth, from which he had just returned, after beholding the greath Rúth festival. Through the vehement writing of this zealous man, and the expression of an ardent desire for the establishment of "some Christian institution" near thr temple, about 1816, a society was formed among the General Baptists of England; and under the guidance of the late Mr. Ward of Serampore, nearly thirty years ago, Cuttack became the seat of missionary labour.‡

In 1837 the Cuttack missionaries were assisted in the district by some others from America. Mr. Ward, it is well known, was one of the triumvirate, Carey, Marshman and Ward, who, almost half a century ago, made Serampore famous by its "mission;" and the fruits of whose labours are even now spreading with a salutary effect over the lands of the heathen.

* * * * * *

Before leaving the burial ground at Púrí, we may be allowed to mentlon one tenant more, the late Mr. Acland, a clergyman, whose book on the "Manners and Customs of the Hindus" was noticed in a recent number of this journal.

We shall now ask the reader to accompany us westward to Jagannáth's temple,—that familiar beacon to the navigators of the Bay of Bengal,—which is said to have been built at an expense of from forty to fifty lakhs of rupees.

Taking a telescopic view of the temple from an elevation one mile and a half north-east of the town, we behold the Bar Dewal, nearly 190 feet high, towering majestically above the dark and gloomy landscape below. The entire height of the tower from the ground is about 210 feet.

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* Moor's Hindu Pantheon, p. 389. † Mr. Bampton.

‡ The Orissa Baptist Mission has at present its head-quarters at Cuttack, and is under the superintendence of an old, a zealous, and a faithful servant—Mr. Lacey.

Adjoining to Bar Dewal, and rising to a height of some seven feet, two square pyramidal-roofed buildings strike the eye: they appear elaborately carved, with a nearly flat apex, from which, like that of the great tower, rises a small irregular cone, apparently composed of circular stones,—the top stone surmounted by a sort of urn. Numerous temples of various shapes and sizes are to be seen in the enclosure, to the right and left of the Bar Dewal. The great tower and adjoining buildings bear on their smmits the *Chakra*—a sort of wheel—a symbol of Vishnu.

Stirling compares the shape of the towers or temples of Orissa—and they are all in a degree similar to the Bar Dewal of Jagannáth—to a phial with the stopper inserted. We think it better to compare them to old fashioned pepper boxes—multilateral, and of nearly equal diameter, until approaching the top: the remainder of the box is very similar to the upper portion of the towers of Orissa; but, perhaps, the likeness is more remarkable at Bhobanéser than at Jagannáth.

The eye of the traveller must now be content, until having left the eminence from which we have been attempting a description, and proceeding on our tour of research, we at length enter the town of Púrí, and passing along through the silent streets, by houses with raised foundations—some of the domiciles composed of mud, others of masonry—we speedily find ourselves before the *Sinh Durwazeh*, the lion or eastern and principal entrance to the great pagoda.

Regarding the dimensions of the lofty stone wall enclosing Jagannáth's temple in each side of which there is a large gateway—and the general measurement of the sacred buildings, every author differs: and this is not strange when we consider that neither Christian nor Mussulman is allowed to cross the threshold.

We have read somewhere of one solitary case in which a Major Carter managed to enter along with the pilgrims the famous shrine of Jagannáth.

Taking a *medium* we might make some of the dimensions as follows: The stone wall enclosing the Bar Dewul and the edifices connected with it, is about thirty feet high. The area forms nearly a square, or rectangle 660 feet by 650. Within this area are upwards of 100 temples—apparently from seventy to eighty feet in height—dedicated to the principal deities of the Hindu pantheon. Sinh Durwazeh is flanked by huge griffins; and a little in front of it, in the street, stands a beau-

tiful column of black marble—we are not sure of the height*—of an architecture something between the Doric and the Corinthian.

The pillar, or "polygonal column," as it is called, stands upon a richly curved pedestal,—and according to Stirling and the author of the "History of Púrí," was brought from the temple of the Sun at Kanaruk—a small portion of the massive marble remains of the gorgeous "Black Pagoda."

Formerly the summit of the column was surmounted by an image of the monkey-god, Hanuman. A broad flight of steps leads from the Sinh Durwazeh to a terrace twenty feet in height —"enclosed by a second wall four hundred and forty-five feet square, on which occurs first the apartment of the *Bhog Mandap*"—where food is served out for the idol and other purposes. In a line, and connected with it, is a low building on stone pillars, styled *Jugmohun*, where the Garú or Garúr—bird-god is kept. Next to this is the *Unsurpinda*,† which adjoins or opens into the great tower:—in all there are four principal structures connected by passages and doors. The Unsurpinda and Bhog Mandap—each, we believe, sixty feet square—over the pyramidal building we observed in our late telescopic view.

The ground-plan of the great tower is said to be a square of thirty-five feet "in which there is a large platform of marble, which is styled *Ruttunsínghasun*, or throne." The three idols Jagannáth, his brother and sister, occupy the tower and throne.

The roofs of the buildings—particularly that of the Bar Dewal —are said to be singularly ornamented with various representations of monsters, and the walls abound with carvings of demons and giants of every description. In niches on the outer walls are various well-executed illustrations of Hindu obscenity.

The head clerk of Púrí informs us that Gurúr, in the Jugmohun, has his hands "joined together in token of supplication toward the idol Jagannáth."

In the temples of Vishnu, the *Garúr* is an image of great importance. Vishnu is worshipped under the form of the human figure, having a circle of heads and four hands, emblematic of an all-seeing and all-provident being. The figure of the *Garúr* is said to be the representation of a lage brown kite, with a white head, on which the god may be either seen

* Probably not more than 40 feet.

† Where the idols are worshipped during their illness—after the Snanjatra or Bathing festival.

mounted, or the bird may be found immediately in front of the image.*

The *preserving* power—the nearest approach in the Hindu mythology to omnipotence and goodness—has given Vishnu a greater number of adorers than any other deity or attribute. "If, indeed," says Moor, "we take the sect of Vaishnava in its most comprehensive sense, including, as we are warranted in doing, the schism of Buddha, he has more than all the others collectively."

Vishnu is sometimes represented reposing on a many-headed serpent, which floats upon the surface of the ocean. In this position he is supposed to be contemplating and willing the creation of the world.

From his navel springs a *lotus* plant, in the calyx of which Brahma appears seated, ready to accomplish the work of creation. The lotus is an emblem of the world. The only peculiarity in the general figure of Vishnu is his having the four hands—which hold respectively the mace, the lotus-flower, the *chank*, or conch shell, and the *chakra*. In a beautiful engraving in the "Hindu Pantheon," he is to be seen riding on a machine—something between an eagle and a man—with a bow in one hand, ascending to paradise with his consort Lakshmi the Hindu goddess of beauty.†

Other nations may perhaps have been indebted to this group for their pictures of gods, and the apotheoses of men ascending to the skies on the eagle.

We have been led into these few particulars regarding Vishnu —notwithstanding many must have known them before—as we have been attempting a description of a temple which is said to have been built in honour of that deity. And it is necessary to our present purpose that we should supply some more mythological information, with which, however, the intelligent reader may not be so well acquainted.

We have lately alluded to the numerous sect of Vaishnava. We have frequently read that the worshippers of Siva are believed to be more numerous than those of Vishnu. This we doubt very much; and, as we have already seen, is contrary to the opinion of Moor.

There is certainly one popular mysterious symbol, peculiar to the worship of Siva, which we can easily imagine to find most favour among the women of Hindustan; and that is the idol of Lingam, or Linga.

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* Craufurd—"Sketches," p. 181, vol. I.

† Some pictures of Lakshmi, are very much like the old Grecian and Roman figures of Ceres.

It is perhaps the chief desire of a Hindu, in his present state of existence, that, for a provision after death, his wife would in this life bear him children to pray his soul out of purgatory, or mitigate the punishments that may be awarded him in a future state. *Yoni* is the female nature—*Lingam* the male; and, in addition to the numerous worshippers of the latter, many women are exclusive adorers of the *Yoni* of Bhavani—the female energy of Siva.

The *Lingam*, or principal type of the regenerator Siva, is nothing more than a conical stone—generally smooth and black. This symbol is to be seen at Bhobaneser in conjunction with the *Argha*, a sort of dish from whence it proceeds—the *Yoni* forming the rim. There is no apparent indecency about these symbols, which leads Moor to remark :—"Unlike the abomina-" ble realities of *Egypt* and *Greece*, we see the *phallic* emblem " in the Hindu Pantheon without offence ; and know not, until " the information be extorted, that we are contemplating a " symbol whose prototype is indelicate."

But, although these symbols of Siva naturally produce many followers of his religion, it is impossible, from the numerous castes and subdivisions of sects, to arrive at any correct *general* conclusion on the subject of superiority of numbers in either sect. We believe that little doubt exists concerning the visible decline of the religion of Siva in Orissa and some parts of Southern India : the reader's researches may probably extend further than ours on that point.

We have before us a document, which we picked up in Southern Arcot, in which the followers of the "Siva religion" are put down as "Telúgú Brahmans"—eighteen castes,—and "Malabar Brahmans"—eight castes : then follows nearly sixty different classes of the followers of the Siva and Vishnu creeds indiscriminately jumbled together :—such as *Chetties*, *Cometies*, *Pillays*, *Dasesthúlú Rajaput*, *&c.*, *&c.*

From some slight knowledge of the inhabitants to the south of the peninsula, we may be allowed to venture an opinion that the sect of Vishnu there is the most numerous.

"With respect to the origin of the several Hindú sects," writes Professor Heeren, "we are not at all in a condition of " giving any correct historical account of them, or of assigning " the respective dates to each. Those of Siva and Vishnu are " at present the most generally prevailing ones, but they are " not alone ; by their side flourish that of Ganesa and many " others." (The learned Professor takes as his authority for

this, the great Sanskrit scholar Colebrooke.) "The intrinsic "character and objects of worship peculiar to the sect of Siva, "which adores the Lingam, afford a reasonable presumption in "favour of its being the most ancient, and probably the original "creed of the common people; whereas that of Vishnu, on the "contrary, worshipped under the name of Krishna, owes its origin "merely to a reformation, undertaken for the purpose of refin-"ing the grossly sensual worship of the former."*

An admirable refiner, indeed, when we find such a place as Jagannáth the crowning piece of Hindú superstition.

It is impossible to assign a date to the ascendancy of the worship of Vishnu in Orissa and Behar, or the decline of that of Siva in these provinces; but there is a fable drawn from the Mahabharat—good authority on such matters—that Bali-Rama and Krishna, brothers, and renowned conquerors, vanquished a famous king of Behar,† forced on the people the worship of Vishnu, and nearly extinguished "the ancient adoration of Siva." The effects of this conquest extended over various parts of Hindustan, probably from the extreme north to Cape Comorin. We may now imagine that millions of vain believers sought to make a pilgrimage to the shrine of the renowned warriors, and hence the origin of the popularity of Jagannáth as a place of worship.

We have before alluded to Indradyumna, who is said to have first given a celebrity to Jagannáth. But we did not then state that this sovereign was a Maharajah of Malwa or Ujein.

If he really founded the celebrity of the temple, we may date the commencement of the worship of Vishnu, under the title *Jagannáth*—not earlier than half a century before the Christian era.

Alluding to the kingdom of Malwa, Elphinstone writes that the era still current through all the countries north of the Nerbudda is that of Vikramaditya—the Hárún al Rashid of Hindu

* Historical Researches, vol. III., pp. 139-40.

† In Montgomery Martin's work on "The History, Antiquities, &c., of Eastern India," the earliest religion of Behar is said to be the doctrine of the Buddhists, "from Buddha first King of India." Buddha is here brought originally from Assyria, Jarasandha descended from Buddha, "according to legend, being of a monstrous size, was wont to stand upon two hills of this district, having a foot on each, and to look at the 1,000 wives of his kinsman Krishna, who lived near Gujarat, as they bathed in the sea. Not contended with this indecency, which might perhaps have been overlooked, he pelted the naked beauties with bricks, on which they complained to Krishna, who sent Bhim, the supposed son of Pandu, to punish Jarasandha, and this Prince was killed in a valley near his own house. This happened towards the end of the third age (Dwapar Yug) of the world; and according to Mr. Bentley (Asiatic Researches, Vol. 8), the fourth age commenced in the 11th century before the birth of Christ."—Vol. I., p. 22.

tales—who reigned at Ujein at the date of its commencement, which was fifty-six years before Christ.*

No portion of the Hindu mythology is more confused than what treats of the Ramas. Relating to Vishnu, the best way, perhaps, is to consider only the two principal incarnations—the seventh and eighth—Rama and Krishna; although there are three distinguished personages—all Ramas—the sixth and seventh incarnations being Parasu Rama, and Rama Chandra—the latter, a moiety of Vishnu, styled the same, and being the same as Jagannáth—"the lord of the world." In Orissa, Jagannáth is invariably styled Ram Chandra.

"Ráma," says Elphinstone, "was a King of Oude, and is almost the only person mentioned in the Hindu traditions, whose actions have something of a historical character." His queen Sítá, who was carried off by the giant Rávana—which caused the far-famed monkey expedition to Ceylon, under General Hanuman—we believe to be the original of the present Subhudra, the sister of Jagannáth. This heroic deliverer was Bali-Rama, the elder brother; so, then we have the three idols—*Jagannáth, Bulbhudra*, and *Subhudra* corresponding respectively with Rama Chandra, Bali-Rama, and Sitá. We remarked, near the commencement of this article, that Rama was often confounded with Krishna.

In the celebrated heroic poem "Ramayana," the characters are both mixed in the plot. Each is said to have won a wife by bending an unyielding bow—"not, indeed," says Moor, "very unlike the story of Ulysses."

The head clerk of Púrí thus describes the celebrated idols of the shrine:—

'They are bulkey, hideous, wooden busts. The elder brother Bulbhudder, is six feet in height, the younger Jagannáth, five feet, and their sister Subhudra, four feet. They are fashioned into a curious resemblance of the human head, resting on a sort of pedestal. The eyes of Jagannáth are round, and those of Bulbhudder and Subhudra, oval." The images "are painted black, white, and yellow respectively; their faces are exceedingly large, and their bodies are decorated with a dress of different coloured cloths. The two brothers have arms projecting horizontally forward from the ears. The sister is entirely devoid of even that approximation to the human form."—*History of Púrí*, pp. 19-20.

Turning to page 18, we find the following additional particulars borrowed from Mr. Peggs, who quotes them from "Col. Phipps' account of Jagannáth.—Asi. Jour. March 1824." Alluding to the idol Jagannáth, he says:—

* Elphinstone's India, vol. I., p. 398.

"In lieu of arms there are two stumps, 'on which the priests occasionally fasten hands of gold.' The forming of a new idol of Jagannáth is termed *Nooah Kullebur;* it occurs after a lapse of many years."—Col. Phipps says about once in seventeen years,—"when two moons occur in Assur (part of June and July.")

We shall now present our readers with both versions of the extraordinary preparation and *renewal*:—

COLONEL PHIPPS.

"A nim tree *(melia azodarata)* is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or carrion bird was ever perched; it is known to the initiated by certain signs! This is prepared into a proper form by common carpenters, and is then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery. One man is selected to take out of the old idol a small box, containing the spirit, which is conveyed inside the new: *the man who does this is always removed from this world before the end of the year.*"*

"Nim tree (Melia-aza-dirachta) is sought for in the forests, on which no crow or other carrion bird has ever perched: it is known to the initiated by certain marks. The idol is prepared by the carpenters, and then entrusted to certain priests, who are protected from all intrusion: the process is a great mystery.

The priests and other ignorant people endeavour to account for the deformity of the idol by a very strange tale. A boy from a Putti's family is selected to take out from the breast of the old idol a small box containing quicksilver, said to be the spirit, which he conveys inside the new. *The boy who does this, is always removed from the world before the end of the year.*"—*History*, page 18.

We are sorry to notice that in this instance, Brij Kishore Ghose has fallen into a grievous literary error—one, we are afraid, too common among rising Hindu candidates for a knowledge of the English language. Let one and all of them remember, that to make a candid acknowledgment of the author from whom considerable assistance has been derived, is due to the literary community at large, and will tend certainly to enhance, when, by silence, it will on discovery injure the borrower's reputation.

We do freely pardon all the head clerk's "inaccuracies in style," or "other errors he may have fallen into:" † we look upon his work as an excellent example of a native's literary industry, and, as we have before remarked, we think it will do a great deal of good. But we cannot pardon such a palpable display of plagiarism as that afforded by the above extracts.

The case of murder, referred to in these, is evidently a matter of doubt; nevertheless, we think that it deserves some enquiry. It is probably one of the legends of the Jagannáth worship,

* Peggs' India's Cries, &c., p. 216. † See Preface.

by which the pundahs endeavour to brighten believers into a continual adoration of the idol. Stirling says that some conjecture the sacred deposit in the "belly of the image" to be a bone of Krishna. However, the process of renewing the body of the idol taking place only after the lapse of many years, and the superintendent being now of too economical a nature to spend money on a renewal,* the ceremony may not again take place. It would appear that the small box of quicksilver, said to contain the spirit, is a precious relic, held in similar veneration to the tooth of Buddha.

Bishop Heber, describing this tusk in his "journal," while in Ceylon, remarks, that "it is kept in a golden case set with precious stones, and this is enclosed within four others, all of gold and increasing in size, and all studded with jewels; no relic was ever more sumptuously enshrined, or more devoutly worshipped."†

Let us now say a very few words regarding the great annual festival at Púrí, or the *Ruth Játra.*

Historians have often remarked the surprising resemblance which exists in the external worship of India and Egypt. In the religions of both countries, bloody and unbloody sacrifices; the strict observance of pilgrimage, causing a numerous assembly of people at festivals; penances; bathing in supposed holy waters, and if drowned, the act supposed to confer eternal bliss; their gods conveyed from one temple to another on enormous stages, erected upon huge cars. These latter customs, related by Herodotus—(forming part of a long comparison between the Hindus and Egyptians admirably set forth in Heeren's "Researches")—are particularly applicable to Jagannáth.

At Púrí, about the middle of every year, three large cars are built for the Ruth Játra—at which festival the images take an "airing" as far as the Gondicha Nour, or God's country-house—a mile and a half distant: "the cars are dragged by Kallabethias, or coolies, and by thousands of other people." But apparently, it must be the peculiar duty and privilege of these people to draw the cars.

The images are placed in their respective positions by the Dytas, or charioteers of Jagannáth.

THE CARS.

"The car of Jagannáth is forty-five feet in height: it has sixteen wheels of seven feet diameter, and a platform thirty-five feet square. The ruth

* The process formerly cost no less than from 5 to 6,000 Rs.

† Bishop Heber's *Indian Journal*—Colonial and Home Library—vol. II., p. 165.

of Bulbhudra is forty-four feet high : it has fourteen wheels of six and a half feet diameter. and a platform thirty-four feet square. The car of Subhudra is forty-two feet high : it has twelve wheels of six feet diameter, and a platform thirty-three feet square. A small rail about eight inches in height, nearly surrounds the platform of each ruth : an opening is left of a few feet in front of the idol."—*History of Púrí*, page 39.

For all details concerning the great Púrí festival, we must refer our readers to Stirling and the " History," &c.

The entire scene of the Ruth Játra savours, to an incredible extent, of the ludicrous, the barbarous, and the awful. The eager expectation, the unceasing din of a great multitude —the acclamations of " welcome to Jagannáth !" which rend the ear, when the images are brought forth in an erect posture, or rather *rolled* forth by means of iron handles fastened in their backs, and exposed to the stupid gaze of the delighted people.

There you may picture to yourself Christianity shuddering ; there, morality weeping. Momus is not to be found there—the god of mirth has slunk away trembling ; as for intellect, she slumbers in silence, awaiting the dawn of a better day.

The ponderous machines are set in motion—they creak while the creatures strain the cables in the midst of their joy and madness. Then they are

> ——" All around, behind, before
> With frantic shout, and deafening roar ;
> And the double double peals of the drum are there,
> And the startling burst of the trumpet's blare ;
> And the gong, that seems. with its thunders dread
> To stun the living, and waken the dead "*

But all their enthusiasm has soon subsided,—and, on the termination of the festival, many of that once delighted multitude either retire to die, or reach their deserted homes the victims of ignorance, poverty and wretchedness.

It is perhaps useless to state here that human sacrifice, under the wheels of the car, has been long abolished.

All the land within ten miles of Jagannáth is considered holy : when formerly Bhobanésér was in in its greatness, the whole of Utkala—as Orissa is styled in the Puranas—must have been held sacred. But we hope yet to see her come forth in a state of grandeur far surpassing in real value any thing she has ever before seen : we hope yet to see Orissa a princess among the provinces—the people leaving their senseless blocks of wood and stone, seeking to learn the blessings of that divine religion, which, it is intended, shall reign supreme. Let us then endea-

* Southey's Kehama.

your to work out that glory to the utmost, and spare no expense in the diffusion of education and enlightenment throughout the land. It is by these means, and by these alone, that we can hope for any advance in Hindú civilization, and the consequent introduction of a new and better order of things.

It was originally our intention to have carried our readers to visit the archæological wonders of the "black pagoda," Bhobanésér, and the caves of Khandgiri; however, on glancing around our *studio* at the numerous documents contained therein, we find that we must visit these wonders—which will form a continuation of the slight archæological and mythological information* contained in this paper—in a future article. Let us again, then, return to Púrí and the temple.

One of the most interesting and most important features of Púrí is the vast number of *muths*, or monasteries, it contains. These establishments are said to have been originally founded in India by a sect styled *Gosáis* or *Gosáins*. Each muth is governed by a *Mohunt*, who, with his disciples, forcibly reminds one of the abbot and friars of European history and romance. In Orissa, an assistant, styled "*Adhi-Kari*," transacts part of the business of the Mohunt,—and, if he be "a proper man," eventually succeeds to the management.

It is affirmed that the principal disciples of the founder of this sect were of the Siva religion; at Púrí the thriving members of the order are all of the religion of Vishnu.

"If any member of a *muth*," says a writer on the subject, "be particularly distinguished by his acts of hospitality, veneration for his ancestors, and a life of morality, he receives from the Dusname† the honorary title of Mohunt."

The head-clerk of Púrí gives a list of about thirty principal muths, or richest muths," as he terms them, with the amount of annual rent, and estimated value, of land pertaining to each. Of these endowments of the temple of Jagannáth, he informs

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* *The Madras Crescent* of July 22nd, has an extract from the *Calcutta Star*, in which we find the following useful suggestion: "It would conduce much to the progress of research among our local savans if the Journal of the Asiatic Society contained a couple or a quartett of pages every month devoted to a summary of the latest European speculations, memoirs or discoveries connected with oriental studies." We would also recommend this cheap mode of giving scientific satisfaction to residents in India, to the Editors of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

† This is a sort of managing committee for the internal administration of muths. For an interesting paper on this subject, we beg to refer the reader to one by John Warden, Esq., Bo. C. S., in the 32nd number of the Madras Journal of Literature and Science.

us that the produce of the lands "is realized by the *Muthdaris* or abbots, who by this means, though professing themselves mendicants, have become the richest merchants in India, and are now enjoying every comfort."

The writer proceeds to expose these pilferings, so clandestinely made by the religious imposters :—"This is strictly prohibited by "the Hindu law. These endowments have been made by rich Hin- "dus and Rajahs. The Mahrattas also gave taluks, villages, and "putnas, placing them under the muths, with a view to the Muth- "daris appropriating the incomes derived therefrom to the perfor- "mance of ceremonies and offerings to Jagannáth, besides the dis- "tribution of *Mahapurshad*, or holy food, to byraghis, kangalis, "&c.; but the intentions and wishes of the donors are seldom "carried out. On the contrary, the Muthdaris appropriate the "produce of such endowments to illegal purposes. *It is suppos- "ed that the amount of rent realized from estates so held, is not "less than two lakhs and ten thousand rupees:* the lands may be "valued at eight lakhs, and would realize that sum if sold.—*His- tory of Púrí, page* 8.

This is most valuable information ;—and we believe it to be perfectly correct. The Muthdaris, annually, obtain a sufficient *spare sum* to defray every expense attending worship at Jagannáth.

The head clerk informs us that he "has frequently convers- ed with certain Muthdaris on the subject"—that is of each one bearing his share of the stated allowance, at present granted by Government—"and he thinks that they will not be averse to such an arrangement, should Government think fit to with- draw the support at present afforded." The whole history of Jagannáth, from nearly the beginning of the present century, is neither more nor less than one huge calendar of crime. But, before arriving at any decided conclusions regarding the propriety and policy of the entire withdrawal of the British annual donation of Rs. 23,000 in money from the Government treasury, it is necessary that we should present the reader with some account, from the commencement, of BRITISH CONNEXION WITH THE TEMPLE OF JAGANNATH. We may be excused for making a slight retrospect, as far as the battle of Pániput—which, for a time, crushed Mahratta power in India. But that power gradually rose again ; and, in the year 1784, there was a considerable Mahratta empire—chiefly in the centre of India ; —and, among the names of the provincial chiefs, conspicuously shone those of Scindia and Holkar. Orissa since its occupation by the new masters, had been governed by a line of "Mah-

ratta Subahdars,"* most of whom were famous for nothing but violence and oppression, without the slightest control over their own soldiery.

Towards the end of the century, zemindars were robbed, or ejected from their estates; ryots were head-deep in misery. Revenue collectors, and the high priests and purchas of Jagannáth became fat and rich. And affairs continued nearly in this state until the middle of 1803. To restore order, and bring the Mahratta states under our rule, we fortunately had in India a statesman of great ability and sound judgment—the Earl of Mornington. In 1800, he wrote: "The distractions of the Mahratta empire must continue to increase, until they shall be checked by foreign interference. No power in India, excepting the British, now possesses sufficient strength to interprose with effect in these dissensions."†

On the 3rd of August 1803, the Marquess Wellesley wrote to Lieut-Colonel Campbell, commanding the Northern Division of the Army, furnishing orders for the occupation of the province of Cuttack. A force of not less than fifteen hundred native infantry, to be increased, if practicable and politic, was to assemble at Ganjam—which was shortly to be joined by another force from Bengal. With the force assembled under these orders, "and with the detachment from Bengal," wrote the Marquess, "you will enter the province of Cuttack and proceed to Jagannáth." Strict orders were given, in passing the frontier of the Mahratta territory, to use every means to conciliate the inhabitants. A proclamation, similar to that issued by General Harris when entering Mysore, was to be made known to the defenceless natives of the country:—protection and perfect security under the British Government. The remainder of the orders abound with political wisdom and caution:—

"The situation of the pilgrims passing to and from Jagannáth will require your particular attention, you will be careful to afford them the most ample protection, and to treat them with every mark of consideration and kindness.

7. On your arrival at Jagannáth, you will employ every possible precaution to preserve the respect due to the pagoda, and to the religious prejudices of the Brahmans and pilgrims. You will furnish the Brahmans with such guards as shall afford perfect security to their persons, rites and ceremonials, and to the sanctity of the religious edifices, and you will strictly enjoin those under your command to observe your orders on this important subject, with the utmost degree of accuracy and vigilance.

* The Mogul and Mahratta Subahdars generally resided at the Laul Bagh Palace in Cuttack.

† Despatches, &c., vol. 2, p. 226

8. The Brahmans are supposed to derive considerable profits from the duties levied on pilgrims, it will not, therefore, be advisable at the present moment, to interrupt the system which prevails for the collection of those duties. Any measures calculated to relieve the exactions to which pilgrims are subjected by the rapacity of the Brahmans, would necessarily tend to exasperate the persons whom it must be our object to conciliate. You will, therefore, signify to the Brahmans that it is not your intention to disturb the actual system of collections at the Pagoda *At the same time you will be careful not to contract with the Brahmans any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government to make such arrangements with respect to that Pagoda, or to introduce such a reform of existing abuses and vexations as may hereafter be deemed advisable.*

9. You will assure the Brahmans at the pagoda of Jagannáth, that they will not be required to pay any other revenue or tribute to the British Government, than that which they may have been in the habit of paying to the Maharatta Government, and that they will be protected in the exercise of their religious duties.

10 In every transaction relative to the pagoda of Jagannáth, you will consult the civil commissioner, whom I have named for the settlement of the province of Cuttack.

11. You will understand that no part of the property, treasure, or valuable articles of any kind, contained in the pagoda of Jagannáth, or in any religious edifice, or possessed by any of the priests and Brahmans, or persons of any description attached to the temples or religious institutions is to be considered as prize to the army. All such property must be respected as being consecrated to religious use, by the customs or prejudices of the Hindus. No account is to be taken of any such property, nor is any person not be allowed to enter the pagodas or sacred buildings without the express desire of Brahmans.

12. You will leave a sufficient force in the vicinity of Jagannáth, under the command of an officer, whom you will particularly select, and in whom you can place perfect reliance, for the due execution of the directions contained in these instructions."*

Here, as yet, is simply *conciliation* and *protection*—with the strictest injunctions to enter into no binding arrangements. And it is this plan of religious toleration, while a new conquest has not yet made our acquaintance, that has secured, probably for ages, the British supremacy in Hindustan.

The Moguls had formerly been roused by the flush of conquest to burn the idol. And, under the same circumstances, we can imagine the French imprisoning the Brahmans, and hunting the high-priest, like an antelope, to the banks of the Chilka. Such was not a part of the admirable policy of Lord Wellesley. In less than six weeks after the foregoing orders, Lieut.-Colonel Harcourt, with a considerable brigade of infantry and two eighteen-pounders, was on the march towards Jagannáth. On the 18th of September, he took possession of Púrí.

* * * * *

The British army arrived at the town of Cuttack on the 10th

* Despatches, &c., vol. 3. pp. 269-70.

of October, and on the 14th, the fort of Barrabutti fell by assault. The town was immediately occupied by the British troops.

A small force of infantry had been previously sent round by sea to occupy Balasore. Lord Wellesley wrote to General Lake at the end of September: "You will receive details of our success." "If we retain Cuttack, we must furnish troops (and a strong force it must be) for the defence of that valuable and most important possession."

At the end of October, he stated in a despatch to the Court of Directors, that the inhabitants of the province "expressed the utmost satisfaction at the prospect of being speedily relieved from the oppressions to which they had uniformly been subjected by the Mahratta Government, and of being placed under the protection of the British power." Mr Melville had been appointed Commissioner of the province. Thus, with little opposition, was entire possession taken of the Cuttack district—which, eventually, was formally ceded to the Honorable Company by the Rajah of Berar.

* * * * *

Such is a very slight sketch of the conquest of the province—in which the peaceful occupation of the town of Púrí forms the first stage of our being mixed up with the affairs of Jagannáth. The question now came to be—how was this vast and expensive stronghold of Hindu superstition to be supported? It will be seen from the Marquis Wellesley's instructions that the system of levying duties on pilgrims was not immediately to be interfered with. But the rapacity of the Brahmans became so great, and the disturbances consequent on their villainies so prejudicial to the peace of the district, that after a few months, the British Government abolished the tax. The wily Brahmans now came forward and requested us to disburse, as had been done by former governments, "the usual sums required for the expenditure of the ceremonies." It was determined by the Government to do as the Mahrattas had done. But here came the difficulty to know *how the Mahrattas had done*, in the way of presenting annual gifts or sums of money to the temple. The Rajah of Berar, Scindia, and the various Mahratta chieftains sent large donations to Jagannáth, on the occasion of any great success in their fortunes. The Muthdarís in Púrí, we have every reason to believe, were obliged to give every established *cowri** for the service of the idol, according to the will of the testators. These sums, annu-

* A small shell, of which sixty make a farthing, or the sixth part of an *anna*.

ally, added to the lands assigned to the use of the temple from its foundation, and an annual offering, of no fixed amount, from the Subahdar at Cuttack, we believe to have formed the only sums admissible by the Mahratta government for the entire service of Jagannáth. Sums of money were given by our Government, according to the request of the priests, for the expenditure of the ceremonies. But, naturally enough, not wishing the acquisition of the Cuttack province to be lessened in value by the use of part of its revenue for the support of an establishment like Jagannáth, the Government wrote in May 1804—"that it will be, in every point of view, advisable to establish moderate rates of duty or collection on the pilgrims proceeding to perform their devotions at Jagannáth." Accordingly Mr. Hunter—of the judical department at Purneah—was called upon by the Board of Revenue to officiate, "for the present," in the capacity of "Collector of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannáth." The letter forming this new office is dated from the Council Chamber, 21st November 1805—Mr. Hunter was furnished with an extract from the Regulation for the collection of the tax—which in 1806 was passed into a law—and "for the maintenance of good order, regularity, and tranquillity in the interior of the temple and in the town of Jagannáthpúrí and its dependencies." After some delay and thought concerning the "mode of reaching Jagannáth"—whether by dâk, or in one of the Hon'ble Company's pilot schooners—Mr. Hunter at length fairly commenced the duties of his new office, on the 22nd of January 1806;—and this functionary appears, from all we have read, to have been most indefatigable in his vocation, than which it would be no easy task to conceive any more difficult or harrassing. It would have required a mental Hercules to have cleansed the vast breeding den of iniquity from even a part of its loathsomeness and corruption. Mr. Hunter's salary was fixed at 500 Rs. per month, and he was allowed a commission at the rate of one and a half per cent. on the gross amount of the collections arising from the tax. This establishment of the pilgrim tax forms the second stage of British connection with Jagannáth.

Let us now proceed to consider the sums paid by us for the support of the temple before the year 1806. On the 8th of November of that year, Mr. Hunter writes to the Board of Revenue, that in addition to khunjas and sums received by the temple, "he has paid in cash nearly Sicca Rupees 35,000, as was done *in each former year, since the capture of the province.*" So, then, a large sum of money was paid

in each former year, chiefly because the priests of the temple said the Mahrattas had paid it—the principal of these priests, at the time, being a Mahratta, and probably the most accomplished *priest* among them. We certainly paid annual sums of money to the temple, as expedient and politic to preserve peace and order in the province *at the time.* But any binding arrangement would have been a direct disobedience of Lord Wellesley's orders in 1803.

On the 15th of September 1804, the Board of Commissioners who had been appointed to settle the affairs of the conquered district, issued a "Proclamation" from Cuttack, regarding *the settlement of the landed revenue of the province.*

We have no room to quote the sixteen sections of this Proclamation, which was included and placed with various "qualifications and explanations" in Regulation XII. of 1805:—passed by the Vice-President in Council, on the 5th of September. In the sixteen paragraphs just alluded to, we are unable to find the slightest reference to an *established donation* for the support of the temple of Jagannáth.

But, in the eighth section of the Regulation, it states we think consistently enough:—

"Nothing contained in this Regulation shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the rents of any lands assigned under grants from the Rajah of Berar, or from any *zemíndar talúkdar*, or any actual proprietor of land in the zillah of Cuttack as endowments of the temple of *Jagannáth* or of *muths* in the vicinity of that temple, or for similar purposes; provided, however, that any fixed quit-rent which the holders of such lands are bound to pay by the conditions of their grants, shall continue to be paid agreeably to former usage" *

This seems a fair latitude of *qualification* and *explanation* of an hypothesis—the proclamation—apparently, to us, entirely and solely connected with the settlement of the land-revenue. How startled, then, are we to find, in the 30th section of Regulation XII., the assertion "*that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the established donation for the support of the temple of Jagannáth.*" The intention of Government to settle a fixed allowance for the pagodas had not yet arrived at maturity. How, then, could there be an established donation? But we will let the reader satisfy himself on this point. And the best way to do that, is to furnish him with a portion of the early correspondence.

The following is the greater part of a letter from G. Dowdeswell, Esq., Secretary to Government, Revenue Department, dated from the Council Chamber, the 20th March 1806:—

TO THE COLLECTOR OF THE TAX AT JAGANNATH.

"The Governor-General in Council sanctions the advances of cash which you have made for the support of the temple. With respect to the Ruths†

* Regulations of Government, vol. 5, 1804-8. † Cars for the festival

the Governor-General in Council is of opinion that the preparation of them ought to be entrusted to the native officers of the temple, and the expense defrayed from the funds which have been or may be assigned for its support; and that it is not advisable that the Collector should interfere in details of that nature.

You are desired to specify the amount claimed by the officers of the temple, on account of the expense of the ruths in the last year: at the same time reporting whether, according to established usage, that expense should be defrayed by Government, or from the produce of the lands or other funds already assigned for the support of the temple.

You are desired, as soon after the receipt of this letter as may be practicable, to prepare and submit to Government, a statement of the produce of the lands appropriated to the support of the temple, and to the maintenance of its ministers and officers, and of any other funds appropriated to those purposes.

XI. You will, at the same time, prepare and submit to Government a statement of the sums annually required for the support of the temple (including as far as practicable, contingencies of every description) and for the maintenance of the ministers and officers attached to it, in order that such amount as may be required, in addition to the present endowments of the temple, may be assigned for those purposes."

Mr. Hunter's answer to the above—of which the following is the chief portion, is dated 29th March 1806:—

TO THE SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT IN THE REVENUE DEPARTMENT, FORT WILLIAM.

"I have the honor to enclose a list of the lands appertaining to the pagoda, as furnished by Sewaji Pundit; but independent of these, there are other lands under charge of various persons (and also fixed sums paid by zemindars) which are applied to sundry expenses of the pagoda.

Some of these appear in the Jumma Khurch of the pagoda, a few are numbered under the head of charity at Cuttack, and I am unable to discover who has any accompt of the remainder.

At least 5-6th of the expense of the pagoda consists of articles, such as rice, ghee, &c., the quantity of which is fixed, and not the price; in consequence it is almost impossible for me to acquaint you, what yearly sum will be necessary for the expenses of the pagoda, in addition to its endowments, as required in the 11th paragraph of your letter.

In the meantime, however, from the information which I have already collected, it does not appear that it will exceed forty-five thousand Rupees.

This is exclusive of the repairs of the building, &c., which, when required, were formerly paid for, by levying a percentage on the country, under the title of *Kurumbeha.*

*It appears to be the intention of Government to settle a fixed allowance for the pagoda*; in this case I feel my duty to state, that independent of the objections which arise from the above statement of its Jumma Khurch, the Puchas are servants of Government, who were formerly removable at pleasure, and who, I am firmly persuaded, have no further interest in the welfare of the pagoda, than in as far as they may enrich themselves, and are Hindus."*

* The list enclosed in the above letter we have thought proper to give in the form of a Note—as we imagine it may interest a few readers:—

*List of villages, &c, appropriated to the expenses of the pagoda, with their*

Previous to the arrival of Mr. Hunter at Jagannáth, the officers of the temple, as we have before seen, were clamorous for cash. They had been amply provided, on the *antecedent* principle, before the Collector of tax assumed his unenviable office.

Two months previous to the last correspondence, the Vice-President in Council had authorized Mr. Hunter to make such advances of cash as appeared to him necessary for the support of the temple and for the maintenance of its ministers and officers, as "may be conformable to *former established usages.*" But we do not believe there were any "established usages" among the Mahrattas, regarding the payment of large sums of money out of the revenue of the province for the support of Jagannáth. When the Court at Nagpore and ambitious chieftains were pressing on all sides for money, a very small portion of the pilgrim tax went to the temple. From this tax we know that the Mahrattas derived a considerable revenue. And so did we eventually. But, supposing the Mahrattas had had no tax,

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*produce for the year* 1212," (1805-6) "*as furnished by Sewaji Pundit, 3rd Dewal Purcha.*"

VILLAGES.

| | Acct. | Rs. | As. | Gds. | Ks. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kuplesurpur | | 1,815 | 4 | 2 | 2 |
| Balgaon | | 698 | 4 | 0 | 0 |
| Sumgra | | 621 | 10 | 4 | 0 |
| Oottur Kuna | | 645 | 2 | 12 | 0 |
| Birpurtabpur | | 781 | 9 | 4 | 0 |
| Alsrung | | 269 | 1 | 0 | 0 |
| Swalo, under charge of Gurmukhdas | | 562 | 6 | 4 | 0 |
| Mohra, under charge of ditto | | 280 | 12 | 1 | 0 |
| 26 batis 4 man of Birgobindpur (fixed jummabundi) | | 51 | 9 | 16 | 0 |
| Alpur 10 batis (Ditto) | | 15 | 5 | 1 | 0 |
| Birboie 7 ditto (Ditto) | | 42 | 4 | 2 | 0 |
| Puchpal 5 ditto (Ditto) | | 30 | 15 | 10 | 0 |
| Kuspur and Sunpur 8 ditto (Ditto) | | 25 | 12 | 18 | 0 |
| Purhitpoor | | 8 | 11 | 7 | 2 |
| Pergh. Kodhar in charge of Jyram Das, who furnishes a *fixed* daily offering to Jagannáth under the head of Mohun Bhog | | 5,161 | 4 | 12 | 2 |
| Fixed Khunja, received from sundry Zemindars | | 8,710 | 4 | 14 | 0 |
| Paid from sundry Saers | | 3,920 | 13 | 15 | 1 |
| Sale of Mahaprasad, or holy food, &c. | | 7,392 | 10 | 10 | 2 |
| Fees of 4th Purcha (whose appointment is vacant) | | 25 | 2 | 11 | 2 |
| Ditto of ditto on Dhuja or offerings of cloth, &c. | | 80 | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Total | | 31,139 | 0 | 9 | 3 |
| The particulars of the collections of only seven of the villages have been furnished, in which the jumma is | | 6,553 | 9 | 6 | 0 |
| Brought to account | | 5,028 | 14 | 15 | 2 |
| Remainder | | 1,524 | 10 | 10 | 2 |

Which are the expenses of Collection.

(Errors Excepted.)

(Signed) J. HUNTER, *Collector of Tax.*

would they have paid one farthing from the land revenues towards the support of the idol? Assuredly not. It would merely have been supported by its endowments and the voluntary offerings of those who were even the supporters of the Brahmanical priesthood, and in whose religion Jagannáth, of course, was a principal! We have paid money to Jagannáth both before the re-establishment of the tax, and after its entire abolition by Lord Auckland. The partial remedy of the philanthropic Governor-General for the discontinuance of British "connexion" with the temple, only makes our present position more inconsistent. But we have neglected to furnish the reader with any information regarding the pilgrim tax. The following twelve sections are from Regulation IV. of 1806 *—passed by the Governor-General in Council, on the 3rd April 1806—Bengal era, 1212 :—

"Whereas it is provided by section 31, Regulation XII, 1805, that a tax shall be levied from pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannáth : and whereas it is essentially necessary that provision should be made for the protection of the pilgrims from undue exactions on the part of the officers of Government or of the temple, and also for the preservation of order, tranquillity, and regularity in the town of Jagannáthpúrí, and its dependencies, and for the trial of civil suits of inconsiderable amount or value within those limits : the following rules have been passed, to be in force from the time of their promulgation.

II. A tax shall be levied on the part of Government (as was heretofore done under the late Mahratta government) on pilgrims resorting to the temple of Jagannáth. The collection of the tax shall be entrusted to an officer (being a covenanted servant of the Company,) with the official designation of the collector of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannáth. The general superintendence of the collections, and the control of the officers employed in the performance of that duty, shall be vested in the Board of Revenue at Fort William.

III. The avenues for the admission of pilgrims to the temple of Jagannáth shall be confined to two : *viz.*, Ghat Attarah Nullah on the North, and Ghat Lokenath on the South of the town of Jagannáthpúrí.

IV. The tax to the levied at Ghat Attarah Nullah, shall be fixed at ten rupees ; and the tax to be levied to Ghat Lokenath, shall be fixed at six rupees, on each person of the class of pilgrims, commonly called *lal jatris ;* whether such appellation shall have been assumed by the pilgrims themselves, or whether they shall be so denominated by their conductors.

V. The tax on all other pilgrims indiscriminately shall be levied at the rate of two rupees from each person.

VI. The abovementioned rates of tax on pilgrims are to be considered to include the usual fees of the officers of the temple ; and these fees shall in future be paid to them out of the funds which have been, or may be, assigned for the support of the temple. Provided, however, that this rule shall not be considered applicable to the officers denominated Purharis and Pundahs, who shall be entitled to receive, in conformity to established

* The whole of this Regulation is rescinded by Regulation IV of 1809.

usage, a fee from the pilgrims, according to a table of rates which shall be kept fixed at the temple of Jagannáth, and in places adjacent to the temple, for general information. The officers attached to the temple, are accordingly strictly prohibited from making any demands for money, exclusive of the tax and fees specified in this and the preceding sections. This restriction, however, shall not be construed to preclude the said officers from receiving presents or gifts; the same being voluntarily made. Any deviation from these rules will subject the officer, by whom such offence shall be committed, on proof thereof made to the satisfaction of the Board of Revenue, or of the Governor-General in Council, (if the nature of the case shall require a reference to Government under the general provisions contained in Regulation V. 1804) to be dismissed from his employment.

VII. It shall be the duty of the collector of the tax on pilgrims to establish, with the approbation of the Board of Revenue, such rules, as may be necessary for the due collection of the tax; for keeping regular and clear accounts of the receipts; for the prevention of embezzlement by the native officers; and for guarding against any evasion of the established tax by the pilgrims.

VIII. It shall likewise be the duty of the collector to establish, with the sanction of the Board of Revenue, and aided by the officer of police, such rules for the admission of pilgrims into the town of Jagannáthpúrí through the prescribed avenues of Ghat Attarah Nullah and Ghat Lokenauth, as may be necessary to guard against accidents and confusion, and to preserve regularity and good order among the great concourse of people resorting to the temple.

IX. In conformity to long and established usage, the following descriptions of persons shall be considered to be exempt from the payment of the tax on pilgrims at Jagannáth, *viz.* byraghis; persons employed in carrying the water of the Ganges to the temple of Jagannáth, or to any other Hindu temples; persons residing between the Byturni Nullah and the Ganjam river; persons resorting to the town of Jagannáthpúrí for trade or for any other purpose, excepting on pilgrimage. Pilgrims likewise in an actual state of poverty shall be exempted from the payment of the established tax, on declaring, under such form or ceremony as shall be prescribed by the native officers entrusted with the management of the temple, that they cannot contribute the prescribed tax of two rupees, and that they have not, in their immediate possession, more money than is absolutely necessary to defray their expenses on their return from the pilgrimage.

X. If it should appear that any other class of people was heretofore exempted from the payment of the duty levied on pilgrims under the late Marhatta Government, the collector of the tax shall report the circumstance to the Board of Revenue. That Board shall submit the case, with their sentiments on the subject, to the Governor-General in Council, who will order such class of people to be in future exempted from the payment of the tax or not, as may appear to him to be proper. The Governor-General in Council likewise reserves to himself from the power of granting any temporary and special exemptions from the tax in favor of individuals which he may consider to be proper.

XI. The superintendence of the temple of Jagannáth and its interior economy; the conduct and management of its affairs; and the entire control over the priests, officers, and servants attached to the idol and to the temple, shall be vested in an assembly of pundits or learned Brahmans, who, on all occasions, shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by long and established usage.

XII. The assembly of pundits shall consist of three members, to be recommended by the Collector of the tax on pilgrims, through the Board of Revenue to the Governor-General in Council."*

The other regulations, or sections of them, concerning the temple of Jagannáth, are repealed by Act X. of 1840—by which the *entire* superintendence of the temple officers, is vested in the Rajah of Khurdah.

In the extract of a letter from the Secretary to Government in the Revenue Department, dated the 4th June 1807, we find that "In consequence of the unsatisfactory accounts rendered "by the Collector of the tax on pilgrims, of the receipts "and disbursements of the temple of Jagannáth, and *the very* "*imperfect information obtained*, at the expiration of this long "period of time, of the resources of the temple, the Governor-"General in Council is of opinion, that an alteration is indis-"pensably necessary with respect to the constitution of that "office."

"The Governor-General in Council is accordingly pleased to "vest the superintendence of the collection of the tax on pilgrims, "and of the temple (so far as the European officers of Govern-"ment are authorized under the existing regulations to inter-"fere with that institution) in the Collector of Cuttack, subject, "of course, to your general control (that of the Rev. Dep.) "leaving Mr. Hunter to collect the tax on the spot, under the "orders of the Collector."

Mr. Webb was accordingly instructed to "bring up the amounts of the receipts and disbursements of the temple," also to make a full enquiry respecting the lands assigned for its support, &c.

Among the various frauds which were resorted to by pilgrims to elude the payment of the tax, we can find none more curious than the following, and none more easy of detection:—The officers employed in the collection of the tax discovered that frauds had been frequently committed by persons professing themselves to be carriers of the water of the Ganges. The head *Purharri* of the temple, and the officer who was employed under the Mahratta Government at the Attarah Nullah Ghât, were consequently called upon to state whether the carriers of the water of the Ganges were exempted from the payment of any tax under the Mahrattas. Both stated in writing that none were exempted, excepting such as had obtained an order to that effect. This was the same as in our Regulations. But, in order to prevent fraud, the Collector proposed that the carriers

* Regulations of Government, vol. 5, 1804-8.

of the water should first be obliged to go to Lokenath to pour the water over the idol at that place. "This," writes the Collector, "I conceive will effectually guard against the frauds, as no Hindu would pour water over the idol, which is not actually the water of the Ganges, and as the distance is not so much as a quarter of a mile from the temple, there will be no great hardship in the measure." We have abridged some information regarding the tax paid by pilgrims:—

"The paying pilgrims were divided into four classes, the *lal jatris nim lals*, *bhurrungs*, and *punj.tirthis*.

The rates of payment were eventually raised, with higher privileges to the pilgrims. A lal jatri received a pass of free access to the temple, for sixteen days, on the payment of sicca rupees ten. A pilgrim of the second class had access for seven days, on the payment of five rupees; of the third class, for four days, on the payment of rupees two; the fourth class received the pass "to perform the customary ceremonies without the gates of the temple," during sixteen days, on the payment of rupees twenty. A pilgrim of the first class was also allowed free access to the temple for thirty days, attended by a pundah. On the payment of ten rupees he was exempted from the latter's attendance—and, by surrendering his pass, was allowed to remain in the town as long as he pleased.

The Collector of Cuttack, writing to the Board of Revenue in August 1808, says "A total exclusion of pilgrims from a future residence in the town of Jagannáthpúrí, would be liable to great objection, and would infringe upon the religious prejudice of Hindu."

Let us now say a few words concerning the *Purharris*, *Purchas*, and *Pundahs*—classes which play most conspicuous parts in the town of Púrí.

The *Purharris* are a set of people who reside within the "holy land" of the temple, at Purshuttom. They are the servants of the god Jagannáth; and their duty consists in guarding the seven inner doors of the pagoda. They are said to attend there during the day, and to watch over the temple during the night. They conduct the pilgrims through it and present them to Jagannáth, "from which last act they derive their appellation *(Prutti harri)*. In 1838, we read of them defraying the expense, attending the purification of the temple. They were governed by four sirdars—one of whom was their *gomashta;** and under this personage were many inferior gomashtas who travelled all over India in search of pilgrims. The Purharris derived their emolument principally from that portion of the tax which was bestowed on the servants of the temple by Government, "in conformity to ancient practice." In 1838 their number exceeded

* Agent.—Formerly to ensure their protection on the arrival of a Gomasta with a batch of pilgrims, the Purharri—or head of the department—was allowed to take a fee from them.

four hundred. For their miserable and cruel treatment of the natives, and mode of enticing them to leave their quiet homes and undertake a wretched pilgrimage, we must refer the reader to Mr. Pegg's "Cry" and the "History of Púrí." The pilgrim-hunting system, it would appear, is still, in a degree, flourishing; and in the latter production, the picture of the Purharri, as he is at present, is not painted too severely true.*

The *Purchas* were the head priests of the temple. Previous to 1840, they saw that the worship was conducted "in an orderly and proper manner," under the control of the Rajah of Khurdah. They superintended the collection and disbursement of the revenues of Jagannáth, and received the Government allowance. They determined "all questions arising from the perquisites occasioned by the expenditure of the sums." In short, they were a band of Neckars—of whom the present superintendent now forms the sole representative—who undertook the management of finance in troublous times without much of the skill or any of the honesty of the great Frenchman.

The *Pundahs* are servants of Jagannáth, and their duty is principally in the pagoda. Formerly, they also did the same duties as the Purharris, during the collection of the tax: that is, they took money when they could get any.

Fortunately, "the vile Pundahs of Púrí!" is a phrase in the mouth of nearly every respectable native in Orissa; so the race, it would appear, is beginning to work out its own extinction.

Of the unsettled state of affairs towards the end of the year 1806, the Collector of tax says, in a letter to the Board of Revenue, dated 8th November, that the lands of the temple "are managed in a very improper manner;" and he doubts the resources of the whole of them—or even a fair part of them—being brought to credit. He likewise states that besides the known lands, "there are many others under charge of the Muthdaris, &c., which do not appear in the accounts of the temple, though they certainly appear to form part of its revenue." By all accounts the temple of Jagannáth appears to have had many resources in land, Mr. Hunter had reason to believe "to an immense amount, in other districts." These were all in addition to the annual sum paid by Government. The Purchas demand more money, and the head Purcha is accused of embezzlement:—

"The acting chief hereditary priest strongly accuses the Purcha of embezzling great part of these resources, but his accusations have not been

* See History of Púrí, pp. 53-54.

enquired into, it being the wish of Government not to interfere in the details of the disbursements.

The expenses of the temple are at present under no control. The Purcha is fully aware that he is not considered amenable for mismanagement or extravagance; and except for the purpose of being retained in his situation, has no object in doing his duty with attention to the interests either of Government or of the temple. The accounts which he now produces of the expenditure of the year 1210, make the disbursements amount to Khs. 1,96,652-13-13, or about rupees 50,000, a few additional expenses have since been authorised by the Commissioners, and the sum of Khs. 20,000 or about Rs. 5,000. has been added both to the Dr. and Cr. side of the Jumma Khurch under the head of Mohun Bhog, making the expenditures which ought to be allowed, amount in the whole to less than 60,000 rupees, and as the receipts allowed by Sewaji Pundit amounted in 1212 to about 31,000 rupees, and he has received in cash about 34,000 rupees from my treasury, it would appear that the present demand of money for the current expenses of the temple ought not to be complied with."

We direct the reader's particular attention to the following correspondence:—Mr. Hunter, on the 6th of May 1807, wrote to the Board of Revenue thus: "I have already examined the accounts of the temple from the year 1208 till 1212.....which will shew very clearly in what manner they have been conducted." In a letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 26th May 1807, the Revenue Board appear to have some doubts concerning the correctness of the Mahratta accounts. And, even in 1843, when an application was made for them to the Resident at Nagpore, that functionary states in a letter (private): "I have made a rough translation of them into "English; but as there are numerous terms used in them, "which are local, I cannot understand them—nor is there a "man in Nagpore at the present day who can explain them." The Revenue Board state in the letter above-mentioned:—

"In what mode the Collector has obtained the accounts of the expenses incurred under the late Mahratta Government, he has not explained, but as it would appear that he considers the accounts to be authentic, *as far as they apply to the advances made by the late Government*, it occurs to us that if you should be pleased to sanction any payments being made on the part of Government, they should be regulated according to the standard of the advances made in 1209.*

On a general consideration of the reports we have received from the Collector, we doubt much whether any accurate information is likely to be obtained either of the actual expenses requisite to be incurred for the ceremonies and duties of the temple, or of the funds at present belonging to it. The resources of the endowments in land may certainly be ascertained in a much more satisfactory manner than they are at present, but in respect to the article of income arising from fees and presents, we conceive, that any accurate information of that is scarcely to be expected, and we doubt also

* 1803-4.

whether the funds arising from the sale of Mahapershad can be justly ascertained

From the accounts submitted there would appear to be a necessity of some advances being made by Government, in addition to the funds belonging to the temple. Instead of allowing a fixed sum hereafter on that account, it occurs to us that it would be an eligible mode to allow a certain percentage upon the collections made by Government from the pilgrims.

On a reference to the accounts in our Accountant's office, it appears that from April 1806 to May 1807, the gross collections made on the part of Government from the pilgrims amounted to 1,18.253. The total charges incurred by Government in that period is stated at 42,666, leaving a net revenue of 75.587. Of this, however, some balance may probably be claimed by the Purchas, as due to them on account of the expenses of the temple. The Collector's accounts, you will observe, are only made up to the end of 1212; we are therefore uninformed of the amount which may be claimed by the Purchas on account of the period above mentioned, in addition to the amount actually paid to them. Of the charges above specified, it appears that 20,168 are on account of the salary of the Collector and of his Amla, and a further sum of Rs. 1,200 was expended in the building of a Cutcherry for the Collector, deducting those sums from the gross collections, the balance would be 96,885. Supposing therefore, that for the expenses of the temple 20 per cent. had been allowed upon the receipts after deducting the whole of the expense of collection, including the Collector's salary and commission, there would have been nearly 20.000 Rs., which would have been appropriable on that account.

Although that amount is not as much as was advanced by Government in 1212, yet, under all circumstances, we are of opinion that if 20 per cent. be allowed upon the collections, after deducting the expenses of collection, the expenses of the temple will be amply provided for. In the first place, we conceive, that the endowments of the temple may be considerably raised, and we have no doubt that under the management of the Rajah of Khurdah, the expenses will be much reduced."

The Mahratta accounts, after much diligent searching, discovered by the resident at Nagpore, we should have stated, were those for the Cuttack Súbah—"for 1206, 7 and 8." "They are written," says he, "in the Mahratta character, and as I understand, there are a number of Mahratta Muhsuddis in Cuttack, I trust you will have no difficulty in getting them translated." The accounts were duly translated and brought into use as required. But it would appear from this little piece of correspondence—for the publication of which we do not think that even the most scrupulous will blame us—that the decyphering of accounts in the Mahratta character, was, from the commencement of our occupation of the Cuttack province, left in a considerable degree to natives. Perhaps Sir William Jones himself could not have made out the local terms alluded to in the resident's letter. But this simple incident goes in some way to strengthen our upholding, what may seen rather a bold assertion—that we knew little, on the conquest of the district, and have probably known less since—of how the Mahrattas conducted the affairs of Jagannáth.

* * * * * *

In October 1806, we find the Governor-General concurring in the sentiments expressed by the Board of Revenue, respecting the expediency of withdrawing the interference of Government, as far as practicable, "in the internal administration of the affairs of the temple." The "Provisional Government" of the Dewal Purchas was discovered to be one of those curious pieces of machinery, in which every member does his best to enrich himself and rob his brother. There was plenty of oil for the wheels; but it always contrived to find its way into a wrong channel. What was wanted was a regular; and it was discovered that the Rajah of Khurdah (then a prisoner at Midnapore) had been the late Zemindar of Jagannáth. The chief hereditary Sewak, or priest, was at that time (1806) a minor. The high priest of the temple now became a picture of the past. He was to be added to that of the active Mahratta trooper, who, seated on his small, lean, muscular horse, with his dazzling sabre and homely appointments, was always ready to advance, like a flash of lightning, on the foe.

We find the following enclosed in a letter to the Governor-General in Council, dated 28th Sept. 1808:—

*The appointment of the Rajah of Khurdah.*

"It being deemed necessary to alter the rules at present in forcefor the superintendence and management of the affairs of the temple, the Governor-General in Council has been pleased to rescind sections 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, Regulation 4, 1806,* and substitute the following rules in lieu of them.

The superintendence of the temple of Jagannáth and its interior economy, the conduct and management of its affairs, and the entire control over the priests, officers and servants attached to the idol and to the temple, are hereby vested in the Rajah of Khurdah, who, on all occasions, shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by long and established usage.†

The Raja of Khurdah and his heirs shall hold the situation vested in them by the above section so long as they shall continue to conduct themselves with integrity, diligence and propriety, but nothing contained in this regulation shall be construed to preclude the Governor-General in Council from removing the incumbent from that situation, on proof of misconduct in such person made to the satisfaction of Government.

To enable the superintendent of the internal economy of the temple to perform the duty of his station with greater effect, he is hereby authorised to punish persons subject to his control, for any instance of neglect or mis-

* Seven of these sections, the reader will observe, we did not give in our extract from this Regulation. From what is now afforded, merely substituting Brahmans and Pundits, for Rajah superintendent, their contents will be sufficiently known. We have given the two most important; the 11th and 12th sections.

† Section 2, Reg. IV. 1809.

conduct, by imposing small fines upon them, not exceeding one month's salary, or income, or by removing the offender from his office, if the offence shall appear to merit that punishment."

The present Rajah and superintendent, we learn from the "History of Púrí," is Ramchunder Deb, who began his administration in 1818. If all be true that is written and said against him, he stands forth "proudly eminent" for falsities and lies. But the "secrets of the prison-house" are now disclosed—and we hope some good may soon be done. In the year 1808, the expenses of the temple were ascertained, and fixed at Sicca Rupees 56 342-9-8. We give a Kistbundy below,* stating the sums required during the above year.

This donation appears to have been continued down to the year 1839.

In 1809, the decrease of pilgrims, and the column of miscellaneous receipts having prevented the tax from nearly covering the expenses of the Government, the management of the temple lands began to be more seriously considered than formerly.

The decrease of pilgrims deprived the temple of offerings and endowments, and the Government of revenue. Instead of the expenses being reduced under the Rajah of Khurdah, it would appear they increased. The dewal Purchas grew lax in their financial duties, enjoyed their *otium cum dignitate*, took their salaries, and left the temple lands to their fate.

On the 18th of February 1809, the Collector of Cuttack wrote to Lord Minto—who had been Governor-General since 1807—explaining the deficiencies in the collections of the lands pertaining to the temple of Jagannáth.

"In regard to the future management of these lands," says he, "I beg to solicit your Lordship's orders on the Collector's "proposition of making the collections in future, by means of

* Kistbundy or monthly instalments of the amount authorized to be disbursed for the support and maintenance of the temple of Jagannáth :—

| Aussin. | Caurtick. | Aughun. | Pous, | Maug | Faugoon. | Cheyte | Bysack | Jeyte | Assaur. | Sawun. | Bhadoor. | Total. Sicca Rupees |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 5,000 | 5,000 | 5,000 | 7 000 | 5 000 | 6 000 | 4,000 | 3,000 | 4,000 | 7,000 | 3,000 | 2,312-9-8 | 56 342-9-8 |

*Zillah Cuttack, 27th February* 1808. (Signed) GEO. WEBB, *Collector.*

"an officer of Government. As long as the receipts from these "lands are appropriated to the expenses of the temple, I do not "conceive that any objection can exist to their being managed "by a particular officer appointed to perform the duties of the "Sattais Hazari Purcha, and I have little doubt of the receipts "being higher under the former officer, than under an officer of "the temple."

The Governor-General in Council agreed to this proposition; and an officer of Government was appointed to make the collections accordingly.

Lord Minto likewise authorized a proposed sale of lands for the recovery of arrears due from the proprietors to Government.

The frauds committed by the officers of the temple during this year (1809) appear to be quite in keeping with those of every other. A scheme was got up among the idle Purchas to exceed the authorized expenditure by some 5 or 6,000 rupees; and this, after the expenses of the temple had been limited to a certain and very liberal sum. They had the effrontery to write down the excess in the Persian accounts as *money borrowed.* On being questioned by the Collector as to the meaning and cause of the excess, the Purchas falsified their accounts. And if the Collector had not dismissed them from his presence with ignominy, they probably, from a full hypothesis of lies, would have proceeded to prove that robbing a Government of 5,000 Rs. was a custom established by antiquity.

Of course, they were made responsible for the amount. And there is every reason to believe that they did not find the responsibility at all grievous.

We have before us an "abstract statement of the resources of Satais Hazari lands assigned as an endowment to the temple of Jagannáth," dated September 1809.

The gross produce of these lands, "including quit-rent and Bazay Jumma," amounts to no more than 13,691 Rs.

The peace of the district appears to have been placed slightly in jeopardy about the middle of the year 1810.

The incident, though trifling, yet goes to strengthen an opinion, that it is hardly politic to allow the descendant of the Rajah therein mentioned—Mukund Deo, who had made a "most unprovoked rising" against the English government in 1804, and who, in consequence, was confined as a prisoner in Midnapore—to administer the affairs of such an important charge as Jagannáth.

We are informed that a country Rajah came to Púrí "with the approbation of Government," paying the usual tax for him-

self and retinue. He proceeded to the temple to perform certain ceremonies; "but, owing to the great crowd in the temple "these were not effected to his satisfaction; and he was with "his people personally insulted—principally by Pundahs and "Purharris, *shouting, joking, clapping hands*, pelting stones, "&c., which strongly inclines me to think," writes the Collector of tax, "they were the partizans of the Rajah of Khur-"dah, sent there for that particular purpose." The indignant Rajah, he writes again, "is full of grief and disappointment "at himself, his aged mother, and his three wives, being de-"graded *by a spurious race of his family, &c.*

Such was one of the incidents which distinguished Jagannáth in May 1810.

Yet, notwithstanding such freaks of royalty, the year 1810-11, presents an excess of tax of 12,645 Rs.—the net receipts of Government being 57,290, and the total expenditure Rs. 44, 664. In this latter amount are included about 1,100 Rs. for broad cloths from the British import and export warehouses.*

Passing over the administrations of the Marquis of Hastings and Earl Amherst, there is no change and little correspondence concerning Jagannáth. The first important proposed alterations appear in the middle of the reign of Lord William Bentinck. In July 1832, the Sudder Board of Revenue offered, for the consideration of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council, numerous excellent observations regarding the perfect propriety of an abolition of the pilgrim tax at Gya, Allahabad, and Jagannáth. On this branch of "the fiscal administration," the Board observe that the reasons for continuing the imposition of the tax, are simply these: "that it produces a "considerable amount of revenue annually to meet the general "expenses of the State, and that it was levied in the same man-"ner by the Hindu and Mahommedan Governments, previous "to the establishment of the British authority. These are "doubtless sufficient, so long as the tax itself does not operate "to mix up public authority with the performance of idolatrous "worship; but, when such consequences are found to result, the "Board are inclined to doubt, how far the continuance of the tax, "even in a revenue point of view, can be deemed advisable."

These observations of the Board were not suggested so much by the "tax system" at Gya and Allahabad, where "the public

* And nearly 1,150 Rs. put down as "balance due from Government to Purchas on account of the temple expenses."—The broad cloths, the reader is probably aware, were used for decorating the cars. They have long ceased to be supplied by the British Government.

officers," say they, "have nothing to do but simply to make the collections." Their chief point of attack was Jagannáth—in all but the bloody sacrifice, which belongs more to Siva :—

> "First Moloch, horrid king, besmear'd with blood
> Of human sacrifice, and parent's tears ;
> Though, for the noise of drums and timbrels loud,
> Their children's cries unheard, that passed through fire
> To his grim idol." *

There is considerable wisdom in the observations of the Board on the effects of the tax and superintending system on the general interests of the country. One is :—"In fact, the "rulers who communicate with one had the blessings of moral "light and knowledge to those of its subjects whom circum- "stances happily enable to receive them, co-operate with the "other, in rivetting the chains of idolatry on the minds of the "great body of the population." Another is—

"The evils more immediately resulting from it, arise out of the injury done to agriculture and commerce, by the abstraction of the labour of the multitudes, who are perpetually employed in traversing India from one extremity to the other, for idolatrous purposes ; and in the atrocities of which, gangs of these individuals are often led, by the vicissitudes of such a life, to become the perpetrators, in defiance of the utmost efforts of public authority, and to the great insecurity throughout the tracts of country over which they pass, of the peace and prosperity of the inhabitants." †

It was the opinion of the Board that the direct superintendence of the officers of Government for facilitating the business of the temple, encouraged the pilgrimage ; and, to uphold their arguments for non-interference in management, and the abolition of the tax, they cite the case of the abolition of *Sutti*, or the burning of widows—the "best motives for regulating the burning" increasing rather than diminishing the rite. Sutti being considerably "put an end to," they imagined that the pilgrimage to Jaggannáth, through "more comprehensive and just views of the principles of human action," carried out in the former case, would be attended by the same effects ;—and the adoption of the new measures, will, the Board doubt not, result "in the gradual disrepute and declension of those idola- "trous rites, which their own unaided influence will never suffice "to uphold, against the rapidly increasing intelligence of the "higher classes of the native population."

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* Milton.

† Some may think that the Board here shew an excess of feeling. The pilgrims themselves are most frequently the victims of various atrocities. They are generally a peaceful set.

The whole of the Board's observations teem with philanthropy —and if their latter remark was at all true in 1832, it must be much more so in 1848.

But his Honor the Vice-President in Council could not see the propriety or policy of the withdrawal of tax at any of the places mentioned, and particularly of interference with the concerns of the temple of Jagannáth.

As we wish to give both sides of the question, we shall quote part of a letter from Mr. Wilkinson, Collector of Cuttack, dated May 1833, to the Commissioner of the province, in which he states that the opinions in the letter of the Hon'ble the Vice-President in Council have his entire concurrence:—

"Judging from the experience of the two first years after the acquisition of the province, when no tax on pilgrims was levied, I should think that the abolition of it again would greatly increase the resort of pilgrims to the temple at Jagannáth, and would continue so long as the Hindu faith is looked upon by the natives of Hindustan as the true religion. I am also of opinion, that the temple could not be left to the support yielded by its own endowments, without the Government being guilty of a breach of faith, for by the latter part of Section 30th, Regulation XII. of 1805, it is bound to supply the deficiency of them." The words are as follows:—'Provided also that nothing herein contained shall be construed to authorize the resumption of the established donation for the temple of Jagannáth." Perhaps the Board in suggesting the above arrangement, considered this donation as a part of the endowments of the temple. Had their recommendation for the abolition of the tax been adopted, Government would then have had to pay out of its revenue annually, a sum averaging 36,000 Rs. as the revenues from the lands appropriated to the temple amount to 20,000 Rs. only, whereas the annual disbursements exceed 56,000 An increase in the police to protect the persons and property of the larger masses of people that would be collected, from their being no check on their resort to, and stay in, the town of Púrí, would also have been required. All this outlay would have been incurred without any return, whereas things are now constituted, this burthen is saved to the State, and a small surplus is available for the repair of bridges, roads, surais, and other useful purposes.

No one can deny the baneful influence which pilgrimages have on agriculture, by abstracting large bodies of people from their labors, but they are not wholly without their benefits. These masses of Hindu pilgrims do not entirely consist of the labouring classes, but comprehend a great proportion of the rich and idle, who by thus travelling about the country with their numerous retinues, consume the superabundant produce through which they pass, and into Cuttack, at least, introduce a great share of the money which is annually drained from the district in remittances to the General Treasury."

The reader may probably exclaim, on the perusal of the above—"The *established donation*"—like chaos, "come again!" But Mr. Wilkinson's letter is of eminent service at the present time. The "donation" and the pilgrim tax go together. It is impossible to separate the one from the other; or rather not to gain the one from the other, without loss to the State. Lord

Auckland and time have shewn that the separation has produced a considerable annual loss to the State. But time has also shewn that Jagannáth, as for some years conducted, is gradually falling into disrepute ; it has also shewn that the act of separation was not generally considered as a breach of faith on the part of the Government :—Why, then, should we leave the other *member* dangling in the air—the support of an avaricious Rajah, and a burden to the State ?

We asserted in a former portion of this article, that the Government eventually received a considerable revenue from the pilgrim tax. We think it but justice to the Hon'ble East India Company that we should bring the following facts to public notice. They are recorded in the Vice-President in Council's letter to the Sudder Board of Revenue, dated September 1832.

The surplus proceeds of the tax on the pilgrims to Jagannáth were appropriated by the Hon'ble Court of Directors to the formation and maintenance of a high road from the presidency to Cuttack, along which many of the pilgrims travel—and to the erection of surais for their accommodation along the road. The funds were found to be "inadequate for the purpose," and the pilgrimage thus became "a charge on the public finances, rather than a source of income."

Mr. Wilkinson, styled by the Vice-President in Council, "an officer of talent and experience," appears to have been the first who proposed the present "money mode" of payment from the British treasury.

In his letter, part of which we have before quoted, he says: "Should Government deem any change necessary, I would re- "commend in preference to any other, the total abolition of the "tax and a grant of the donation from its treasury stipulated by "Section 30, Regulation XII. of 1809, and placing the dis- "bursements and general control of the temple under the sole "management of the Rajah of Khurdah. However, it is my "opinion, that it is the best policy to continue things as they "are." The Regulation above alluded to should have been written of 1805 ; and so we have the "resumption of the established donation again." And it was these very words which chiefly prevented that highly respected and talented officer, Mr. Mills—the present Commissioner's predecessor—from acceding to what the Hon'ble East India Company and Great Britain generally wished—the *entire withdrawal* of British connexion from the temple of Jagannáth—Mr. Mills' strong sense of justice and that of other high functionaries in India, (among whom we may mention the Hon'ble Sir T. H. Maddock,) in this matter, we think,

went somewhat too far: for who, in such a case, will assert that there cannot be "continued favor and protection" without an actual payment of money? *No pledge can be elicited from the correspondence.** There is no fear of the peace of the province being endangered. The business altogether is a complicated one. The "pledge" has been already broken up into sections: these have gradually been retiring from the centre, till there is but one left.

The remaining section is perfectly useless; and, besides, stands in the way of the march onward to civilization. But we have made a rather sudden digression from Mr. Wilkinson, and his Honor the Vice-President in Council, in 1832. It was before our intention to have presented the reader with a "Statement showing the receipts and disbursements of the temple of Jagannáth," from 1810-11 to 1830-31. It is a statement made in the most palmy days of pilgrimage:—

| Years. | Gross Collections. | Total Charges. | Net Receipts. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1810-11 | 73,438 | 60,793 | 12,645 |
| 1811 12 | 93,372 | 43,578 | 49 794 |
| 1812-13 | 51,049 | 55 709 | 4 660 (net charge) |
| 1813-14 | 87,159 | 48,674 | 38.485 |
| 1814-15 | 2,08,520 | 72,852 | 1,35,668 |
| 1815-16 | 53.725 | 42.578 | 11,147 |
| 1816-17 | 60,294 | 50,600 | 9,694 |
| 1817-18 | 94,020 | 52,860 | 41,160 |
| 1818-19 | 80,951 | 46 550 | 34.401 |
| 1819-20 | 1,65,951 | 47,664 | 1,18,287 |
| 1120-21 | 60,031 | 45,203 | 14.828 |
| 1821-22 | 1,17,559 | 47.824 | 69.735 |
| 1822-23 | 23,3.248 | 51,630 | 1,81,618 |
| 1823-24 | 67,013 | 44.715 | 22,300 |
| 1824-25 | 74.958 | 45.202 | 29,756 |
| 1825-26 | 2,79,491 | 55,662 | 2,23,829 |
| 1826-27 | 73,806 | 47 164 | 26,642 |
| 1827-28 | 92,363 | 46,411 | 45.952 |
| 1828-29 | 1,29,277 | 54.501 | 74.776 |
| 1829-30 | 1,25,126 | 15,759 | 1,09,367 |
| 1830-31 | 2,16,217 | 1,78,511 | 37,706 |
| Total, 21 | 24,37,570 | 11,54,440 | 12.87,790 |
| | | Deduct charge in 1812-13 | 4,660 |
| | | | 12,83,130 |
| Annual Average | 1,16,074 8 | 54,973 6 | 61,101 |

* Government is not bound by any pledge—said the Board of Revenue, (1845)
This was also the opinion of the Hon'ble W. W. Bird, and by him so recorded, in his high official capacity, as Deputy Governor of Bengal, and for a time, acting Governor-General of India.

We now pass on to the administration of Lord Aucland,* to whom we have already alluded in this article. It was towards the end of the year 1838 that he penned a confessedly able minute on the general subject of Jagannáth, though utterly vitiated by the old bugbear about the imaginary pledge.

We think we shall meet the wishes of our readers by simply giving the

*Resolution of the President in Council for carrying out the views expressed in the Governor-General's Minute.*

"All that remains to be done relates to the temple of Jagannáth, which had already formed the subject of a good deal of correspondence before the receipt of the present despatch from the Hon'ble Court of Directors, and on which the Government of India is in possession of all the general information requisite, including the views of the best informed local officers. The opinion of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General on the mode in which the abandonment of all interference with the concerns of the temple of Jagannáth should be conducted, was requested by the President in Council in Mr. Secretary Maddock's letter to Mr. Macnaghten dated the 20th of May 1838, and in the latter part of the present Minute, His Lordship has taken the opportunity of conveying his opinion upon that point.

It is unnecessary in this Resolution to recapitulate the various plans that have been proposed for carrying into operation, as respects this temple, the principle set down for the guidance of the Government of India, and the various arguments for and against each plan. These have been fully developed in previous Resolutions and correspondence with the Governor-General. The President in Council resolves, in accordance with the opinion expressed in His Lordship's Minute, wholly to relinquish the tax on pilgrims; to continue the yearly donation now given for the support of the temple, for which the faith of Government is pledged, to make over to the Rajah of Khurdah and his successors, the entire management of the temple; to retain the temple lands. (Satais Hazari Mehal.) in the management of the Revenue Officers of Government, accounting to the superintendent of the temple for the net proceeds; to exact nothing from the temple for the support of poor pilgrims or a Pilgrim Hospital, and to institute, at the charge of Government, a Government Dispensary in the town of Púri for the relief of all persons who may apply to it.

With regard to the manner in which the relinquishment of the entire charge of the temple into the hands of the Rajah of Khurdah and his successors should be recorded, and the obligations of the charge defined, His Honor in Council thinks it would be most expedient, on the repeal of Regulations IV. 1809, and XI. 1810, by re-enacting in substance clause First, Section 2, of the former, to provide, that the superintendence of the temple and its interior economy, the conduct of management of its affairs, and the control over the priests, officers, and servants attached to the temple, shall continue vested in the Rajah of Khurdah and his successors, who, on all occasions, shall be guided by the recorded rules and institutions of the temple, or by ancient and established usage. The superintendent and all the officers connected with the temple will be left, as a matter of course, responsible to the Courts of Justice for any breach of duty which can be made the ground of a legal action.

His Honor in Council deems this course preferable to the execution of

* Governor-General, March 1836.

the deed of transfer proposed by the Right Honorable the Governor-General; because the management of the temple is already by Reg. vested in the Rajah, and the office of superintendent in institutions of this description, being by Hindu law of the nature of a trust, no special agreement is necessary to give it that character; and it might be difficult to frame the deed of transfer in such a manner as to comprehend the stipulations necessary to secure the just rights of all parties concerned.

His Honor in Council does not deem it advisable to associate the three Dewal Purchas with the Rajah in the superintendence of the temple. Those officers have no title to that privilege; and though they have been in direct receipt of the money allowance from Government, and entrusted with its disbursement, they have discharged their duties under the supervision of the Rajah, as by law provided. Such an arrangement also would be open to the objection of a divided authority and responsibility, and the advantage of having one acknowledged and permanent supreme Director of the institution would be lost; moreover, as observed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, as vacancies occurred in the office of Dewal Purcha, the succession could not by any other means be so fittingly supplied as by the nomination of the Rajah himself, and thus the control of these superior priests would naturally fall into the hands of the Rajah; and their offices, as co superintendents, would become nearly nominal.

His Honor will be pleased, as early as possible, to complete, in all its details, the scheme for carrying into effect the arrangements explained in this resolution with regard to Jagannáth." *

Here then we have the ground-work of the new Act X. of 1840. We shall presently shew the opinion of the Court of Directors on the question of "pledge" contained in the above.

Before us we have a very elaborate document, which furnishes the Sudder Board of Revenue with much valuable information regarding the abolition of the pilgrim tax. In one part of the letter we read: "Much as we may deprecate all personal "interference with the ceremonies of a religion which we cannot "but look on as of the most demoralizing and degrading cha- "racter, it is yet in my opinion our bounden duty not only to tole- "rate that religion, but to provide for its free exercise by our "Hindu subjects, to secure the due appropriation of the pro- "ceeds by which its endowments are supported, and lastly, to "maintain the public tranquillity in all places to which its vota- "ries resort."

Here we accede fully to the *toleration* but not to the *provision*; neither do we see why we are bound "to secure the due appropriation of the proceeds."

The establishment of the Cuttack Pilgrim Hospital—a most humane and highly necessary institution—occupied much of the attention of the late worthy Commissioner; and there can be no doubt that the pilgrims have derived great benefits from his philanthropic exertions.

* This document, in manuscript, is without date.

The basis of the Commissioner's plan for the abolition of the pilgrim tax, according to the orders of Government, was, that—"We should, in short, interfere not a little more with Jagannáth than we do with Bhobanésér." For the particulars of our interference with the latter shrine—which may be summed up in the words "protection to endowments"—we refer the reader to Reg. XIX of 1810. Proceeding a little faster in our journey, we arrive at a

*Return to an Order of the Honourable the House of Commons, dated 17th April* 1845;—*for*

A copy of "so much of the Despatch sent out by the Court of Directors of the Honourable the East India Company, on the 18th day of December 1844, as relates to the discountenancing of any connexion of the Company's servants with attendance of devotees upon the ceremonies of the temple of Jagannáth and any arrangements sanctioned or directed for the discontinuance of pecuniary payments towards the maintenance of the idol worship of that shrine."

JAMES C. MELVILLE.

*East India House, 22nd April* 1845.

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ORDERED BY THE HOUSE OF COMMONS, TO BE PRINTED, 16TH JUNE 1845

*Copy of a letter from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to the Governor-General of India in Council, Legislative Department, 18th December (No. 25,)* 1844.

*Our Governor-General of India in Council, India Legislative Letter, 12th July (No. 14.)* 1844.

1. From the papers accompanying your letter in this department of the 12th of July last (No. 14), respecting the temple of Jagannáth, we are fully confirmed in our previous impression, that the employment of Puharias, or pilgrim-hunters, is not sanctioned by the Government, and that the authority of the police is never exerted in forcing the labouring classes to drag the car at Jagannáth, or at any other temple, but always in protecting them from any such compulsory service. The imputations cast upon the Government, in these respects, prove to be wholly groundless.

2. It appears that the records of your Government do not enable you to show upon what specific ground it was stated in Lord Auckland's Minute of the 17th November 1838, that "our promise of the allowance for the support of the temple is distinct and unconditional." The nature of the pledge under which it was considered incumbent upon us to continue the established allowance seems to have been the assurance held out by Sir Arthur Wellesley, in his negotiation with the Mahratta vakils, and by Lord Wellesley and the officers acting under his authority in Cuttack, that the temple and the Brahmans attached to it should be taken under the protection of the British Government. This assurance was in strict conformity with the principles on which the affairs of our empire in India have uniformly been administered. The allowance was fixed at 60,000 Rupees per annum, but is stated in the report of the Bengal Government, dated 11th March 1844, to have been reduced to Rs. 36,178-12-2, in consequence of the relin-

quishment of the Satais Huzari estate to the temple. We are of opinion that it would be very advisable, according to the suggestion offered in the same report, to commute the remainder of the allowance in the same manner by restoring any other lands of equal value which may formerly have belonged to the temple. We desire, therefore, that if you concur in this view, you will take the necessary measures for carrying this arrangement into effect; and that the lands may be left exclusively to the management of the officers of the temple, and thus, that the discontinuance of our interference with its concerns may be made complete

We are, &c.,

(Signed) J. SHEPHERD. H. SHANK.
H. WILLOCK. A. GALLOWAY.
W. ASTELL. A. ROBERTSON.
F. WARDEN. W. B. BAYLEY.
J. LOCH. H ALEXANDER
J. MASTERMAN H. ST. G. TUCKER.
W. YOUNG.

*London, 18th December* 1844.

Our readers, we doubt not, are aware of the impossiblity of preserving any strict chronological order in a narrative of this nature confined as we are to space. We shall therefore make no apology for engaging the reader's attention to the consideration of a valuable document forwarded by Mr. Commissioner Mills to the Sudder Board of Revenue, in 1843.

The Commissioner had been called on by the Board, about the middle of that year, to answer certain questions, and supply the most authentic intelligence regarding the temple, for the information of the Court of Directors. He commences his document * with a succint history of the origin of the temple and tax: rightly considered necessary for the due understanding of his first argument —"The specific ground on which it was stated in Lord Auckland's Minute, that the allowance of the temple is distinct and unconditional." We shall make a few extracts which the reader will do well to compare with what we have already written. "I find," says Mr. Mills, "from the "acounts which were rendered by the officers of the temple "for the two years preceding the accession of the British "power, that is in 1801-1802, the sum of 97,132-10-15 *ka-*"*huns*, equal to Rs. 24,283-6-3;—in 1802-1803, 87,228-10-10 "*kahuns* of cowry, or Rs. 21,807-2-2, disbursed by the Mah-"ratta Government to cover the deficit of the receipts over the "disbursements. The practice of the Mahratta Government "was to have the accounts of receipts and disbursements annu-"ally adjusted, and to supply the deficiency from its own "treasury. This practice was continued for some years by the "British Government. The allowance, there can be no ques-

* Our copy is dated 20th August 1843.

" tion, was considered permanent, through the amount of it was " variable."

The Commissioner then proceeds to bring forward the portion of Lord Wellesley's Despatch to Colonel Harcourt—nearly the whole of which we have already given—in which he lays the chief stress on the words "*protected in the exercise of their religious duties.* The reader may remember that we laid it on the order :—"*Be careful not to contract with the Brahmans any engagements which may limit the power of the British Government, &c.*"

The second clause of the Commissioner's document relates to "the authority under which the established donation for the support of the temple of Jagannáth, maintained in Regulation 12 of 1805, was first granted,—or the period during which it may be known to have been received, and its amount."

The Court of Directors particularly wished to know "the authority."

"The Governor-General in Council," writes the Commissioner, "authorized Mr. Melville * to defray the expenses of the "temple; the date of the authority I cannot trace, but the "Government in Council,† were pleased to observe as fol- "lows: 'In authorising the Collector to incur the expenses "necessary for the support of the temple, it was of course to be "understood that such authority had reference to the expenses "incurred for the purpose during the late Mahratta Govern- "ment."'

It is likewise the Commissioner's opinion that the lands belonging to the temple never constituted "the only known endowments pertaining to it,"—in support of which, besides an abstract of lands assigned for the use of the temple, he gives other resources, "under various heads, viz. poll-tax, custom duties, intestate property, &c." and upon every Lal Jatri fifteen annas. We have already alluded to the probable resources of the temple under the Mahrattas.

In the following observations by the Commissioner will be found, in addition to other information, the character of the present Rajah Superintendent—far too kindly drawn; the information regarding the Purharris, which satisfied the Court of Directors, as we have shewn in the letter already quoted; and, lastly, Mr. Mill's arguments for not discontinuing the donation :—

"I consider it my duty to offer a few remarks on the attempt which is now being made to set aside the settlement of Lord Auckland. The settle-

* In the manuscript it is "the Commissioner."

† In reply to the Board's address to Government of the 17th June 1806.

ment, inasmuch as regards the abolition of the tax has given satisfaction to the people, but this is not the case with that part of the arrangement which vests the superintendence of the temple in the Rajah of Khurdah. The body of the Hindu people not only object to the man, who is a person of thirfty character, and endeavours to limit the expenditure to the lowest possible amount, in order that he may appropriate to his own use the surplus.

* I beg on the part of both the Magistrate, and myself as superintendent of the police of the district, to contradict these most unfounded statements of the Pamphleteer, and to state that neither have the Purharris been encouraged or protected, directly or indirectly, by the officers of Government; nor have the police been employed, directly or indirectly, in the impressment of persons to drag the car since the abolition of the pilgrim tax.

With the Purharris or Pundahs the Government officers cannot in any way come in contact, and as to the impressment of the people, I may add that the Rajah of Khurdah waited on me last month at Púrí and implored the aid and assistance of the Government officers for securing the attendance of the "Batiahs," or persons whose duties it is to drag the ruths, which I peremptorily refused to him It is for the purpose of obtaining some influence and authority over these people that the Rajah is willing to take the Satais Hazari Mehals into his own hands, and is desirous of engaging for the revenue of other large estates, his property being now held Khas by Government for political reasons.

† The abolition of the tax has without doubt added to the number of pilgrims, but in no other respect has the splendour of the ceremonies been augmented

Our interference with the management of the temple secured a sure administration of its affairs and no doubt increased the celebrity of the temple among the Hindus, and therefore is its withdrawal unpalatable to them. However, the withdrawal of our interference has been in their eyes in a great measure redeemed by the faith which we have kept in continuing the payment of the established donation. We are bound in faith and in justice to pay the established donation for the support of the temple, and this is now done in the manner which I think is the least objectionable to our feelings as Christians; and truly has Lord Auckland remarked "our pledge was not to the individual priests but to the Hindu public," who alone can release us from our obligations.

The plan advocated by some to discontinue the donation and to permit the Rajah and priests to collect in lieu thereof the usual fees, would not only involve the violation of the pledge, which has been given to the Hindu public, but the voluntary contributions would gradually degenerate into a source of exaction and oppression to the pilgrims, and would create a great feeling of discontent amongst our Hindu subjects." ‡

It is Mr. Mills' opinion, then, that "so far as human justice is to be regarded, our violation of the pledge seems beyond all power of explanation."

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* Is the trade of the Purharris sanctioned by Government, and is the authority of the police employed to impress the labouring classes to drag the car at Jagannáth?

† Is the superstition of Jagannáth, under the arrangements now sanctioned, flourishing beyond all experience?

‡ We have copied the whole of this extract from the corrected manuscript—in which the Commissioner's corrections are so numerous, that it is difficult for us to do any justice to his language. However, his sentiments are expressed in the above. We believe that the whole is printed in the "Blue Book."

This opinion appears to have been of greater weight than any of the others set forth in the Blue Book. It is curious to observe the secret struggle for independence which appears to reign among the Rajahs of Khurdah. In the above extract we find him willing to take the temple lands under his own management to gain influence over the people. And to the reader, not skilled in revenue matters, it may be well to observe, that landed property is said to be held "*Khas*," when under the immediate management of the Government officers, in contradistinction to being farmed or leased out to others. The Rajah, on the occasion of the abolition of the pilgrim tax, wished even to have the rights and privileges of a tributary chieftain confirmed in his person, "it being, as these jungly Rajahs think, derogatory to be placed on a level with the subjects of the Mogulbundi in the plains." Pilgrimage to Jagannáth, among the chieftains of the tributary mehals, is a rare occurrence. They seem to consider the Rajah as the relic of a once despotic power—fallen—fallen—fallen! They are not willing to pay the large sums of money exacted from them by the superintendent to perform the ceremony at the temple: they prefer hoarding up their wealth in their own wild lands to expending it on Jagannáth, or rather on the Rajah of Khurdah.*

The plan proposed by the Court of Directors for the discontinuance of our interference with the temple was by no means an easy one to carry out. In 1844, Rs. 35,758 were paid in cash from the Government treasury, nominally as a pension to the superintendent, but really for the support of the temple. The collections of the Sattais Hazari estate, amounting to Rs. 17 001, were exclusively made over to the Rajah. But, with the exception of this property, there were no lands of which any record was then extant, or of which any trace was forthcoming that had been set aside for the use of the temple. The Muthdaris were no doubt satisfied with the general confusion, —which had been gradually ripening since the conquest of the province,—so, of course, they were not very anxious to come forward.

In May 1845, Mr. Mills applied all his skill to effect a satisfactory settlement of lands on the Rajah, in lieu of money.

Alluding to this matter, he wrote to the Sudder Board of Revenue:—"Touching the commutation of the money allow-

* The timbers for the great Ruth festival are annually provided by the Rajah of Duspalla a Cuttack Tributary Mehal. "The simli trees," says the head clerk of Púrí, "are supplied by the sarbarakars of Banpore, to whom the superintendent of the temple sends the sacred sanders and rags from the head of the image Jagannáth, as a token of approbation."—*History*, page 42.

"ance now paid by Government, by the assignment of the "revenues of the Rajah's Zemindari, Talukah Delang, Per- "gunnah Lembai, I regret to state that my own and the Col- "tor's endeavours have failed to obtain the Rajah's consent "to the proposed arrangement. He opposes it because of the "possibility of his becoming a dependent zemindar, a contin- "gency which might follow his ejection from the office of super- "intendent of the temple, for any acts of *misfeasance;* I do "not think that we could, with any degree of justice, force such "an arrangement on him."

"Yet," continues the Commissioner, "the Rajah is not in- disposed to accept the revenue of other mehals, as enumerated by him, in lieu of the donation."

At length the money donation was set down at Rs. 24,600. Thus was "British connexion" lessened by 11,000 rupees.

It is useless to trouble our readers with the items which make up this total; but it was argued from the account of them that, if the present money payment should be discontinued, the British Government would still have to make good to the temple, annu- ally, Rs. 24,600, "in lieu of *sayer* abolished and assignments on the revenue which have long since been appropriated by the State."* This of course, entirely depends on the question of "pledge."

At the close of the year 1845, an order was issued from the Council Chamber, substituting an annual payment of rupees 23,321, for rupees 35,758-9-6.

The sale of normal—a sort of "holy food"—and fees relin- quished to the superintendent, were deducted from the previous annual donation;—and hence its present amount.

The above fees are styled "*Dhuja Pindica:*"—those levied on articles presented to Jagannáth. There now remains little more to be said; notwithstanding there is yet a good deal more to be done.

The present superintendent of Jagannáth, we believe, obtains annually, at least, rupees 20,000 from perquisites and the Satais Hazari estate, and nothing would tend to prove in so direct a manner the estimation in which the religion of Jagannáth is really held in Orissa as the backwardness or forwardness of the

* Letter to the Under-Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated 6th Septem- ber 1845, from the Under-Secretary to the Government of India.

The Governor-General in Council, we read in the above letter, would not accede to the Commissioner's proposition of purchasing land for the purpose of making over to the temple. They think that "the most reasonable course" will be to place the endowments of Jagannáth as nearly as possible on the same footing as we found them on the acquisition of the province, and to discontinue the payment of any sum in excess of the funds as then existing:—This appears to have been the immediate cause of the reduction of the donation.

wealthy Muthdaris to pay the donation at present afforded by Government.*

There can be no question that the most politic plan would have been to have abolished the donation with the pilgrim-tax. Even the no very bright intellects of the pilgrims, at least, would have then imbibed the idea—that they gave nothing to the Government—so why should the Government pay money for the support of their religion. However, the thing has been done, and all the appearance of a fixture has been given to it; so we must get out of the scrape the best way we can. We certainly think that it is perfectly easy to get out of it without advocating the principles laid down by Machiavelli in his Prince. Yet, from the unusual quantity of depravity at Jagannáth, we are inclined to think that some might agree with that wise but crafty Italian, of a dark and licentious age, who deemed that a wise and prudent Prince "ought not to keep his *parole*, when the keeping of it is to his prejudice, and the causes for which he promised removed." In the case of the Rajah of Khurdah, certainly, he has not been punctual with us,—so we are not obliged to any such strictness with him.

In a case like that of Jagannáth, we cannot find so much fault with these opinions; although, as we have said, they are not at all necessary. Surely it is inconsistent to disburse sums of money from the British treasury for the expenses attendant upon idolatry, while efforts are being made for the promulgation of education and Christianity among the people.

If we will adhere to the "pecuniary support" principle—why drain the charity of individuals and societies to keep up the source of enlightenment? Almost every Hindu, from the Rajah to the beggar, is well aware of his security under British

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* Exclusive of this donation—the following sums are paid annually out of the Púrí treasury.....Rs. 483 12 0
3,466 10 0
2,666 10 0
6,617 0 0
Add to this the annual donation paid to the Superintendent..... ..... ..... „ 23,321 0 0
29,938 0 0 paid directly and indirectly towards the support of the worship of Jagannáth. The second of these *items*, according to the author of the "History of Púrí," appears to be the only rational one, *viz*, Rs. 3,466 to the Mohunt of a Muth, consequent on the resumption of Pergunnah Kodbar, which had been held rent-free on account of offerings to the idol made from it. The reason of the first *item*, Rs. 483-12, says the head clerk, is not traceable; and we agree with him. The third, Rs. 2,666-10, is paid to an Adhi Kari "for the purpose of distributing" holy food "to starving and destitute pilgrims," &c. It will be seen that all these sums depend on the word "pledge." Supposing the term, "Holy Land," extended over half the peninsula, where would the British revenue of the country come from? The amount annually received by the superintendent of Jagannáth is said to be Rs. 46,291. The head clerk states that Rs. 31,006 are actually expended by the Rajah - leaving *a clear saving* of Rs. 15,000. We have heard that this *clear saving* is nearer to the avowed expenditure.

protection. That protection is, and has been carried out to an extent never before known in India. Is not this enough, then, without our paying money to be misappropriated at the stronghold of the Hindu religion, through the wretched avarice of a heartless and ignorant potentate.

We would withdraw every vestige of a money payment for the benefit of the Hindu people; we would withdraw it to shew that we do not live in a stand-still age—but in an age of progression; we would abolish the "donation" to dispel all ugly appearance and the wrong interpretations put forward by the ignorant on the subject of British connexion with Jagannáth. But, although it would silence, we should not like to see it abolished merely to satisfy those who make it their business to exaggerate the matter and calumniate the Government.

Let us now briefly touch on the subject of *fees* previous to bringing our article to a conclusion.

It is from these,—the offerings; the Satais Hazari Mehal; and the muths—that we wish to see the entire future resources of Jagannáth drawn.

On the abolition of the pilgrim tax, the right of the Purharrís to levy fees was abrogated by the remission of the tribute they paid to the Government. "The Pundahs," says a document of 1839, "will be content with their own gains, and so will in "the end, the Purharrís. The fee is but a very trifling portion "of the pilgrim's expense—for, to use the words in Harring-"ton's Analysis, he is fleeced by the Pundahs not only of all the "money he brings with him, but of promissory notes for future "payments. Indeed, it is a well known fact, that pilgrims are "in the habit of burying outside of the town, or leaving in the "hands of shopkeepers on the road, enough to take them home "so well do they know that these extortioners will turn them out "of the town naked and penniless."

In June 1846, it appears to have been the intention of the President in Council to take "the earliest fitting occasion" for the repeal of the prohibition of the collection of fees contained in Act X. of 1840, "the object being to restore to the temple that portion of its original funds which was believed to be designated by the words "Fee of fifteen annas on each lal jatrí."

But the Commissioner of Cuttack deprecated the repeal of the prohibition, "shewing," says the letter,* "that the object sought to be attained would not be thereby accomplished."

It appears that no satisfactory information was obtained respecting the nature of the above fee,—in short, it had "never been levied." We do not exactly understand this mystery; so

* From the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated the 27th June 1846.

we shall content ourselves with giving the remainder of the President in Council's opinions on the matter of fees: "It "appears that the prohibition contained in Act X. of 1840, was "rendered necessary by the extortion and oppression to which "the pilgrims were subjected at the hands of the Purharrís and "Pundahs when the collection of their fees was left to them-"selves. Such being the state of the case, the President in "Council, upon further consideration, is of opinion, that the "proposed alteration of the law is not required." Of course, to abolish the donation, there must be a total repeal of this law, and any other law particularly regarding Jagannáth—a noble consummation, the early realization of which, we fondly hope, the present able Commissioner, Mr. Gouldsbury, will not fail to urge on the attention of a not unwilling Government.

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# THE KHONDS—ABOLITION OF HUMAN SACRIFICE AND FEMALE INFANTICIDE.

By Rev. Dr. Duff.

1 *Captain Macpherson's Report upon the Khonds of the Districts of Ganjam and Cuttack.* Calcutta, G. H. Huttman, Bengal Military Orphan Press, 1842.

2. *Various Official Documents (hitherto unpublished.)*

In our last article on the subject of the Khonds,* we furnished as full an exposition as our limits could well allow, of the leading principles of the systematic plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson for the gradual abolition of the Meriah sacrifice among these barbarous people. We also supplied a somewhat detailed account of his first experimental application of these principles, in June 1842, to the two most accessible of the Khond hill tribes of Goomsur; and of the unexpectedly great success of that remarkable experiment. The reports founded on these proceedings were received, with high approbation, by Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Madras in Council; and the plan of operations, whose efficacy, under great disadvantages, had thus been tested and verified, was strongly recommended for adoption to the Supreme Government of India. And there the historic part of our narrative terminated.

Before again resuming it from that point, we may as well refer to the fact, that, soon after the transmission of the Madras despatches to Calcutta, Lord Elphinstone resigned his high office, and was succeeded therein by the Marquis of Tweedale. The former, as has already repeatedly appeared, had, from the time of the Goomsur war in 1836, bestowed the greatest attention on Khond affairs, and manifested the deepest interest in the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. His own minutes on the varied subjects brought before him in connection with the civilization generally of the perpetrators of that inhuman rite, indicated at once the head of the statesman and the heart of the philanthropist. And it is but justice to Lord Tweedale to say, that, on his assuming the reins of Government, he heartily took up the Khond cause. The whole subject, however, being

* "Calcutta Review," No. XV., Art. I.

entirely new to him, he could not be expected, all at once, to apprehend it in all its bearings and relationships, or fully to appreciate either the intrinsic or the relative value of the different measures which had been proposed. Still he entered warmly into the consideration of the general objects contemplated, and gave proof of his earnestness in the matter by embodying his views in a minute of his own, dated the 9th December 1843. In this minute, as we understand, his Lordship advised the establishment of a vigilant police in the districts bordering on the Khond country, to prevent kidnapping and the sale of human victims; and the trial of kidnappers by a special agent with large discretionary powers. In districts where the heinousness of the crime was well understood, his Lordship would have such criminals tried by the ordinary courts. The race of people called Panwas, who are chiefly concerned in selling victims to the Khonds, should be, when out of the Khond country, placed under surveillance of the police, and not allowed to move without passports. All persons travelling into the Khond country or passing out of it, or lurking near the frontier without ostensible reason, should be apprehended and punished. His Lordship would appoint an agent independent of every one but the Governor, having a corps of guards composed of natives, dressed and disciplined like sepoys. The agents in charge of the police in the districts round the Khond country should be subject to the order of the Khond agent in all matters except as regards the punishment of kidnapping, which should be arbitrary and left to the decision of the district agent.

If this minute did not throw, or rather was not meant to throw, any new light on the perplexed problem of Khond civilization, it at least served to indicate the good will of its author. It virtually seconded the chief measure which was wanting to enable Captain Macpherson to consummate the work so auspiciously begun, by proposing to invest the Khond agent with a power independent of every one but the Governor; that is, as we understand it, no longer occupying the subordinate dependent ministerial office of head-assistant to the Governor's local agent, but raised to an independent jurisdiction over the Khond country similar to that possessed by the Governor's agent over the lowland districts of Goomsur and Ganjam generally. As to that portion of the minute which is original and peculiar, respecting the establishment of a patrole force, it must suffice to say, on the authority of an officer of high intelligence and much local experience, that "the nature of the country precludes the adoption of any measure of the kind. The countries adjoining the Khond districts belong to indepen-

dent Rajahs, and it would be utterly impossible to introduce a police force into these tracts, without bringing them under the operation of the general regulations—a measure which it would be highly impolitic to adopt."

After the full exposition given in a previous number, of the essential character and central principle of the general plan of operations suggested by Captain Macpherson for the suppression of the rite of human sacrifice in Southern Orissa, it is sufficient to remind the reader, that his leading measure included, first, the complete establishment of the authority of the Government in the two nearest Khond tracts of Goomsur, *chiefly through the administration of justice*, on principles not violently incompatible with Khond ideas and usages; and second, the application of that authority and of every available species of influence to the abolition of the abhorrent rite. It may also be remembered that, in order to found such authority among these tribes *upon the basis of the administration of justice*, the agent suggested the provision of a jurisdiction to decide questions between separate tribes, and questions between branches of tribes, which their own tribunals were unequal to determine—and that the chief aim of his early intercourse with that portion of the Khond population was, to prepare them for the reception of such foreign jurisdiction. Neither can the gratifying extent of his success in this respect be forgotten. His offer to administer justice was gladly accepted by the two great tribes of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah. His actual administration of it operated like a spell, in relaxing the frost of ancient hereditary prejudices. The iron fetters of an inveterate and awe-inspiring superstition were at once loosened. And the prison doors of a ghostly vassalage were partially thrown open to the admission of principles that might prove the heralds of gladsome light and liberty.

In his report of August 1842, Captain Macpherson was enabled to report to Government, that the whole of the two tribes already named, with the exception of two branches of one of them, had, after long and deliberate discussion, *spontaneously* proffered to relinquish the sacrifice, *mainly on the condition of obtaining protection and justice, and actually pledged themselves accordingly.* The agent had strong reason for believing that the patriarchs and other immediate parties to that pledge were really sincere. But he well knew, at the same time, that they represented a population infinitely divided in opinion with respect to it, and that the motives which influenced them might prove wholly inadequate to produce its *permanent* observance.

It was therefore, as we may readily suppose, with no small anxiety that the agent, when the proper season for renewed operations arrived, re-ascended the Ghâts, early in January 1843. His first inquiries were naturally directed to ascertain the extent to which the voluntarily proffered pledge had been faithfully observed; or. in any case of reported failure, to trace the exact causes to which it might be attributed. The result very much corresponded to what had been anticipated, and was well calculated to convey a highly favourable impression of the operative effect of the combined application of the different species of authority and influence brought to bear on these naturally wild and untameable races. This result may be best stated in the agent's own words :—

"The people of Bora Mutha stood firm, except a single village, isolated in the low country: which shared in flesh brought from Boad. In Athara Mutah, there were four sacrifices; one in each of its two unpledged branches, and one in each of two pledged branches. The effect of the pledge was, necessarily to divide each tribe, branch, and village, with some degree of distinctness, into a sacrificing and a non-sacrificing party. In Bora Mutah the latter decidedly prevailed, and included above one-half of the heads of society; so strong, however, was the minority, that the yearly sacrifice of the tribe was with difficulty prevented by the heads of the branches whose turn it was to afford it.

In Athara Mutah, all who gave the pledge directly, maintained it with all under their influence, and where it was broken, the pledged patriarchs protested against, and immediately reported its infraction. The two unpledged branches and one of the two pledged branches, which sacrificed, alleged that they did so with the express sanction of Sam Bisaye, which was extended to the putting to death of the victim child rescued by the Government, and living in the Khond country upon his express security.

The remaining branch pleaded the example of these three, as in Bora Mutah, there was no common sacrifice of the tribe The sacrifices were in every case the act of but a portion of the branch, and were performed in the night without ceremony, the victims being buried unshared. There appears to have been in this tribe a decided majority for the sacrifice in the five branches next to Hodzoghoro, and most under the influence of Sam Bisaye; in nine branches, the parties seem to have been nearly equal; in about seven branches—those to the Southward, bordering upon the non-sacrificing tracts—the weight of influence, or of numbers, was against the sacrifice."

Such was the apparent state of opinion, and such the conduct of the people of these two tracts, in consequence of the operations of the preceding year. Both were of a nature well fitted to encourage the agent to persevere in the course on which he had entered. Crippled he was most sadly by want of power and adequate extent of jurisdiction: but the success which had attended the application of the very limited power he possessed, served to demonstrate that that power had been exerted in the

right direction ; and his purpose now was, by the employment of the same means, to push the advantages he had gained to the uttermost. Accordingly, when he ascended the Ghats in January 1843, and had finished his preliminary inquiries, he re-commenced his favorite office of administering justice. His own account is as follows :—

"Every unsettled question in the tribe of Bora Mutah, and most of those in Athara Mutah—from the latest village quarrel, to the feuds of forgotten origin, were brought to me by earnest suitors. I placed upon my file the cases which seemed strictly proper to it, and referred all others to the native tribunals, making it plain, that I was there not to supersede the existing methods and instruments of justice, but to strengthen them for good, and to supply their defects—and when it plainly appeared, that the law administered was the existing law, and that my object was only to systematize and extend it with a view to order, while the heads of both tribes were my active assessors, and parties to every decree, all apprehension gradually vanished, and the minds of the people went with me as fully as I could desire, and I felt that I acquired distinct authority resting upon the desired basis.

To ascertain and to apply the existing law, in a manner acceptable to these Khonds was necessarily a difficult and anxious task, from the novelty the singularity, and the obscurity of their usages. The discovery of truth, however, was, I believe, as easy as under any circumstances in the history of justice.

In the investigation of 136 cases, which involved every conceivable interest of men well instructed in their rights, and resolved to defend them, there did not occur a single instance of bad faith in the suitors, or of falsehood in the witnesses, save occasionally on the part of Panwas of the borders. There was much trouble in procuring the regular attendance of defendants and of evidence. But the execution of decrees was easy, except in a few instances of highly excited feeling; although, in the settlement of compositions paid in kind, the nicest questions of the value of farm stock, and household gear, and land, continually arose.

To extend the operation of the existing law from a single tribe to these two distinct tribes, animated by a spirit of ancient hostility, was a more difficult task.

The establishment of our authority—of any general authority—plainly implied the subjection of these tribes, in their mutual relations, to law, and that law was of necessity, the existing law of the intercourse of *branches of tribes* because the principles of no other law are understood, or thought just by the Khonds, or appear to be effectual where society is organized as it is amongst them. In a word, the law of compensation for wrongs, as it exists between the branches of a tribe, was to be substituted for the usage of retaliation, which was generally the sole remedy for wrongs between distinct tribes.

Now, some of the strongest and most intractable feelings of these Khonds were necessarily arrayed against their inclusion, upon this principle, within our legal pale ; making its accomplishment a work of much practical difficulty, although nearly all the heads of society and men of influence either formally or intelligently assented to it as affording the sole hope of permanent peace. A statement of the methods of its introduction were suited only to a semi-speculative essay—I passed gradually and cautiously from the less to the more difficult questions, and finally

dealt with those which seriously engaged the passions of the tribes; carrying out the change everywhere, and, I believe, to the satisfaction of the people.

I shall state, by way of example, a single case which long resisted settlement. A woman of Athara Mutah who had been sometime betrothed, and for whom the consideration agreed on, had been paid, eloped with a lover of Bora Mutah. Her branch of her tribe demanded her surrender, but it was indignantly refused. The established course then was, to have required her price from the branch of her seducer, when its refusal would have justified war. But without making that demand, a party of the woman's branch slew treacherously a kinsmen of the lover, who had assisted at the elopement.

The kindred of the deceased immediately demanded of me permission to revenge their wrong, or a promise that the Government would revenge it.

The heads of the hostile branch admitted the facts to be as alleged, and simply said, that "should the Government resolve to avenge the life taken,—they submitted—the slayers were in my camp." But the idea of composition, as in the case of a life taken, did not enter into any mind: and when suggested, it was instantly rejected by both parties.

I may observe, in passing, that our criminal law, even if it had been applicable here, would neither have been thought just, nor could have settled this feud. By it at least six persons were guilty of murder; but the punishment of more than one of those persons, would have been held to be iniquitous by the Khonds; and that so clearly, that a claim for compensation for any punishment by us in excess of the natural equivalent, would have lain, in the opinion of all, against Bora Mutah.

Moreover, the law of compensation, combining tribal with individual responsibility is, to judge from the rarity of murders here, and from the apparent effects of capital punishment upon the Khonds in the years 1835 and 1836, and from all the ideas which I now heard expressed by far the most effectual law that could be devised for the prevention of murder from private or from public motives.

Through persuasion and instruction addressed to each branch separately, and to individuals, during nearly two months, the minds of almost all were at length gained. A party of the youth alone being left for retaliation and war. The two hostile branches finding that they stood alone, that which had lost the life, first agreed to accept compensation. The other, after a struggle, during which I pitched my tents amongst its villages, consented to pay it. The burden was so allotted, that the family of the murderers, in the first instance at least, lost their property, while two-thirds fell upon the branch, and the tribe made up what remained; all acknowledged that the precedent established was a triumph for peace. The hostile feelings of the disputants seemed soon to subside. The elders of both parties feasted on a portion of the compensatory buffaloes and swine; while the young men of the branch which had paid them, drove or carried the remainder good humouredly over the border; and several marriages sprung up between the tribes.

The whole number of suits placed upon my file in Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah was 136, of which 102 were decided on their merits, while thirty-four remain undecided, generally on account of the absence of evidence. Of those 102, forty-six were suits between members of the same tribe; in fifty-six the parties were of different tribes.

There were two cases of murder; three related to victim children; five to married women; fourteen to betrothed women; thirty-nine to land; sixty-three to cattle; six were cases of assault, and there were four cases of robbery.

There were ninety-six decisions for plaintiffs, six for defendants, and some of these were special."

In addition to these judicial decisions, it may be stated that the agent was now enabled to release from confinement the two patriarchs, whom for the sake of peace, he had imprisoned in the July preceding. The object of their detention had been completely effected. Their liberation produced the best feelings, and they soon enrolled themselves amongst his most useful allies. As a conclusive evidence of the manner in which the general opinion approved of their treatment, the agent states, that, happening to escape from their confinement, some months before, the chiefs of Athara Mutah, who had been parties to their detention, rose unbidden to recapture them, and sent them in with their families. Throughout the whole of these proceedings, the only sources, besides the administration of justice, from which he derived authority were persuasion and personal influence. It now became an object of great importance to watch the result of all these operations, in their bearing on the subject of the abolition of the Meriah sacrifice. The following is the agent's own statement:—

"After those operations—the non-sacrificing majority in Bora Mutah seemed to include all the men of influence with very few exceptions, but the minority, although much reduced, was not insignificant. The last seven victims in the possession of this tribe were brought in to me.

In Athara Mutah, nearly all the patriarchs and many others of the unpledged branches, and of the divisions of the pledged branches, which sacrificed, fully pledged themselves; and there seemed to be in it, as in Bora Mutah, a great and gratifying change of feeling. This tribe brought in to me no less than eighty-seven victims, almost all of them from the four branches which had sacrificed. But one division of it, at least, is far from being completely gained. The cases of sacrifice were these:

1. Bissinghia, a pledged branch, sacrificed on account of the ravages of a tiger. The patriarch who had given the pledge, protested so earnestly against its breach, that the rite was delayed until the sanction of Sam Bisaye was twice obtained. This branch, I may add, was one of the parties to the difficult question of "a life" between the two tribes, detailed above,—I found the people distant and alarmed; but through the influence acquired in the settlement of the civil question, the head of the sacrificing party became my most firm ally, and the chief opponent of the sacrifice.

2. In Doringhia, a pledged branch, a sacrifice on account of sickness was performed against the will of two patriarchs who had given the pledge. The apology pleaded, was the example of three branches. The victim was a woman pregnant by the son of a village patriarch, who attempted unsuccessfully to escape with her into the non-sacrificing tract of Degi. The sacrificing portion of this branch has pledged itself and sent in its victims.

3. Loheringhia, which, like these two branches, had little or no communication with the Government, gave no pledge, and sacrificed a child with the sanction of Sam Bisaye. It has now pledged itself and given up its victims.

4. The case of Gottinghia, an unpledged branch, was most embarassing. The victim was a child—one of the three children rescued with their victim mother who had been entrusted to a Khond of that branch to bring up, upon Sam Bisaye's becoming formally security for its safety. The guardian pleaded that Sam Bisaye, who had given him the child, had most fully and especially authorized its death, which relieved him, in the sight of all, from responsibility.

Of the remaining Khond tracts of Goomsur, and those immediately beyond them—

1. Hodzoghoro, under Sam Bisaye, has held absolutely aloof; it is full of victims, and has lately sacrificed. The health of my people most unfortunately made it impossible for me to visit it.

2. After communicating for two months with the Khond and Hindu heads of Tentilighur, I succeeded, beyond my expectations, in inducing them to declare themselves against the sacrifice, and to send in their victims, eighteen in number.

3. I communicated in like manner with Chokapad, the remaining Khond tract of Goomsur. The most influential of its Khond and Hindu heads promised that the sacrifice should be discontinued. But I soon after rescued a victim almost from under the axes of the immolators; but with very doubtful advantage, as the disappointed god was immediately gratified by flesh brought from Boad.

4. In the Khond tracts of the Chinna Kimedy zemindary, immediately to the south of Athara Mutah, the slaughter of victims in the months of January and February was very great. In Mahasinghi alone 24 victims suffered within a few days.

5. In the portion of the Boad zemindary next to Goomsur, festivals of sacrifice were held every where, and my camp was visited daily by agonized parents imploring me to rescue their children."

Such was the leading measure which Captain Macpherson was enabled partially to execute in these tracts, and such were its gratifying results. Confidence of opinion, with respect to the future, would but prove profound ignorance. And the agent indulged in no such presumptuous confidence. He conceived it, however, to be established, and with good reason, that he had not over-estimated the readiness of the Khonds to place themselves under the authority of the British Government for the sake of peace, security, and order. He conceived, moreover, that the varied results now recorded, clearly indicated that he had in no way exaggerated our power to confer upon them, through the dispensation of justice, solid and acceptable benefits; nor the force of persuasion addressed to some of the leading ideas of their superstition; nor the power of personal influence acquired through intimate intercourse with them. And, considering these and the other secondary means which were available to be wholly adequate to the end, if authority should be given for their free and energetic use, he perceived satisfactory ground for the hope that the object proposed might be ultimately accomplished. As to the incompleteness, in some respects, of the results already obtained, he had no hesitation in

submitting to Government what he believed to be a plain and sufficient cause—a cause, too, which involved in it the ground of serious apprehension with reference to the future security of the work. The subject is thus distinctly propounded by the agent himself:—

"The critical act of these operations, in one respect, the very exponent of their spirit in the sight both of the tribes, which were their immediate object, and of the population beyond, was the treatment of the pledged and unpledged branches of Athara Mutah which sacrificed, and that of Sam Bisaye alleged to have sanctioned their sacrifices.

Now, I had not authority to deal conclusively with these questions, nor could I possibly assume it with respect to the latter of them, for I could not hazard the consequences of a reversal of my judgment on it. Viewed judicially—it was doubtful if Sam Bisaye's participation in sacrifices, under existing arrangements, was a penal act; and if it was, I could not possibly say what value tribunals, having no knowledge of circumstances, and no experience of Khond testimony, would assign to it opposed to other testimony again.

A *formal* enquiry to afford ground to the Government for his removal from authority, and from the Khond country, involved, like commitment, an immediate expression of opinion; but the effects of the non-affirmation of that opinion upon these people, to whom our system of graduated authority is necessarily unintelligible, would have been to put an end to all confidence in agents of the Government. There was besides, the consideration, that the Government was about to declare a new law, and a new general plan of operations—and that the displacement of Sam Bisaye, involved other changes, which should be made, if possible, in subordination to the new general measure, and if possible, by the officer charged with its execution. Thus unempowered to determine this question, and well assured that the consequences of a semblance of a conflict of authorities would be more prejudical than any that could spring from the antagonism of this misplaced old man, I was compelled to avoid it, to leave the feelings and the faith of these Khonds subjected to a severe and unfair strain; to point to the future to those who demanded enquiry for their own justification, or for the settlement of men's minds, and the prevention of future delusions,* and to trust that the work could be sustained, until the power necessary to carry it out effectually, should be given.

I could determine the question with respect to the two tribes.—Their general situation, made the punishment of Khond parties to the sacrifice in them inexpedient, upon these plain considerations.

It appeared that by the pressure of authority derived from the dispensation of justice, and through persuasion, and by the use of personal influence, to the entire exclusion of coercive means, distinct and encouraging progress was made both in the two tribes and at some points beyond them. That no party directly pledged had broken faith. That there had been no thought of dissimulation, nor concealment, nor fraud,—That nearly all were directly or indirectly pledged for the future—That 124 victims were

* It was, for example, given out by Sam Bisaye, amongst other gross fictions—that the Government had promised to make me farmer of taxes in the Khond country, to be assessed by myself, when I should put down the sacrifice. He has also made the monstrous delusion to be widely credited, that he has now received permission from the agent to sanction a limited number of sacrifices, generally stated at six.

voluntarily delivered up,—That the general state of feeling was most satisfactory —That I had the completest evidence not derived from *formal* enquiry, that the chief local officer of Government was the head of the sacrificing party, and had sanctioned three of the four sacrifices, exonerating from blame, in the opinion of all, the other parties concerned. With respect to the other tribes of Goomsur, and to the unvisited tribes beyond, the prime object was, plainly, to communicate to them a new and simple conception of the character of our power,—the idea that its objects are purely benevolent, and that its beneficial influences are acknowledged wherever it is felt. There was proof that some progress had been made in communicating this impression—and the absence of all semblance of coercion within the two tribes was, obviously, most important to its extension and confirmation."

Here the evil genius of Sam Bisaye again meets us. Indeed, at every turn, it appeared that his sinister influence was the main-stay of the Meriah sacrifice, and the principal obstacle to the full success of the Government measures for its abolition. Two months later, or early in the month of April, when preparing his report for Government, intelligence reached the agent, that Sam Bisaye had "succeeded in inducing the Khonds of Athara Mutah nearest to him, to sacrifice." The delusion by which he was credibly reported to have prevailed was the preposterously false pretence, "that he was invested by the Madras Governor's Agent or Commissioner, Mr. Bannerman, with authority distinct from and independent of that of the head assistant, Captain Macpherson—and that to the former, and him only, was he responsible for the sacrifices which he sanctioned." This was only one of a number of fictions which neither the enacted co-operation with Captain Macpherson, nor the most careful adoption of measures of precaution or of counteraction by Mr. Bannerman, could possibly prevent or render harmless. As the result of extensive and anxious inquiry and observation, both recently and during his former residence in these districts, Captain Macpherson had become perfectly convinced, from superabundant and constantly accumulating evidence, that Sam Bisaye was, and had all along been, the great supporter of the sacrifice in these tracts,—that he formally sanctioned the three sacrifices in Athara Mutah in the previous year, one of the victims being a child of the State, living there upon his express security,—and that, confident in impunity from his not having been then punished, he had since laboured by every art, and at length successfully and in a very serious degree, to counteract the objects of Government—that very Government, to whose leniency and generosity he was wholly indebted for his life when a rebel, and for his exaltation and prosperity as a pardoned man. Who, then, need wonder that the agent's forbearance should now be wholly exhausted—and

that he should find himself to be literally driven and shut up into the conclusion that the only prompt and effectual method of putting an end to this disgraceful state of things—the only adequate measure for the retrieval of what was lost, and the maintenance of what remained for the future, was Sam Bisaye's "deprivation of office and his permanent removal," as well as "the temporary removal of his three eldest sons from the Khond country." This course he deemed amply sufficient to answer every desirable end; and if the occasion of carrying it out should be duly improved, impressions of the highest value, both immediate and permanent, might be made upon all the Khond tribes with which we were in communication. The necessity of resorting to such a course he urged anew with augmenting earnestness. "I see no alternative," says he, "between the immediate execution of the measure proposed, and a very grievous loss of ground of high promise, hardly gained, and the recovery of which, from the mental character of this people, must be extremely difficult." He again shewed, how the most faithless and pernicious deceptions which this treacherous man had practised with reference to the Government, made his punishment and removal imperative. He clearly shewed how his displacement, with a few simple arrangements, would produce no sort even of temporary confusion in any quarter; and how results the most important would flow from the careful exhibition of his guilt with its punishment, before the assembled heads of tribes.

But with a case so peculiar, springing up in circumstances so anomalous and strange, the established law and ordinary legal tribunals were altogether incompetent to deal, or to deal with the remotest chance of accomplishing any good end. The head assistant himself was armed with no authority effectually to deal with it. All that he could do was to represent it in the strongest light to his immediate superior, Mr. Bannerman, who, as the Governor's agent, might interpose to good purpose. But living as he did at a distance from the actual scene of things, and comparatively ignorant of the extreme peculiarities of the case, and consequently not fully alive to its immediate and pressing urgencies, it could scarcely be expected that he would be prepared to act, with sufficient promptitude and energy, in the summary and autocratic way required—a way which, overleaping all the technicalities of legal form, would yet amply realize all the conditions of essential equity. Hence the emphatic earnestness with which Captain Macpherson thus concludes his report:—

"In conclusion, I venture to add, that every day's experience adds

strength to the conviction,—That summary power vested in a single local authority, and exerted in the simplest manner, is alone applicable to these Khonds and to those immediately connected with them, from the necessary state of their minds, and from all the circumstances by which they are surrounded,—That upon any other principle of management, they will become, first perplexed, then rapidly distrustful and unfaithful, and finally uncontrollable—it being remembered, that their ignorance and their credulity have no bounds,—That the progress of our operations will make it the interest of many like Sam Bisaye to deceive them, and that distinct authorities necessarily imply the existence of distinct sets of native public servants, and of intrigues which no degree of vigilance or of coincidence of opinion in the principals can prevent. I very anxiously expect the determination of the Government."

The report which concluded in this earnest strain was dated the 12th April 1843. It was forthwith sent in to Mr. Bannerman; as the writer was still only his head-assistant for Khond affairs, and armed with little or no independent power of his own. It was this which rendered the triumph of his achievment so remarkable in itself and so creditable to its author. For if,—when all but officially powerless, he succeeded so admirably well by mere dint of the credit which he gained, and the confidence which he inspired, by his own tact and aptitude in administering justice, in the pure spirit of equity and in general accordance with Khond ideas and usages, accompanied by nothing but moral suasion and varied personal influence,—what might he not have achieved, had he been possessed of power to give full effect to *all* his suggested measures without any fear or risk of reversal? This was the power for which he so urgently pled as imperatively demanded by the immediate exigencies of the existing state of things, and as demonstratively necessary to ensure the desired consummation. No wonder, then, that on this point, he "very anxiously expected the determination of Government."

In the interesting and important report, the leading features of which he have now exhibited, several other topics were introduced, which it may be well briefly to notice. The author records his farther observations respecting the improved line of road by the Courminghia ghât to Sohnpore. He refers to his still discouraging experience of his climate of the hill country. He entered what was believed to be the most healthy tract in it in the beginning of January—the very best month. His people were well housed at the first halting place, and afterwards most carefully protected by tents and grass huts, warmly clothed, and generally enabled to sleep off the ground. Notwithstanding all these advantages, above thirty-five per cent. of the party suffered from fever. And it was impossible, with reference to the future, to remain beyond a month. The season being particu-

larly favourable, the cases were not so severe as those of the preceding year; but, although he retired straight to the coast, all who were attacked, continued long in the state of invalids. Such renewed experience seemed to point to effectual medical aid as being indispensable in the farther prosecution of the work. But, apart from the necessity of such aid to the servants of Government, it now appeared to the agent to be extremely desirable *as a means of influence with the Khonds.* They attribute all sickness to the displeasure of the gods, and their remedies are propitiations, indicated by the priests. It was natural for them, therefore, seriously to demand, how they should obtain safety, when by the relinquishment of their great propitiatory rite of human sacrifice, they abjured the previously appointed means of ensuring health? Being informed of the dependence of civilized men upon medical art, the most intelligent and sincerely disposed to abandon the sacrifice, actually entreated that they might be enabled to substitute it for priestly art. To shew his wish to comply with their desire, the agent established a Hindu doctor above the Ghâts, but he sickened and came away.

The very simple cures performed by his dresser had excited much admiration; and it appeared to him, that a surgeon, skilled in eye surgery, and who should introduce vaccination, and labour to acquire influence, while he took a part in the general work, would be an invaluable instrument.

Another topic adverted to in the report, was the all-important one of the *native agency* available for such a peculiar service. On this subject, he writes as follows:—

"I believe that there exists but a single Hindu, who is one of my chief instruments, sufficiently well instructed to comprehend the objects of the Government, and who is master of the Khond language. A brother of this person understands, but does not speak that language, but he will be a most important aid.

One Mussulman comprehends our objects, and influences the Khonds with great intelligence and tact, but knows very little of their tongue. Two other servants promise very well, and two more are learning. And I have several very efficient subordinates in and about the Khond country. Thus, although the formation of instruments has been my first object, the five persons above mentioned—some suffering in health—are yet alone available.

I have had many others on my list, but they have died, or been disabled, or turned out unfit, or left me for the barest subsistence. The service requires much courage, and intelligence, and freedom from prejudice.

All necessarily regard it with dread, very many with disgust—and it has the inducements neither of desired influence nor of unauthorized gain—still I do not despair, through the gradual establishment of a proper and *special* system, of remuneration.

In the meantime, it is plain that I can now act but at a single point at a time, and that the loss of my present instruments would be nearly irreparable, as I may add, would be the effects of entrusting any important part in this work to any but well instructed instruments."

On the 2nd *September* 1843, Captain Macpherson again addressed the Governor's agent, Mr. Bannerman.

He commences by reminding him, that about *the middle of April preceding*, he had the honor of submitting to him for the information of the Most Noble the Governor in Council, a statement of the measures which he had then recently executed in the Khond country, with their general results, and his views respecting certain exigencies connected with them ; but that, *as yet, he had not been honored by any indication of the views of the Government relative to those operations and exigencies*, or to any future general measures contemplated towards the Khond country, in consequence of his urgent representations. Such being the case, he trusted he might, without impropriety, on the approach of the brief annual season for visiting the Khond country, lay anew before the Government his impressions as to the state of things in those portions of it which had been chiefly affected by his operations.

He began by briefly recapitulating the course of past events. In June 1842, he had visited some of the Goomsur Khond districts, chiefly on an embassage of inquiry. He did not possess the authority, which, in his own opinion, and apparently in the judgment of Government, was necessary to the accomplishment of the main work. But, having long satisfied his own mind that the first step towards its successful issue was the acquisition of authority, derived mainly from supplying the chiefest want of the Khond population, *viz.*, the want of justice, he set himself zealously to the task of administering that most precious commodity. The result astonished himself. The two tribes of Goomsur which were best known, most under influence, and most accessible, freely and intelligently consented to place themselves in practical subjection to the Government, on the condition of receiving its protection and justice. And their most influential chiefs, with a few exceptions, yielding to the suggestions of self-interest and the various arguments addressed to them, voluntarily pledged themselves and all whom they could control, to relinquish the rite of human sacrifice. There was, however, as might be expected, a numerous party opposed to the change. Those, therefore, who signed the pledge, stipulated expressly that the Government should support them with its whole authority in making this difficult and trembling movement towards so radical, and in their estimation, so peculiarly religious, a change—plainly protesting that, unless the Government should punish all violators of the pledge then given, as well as prevent sacrifices under the authority of its own chief native servant, Sam Bisaye, their engagement could not be pro-

perly, if at all, fulfilled. Accordingly, in his report of August 1842, Captain Macpherson earnestly pointed out to the Government the necessity of investing him, as agent for the Khonds, with the requisite authority to give full effect to the measures so auspiciously begun.

That authority, including an extended jurisdiction over territories in the Bengal as well as the Madras presidency, could only emanate from the Supreme Government of India. An application to this effect, backed by the strong recommendation of the Madras Governor and Council, had been laid before the Supreme Government. But in January 1843, when Captain Macpherson again ascended the Ghats, no reply had been received—the terrific Kabul catastrophe having, in all probability, driven the Khonds and their sacrifices out of the head of the retiring Governor-General, Lord Auckland. The necessary consequence was, that the Khond agent had to re-appear among these wild tribes without one particle of authority more than he had before. His position, therefore, was a trying one. What was he to do?—tell the Khonds, that as his Government had not conferred on him the needful authority, he could and would do nothing? No; that were tantamount to abandoning all that had been gained in the past, and sounding the death-knell of all hope for the future. The agent judged and acted more wisely—more manfully—more heroically. To him it seemed certain that the feelings and ideas which had arisen among the Khonds on the subject of their civil relation to the Government, and on the question of the sacrifice, from his former communications with them, prescribed a farther advance towards our objects, under penalty of the loss of most important vantage-ground—that the primary measure which he contemplated must be regarded as naturally the first step of any general plan of operations, and seemingly coincident with the general views and wishes of Government—that the former resolutions of Government appeared to authorize the expectation that a Khond agent would be invested at no distant time, with the necessary authority—and lastly, that he might confide that, when practical success should establish the truth and sufficiency of his views, the occasional support which might be required for the maintenance of the ground, would not be withheld.

Sustained by such reasonable and judicious considerations, the agent, assisted by such instruments as he had been enabled to prepare, proceeded to act on the pinciples which he had already so often indicated—combining the process of the practical dispensation of justice to the two tribes, with the direct

application to them of the general authority thence acquired, and the influence derived from every other available source, for the accomplishment of the desired religious change.

The result, as we have already seen, surpassed his own most sanguine expectations. A great movement began, which gradually acquired force and distinctness. The estimate formed by these tribes of the value of the justice dispensed, which relieved society from the accumulation of public and private questions by which it was distracted, was higher than could well have been imagined ; and the direct authority derived from its administration was, therefore, greater than could well have been expected capable of being realized by one, who, in an official point of view, was comparatively powerless. It was enough to redeem the ancient story of Dejœces from the imputation of belonging to the legendary or the fabulous. But the justice, so skilfully administered and so cordially appreciated, was not less important, when regarded as a means of subjecting the people to the influences best calculated to sway them. The adherents and the opponents of the religious change sought it with equal ardour. But, none could sue for it, without full exposure, in some measure at the discretion of its dispensers, to all the general and personal influences which could be devised to promote the extension and the confirmation of the movement.

The soundness of the principles on which the agent acted was now fully verified by experience. He practically acquired the power necessary to the objects proposed, resting upon the desired basis ;—upon the newly implanted conviction of general benefit arising from the civil relation established between the two tribes and the Government ;—upon the communicated impression of special advantages derived from that connection by particular classes, or by individuals, or by the class of chiefs ;—and lastly, upon general ideas and opinions relating to the sacrifice, and wholly new to the Khonds,—such as, that we and all other peoples had also once practised that sacrifice, believing it to be divinely established and necessary ; but had all abandoned it, and had only in consequence prospered the more ; so that the Khonds must of necessity defer, with respect to that rite, not to the will of the Government only, but to the universal will and experience of mankind. Under the felt experience of these advantages, and the growing influence of these opinions, idea and feelings, the circle of the movement was gradually extended ; and not fewer than *one hundred and twenty-four* victims were *voluntarily* delivered up to the agent. No slight or unubstantial proof of downright sincerity this, verily—when we

reflect on the value of these victims, to so poor a people when viewed merely in the light of saleable or exchangeable property. A Meriah dealer in the neighbouring Khond district of Kimedy, who had about sixty victims in his possession, alarmed by the agent's proximity, sold, about that time, thirty of them for about 100 Rs. each. So that, at this rate, the two tribes of Athara Mutah and Bora Mutah in Goomsur, voluntarily surrendered property to the value of *ten* or *twelve thousand rupees!*

That these general results, at once so remarkable and so gratifying, were without any drawbacks or abatements, the agent was never led to allege. On the contrary, in his report of April 1843, he distinctly declared that he considered the movement, in its very nature, as necessarily, to a certain extent, instinctive, impulsive, and superficial. But powerful causes of change were at work; and it could not be denied that some really confirmed and much unconfirmed change was produced. The great object, therefore, was to strengthen still more and more, the footing which had been already gained, whether fully or only partially confirmed.

In order to this, it was necessary to review the past. Four sacrifices, as already noted, had taken place in one of the two tribes, since the pledge was given in June 1842. The Khonds, who were the immediate parties to these sacrifices, were all virtually unpledged; and they were, moreover, exonerated, in a great measure, in the sight of all, by the fact of their having acted *under the immediate authority of Sam Bisaye.* This native officer of the Government had even sanctioned the sacrifice of a rescued child—a ward of the State, entrusted to his care. He was regarded by all as the head and champion of the sacrificing party; while he and his son did not hesitate to avow, in discussing the subject of the pledge with them, that they had both sacrificed all their lives, up to that time; and that there was a large number of victims in the Khond tract immediately under their control.

Here, then, it was that the agent was made keenly to feel his want of the requisite power to deal summarily and effectually with this case. The proper course of the Government, beyond all question, would now have been, to manifest its will, promptly and emphatically, by the public and exemplary punishment of Sam Bisaye. This the Khonds fully expected to see done, when Captain Macpherson re-appeared amongst them in January 1843. And had he then been armed with the requisite power, it cannot be doubted that its exercise in deposing Sam Bisaye from the office which he so foully and treacherously

desecrated, would have exerted the most salutary influence. It would have secured, beyond all ordinary risk or peril, the ground already gained, while it would have cleared the way in advance to the attainment of the most important results. But Captain Macpherson unhappily had not the needful power. The foundations had been well laid; a goodly structure of massive pillars had risen over them; the projecting sides of the connecting arch had been well advanced; but he lacked the power of placing the keystone in the centre which would have consolidated the whole. And lacking this power, he was too prudent to take it upon him to commit an act, which, however imperatively demanded alike by justice and humanity, was liable to be called in question or even reversed—a result in his estimation, big with disaster, in as much as it would exhibit to the simple and ignorant Khonds a conflict of authorities which would not fail, in the issue, to prove fatal to their confidence in the Government and its accredited agents. And as any attempted explanation of his real situation would have been utterly unintelligible to such a people—indeed, would have appeared as nothing better than a subterfuge—he wisely resolved simply to direct his perplexed audience to look hopefully to the future for the solution of all their doubts and the extrication from all their difficulties. He strongly exhorted them faithfully to adhere to their pledge, and as strongly denounced the violators of it—assuring them that, in due time, the former would meet with their due recompense, and the latter with their merited retribution. But, notwithstanding the consummate skill and address, with which the agent had conducted the whole affair, the shrewdness of some of the old Khond chiefs quickly penetrated through the veil. His defect of power or of judgment, in sparing the old traitor, Sam Bisaye, appeared but too glaring to some of them. And the secret, unforced convictions of not a few, soon found expression and embodiment in the pithy graphic words of the old chief, who bluntly exclaimed, "instead of cutting down the lofty tamarind tree in his path, he beats the shrubs which bend before him."

The agent had been earnestly hoping soon for the requisite authority, either for himself or some one else, under the new general measures contemplated by the Government. He had also fondly cherished the hope that Sam Bisaye would hesitate, or rather, would not presume or dare openly to attack his work at once: or if, emboldened by past impunity, he should venture so far, that it would be practicable, with such trained instruments as could now be employed above the Ghats, to resist his efforts for a time, or render their malign influences nugatory.

In these hopes, however, the agent was doomed to experience the most grievous and mortifying disappointment. The breaking health of himself and his party having prevented him from remaining above the Ghats to strengthen and sustain his work, so long as he had intended and wished, he was constrained to leave the hills in February. And no sooner did he come down, than Sam Bisaye went up, with an enormous lie in his right hand. But with him this was nothing new. It was only a return, under new and aggravated circumstances, to his old trade of base deception and wicked artifice. Returning direct from the agent to the Governor, Captain Macpherson's superior, with whom he had lately communicated personally, he had the effrontery to announce to the bewildered Khonds, that he was by him authorized to sanction sacrifices for the year. And, by way of proving his commission to the Khonds, he boldly directed a sacrifice on the land of one of his own sons. He then assailed each chief individually, by the most artful representations, and filled the country anew with rumours and statements very skilfully contrived to deceive, alarm, and bewilder the people—ever appealing to the indisputable facts of the perfect impunity of himself and all concerned in the sacrifices of the previous year; the exemption of his tribe alone from the necessity of delivering up its victims; and the continued possession of his jaghir in the low country, undiminished by a single cubit.

Nor were these sinister exhortations wholly ineffectual. In spite of resistance offered by able instruments; and after a severe struggle between the two Khond parties, two fresh victims were sacrificed with the sanction of Sam Bisaye, in the tract of the tribe of Athara Mutah, nearest to his country. The other tribe abstained from sacrificing, as in the former year; but the sacrificing party in it ventured to share in the flesh of the hapless victims butchered by their neighbours.

If, before, all had expected to witness an instant and unequivocal manifestation of the mind of the Government, with redoubled anxiety was the expectation cherished now; after so public and insolent a defiance of the reiterated deprecations of its agent But, alas, no such manifestations of the determinate will of the Government was immediately forthcoming. The agent himself was left wholly in the dark as to its intentions or plans; so that he was still in a state of utter helplessness, devoid of all power to execute any measure for the arrest or the reparation of the evil so rapidly in progress. The sacrificing party remained for a time after the sacrifices in fearful suspense—hourly dreading the arm of vengeance which their

own sense of guilt represented as uplifted to smite them. But when not hours merely, but days and weeks and months passed away, and yet no descending stroke experienced, or even seen to be any longer threatening to descend upon them—they rallied, took courage, enacted the bravo, and exulted with insolent triumph. The situation of the chiefs and of all others, who, in reliance upon the support of the Government, had led the reforming movement, was, as may be imagined, in the highest degree distressing. Yea more, when it was now positively seen that the will of the Government, as represented by the agent, might, with such freedom from all hazards, be set at nought in one respect, it was naturally and almost necessarily inferred that it might equally be set at nought in all other respects. And in order to turn this inference into a reality, several parties actually proceeded, with the greatest boldness and assurance, to re-possess themselves by force, of lands that had been formally adjudicated to others. Fortunately, however, it was in the agent's power promptly and effectually to vindicate his *civil* decrees, and thus to restore some measure of confidence to the well-disposed, as well as inspire salutary general impressions among all.

After having, in this way, recapitulated the leading events of the previous eighteen months, the agent concluded his report, or rather appeal of the 2nd September, 1843, in the following urgent and emphatic terms :—

"My efforts, since my reference to the Government in April, have been almost exclusively directed to maintain confidence, in the face of these facts, in the Khonds, and in my perplexed instruments, that the Government will, in due season, unequivocally manifest its will, and vindicate its authority. Personal communication with the former, who expect from me explanatory acts, seems inexpedient while I can adopt no general course.

I beg permission, now, to represent most respectfully to the Government, that these tribes expect, that its mind will certainly be made plain to them without fail at the established time of visiting their country about two months hence. If a distinct line of procedure shall then be adopted and acted upon with cautious energy with respect to all,—the sacrificing and the non-sacrificing, the pledged and unpledged, and the broken pledged and Sam Bisaye, I confide that what is lost can be retrieved.

If this be not done, it is not apparent to me, upon what grounds, the degree of confidence of the Khonds in the Government which is necessary to this work, is to be required or maintained.

It is for the wisdom of the Government to determine what shall be done. I have nothing to offer in addition to the views which I have had the honor to submit as to the special measures and the general measures which seem to me to be required.

I humbly submit, that experience has established the truth and sufficiency of the general principles of procedure which I have suggested. The authority which I indicated as necessary to the Khond agent, would

have perfectly sufficed to prevent, and would be effectual to remedy the existing evils.

What I conceive is practically to be apprehended from delay in arresting these evils is this,—lest the character of these Khonds shall suffer permanent deterioration,—from their generally violating their engagements with the Government,—lest their distinctive truthfulness and good faith shall give way under the extreme and unfair strain to which they are subjected,—and lest a general confirmed feeling of distrust of the Government shall arise.

These tribes have been placed, through influences addressed to them by us, in a situation of the most trying distraction betwixt the conflicting claims of solemn pledges and of religious duty.

While the authority of the Government, stipulated for, and depended on, as a supporting and directing power during this ordeal, has been, on the contrary, but an additional source of difficulty and perplexity—a confounding doubt of which the solution has twice been expected in vain.

The considerations that veracity and fidelity to public engagements and implicit confidence in the Government, on the part of this people, are the foundations of our hope of accomplishing the objects proposed; that the risk of permanent injury to or loss of these is eminent; and that the actual expectations of these tribes, formed and sustained with difficulty for the third time, are, as above stated:—these considerations, I beg leave to submit, appear to determine, that the latest limit of delay in putting an end to the present state of things—which can be safely contemplated—is, the annual period of meeting the Khonds, adverted to.

I confide, that the Government regards in a spirit of indulgent consideration, my conduct in this very difficult service, and the plain urgency with which I venture to attract attention to its exigencies at a most critical stage of its progress.

The work is one which cannot stand still and which can, I believe, at this stage, advance only by the continuous application of the influences—the successful operation of which has been unfortunately interrupted

I am not, at present, I most respectfully submit, sufficiently informed of the intentions of the Government, to enable me to adopt any course which I can confidently regard as conducive to the objects proposed."

Such was the earnest, yet calm and dignified strain in which Captain Macpherson addressed the Madras Government through his immediate superior, Mr. Bannerman, about *five months after* he had represented the urgent grounds of his *extreme anxiety* to receive *without any delay*, the instructions that were necessary, alike for the maintenance of the work achieved, and the guidance and efficiency of his future proceedings! During these dismal months was he left painfully to brood alone over his anxieties, without being favoured with so much as an acknowledgment of the receipt of his April report. What could be the cause of this ominous silence and long delay?—silence, when the official organ of Government might well have been expected to speak out as with the voice of a trumpet, pealing aloud with no uncertain sound—delay, when every hour's procrastination tended essentially to weaken the righteous, and proportionately to strengthen the unrighteous, cause?

For if, even in April, he had such strong grounds for anxiety, how must these have been increased by every day's subsequent delay? The friendly Khonds naturally expected that the agent would act instantly in the manner required; and by the least delay in not acting, he ran the risk of losing or forfeiting for ever their confidence. And if once all confidence in him was lost, then, farewell to all farther progress in the great and good work already so auspiciously begun, and so unexpectedly advanced. Nor was it the least painful part of the business that, in consequence of the delay, his chief native assistants, Baba and Sunderah, were sorely disheartened. They were, in fact, beside themselves; and it was by a great effort, that they were kept in a reasonable state of mind—not despairing of the future utterly! How could they help indulging in the gloomiest forebodings?—Their great antagonist, Sam Bisaye, Lord of the Ascendant—permitting sacrifices in disaffected districts under the pretended sanction of the Governor's agent;—the distraction of the Khonds knowing no bounds;—all the non-sacrificing people flat on their faces in the dust—in many parts of the country, afraid of their lives, in many, maltreated;—the agent's emissaries unable to go into the tracts under Sam Bisaye's influence, and his own inability effectually to interpose, at such a crisis, seen to be ruinous; since, in the estimation of the people, it seemed to seal Sam's pretensions as authentic;—and such being the strength of the impression generated by Sam's apparently uncontrolled power and the agent's apparently demonstrated impotency, that one of the stoutest Khond allies of the latter actually sent down to him, to request the *restoration* of a victim which he had voluntarily given up—that he too might now have his share in the general jubilee! To be thus obliged to stand helplessly by, and see the fair foundation which, with so much anxious toil, he had recently laid, breaking away, stone by stone, must have proved a source of grief and anguish beyond what mere words can ever express. It was enough to break the spirits of any man, unless he were fraught with the resolute and unconquerable energy which is ever the distinguishing characteristic of those who spontaneously embark on a great and noble enterprize, with a keen appreciation of its greatness and nobility, and a calm yet enthusiastic determination to allow themselves to be scared away by no dangers, and baffled by no difficulties. We can only feebly picture to ourselves the agent's forlorn position when left solitarily to brood over the stunning hopelessness of his cause; without a single friend in his neighbourhood to enter into his views, or sympathise with him in his feelings of pain and disappointment. And thus day passed

after day, week after week, and month after month—and yet not one seasonable word of promise or counsel from the Government!—his adherents distracted—his foes triumphing, and himself becoming the subject of pity to some, and the butt of insolent scorn and contempt to others! Daily, and almost hourly, for the long dragging period of four or five months, may we fancy him holding sad soliloquy, saying, within his own secret chambers of imagery, "Why this long, long delay? What can be the cause of this unbroken silence, this mysterious secresy? Does the Government disapprove of my measures? Then, why not plainly say so, that I may at once abandon a post, which, without its confidence and approval, I cannot hold with honor or any rational prospect of success? Does it require any farther explanation or information? Then, why not tell me, that it may instantly be furnished? Or, is it that they are engaged in taking Bannerman's opinions upon all my suggestions, there being no sort of communication between him and me? Or, are they waiting for orders from head quarters in Bengal, on receipt of which they will notify and set agoing their new plan? Or, is it that the new Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough) has about him a new set of secretaries, to whom the Khond work and the feelings of any engaged in such a work, are totally incomprehensible? But, be the real cause what it may, why at least does not the Madras Government send me some acknowledgment of my report? Why not speak out, one way or other? Why continue me in a position, so anamalous in itself, so distressing to my own mind, so ruinous to my work, so utterly inexplicable to friend and foe? Why not, in a word, at once deliver me from a state of such unnecessary apprehension and doubt, torture and agony?" But, tormented though he must have been, from without and from within, he nevertheless unwaveringly persevered—hoping against hope—maintaining the manly and dauntless attitude of unshaken courage to all around—condescending to the infantine conceptions and foibles of his savage friends—combating their doubts—solving their scruples—and dissipating their fears, by the prompt appliance of every expedient, which a fertile imagination could suggest, or a ready ingenuity contrive. In this way, by almost incredible exertions, in the midst of great suffering alike of mind and body, he strove to uphold his own influence and the credit of a declining cause:—

"It is indeed," wrote he in a letter to a friend, dated 20th June, with a sight of which we have been favoured, "it is indeed trying to be treated thus,—but no treatment from any thing human can affect my conduct, with such an object in view, so long as there be any rational hope of acom-

plishing it. I have been labouring hard—have had many of my hill people, Khonds included, down here, and have diffused ideas, and made demonstrations which are bringing the minds of all into a state more fit to be acted on as I desire, than I could have hoped so soon: and I am still arranging and contriving for a grand *coup*, when the time shall come—*if* it *shall* come —that I shall be enabled to act."

In the midst of these pressing difficulties he wrote at length to the private Secretary of the Governor of Madras; but this communication received no notice whatever beyond a simple acknowledgment of its receipt. This, of course, tended to add to the mystery of the long silence. Again, about a month later, on the 13th July, we find him thus addressing *privately* a friendly Government functionary:—

"To my official communication of April last there has been no reply of of any kind. I suppose there are good reasons for this course.

You can imagine the state of mind of those who gave up their gods, and set themselves against their friends in entire confidence in my full and permanent support, and now find themselves over-ridden by their opponents, and apparently deserted by me, while Sam Bisaye and his friends sacrifice at pleasure. I, of course, labour by every possible means to keep up the game; but it is an extreme trial. Had I any ray of light as to the mind, or the future movements of the Government I could shape some course in hope at least. Having lost an arm too, for nearly a year, from this dreadful climate, from which I have three time barely escaped, I wrote to beg the Governor to make some provision for my relief when I should be compelled to quit the post, as, were I to go without a special successor, the Khonds would certainly believe that the Government had relinquished the work; and were that successor not indentified with me, they would expect him to act on a perfectly new plan with other reasons. But no notice has been taken of this request"

Still, no response—beyond the whisperings of expressive silence! At length when the state of things became utterly unendurable, he felt himself roused to pen the fresh representation and appeal, dated the 2nd September, of which an epitome has already been supplied. Respecting this statement which had been extorted from him by the last extremity of vanishing hope, we find him thus writing to a personal acquaintance:—

"I have waited to the last moment, hoping that something would be done. But there is not a sign of any thing So I have sent them this, once more setting the past before them, and saying plainly what is the promise of the future and giving them "the latest safe date" for the adoption of a course of action. I have been very plain, some may think too plain with them, but I was not to let this work be spoiled from want of plainness. I have no idea whether this new———will understand this writing, or if any one about him will. Of what they will *do*, I can form no conception, seeing that they have *not* even acknowledged my former report or my letter to——. Perhaps they will not answer this. It is a sad matter truly, but must be borne. If I had the work to do over again, I should take the same course. But what signifies my justification, if the work be ruined? Mr.——

will, I have no doubt, be shocked at my plainness of speech. I shall long to know what you think of it. I would not change it but to make it stronger."

The paper, prepared under these trying circumstances, was sent to Mr. Bannerman, to be by him forwarded to the Madras Government. And now was suddenly brought to light the hitherto unaccountable cause of the long silence. *The April report, instead of having been timeously submitted to the Madras authorities, was still lying idly and uselessly in the bureau of the Governor's agent in Ganjam!* This astounding discovery could not fail to startle the agent, and effectually arouse him to a sense of the necessity for immediate action. Accordingly, on the 19th September, Mr. Bannerman addressed the Madras Government, forwarding *together* the *two* reports received by him from Captain Macpherson, acting principal assistant agent, under date the 12th April and 2nd September 1843. And as the long delay in transmitting the *former* of these communications appeared so inexplicable, had occasioned so much vexation and pain to the principal assistant, and had tended so materially to damage and retard the whole work, it is but just towards Mr. Bannerman that we should fully detail his own explanation and defence. He begged most respectfully to observe that the delay "had arisen, in the first instance, from his thinking the information relied upon by Captain Macpherson in the matter of Sam Bisaye to be open to doubt, and to some suspicion; and, as on a point of such importance, a distinct opinion, as to the policy and justice of the measure proposed, would necessarily be expected by the Government from him, it was essential that he should satisfy himself in respect to them, before submitting his views on the subject." The paper had been received when he was "engaged in the Revenue settlement of the southern taluks of his district, the most distant from the tracts which were the scene of the transactions to which it referred; at a time when that business, which could not be postponed or interrupted, necessarily precluded the immediate prosecution of his object." He "thought that the inconvenience that might arise from the delay that would ensue until he could have an opportunity of personal investigation, was not likely to be of importance, compared to the evils that might spring from an erroneous judgment." He "also conceived that there were grounds for expecting the early adoption of the new scheme contemplated by the Government, with respect to the Khond agency." Then, again, since his return from the southern districts, three months previous to the date of this communication,

" the unceasing and extreme pressure of labourious official duties, while his health was in a very shattered and depressed state, had prevented him from submitting the subject in a fitting manner to the Government." If, however, this untoward delay did occasion much real evil, it was not wholly unalleviated by any consequent result in the way of good. It helped to clear up to the agent's own mind the cloud of uncertainty which appeared to hang over one important point, with its darkening shadows. He was "now (19th September) enabled to state that the chief ground of the doubt which he entertained, as to the trustworthiness of the information relied upon by Captain Macpherson, had been in a great measure removed." He now "conceived, with reference to that officer's strong and repeated representations in regard to the conduct of Sam Bisaye, that the Government would have no difficulty in acting on his recommendation. The measure he proposed might, in his opinion, be carried into effect, at any time, without detriment or risk" The delay in transmitting the second of Captain Macpherson's reports, had "arisen from severe illness alone, which unfitted him for the performance of any work requiring much continuous exertion." In conclusion, however, he "begged permission to say, that he most fully and most humbly admitted that the reasons which he had assigned for the detention of the *first* paper could not be held to justify it. It had arisen from the deep anxiety which necessarily attached to a question of so much difficulty and importance, and from advancing sickness which had prevented him from submitting the subject in a satisfactory form;—while, as he now said with feelings of deep regret, he had, in the absence of professional advice, been too slow to perceive, that it was his duty to have solicited, at an earlier period, relief from the cares of his office." He, therefore, "most anxiously confided that no serious evils could possibly arise to the public service from what had occurred;" and he "humbly trusted that the Government would view all the circumstances of his conduct, in a spirit of liberal and indulgent consideration."

On the 18th November, the Madras Government recorded its instructions to the agent for the Governor in Ganjam as to the directions to be given to Captain Macpherson. From these we gather that the official order sent to that officer was, "to proceed without delay, and to take the earliest opportunity of again communicating with the Khond tribes with a view to assure them of the resolution of Government, that no measures would be left untried to induce them to put an end entirely to the horrible and unnatural practice of human sacrifice." He was "earnestly to exert himself to remove from the minds of the

Khond people any impression they might, under any circumstances whatever, have received, that the Government had for a moment lost sight of this momentous object." With reference to the earnest and repeated representations of Captain Macpherson, the Most Noble the Governor in Council resolved to " direct the agent in Ganjam to call upon Sam Bisaye to attend at his office at Berhampore without delay, and, on receipt of these orders, to suspend him from the office of *Dora*, or head Bisaye." That Sam Bisaye had " abetted and ever engaged in the Meriah rite could not be disbelieved," but his Lordship in Council was " of opinion that,—without having recourse, in the first instance, to measures which might be thought harsh, and give rise to feelings of distrust among the tribes of whom Sam Bisaye had been acknowledged by the Government to be the chief, —Captain Macpherson, in the course of his present researches, should endeavour to obtain complete testimony to the truth and extent of the acts alleged against Sam Bisaye, and submit a special report on the subject, through the Governor's agent, to the consideration of Government." The views of the Madras Government for establishing an effectual and permanent system for the prevention of human sacrifice, would again be "submitted to the Government of India, without whose concurrence, no partial measures would seem to be expedient." In the meantime, His Lordship in Council " considered it sufficient to encourage Captain Macpherson to go forward among the Khond tribes, during the favourable season, and to endeavour to improve, from the sources of information he had already obtained, every means of giving confidence to those tribes, who were friendly to the cause of humanity, in which the Government was so deeply interested ;—and thus lay his plans as he proceeded for a more intimate intercourse with the Khond people." The Government continued to " watch the progress of his work with unceasing interest and anxiety, and regarded, with the highest satisfaction, every advance made to enlighten the sacrificing tribes, whether by the administration of justice, on principles, as stated by Captain Macpherson, which were not to supersede the existing methods and instruments of justice, but to strengthen them for good and to supply their defects ; or by every other available species of influence, to inculcate among them a sense of the wickedness, cruelty, and utter uselessness of their savage rites." Captain Macpherson's suggestion as to the appointment of a medical officer, with the peculiar talents and endowments suited to so uncommon a post, and with corresponding emoluments, was cordially approved of by His Lordship in Council ; and the resolution formed of recom-

mending such an appointment for "the sanction of the Government of India."

On the 2nd December 1843, we find Mr. Drury, chief Secretary of the Government of Fort St. George, transmitting to Mr. Davidson, officiating Secretary to the Government of India, copies of Captain Macpherson's reports of April and September, of Mr. Bannerman's explanatory letter, of the Marquis of Tweedale and the Honorable Mr. Chamier's recorded minutes on the subject,—all accompanied with the Resolutions passed by the Madras Government, and earnest recommendations that the measures, which, on more mature deliberation, should be deemed "efficacious for suppressing the savage practices still prevalent," might without delay be adopted and carried into effect.

About a twelve month before, a similar reference and appeal had been made to the Supreme Government, on the occasion of transmitting Lord Elphinstone's last minute on the subject, with the recorded Resolutions of Council. But, from the causes already more than once hinted at, the subject had not been taken up in right earnest by the Supreme Government. Lord Auckland, who had really studied it, must have been too much overwhelmed by the tidings from the North, and too much occupied with preparations for speedily resigning the Viceroyal sceptre of these realms, to give due attention to the newly suggested measures. Lord Ellenborough must have become too busied with his plans and armaments for retrieving the disasters in Affghanistan and the subsequent magnificent triumphal feats on the banks of the Sutlej, to find leisure for so pacific and unexciting a theme as that of the abolition of human sacrifices, by means chiefly of the administration of justice among a barbarous but a politically harmless people. Then followed the complicated negociations which terminated in the conquest of Sindh and the incorporation of that ill-fated country with the British Indian Empire; and lastly, the celebrated military movements on the heights of Maharajpore and Gwalior, which reduced to a shadow the surviving power of the representative of the once formidable Scindia, the redoubted head of the great Mahratta confederacy. Next, in rather swift succession, came the unexpected recall of his Lordship, and the arrival of his successor Sir H. Hardinge. So that there was scarcely a breathing time for the Khond cause being even heard or spoken of in the highest State quarters. We find, indeed, ont he 31st May 1843, the Honorable the President in Council, Mr. Bird, calling for the various documents connected with "the important object of suppressing the Meriah sacrifice." But, we are left to suppose, that, in the absence of his chief,

Lord Ellenborough, he did not deem it advisable to assume the responsibility of issuing authoritative instructions on the subject-matter of reference and appeal from the Madras Government.

Early in January 1844, when the proper season had arrived, Captain Macpherson ascended the Ghats. As no decisive answer had yet been received from the Supreme Government, he was as yet invested with no power except that which belonged to him as head assistant of the Governor's agent. Still, though not invested with the requisite powers for the full accomplishment of his object, he went, greatly fortified by the many friendly assurances and encouragements of the Madras Government.

In accordance with the orders of that Government, one of his first objects was to collect, in a way more formal and minute than he had yet done, the evidence which tended to establish the guilt of Sam Bisaye, in offering sacrifice himself, and in stimulating others to do the same. Such evidence, which he was soon enabled to collect in overwhelming variety and abundance, he embodied in a separate and most elaborate report. Into details we need not enter. Only as a single specimen of the conclusive nature of the proofs we may state, that the principal chiefs of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah, in General Council assembled, solemnly deposed to the following facts—that, having "listened to the wisdom of Government and consulted upon it, they had become of one mind that the sacrifice was a sin, declared they would give it up, and gave it up accordingly"—that, afterwards, Sam Bissaye came, and in substance, proclaimed by beat of drum, that "the Mahrattas had arrived, that Macpherson sahib had gone beyond the sea, that one of his chief assistants escaped, and the other had been slain"—that his "influence had prevailed with the agent of the Governor to sanction the performance of six sacrifices"—that he "summoned the pledged chiefs, conjured them to avail themselves of the concession won, and to consult and settle with him the order of the offerings"—that, when the chiefs were not moved from their engagements, Sam Bisaye next "announced a sacrifice on the land of his son, and invited the pledged tribes to the festival"—that many persons among them now "solemnly vowed, according to the preliminary usage, the sacrificial flesh to the gods"—that, at the feast, they "found themselves, to their extreme astonishment, excluded from sharing in the victim"—that they were then told to go and "redeem their solemn vows by sacrificing at home, as had been permitted them"—that some of the chiefs were thus led to exclaim, that "every leaf which fell seemed to be

to them the terrible wrath of the disappointed God, and that no man would dare to let his child leave his door, or to let his beasts put their dry mouths to the pasture"—that, when the "fear and distress became intolerable, a chief of the branch of Athara Mutah more under the influence of Sam Bisaye, offered a public sacrifice, and vows were discharged"—and finally, that "two private offerings were then made in the district."

It was also proved, in open council in Hodzoghoro, in the presence of his own sons and adherents, that Sam Bisaye had "levied two head of cattle from the purchaser of each victim among his people, and, besides, two head of cattle twice, from every possessor of a victim, on the pretence of saving it from the Government, and finally, two head of cattle on the performance of each sacrifice." Yea more, it was proved, by the universal admission of a Khond council, in presence of his sons and adherents, whose interest it was to have denied or explained it if at all possible, that Sam Bisaye, in the month of March 1843, "counselled the Khonds of Borogotza, within the Bengal frontier, to resist by force, if necessary, the demand of the officers of the Bengal Government for the surrender of their victims"—thus actually producing their refusal of these victims after they had promised to deliver them.

The evil effect of these proceedings, now substantiated beyond all debate, was, as already indicated, very great. The favourable and striking movement towards the general abolition of the sacrifice was checked and partially reversed. An immediate and unequivocal manifestation of the will of Government was expected by all; and yet the assistant had no power to take the principal step, to guarantee the prevention of sacrifices by Sam Bisaye, by his justly deserved punishment. When Captain Macpherson last reported on the 2nd September 1842, things were in a grievously bad and unpromising state. But, before the arrival of the orders of the Madras Government of the 18th November, they had become still worse. The party of the movement, passed from doubt and despondency to a state of deep distraction; that opposed to it, from hope to insolent triumph. Confidence in the Government on the subject of the religious change had necessarily all but ceased, while Captain Macpherson had fairly exhausted every art to maintain the assurance that the will of the Government was, what he had represented it to be, and that its justice would be alternately vindicated—to keep together the bewildered partizans and instruments of the movement—to preserve above all, the important feelings of personal trust and attachment which had sprung up towards the chief servants of Government. One ground, and one alone, on

which he could maintain any semblance of real authority, was his *civil justice*, regarded apart from the religious change which had been mainly brought about through its means. That justice, supplying as it did, the great social want of the tribes, had now become necessary to them. It was believed to have ceased when the maintenance of the religious change seemed to cease. But, upon its firm assertion, all who desired order, rallied round it; and, through its maintenance alone Captain Macpherson was enabled to hold a position from which he could hope finally to reconquer what was lost.

Many chiefs had, indeed, remained admirably constant to their pledges. But the weak conviction and overstrained faith of the mass of the people, necessarily began to yield to the pressure of the claims of their ancient superstition, when the Government, instead of affording them its full support and unceasing guidance, seemed to array its influence upon the other side. The time was, in fact, come, when plain acts, establishing beyond all cavil or mistake, the will and the justice of the Government, could alone prevent a general and justified violation of the engagements of the tribes.

The receipt of the Madras Government's orders of the 18th November, directing "the immediate suspension of Sam Bisaye from office, with a view to the institution of exact inquiry into his conduct, and to the restoration of confidence," operated like life from the dead. These orders, in the beginning of December 1843, were made adequate to their object by the mode of their execution. The act of suspension was made credible and significant to the Khonds by the promulgated decree for the actual removal of Sam Bisaye out of the Khond country.

When full effect was given to this decree, Captain Macpherson without delay met the Khond chiefs, and challenged their acknowledgment that the past was vindicated, and a guarantee given for the future. Sam Bisaye's deprivation of office, accredited by his exclusion from the Khond country, produced effects more immediate and general than could have been hoped for, and light and repose seemed to return almost at once to the distracted minds of the Khonds. Captain Macpherson soon found his authority more than restored :—

"Only a few of the chiefs, and a small part of their people had actually violated their engagements. All desired to place themselves under a wise and a strong authority for the sake of peace and justice. By far the most influential portion desired also to complete the religious change to which they had solemnly committed themselves. The party favourable to the sacrifice regarded its abolition as now inevitable, and gave up all their remaining victims. Both parties dreaded equally the restoration of any semblance of authority to Sam Bisaye, and prayed that Sirdar Panda

Naik, my most able instrument for the two tribes, might be permanently appointed in his stead. All pressed for justice, and decrees were executed by the parties as soon as passed. The difficult account of the past was settled in conformity with the just and severe self-judgment of the Khonds. It was submitted at a full council, at which every chief delivered his opinion, —"that the violation of the engagement by a few chiefs, and those who "acted with them, although partly justifiable, was a crime against the Go- "vernment, and against the tribes,—while the gods had instantly marked "its criminality by punishing the chief who first sacrificed by the deepest "mark of their displeasure—the death of his wife in child-birth :"—"that "those who had violated the pledges and fallen, deceived by Sam Bisaye, "were equally false to them and to the Government ;—that the Government "had, at its own time, done justice with respect to him, and made its will "plain, and there could be no doubt as to its future course ;—that the three "chiefs who sacrificed, confiding in Sam Bisaye, must, like him, be punish- "ed by the Government, or there would be no security against the "recurrence of similar acts by individuals, involving all in crime and ruin" I accordingly removed, and now detain those three persons. The authority of the Government, entire confidence as to its future course, the feelings of personal attachment towards its servants which are necessary to the application of any measures, and the movement towards the religious change, were fully re-established."

Thus, again, did victory return to the cause which Captain Macpherson had so zealously espoused and so perseveringly prosecuted—proving at once the sagacity of his foresight and the adequacy of his measures. Ground had been lost. But why? Because the grand central principle of the operations previously carried on, had been shown to be erroneous, or its energy misdirected, or its applicability and strength over-estimated, or the practical measures in which it was embodied, inadequate or ill-concerned? No ; quite the contrary. It was solely because of the checks and limitations hitherto imposed on the agent by superior authority—checks and limitations which circumscribed his official power and influence, and did not allow of his carrying out his own principle to the extent which he proved to be safely possible, and insisted, on as absolutely necessary, to the accomplishment of the great end in view. It was because some of the measures which he foresaw to be indispensable, and for the execution of which he strenuously pled, had been long, long postponed—partly from untoward contingencies in high places, and partly from the want of that promptitude in the controlling authority, which tended to keep things swinging in the balances of indecision, instead of vigorously dealing out effective blows. But the moment Captain Macpherson's suggested measures began to be actually carried out, that moment victory began to return to the righteous cause of which he was the champion.

The ground which had been lost, through untoward but very

intelligible procrastination on the part of his superiors, was, as we have seen, speedily and to a great extent retrieved, the instant he was allowed to pursue the course which he had long before proposed, and which the surging swell of circumstances proved more and more to be imperatively required. But, to the maintenance of the ground thus happily retrieved among the formerly gained tribes, it was clear that the complete extinction of the influence of Sam Bisaye as Champion-General of the sacrifice in Goomsur, was necessary. Captain Macpherson, therefore, with his wonted alacrity, proceeded direct to Hodzoghoro, the proper district of the wily chief, where his power was yet undiminished, in order to establish there the authority of Government, and introduce the religious change now in progress elsewhere.

But the task was at once an arduous and a delicate one. For on the agent's arrival, he found all the Khonds of that tract firmly leagued under Sam Bisaye's *five sons and two brothers*, in opposition to his objects. The opinions by which they were chiefly swayed, were such as the following :—

"They believed that I and the agent to the Governor were at direct variance on the question of the sacrifice. That the influence of Sam Bisaye prevailed with that officer over mine, and would certainly avail in the end, to maintain the ancient faith at least in Hodzoghoro. That my authority in that tract was nearly nominal,—extending but to the demand of a few victims. These Khonds avoid their resolution to preserve the old faith unchanged through co-operation with Sam Bisaye, and his family equally devoted to it. They declined to receive the justice of the Government, because the tribes which had received it had immediately fallen into subservience and abandoned their gods. They thought it unnecessary to consider my arguments against the sacrifice. They acted together as one man communicating with me only publicly in a body, and in the presence of some member of the family of Sam Bisaye."

Here was a consolidated front of opposition which might well have scared away a man less resolute of purpose than Captain Macpherson, or one less fertile in resource. But strong in the righteousness of his cause and confident in his own powers, he boldly confronted it. His first object was, if possible, to break up the confederacy, and then deal with the shattered fragments. But he approached such a work of demolition with caution and prudence. Throughout, it was his policy to eschew violent or coercive measures. It was his chief desire, by the conferring of substantial benefits, to convince the ignorant and deluded people, that to yield to him would only be to escape from manifold and acknowledged evils, and to ensure an accession of palpable and coveted good. Accordingly, his *first* attempt was, to endeavour to convince Sam Bisaye's family that

their sole hopes lay in devoting themselves to the objects of Government;—his calculation being, that their visible co-operation with him would not only afford him direct support, but would also tacitly involve, in the estimation of all around, the exposure of their previous false pretences of devotion to the religion and interests of the Khonds. His *second* attempt was, by every art of persuasion, to induce the Khonds to come to him, and receive justice at his hands;—his calculation, in this case, being that a general resort to his court would enable him effectually to apply the various forms of influence, which had elsewhere prevailed and conducted to his ends.

In prosecution of these designs, he, with admirable judgment, transferred his court from the centre of the pledged tribes to the neighbourhood of Sam Bisaye's village—there, in the first instance, to transact business not with Sam Bisaye's people, but with the members of those tribes already gained, who spontaneously and thankfully followed him for the settlement of all outstanding variances and grievances. The object was, in this way, to exhibit to Sam Bisaye's people, in the happiness of their immediate neighbours, the practical working and blessed effects of the *justice* of the Government, together with the whole spirit and form of its connection with the Khonds;—while, in addition to all the favourable impressions thence arising, the opinions of the pledged people with respect to that connection and to the religious change generally, would necessarily be disseminated in every village which gave them hospitality. No plan more judicious could well have been devised. Nor did its author at all miscalculate in the confidence which, by its adoption, was placed in the gained tribes. Their avowed change of opinion was thereby put to the severest test, and their sincerity fully proved in a way at once gratifying and opportune. When the chiefs of Hodzoghoro, at a great council, stated their determination to decline direct communication with the Government, a chief of Bora Mutah instantly stood up and said;—"Oh, brothers, the Government found us distracted by sanguinary quarrels. All was confusion. Then, hills had become vallies, and vallies, hills. Now, every dispute is settled, every wrong is righted. Every valley is again a valley, and every hill a hill. And you see us here running after the Government to seek its justice and to shew our gratitude."

But, notwithstanding the undeniable wisdom and excellence of these varied measures, the malign influence of Sam Bisaye's tuition and example continued to manifest its fatal ascendancy over his misguided subordinates and people. After a fair and anxious trial of seven days, the agent failed in bringing the

family of this strong and wrong-headed chief to commit themselves by the least semblance of co-operation with him. They vaguely protested obedience, while they laboured by every art to multiply the delusions, and to confirm the hostile resolutions of their people. His endurance of their opposition, and his adoption of no ulterior measures for the liberation of the victims, were necessarily regarded as conclusive evidence of the entire want of power so generally and pertinaciously attributed to him. And this conviction, gaining strength through willing credulity, wholly precluded the hope of the general reception of his justice. A few persons. driven to despair by the oppressions of Sam Bisaye, threw themselves upon him, but none else. And every day brought some fresh lying story of the triumphant progress of the influence of the temporarily banished chief with the Governor's agent—an influence, which was alleged to be so far on the ascendant, that the speedy return and removal of the head assistant were inevitable. When, wearied and worn out with unsuccessful effort, Captain Macpherson at length distinctly declared his resolution to adopt a new course, unless Sam Bisaye's family gave immediate proofs of identification with him and his work ; it was then concluded that the time was come for delivering up to him the exact number of victims, which he knew it was preconcerted from the beginning should be given, as a peace-offering, necessary to send him away. This consisted of three victims, falsely asserted to be the whole private stock of Sam Bisaye, and of sixteen others reluctantly collected by the Khonds, as a heavy assessment or tax.

Here, however, great as the dilemma appeared to be, and insuperable the difficulty, Captain Macpherson's resolute self-reliance did not fail him, neither was his inventive ingenuity exhausted. But, in order to make the plan which he adopted intelligible, it is necessary to enter into a brief statement of certain circumstances connected with the scene of his operations. This may best be given in the words of the author :—

" The contiguous tracts of Hodzoghoro and Tentilghur are inhabited by a single Khond tribe. The Bisaye or Dulbehra of the latter, was the Hindu head of the whole tribe, and minister of its guardian deity from time immemorial until about forty years ago. The fourth ancestor, in ascent of the present Dulbehra, received a Hindu victim child from the Khonds, and made him his hereditary assistant in the service of the god. The late Rajah of Goomsur, to break the influence of the Dulbehras, who were allies of his enemies the Rajahs of Boad, obtained by force and intrigue, the recognition of a descendant of that child—the father of Sam Bisaye—as Bisaye of the tract of Hodzoghoro—thus dividing the tribe.

Sam Bisaye, from his accession, strained every nerve to accomplish the complete supercession of the Dulbehra ; but found the possession of the chief religious office of the tribe absolutely essential to his object.

Despairing of its attainment by any other means, he, about eight years ago, caused the god to be stolen from his ancient shrine, placed him in his stockaded village, and became his sole minister. The occurrence of the Goomsur rebellion, and the investiture therafter of Sam Bisaye with the authority of Government, made the recovery of the god by the power of the Dulbehra hopeless, and Sam Bisaye acquired from his possession a great accession of influence. The Dulbehra sued for justice from all the officers of Government who have had power in Goomsur; and Sam Bisaye, when challenged, promised restitution, The Dulbehra was the first hill chief who joined the Government in the Goomsur war. He is a very sensible, moderate and just man, and has seconded my objects with extraordinary zeal and success."

Captain Macpherson was soon led to regard this idol, thus surreptiously obtained, simply in the light of *stolen property*. For, when viewed merely as a material substance, it was clearly the property of him who made it, or of them who contributed to the expense of making and preserving it. The superstitious uses to which it was unhappily devoted did not annihilate the right of property in it, as a piece of lumbering materialism; and did not, consequently, confer any right on others either to steal it or to destroy it by violence. Were its possessors to become enlightened in the knowledge and worship of the one living and true God, and were they, in token of their conversion to the truth and of their abhorrence of "lying vanities," to become iconoclasts themselves, it would be all very natural, very consistent, and very just. Being their own property, they would have a perfect right to do with their own as they pleased; and being led to see the error of their ways, it would not only be reasonably but essentially necessary that they should give the most decisive proof of their sincerity, by casting their idol-god "to the moles and to the bats," or shivering it into fragments, or consuming it in the fire, or sending it to a public museum as one of the trophies of the progress of truth. But, for a neighbouring chief to cause such a piece of mechanism *to be stolen* from its shrine or place of custody—to be violently and lawlessly wrenched from its makers and proprietors,—in what respect could such an act, in its essential principle, be distinguished from that of ordinary theft or robbery? In no way that we can see. The act was plainly an unlawful one—contrary alike to the dictates of reason, and natural justice, and Divine Revelation. Such was the view which, as we have reason to suppose, Captain Macpherson was led to take of it. Accordingly, in the administrations of his *justice*, he resolved to act in this case precisely as he would have done in the case of any other plundered or pillaged property. In other words, after anxious deliberation, he determind to insist on the restoration of that which had been *stolen* to its rightful possessor.

Such an act he regarded merely as one of undeniable justice, which must command general approbation and inspire general confidence. From such an impression he expected to derive the greatest benefit to his cause. By its means, he reckoned that he could signally falsify to the Khonds the prevalent opinion of his want of power, on which the current delusions were mainly founded. In this way, also, he expected to strengthen the influence of his tried partizan, the Dulbehra, and enable him to form a party in every branch of the half tribe of Hodzoghoro. In any event, he fully calculated, that the league would be broken up. Sam Bisaye's family would see their folly and join him at last; or they would be convicted of plain falsehood as to his power. When parties and dissensions arose in Hodzoghoro, his proved authority would next be appealed to—and whenever this began to be, his work might be considered as virtually accomplished.

A general council of the Khond chiefs and their people was summoned at the agent's tents—having previously intimated his resolution to the Dulbehra and his friends. The majority of those present, after sundry preliminary explanations, unhesitatingly acknowledged the great injustice of Sam Bisaye's *theft*, though they had not yet learnt his determination to restore it. When, behold, the stolen idol suddenly appeared in sight, in charge of the Dulbehra and his assistants, who had been despatched to Sam Bisaye's village to fetch it! The assembled Khonds were seized with astonishment and greatly moved; but they soon recovered themselves. Captain Macpherson then demanded whether the restoration of it to its rightful hereditary possessor was not an act of pure and simple justice? The elder chief of the tribe, the representative of its common progenitors, immediately replied that it was—and that those alone who looked to present interests, and not to right, had tacitly acquiesced in the illegal appropriation of Sam Bisaye. All the other chiefs, then promptly admitted that this was true. The act, as the decision of the great religious and social question of the two districts, was regarded as an overwhelming proof of the agent's justice and authority. The ultimate accomplishment of his objects seemed now certain.

The two next days were spent by the Khonds in earnest consultation, alternately with the agent, with the Dulbehra, with the previously pledged chiefs, and with the family of Sam Bisaye. They at length declared that they "were convinced they had been deceived as to the mind of the Government, and as to the agent's power—that they could not resist the wisdom and the strength of the Government—and that they

would consult with, and bring to one mind, all the branches of the hitherto recusant half tribe." The final result of all these counsels,—notwithstanding the unremitted efforts of the incorrigible family of Sam Bisaye to divide them,—was, "*an engagement by the people of Hodzoghoro to deliver up their victims and to relinquish the sacrifice upon the conditions on which the tribes already pledged had relinquished it.*" A consummation, in itself so desirable, and in its consequences so momentous, yet at one time so apparently hopeless, might well warrant the strongest language in commemorating it. "*I cannot,*" writes Captain Macpherson, "*easily communicate a just idea of the importance of this resolution to the objects of the Government. The very stronghold of the ancient faith, where its rites had never been interrupted for a day, where its champion had hitherto defied attack, had yielded;* AND TO MORAL INFLUENCES ALONE. *The conquest of all Goomsur was completed. The moral effect of this fact upon the whole Khond population known to us was necessarily very great.*"

Some of the immediate effects are thus described :—

"The chiefs of Hodzoghoro now assisted daily at my court, and their people began to resort to it. The civil and religious influence of the Dulbehra extended gradually, and he was treated in form as head of the whole tribe.

Forty more victims were almost immediately brought in.

The oppressions of Sam Bisaye and his sons were now openly declared by all, suitors and assessors; and every charge made was admitted by his son, expressly constituted by him his representative, for no false charges can live in a Khond assembly.

There were, for example, two cases of the seizure and sales of men's wives for large sums by Sam Bisaye, under circumstances of extreme cruelty; and cases without number of the plunder of individuals on the falsest pretences.

Then it was admitted, not as a charge, but as a familiar fact, that two head of cattle had been levied by Sam Bisaye on the purchase of each victim; and that the same payment had been exacted on two occasions for saving each from seizure by the Government, and that it had also been required on the sacrifice of each victim.

It was again stated and admitted by all in public assembly, that the Khonds of the neighbouring tract of Borogotza within the Bengal frontier, had agreed last year to give up victims to the Bengal Government,—that they had then taken counsel of Sam Bisaye, who exhorted them to resist the demand by force, if necessary, "for there were not two Governments "but one Government, of which he was the representative; that he had "delivered no victims from his district, and what had the Government done "to him? And that the Government was, moreover, contending with the "Mussulmans on the one side, and the Mahrattas on the other, and could "not coerce the Khonds. The victims were accordingly refused to the "Bengal officer."

Unhappily, when the agent's measures were thus in rapid

process of execution, severe illness from fever compelled him once more to quit the hills,—leaving so far "uncompleted the conquest of the body of the people of Hodzoghoro by argument and justice, and while many victims yet remained undelivered." In this exigency, he had plainly no alternative but to impose on the Dulbehra, as head of the tribe, the duty of inducing the delivery of the rest. His own departure from the hill country, as might be anticipated, was the signal for redoubled exertions on the part of the inveterately hostile family of Sam Bisaye, to frustrate his unconfirmed measures. And by dint of sundry lying fictions, they partially succeeded. By the sanction, however, of the agent to the Governor, Captain Macpherson, summoned the guilty parties to Aska. The three most important of them appeared and were detained with their father. This decisive measure immediately produced the desired effect. The last obstruction to the agent of the Government was removed. Delusion upon the old ground was no longer possible, the remaining victims were forthwith brought to the Dulbehra, and his paramount authority was acknowledged by the whole tribe. Of the practical consequences which ensued, the following are particularized as worthy of special notice :—

I have the high satisfaction to state that the great season of sacrifice is past, and that there has been no apparent tendency to sacrifice in any part of the Khond country of Goomsur. The stage of progress attained by each tribe, in the religious change, has, however, been distinctly marked in this period. The tribes of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah, most advanced, have not received, from the festivals held around them, a particle of the flesh into their soil. Five men of the latter, of whom one was a priest, attended a sacrifice within the Bengal frontier, brought away flesh and buried it secretly in their vilage fields.

When the act was known, the people instantly compelled them to dig it up, and sent them with it to my chief agent, demanding their punishment by the Government, as false to it and to them, and deeply criminal in the sight of the gods.

I have detained the priest, but hope that it may be possible to release him soon.

The Khonds of Hodzoghoro, as was to be expected, have brought flesh to many of their villages. The districts of Tentilghur and Chokapad, as I am at present informed, have remained almost, but not perfectly pure. The whole number of victims rescued this year is 142, and all are Khonds, or Panwas, or of the other castes permanently resident on the hills, except two Hindu children from the low country bordering on the Ghats The experience of this and of last year proves that the practice of kidnapping children from the low country has nearly ceased in this part of the district."

Such was the moral and pacific campaign of the early part of 1844, and such were some of its more remarkable results. The direct authority of Government had been established among

these rude tribes, by supplying their greatest social want—that of *justice*—in a form and in a spirit beneficial and acceptable to them. And that authority combined with influence derived from every other available source, had amply sufficed to induce them to adopt the religious change desired. Of the permanence of that change, little reasonable doubt could be entertained if the measures which had been adopted, should be confirmed; and if measures productive of similar results, should be immediately addressed to the neighbouring sacrificing tribes, so that the gained population should not be tempted, by seeing unrepressed festivals upon their borders. The sacrificing tribes in contract with the gained tribes were *all within the Bengal frontier*—the sacrificing population of Goomsur being cut off from that of the South by non-sacrificing tracts.

The measures which Captain Macpherson deemed it his duty to recommend as more immediately necessary, to the full accomplishment of the objects of Government in the Khond country connected with Goomsur, were the following:—

"1st. Sam Bisaye's final removal from office.

2nd. His permanent exclusion from the Khond country, with the three following members of his family, *viz.*, Lockno, brother of Sam Bisaye, Borjo and Bura, sons of Sam Bisaye, and now removed from it. His return thither, or the return of either of these three persons, would be the re-establishment of the sacrifice. Many members of his family remain, and may be permitted to reside in Hodzoghoro, while they live inoffensively. The elevation of any member of Sam Bisaye's family to his office, under any circumstances, would, in the sight of the whole Khond population, be equivalent to his restoration.

3rd. The confirmation of the resumption by the Dulbehra of Tentilghur, of the office and official lands of his fathers, according to Khond usage, in the district of Hodzoghoro.

This was very strongly desired by four-fifths of the tribe and acquiesced in by all except a few personal friends of Sam Bisaye.

The Dulbehra is now, in fact, fully re-established as Hindu head by his tribe according to its usages. His most able services and tried fidelity cannot be too highly rewarded, and he is absolutely necessary, as head of his tribe, to the work still to be accomplished; we cannot bear to have a chief of doubtful character upon the Bengal frontier.

4th. The confirmation of Sirdar Panda Naik in the charge of the two districts of Bora Mutah and Athara Mutah and in the Sirdarship of the Mutah of Panchgudda, a tract of forest at the base of the Ghats necessary to the first office, and lately held by Sam Bisaye. The influence of Panda Naik with these tribes is very great. He has, in fact, managed them for the last 20 years, for the Rajah of Goomsur and for the Government,—a few tracts in the immediate vicinity of Sam Bisaye's country excepted. They unanimously desired his appointment. They could not possibly have been gained without his most able aid, and his future services are indispensable.

5th. The Government has not been pleased to communicate any order in reference to my suggestion to permit a party of sappers to afford the aid

necessary to the formation of a road in the Courminghia Ghat. The importance of opening a communication through the Ghats, and the Khond country beyond, in this line, has been fully recognised by Government. There does not now exist a single tolerable approach to the Khond country. This Ghat in which alone, so far as is known, a good approach may be easily made, is now impracticable on horseback, and is almost given up by the Brinjarris who have hitherto struggled through it.

Captain ——— of the Survey has very carefully traced an excellent line of road in it, deviating, at some points, from the old line. I have expended none of the money granted for it, in the hope that Government may yet accede to my suggestion No road not constructed with skill can bear the torrents of these mountains for a single season.

The erection of a few substantial Cutchery bungalows at different points in the Khond country will, I conceive, promote in a very important degree the objects of Government. They will conduce greatly to the health of the public servants, and will always afford shelter to the sick. They will certainly produce a very considerable moral effect upon the rude Khonds as signifying the establishment of the authority of the Government and its intentions to maintain it permanently, and they will serve as a place of refuge for victims. These uses and effects have all been experienced in a striking degree from the bungalow built by Government at Courminghia.

I therefore beg leave to suggest that the Government may be pleased to sanction the erection of two Cutchery bungalows at a cost of Rupees one thousand.

With reference to the future, Captain Macpherson conceived that it was established, that if the climate of the southern tracts should be found endurable for one or two months in the year, the abolition of the sacrifice throughout the Khond country might now be hopefully regarded as thoroughly practicable. The great difficulty had necessarily been in the first step; in the acquisition of the requisite knowledge; the formation of efficient instruments; and the completion of an experimental operation upon a scale sufficiently large to test the principles applied. This primary difficulty had now been not only surmounted, but triumphantly surmounted. The singular moral and intellectual aptitude of the Khonds to receive the new ideas, which it was desired to communicate to them, seemed strongly to sanction the expectation that their progress in improvement would fully correspond to the opportunities which should be afforded to them—and that they fairly promised to make a noble return for wise tutelage and the guardianship of equitable law.

The Government having intimated that it was its serious intention to frame a *general* measure for the accomplishment of its objects, Captain Macpherson once more deemed it to be his duty to declare that the views so often previously submitted in his letters and reports, with respect to the principles and conditions of such a measure, had been amply confirmed by subsequent experience. He again announced his conviction that it was absolutely necessary that the Khond agent should

have the immediate management of the hill zemindaries with which the tribes, to whom his operations should be successively directed, happened to be connected. It was a matter which did not admit of a question, that, to a progressive work of social and religious change to be effected mainly through moral influences, unity of design and unbroken continuity of action were indispensable—that operations, like those already described, and which had been carried out by anxious, interrupted, and embarrassed efforts, could be effectually accomplished only upon principles of procedure distinctly recognised by the Government, and by a confidential agent armed with the fullest power adequately to realize them.

In the conclusion of his masterly report of the 8th May 1844, Captain Macpherson brought to the notice of Government the eminent services of his two chief native assistants, whom he characterizes in the following emphatic and generous strain:—

"To my head múnshí, Baba Khan, I owe the acquisition, in the years 1837-38-39, of all the information respecting Khond usages which I had the honor to submit to Government in my printed report. The ability and devoted zeal which he has since displayed in this work could not be surpassed. He commands, in an extraordinary degree, the confidence and affections of the Khonds and of the rude instruments employed amongst them, and his health has suffered much.

Sundera Singh, son of the late Rajah of Souradah, has afforded assistance which has been equally invaluable. Bred amongst the Khonds connected with his zemindary, but still a well educated Hindu gentleman, he brings knowledge and an hereditary influence which no other man can possess. His services in the Khond country, during the Goomsur rebellion, were acknowledged by a grant of land; and he has devoted himself with the utmost zeal to the work in which I am engaged.

I venture to suggest, that the bestowal by Government of a small mark of approbation upon these two servants, may produce important effects. There now exists extreme difficulty in inducing men of character and talent to engage in this work, from ideas connected with caste, from its great danger, its difficulty, and its bringing no desirable influence.

The marked appreciation by the Government of devotion to it, even by conferring an honorary medal, might I conceive tend in an important degree to remove this difficulty."

Captain Macpherson's report of the 8th May was very promptly forwarded, on the following day, to the Madras Government, by Mr. Anstruther, acting agent to the Governor. In doing so, he briefly adverted to the great evil arising from the divided territorial jurisdiction, owing to the Khond country being situated, partly within the limits of the Madras presidency, and partly within those of the Bengal presidency. There was, he admitted, a communication between the officers in charge of the Khond districts within these two presidencies But, as they were still separate authorities, deriving their in-

structions from two separate Governments, it was clear that, however cordial their co-operation, the benefits of a complete unity of action could not possibly be attained.

Neither did the Madras Government, to its credit it must be said, lose any time in taking the report into its consideration. In its minutes of consultation of 13th June, it was noted that the Most Noble the Governor in Council (the Marquis of Tweedale) had perused it with the highest satisfaction; and that his Lordship in Council "desired to record the sense he entertained of the merits and exertions of the principal assistant agent, the chief instrument in effecting so important a change in the Khond habits and religious principles." After minutely reviewing the whole of Captain Macpherson's proceedings, with the remarkable success which attended them, his Lordship in Council had "the greatest pleasure in sanctioning all the measures" which had been adopted, and "in repeating his approbation of the agent's conduct throughout these proceedings."

Also, with respect to the farther measures suggested as immediately necessary to the full and permanent accomplishment of the objects of Government—such as, *the removal from office and attendant profits, of Sam Bisaye, and the permanent exclusion from the Khond country of him and the three members of his family that had been most obnoxious;* the confirmation of the Dulbhera in his lately resumed hereditary office and lands attached to it; the confirmation of Sirdar Panda Naik in his important charge; the construction of the projected road by the Courminghia Ghat; and the erection of bungalows in the Khond country,—with respect to one and all of these measures, his Lordship in Council thoroughly approved of them, and desired that instructions should be issued for having them "immediately and fully carried out." Medals also were ordered to be struck, with suitable inscriptions, for delivery to the agent's two chief Native assistants, "as a testimony offered by the Government to their meritorious and important services." And, finally, it was resolved again to address the Government of India relative to the proposition that the jurisdiction of the Khond agent should extend over the several hill zemindaries connected with the Khond tribes, as well as the suggestion of the agent on the employment of a single agency for the entire Khond country.

On the same day, the 13th June, Mr. Drury, chief secretary to the Government of Fort St. George, forwarded to Mr. Davidson, officiating secretary to the Government of India, the last report of Captain Macpherson's operations and successes, with the orders of the Madras Government upon it.

Nor was it sent merely in a dry formal official manner—but accompanied with hearty recommendations. The secretary was desired to notify to the Supreme Government, the high satisfaction of the Most Noble the Governor in Council at the verified results of Captain Macpherson's judicious measures; and to express his hope, that the operations on the Bengal frontier might meet with an equally happy termination, as the proceedings on the Madras side;—since, independently of other considerations, it was much to be desired that, the good faith and constancy of the tribes in Goomsur, pledged to non-sacrifice, might not be liable to the temptation of viewing the Meriah rites celebrated with impunity around them. In order to this it seemed essential that all the hill zemindaries, including those on the Bengal side, namely, Boad, Duspulla, and Nyaghur, should be placed under the same general system of management. Whether the working of such a system, with the needful authority, should be vested in a soul agent for the entire Khond country, as Captain Macpherson's more mature experience now inclined him to prefer, or delegated to the officers in Ganjam and Cuttack, engaged more immediately in the suppression of the Meriah sacrifice, by appointing them Joint Magistrates, as formerly suggested by the Principal Assistant, was a subject for the decision of the Government of India. But the former of these plans, or that last proposed, of having one sole agent for the entire Khond country, was that which received the recommendation of the Madras Government—as it tended more effectually to produce that combination of influence and unity of action, and the same directed by one instrument to one system, which the most zealous and willing co-operation of authorities, acting apart from one another, would fail to bring about. And lastly, the secretary was desired to state, that the Madras Government had not yet been favoured with the sentiments of the Government of India on the measures, past and future, relative to the sacrifice in general—and that some definite and organized plan, sanctioned by the highest authority, appeared urgently necessary, and awaited for by the local officers with much anxiety.

Hitherto, we have been simply following the main stream of those operations which were directed towards the abolition of the *Meriah sacrifice*. But, it must not be forgotten that there was another practice scarcely less revolting to the feelings of humanity, which was, *for the first time*, brought to light by Captain Macpherson, in the course of his visit to the southern Khond district early in 1842.* This was the abhorrent prac-

* See "Calcutta Review," No. IX., page 32—34.

tice of *female infanticide*, carried out by some of the Khond tribes to an almost exterminating extent. The portions of the Khond country in which it was ascertaind for certain to have prevailed, were included in the zemindaries of Souradah, Coradah, and Chinna Kímedy in the Ganjam district; divided into five districts, namely, Pondacole, Gúldi, Degí, Búri, and Cundami, and possessed by a few tribes which are subdivided into numerous branches, with a population, at a rough estimate, of about 60,000. On his first visit, the information received by the agent led him to conclude that the annual sacrifice of guiltless and helpless female children in these districts, amounted to the fearful aggregate of a *thousand!* Subsequent and more searching investigations, far from shewing that this aggregate was over-estimated, tended rather to prove that it was considerably under the mark. So that, after the inquiries of two years, he reckoned that the number of female infants annually destroyed, averaged from *twelve* to *fifteen* hundred! The extent to which the practice was carried, was found to vary materially in the five districts. In Búri, he saw *many villages of above a hundred houses, in which there was not a single female child!* In Pondacole, in villages of that size, *one*, or *perhaps two*, might be found! In Gúldi, female infants are very rarely reared! In Degí, the practice of destroying them was limited to a few tracts on its border, next to Gúldi. Respecting Cundami, no information, on which perfect reliance might be placed, could be obtained; though the general impression was that there, too, the atrocious practice prevailed to an enormous extent!

With reference to the Meriah sacrifice, a good deal has been already recorded, relative to its proximate causes;* and some thing also has been advanced respecting the inducements to female infanticide† But, as we are now about to unfold the measures adopted by the indefatigable agent for its abolition, it may be well to inquire into the further light which the experience of two years tended to throw upon the subject. The tribes that practised infanticide were found to belong to the division of the Khond people which did *not* offer human sacrifices. The usage was now fully ascertained to owe its origin and its maintenance partly to religious opinions, and partly to ideas from which certain very important features of Khond manners arise. But, on so delicate and difficult a subject, we deem it better to let the agent set forth his own views, as expounded in his report of 10th July 1844:—

"The Khonds believe that the supreme deity, the Sun-god, created all

* See "Calcutta Review," No. IX., page 60.
† See "Calcutta Review," No. IX., page 31.

things good; that the Earth godess introduced evil into the world; and that these two powers have since conflicted. The non-sacrificing tribes make the supreme deity the great object of their adoration—neglecting the Earth goddess. The sacrificing tribes, on the other hand, believe the propitiation of the latter power to be the most necessary worship. Now, the tribes which practice female infanticide hold, that the Sun-god, on contemplating the deplorable effects produced by the creation of the chief being of feminine nature, charged men to bring up only as many females as they could restrain from producing evil to society. This is the first idea upon which the usage is founded.

Again, the Khonds believe, that souls almost invariably return to animate human forms in the families in which they have been first born and received.

But the reception of the soul of an infant into a family, is completed only on the performance of the ceromony of naming, upon the 7th day after its birth.

The death of a female infant, therefore, before that ceremonial of reception, is believed to exclude its soul from the circle of family spirits, diminishing by one, the chance of future female births in the family, and, as the first aspiration of every Khond is to have male children, this belief is a powerful incentive to infanticide.

But the practice also springs from, and produces alternately, the ideas upon which the relations of the sexes, and especially those which are directly involved in the marriage tie, are mainly founded in these tribes.

The influence of women is, I believe, greater among the Khonds than amongst any other people which has been described, and is strongest in the tribes in which infanticide is practised. Their opinions have great weight upon every public and private question, and their direct agency is essential upon almost all occasions. The presence of the sisters and daughters of a tribe is indispensable at its battles, to afford aid and encouragement. Its wives, who are neutral between the tribes of their fathers and their husbands, are necessary to make peace. The Khond women constantly settle difficult questions between their tribes, and the Rajahs, through their ladies, with whom they are always in communication,—and these ladies it may observed, are always employed on critical occasions, as irresistible instruments to sway the Khond chiefs. But the ascendancy of Khond women is completed by their matrimonial privileges. A wife in these tribes, is permitted to indulge in intrigue at pleasure; her pretensions not suffering diminution, at least, when fines are levied on her convicted lovers;—while on the other hand, infidelity on the part of a married man is held to be in the last degree dishonourable, and is punished by his complete exclusion from society. A wife, moreover, may quit her husband at any time, except when she is pregnant, or within a year after the birth of a child, and she may then return to her father's house, or contract a new marriage;—while no man who is without a wife may refuse to receive any woman who may choose to enter his house to become its mistress.

Now, a bridegroom in these tribes, gives a large consideration for his wife in cattle and money. The sum is chiefly subscribed by his branch of his tribe, and is paid to the father of his wife, who, again distributes it amongst the heads of families of his own branch. All civil contracts amongst the Khonds being, according to very curious usages, more tribal than personal. But when a wife quits her husband, he has a right to reclaim the whole sum paid for her; while her father at the same time, becomes entitled to levy a like sum from the new husband, to whom she

has attached herself; the tribes of the parties being answerable for each. These restitutions and exactions, always to be made, it is to be observed, betwixt members of different tribes which acknowledge no common authority, and which have invariably a stock of unsettled disputes, are in the simplest cases, productive of infinite difficulty and vexation, and they have given rise to two-thirds of the sanguinary feuds which distract the Khond country. "A married daughter," say these Khonds, "is to any man but a rich and powerful chief who desires to form connections, and is able to make sudden and large restitutions, and to his tribe, a curse. By the death of our female infants before they are conscious of the light, the lives of men without number are saved, and we live in comparative peace.

In the report from which this painfully interesting extract has been taken, the author proceeds to detail the measures which he had been led to adopt, during the two preceding years for the abolition of this infanticidal practice, and the results which had been attained. And, considering the atrocious nature of the practice in itself, together with the awful extent to which it has prevailed for unnumbered ages, what reader of sound understanding, or correct moral sensibility, or kindly sympathy with the ills and woes of humanity, will not be eagerly desirous to learn the nature of the measures employed, and vehemently to long for and anticipate their success?

Every practising physician will tell us that by far the most difficult and important part of his art is the *diagnosis*—the clear discrimination of the precise seat and nature of his patient's malady. For obvious it must be to the common sense of all men, that a mistake as to the essential character of the disease must produce a corresponding mistake as to the nature of the appropriate remedy—that a clear discriminating knowledge of the former is indispensable to the primary suggestion and seasonable application of the latter—and that an unsuited or inadequate remedy must only aggravate, instead of mitigating or removing, the threatening symptoms of any disorder. Thus judged and thus acted the principal assistant for Khond affairs. His *first* object always was, minutely to inspect the social malady for whose cure or removal he was expected to operate—to trace it, if possible, to its *source* or *primary seat*—to lay bare its roots—and to fix and define its originating or pre-disposing proximate causes. In the present instance, we have seen from the extract quoted, how fully and successfully he endeavoured to accomplish all this, with reference to the social leprosy of the fell practice of female infanticide. The chief causes which at least sustained, if they did not originate it, were these: a belief in its conditional injunction by the Deity: a belief that the practice conduced to the birth of mail offspring: an opinion, that the destruction and bloodshed which

spring from the capricious dissolution of marriage ties by women, made the usage the less of two evils.

Such being the chief sustaining causes of the fatal disease, these will naturally suggest the distinguishing feature of the proposed remedy. Let us now attend to its leading constituent elements. These, as might be expected, will be found partly of a *general* and partly of a *specific* character. Those of the former description are such as are common to the infanticidal and the sacrificing tribes. With these, therefore, our readers must, by this time, be tolerably familiar.

The same general and fundamental conditions characterize, with minor exceptions and subordinate modifications, the state of society among all the Khond tribes, whether infanticidal, or sacrificing, or neither. It is plain, therefore, that the same general principles must govern any civilizing measures which may be applied to any of these classes or divisions. In each division equally, the peculiar genius of the people, the form and the spirit of their institutions, and their physical situation, precluding the application of the forces by which civilized power can act directly upon barbarism, appeared to indicate the general course of procedure so often alluded to. This course consists of two main branches. First, an endeavour to establish the authority of Government over each cluster of tribes, by supplying their chief social wants beneficially and acceptably to them, and above all by conferring on them the inestimable boon of *justice* and *peace*. Second, a continuous systematic attempt to obtain the complete dominion over them which is necessary to sway them to the radical changes desired in their religion and their manners, by combining, with the direct authority so acquired, every form of influence which can be created by acting upon their reason, their feelings, their affections, and on the whole circle of their minor interests.

In three of the five districts in which infanticide prevails—those of Pondacole, Gúldi and Degí, in the zemindaries of Souradah and Boradah—Captain Macpherson endeavoured by degrees to carry out this general plan. A spirit of confidence having, through the varied agencies employed, succeeded the feelings of deep apprehension and distrust which he found to prevail on his first visit,* his primary object was the establishment of authority, through the dispensation of justice. With this view he proceeded to settle questions of importance whenever it was quite certain that he could act with distinct and lasting benefit—always alive to the consideration that partial and tem-

* See "Calcutta Review," No. XV, page 4.

porary measures of interference with any portion of the Khond people can produce nothing but unmixed evil, by weakening or breaking down the existing guarantees for order, without establishing others in their stead. In effecting this object he employed generally the same methods of detail, and in part, the same agency, which he used in accomplishing the like work in Goomsur.

But, without entering into particulars, we may simply state that, within the eighteen months previous to July 1844, these varied operations included the settlement of a large number of questions of every class, in every part of the nearer tracts of Pondacole, and affected to a considerable extent the whole population of Gúldi and Degí. The general result may be very briefly stated. While the superior and more distant tribe of Gúldi * exhibited many favourable symptoms, "*the authority of Government was completely established in Pondacole and in Degí, and the people of these districts anxiously desired the complete extension to them of its justice and protection, as these are afforded to the tribes of Goomsur.*"

The general influence thus obtained from his acceptable dispensation of justice—the greatest of their social wants—Captain Macpherson next endeavoured to apply as an enforcement to his persuasives on the subject of abolishing the noxious practice of infanticide.

But, besides the application of this *general* influence, he resorted to every other lawful expedient of a more *specific* kind, and having a direct and distinctive bearing on the specific object contemplated. And, amongst the more special means thus employed, was the use of arguments directly opposed to the opinions and the reasonings by which the practice of infanticide was supported. Of these the following is the author's epitome :—

"With respect to these, I have held—1st, that the alleged injunction of the deity, by which the usage is justified, is, plainly, but a conditional

* The tribe of Gúldi is reported to be superior in courage, in physical strength, and in most Khond virtues, as it is in wealth, in proportion to its numbers and territory, to any other tribe with which we are acquainted.

It has never suffered a serious defeat, and not having felt our power in the Goomsur rebellion, it entertains very exaggerated ideas of its progress and importance. It is divided into two hostile parties of unequal strength. The weaker of these has sought and obtained our friendship, and is disposed to obedience, although it is not yet brought under authority.

The stronger has availed itself in some instances of our mediation, but is averse to the idea of subordination, and to that of the relinquishment of the practice of infanticide, as its sign. Upon the conduct of this fine tribe, the minds of the whole Khond population in this quarter, both the portion which practices infanticide, and that which sacrifices, is fixed ; and upon its complete subjection to the will of the Government very much depends.

permission, authorising it at the utmost, only in so far and for so long, as the men of any tribe shall find themselves unequal to maintain the peace of society undisturbed through their women,—unequal, that is, to the first duties of manhood ;—the admission of the necessity of the practise by these tribes, necessarily placing them in a position of inferiority to all of mankind who are not compelled by their incapacity to do justice in questions of propriety arising out of the marriages of their daughters, to destroy them in infancy.

2nd. I have simply asserted that enquiry will prove the second alleged cause of the usage—the opinion that male births are increased by the destruction of female infants—to be unfounded.

3rd. With respect to the justification which is laid on the ground, that the destruction of infants is a less evil than that which must arise from the contests attendant on the capricious dissolution of their marriages, I have held it to be obvious, that the practice of infanticide, and the cause of those contests re-act upon each other alternately, as cause and effect. Infanticide produces a scarcity of women which raises marriage payments so high, that tribes are easily induced to contest their adjustment when dissolutions of the tie occur ; while these dissolutions are plainly promoted, by that scarcity, which prevents every man from having a wife. On the cessation of infanticide, women would become abundant, and the marriage payment would become small—every man would have a wife in those districts as elsewhere; women would have less power to change, and when they did,there would be no difficulty in making the requisite adjustment of property. But lastly, the Government is now about to remove entirely this ground for the practice by preventing contests about property involved in marriage contracts, by adjudicating all qestions respecting it in these districts, as it does in Goomsur.

Thus the evil which infanticide is held to avert will finally cease, and with it, all pretence of justification founded on the permissive sanction of the deity."

Such arguments and consideration were addressed to the infanticidal Khond in the same spirit as those which had been addressed to the sacrificing tribes of Goomsur. The reason and strong affections were directly appealed to—but in such a way as not unnecessarily to irritate, to offend, or to awaken any natural feeling or sentiment into uncontrollable hostility. Making the amplest allowance for their past ignorance and blind hereditary belief, he did not, in the first instance arraign and denounce the practice which he laboured to abolish, as deliberate presumptuous sins, but rather as sins of ignorance—not as wilful crimes, but rather as deplorable errors. It was, however, eagerly admitted by all the people addressed, that if the usages which we condemned were not founded upon express ordinances of the deity or upon necessity, they were deep crimes ; while the statement, that in them our own forefathers had once participated, but from them had successively been delivered, and elevated to that high position to which we now desire to raise the Khonds,—seemed always to produce a deep impression.

Eventually the chiefs of the two tribes of Pondacole and Degí, with a minority of those of Gúldi came to acknowledge the force of the arguments opposed to their opinions in support of infanticide. They appeared to feel deeply the imputation of inferiority with which the agent laboured to associate the practice, as grounded upon the alleged permission of Deity. They readily admitted that the usage and the evil which it was held to avert, reacted on each other as cause and effect; and that, when the latter should be prevented by the promised extension of the justice of the Government, all necessity, if not every cause that might be alleged for the former, would cease.

Besides all these appliances, there was still another special measure to which Captain Macpherson resorted, and which resulted in effects of great importance. As it is one, the nature and propriety of which have often been misunderstood, it is proper to receive the author's own account of it. It is as follows:—

"I conceived that between a people organised on the principle of family and patriarchally governed, amongst whom contracts between individuals are also engagements between tribes, and the important class of marriage contracts gives rise to the strongest feelings, next to those of religion, which connect society,—I conceived, that between this people and the Government a new bond of connection, involving influence of the highest value to this work, might be created through the marriage to its *chiefs* of the female wards of Government saved from sacrifice—I, accordingly, about 12 months ago, after careful preparation, bestowed 53 of those wards, Khonds and a few Panwas, in marriage upon chiefs and men of influence in Pondacole, half of Gúldi and Degí. In the operation, I subjected both the principals and their followers for a long period to the influences of which I have already spoken,—settling the disputes of all, and reasoning with all; while I at the same time exhausted every art by which I could hope to engraft ideas analogous to those of family connection, upon the existing ideas of civil connection with the Government.

The degree of influence which has been acquired through the gradual development of this measure has surpassed my expectations. Slight differences in manners and feelings respecting persons devoted as victims, rendered both parties at first averse to marriage; but an entire change of feeling on this point took place. When it was found that the bestowal of a ward of the Government denoted its favour and confidence, and was the beginning of a new and beneficial relationship to it,—that the interests of the Government followed its children undiminished into their new families and tribes, giving to these special claims to consideration,—then arose the strongest desire to obtain these wards in marriage.

I have since laboured to strengthen and multiply the ties between them, and all connected with them and the Government, through the maintenance of regular intercourse with them, and the careful observance, as far as possible, of the forms and the duties and the use of the language of the paternal relation. Thus ideas of connection and of authority, analagous to those which arise from natural affinity, have become blended in the minds of these people, to a certain extent, with their existing ideas of civil connection with the Government. Even in Gúldi, where our direct authority is not

yet established, the influence arising from his quasi-family connection has produced very important results.*

The example of fifty-three heads of families who have relinquished the usage, forming a close and distinctive connection with the Government, has necessarily produced a strong impression upon all; and more authority has been practically derived from this measure, directly and indirectly, than I could have hoped to acquire through the use of all other means which are available, in a very long period."

The general results of these varied measures in the two years of their operation, were the establishment in Pondacole and Degí of the authority of the Government, and of a *general and growing tendency* to relinquish the usage of infanticide. Of the tribe of Gûldi, one division was disposed to acknowledge the authority of Government, and had been induced by argument, and by the pressure of the influence acquired through the marriage of the Government wards, to relinquish the practice to an important extent. Much pains were bestowed on obtaining a correct return of the female children born and preserved in Pondacole, Degí, and the partly-gained half of Gûldi—shewing their tribes, branches, villages, and fathers' names, during the two last years; and the agent had the high satisfaction to state that above 170 female infants—seventy in Pondacole, forty-five in Degí, and fifty-five in Gûldi—had certainly been saved in these tracts, in that period; and that, of this number, two-thirds had been saved within the last fifteen months, through the direct and varied influences which he had brought to bear on them. And it was his decided conviction, with respect to the future, that the progress of the work would be co-extensive with the prudent and vigorous development of the measures which were then in active operation.

Here, for the present, we pause. Signal success, as we have seen, continued to crown the well directed efforts of the agent towards the abolition of the two-fold enormity—female infanticide and human sacrifice.

These successful efforts called forth, as might be anticipated, an expression of the cordial approbation and thanks of the Madras Government. Nor was the Honourable the Court of Directors behindhand on the occasion; as the following extract from a General Letter from the Court, dated 2nd April 1845, will abundantly shew:—

"We have perused with much interest the further reports submitted by Captain Macpherson of the measures which he has adopted with so much success for the suppression of the practices of human sacrifice and female infanticide amongst the Khond tribes. The judgment and energy which

* Fifty-five infants have there been saved.

characterize his benevolent efforts, warrant us in the confident expectation that he will, at no distant period, succeed in altogether banishing these barbarous rites from the tracts under our control; the more especially as they will be no longer obstructed by the adverse influence exercised by Sam Bisaye, whose removal from office, as well as that of the more active members of his family, appears to have been a measure absolutely required and justly merited.

We approve generally of the measures which have been sanctioned by your Government, and with respect to those which you have referred for the decision of the Government of India; such as the extension of the authority of the Khond agent over certain of the hill zemindaries, and the placing all the Khond tribes, whether within your own presidency or in the neighbouring district of Bengal, under the authority of the same officer."

The sphere, as we have already seen, within which Captain Macpherson had reaped the fruits of his skilful and indefatigable labours, was hitherto comparatively limited; and the great object was to extend those measures, of which experience had proved the applicability and the effectiveness, to all the surrounding Khond territories. But as these lay within the two separate presidencies of Madras and Bengal, and were parcelled out under different local jurisdictions, an act of the Supreme Legislature was required to sever them from existing relationships and place them unitedly under one paramount authority. Partly on account of health, and partly in order to assist in the concoction and expedite the passing of such an act, Captain Macpherson, in the month of October 1844, came to Calcutta, leaving the agency in charge of his head-assistant, Dr. Cadenhead,—a gentleman who was thoroughly conversant with the views and plans of his superior, and pre-eminently endowed with every requisite qualification of head and heart to watch and direct their progress.

On reaching Calcutta, the agent was naturally very anxious to secure the passing of an enactment, in time to enable him to return, armed with the necessary powers, to the scene of active operation, during the ensuing cold season. But unexpected causes of hindrance and delay, in strange and bewildering succession, were found to interpose in the way of such a consummation. Of these we do not care now to speak. The explication of them may well be reserved for another opportunity. Suffice it to say that, at length, towards the latter part of the following year, the required legislative act was really passed by which the Khond territories were segregated, unitized, and collectively placed under Captain Macpherson's jurisdiction and control. About the close of 1845, he was enabled to return to his favourite work, and at once, in virtue of his enlarged authority, commenced an aggressive movement on the principality of Boad on the Mahanuddi river, in the Bengal presidency. Now,

however, the incalculable evils which had sprung from the long delay in passing the legislative act, too plainly manifested themselves on every side. The gained party of the abolitionists had been greatly disheartened; while that of the anti-abolitionists had risen in courage. The procrastination had proved too severe a strain to the patience and resolution of the former; it served mightily to cheer and embolden the latter. Despondency had begun to seize and paralyse the ranks of the one; hope, buoyant with the opening prospects of success, visibly animated the other with the glow of an unwonted exultation. The real and happy crisis for striking a decisive blow was undoubtedly at the close of 1844. Then, every thing was favourable. The success of the agent was great and notorious. Those friendly to his measures were consequently inspired with confidence; while the energies of all who were inimical were correspondingly depressed. With the *prestige* of success in his favour, the tide was rising and the breeze freshening; and had he only been enabled then to float the vessel of his abolitionary and remedial measures freely over the surface of Khondistan, he might, after circumnavigating the whole, have only to report on the varied fruits and felicities of a thoroughly successive voyage.

> "There is a tide in the affairs of man,
> Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;
> Neglected,—all the voyage of his life,
> Is bound in shallows."

But though, in consequence of the long delay, the difficulties now thrown in the way of the agent, were vastly increased, the cause was not for a moment regarded by him as hopeless, nor the mischief irretrievable. Accordingly, he entered on his chosen task, with his accustomed energy and zeal—determined to grapple with and demolish every interposing obstacle, by the variously adapted application of the same means which had heretofore cleared for him a highway to the goal of triumph. Nor were his calculations falsified. Amid obstructions the most intricate and interminable, he soon began to make decided progress. And had he been left to pursue his own measures unmolested, there is scarcely any reasonable ground for doubt, that long ere now the horrid rites of female infanticide and human sacrifice would have been abolished throughout the larger portion of the Khond territories. But, in an evil hour, a small Irish-Boulah-like rebellion broke out in a remote district, *wholly unconnected with the agent's abolitionary measures*—its sole object being to set up, as a Rajah, some member of the petty royal family of Goomsur which had

been formally deposed after the recent Goomsur war, and its territory annexed to the Honorable Company's dominions. Even this miserable miniature of a rebellion, Captain Macpherson, if properly seconded, would have easily and promptly quashed. But unhappily, it came to be magnified at a distance in so disproportionate a degree, that it was deemed necessary to send General Dyce with an army to quell it. And, still more unhappily, it came to pass that the said General, on his arrival in Goomsur, utterly mistaking the *real spirit and intention* of his commission, began officiously, gratuitously, and arbitrarily, to intermeddle with matters which in no way whatever belonged to him. His sole and exclusive vocation was, to put down "the tempest in a tea-pot" rebellion. But, in his total ignorance of Khond affairs, he somehow or other, took it into his head to imagine that there was some causative connection between the said rebellion and the operations of the Khond agency. And though with the latter he had nothing conceivable to do, he took it upon himself, not only unwarrantably to assume a directive control over the agency, but actually, in a way the most summary, insulting and despotic, to order it, without any inquiry and in disgrace, out of the country—as if it had been tried and convicted of felonious or highly aggravated criminal offences! Nor did the gratuitous indignity end even here. In order, it may be supposed, to justify so indefensible and unheard of a procedure, the General followed up his monstrous decree of banishment, by a string of *alleged* charges against the agency—on the principle, it may be surmised, of what is popularly known in Scotland under the designation of "*Cupar justice*;" which simply consists in hanging the accused first and trying them afterwards!

Conscious of his own integrity and innocence, the agent promptly challenged, or rather respectfully demanded, the most searching inquiry on the spot. To this respectful and reasonable demand, the Supreme Government, much to its honor and credit, instantly responded. And to prove its sincerity in desiring that the inquiry should be no mere sham, or piece of official formalism, one of the ablest and most practised members of the Civil Service, Mr. J. P. Grant, late commissioner in the Mysore, was appointed to conduct it. About the time when this appointment took place, we were led to remark* that, as regarded "*the result of the inquiry on its more immediate bearing on the official credit, conduct and character of the Agent, we knew no valid ground for fear or misgiving.*" Such a favourable judg-

* See "Calcutta Review," No. XV. page 49.

ment we were led confidently to anticipate, solely from our previous acquaintance with the skilful and judicious proceedings of the agent, and a consequently intense persuasion that the *alleged gross exaggerations. but absolutely unfounded and calumnious libels*—the sheer inventions of some malicious and interested parties, who must have imposed on the General's profound ignorance and all-devouring credulity. And it now affords us no ordinary satisfaction to be enabled authoritatively to report that,—after a twelve month's investigation of the most searching character, conducted throughout on the part of the commissioner with consummate ability, and the drawing up of reports on each of the alleged charges, extending, in the aggregate, to about *two thousand five hundred* folio pages,—the deliberate verdict of the Supreme Government has been, *not merely one of bare acquittal, but in most cases* of TRIUMPHANT VINDICATION. This vindication extended equally to Dr. Cadenhead, and Lieut. Pinkney, who also had been calumniated.*

With respect to the agent personally, his honored assistants, this is so far well. If it is not all which his warmest friends could possibly wish for; it is beyond what most of them, alive to the host of difficulties arrayed against him, could hopefully expect. It cannot fail to cover his enemies with the confusion and disgrace which their ill-omened counsels and machinations have retributively entailed. But, however vexatious to a man of rectitude and honor, the charges which had been so wantonly and cruelly preferred against him, and however gratifying to his own feelings the signal victory which he has eventually gained;—we have reason to know that his vexation and regret were greater

* The vindication would have been still more complete, had the Commissioner been enable to extend his inquiries, not merely to those matters which bore more immediately on the calumnious charges, but also to *the whole character and working of the Agent's policy*. By this *limitation* of the inquiry, nothing like full or proper justice has yet been done to Captain Macpherson. To render it even now, is, we venture to say, a duty which the Supreme Government owes to itself, not less than to the character of a greatly injured public officer. But if unhappily withheld by the Government now, the day is assuredly coming, when, on the whole facts of the case being made public, the Agent will have his full reward in the approval and sympathy of the world at large. In the meanwhile, it affords us pleasure to add, that, as the result of acquittal from offences so wantonly and outrageously imputed, and as a proof of the undiminished confidence of Government, Dr. Cadenhead immediately obtained a staff appointment in the South-West Agency; and we have reason to know that the Government would in like manner have shewn its practical adoption of the truths established by the inquiry, by employing Capt. Macpherson in the political department, in a position suited to his standing, had he not been compelled by illness to return for a time to Europe,—his health having been shattered and his life all but sacrificed by his devotion to a great philanthropic undertaking in a deadly climate. It is understood, however, that when he shall again be able to encounter the fatigues of Indian service, his high and acknowledged claims upon the justice of the Government will not be overlooked.

still. on account of the sudden abrupt and mischievous suspension of all his abolitionary labours,—and that the joy at his own deliverance from the meshes of his foes, has been not only tempered but almost congealed into icy coldness, by heartfelt sorrow at the violent upturning of all his plans and measures—plans and measures so fraught with golden promise—and the consequent indefinite postponement of those splendid results to the cause of civilization and humanity, which were on the very eve of emanating from them, in the form of ripe and mellow fruit. The melancholy doings of the last two years have of course served to upheave, disarrange and complicate all previously existing relationships. But, our hope is, that the time may yet come, when the Supreme Government, untiringly bent on this philanthropic enterprize, shall be enabled to call on Captain Macpherson, with his able co-adjutor Dr. Cadenhead, to proceed to Khondistan, and there complete the great work which he so nobly begun, and for the furtherance of which he has given indisputable evidence of possessing peculiar qualifications, alike in the way of knowledge, aptitude, and experience, beyond all other men, living or dead. And if it should ever be his destiny to set out anew on a mission, on the prosecution of which he has already, a hundred times over, perilled his very life, without being in any way daunted or dismayed, and on which, therefore, he would doubtless be still ready to enter, with undiminished alacrity and zeal,—we trust that he may, from the outset, be invested with all but unlimited discretionary powers. The forms and technicalities of British law, with all the tedious crossings and delays which these indissolubly involve, are utterly and preposterously inapplicable to so rude and barbarous a state of society as that which prevails in Khondistan. There, *personal* influence, unmistakable sympathy with the people, patience and forbearance towards them even in their frivolities and follies, together with a clear manifestation of the spirit of justice, kindliness, conciliation and charity, —can alone do every thing. And in all dealings of every description, simplicity, directness and promptitude of inquiry and decision, can alone be intelligible to their unexercised minds, and alone influential for the accomplishment of good. What could Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak, have done towards obtaining a paramount influence over the Dyaks of Borneo, had he been hampered and hemmed in on every side by the technicalities of British law, and liable at every step to have the *formality* of his proceedings canvassed and called in question by British judges? A really able and trustworthy Commissioner to the Khonds should be virtually as free and

unembarassed in his actings and movements, as the Rajah of Sarawak in his primordial dealings with the barbarous Dyaks.

Before concluding, we may as well remark, that the only part of Captain Macpherson's proceedings during the period embraced in this article, to which, in any quarter, any exception has ever been taken, is that which relates to the disposal of *a portion* of the rescued *female* victims in marriage to the Khond chiefs. The gist of the objection, so far as we can understand it, seems to lie in this—that, whereas these victims do become, by right of their delivery from a violent death, the wards by a Christian Government, that Government ought to retain, cherish and educate them, not merely in the elements of general knowledge, but in the principles of the Christian faith, instead of allotting them for wives to men who are still heathen.

It is worth while to pause a little and coolly consider this objection in its various lights and bearings.

No one can question the uprightness and benevolence of the agent's *motives* in suggesting and partially carrying out this arrangement; nor the pre-eminent excellence of the *great end* contemplated, which was *to prevent the shedding of innocent blood—to save the lives of hundreds now, and of thousands of thousands in the generations that are to come!* Still, if any of *the means* proposed or adopted for the accomplishment of this noble and praiseworthy end, could be proved to be intrinsically and indisputably sinful or wrong, we should, with all our "might and main," denounce the employment of such means as utterly unwarranted in the eye of reason, of conscience, and of revelation. That "the end justifies the means" is one of the most pestilent dogmata that ever emanated from the bottomless pit. "To do evil," on the pretext, "that good may come," is a course of procedure laid under the special anathema of Heaven itself; and well it may,—since it is a course, which, in such a world of ignorance, superstition, selfishness and sin, would soon produce a state of things that could not fail to glut even the ravenous appetite of "the Anarch old," whose delight and gain consisted in "tumult and discord and confusion," in "havoc and spoil and ruin." No, no: if we cannot bring to pass what we conceive to be a good and desirable end, except by the employment of morally wrongful means,—instead of resorting to such means, we ought at once to conclude, either that the time had not yet come for the accomplishment of the end in view, or that we were not the parties ordained, in the overruling providence of God, for the honor and privilege of achieving it.

The simple question then arises;—cheerfully admitting the

excellence of the *end* designed by Captain Macpherson, was that part of the *means* employed, which consisted in giving the Government wards in marriage to Khond chiefs, morally right and justifiable? Let us calmly view the subject in its various bearings and relationships.

The Meriah victims rescued by the Government agent must have been either feloniously stolen from their parents, or unnaturally sold by them, as in the lamentable case already recorded ;* or destitute orphans, or poor abandoned outcasts without a friend. If they belonged to the *first* of these classes, the plain and obvious dictate of reason and humanity would be, to find out the surviving parents, if at all possible, and restore to them their stolen offspring. If the poor victims belonged to the *second* of these classes, it might be a question, how far the Government would be justifiable in restoring children to parents, who, by the supposition, had virtually forfeited all parental rights, by monstrously violating all parental obligations. At all events, it is not without the most rigorous and binding covenants that such restoration could even be contemplated. But should the parents or friends of the rescued victims be no more discoverable; or should these be found to belong to the two last classes above specified,—in all such cases they plainly become the wards of the Government that interposed for their deliverance from a cruel death.

The question next arises,—what is the Government to do with *such* victims? How is it to dispose of them?

We must next regard these as consisting of *two* classes—those that have reached *years of maturity*, years of discretion, or in a loose sense, what is called, the *marriageable* or *legal* age—and those that have *not*. Those that have *not* reached this age are *children*. What is the Government to do with them? Plainly, the Government which stands providentially to them *in loco parentis*, ought to train them up for future usefulness—in other words, ought to provide for them the means of a sound education. And the Government itself being Christian, it ought, beyond all question, carefully to initiate these, its own youthful helpless wards, in the reviving, subduing, and soul-elevating principles of the Christian faith. To such a line of procedure many, we are aware, even of those who bear the Christian name, have strangely objected. Either, say they, bestow on them an exclusively secular education, or if religion be taught at all, let them be handed over for instruction to the priests of the faith to which their parents must have belonged—

* See "Calcutta Review," No. XI., page 53—56.

whether Hindu, Mahommedan, or Khond. The principle involved in such objection, and such surrender and transference of acquired providential right, we must utterly repel and repudiate. Religion is, or ought to be, the transaction of the soul with God, its creator and preserver, governor and judge. No child therefore can possess an imprescriptible right to inherit the religion of its parents, *merely because it happens to be theirs;* in the same way as human law, founded on dictates of nature, may confer an absolute and exclusive right on the child to inherit the material property of deceased parents, *merely because it was theirs.* Parents, of course may, according to human law, under solemn responsibility to the great God, initiate their children into their own ancestral faith, or into any other of which they may better approve. And if the parents are dead, or if they cruelly abandon their own offspring, their rights naturally devolve on those who become the preservers, the guides, and the guardians of the children. Such guardians, therefore, are entitled, under responsibility to God, to exercise the parental right, not only of bestowing upon their wards the advantages of general knowledge, but of indoctrinating them in the principles of that faith which they themselves conscientiously embrace and uphold. In the case of a Christian Government, that faith is Christianity.

As this is a subject of great practical importance we may refer to certain home proceedings from which the *principle* we advocate received a remarkable confirmation. In London, Edinburgh, and other great towns in England and Scotland, the attention of the public had been powerfully directed to the fearful condition of out-cast children, who,—nurtured in the hot bed of vice, profligacy, ignorance, and want,—grow up to become the scourges of society—replenishing its jails, penitentiaries and hulks—and terminating their wretched existence on scaffolds, or in foreign penal settlements. Considerable efforts have, in consequence, been put forth to rescue these degraded out-casts from infamy and ruin, and to train them up to usefulness and decency. Then arose the "vexed" question as to the *kind* of religious training which they ought to receive. The parents might have had no religion at all of their own; or they may have nominally belonged to different persuasions. Many were doubtless Romanists. Then started up in certain quarters the Romish priesthood, claiming a right to the possession of such children, with the view of rearing them in the dogmas, ceremonies, and superstitions of their own system. In Edinburgh, in the month of June 1847, a public meeting of the inhabitants was summoned by the Lord Provost, on a

requisition signed by Lords Abercrombie, Murray, Jeffrey, and other influential persons, for the express purpose of considering this subject in connection with the recently established "Ragged School." On that occasion, the Rev. Mr. Guthrie, of the Free Church of Scotland,—to the pleadings of whose eloquent pamphlet, noticed with such eclat in the June number (1847) of the *Edinburgh Review* the school had owed its origin,—is reported to have thus spoken :—

"The truth is that they (the ragged children) are nothing at all—perfect out-casts,—neither Protestants nor Roman Catholics; and it is in that light and character that I would look at them here. What is my position, then, in regard to these out-cast children? I deny the right of the priesthood—I deny it before God and man—I deny the right of any man, be he parson, or priest, or clerk, or whatever he choose, to stand between a perishing sinner and God's word. Mark how I stand; I say that the responsibility of the religious upbringing of the child lies upon the parent; and if there be no parent that will act a parent's part—if the parent be a worthless, profligate, wicked, cruel, monstrous mother, on whom does the responsibility next lie? I join issue with the Catholic. He says that it lies with the priest; I say it lies upon the good Samaritan who acts the parent's part. I say that it neither lies with the priest nor the Levite that passed by on the other side. *It lies with the man who resolves by the strength of his own exertions, to save the poor out-cast child.* I shall never forgive myself in this world that I did not save a child from ruin once. When there was no ragged school, what could I have done? I would have brought it, a homeless, helpless out cast, to my own house, and before God and man, I would have felt myself bound to give it the Bible I give to my own children. What is a ragged school but a gatherer of such miserable out-casts? *They are cast upon my care,—they become a sharer of my humanity and of my Christianity. What difference is it to me whether I save a poor child from the wreck of society or from the wreck of the sea?* I would like to know the difference. It were a mercy to some of them that they perished in the wreck of the sea, rather than in the wreck of society. Let the meeting put the case: I strip myself and and plunging headlong into the billows, buffet them with a strong arm till I reach the wreck. I take a boy that has hung to it; I bear him to the shore; I take him home through the crowd who watched my rising and falling head, and blessed me with their prayers. Forth steps a Roman Catholic priest and forsooth, because yon ship contains a number of Irish emigrants, he claims the prey of my humanity—the boy that clings to his preserver's side,—he would take him away and bring him up in what I think dangerous error. Now, I have two answers to give to this demand. My first is, *I saved the boy.* The hand that plucked him from the wreck is the hand that will guide him to heaven; my second answer is, *to point him to the wreck where there are others perishing.* I tell him to strip like me, and to save those that are perishing there. I have heard a story of a man who had a little ewe lamb, which ate of his bread and drunk of his cup, and lay in his bosom, and was like a little daughter unto him; and I say, if I adopt any poor, perishing, homeless, helpless out-cast—that out-cast is my little ewe lamb, and, with God's help, I will resist the man that would take it from me."

The soundness of *the principle*, here so strikingly illustrated,

was enthusiastically and all but unanimously approved, by one of the most numerous and intelligent popular assemblies that could be found in Christendom there being literally but five individuals present, to express a feeble hesitating dissent from the strong and clear convictions of the overwhelming majority. But apart altogether from such a striking corroboration of it, we have always considered the principle itself to be one whose soundness could never be competently disputed or called in question. A Christian government, therefore, which generously interposes its authority, while it grudges not to lavish a fair proportion of its resources, in the attempt to rescue poor, hapless, unoffending out-cast children from a death of unparalleled cruelty, plainly acquires towards them all the parental rights of guidance and of guardianship, and consequently the right of training them up in that religion which itself professes as the only true and saving faith.

But there is still another class of rescued victims, namely, the class, which, in a loose sense, may be said to have reached the *marriageable* or *legal* age. What is to be done with them? How are they to be disposed of? During the period of infancy, pupilage or non-age, the right of control on the part of parents and guardians is, in all things lawful, altogether absolute. But when children arrive at the age of puberty or majority, they are plainly entitled to assume the responsibility of their own conduct; in which case, both the responsibility and the right of parents and guardians wholly cease. Earnest counsel may still be given, and salutary influence exerted, and all manner of means employed for the promotion of their welfare; but the exercise of absolute authority is clearly at an end. And what holds true of the rights and duties of parents and guardians generally, holds equally true of the rights and duties of the British Government with reference to its wards—the rescued Meriah victims.

Now, it affords us very sincere pleasure to be enabled authoritatively to state that the conduct of Captain Macpherson, and the Government of which he was the accredited agent, in the disposal of these hapless persons, whether old or young, male or female, was very much in accordance with the incontrovertible principles of rectitude involved in the preceding general considerations.

The victims of both sexes, who had been *stolen* from parents that could be discovered, were, in every such instance, restored to their families. Those whom their unnatural parents had sold, were not, save in one or two very special excepted cases, restored to them, because it was all but certain that they would sell them again.

The males under age, whose parents or natural guardians could not be discovered, and who consequently remained under the sole tutelage of Government, were variously disposed of in such ways as promised most for their benefit. In the year 1843, and subsequently, when Captain Macpherson acted as head assistant to the Governor's agent, Ganjam, he gave of those children to all the Christian house-holders, whether European or East Indian, who offered and engaged to support and bring them up usefully until they could maintain themselves. Of the rest, for reasons unknown to us, he gave a few for *bonâ fide adoption* by Mussulmans whom he knew to be men of substance and good character. In this mode of distributing a portion of them he acted according to the rule which he found in existence, of giving only one victim to each individual applicant.

Mr. Sutton of Cuttack having applied for a large number (150) of victims, Captain Macpherson transmitted his application to his own superior, Mr. Bannerman, who alone could warrantably deal with it. On Mr. Bannerman's leaving the district early in 1844, and Captain Macpherson's assuming temporary charge of his office, the latter found that nothing had been done in the matter of Mr. Sutton's application. He then at once addressed the Madras Government, proposing that it should empower him *to distribute the victims in considerable numbers amongst the several missionary and charitable institutions, that would engage to support, train and educate* them—given to each institution according to its apparent means of making effectual and permanent provision for them. Before receiving any reply to this communication and under the direct instruction of Mr. Anstruther, who soon succeeded Mr. Bannerman, as acting agent, he gave some eight or ten boys into the charge of the Military Chaplain at Vizagapatam, who made them over to a missionary there, from whom they effected their escape back to Captain Macpherson, a few months after; when, with the chaplain's consent, they were delivered to the Baptist Missionaries at Berhampore.

At last, the Madras Government wrote, in reply to the letter of the beginning of 1844, that its desire was, that such of the victims as were not otherwise already provided for, should, if possible, be re-united, if not to their families, at least to their tribes or race; and directed Captain Macpherson to report if this could be accomplished. In reply, he stated, that they might be ingrafted on the low country Khonds by settling them in their villages, and setting them up, each with a plough, and a pair of bullocks, and a year's seed, with a grant of a piece of jungle land. The Government adopted this proposal, and sanc-

tioned the expenditure of *fifteen* rupees a victim, which its execution would entail. Before, however, the plan could be fully carried out, Captain Macpherson was compelled by ill-health to leave the district. But it is specially worthy of note, that throughout the whole time, a *school-master* was employed by him to teach the boys to read and write Uriya—the language already spoken by some, and more or less understood by the majority of them, and the only one containing any ready made books; and this the agent found, by occasional examination, that they were very fairly taught. The females were also employed in spinning thread; but the results of their labours in this department did not amount to any thing very considerable.

As to *adults*, or those who had reached the age of puberty, they were variously disposed of, under sundry checks and guarantees, for their welfare. Young men became servants or apprentices, or were set up as petty farmers, in the manner already indicated. Of the rescued *females* all, with a very few exceptions were of marriageable age, or just approaching to it. Many of them were married to male victims and to persons of inferior caste in the low country, receiving small dowries of ten or twelve rupees from the Government. Of the rest, four-fifths were married to Khonds of substance and influence in the infanticidal tribes; and arrangements were made for a like disposal of the remainder;—all, all, under the strongest securities for proper treatment and adequate provision—any failure or shortcoming in the stipulated contracts or engagements being foreordained as sure to incur the serious displeasure of the Sirkar, or supreme sovereign power.

Here, however, it is proper to remark that it would not be doing full justice to Captain Macpherson merely to say, that he distinctly contemplated the educational training of such of the rescued victims as were under age, and capable of benefitting by scholastic instruction. His design was greatly more expansive than this. His fixed purpose was, as early as possible, to carry *education into the hills*—his great object being, through the moral and religious advancement of the Khonds, by educating them, to complete and render permanent the change in thei ancestral faith and usages, which he had first brought about through personal, social and political means. While he was in Calcutta in 1845, he repeatedly wrote to his chief assistant, Dr. Cadenhead, expressing his great anxiety that some measures should be adopted as speedily as possible to attempt to establish *schools on the hills*. To effect this, the first thing to be done, was, to reduce the Khond language to writing and exactness, in order that it might be properly taught to the persons who

should be fit to undertake the office of schoolmasters, so that they, in their turn, might be duly qualified to communicate with their pupils. Towards the end of 1845, therefore, Dr. Cadenhead began the acquisition of the Khond language—but had been able to make comparatively slow progress from the numerous demands upon his time and attention. The increasing difficulties in the agency compelled him again and again, temporarily to suspend his labors in the matter. Nevertheless he persevered, and eventually he succeeded in collecting and writing out, in the Uriya character, an account of the manner in which the Meriah rite is performed, and of its origin—as nearly as possible in the words of the religious songs or hymns which are chaunted at the time of the sacrifice by the parties engaged in its performance; an account of the origin of a feud between two tribes and of the sacrifices and ceremonies to the God of War on the commencement of hostilities—of the battles—and of the return to peace; an account to the Khond view of the creation of man; an account of the Khond reasons why men, but not animals, are doomed to labor; four purely Khond fables, and two fables translated from the Uriya. All these, extending to about fifty closely written foolscap pages in the Uriya character, are translated word for word into Uriya—each Uriya word being placed exactly underneath the corresponding Khond word, after the Hamiltonian interlinear style. Dr. Cadenhead is now in a position to translate these pieces into English, word for word, in a few weeks, and to complete an already half finished grammar from them. He has also written out a short vocabulary of a few hundred words, not included in the above accounts, songs and legends,—a vocabulary which could have been enlarged at pleasure. The intention was, on the language being thoroughly mastered, to translate interesting pieces which convey general information, with moral and religious extracts from the Bible and other approved books, adapted to the capacity and religious position of the people; and when qualified teachers were raised up, to proceed to the establishment of schools at suitable points in the hills, in which the Uriya and Khond languages would be taught through these translations. It was also intended to teach as much arithmetic and other branches as might seem necessary. Of course, these arrangements were considered merely as pioneering operations—tending to pave the way for the more efficient and systematic labours of those, whose more peculiar vocation it is to bestow the inestimable blessings of a liberal and comprehensive Christian education.

Surely this statement of the laborious preparatory efforts and enlightened *designs* of Captain Macpherson and Dr. Cadenhead

can scarcely fail to exalt them in the estimation of all right-hearted men; while they cannot but serve immeasurably to enhance our regret at the cruel arrest which for a time, has been laid on the progress of these extended philanthrophic schemes. In the meanwhile, we trust that the Government of India will not lose a day in obtaining and publishing so singular a collection of Khond literature as that which is now in the sole possession of its truly meritorious and indefatigable author—Dr. Cadenhead. That the Government is not blind to the importance of reducing the Khond language to a written and grammatical form, is undoubted. Of its due appreciation of this object it has given the most positive proof. Some time ago, as we have been credibly informed, an officer on the South-West frontier applied for leave to devote himself exclusively, for a certain definite period, to the task of collecting and arranging Khond vocables and phrases, which might form the materials for dictionaries and grammars of that hitherto unknown tongue. His work not having been satisfactorily completed within the prescribed time, he asked for, and, if we mistake not, obtained a farther extension of his leave. Here, then, is the Government giving ample proof of its sense of the unquestionable utility of the object by sanctioning a special agency, at a considerable expense, for its accomplishment. But, before the institution of this new and expensive agency at all, that very object had been already voluntarily undertaken and virtually accomplished, free of all expense, by Dr. Cadenhead and his assistants. How it came to pass, that before burdening the State exchequer with the needless cost of the more recent agency, it did not occur to the responsible authorities to enquire, what progress, or whether any, had been made by Captain Macpherson and his co-adjutors in the acquisition of the Khond language, it is not in our power adequately to explain.

Before finally concluding these statements, which have unexpectedly extended on our hands, we would fain endeavour once more to draw attention to the *enormous waste of human life* in Khondistan, from the two-fold atrocity of *human sacrifice* and *female infanticide*, in order that the abolitionary efforts of our Government and its agents may be better appreciated. On the singular and unparalleled horrors of the *former*, by which every year *three* or *four hundred* of innocent human beings are savagely torn in pieces, we have heretofore expatiated.* And now we would implore our readers to realize, if they can, the *extent* of suffering and loss of life, from the equally abhorrent

* See "Calcutta Review," No. IX. p. 59 63.

practice of *female infanticide.* By minute inquiries on the spot, during the agent's first visit, it was ascertained, that "at the lowest estimate, *above one thousand female children* must have been destroyed annually in the *three* districts of Pondacole, Gulodye and Bori alone"! And subsequent enquiries, as we have seen, instead of diminishing, tended only to augment this aggregate.

What a shocking picture of humanity have we here! What a prodigious waste of innocent life at the very dawn of being—and that too, within so limited a space!—a waste, the extent of which it is difficult for imagination itself adequately to realize! Talk of famine with its biting hunger and sinking leanness—of pestilence, with its raging virulence of disease—of war, with its horrid devastations:—and who will not mourn over the wreck and the ruin which ever mark the train of these ruthless destroyers? But these monster evils are, in their visitations, comparatively rare, and in their causes, comparatively intelligible. The sinful negligence of a people, or the aggravated misdeeds of their rulers, may, under a righteous overruling providence, at length evoke the judgments of high retributive justice, in the frightful forms of famine and its grim attendant pestilence. The uncontrolled lust of plunder, or power of fame, may fire the breast of the savage conqueror with matchless and destructive energy—hurrying him along, with the impetuosity and speed of a resistless hurricane—and impelling him unconsciously to fulfil his fatal destiny as "the scourge of God" to the guilty nations. In this way, famine has numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. During the year that has now gone by, it is said, directly and indirectly, to have diminished the population of Ireland by two millions; but never before have we read or heard of such a famine in that unhappy land. Pestilence or the plague has numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. But of really great, universal, or œcumenical plagues, authentic history records but four,—that vulgarly designated "the plague of Athens," merely because of the intensity and extent of its prevalence in that devoted city—and those still more spreading and destuctive ones which so memorably signalized the third, the sixth and the fourteenth centuries of the Christian era. War, whether of plunder or of conquest, has also numbered its hundreds of thousands of victims. Who can reckon up the hecatombs of "untimely slain" that were strewn in the rear of Tamerlane's earthquake invasions? But in the records of Asiatic ambition and Asiatic crime, we read but of one Tamerlane. In the terrific wars of Napoleon, it has been calculated that upwards of two millions must have perished in battle, siege, conflagration or disastrous flight. But since the

days of Alaric the Goth, Genseric, the Vandal, and Attila the Hun, there has been but one Napoleon to scourge the European nations. From these appalling tragedies, enacted on the public stage of this world's history, we next turn to a region and a people, heretofore unheard of in "story or in song"—to the sequestered glens and smiling valleys of Khondistan, with their aboriginal races of rude but unsophisticated men. And what do our eyes behold? Spectacles, intrinsically not less appalling, though vastly more inexplicable, than those at whose portentous magnitude we have now been taking a cursory glance—spectacles of unmitigated cruelty, bloodshed, and death! Fixing our gaze on the present, and seeing in it only the sensible type of the past, which ascends upwards till, like the "Fame" of Virgil, it muffles its head in the clouds and obscurities of an undated antiquity,—we have presented to our view, crowds, yea, literally, myriads or rather millions of hapless beings perishing before their time!—perishing, not from famine, or pestilence, or red-stained war—the ordinary rods that are wielded for the chastisement of a sinful rebellious world,—but perishing, as the trophy-victims of fatally erroneous opinions! *There*, as the result of one class of errors, we find hundreds of adults systematically reared for the slaughter—hundreds annually offered, with savage brutality, as propitiations to an imaginary but sanguinary deity. And as the practice has prevailed from time immemorial, it must now reckon up its victims by myriads of myriads! *There*, again, as the result of another class of errors, alike pestiferous, we find hundreds of unoffending innocents annually massacred by the hands of those who instrumentally gave them being; and who, therefore, were bound by every obligation, human and divine, to feed, nourish, and cherish them. And as this practice also has existed from the earliest periods, it, too, must reckon up its victims by myriads of myriads. What a frightful conclusion, then, are we compelled to arrive at! Looking at a single obscure and narrow nook of this mighty land, we find two revolting practices in busy and constant operation, which furnish an ascertained annual average of about *fifteen hundred* victims, barbarously slain. And this annual average, calculated only from the commencement of the Christian era, supplies the amazing aggregate of *nearly three millions!*—three millions, thus, mercilessly swept away from the stage of time, by the inexorable requirements of a sanguinary superstition or mistaken honor;—when, all the while, high heaven has been jubilant with choral songs of "peace on earth and good will to the children of men"! Would that, with reference to the hydra-headed tyrannies of Khondistan, and every other

region of this magnificent empire, we could warrantably adopt, in all its plenitude, the glowing language of the poet, and with him exultingly exclaim:—

"'Tis past. Too long oppression's tyrant race
Have ground her children with their iron mace!
Too long has silence heard her whisper'd fears,
And glens impervious drank her flowing tears!
'Tis past. Her bosom stung with conscious shame,
Awaken'd Albion re-asserts her fame;
Inclines in pity to a groaning land,
Wrests the foul sceptre from the spoiler's hand;
And greatly lavish in the glorious cause,
Grants with her JONES, her science and her laws.
But chief Religion, venerable maid,
Raptured repairs where first her footsteps stray'd,
When down to earth she came, an angel guest;
And man, yet pure, her genial presence blest.
On guilt's dark brow her glittering cross appears,
His sullied cheek is wash'd with pious tears;
And Ganges, hallow'd still for holier ends,
Death-stream no more, his wave baptismal lends.
E'en now from yonder strand I see them move,
The mild evangelists of peace and love;
And bear (strange merchandise,) to Asia's shore
The gospel's bright imperishable ore:
Unsold to deal its unbought wealth, their plan;
Their traffic, to redeem the soul of man.
Her banner'd cross victorious Albion waves,
Beneath that symbol strikes, beneath that symbol saves.
O beauteous queen! O dear-loved mother-isle!
Thine is each gallant aim, each gen'rous toil.
For thee, while fame her wreath of am'ranth twines,
And with her palm thy native oak combines,
The succour'd orphan lisps his little prayer,
And the slave's shackles crumble in thine air.
Hold then thy high career. Be this thy art,
Not to corrupt, but meliorate the heart:
Where'er mankind in Gentile darkness lie,
Instruction's blessed radiance to supply;
O'er the oppress'd soft mercy's dews to shed,
And crush with ruin the oppressor's head.
O haste your tardy coming, days of gold,
Long by prophetic minstrelsy foretold!
Where yon bright purple streaks the orient skies,
Rise Science, Freedom, Peace, Religion, rise!
Till, from Tanjore, to farthest Samarcand,
In one wide lustre bask the glowing land;
And, (Brahma from his guilty greatness hurl'd
With Mecca's, Lord) MESSIAH rule the world!"

# SATARA,—AND BRITISH CONNEXION THEREWITH:

BY REV. DR. MURRAY.

1. *Report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa*, by the Hon. M. Elphinstone, Calcutta, 1821 : Bombay, 1838.
2. *Minute of a visit to the Satara Court*, by Sir John Malcolm, in 1828. Lithographed 1829.
3. *Papers relating to the Raja of Satara*, 1818—1842, *Parts I. and II. presented to the House of Commons*, 1843.
4. *Further papers relating to the Raja of Satara, presented to the House of Commons in* 1843, *in* 1847, *in* 1848.
5. *Debates at the India House, on the Satara Question*, 1840—1847.
6. *Speech of the Right Hon. Sir John Hobhouse, Bart., on the Satara Question, in the House of Commons, July 4*, 1847.

IT has not been without some degree of misgiving that we have transcribed the titles of the different publications, to which we are about to invite the attention of our readers. We are well aware that SATARA has become a word of significant omen, both in England and in India. We are conscious of the fact, that there exists no more potent talisman than this to clear the benches of "the House," and to induce even the most "constant reader" to skip whole columns of an evening edition of *the Sun*, or an entire issue of *the British India Advocate*.* In the face of all this discouragement, however, and notwithstanding the recent and memorable denunciations of the leading journal,† we have resolved, with the "halter round our neck," to introduce our readers to the Satara court, and to lay before them a brief outline of the recent history and government of that State. And we have come to this resolution, because we are satisfied that there is no chapter in British Indian history which exemplifies, in so many and such various ways, the good and evil effects of our Indian political system—none where the causes of success and failure are so clearly marked and so little liable to question.

Our purpose, then, in the following pages, is to take a general review of British connection with the Rajas of Satara. In the

* There are probably many of our readers who are indebted to the spontaneous generosity of some unknown benefactor for occasional numbers of the two papers named in the text, and who never open them, on such occasions, without a painful foreboding of their contents.

† "If, after such a thorough exposure as this case has received, any person should again rise to speak about the Raja of Satara, he ought to do so, like the legislators of antiquity, with a rope about his neck, and the proper functionary close behind him awaiting the decision of the audience."—*The Times*, July 13, 1848.

course of this retrospect, we shall be led to examine the internal administration of the Satara State; to trace more minutely than has yet been done, the more remote causes of the unequal conflict between the ex-Raja and the British Government; to weigh, with an impartial hand, the justice and policy of each step in a series of measures, extending over several years, and carried out by successive agents; to point out the errors which, on a dispassionate review of all the circumstances, may appear to have been committed; and finally, to draw from the history of our connection with this small State, such instruction as may admit of useful application in our dealings with other semi-independent native sovereignties.

The SATARA STATE—as we are now to describe it—owes its existence to the generous and enlightened policy of MOUNT-STUART ELPHINSTONE. Its establishment formed an important element in the political measures which that great statesman adopted for the subjugation and settlement of the territories of the Peishwa. For three-quarters of a century all the substantial attributes of royalty had passed from the house of Sivaji, and the titular sovereign of Satara was now a prisoner in Baji Row's camp, when the intention was publicly announced of rescuing him from captivity, and of re-instating him on the Satara Musnud—not to exercise independent rule over the extended dominions of his ancestors, but to govern, under British supremacy, a new and limited principality.

The considerations which principally weighed with Mr. Elphinstone, in founding a new sovereignty for the descendant of Sivaji, were to conciliate the great body of the Mahrattas, with whom such a measure could not fail to be popular; and thus to induce them to quit the Peishwa's standard, to which they were found to adhere, with an obstinacy arising more from the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence and of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, than from affection for Baji Row's person, or interest in his cause. The success of the measure in detaching the Mahrattas from the standard of the Peishwa was soon apparent: while it was well calculated to serve the ulterior object of providing employment for a portion of the Mahratta soldiery whose habits were unsuitable to our service, and a maintenance for some of the civil and religious orders whom it would have been difficult to dispose of under our own Government.*

Opposed to these political advantages were some counter-

* Parl. Papers, 498—508.

balancing evils, which did not escape the penetration of Mr. Elphinstone. The total inexperience of the Raja, and of the people around him, in every thing connected with the government of the country; the extravagant ideas of their own pretensions which he and his family were known to entertain; and the facilities which the indulgence of such notions might afford to the intrigues of evil and designing men, rendered it expedient that the administration of the new government should for some time be entirely conducted by the British Political Agent.

The Raja, having been rescued from captivity on the field of Ashta six weeks before, was installed with great pomp in his new sovereignty by Mr. Elphinstone, on the 11th of April 1818; and Captain GRANT (now GRANT DUFF) was selected for the important office of Political Agent at His Highness's Court. In order the more effectually to impress upon the Raja's mind the true nature of his relations to the paramount state, and to convince him that it was not intended to revive even in name the empire of Sivaji, the whole of the districts which were to be afterwards incorporated in the Satara State were, on their conquest from the Peishwa, taken possession of in the first instance, in the name of the British Government. Even the precise limits of his territory and the terms on which it was finally to be conferred upon him, were at first left undetermined, on the distinct understanding that they would be in a great measure regulated by the disposition which he might evince during a prescribed period of trial.

But while these necessary restraints were at first imposed upon the Raja, they were enforced in a spirit of the utmost conciliation; and every care was taken to uphold his dignity, and to win his confidence and good will. Nor was the important object neglected, of endeavouring, by every possible means, to give him a taste for business and a knowledge of the principles of government. Having been given to understand that he would be entrusted with power in exact proportion to his proved ability to exercise it, we are told by Grant Duff that in a short time he labored as assiduously as any Karkún under his government.

After a probation of eighteen months, a treaty of friendship and alliance was concluded with the Raja at Satara, on the 25th Septemper 1819. This engagement, it must be remarked, differs altogether in its nature and provisions from the treaties contracted with pre-existing States. The treaty of Satara called a new State into existence, defined its limits,* and spontaneously

*The ceded territory, as most of our readers are aware, comprises the compact and fertile tract lying on the western border of the Dekhan, between the Nira and

conferred it, in perpetual sovereignty, on the Raja, his heirs and successors, under certain specified conditions, on the observance of which the continuance of the sovereignty was declaredly to depend. The most important of these stipulations were, *First*,—That the Raja should hold his territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government. and be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Resident (Act. II.);—and *Secondly*,—That he should forbear from all intercourse with foreign powers and all persons whatsoever not being his own subjects, except through the Resident—this being expressly declared a fundamental condition, the breach of which was to subject him to the forfeiture of his sovereignty (Act V.) The British Government, further, charged itself with the military defence of the territory, and guaranteed the possessions and rights of the Jaghirdars placed under the Raja's government.

Such was the title-deed of the Satara sovereignty. Its provisions are clear and explict : and it is particularly important to remark (what His Highness and his partisans in after years *altogether lost* sight of) that the infraction by the Raja of any of the conditions under which the grant was conferred, and more especially of the non-intercourse clause, involved not simply the dissolution of the alliance but the entire forfeiture of his dominion. The restrictions imposed upon the Raja's authority may at first sight appear rigorous : but it was deemed advisable under the circumstances to take high ground in the treaty, so as to admit of a gradual and voluntary descent, should the conduct of the Raja safely admit of it. Although the Government, by retaining the right of civil as well as military control over the new State, reserved to itself ample power to protect the prince from external aggression and the people from oppression and misrule, it was far from their intention to exercise any systematic interference with the internal administration of the country. So far from wishing to reduce the Raja to a state of pupilage, and to make him a sovereign only in name, it was considered essential to the respectability of the State, to its efficiency as a subordinate ally of the British Government, and to the success of the whole arrangement, that he should be as little fettered as possible in his internal government, and in the exercise of his authority over his own subjects. " I hope " (writes Mr. Elphinstone to the Governor-General a month after the conclusion of the treaty) " that in the course of two years the Raja may be left, in a great mea-

Bima rivers on the north, and the Wama and Krishna to the south ; and extending from the western ghâts eastward to the districts of Bijapúr and Punderpúr. It yields a revenue of from 14 to 15 lakhs of Rupees, and is noted for the salubrity of its climate.

sure to conduct his own internal government: but the military protection of his country, his political relations, and perhaps a general and distant superintendence of his whole proceedings, must always remain with us. We must also retain the power of knowing exactly every thing that passes in his court and territory; and it will, for a long time, be a necessary part of our policy most carefully to destroy all connexion between him and the Mahrattas not subject to his control."* In short, it was clearly intended that the nature and degree of British interference should be regulated by the disposition which the Raja might evince on being entrusted with the full power of the State; and that his sovereign authority should be respected and upheld so far as this was compatible with the more important objects of maintaining the public tranquillity and of securing just and good government to the people.

The personal character and disposition of PERTAB SEN. The newly-installed sovereign appears to have produced a favorable impression on all who were brought into contact with him. Though imperfectly educated, and shut out from his birth from all intercourse with the world, he evinced a considerable degree of shrewdness and intelligence, united with a prepossessing frankness of demeanour. Beneath this outward semblance of openness and candour, however, there was concealed a good deal of cunning and dissimulation. Brought up from infancy amid the petty plottings of a captive court, he had acquired a taste for intrigue, the unrestrained indulgence of which, under the influence of evil advice and the promptings of his own vanity and ambition, was destined ultimately to lead to his ruin. On his enlargement he expressed, and probably felt, great gratitude for his restoration to liberty and a throne, and made great professions of attachment to the Government by whom these important boons had been conferred. But surrounded as he was by ignorant and designing men who had shared his captivity, and who now flattered his vanity with extravagant ideas of his consequence and claims as the hereditary King of the Mahratta nation, he soon exhibited symptoms of dissatisfaction with the dependent and limited sovereignty to which he had been raised.

Such feelings were not unnatural, under the circumstances, to the descendant of a long line of kings, who, even amid the privations of his captivity, had been treated with the pageant forms of sovereignty: and every excuse was, therefore, to be made for him. It was no less necessary, however, that his extravagant pretensions should by all possible means be repressed. Accor-

* Parl. Papers, 508.

dingly we find that Captain Grant Duff lost no opportunity of impressing him with a just sense of his position; discountenanced on every occasion the indulgence of his ambitious projects; and never failed to notice, in the strongest terms of reprehension, any attempt on the part of His Highness, to extend his intercourse or connexions beyond the limits presented by the treaty. "To hold the most distant intercourse with foreign powers," he informed him on one occasion, "*was just signing the order for the sequestration of his own territory.*"*

Under the firm but friendly and judicious guidance of this able and efficient officer, the young Prince gradually acquired habits of business, and a considerable acquaintance with the principles and details of the government, and in 1822 he was formally vested with the direct management of the country under the general control of the Resident, as provided by treaty.

The administration of the country, under His Highness' government, continued for a series of years to be the subject of general admiration. It was pre-eminent among native states for the general mildness and equity of its rule, and for the utility and extent of its public works. The traveller, as he passed through the Satara territory, bore witness to the prosperity of the country and the apparent comfort and contentment of the people—successive Governors who visited the Raja's court were favorably impressed with his character, and testified their high admiration of his rule—and the Home authorities cordially re-echoed their tribute of praise.

The late Sir Robert Grant has remarked, that the administration of the Raja, like every thing else about him, has been overpraised. In this opinion we are not disposed to concur. With the exception of the management of the Jaghirdars—which, as will hereafter be shewn, was marked by a spirit of unjust encroachment—the Government of the Satara state appears to have been deserving of all the praises that was bestowed on it.

* The occasion on which the above warning was given occurred within a few months after the ratification of the treaty, when the Raja made a proposal that he should have cognizance of the affairs of his own immediate caste all over the country. Satisfied that this proposition had originated with some of his intriguing relations, and believing that the Raja himself did not consider it to be in any way objectionable, the Resident, nevertheless, warned him, that if the smallest attempt of the kind had been made clandestinely, he would have been under the necessity of representing it to his government as a direct infringement of the obligation by which he was bound to abide. He at the same time took the opportunity of impressing upon him in a friendly but decided tone, "the immediate danger that would be incurred by his holding the most distant intercourse with foreign subject, and that *with foreign powers it was just signing the order of sequestration for his own territory.*—*Parl. Pap.* 512.

At a later period we find that a native of good family was expelled from Satara, by the same officer, for having become the channel of some communication between Scindia and the Raja. It would have been well for His Highness had equal vigilance been exercised by all Grant Duff's successors.

But its efficiency and success are to be ascribed, not so much to the personal character and capacity of the Raja, as to the admirable arrangements of the first British Resident, by whom the foundation of the government was laid.

The name of GRANT DUFF must be familiar to all our readers as the able and impartial historian of the Mahratta Empire: but probably few of them have had opportunities of knowing his great capacity for civil and political administration. We are happy, therefore, to have it in our power to lay before them a brief outline of the system of government which he so successfully introduced into the Satara State.

The mode in which our political influence was exercised at the courts of the different native states, which, at the close of the Mahratta war, became subject to the control of the British Government, varied almost as much as the personal characters of the agents employed. The general tendency of their policy, however, was in a direction opposite to the system pursued by the majority of officers in those portions of the conquered territories, which at the same period came under our direct rule.

It is no disparagemement to the numerous very able men included in the latter class—the predecessors of our present race of collectors, magistrates and judges—to say that, with scarcely an exception, they attempted to effect, in the compass of a few years, the work of generations; and, as a natural consequence, not only frequently failed, but occasionally produced results the very reverse of what they intended. They found the revenue and police administration of the country in the utmost confusion: and it would have been strange if zealous and energetic men, entrusted with ample powers in such situations, had not frequently attempted to stimulate artificially the maturity of reforms, which can be only permanent when they are the growth of ages.

The prevalent error of most *political* officers was of an opposite character. The nature of their duties rendered them better acquainted with, and more disposed to pay attention to, the feelings of the upper classes of natives, than the collectors and judges in our own districts, who, under the influence of Revenue Boards and Sudder Adaluts, were reforming perhaps somewhat too vigorously on the models of Blackstone, Malthus, and Bentham. Our residents and political agents, on the other hand, acting through, and more or less influenced by native durbars, pursued a somewhat too conservative line of conduct. Some suffered abuses to exist, from a fear of exciting prejudice by unpalatable reforms. Others clung to the hope of stimulating

healthy independent action by a steady adherence to the principles of non-intervention. But, with some brilliant exceptions, few left behind them any such improvements as might have been expected from the vast power and influence, the brilliant talents, and the sincere wish to do good, which so many of them possessed.

The course steered by Grant Duff seems to have been, as nearly as possible, the happy medium between these two erroneous extremes.

In addition to judgment, energy, and talents for business of no ordinary kind, he possessed, in an eminent degree, the power of appreciating the character of the people over whom he was placed, and of adapting his measures to suit their peculiarities. Where a practice was vicious, and its reform not incompatible with the national character, no period of prescription was permitted to sanction the abuse: but, on the other hand, he seems never to have forgotten, that after a brief period the State was to be handed over to native management, with no direct control from any European authority. Hence he never committed the common error of providing for the management of the State machinery which, though admirable in itself, and working well under the vigilant and pratised eye of the English engineer, was too fine and complicated for the ignorant or apathetic native workman.

After retiring from India, Captain Grant applied himself to the improvement of an ample estate which came to him with the name of DUFF, and he is now, we believe, honorably distinguished among the able, intelligent, and energetic men who have made the farming of Fife, the Lothians, and Aberdeen, a pattern to even the best cultivated districts of England. It has often struck us, that the same character of practical sagacity which distinguishes the successful Scotch agriculturist is clearly traceable in the system of government which formed the work of his earlier years.

When he assumed the Government of the districts which were to form the future kingdom of Satara, every thing was in disorder: and many important branches of the administration had not so much to be re-modelled as created. Where former precedents might be safely followed, he seems to have set before himself the practice of the best rulers in the best times, and steadily to have worked on this model, regardless alike of more faultless theories or the vicious customs of later years. Where the altered state of affairs rendered it necessary to lay down new rules, he legislated with the enlightened views of a statesman, who, with his eyes fixed on some lofty object of distant attain-

ment, never forgot the nature and characteristic defects of the instruments with which it was to be acquired.

He had to organize the DURBAR of a Prince nursed with ideas of his own importance as extravagant as those of an Emperor at Pekin, and used to means and powers as narrow as those of a king of strolling players. The great nobles were used to none but nominal and theoretical fealty—those of inferior rank were some of them rustic mountain chiefs—others broken down denizens of the dissipated courts at Puna or Gwalior; while the few who had been faithful adherents of the royal family in its debasement, were ill-fitted, by early training, to fill their old places about their Prince when trusted with real powers and responsibilities.

To introduce due subordination among such discordant elements—to assign to each his appropriate place—and to enforce the performance of duties under an entirely new regime, would of themselves have demanded a rare union of personal weight of character, with the power of appreciating and attending to petty and apparently unimportant details. Many men would have considered the subject as either beneath their notice, or as likely to be best arranged if left entirely to the Raja and his courtiers: but Captain Grant judged otherwise; and to this day the organization of the Court, the laws of precedence, the duties of the various officers, the amount and mode of disbursing and checking every branch of the expenses of the Raja's household, down to the minutest item, are regulated on the rules he laid down; and the judgment with which this was done is shewn by the result. The Durbar has always been reckoned by competent judges, one of the most orderly native courts in India, and one of the very few, which, for thirty years, has never been involved in any pecuniary difficulties, either as regarded the public or private treasury of the sovereign: and we have been assured that the order and regularity of all disbursements of the household more resembled that of an English nobleman than of a Mahratta Raja.

There is probably no other portion of the territory conquered from the Peishwa, except Satara, in which the REVENUE settlement made at the first conquest is still unchanged, or free from glaring defects which call loudly for reform. In all this portion of Captain Grant's arrangements, we trace the same proof of practical shrewdness and sagacity, and of power to adapt his measures to the circumstances with which he had to deal, which distinguished his proceedings in other branches of administration.

His antiquarian researches might well have tempted him, as

they have so often tempted others, to recal land-tenures to what he might imagine them to have been in the time of Manu. Or economical theories, true enough on the banks of the Thames or the Forth, might have led him astray, with a still larger section of our Indian administrators, into hasty perpetual settlements, attempts to create a race of landlords, or other fiscal experiments, captivating in theory, but as little adapted to the tenures and customs of the country, as an English farmer's top-boots and great coat are to the person of the Dekhan ryot. And there was yet a third and still more dangerous error, of which many instances might be cited elsewhere, that of continuing, as sanctioned by the custom of the country, the system of universal farming to the highest bidder, and consequently of equally universal rack-renting, oppression and misery, which had long prevailed every where under the Peishwa's government.

Into none of these errors did Captain Grant fall. He appears to have diligently enquired into the characteristics of the land-revenue settlements, in the best times within the memory of man; to have discovered where, and when, and why, the ryots were most prosperous, and the revenue most flourishing; and wherever he discovered the traces of a tenure, sanctioned by both the usage of the country and the practice of the best native rulers, he did his best to restore, define, and render it as permanent as detailed records could make it.

Here, as in almost every other portion of the Peishwa's dominions, the necessity of a systematic SURVEY was early apparent; and survey operations were commenced, almost as soon as the permanent tranquillity of the country was secured, and a regular scheme of Government organized. In almost every other district of our acquisitions from the Mahrattas, these early surveys have proved useless, or worse than useless. In Satara alone, the survey conducted by Captain Adams of the Bombay Army, under the instructions of Grant Duff, is still the standard authority on all points to which it was originally intended that it should apply.

This difference in result is easly accounted for. In other districts, our revenue officers attempted not only more than it was possible to perform, but more than was immediately required for any practical purpose. They found land measures of ever-varying standard, and often conveying no precise information as to the superficial quantity of land, with assessments almost always arbitrary and ill-defined in amount. The want of a general re-measurement and re-assessment of the land, according to uniform standards, was obvious enough: but, to supply these

wants, even now tasks to the utmost all the talent, professional skill, and experience in revenue management, which can be brought to bear on the subject. Yet the undertaking, on the most extensive and complete scale, was entered upon in almost every collectorate of the newly-conquered districts, at a time when we knew little of the country, its resources, or its tenures,—the processes of its agriculture—the character, or even the language, of its inhabitants.

It is hardly necessary to describe what followed. It was soon discovered, that, owing to overhaste in the execution of the work, and want of competent or trustworthy native agency, even the correctness of the measurements and other mechanical parts of the work could not be relied on; while all that related to the assessment of the land was so lamentably erroneous, that it was frequently thrown aside as useless, without an attempt being made to apply it as the basis of even a single annual settlement. Thus, in most cases, the only result of a vast expenditure of money, talent, and energy, was to unsettle the minds of the cultivators; to make our intentions the object, at once of suspicion and ridicule; and to render more difficult than before the task of settling the land-revenue of the country on a certain and permanent basis.

In Satara alone, the practical good sense of Captain Grant saved the survey from such a lamentable failure. He saw that no practical good was likely to result from the attempt to enforce uniformity of system where custom had sanctioned differences of tenure, or where local peculiarities were observable in the character of the country or its population. He knew that it was vain to attempt regulating the demand of a landlord (which was the position in which Government stood throughout the Mahratta territory) by any invariable standard, applicable alike to the fertile or the barren district—to a population of cultivators, wealthy, industrious, and intelligent; and to one poor, apathetic and ignorant. He saw that almost the only pressing *practical* want, which a survey could at that period supply, was the deficiency or incompleteness of records of measurement and other tangible elements for forming a settlement: and he consequently directed the chief attention of his survey officers to these objects. Boundaries of villages and fields were ascertained and marked: the superficial extent of lands, especially those which claimed to be rent free, was measured; and of all these particulars careful and intelligible records were preserved.

In forming his assessments,—instead of nice estimates of gross and net produce, grounded on elements so varying and uncertain as almost to defy calculation, Captain Grant proceeded much as

any practical and humane man would, on succeeding to an estate of whose resources he had little certain knowledge, and few trustworthy records. He ascertained, as nearly as he could, what his tenants had actually paid in former years—he judged for himself, from the appearance of the people, their villages and lands, the facility and uniformity of collections, and other obvious marks of prosperity or poverty—whether the demand had borne hard on them or otherwise—whether he should listen to the clamour of the cultivators for abatement, or to the invariable advice of his native subordinates to enhance his assessments—and having thus settled, on plain common sense data, what he thought the cultivators could afford to pay, and yet thrive on the remainder, he troubled himself little with enquiring whether the institutes of Manu sanctioned a tax of the fifth or the tenth of the produce, or with calculations as to whether his demand were ⅓rd of the gross, or ½ of the net produce of the soil. If he found that the assessments thus settled were paid in an ordinary season without difficulty, he fixed them permanently, as the extreme limit of the Government demand. If otherwise, he reduced them, acting invariably on the golden rule, that where perfect accuracy is unattainable, it is best to err on the side of moderation.

During the quarter of a century which has since elapsed, our own collectorates, which were once ruled by the Peishwa, have been the theatre of constant changes; at one time taxed at the rates and on the system of their former Governors—then rapidly surveyed and assessed according to the most approved modern European theories—anon a want of practical adaptation to the circumstances of the country became unmistakeably apparent in the new order of things, and the old Mahratta system was revived: whilst in some districts, a mongrel assessment, intermediate between the two, was devised and levied for several seasons. It is only within the last twelve years, that by the joint efforts of Mr. Williamson the late Revenue Commissioner, Mr. Goldsmid, the present Revenue Secretary to the Government of Bombay, and Captain Wingate of the Engineers, a systematic revision of measurements and rates has been commenced on a practical plan: and it will be several years before this survey and assessment, which bids fair to be at length all that could be desired, can be completed throughout even the Dekhan districts of our acquisitions from the Peishwa.

The surveys conducted by Grant Duff in Satara have no pretensions to the completeness of these latter operations, in any one particular; but they still preserve their original character of perfect practical adaptation to the purpose for which they

were designed; and an appeal to "*Adams Sahib's survey*," or "*Grant Sahib's settlements*," is, to this day, "an end of all strife," on any point to which they relate.

Similar principles seem to have guided, and equal success attended, the arrangements made by Grant Duff for the POLICE of this tract of country. In the report on the territories conquered from the Peishwa, by the Hon'ble Mountstuart Elphinstone, will be found a graphic sketch of the Mahratta system of police, as he found it on the conquest of the country. He points out its excellencies and defects, and indicates, in almost prophetic terms, the points in which any system we might introduce would be likely to fail. Our limits forbid our making any extract: but we would recommend to any devoted admirer of the superior excellence of our own police, and to any one who is puzzled to account for the continued prevalence of violent crime in our oldest settled districts, a perusal of Mr. Elphinstone's pregnant remarks on the subject; which, like all he wrote, had an application far more extended than the particular case under discussion.

It is sufficient to say of the system of police established by Grant Duff, and maintained to the present day, that, whilst most of the faults of the old Mahratta administration were lessened, if not entirely removed, its characteristic excellencies were preserved. This is not the place for entering into lengthened details: but to those who have seen the native system in operation in a well-governed native State, much will be conveyed in the remark, that Satara is probably the only part of the Dekhan, where the ancient village police, with its powers and responsibilities, has been kept up unimpaired.*

The result justifies the opinions of Mr. Elphinstone, and the measures of his assistant. Notwithstanding the local difficulties arising from the strength of the country, and the existence of large communities of Ramusis and other semi-barbarous and predatory tribes—difficulties greater, probably, than in any part of the Peishwa's dominions, Candeish excepted—there is no portion of those dominions which has enjoyed such complete immunity from any thing approaching systematic resistance to Government, or where person and property are so

* Among many other records of Grant Duff's well-directed zeal for the organization of an effective government service, is a code of instructions for all officers, but especially village officers, pointing out clearly and succinctly the duties of each, the various channels appointed for the transaction of every kind of business, and particularly the arrangements established for the maintenance of tranquillity, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the repression of crime. This brief code has ever since been annually read over to the village officers, assembled at the time of the Revenue settlement, and few expedients could be devised better calculated to remind them of their more important duties, which in our own provinces they are so frequently left to learn as they best can.

secure from violent crime. Rebellion has been raging on the very border, in Kolapur, Sawunt Warri, and the Southern Mahratta country to the South; and something closely approaching rebellion has been repeatedly experienced in the presence of organized bands of plunderers under Vomaji, Ragoji Bangria, and other robber chiefs of local fame in the Puna and Nuggur districts to the North, where, sometimes for months together, they have levied black mail unresisted by the inhabitants, and successfully eluded a large police force and considerable bodies of troops of the line. But the Satara districts have for thirty years enjoyed the most perfect immunity from disturbance of any kind :* and in no case has any rebel or free-booter been fairly proved to have taken refuge in the Satara territory, without the certainty of his being speedily seized and surrendered to his own government for punishment.

Our remarks on the system of revenue and police administration adopted by Captain Grant Duff have detained us so long, that we have no time to describe the Courts of CIVIL and CRIMINAL JUSTICE which he organised, or the simple and comprehensive Regulations which he drew up to guide judicial officers in the administration of justice. Neither have we space to enumerate the internal improvements. The roads and bridges, the aqueducts and other public works which he either executed, or planned and left to be completed by the Raja under the advice of his active and public-spirited successor. Still less can we detail his judicious measures to rescue the finest of the ancient buildings at Bijapúr from inevitable destruction, or his antiquarian and historical researches, of which he has left an ample and enduring monument in his admirable "History of the Mahrattas." But the immediate object of the present article requires that we should not altogether pass over in silence the constant attention he paid to the training of his royal pupil. It was his constant practice, while he held the reins of Government, to associate the Raja and his brothers with him in the transaction of all public business, pointing out to them the reason of all that was done, and explaining to them, and interesting them in all his plans of public improvement—in this, as in all other matters, sparing no pains, and omitting no personal sacrifice, by which he might ensure the future good government of the country, when he himself should be far from the scene of his labors.

Such, in brief outline, was the admirable system of Government planned and matured by the genius of Grant Duff. Hav-

* The resistance of Akulkote to the authority of the Raja in 1829 can scarcely be reckoned as invalidating the truth of this remark.

ing intrusted his royal pupil wtih the direct management of the country in 1822, he returned to his native land in the early part of the following year. A quarter of a century has since passed away: but the name of GRANT SAHIB is still familiar as a household word in every hut and hamlet of the country.

The reader will now have no difficulty in understanding how it came to pass that the Raja of Satara attained so great a pre-eminence among the native rulers of India. He was doomed in after years to become the dupe and victim of interested and designing men: but the fabric of political and civil polity which Grant Duff had so skilfully reared, remained intact, and continues to this day—a monument of the practical wisdom and sagacity of its founder. This, indeed, constitutes the great merit of Pertab Sen's reign. No lapse of years—no subsequent change of feelings and circumstances ever induced him to alter the established *system of Government.* It would have been well for his future happiness and fame had he adhered with equal steadiness to the *rules of conduct* which his great masters so anxiously impressed upon him. But his actions soon proved that he was as regardless of the one, as he was mindful of the other. His first object was—and it continued the ruling passion of his life—to emancipate himself, as far as practicable, from the future control of the Resident. The firm and vigilant guardianship of Grant Duff—of whom he never failed to speak with affection, but whom he feared as well as loved—had latterly been felt a somewhat irksome bondage: he determined, therefore, not to submit quietly to any such thraldom under his successor. His grand aim was to reign supreme over his own immediate subjects, and above all, to establish a right of absolute control over the affairs of the Jaghirdars. To the attainment of these objects (to which were soon added other projects of a more reprehensible character) all his future efforts were unceasingly directed.

It is here important to remark, what has indeed been already indicated, that after the Raja had been entrusted with the direct management of the estate, no disposition had been evinced, on the part of the Government or its representative, to exercise any interference in the details of the administration beyond such a general controlling authority as might be required to maintain the general tranquillity, and to prevent misrule in a country which was avowedly under our protection. But the relations which had been established with the Jaghirdars, who equally with the Raja were under our protection and guarantee, rendered it especially incumbent on the Resident to watch over their interests, and prevent any infringement of their rights.

Some of these chiefs traced their descent back to the earliest periods of Mahratta history: others were the representatives of the hereditary counsellors and aristocracy of Sivaji and his descendants. Two or three generations had passed since they had paid allegiance to the Rajas of Satara. They boasted a more ancient ancestry than their nominal lord paramount, the Peishwa, and had been tacitly allowed, under the Puna government, to exercise an authority nearly independent within their own jaghirs. On the subversion of the Peishwa's dynasty, their jaghirs were freely restored to these chiefs, and they were, of their own choice, made feudatories of the Satara State, on receiving a special guarantee from the British Government for the preservation of their rights and privileges. The separate agreements entered into with each of them, as well as the treaty with the Raja, required all transactions affecting their interests to be regulated in concert with the Resident.

The object of attaching these chiefs as feudatories of the Raja was to impart additional strength and dignity to his Government: but the arrangement was now found to be attended with inconvenience, and ultimately led to much discussion and embarrassment. Not satisfied with the exercise of a general control over the administration of their estates (such as the British Government exercised over the Raja himself) His Highness interfered in their affairs on every possible occasion and on the most trifling pretexts, and endeavoured to render them entirely subservient to his will. In utter disregard of the obligations of good faith, and of the stipulations of treaty, he even went so far as to propose that the British guarantee should be set aside on the death of the present incumbents, and evinced a strong inclination to revive the ancient practice of the Mahratta empire, under which the Rajas of Satara exercised the prerogative of creating and removing jaghirdars at pleasure, and of imposing managers upon such of them as were suspected of disaffection, or mismanagement, in the administration of their jaghirs.

Against these unauthorized encroachments there were, of course, frequent appeals to British authority. The office of Resident was at this time held by an officer of high reputation and experience. Of the different able men who represented British interests at Pertab Sen's court, no one appears to have exceeded Colonel Briggs in an ardent desire to promote the best interests of the Satara State, or in the success with which he encouraged its ruler in the work of public improvement. And he has left behind him many substantial proofs of this well-directed zeal. But with all his high qualifications in other

respects, he did not possess the judgment, temper and tact which were required to restrain the Raja within the prescribed limits of his authority. He appears to have meddled too much, and in matters of too trivial a nature : and too often his interference led to no other result than unseemly altercations and mutual loss of confidence. Had the Resident confined the exercise of his controuling authority to subjects of importance, and taken adequate measures to render his interference of good effect, he would have better upheld his own influence, and the supremacy of his Government, and at the same time have put a more effectual check on the Raja's encroachments. As it was, the good that resulted was neutralized by its evil effects on His Highness' mind. He became more and more tenacious of his prerogative, and more impatient of control : and, in his efforts to carry out his wishes, he evinced a want of candour, and on one or two occasions, a disregard for truth, which were singularly at variance with the apparent openness and sincerity of his manner.

Although the Raja had thus given such decisive indications of a resolute determination to exceed the limits of the authority prescribed by the treaty of Satara and by the agreements with the Jaghirdars, there appeared no grounds for suspecting, that His Highness' views extended further than the establishment of an absolute control within the limits of his own territory. But the keen penetration of Colonel Briggs, sharpened probably by the recent discovery of a petty intrigue which the Raja had treacherously attempted against himself, foresaw the danger into which his vanity and his extravagant ambition, unless watched and restrained, were likely to lead him. In a very able report which he submitted to Government, on the eve of quitting Satara, he discloses his apprehensions in terms which have often been before quoted ; but which, from the striking fulfilment they were so soon to receive, are worthy of being introduced on the present occasion :—

"He is, however, tenacious of his prerogative, and will every day more and more resist our control. * * * * * It will be fortunate, perhaps, for His Highness himself, if events afford this Government an early opportunity to give him timely warning of the danger he is incurring, or I should be very apprehensive that he may succeed in involving himself in secret communications with those who may, at some future period, provoke the resentment of the Government, when it is likely that a development of a system of intrigue with His Highness may take place, which will altogether shake our confidence, and may lead to his ultimate ruin."*

The ink was scarcely dry, with which these prophetic words

* Parl. Papers, 425.

were recorded, when intelligence reached the Government of His Highness having entered into some secret intrigues with the Kolapur Durbar, which was at that time disaffected towards the British state. Although there was no reason to suspect the Raja of designs hostile to the British Government, the alleged intercourse was viewed in a serious light, as constituting, if established, an infraction of a very important article of his engagements. They consequently directed the assistant in charge of the Residency,* to apprise His Highness of the reports which had been received, and to warn him against the risk of being insensibly drawn into a violation of this fundamental condition of the Treaty. The Raja having earnestly denied the truth of the report, and renewed, his professions of gratitude and friendship, his assurances were accepted and declared to be satisfactory to the Government.†

At a later period of the same year (1827), distinct intimation was given to Colonel Brigg's successor, by his native Agent, of the commencement of that system of treachery and political intrigue which twelve years afterwards consigned this infatuated Prince to perpetual imprisonment and exile. The accuracy of this report was fully confirmed by the enquiries of the Political Agent in the southern Mahratta country ; and no room was left for doubt that a clandestine intercourse had, for some time, been kept up with the Goa state ; that presents and money had been sent to Goa, and that a mission was then about to be dispatched from Satara, with further presents of horses and honorary dresses for the Governor of that settlement.‡

This was an important crisis in the Raja's history. Had the Resident on that occasion interposed the firm exercise of the influence and authority with which he was vested, His Highness might have been arrested at the outset of the dangerous course on which he had embarked. But unhappily for the interests of both Governments, an altered policy was introduced by the new Resident at the Satara court—the system, namely, of passive non-interference—a policy, which, in a state dependant on our protection and declaredly subject to our control, can never be carried out for any length of time, and which, when attempted, invariably and inevitably entails future embarrassment on the

* Colonel Briggs proceeded to England on medical certificate in the beginning of 1827. His departure was hastened by the discovery of the intrigue alluded to in the text, and by the incidents of his memorable interview with the Raja which followed the disclosure.

† Parl. Papers, pp. 406-1272.

‡ Parl. Papers, 1022. The accuracy of the information supplied to the Resident at this early period, *even to the names of the Agents* employed, was strikingly confirmed by the evidence obtained by Colonel Ovans twelve years afterwards.

paramount Government, with additional restrictions on the dependant state; and too often, as in the present case, terminates in the irritrievable ruin of its Prince.

No one knew better than the able but misjudging officer who then represented British interests at Satara, that the two great defects in the Raja's character were inordinate ambition and a passion for intrigue; and that the introduction of the non-intercourse clause of the treaty, with the heavy penalty attached to the breach of it, was specially intended to avert the dangers into which the indulgence of these feelings was likely to draw him. Mr. Elphinstone, in various parts of his dispatches, notices the importance which he attached to rigid enforcement of this restriction—Grant Duff, as we have seen, denounced in the strongest terms a proposed infraction of it, even for innocent purposes—Colonel Briggs had predicted that its infringement would prove the cause of his ultimate ruin—and the Government only a few months before, on the mere suspicion of a breach of the prohibition, had made it the subject of a formal representation. And yet, in the face of these facts and opinions, a clandestine communication was permitted to be opened between the Governments of Satara and Goa, and presents were allowed to be secretly forwarded to the latter State, without any direct official warning being addressed to the Raja, or any report being made on the subject to the Bombay Government.

The two facts we have now noticed—the mission from the Raja to the Governor of Goa, and its having been passed over without any direct notice—are established on the clearest evidence, and were admitted, indeed, several years afterwards by the Resident himself, who, after the Raja's deposal, became one of his most strenuous advocates. In a letter to Dr. Milne, the ex-Raja's accredited agent, dated 14th March 1838, he thus writes:*—

"Thus [the mission to Goa] occurred in my time; and my proceedings on it are on record.† I thought it *a foolish thing* of His Highness, but not of importance enough (as I did not see a likelihood of his repeating it) to say any thing to him or to Government about it. *How came it to be found out?*"‡

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* Parl Papers, 1167.

† This must have been a mistake. No official record appears to have been made of the transaction.—Parl. Pap. 1022.

‡ We find, from a speech delivered by this officer at the India House on the 16th July 1841, that he had requested Baliji Punt Nassu [an influential native sirdar unconnnected at that time with the Satara court] to take an opportunity of adverting to the subject in conversation with the Raja, *as a matter he had himself heard of; and, as a* friend, from himself to suggest that he ought to avoid all such communications in

The Goa mission was, indeed, "a foolish thing," as the Resident remarks: but it was more than foolish. It was a flagrant infaction of the letter and spirit of a fundamental article of the treaty, and the determination to overlook it was a fatal error. To this most injudicious forbearance, and to the subsequent remissness in protecting the interests of the jaghirdars, may be ascribed all the misfortunes which subsequently befell the Raja. He had been permitted to commence a foreign intrigue with impunity, and he was now encouraged, rather than checked, in his arbitrary treatment of his feudatory chieftains. The consequence was, he became involved in quarrels with the greater number of them; and in one of the jaghirs,* the people broke out in open hostility. He contrived, also, on some pretence or other, to get the direct management of three of the jaghirs entirely into his own hands: and the other two narrowly escaped the same fate. In short, the sequestration of all the jaghirs seemed to be the great object of his ambition. In all these measures he was supported by the Resident, who claimed for His Highness a degree of absolute sovereignty over the chiefs quite incompatible with the due observance of our existing engagements with them.†

There was the less excuse for this total relaxation of control, on the part of the Resident, because the general principles by which our intervention should be regulated were clearly indicated on different occasions by Mr. Elphinstone, as well as by his successor in the Government.‡ Both these eminent men concurred in opinion that the Raja should be allowed as much freedom of action, as was possible, in the internal Government of his country, the administration of which, throughout his reign, continued to be the subject of general admiration: but they at the same time enforced the necessity of watching with vigilance his proceedings towards the jaghirdars. This caution would have been necessary under any circumstances, for the strict maintenance of our obligations towards these chiefs: but it was more especially called for by the strong disposition which His Highness had shewn to encroach on their rights—a disposition which was in

future." This statement is confirmed by the evidence of Balaji Punt himself, to whom the Resident further remarked, that "*the affair would be the ruin of the Maharaj and his Raj.*"

* The Jaghir of the Raja of Akulkote

† The terms of the agreements with these chiefs not only guaranteed the integrity of their estates, but required that all transactions affecting them should be regulated in concert with the Resident.

‡ The late Sir John Malcolm.

striking contrast with the general mildness and justice of his rule over his own immediate subjects.

The Raja's pretensions were now no longer to be confined within the limits of his own territory. In 1831, he advanced a claim, for the first time, to the full rights of sovereignty, present and prospective, over the whole of the estates of his feudatory chiefs, whether situated within or without the Satara boundary. The acknowledgment of this right would have led to "the extension of the arm of his sovereignty" (as Mr. John Warden expressed it) not only into the heart of Khandeish, but even beyond the Dekhan itself into the Southern Concan, where one of the chiefs possessed landed property. The validity of the claim was strenuously supported by Colonel Lodwick, who had in the early part of the year succeeded to the office of Resident. It was unanimously decided, however, by Lord Clare's Government, that the sovereign rights of the Raja were circumscribed within the boundaries of the Satara State, as defined by the treaty, and did not extend to any territory situated beyond those limits. This decision was confirmed by the Government of India.

It is now quite unnecessary to enter into the merits of this question, which gave rise to much subsequent discussion. Of the *intentions* of the framer of the treaty, there cannot be the shadow of a doubt. With the full knowledge we possess of the principles by which Mr. Elphinstone was influenced in establishing the Satara State, it is altogether impossible to believe, for an instant, that in framing the treaty, he could have contemplated the extension of the Raja's sovereignty, with all the attendant evils of a divided jurisdiction, into isolated portions of the British territories. The wording of the treaty and of the schedule annexed to it was, no doubt, deficient in clearness and precision. But, if we interpret one part by another, we can scarcely fail to arrive at the same conclusion as the Bombay Government did. The 7th article of the Treaty specifies that "the possessions of the jaghirdars *within His Highness' territory* are to be under the guarantee of the British Government;" and the schedule, annexed to the treaty, after specifying the boundaries of the Satara territory and enumerating the different pergunnas and villages, contained within these boundaries adds, "together with the possessions of the Raja of Akulkote, the Punt Suchew, &c." The accidental omission to add the words "*within the before mentioned limits*" created all the difficulty. That such was the intended meaning seems clearly deducible from all that goes before.*

* The only difficulty attendant on this construction is the argument urged by Colonel Lodwick—that the above mentioned restriction would have altogether excluded the

Nor does any doubt appear to have arisen on the subject, on the part either of the British or the Satara authorities, for a dozen years after the conclusion of the treaty. We find, that, during this period, the British authorities at Puna had invariably and without challenge exercised jurisdiction over the possessions of the Punt Suchew situated on the northern bank of the Nira. Moreover, on the occasion of receiving a proposal for adoption from this chief in 1827, His Highness, in the first instance, applied to know "the intentions of the British Government as to the property of the Suchew *within its* [the British] limits." To this communication Mr. Elphinstone's Government thus replied: "In answer to the Raja's question regarding *the Suchew's possessions in the British territories*, he may be informed, that in this instance the Government will continue them to the adopted son."* This decision, given eight years after the treaty was executed, distinctly and unequivocally shews the construction put upon the disputed question by the dintinguished personage by whom the treaty was framed.

The pride of the Raja was deeply mortified by the rejection of his claims. It was the first check given to the unbridled power which he had been permitted to exercise for a period of five years, and was therefore felt with greater keenness: though his wounded feelings were soothed for a time by the hope that the judgment of the Indian Government might be reversed by the home authorities. Disappointed in this expectation, however,† he appears to have become more and more impatient of control, and gradually estranged himself from the Resident, Colonel Lodwick. Though from the first he supported His Highness' present claims, he had very properly interposed his authority, on

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jaghir of the Raja of Akulkote, the whole of which is situated beyond the Satara limits. But on the other hand, the accuracy of the interpretation seems to be proved (as Mr. Warden has argued) from the very first line of the schedule of the treaty, which in defining the territory ceded to the Raja, specifies "that portion of Nirthurl in the Puna Prant, and that *share of Sirwul which lies south of the Nira river.*" Now, as *the whole* of the Sirwul district belongs to the Punt Suchew—part of it being on the *North*, and part on the *South* bank—the irresistible conclusion is, that that part of it which lies to the *northward* of the river, as it is not once alluded to in the treaty, never was intended to be placed under the Raja's sovereignty at all.—Parl. Paper, 544.

* Parl. Paper, 513.

† It has been stated by some of the Raja's partisans that the Court had decided in favor of his claims, in their letter of the 26th September 1834 which contains the following passages. "In default of heirs, by birth or adoption, the obligation of our guarantee ceases, and the jaghirs must lapse to the Raja." But "our guarantee" is limited by the 7th article of the treaty, to "the possessions of the jaghirdars *within His Highness' territory*," his claim to which had all along been recognized by the Bombay Government That authority disputed only his sovereignty over possessions situated *in British territory*: and to this question, the Court's letter does not make the slightest allusion.—Parl. Paper, 495.

various occasions, in order to shield some of the chiefs from insult and oppression, and had in consequence incurred the Raja's displeasure. The Raja; in short, considered himself to be an injured Prince—injured by the Government who had refused to recognise his pretensions to sovereignty over the possessions of his chiefs in British territory ; and injured by the Resident who protected these chiefs from oppression within the Satara dominions. To avenge himself of these fancied wrongs, he gradually ceased to consult the Resident on the affairs of his government, and paid little respect to his advice when it was proffered.

Simultaneously with the decline of Colonel Lodwick's influence, His Highness appears to have withwrawn his confidence in a great degree from his own ministers, and to have attached himself to other advisers. His new counsellors were men of most unprincipled character, and they soon established a complete ascendancy over their master. To their evil and corrupt counsels are to be ascribed many of the acts which so soon involved him in ruin.

The period of his fall was now rapidly approaching. Having shaken off the control of the British representative at his court, this misguided Prince, in utter disregard of the obligations of treaty and of good faith, clandestinely appointed a native agent in Bombay for the purpose (as he afterwards avowed) of transacting political duties, and of procuring the reversal of the decision and orders of the paramount Government, whose supremacy he had solemnly stipulated to respect.* From that period,† he evinced "*an almost hostile disposition*" to the Resident, and "*acted as he pleased as if he were independent of the treaty and of all control.*‡ Surely it will not be denied that a subject Prince, who had thus insultingly violated two of

* The Raja assigns, as a reason for his having appointed a foreign agent, Sir Robert Grant's neglect to transmit to the home authorities a statement of his claims which had been sent in by the Resident, at Sir Robert's request in the previous year. Although a reference had been intermediately made to the home authorities regarding a case the decision on which, it was supposed, would settle the general question, Sir Robert Grant subsequently admitted that the Resident's special report above referred to, had been accidentally mislaid, and consequently had not been forwarded to the court, as he had promised and intended. This delay was an untoward occurrence: but it afforded not the smallest justification for the insulting infraction of the treaty for which it was made the excuse. The paramount Government had three years before pronounced a decision on the case, and that decision had not been reversed by the home authorities; and by it, therefore, the Raja was bound in honor and good faith implicitly to abide. The great oversight made by Sir Robert Grant was in not having fully explained the grounds of the decision, and enforced the necessity of its strict observance, on the occasions of the interviews he had with the Raja, at Mahabuleshwur, in the hot seasons of 1835 and 1836.

† June 1836.

‡ See Colonel Lodwick's Evidence.—Parl. Paper, pp. 345-6.

the fundamental conditions on which he received and continued to hold his territories, had thereby placed himself entirely at the mercy of the British Government, even if he had never tampered with a single seapoy, or intrigued with any foreign power. And these facts, let it be observed, rest on no doubtful authority. They are supported by the unimpeachable testimony of an officer, who, during the whole period of his connection with the Satara court, as well as subsequent to his retirement, was one of His Highness' most zealous and strenuous supporters. Nor were they, indeed, denied by the Raja himself. He not only avowed, but attempted to justify his conduct, and persevered in his headstrong course, after having been repeatedly, warned by the Resident that such perseverance would inevitably lead to his ruin.

The prompt and vigorous interposition of the Government, in support of the Resident's authority and in vindication of their own rights, might even at the eleventh hour have saved the infatuated Raja. But unhappily the time for *action* was permitted to pass in *deliberation:* and in the meanwhile the consideration of this question was superseded by disclosures of other and more momentous occurences at the Satara court. And this brings us to the consideration of the causes and circumstances which more immediately led to the Raja's deposal.

We enter on this part of our narrative with much reluctance. The "SATARA QUESTION," as it is termed, has already been the subject of ten years' controversy: and it still furnishes a theme for periodical declamation. The unprecedented duration of the discussion has not arisen either from the difficulty or the importance of the subject, but it is to be chiefly ascribed to the persevering and unscrupulous advocacy of a well-paid and well-organised agitation. Doubtless there have been many, who, impressed with the popular qualities of the Raja and the monstrous wildness of the intrigues imputed to him, have either questioned the reality of his guilt, or arraigned the severity of the punishment with which it was visited. But a far greater number have been misled by the daring and flagrant mis-statements with which the sbbject has been so elaborately distorted and obscured. The stipendiary philanthropist and the professional patriot have vied with each other, on the present occasion, in the grossness of their calumnies and in the desperate recklessness of their misrepresentations.

It does not fall within our present purpose to enter at any length into the details of this much-vexed question. Our object rather is to confine ourselves to a brief outline of the case—di-

vesting the subject of all its minor details, and restricting our attention to the leading and essential points.

It was during the monsoon of 1836—a few weeks after the breach of treaty before noticed—that the Government received from the Resident the startling intelligence of a treacherous attempt, on the part of the Raja and his Dewan, to seduce from their allegiance, certain native officers, and through them the seapoys of the 23rd Regiment of Native Infantry, then stationed at Satara. Had the Government been aware of the intrigues with Goa which had come to Colonel Robertson's knowledge nine years before (and which had never since been relinquished) they would have been less unprepared for the present announcement. But, even in the absence of this information—the recent discussions on the jaghir question, the personal bearing of the Raja towards Sir Robert Grant at their last interview, and the still more recent establishment of a foreign agency for the furtherance of his political objects, could scarcely have failed to satisfy the Government of the disaffection of their dependant ally, and of his increasing estrangement from their authority. Still, notwithstanding these hostile indications, it appeared scarcely credible that their highly favored ally could have so far forgotten his obligations, or that he could have embarked on so wild and perilous a scheme. Notwithstanding the monstrous folly, however, of the prospect imputed to the Raja,—the charge came before the Government endorsed by the Resident with his personal conviction of its truth. Under such circumstances, further enquiry became a matter of imperative obligation. But by what method was the requisite investigation to be conducted?

No tribunal existed for the trial of political offences imputed to a dependent sovereign ally: and perhaps, no mode of procedure could have been devised for the purpose that would have been altogether free from objection. The delegation of the duty, on the present occasion, to a special and secret Commission, did not escape animadversion: and it cannot be denied that it was open to strong objections. To some of these we may afterwards have occasion to refer. But however inexpedient may have been the assembly of such a tribunal at the capital of a Native state for the trial of its sovereign, it cannot be denied that the Commissioners* discharged the delicate and important duty entrusted

* The Officers selected for this important duty were the British Resident Colonel Lodwick, Mr. Willoughby, the Political Secretary to the Government, and Colonel Ovans, the Quarter-Master General of the Army. The nomination of the Resident and the Political Secretary as Members of the Commission was an objectionable arrangement. It placed the former, as the local representative of the Government, in a false position towards his colleagues, and practically put his office in Commission for the time being; and it involved the latter in personal discussions, with which, as the official

to them with great ability, and, we are bound to add, with unimpeachable impartiality. After a laborious and searching enquiry, they came to the unanimous conclusion that the charge had been proved both against the Raja and his minister. The evidence on which this decision rested, was subsequently corroborated by the confession of the minister, and by other collateral testimony.

From a careful examination of all the testimony adduced at the trial, and of the corroborative evidence obtained at a subsequent period, it appears to us to have been conclusively established;—That, after some preliminary interviews with a subordinate agent, two clandestine meetings took place between two subedars of the 23rd Regiment and Govind Row Dewan, at the residence of the latter; that, at the termination of the second interview, the two native officers, disguised in dresses obtained at a neighbouring shop for the purpose, and attended by the Dewan's servant, proceeded in the night to the palace; that they there held a secret interview with the Raja, to whom they were introduced by the Dewan; and that the whole tenor of His Highness' language at this meeting unmistakeably indicated hostile feelings and intentions towards the British Government—his declared object being to induce the officers, with as many of their men as they could secure, to throw off their allegiance and join his ranks on some future occasion when these intentions were to be carried into effect.*

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organ and adviser of the Government, he ought not in any way to have been mixed up. But whatever objections might have been urged to the composition of the tribunal, as regarded the *official* position of its two senior members, it would have been difficult to have chosen three officers better fitted, by personal character, to institute a searching and impartial enquiry.

They who have spoken of the appointment of the Commission as indicative of a hostile feeling on the part of the Government towards the Raja, would do well to remember, that the Resident of that Court was not only an officer of high character and long service, but was known to be the firm and strenuous advocate of His Highness' claims in the Jaghir question, in opposition to the recorded opinion of the Government.

Again—in the whole range of the service, it would have been impossible to have selected any one whose character for unswerving adherence to what he thought right and just, than MR. WILLOUGHBY. His early political life had been passed at the Court of the Guicowar, and in Kattywar, where he will be long remembered, (though not the earliest) as the most untiring, most practical, and most successful of the able men who have laboured to suppress the crime of female infanticide. His talents and energy brought him at an early period of his career into the Government secretariat: but more than one instance might be cited in which his inflexible refusal to surrender his conscientious opinions to the smiles or frowns of those in power, hindered his advancement for a time, though it gained him the respect even of those to whom he was opposed

Of Colonel OVANS' character and services, we shall have a more fitting opportunity to speak hereafter. It will be sufficient, for our present purpose, to remark in this place that, in clearness and soundness of judgment, and in unswerving rectitude of purpose, he is second to none in the ranks of the Bombay Army.

* The conclusions above recorded are borne out by the evidence of the Native

The force of the evidence, on which these facts were established, was strengthened rather than weakened by His Highness' defence. There had been, in the first instance, on the occasion of the Resident requiring him to give up his Dewan, no expression of indignation at the bare possibility of the participation of his minister or any of his subjects in acts of treachery and hostility to the British Government, and no anxiety evinced to punish the guilty authors of such misdeeds. And now, when he appeared before the commission for the purpose of hearing the nature of the charges preferred against himself and his minister, with the evidence by which they were supported, the commission remark that "there was considerable difficulty in drawing His Highness' attention to the charges against himself [the secret interview with the native officers at the palace] and it was long before he gave it a distinct denial."* He declined the repeated offers and advice of the Commissioners to hear the statements from the mouths of the witnesses themselves—observing that he had perfect reliance on the Commission: and it is worthy of special notice that the only question which he requested to be put to any of the witnesses, was the following remarkable one to the Brahman accomplice of the Dewan; "*who first commenced this conspiracy—the Brahman or the Maharaj?*" No attempt whatever was made, by counter-evidence, to disprove the reality of the secret visit to the palace, which, had it not taken place on the night specified, must surely in some way or other have been capable of disproof. Nor in the written statements laid before the Commission does the Rajah make any specific reference to the special charge preferred against him. He simply disclaims any hostile feelings, endeavours to impugn

officers themselves, men bearing the very highest characters in their regiment—by the Commandant and staff officers of the regiment, under whose orders the subedars acted throughout these proceedings, and to whom they regularly communicated, verbally and in writing, the occurrences as they took place—by the corroborative evidence of the perfumer at whose shop the officers put on their disguise—by the testimony (obtained under very peculiar circumstances) of the Dewan's domestic servant who gave *pan-soparí* to the officers on their first visit to his master's house, and after the second visit accompanied them to the palace—by the statement of a person named Abbamohnty, who saw the subedars enter the palace on the night in question, accompanied by the Dewan, and who mentioned the circumstance at the time to three of his friends, all of whom corroborated the fact—by the confession of an accomplice by whom the several meetings were arranged—and lastly, by the important confession of the Dewan himself as taken before the Session Judge at Ahmednuggur, which strikingly confirms, in every essential particular, the evidence of the other witnesses, and thus completes the proofs of the Raja's guilt.

For the detailed evidence on these various points, see the report and proceedings of the Commission (Parl. Pap. 308) and for a condensed summary of it, reference may be made to Colonel Ovans' statement.—(*Ibid.* 1063)

* Parl. Pap. 313.

the credibility of some of the witnesses (most unsuccessfully as regards the native officers*) and dwells upon the improbability of the accusations generally, the great benefits he had derived from the British Government, and his undiminished attachment to the Power by whom he had been raised to the throne. Of the hollowness of these friendly professions, the reader has had abundant evidence in the foregoing pages.

In the justice of the verdict pronounced by the Commissioners, and in their recommendation of visiting the offence with a mild penalty, the Bombay Government unanimously acquiesced. They were fully satisfied that the Raja had placed himself entirely at the mercy of the Paramount Power, and had justly subjected himself to the forfeiture of the powers and possessions which he had so grossly abused. But a variety of considerations occurred to Sir Robert Grant to justify him in following the dictate of his own humane and generous nature, and in recommending a lenient course. The Raja had owed his elevation to British favor—he had governed his dominions with credit to himself and with benefit to his subjects—and his attempt to corrupt the fidelity of our native troops, though in itself the most heinous offence of which a dependent ally could be guilty, was viewed at the time as an act of incredible folly rather than a crime, into the commission of which he had been duped by the instigation of corrupt and unprincipled advisers. Influenced by these feelings, and by a sensitive apprehension lest the purity of their motives might be suspected, he was anxious that the penalty awarded should be such as to inflict a *moderate degree of privation* on His Highness, with the *least possible benefit* to the British Government. In accordance with these views, he recommended that one of His Highness' principal jaghirdars, the Raja of Akulkote, whose estate lies beyond the Satara limits, should be altogether disconnected from the Satara state, and transfer his allegiance to the British Government. In addition to this punishment, he proposed to deprive His Highness of the privilege of having a British Resident stationed at his Court, and to appoint a political agent for the combined duties of Satara and the southern Mahratta country.

It is impossible to peruse the able minute in which the upright and enlightened statesman, who then presided over the Bombay

* It is worthy of particular notice, that the overtures were made in the first instance to only *one* officer, and that the second (specially selected for the purpose on account of his high character) was subsequently associated with him by order of the Adjutant of the regiment, for the express purpose of confirming his testimony as to what might take place at the secret interview. This at once negatives the charge of a combination having been got up between the two Subedars for the purpose of criminating the Raja.

Government, recorded his sentiments on this first part of the Satara case, without a deep feeling of regret that the wise and merciful policy which it recommended had not at once been carried out* But the Governor-General took a more stern view of the case. The proceedings of the Satara Commission having left no doubt on his mind of the Raja's guilt, Lord AUCKLAND considered his hostility to the British Government, to whom he had been indebted for every thing he possessed, to be monstrous and unpardonable. He refused to admit the principle that in such a case the British Government should "from fear of imputations on the purity of its motives, refrain from the plain course of resuming territories and power which those whom it had entrusted with them were using for its destruction: and saw no reason why such treason should not recoil upon those who contrive it, and be made at the same time a source of additional strength to the British Government"†

But while the question was still under consideration, the mother of the convicted Dewan, finding that her son had been delivered up to imprisonment by the Raja without any apparent effort to save him, and that "he was likely to become the scapegoat for the transgressions of others far more criminal than himself," forwarded a petition to the Bombay Government, in which she indicated the existence of other intrigues at the Satara Court, and denounced their various authors by name. A renewal of the enquiry was, in consequence, deemed necessary, for the purpose of ascertaining the authority of this petition, and the truth of the allegations which it contained: and the task of conducting this important enquiry was entrusted to Colonel Ovans, the Quarter-Master General of the Army, who with a view to the performance of this especial duty, was appointed to officiate as Resident at Satara, in supercession of Colonel Lodwick.

A year had now well nigh elapsed since the first disclosure of the Satara intrigues.‡ This untoward delay—the blame of which must be equally shared between the Local and Supreme Govern-

* Parl. Paper, p. 53.

† Parl. Paper, p. 70.—The late Mr. Shakespeare was the only member of the Supreme Government, who considered the evidence to be insufficient for the conviction of the Raja and his Dewan. What then seemed to him so obscure and inexplicable was satisfactorily cleared up by subsequent enquiries, the results of which he did not live to witness.

‡ The Satara Commissioners completed their Report on the *6th November* 1836. Sir Robert Grant's Minute on the case bears date the *30th January* 1837; and the Governor-General's Minute was not recorded until the *29th April following*. Six months' deliberation on a matter which the Commission had investigate and reported upon in little more than three weeks!—Again—three months were allowed to intervene between the receipt of the petition of the Dewan's mother and the appointment of Colonel Ovans to enquire into the truth of its allegations.

ments—was a great evil in itself: but other causes concurred to aggravate its mischievous effects. While the Government were allowing months to elapse in deliberating on matters which ought to have been disposed of in as many days, they left their representative without instructions, and without the countenance and support which, under existing circumstances, were so imperatively required for the maintenance of his own authority, and for upholding the honor and interests of the British Government. Sir Robert Grant complained that the Resident had lost all influence over the Raja, and that he had become an object of his personal dislike. But, surely the withdrawal of all support from him, under such trying circumstances, was not a very likely method of re-establishing his influence * Nor could Sir Robert have been blind to the fact, that his own Government had become equally powerless and equally unpopular at the Satara Durbar—and for very similar reasons. The Raja had been checked by the Resident in his oppression of the jaghirdars, and by the Government in his efforts to extend his sovereignty to the Northern bank of the Nira. Hence his resentment against both authorities; and his avowed determination to shake off their control, and to manage his affairs by foreign agency. Under such circumstances, it cannot, we think, admit of a moment's doubt, that the prompt and firm assertion of British supremacy had become the first and paramount duty of the Government, and that the omission to reinforce the strict observance of this essential provision of the treaty, was infinitely more prejudicial to the public interests than even the delay in deciding on the penalty to be inflicted for the offence of tampering with the Satara seapoys. The consequences of this inaction on the part of the Government, were such as might have been anticipated. The Raja increased the number of his Native agents, and finally put himself into the hands of irresponsible, injudicious, and (we fear we must add) unprincipled European advisers, who instilled into his mind the most fallacious hopes, and the most extravagant ideas of his claims—and in short, placed every possible obstacle in the way of a satisfactory settlement of the case.

Colonel OVANS assumed charge of the Satara Residency in June 1837, and applied himself with his characteristic energy to the prosecution of the enquiry which he had been instructed to

* If the Government attributed the Raja's insubordination to the incapacity or mismanagement of the Resident, they ought at once to have exercised their undoubted right of removing him: but by allowing him to remain for so many months totally unsupported, in a position of great difficulty, they cannot be acquitted of personal injustice towards their representative, while they materially aggravated the difficulties of the Satara question.

institute. These enquiries were followed up, in the face of the most formidable obstacles, with great ability and with unflinching firmness of purpose, until a long series of treacherous and treasonable intrigues were detected and exposed, which at once furnished a key to what had before been considered so inexplicable in the Raja's proceedings. The parties with whom this clandestine intercourse had been principally kept up were the authorities at Goa, and the ex-Raja of Nagpur. Following up the principle before laid down, of restricting the present observations within the narrowest possible limit, we shall confine our attention exclusively to the first of these charges.

The clear and concise report of Colonel Ovans on the Goa intrigues with its appendices of proofs exhibited in the order and form in which they were originally obtained ;* the methodized summaries prepared by Mr. Willoughby, each of which forms a digest of the evidence bearing on a specific fact or feature of the case, † and the masterly analysis of the whole case contained in Sir Robert Grant's able and elaborate Minute of the 5th May 1838,‡ bring the subject before us in so complete and comprehensive a form, that it seems scarcely possible for the most incredulous to resist its force. That various discrepancies on minor points, may here and there be detected in this voluminous testimony, cannot be denied. And, indeed, the absence of such occasional discrepancy regarding a series of transactions extending over a period of eleven or twelve years, and deposed to by forty or fifty witnesses, some more, some less immediately connected with the events which they severally narrate, would rather have excited a suspicion of collusion, and have tended to throw distrust upon their testimony. But their coincidence, on all material points, is very remarkable. In truth, when we look at the overwhelming mass of separate and independent evidence adduced in this case, and the circumstances (to be presently noticed) under which it was obtained, we can scarcely fail to be impressed with its general consistency and with an irresistible conviction of its truth.

Much has been said and written in England regarding the alleged fabrication of documents in the name of the ex-Viceroy of Goa, and the use of seals different from those which they were intended to represent. Engravings of genuine seals and forged seals—of *mortules* and *siccas*—have been published and exhibited with much unnecessary parade, and a great deal of superfluous argument has been used to prove what no one, so far as

* Parl. Paper, p. 403. See also Colonel Ovan's Abstract Statement—Ibid, p. 1065.
† Ibid, p. 995 to p. 1026. ‡ Ibid, p. 118.

we are aware, ever attempted to deny, and what Colonel Ovans was the first person to bring to the especial notice of his Government, *viz.*, that the seals used in the prosecution of these intrigues were different from those used by the Raja. This undisputed fact by no means carries with it the conviction that the use of these seals was not authorized by the Raja.* But even the admission of their absolute forgery would go a very short way in disproving His Highness' guilt. To expect that the subordinate agents in a treasonable conpiracy should never, in the prosecution of their schemes, exceed the authority delegated to them by their principals, would be as unreasonable as it would be to expect from them an unswerving adherence to truth in their subsequent narration of the plots in which they had been the guilty actors. Nay, even the admission that the Viceroy himself was guiltless of any share in the plot, and that his name and even his person were falsified on the occasion, would in no degree lessen the criminality of those who intrigued with his counterfeit representative.

We will consent, however, to waive for the present all the *documentary evidence*, genuine or fictitious, with the important exception of that furnished by the banker's books—which of all species of proof, is universally admitted to be the most trustworthy. But we cannot be equally accommodating in regard to the oral testimony of the *fifty witnesses*. That perjury is a common crime in India, as well as in other more highly civilized countries, we at once admit and lament. We might even be disposed to meet the wishes of the Raja's partizans so far as to admit that one, two, three—nay half a dozen witnesses may not, perhaps, have spoken the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But when we are called upon on the simple unsupported assertion of Mr. George Thompson, or Mr. Peter Gordon, or Mr. Anybody else to charge wholesale perjury on *half a hundred witnesses*, many of them persons of good character, some of them relatives and connexions of the Raja, and several of them holding a respectable position in society at the present day—we must at once decline acquiescence in any such monstrous proposition. And really, when we look at the numerous host of witnesses—when we consider that many of them were traced out and apprehended in various and distant parts of the Dekhan and Concan, and in the foreign territories of Goa and Sawunt-warri —that they were brought to Satara under circumstances which

* The dying testimony of the principal agent, *directing that the seals, then in his possession, should be returned to the Raja* after his death, would rather go to sustain the impression, that His Highness was aware of their being in his possession, and of the uses to which they had been applied.—Parl. Paper, p. 1023.

effectually prevented concert or collusion—that only one witness, so far as we have observed, volunteered his evidence—that their evidence was in many instances directly opposed to their personal interests, and that separate enquiries were conducted by different officers at the distant stations of Rutnaghery and Darwar, quite independently of those carried on at Satara, as well as of one another, it will require an extraordinary amount of scepticism to resist such an accumulation of proof.

To us—weighing the evidence with all the strictness and impartiality beseeming the character and office of CALCUTTA REVIEWERS—it appears to have been most conclusively established, —that, for a series of eleven years (from 1825 to 1836) the Raja, in violation of his engagements with the British Government, carried on a secret and treasonous intercourse with the authorities of Goa; that, for the prosecution of this intrigue, he accredited and recognized a man named Nago Deorao as his principal agent, to whom with his co-associates he paid specific salaries and money for the payment of their expenses; that he admitted to secret interviews, on various occasions, two *professed* agents of the Viceroy of Goa, assigned salaries to them, and received through them letters *purporting* to be from the Viceroy, in which allusion was made to the receipt of previous letters said to have come from the Raja himself; that on various occasions valuable presents were made by His Highness, in person or on his behalf, both to his own agents and to the (real or pretended) agents of the Viceroy, as well as for the Viceroy himself;* and lastly, that a great portion of the presents and salaries, (amounting in all to Rs. 36,000) was paid through a Satara banker, as certified by the entries in his original account books.† Of the reality of these several facts, there is not, we believe, a single human being in Satara at the present day, who has attained to years of discretion, that entertains the shadow of a doubt, and there cannot be less than two or three dozen persons wholly unconnected with the intrigues, who were aware of their existence a couple of years, at least, before they were disclosed to our Government.

* The ex-Viceroy has since declared to Mr. Joseph Hume (Parl. deb. 24th June, 1844) that he "never had any correspondence on *political* subjects" with the Raja of Satara. If we might offer a suggestion to the veteran patriot, we would recommend him, on the next occasion of his addressing that nobleman, to enquire whether he ever held any communication, *other than political*, with the Raja, and whether he ever received any presents from His Highness. On this latter point we have the unexceptionable testimony of the Rev. Dr. Wilson, of the Scotch Free Church Mission, who mentions, in a private letter, his having seen at Goa, the horses sent to the Viceroy by the Raja.

† For the methodized evidence by which the above facts are supported, we would refer to Mr. Willoughby's summaries, (Parl Paper. p. 995) more particularly to those marked A. A. 2, 3, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 12.

And what, it may be asked, were the ulterior designs of this infatuated man in establishing, for so many years, this clandestine communication with a foreign state? For, as Sir Robert Grant has remarked, no native prince would have systematically broken so capital an article of the treaty without some object to justify the risk he incurred. There is abundant evidence to shew that his great object was to establish his independence, and to regain the extensive dominions once governed by his ancestors—in short, to re-establish the Mahratta empire on its ancient scale of grandeur. These, it may be urged, were wild and extravagant projects—projects so hopelessly impracticable, that no intelligent person, such as the Raja is admitted to have been, could for a moment have entertained them, much less have been deluded into a belief of the possibility of their ultimate accomplishment.*

But, setting all other testimony aside, the most undeniable evidence of the Raja's pretensions to the ancient Mahratta sovereignty is supplied in a bukkur, or memoir,† drawn up by the Chitnis under His Highness' orders, and bearing his seal, and in a paper entitled "an account of the sovereignty of the Government of Satara," &c‡ drawn up in His Highness' name, under date the 31st October 1837, both of which official documents were transmitted to the Governor-General by the Raja's accredited agent, the late Dr. Milne. This is not all. In his frantic efforts to attain the objects of his distempered ambition, he has with unparelleled baseness and ingratitude, made an impotent attempt, in these papers, to fix a charge of violated faith on the purest and brightest name that graces the page of Indian history—his earliest and his best benefactor—THE HONORABLE MOUNTSTUART ELPHINSTONE!!§ Could the most rancorous of his Brahminical enemies (if any such really existed) have brought forward any thing more condemnatory of his character and conduct, than what is contained in these documents, written by his confidential adviser, attested by his own seal, and put forward in his defence (!!) by his accredited European advocate? Or are they like the Goa papers, to be considered as forged documents, put forward with fabricated seals, under the counterfeit signature

* This, which might have been a weighty argument in 1838, will hardly carry conviction to those who have lived to see in 1848, men educated as British statesmen and legislators, with no excuse from want or oppression, talk themselves and hundreds of their fellows into attempts at revolution, compared with which the wildest scheme ever charged against the ex-Raja was a prudent and sensible enterprize.

† Parl. Paper, p. 886. ‡ Parl. Paper, p. 898.

§ In these supremely absurd papers it is gravely asserted, that Mr. Elphinstone had secretly pledged himself to restore to the Raja all the possessions of the Peishwa—that *on the faith of this promise, the Raja deserted Baji Row*—and that this pledge was subsequently violated!!!

of his professed advocate? For the credit of the Raja it were devoutly to be wished that they could be thus charitably accounted for.

The extended enquiries which had been so ably conducted by Colonel Ovans, were now brought to a close: Let us pause, then, for an instant to survey the exact position in which the Raja now stood towards the British Government. We find—

First—That, on the refusal of the Indian Governments to acknowledge his pretensions to sovereignty over the possessions of the jaghirdars in British territory, he had, notwithstanding the repeated remonstrances of the Resident whose advice he had bound himself to follow, and in direct opposition to the non-intercourse clause of the treaty, entered into communications with agents in Bombay for the avowed purpose of procuring the reversal of the decisions of the Government whose supremacy he had bound himself to respect, and in subordination to whose paramount authority he had originally received and now held the Satara dominions;—

Secondly—That he had, for a long succession of years, kept up a series of perfidious intrigues with the authorities at Goa,* during a period of professed friendship, and when no apparent cause of collision had arisen between the two Governments;—

Thirdly—That, in pursuance of these intrigues, he at last countenanced an attempt to seduce a portion of the British troops from their allegiance;—and

Lastly—That he continued openly and systematically to set the authority of the British Resident at defiance, and to act "as if he were independent of the treaty and of all control."

In a word—The alliance between the two states was virtually dissolved—the title-deed which constituted his only claim to his sovereignty had been trampled in the dust—and, as a necessary consequence, the power and possessions which that title-deed conveyed, had been forefeited to the state by whom they were originally conferred.

That such a state of matters should have been permitted so long to continue, passes belief. For two years had the Western presidency presented the unseemly spectacle of a protracted conflict between the paramount state and one of the most dependent of its allies—a conflict derogatory to our character, and most prejudicial to the public interests. Of the two pressing duties that, under the existing state of our relations with the Satara court, claimed the urgent

* We purposely leave out of consideration all the other alleged intrigues on which the evidence was less complete and conclusive. They are reviewed, with consummate ability, in a series of masterly minutes recorded by Sir Robert Grant, under dates the 5th, 15th, 24th, 26th, and 31st May.—See Parl. Pap. pages 118 to 206.

attention of the Bombay Government—they rigorously discharged the one while they totally neglected the other. Through the able and well directed exertions of their representative, they succeeded in unravelling the complicated web of the Raja's intrigues; but they neglected the other, and (as we think), more important duty of compelling him to a strict and rigorous observance of the treaty while these investigations were in progress. Week after week was this dependent ally permitted openly to violate his obligations with impunity. Parties, whose possessions had been guaranteed to them by the British Government in former days, were subjected to confiscation: and the remonstrances of the British Resident were treated with neglect, and almost with insult. Widows of *British subjects*, deceased in British territory, brought their husbands' bones to Satara and there performed Sati not only with the connivance, but with the direct sanction of the Raja, who appeared to encourage such sacrifices for the sole purpose of proclaiming his independence of British influence and authority. We find Colonel Ovans again and again pressing upon the Government the paramount necessity of checking these outrages, but without effect. They saw very clearly, and pointed out in the strongest terms to the Supreme Government, the baneful effects of the Raja's unbridled proceedings: but they unfortunately found themselves precluded from *acting* on their own sound views without the Governor-General's sanction. Here the evils arising from the curtailed powers of the minor Governments were most painfully apparent. But, notwithstanding their subordinate position, a bolder and more energetic Governor would have promptly vindicated his authority, by instructing his representative to follow up the first breach of obligation on the part of the Raja, with a distinct intimation that any repetition of the offence would be considered *an act of hostility*, and be visited with instant *suspension* from his sovereignty. And, having issued these orders, he would have transmitted a copy of them for the Governor-General's approval. His Lordship, we think, would scarcely have ventured on the responsibility of directing their recall: and we are very certain that much of the subsequent embarrassments of this untoward case would have been thereby avoided. But we have wandered somewhat from the direct course of our narrative.

The local and the Supreme Governments unanimously concurred in opinion—that the guilt of the Raja on the three principal charges* had been conclusively established; that his

* These three charges were,—his attempt to seduce the native officers from their allegiance, and his treasonous intercourse with the authorities at Goa, and with the ex-Raja of Nagpur. Into the last charge we have not deemed it necessary to enter.

offences were of too serious a nature to be either overlooked or forgiven; that, originating as they must have done (to use Lord Auckland's words) "in a deep-rooted spirit of resistance and aversion to the British supremacy," lenient measures would be perfectly inapplicable; that he ought therefore to be deprived of the sovereignty which he had so justly forfeited, and that his territories should be annexed to the British empire On these several points there was not a dissentient voice in the councils of Calcutta or Bombay.

But an important question arose as to the expediency and the practicability of bringing the guilt of the Raja to the test of judicial proof, before a special commission, or some other competent tribunal. In the policy of this measure, coupled with the *ad-interim* suspension of the Raja's authority (as recommended by the Bombay Government) the Governor-General was at first disposed to acquiesce. But a subsequent consideration of its difficulties and risks induced him to withhold his sanction from its adoption. In this view of the case, the Council of India* unanimously concurred. They considered any further proceedings to be impolitic and altogether unnecessary, and were prepared to recommend the immediate deposal of the Raja. This part of the question was well argued at the time by Mr. Wilberforce Bird, and was, at a subsequent stage of these proceedings, discussed at considerable length and with great ability in an admirable minute recorded by the late Mr. Edmonstone, and concurred in by many of his colleagues in the Direction.† Referring the reader to this able State paper, we must content ourselves with the following short extract from Mr. Bird's minute:—

"In regard to the appointment of a Commission, I am not aware that the Raja could legally be tried by a tribunal so constituted, or that there exists any law by which the form of procedure for the trial of a sovereign prince, accused of political offences, could be regulated. I am quite sure that the constitution of such a court would be attended with insuperable difficulties and perplexities, and it cannot, I think, admit of a doubt, that the present state of India, ‡ the discussion, the intrigues, and the excitement to which such a procedure must unavoidably give rise, might be followed by the most disastrous consequences.

"Nor does it appear to me that the case requires to be treated judicially. It is one entirely of a political nature, and as such, all that it behoves us to do, is to satisfy ourselves that the stipulations of the treaty have in fact been treacherously violated. This has been done by an enquiry, than which none was ever more patiently, labouriously, and dispassionately conducted, or more minutely and critically revised, and by all the authorities

* The Governor-General was at this time separated from his Council.

† Parl. Paper, p. 1273.

‡ At the time this minute was recorded, the army was on its march to Kabul.

who have had successively to pass judgment in the case, the Raja has been unanimously condemned

"I think, therefore, that the Raja may at once be set aside. It is the course which has been resorted to in other cases, and which in this, under all the circumstances, ought, I am of opinion, to be adopted." *

THREE YEARS had now elapsed since the commencement of this perplexing enquiry; † and the prospect of a final settlement seemed as distant and uncertain as ever. Meanwhile the subject had excited considerable discussion in England. The home authorities viewed with disfavour the protracted and extended investigation to which the case had given rise. A feeling seemed to be gaining ground that its importance had been unduly exaggerated; and that friendly remonstrance and advice, if judiciously used, could not fail to bring back the Raja to a due sense of his obligations to the British Government.

Under these circumstances the nomination of SIR JAMES CARNAC to the Government of Bombay was hailed with satisfaction by all parties, as holding out the most favourable hopes of an early and amicable settlement. He had been distinguished, throughout a long public life, as the warm and steady friend of the natives of India, and was the strenuous supporter of the policy of upholding native states: he was, moreover, an enthusiastic admirer of the character and Government of the Satara Raja; and had avowed himself to be one of those who considered that his alleged intrigues had been greatly exaggerated, and were unworthy of serious notice. Instructions were forwarded to the Governor-General to suspend his final decision on the case until the new Governor's arrival: and not a doubt was felt, either in Leadenhall-street or Cannon Row, of his success in re-establishing our relations at the Satara Durbar on their former friendly footing. "Well do I recollect," says Sir John Hobhouse, "that taking leave of him at the Board of Control, I impressed upon him our desire that he should deal leniently with the Raja, and received from him an assurance that he would follow that advice" ‡—an advice which was in cordial unison with his own feelings and wishes on the subject.

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* Parl. Paper, p. 262.

† We have before noticed the delays in the consideration of the first charge: those which were permitted to occur in the subsequent stages of the proceedings were still more injurious to the public interests. Colonel Ovans' final report on the Goa and Jodpur intrigues is dated the 30th Nov. 1837. Sir R. Grant's minutes, in review of these intrigues, were not recorded until May of the following year; Lord Auckland's minutes were written in September and December following: and those of the Council of India in April 1839. Eighteen months of deliberation! And the question still unsettled!

‡ Speech on the Satara Question: House of Commons, July 6, 1847.

Sir James Carnac assumed charge of the Government of Bombay on the 1st of June 1839, and applied himself without delay, to an anxious consideration of the Satara question. The impression left on his mind by that enquiry was very different from what he had anticipated. Favorably disposed as he was towards the Raja, he could not resist the unwilling conviction that his guilt, on the three principal charges, had been clearly and conclusively established, and that he had justly incurred the forfeiture of all the advantages of the treaty which placed him on the throne. Nevertheless—taking into consideration the extravagance of his intrigues, the utter impotency of those with whom he conspired, and his own political insignificance—he considered that it would be more befitting the magnanimity and generosity of the British Government to overlook and forgive his past misconduct, than to proceed to the extremity of his deposal, and the annexation of his territories to the British dominions. In accordance with these views—which were directly opposed, it will be remembered, to the sentiments unanimously recorded by all the Indian authorities—he purposed to proceed in person to Satara, in the hope of rescuing the Raja from the dangerous position in which he had placed himself. To effect this object, he proposed to extend to him a general amnesty, unclogged by any stipulations, excepting such as might be found necessary for enforcing a more strict observance of the original treaty of 1819, and for ensuring efficient protection to the witnesses who had received our guarantee. This lenient and generous policy was, in deference to the presumed sentiments of the home authorities, promptly assented to by the civil members of his Government,* and received the sanction of the Governor-General.

Thus vested with full powers, and sanguine of success, the veteran diplomatist proceeded on his mission of reconciliation to the Satara Court. But he came too late. Three years of unbridled indulgence had worked its baneful effect on the mind of the infatuated Raja. His Bombay agents had urged him, in the strongest language, to listen to no conditions,† except such as were dictated by himself: and he followed the fatal advice. He peremptorily rejected the terms of the proffered amnesty.

The conditions, thus rejected, were at once moderate and

* Sir James Carnac gratefully acknowledges the cordial co-operation of his civil colleagues, who had previously recorded their opinions in favour of a very different procedure.

† One of the terms to be proposed by the Raja was, that the British Government should restore to him "the whole raj" (that is, *all the territories conquered from the Peishwa*) as they had pledged themselves to do, when he *deserted the Peishwa and assisted the English !!!*

reasonable—fewer in number, indeed, and less stringent than those which had received the Governor-General's sanction. After a preamble, intimating that His Highness, misled by evil advisers, had exposed himself by his breach of the treaty to the sacrifice of the alliance of the British Government, the agreement specified as the conditions of the amnesty;—That His Highness should strictly and in good faith, act up to the existing treaty—more particularly to the second article;* that he should continue to pay the allowance, heretofore granted to his brother Appa Sahib, who had recently thrown himself on our protection; that he should dismiss from his counsels—Bulwunt Row Chitnis—the man whose evil and corrupt advice had brought the Raja into his present position; and that he should respect the guarantee extended to certain of the witnesses.

Now these three measures (for the first was simply a repetition of an existing engagement) were not only in themselves, reasonable or rather indispensable under the circumstances, but they were such as under the provisions of the second article of the existing treaty we had an undoubted right, either then or at any subsequent period, to prescribe and enforce. But the *mode* in which they were submitted was injudicious, and calculated to defeat the object in view. The great error committed was—in conveying the decision of Government in the form of *an offer to conclude a new treaty*—instead of presenting it in the shape of a *final decision* pronounced by the Paramount Power on a subordinate ally who had violated his engagements. There should have been no option given, either to accept or to reject: but the decision ought to have been accompained by a distinct official intimation, that it was the fixed intention of the Government to exact hereafter a strict and literal compliance with the terms of the original treaty; and that any future departure from them would be followed by the immediate forfeiture of all the advantages which that treaty conferred.

But, while we make these observations, we are bound to add our deliberate conviction, that no management or persuasion, at this period, would have brought back the Raja to a just sense of his duty, or to a strict observance of his engagements. How was it, indeed, possible to maintain friendly relations with a Prince who publicly repudiated the solemn compact under which he held his sovereignty—who, with unparelleled effrontery informed the British representative that he had refused three several times to sign the original treaty, before he at length

* "The Raja engages to hold the territory in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to be guided in all matters by the advice of the British Agent at His Highness' court."

reluctantly consented, and that *his renewal of it would reduce him to the condition of a Mamletdar!* * That, with these facts before them, there should still be found in England clear-headed sensible people, who consider the Raja to have been an innocent and injured man, is a mystery which we are utterly unable to solve.

The peremptory and obstinate refusal by the Raja of the conditional amnesty now tendered, and his distinct repudiation of an important part of his existing engagements, rendered his deposal no longer a question of policy, but a matter of immediate and inevitable necessity. Accordingly, in virtue of the authority with which he was invested, the Governor was reluctantly compelled to enforce the penalty prescribed by the 5th article of the treaty of Satara. Instead, however, of resuming the territories thus justly forfeited, he resolved (and under the circumstances resolved wisely) to invest the Raja's younger brother and next heir, with the sovereignty of the Satara State.

Having thus failed in the accomplishment of the mission he had so much at heart—a failure which caused him the bitterest disappointment—the Governor returned to Dapuri, his Dekhan residence, to issue the requisite orders for the deposal of the Raja. This was quietly and peaceably accomplished by Colonel Ovans on the morning of the 5th September, and on the same day his brother Appa Sahib, was proclaimed his successor, under the title of Shaji Maharaj. These measures received the sanction and approval of the Supreme authorities, both in India and in England.

The remainder of the ex-Raja's history is unfortunately too well known, and may be disposed of in a few words. After a residence of three months in the immediate neighbourhood of Satara, he set out on his journey to Benares, which had been selected as the place of his future residence. An allowance of a lakh and twenty thousand Rupees was assigned to him from the revenues of the Satara State, for the support of himself and his family. He survived his dethronement eight years, and expired on the 14th October 1847, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.

The whole history of the "Satara case" strikingly exemplifies the baneful effects of a hired political agency, whether Native or European, on every native state that has recourse to it. No greater misfortune can befall a native Prince than to be taught to look for advice or protection, beyond the British Resident

* This observation His Highness made to the Resident at his second interview (Parl. Pap., p. 1142), and it is repeated, on two subsequent occasions, in the account drawn up by himself of his different conferences with the Governor and the Resident.—(Ibid, 1199-1221.)

at his Court or the local Government whom he represents. The moment that he puts himself into the hands of irresponsible mercenary agents, he embarks on a course which must sooner or later lead to the subversion of his friendly relations with the British Government, and which too often carries him on headlong to his ruin. In the unhappy case before us, the communication being in itself illicit, was necessarily exposed to all the corruption and intrigue inseparable from the maintenance of a secret agency. That an intercourse which thus wantonly infringed an express fundamental article of the treaty, and the baneful effects of which were so often and so strongly impressed upon the Government by Colonel Ovans, should have been allowed to be kept up for three years, was the result of the same irresolute policy which, month after month, permitted the advice and remonstrances of their representative to be neglected and his authority to be set at open defiance.

Many of the evils and perplexities of the case must doubtless be ascribed to the completely subordinate position in which the minor presidencies were placed by the last Charter Act—or rather, we ought to say, to the subordination in which they are kept by the practice of the Calcutta Council Chamber. Had the power for the final settlement of the case, ultimately vested in Sir James Carnac, been at once entrusted to his equally humane predecessor, as soon as the Supreme Government were satisfied of the Raja's moral liability to punishment, Pertab Sen would, in all probability, have died on the Satara throne. But, even without such plenary powers, a more prompt and resolute exercise of authority on the part of the local Government, in the first instance, might have saved all future embarrassment. The grand point to have been looked to, was that the decision, on all that was known or suspected, should have been *immediate* and *final*. If, on the first disclosure of the alleged conspiracy, the Governor had at once proceeded in person to Satara (from which he was distant only a day's journey), and had there, in concert with the Resident, instituted a summary investigation, and passed a final decision on the spot, there would have been no occasion for a Court of Enquiry, or for the prolonged investigations, and the still more protracted deliberations which followed it. The result of his visit would probably have been the expulsion of the Dewan, the Chitnis, and perhaps one or two other unprincipled advisers, from the Satara Durbar *—the immediate dismissal of

* As the interview between the Raja and the Native officers had not taken place at the period we are supposing, there would have been no direct proof of his participation in the attempt to seduce the seapoys, though there would have been enough to call for the exercise of increased vigilance on the part of the Resident.

the Bombay agents—and the future enforcement of a strict and literal observance of the treaty, more particularly of the controlling and restrictive provisions of its second and fifth articles. But, on the other hand, if the Raja had pertinaciously resisted the supremacy of the Paramount Power, and had refused to comply with the Governor's personal requisition, and to conform to the obligations of the treaty—the obvious course would have been, in such case, instantly to suspend him from his sovereignty, and to assume the temporary management of the country on his behalf, until the pleasure of the Home authorities had been made known.

Long as we have dwelt upon this part of our subject, it seems incumbent upon us, before finally quitting it, to notice some of the virulent and disgraceful attacks which have been made by the agents and partizans of the ex-Raja, on the character and official proceedings of the local authorities whose duty it was to investigate and decide on this case.

It should seem a very unnecessary duty to defend the memory of the late Sir Robert Grant from the groundless accusations with which his good name has been assailed. If ever there was a public man of high principle and sterling integrity, who exercised the functions of his high office under a deep sense of moral and religious obligation—it was the amiable and accomplished person we have just named. But his high character and unblemished reputation have not protected him from the slanderous charge of having accomplished the ruin of the ex-Raja by a departure from the sacred principles of truth and justice. The base calumny is refuted in almost every page of these voluminous papers. Every Minute which he recorded, evinces his deep and anxious solicitude to discover the truth, and the scrupulous care with which he weighed every circumstance and incident, however trivial, in order that he might form a just and impartial judgment on the case. In fact, the only errors with which he is chargeable in the management of the case arose, as we have seen, from causes the very converse of what has been so unjustly and so absurdly imputed to him. Had he been less conscientious—less scrupulously apprehensive of doing wrong—less fearful of responsibility—he would have asserted the supremacy of his Government with a firmer and more resolute hand, and in so doing, he would probably have saved the Raja from ruin, and his own fair fame from unmerited obloquy and reproach.

But against none of the official authorities connected with the Satara proceedings have these unblushing calumniators directed their poisoned arrows of malice and revenge with greater and

more persevering ferocity, than against the able and distinguished officer on whom devolved the invidious duty of carrying out the enquiry which led to the ex-Raja's deposal. In a letter addressed to the President of the Board of Control, which has been recently laid before the House of Commons,* Colonel Ovans has most fully and triumphantly vindicated his character from the calumnious imputations which have been so foully and so falsely cast upon it. The reader will find in the Parliamentary papers just referred to, a separate and successful refutation of each of the twelve methodical charges preferred by Mr. George Thompson against the late Resident: and he will find, in the same volume,† an exposition by Sir George Clerk's government, of the character and recent proceedings of the infamous reviler, on whose unsupported testimony the hireling‡ arch agitator and his parliamentary confederate have endeavoured to blast the reputation of that distinguished officer. With the publication of these official documents we might safely dismiss the subject. But the question involves other and more general interests than the vindication of personal character: we must therefore entreat the indulgence of our readers while we advert shortly to some of its leading points.

At the period of his selection by the late Sir Robert Grant, for the delicate and important mission to Satara, Colonel Ovans held the high office of Quarter-Master General of the Bombay army, to which he had been appointed by the late Lord Keane solely on the grounds of his high character and services. He, had, in the previous part of his career, filled various offices of high trust: § but he was more particularly distinguished as the great civilizer of the Bhils of Candeish. The ability, judgment, and zeal which he had so strikingly evinced in the accomplishment of this great and benevolent reform—a reform which has been attended with *perfect* and *permanent* success—pointed him

* Parl. Pap. (1848), p. 1-32. † Ibid, p. 32.

‡ We feel ourselves amply justified in applying this designation to one who, within a brief period of less than three years had, to our certain knowledge, a sum of upwards of *sixty thousand* rupees transmitted to him, on account of the ex-Raja, through a late mercantile firm in Calcutta; and this altogether independent of an additional sum of *twenty thousand* rupees forwarded to him through the same firm, on account of the titular Emperor of Delhi.

§ In earlier life he distinguished himself as an Assistant in the Gujarat survey. The reports of Colonel Monier Williams, on a portion of this work, are standard authorities to this day on all that concerns the topography and fiscal condition of the cotton districts: but the labors of the survey generally are little known beyond the province to which they relate, though it may be doubted whether there has yet been executed in India, any survey so detailed, and at the same time so practically adapted to the wants of the rich, highly cultivated, and minutely subdivided lands of Broach and Kaira.

out as an officer pre-eminently qualified to conduct the important enquiry about to be instituted at Satara.*

On the completion of that duty the Governments, both at home and abroad, unanimously concurred in their admiration of the eminent ability, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry with which he had discharged the painful and arduous task. And, truly, the more we consider the extraordinary difficulties and hazards attendant on such an enquiry, conducted within the dominions of the Prince whose treacherous and hostile conspiracies formed the subject of his investigation, the more we see reason to admire the firmness and address which overcame them all without conflict or collision.

But Mr. George Thomson has made these official measures the ground-work of a series of grave accusations against Colonel Ovans. The charges, which are twelve in number, may be reduced to three classes: First,—obtaining evidence by unjustifiable means; Secondly, the suppression of evidence, and Thirdly, treating the Raja at his dethronement with harshness and cruelty.

Of the accusations included under the first class, the principal are, that he intercepted the ex-Raja's correspondence—that he seized and imprisoned a large number of the Raja's subjects without accusation, kept them in prison without trial, and only released them on the Raja's deposal;—that he extorted evidence from the Dewan by the foul means of imprisonment and duresse,—and that he redeemed certain documents which were at the time in pledge for a debt due to the person to whom they were said to have been entrusted by the principal agent in these intrigues. These allegations contain a strange and discreditable mixture of truth, mis-statement, and absolute falsehood.

It is perfectly true, that Colonel Ovans intercepted portions of the Raja's hostile correspondence with his secret agents in Bombay, which he laid before his Government; and it is equally true, (Mr. Thompson might have added) that he repeatedly warned the Government that the continuance of such correspondence was most prejudicial to the interests of both Governments, and, if persisted in, would inevitably lead to the Raja's ruin. The hostile character of these letters is manifest in every page of them, and this case, probably, affords the first example where the right of Government to intercept such correspondence has ever been

* It is to be distinctly observed that this investigation *had been previously decided upon* by the Supreme and the local Governments. The institution of such an enquiry may have been expedient and necessary, or it may have been the reverse: but the responsibility of the measure does not rest with Colonel Ovans, who neither originated nor advised it. The Government took upon itself the responsibility—and it selected that officer to carry its orders into effect.

questioned. It is unnecessary to add, that to correspond at all with the agents was a positive breach of treaty.

It is also true, that several of the Raja's subjects, who were implicated in the intrigues then under enquiry, were detained in custody by Colonel Ovans, as state prisoners under the special orders of his Government. But it is *not* true that any of these parties were seized by him—all of them having been given up by the Raja on his requisition.* Neither is it true that these parties were detained without accusation. Mr. George Thompson must be too familiar with the Satara blue books to require us to refer him to the 1118th, and six following pages for the disproof of his assertion : but the reference may be useful to some of our readers, who will there find a list of the persons in custody, with the charges against each, and the evidence by which they were supported. It appears that none were detained except those against whom there was strong and conclusive evidence ; and they were all pardoned and released by the Bombay Government immediately after the Raja's deposal,† "on the humane and wise principle, that the chief agent having been punished, the British Government might safely overlook the crimes of the inferior instruments."

In disproof of the charge of extortion of evidence, we have the unimpeachable evidence of the Session Judge at the station where the Dewan was detained. Mr. Hutt distinctly states‡ that the Dewan, so far from being in strict duresse, was at the time living under surveillance in a private house in Ahmednuggur ; and that he voluntarily wrote his confession with his own hand in his (Mr. Hutt's) presence. The last accusation under this head is utterly unworthy of notice.

The question naturally arises after the perusal of the whole of this class of charges,—If the partizans of the ex-Raja consider the mode of obtaining evidence to have been so exceedingly objectionable as to make it the subject of public and formal accusation, what other method of procedure would these gentlemen have recommended to substitute in its place ? Colonel Ovans was instructed to institute a searching enquiry into political matters affecting the Raja, and several of his relations, ministers, and others enjoying his confidence. Would his opponents have wished him to set himself down at the Satara residency, and there wait patiently and contentedly, until evidence criminating the sovereign and principal people of the Satara State was brought to his door ? And if they were not prepared to recommend this passive line of conduct, what more active

* Parl. Pap., p. 428. † Parl. Pap., pp. 472-474. ‡ Ibid, 1845, p. 46.

procedure would they have desired? We have examined these proceedings with some degree of attention, and we can only bring to recollection one instance in which a witness *volunteered* his evidence. If not volunteered, how was it to be procured? These are questions which the ex-Raja's partizans find it convenient to evade.

We now proceed to the second class of charges preferred against Colonel Ovans,—accusing him of having, for eleven months, suppressed the evidence of a man called Krishnaji Bhidey, which evidence, it is alleged, established the fact that he (Bhidey) was the author of the petition attributed to Gírjabhye the mother of the imprisoned Dewan—in other words, that he had forged the petition in Gírjabhye's name. This petition, it will be recollected, disclosed the names and designs of various parties alleged to be implicated in the Satara intrigues, and formed the ground-work of the enquiry then in progress. Now, in the first place, it will scarcely be credited by our readers, that the evidence thus alleged to have been suppressed, so far from proving the petition to have been a forgery, most satisfactorily confirmed the proofs previously recorded of its authenticity, by discovering the Karkún who had been employed by Gírjabhye to write and forward it to Bombay on her behalf, and whose name she had previously concealed when she admitted the genuineness of the document. Bhidey never once affirms, as Messrs. Thompson and Hume continually assert, that he forged or fabricated the petition, but that he wrote it for Gírjabhye, and that he never had been paid for the trouble and risk of doing so.*

It must be obvious, therefore, that if Colonel Ovans had in reality been actuated by the unworthy motives imputed to him, he would not have lost a day in transmitting evidence which conclusively established the authenticity of the petition, and confirmed (instead of falsifying as Mr. Thompson has the hardihood to assert) the general accuracy of the conclusions at which he had arrived on the question from Gír-

*Khrishnaji Bhidey having complained to Colonel Ovans that he had not been paid for his trouble, was naturally told by that officer, that he must look for remuneration to those who had employed him. This reply, to which Bhidey over and over again refers, in itself conclusively proved that the man was no agent of Colonel Ovans. Failing in getting anything from the Resident he betook himself to Bombay, where he fell in with an agent of the ex-Raja employed in communicating with Mr. Hume. This man promised Bhidey to bring his claim to the notice of the authorities in England, and sent, with a statement of his own, a petition from Bhidey, so artfully drawn up in English (which Bhidey did not understand) as to give some color to the agent's assertion that it confessed to a fabrication of Gírjabhye's petition. But if Bhidey's own statements be carefully read, it will be seen that almost the only point on which they are uniformly consistent is, that he wrote Gírjabhye's petition for her, and by doing so, subjected himself to considerable danger, and entitled himself to reward

jabhye's own confession, and which he had communicated to the Government. But he found it necessary to institute further enquiries into the subject, and finally transmitted the whole of the documents to Government *within ten days, after the date of the last deposition* taken before the Post-master at Puna. And after all, the authenticity, or otherwise, of this celebrated petition did not in itself in any way affect the question of the ex-Raja's guilt: for though it furnished a *clue* to the alleged intrigues, it formed no portion of the evidence finally recorded against him.

The third class of accusations—charging Colonel Ovans with cruel treatment of the Raja at his deposal—are so absurd as to be scarcely deserving of notice. But the interests of truth and justice require that falsehood should be exposed, however ridiculous be the garb in which it presents itself.

In a petition bearing the signature of Sir Charles Forbes, Bart., Chairman of the British Indian Society, of which Society Mr. George Thompson is, or was, the itinerant Secretary, and presented to the British Parliament in 1841, it is gravely and solemnly averred—"That colonel Ovans invaded the ex-Raja's chamber at dead of night, dragged him from his bed, and trust him almost naked into a palankeen with his cousin Bala Sahib Suenapatti;" and that "the present [late] Raja was without, assisting Colonel Ovans in these outrages." Into these few lines the British Indian Society managed to compress no less than six distinct falsehoods. It is false that Colonel Ovans went to the palace at dead of night—it being day-light when he arrived. It is doubly false that he invaded the Raja's chamber and dragged him from his bed—for he never went beyond the court-yard of the palace, where he remained in the open air until the ex-Raja descended from his sleeping chamber and joined him. Neither is there a word of truth in the absurd assertion, that he thrust the ex-Raja into a palankeen with his cousin the Suenapatti. And lastly, it is a slanderous untruth that the ex-Raja's brother was present assisting in these outrages—he being at that time at the Adalut, about half a mile distant. Three false statements follow in the next sentence of the petition,—but it would be utter waste of time to expose such discreditable mis-statements. Notwithstanding their official refutation by Colonel Ovans upwards of six years ago,* with an appeal to the testimony of three British officers who accompanied him on the occasion, two of whom are still alive,† we find that Mr. George Thompson still persists in charging

*Parl. Pap., p. 1290. † Captains Cristale and Follet of the Bombay Army.

Colonel Ovans with unnecessary and gratuitous harshness and indignity in carrying out the ex-Raja's dethronement—a measure which, as was well known to every one at Satara at the time, had been accomplished without the slightest collision or disturbance, and with every consideration for the comfort and feelings of the deposed Prince of which the circumstances of the case admitted.

There remains one more calumny to be noticed—and it is the basest and most atrocious of them all. For a series of years had Colonel Ovans been assailed with every species of slander and abuse which malice and revenge, aided by Benares silver, could purchase or invent. Unable to procure the ex-Raja's restoration by direct and legitimate means, a select band of his partizans set to work to accomplish their ends by traducing the character and conduct of the officer who had been instrumental in detecting His Highness' guilt. But while they unceasingly and unscrupulously scrutinized and impugned all his official acts, it was not until after the utter failure and discomfiture of all their other efforts that his calumniators had dared to cast an imputation on his integrity and honor. It was not until the 22nd day of July 1845, that Mr. Joseph Hume ventured to stand up in the British House of Commons, and accuse that upright and honorable public servant of bribery and corruption, and on what authority did he found the atrocious accusation? On nothing more than the information of the infamous Bhidey, one of the most worthless and unprincipled of Brahmans—a man whom Mr. Hume himself had previously denounced as a forger, and who has gone on from one villainy to another until he is at length expiating the penalties which ought long ago to have been inflicted on his crimes.*

* This man, in the course of last year, presented a variety of petitions to the Governor of Bombay, containing a great number of charges of bribery and misconduct of every kind against Balagi Punt Nattu, a native of high character, who had assisted Colonel Ovans in the Satara enquiry; and stated that they were brought forward in compliance with written orders and a promise of reward alleged to have been received under the hand and seal of the (late) Raja. The result of a minute and searching enquiry by Mr. Frere, the Resident at Satara, into the charges preferred by Bhidey, was a perfect conviction on his mind, "that the petitioner was a gross impostor, and that the only particles of truth in the tissue of falsehoods of which his petitions consisted, were owing to what he had picked up while a hanger-on to the (Satara) Durbar." The original documents (of which pretended copies were shewn) alleged to have been received from the Raja, were not forthcoming when called for; but Mr. Frere insisted on their production. He argued that however strongly Government might be convinced of his being an impostor and a perjured libeller, and however well known his character was in the country, there were some influential parties in England who appeared to credit his statements; and that if he should be found guilty of forgery, it would be most unfair, both to the Raja and to Colonel Ovans, to permit him to go unpunished. After a great deal of evasion and delay, the documents were at length produced; when a very slight examination clearly and conclusively shewed them to be clumsy forgeries. Of the criminal charges against Balagi Punt, not one could be substantiated.

It was on the unsupported testimony of such a scoundrel as this (to use the words of Mr. Willoughby quoted below) that the character of Colonel Ovans was impeached by parties professing to be solely influenced by the sacred principles of truth and justice. The infamous charge, it is needless to add, was negatived by the House of Commons, as it had previously been scouted by the Bombay Government and the Court of Directors.

The conduct of Mr. Hume in this matter cannot escape the just reprehension of every one who desires to promote the true interests of this country. That the hireling agitator, in the exercise of his vocation, should pander to the passions or the prejudices of his motley audience, by slandering the good name of all who are opposed to him—is a thing of such common and every day occurrence, that the practice ceases to excite our astonishment, however much we may lament its dishonesty. But the Legislator who prostitutes his position, as a representative of the people, to the dissemination of false and calumnious aspersions on the character and reputation of officers, who have well and zealously served their country, ought to be held up to public reprobation. Mr. Macaulay's Indian experience is stated to have impressed him with the conviction, that if India is ever lost, it will be by a British House of Commons. The observation is pregnant with truth. We would only remark on it in more immediate connexion with our present subject, that it will be and evil day for British India, when the disappointed, intriguing, factious Hindu shall be encouraged to look to the Humes and the Thompsons of the House of Commons for the redress

One of the witnesses whom he called was found to have been dead for fourteen years.

After a most careful consideration of Mr. Frere's detailed report, Sir George Clerk recorded a Minute, under date the 4th January 1848, in which he observes, "the minute investigation which Mr Frere has made into each of the accusations of Krishnaji Bhdey has established, in a very clear manner, that this individual is only one of those disreputable, informers who are to be found near all native courts, seeking by means of such falsehoods and calumnies as he has here employed, to establish himself in a confidential and profitable position." And he afterwards remarks that he was not "disposed to offer any suggestion to the Raja about the punishment of a common scoundrel of this kind, but would leave it to the Raja to subject him to trial, either by the ordinary Court at Satara or by Punchayat, or to the process of white washing his face and parading him on a jackass about the city, previously to turning him out of the country." In these sentiments the othe members of the Government unanimously concurred. The Hon'ble Mr. Willoughby remarked, that it was very satisfactory that this enquiry, establishing as it did beyond a doubt, the infamous character of Krishnaji Bhdey, had been conducted by a gentleman wholly unconnected with the case of the (late) ex-Raja of Satara;" and added, in the words quoted above: "It is on the information of this scoundrel that the character of Colonel Ovans has been impeached, in and out of Parliament, by parties professing to be solely influenced by the sacred principles of truth and justice." (Parl. Pap., 1848, pp. 32 to 40.) The scoundrel was subsequently tried by a Commission, and sentenced to IMPRISONMENT FOR LIFE.

of their factious grievances. We shall always deem it a labor of love to record the honored names of such of our legislators as, understanding the real interests and practical wants of India, stand forward to advocate the one, and to redress the other: but we shall not fail to expose and denounce the misrepresentations of those who, diverting the attention from objects of practical utility, lend their influence and position to the unworthy office of traducing the character and conduct of honorable and upright servants of the Government—let such representations come from what quarter they may. Such has been our motive, and our only motive, for stepping aside from the direct path of our narrative to defend the character of a distinguished officer, who, in the honest and fearless discharge of an arduous public duty, for which he was specially selected by his Government, has been subjected to one of the basest, most vindicative, and most unmerited persecutions which it has been the lot of any public servant to endure.*

APPA SAHIB succeeded to the Satara principality, as has been stated, on the 5th September 1839; and in the November following, was formally installed in the sovereignty by Sir James Carnac. This Prince ascended the throne under less

* Associated with Colonel Ovans in the Satara enquiries, as well as the calumnies which they engendered—was BALAJI PUNT NATTU, a Sirdar of rank and high character in the Dekhan. This able man first entered the British service, under the Honorable M. Elphinstone, before the outbreak of the last war with the Peishwa; and he has received, from the historian of the Mahrattas, a well-merited tribute to the vigilance, judgment, fidelity and firmness which he displayed at that trying period.* He was afterwards Mr. Elphinstone's principal Native agent, during the greater part of the time that he was Commissioner in the Dekhan, and was consulted by him on all subjects connected with the settlement of the country. He was subsequently employed in the same capacity under Grant Duff at Satara, and finally was Sir John Malcolm's confidential adviser on all public questions affecting native feelings and interests. Honored with the friendship, esteem, and approbation of these great men, he retired from public life on the munificent pension to which his eminent services had so justly entitled him.

While residing on his estate on the banks of the Kishna, he was selected by Colonel Ovans as the most able, influential, and well-affected agent he could procure to aid him in the Satara enquiries. This gratuitous employment did not fail to draw down upon him his share of the virulent and vindictive calumnies which were directed against the Resident. The leading calumniators were the same in both cases—the infamous Bhidey in India, and Messrs. Thompson and Hume in England—and, thanks to the searching investigation of Mr. Frere (before alluded to) the exposure has been as complete in the one case, as it was in the other.† Throughout the progress of the enquiry under Colonel Ovans, Balaji Punt evinced all the characteristic qualities, which had, twenty years before, won for him the esteem and approbation of Mr. Elphinstone, Sir John Malcolm, and Grant Duff, the remembrance of which, we trust, will continue to console him in the evening of his eventful life, and amply compensate him for the rabid attack of his enemies—whether they happen to be members of a British *House of Commons or the inmates of an* Indian jail.

* Grant Duff's Hist. of Mahrattas, III., p. 412.
† Parl. Pap. (1848), p. 32 to the end.

favourable circumstances than his predecessor, though he had some advantages which his brother did not possess. Succeeding to a deposed sovereign who had many popular qualities, he naturally incurred the dislike and resentment of the more violent partizans of the fallen Raja. These parties did not fail to revive some of the follies and frailties of his youth, and were not always very scrupulous as to the accuracy of their representations. His personal qualities, too, were much under-rated—his brother having been in the habit of remarking that, when Appa Sahib succeeded to the throne, the world would see what a dunce he was. But Appa Sahib lived to falsify, by the success of his administration, the ungenerous predictions of his enemies.

Though not possessing the aucteness of intellect, or the energy of character which distinguished his brother, the new Raja proved himself to be a man of considerable intelligence, and of very excellent judgment. The distinctive feature of his character, indeed, was his sound practical good sense, to which was united much kindness and benevolence of disposition. He had strong prejudices: but his opinions were much less warped by passion and personal feelings than were those of his predecessor. He was conversant with business, having presided for many years over the chief criminal court at the capital, and having had, at one time, the management of one of the jaghirs. Added to all this, he had witnessed the errors of his brother, and the punishment with which they had been visited, and was not likely, therefore, to follow in the same path.

Appa Sahib, like his brother, was peculiarly favored in the character of the Resident accredited to his court at the period of his accession. This is an advantage, the importance of which is too frequently lost sight of. If we examine closely the administration of the various dependent allies of the British Government, we shall find that, in a great majority of instances, its efficiency depends less upon the personal disposition of the Prince and Chiefs themselves, than on the character and qualifications of the British agents appointed to superintend them. The observation applies more especially to the States that we at once protect and control: but it is also applicable, in a modified degree, to the native rulers who exercise a nominal supremacy within their own territories. Wherever our political supervision has been the most efficient, there has the native rule generally been the most prosperous. The salutary influence, thus exercised, is often greatest where it is least seen: and it may consist quite as much in the positive good it effects. Hence the full value of the benefit rendered to the State frequently remains un-

appreciated until its author has gone, and mis-government begins to shew itself under an inefficient successor. The experience of our readers will supply abundant illustrations of the truth of these remarks. They have been strikingly verified in the history of the Satara Government.

Among his many high qualifications Colonel Ovans pre-eminently possessed that one quality without which all others are valueless—devotedness to the duties of his office. His heart was truly in the work. To protect the Raja's interests, to uphold his authority, and to promote the good government of his territories, were the objects to which his time and attention were unceasingly devoted: and complete success rewarded his labors. He inspired the Raja and his ministers with feelings of the highest personal regard, and with implicit reliance on the soundness of his judgment: and the personal influence thus acquired seems to have been uniformly exercised with the utmost prudence, and with the happiest effects to the Raja and his subjects.

There is, perhaps, no native state in India, in which more of the elements of good Government have been exemplified, or in which measures of greater practical utility have been carried out, than in the Satara State during the eight years of Appa Sahib's reign. A peaceful, thriving, and contented population give satisfactory proofs of the justice of his rule: and, when it is added that during his short reign he expended about 10 lakhs of rupees on public works, the reader will admit that his administration was as enlightened as it was just. The improvement of its internal communications by the construction of roads and substantial bridges;* the formation of tanks; the various improvements of his capital; the abolition of transit duties; the encouragement of schools; the construction and endowment of a hospital and dispensary; the extension of vaccination throughout the interior districts; and the abolition of Sati†—form some of the benevolent and useful works which remain as memorials of the good Government of the late ruler of Satara‡.

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* The noble stone bridges over the Kistna and the Yenna are probably unequalled in any part of India.

† Satara was one of the first native states to abolish Sati. The measure was a completely voluntary act on the part of the Raja, adopted in compliance with the well known wishes of the British Government, but not suggested to His Highness by the Resident or any one else.

‡ No alteration had been made on His Highness' accession, in the relations between the two states, except in the transfer to the British Government of the direct management and control of the jaghirdars:—these chiefs continuing, as before, to give their personal attendance on the Raja, on all State occasions, and to furnish their established contingents of horse. Under this arrangement, all the embarrassments and disputes which were so constantly arising under the double Government were altogether avoided.

The Raja's health, which had been declining for some years, gave way rapidly in the beginning of the present year; and he expired at his capital on the 5th of April (only a few months after the death of his brother) at the early age of forty-six. He left no offspring; but on the day of his death he adopted a lineal descendant of the uncle of the renowned Sevaji.* His death excited general and deep regret among all classes of his subjects.†

Having completed our review of the past connection of the British Government with the Satara State, two questions of present interest present themselves, which deserve a few words, before taking a final leave of the subject.

1. *Has the Satara State fulfilled the purposes for which it was established by Mr. Elphinstone?*

The success of the measure in detaching the Mahrattas, as a nation, from the cause of the Peishwa, and promoting their early and complete submission, has been already stated. But Mr. Elphinstone's main object in restoring the dynasty of Sevaji was of a more permanent character—to furnish employment and the means of living to a large and troublesome class, who could have found no place in our own system of administration, and, by so doing, to make lasting provision for the peace and good government of the country. In this respect his policy has been at least equally successful. Ruled by a sovereign of their own race, himself connected by blood with many, and by caste with most of them, the Mahratta chiefs of the Satara State have been, since 1818, in the enjoyment of as much liberty and consideration as it is possible, persons of their class could possess, under the British Government in India. Of their own advantages, in this respect, they have been fully sensible; and it would not be easy to find any district in India, of similar extent, where the upper classes have invariably been so contented and free from disaffection. The spirit of rebellion has been at one time or another frequently

* The Raja himself was descended from Sevaji's *grand uncle.*

† Colonel Ovans returned to his native country in the early part of 1845, amid the general regret of all classes of the community; and has left behind him a name which is never mentioned at the present day, without the strongest expressions of attachment and regard. He was succeeded for a short time by Colonel Outram, whose name and services are familiar to all our readers, and of whom we have left ourselves no room to speak at present. We are also precluded by exhausted space as well as by other reasons, from more than a passing allusion to his able and accomplished successor, who now conducts the Government of the Satara State. We trust, however, that the pleasing duty of recording Mr. FRERE'S services remains in store for us not many years hence. Meanwhile, on behalf of the people to whom he is so much and so deservedly endeared, we can only express a fervent hope, that, whether as the administrator of their national government during the minority of their Prince, or as comissioner for the introduction of British rule, they may long enjoy the keeping they so much prize, of his popular and enlightened administration.

rife, in almost every one of the surrounding districts. Budami and Kittur, Kolapur and Sawuntwarri, have repeatedly taken their turns at armed resistance. The Candeish, Puna, and Concan hills have been more than once the theatre of a protracted guerilla warfare, and their towns the nests of Brahman and Mussulman conspiracies; but Satara has, with one exception, never given us cause for uneasiness, nor occasioned the march of a single British sepoy to quell any disturbance, political or agrarian. Even the exception in question proves, more strongly than any thing else, the entire absence of any general feeling of discontent on the part of the Mahratta chiefs. A sovereign possessing every claim on their respect, great personal influence, and a very considerable degree of talent as a leader, was seized with a monomania for measuring his strength against the British Government. Every feeling of national and personal pride was enlisted in his favour, yet he totally failed in exciting any general discontent with our rule, or any disposition to try to get rid of it. He failed simply, because, the chiefs and influential classes were well aware of the advantages they enjoyed under Mr. Elphinstone's settlement, and they were not disposed to risk them.

It may be said, that we have not proved the tranquillity of Satara to have been a consequence of Mr. Elphinstone's policy, and that the result would have been the same, had its administration been assimilated to that of our other conquests from the Peishwa. To this we would answer, that those elements which are elsewhere elements of disaffection—predatory tribes, a considerable Brahmanical population, and numerous petty chiefs of an intriguing as well a martial turn—are all beyond comparison, more abundant in Satara, than in the other parts of our Mahratta conquests. Yet while the latter have continually shown ill-suppressed indications of disaffection or rebellion, the feeling manifested in the Satara territory has been conspicuously the reverse. The only difference in circumstances, which can possibly account for these opposite results, is the difference in the form of Government. Mr. Elphinstone's policy left the Satara chiefs and people comparatively wealthy and contented, with more to lose than gain by a revolution. In our own districts, on the other hand, our system may have benefited in some respects the lower orders: but it has converted all the upper classes into ruined and desperate men, ready to join the wildest scheme that promised to better their condition, or afford even a temporary change from the grinding monotony of our administration.

Of the general good government of the Satara country we have already spoken; and if, as we have just endeavored to prove, the classes most dangerous to the general tranquillity have been

secured to the cause of order, by affording them a safe and honorble shelter and an ample provision—if, as all travellers and all Government functionaries concur, with a rare unanimity, in stating the country is more prosperous, the people richer, the taxes more easily paid, crime more rare, life and property more secure, than in many of our own districts—it would be difficult to say in what single particular the result could have better justified the policy of the wise and large-hearted statesman, to whom Satara owes its existence as an independant sovereignty.

2. This brings us to the second question—*Is it incumbent on the British Government, on the grounds of* JUSTICE *or of sound* POLICY, *to continue the Satara sovereignty, and to the late Raja's adopted son?*

Let us, as in duty bound, give precedence to the question of JUSTICE. We solemnly bound ourselves by a treaty in 1818, which we ratified and recognized with equal solemnity in 1839, to cede the country of Satara in perpetual sovereignty "to the Raja of Satara, his *heirs* and *successors*."* As long, therefore, as the Raja, with whom we treated, left any heir or successor, we cannot, according to our view of the case, resume the territory without being guilty of a breach of a solemn treaty.

We have already mentioned that the late Raja adopted a son. The adoption was in every respect perfectly valid and regular, according to the law and custom of the nation; and in any court of justice in India—in the Supreme Court of Calcutta or Bombay, as well as in any Adalut of the Company, or of any native power—the adopted son would be recognized, without possibility of question, as standing in precisely the same position, with respect to rights of property and relationship, as the naturally born legitimate male issue of the deceased Raja's body. In a word, the late Raja's adopted son has succeeded to all the legal rights, and is subject to all the legal liabilities of his adoptive parent.†

"But," it is argued, "no adoption can transmit rights of *sovereignty* without the recognition of the adoption by the paramount power." Though the soundness of this position, in the case of sovereign princes, be not free from question, let us, for

*The 1st article of the treaty of Satara runs thus: "The British Government agrees to cede in perpetual sovereignty to the Rāja of Satara, his heirs and successors the districts specified in the annexed schedule."

† In replying to a question put to him last session, Sir J. C. Hobhouse is reported to have mentioned, as a defect in the late Raja's adoption, that it took place during the absence of the Resident, and without his consent; and that Dr. Murray, who was present, protested against it, or at least urged its suspension until the Resident's arrival. But the assent or dissent, the presence or absence of the Resident had nothing whatever to do with the validity of the adoption—the formality and legality of which, we are informed, are unquestionable.

the sake of argument, admit that confirmation is necessary to justify the title,—the question will then arise. Can this sanction be equitably withheld? or, in other words, can it be refused without a departure from the established custom and usage of native governments, as well as of our own?

Whatever may have been the abstract *legal* rights of the Imperial Government of Delhi, a reference to history will shew that in *practice* its recognition of adoption was never withheld, unless where the Prince who wished to adopt was disaffected to the Paramount Power—a ground of objection which no one asserts to have existed in the case of our trusty ally the late ruler of Satara. Again, let us refer to the practice of the British Government, and we shall find, that, since the creation of the Satara State, adoption has been recognized in almost every Mahratta State of note in India, Kolapur only excepted :—That is to say, sons adopted in precisely the same manner and on the same grounds as in the case of Satara, have succeeded to the sovereignty of Scindia at Gwalior, of Holkar at Indore, of Powar at Dhar, and twice successively to that of Bhousli at Nagpur. In most, if not all of the cases enumerated, the present reigning Rajas are adopted children, to say nothing of minor Mahratta Rajas, Chiefs, and feudatories,* so numerous that we believe the succession by adoption would far outnumber those by direct descent.†

A regard to the established custom and usage of India—British, Mahomedan and Hindu—would thus seem to impose upon the British Government, the *moral* obligation of continuing the sovereignty to the adopted son of the late Raja, *even if we had not bound ourselves by a specific engagement so to do;* and this brings us to the *legal* obligation we have voluntarily but solemnly incurred.

By the treaty of Satara, as before stated, we ceded a certain territory in perpetuity to the Raja and to "his heirs and successors." The terms here used, it will be observed are gene-

* The privilege has even been conceded to the jaghirdars of the Satara State, four of whom were permitted to adopt during the late Raja's reign.

† The object of adoption is religious rather than economical. The superstitious belief is that certain ceremonies performed by a son can alone deliver the soul of even the purest and most virtuous of parents from one of the direst quarters of purgatory. Hence, where no natural born son exists, a son must be adopted from the same tribe as the parent; and the favorite cousin, nephew, or other relation is invariably adopted among the Mahrattas, even when such a step is no way necessary to secure to him the succession to property. It is a common error to suppose, that adoption is a remedy for lack of heirs. Adoption is merely a selection, from among possible heirs, of one individual as heir, which he becomes in virtue of his election to the religious position of a son. Vide Colebrooke, Strange, or any other of the ordinary Hindu law textbooks on adoption.

ral. There is no restriction or limitation to particular heirs, direct or collateral. The succession is made absolute to the Raja's heirs and successors generally, and for ever. The real question, therefore, which we have now to answer, is simply this —*has the Raja of Satara left any heir, or did he die heirless?* No one possessing the slightest knowledge of Hindu law can hesitate for a moment in answering, that the late Raja *did* leave an heir, and that heir was his own adopted son, who, for all legal purposes, is the Raja's heir as completely and effectually as if he had been his legitimate son. He did not, perhaps, on his adoptive parent's decease, become *ipso facto* RAJA, but he became *ipso facto, his heir at law*—THE HEIR whom, agreeably to the tenor of the treaty, we ought to recognize as successor "in perpetual sovereignty" to the state of Satara. This adopted son, therefore, being according to the law of the country, the Raja's heir, we can no more, consistently with the treaty, refuse to recognize and invest him, than we could have refused to recognize and invest the original grantee's naturally born son.

We can perceive no escape from the obligation thus imposed on us by the plain terms of the treaty: and no argument necessary to prove the real injustice, as well as the technical illegality of construing a deed of gift more strictly than is warranted by the plain meaning of the terms used. To read "heirs and successors," as though it were synonymous with "heirs male of his body," is so clearly contrary to common justice and common sense, that it were loss of time to argue the point further.*

After what we have just written, we need say little regarding the POLICY of continuing the sovereignty to the late Raja's heir. If we have taken a correct view of the question, our recognition of his claim becomes a matter of imperative obligation. If the construction of the treaty were even doubtful, we should still hold it to be sound policy to confirm the adoption, on the wise and equitable principle of interpreting a doubtful point in favor of the weaker contracting party. Or, if there had been no stipulation at all in the treaty regarding the succession, it would, even in such a case, be the part of a wise and a just government to respect the prescriptive right of ancient and established usage, which have been hitherto preserved inviolate, both under our own rule, and under that of our Mahomedan and Hindu predecessors.

* Even had the late Raja not adopted a son, he would still have left an heir in the person of the nearest of his *blood relatives*, whoever he might have been. There is, in fact, no expression in the treaty which can be construed to bar *any particular class of heirs*.

Are we prepared to set these obligations aside, to interpret treaties according to our own fashion, and to pronounce the rights of prescriptions to be obsolete? And, after having done so, what is to be our gain? Uniformity of rule, and two or three lakhs of surplus revenue,—for after payment of pensions, establishments, and salaries, it could scarcely be more.* But, will a foreign government, with all its uniformity, be more popular or more efficient than the late one, under judicious British control? Will the people, now happy and thriving, be more prosperous and contented then? Will the higher classes, which now form a connecting link between the rulers and the peasantry, be maintained? Will our public improvements † surpass in magnitude and utility the magnificient works which have been executed in the late reign? Will hospitals and dispensaries be more liberrally supported? Will education, English and vernacular, be more extensively diffused? Will greater facilities be afforded for the propagation of the Christian faith? We will leave each of our readers to answer these questions for himself, according to his own individual experience of the benefits of British rule. Whatever differences of opinion may exist on these matters, there is one point on which the sentiments of all wise and good statesmen are in cordial unison—the supreme importance of maintaining our good name unimpaired. Let us then hold fast our pledged faith, whether direct or implied, without wavering. Let us give a fair and liberal construction to our treaties. Let us beware of affixing a strained limitation to their stipulations, which the framers of them never contemplated, and which the ordinary and grammatical acceptation of the words does not warrant. The whole history of our connection with the Satara State has heretofore been marked by the most enlightened liberality. We were *generous* to the late Raja, let us not be *unjust* to his son.

* The late Raja, we believe, was in the habit of expending all his income, though he never exceeded it. The military charges, some years ago, were about 5½ lakhs of rupees, and we suppose they are about the same now If we put down the civil charges at 2½ lakhs—roads, schools, hospitals, &c. at half a lakh—and pensions of all kinds, including those to the widows and families of the two last Rajas, at 2 lakhs more—we shall have little more than 3 lakhs of surplus, even under the supposition of the continuance of the present flourishing state of the revenue—which, in the absence of the Court and its large local expenditure, is scarcely to be expected.

† The late Raja, during his reign, expended on public works a sum amounting to between 8 and 9 per cent. of the annual revenue of the Satara State. From Mr. Mangles' recent evidence before a Committee of the House of Commons, it appears that the sums expended in similar works by the British Indian Government, during the last fourteen years, have not exceeded ½ per cent. of the revenue.

# REVELATIONS CONCERNING THE POLICE AND COURTS.

By W. Theobald, Esq.

*The Revelations of an Orderly, by Paunchkourí Khan. Being an attempt to expose the abuses of administration, by the relation of every-day occurrences in the Mofusil Courts. Benares: Printed at the Recorder Press:* 1848.

THIS little volume of a hundred closely printed pages in stitched covers is not likely to have the circulation it deserves, in its present humble form. It is a reprint of a series of letters, which recently appeared in a Mofussil journal, whose author was, and still is, unknown; but, like Mr. Shore's now celebrated "Notes on Indian affairs" which first appeared in a similar manner, we think it is destined to make a lively impression on the public mind. In form it is a work of fiction, and reminds us of Hajji Baba and Anastasius, in which are illustrated political systems in connection with individual and general traits of character and manners of classes and races of men, under the fiction of a narrative told by one of themselves. So here, our unknown author, in an official native character and as a native Mahomedan, relates his own observations. For us, in all respects except one, our author's work has superior attractions: it wants the adornments which taste, genius and learning have so richly shed over the pages of those celebrated productions. To these, our author makes no pretensions; he was not ambitious of displaying them: but he gives us many fine gleams here and there of rich talent, and there is a reality, a truth in fact, in every page, which absorbs attention. At each pause, we ask, can such things be? and the interest rises higher and higher to the end of the volume, in the conviction that it is history, more romantic than fiction, that we are reading. Our present purpose is to give our readers a connected tale; to make an abridgment of our hero's life, with a running commentary of our own upon some of his more remarkable revelations.

Paunchkourí Khan, the assumed name, under which our author makes his revelations, began life, in the humble post of an *Oomedwar* at the magistrate's cutcherry: his employ was, as we should say, to wait at the door, receive cards, or announce persons who called to see his master. Paunchkourí had a friend, who, like himself, had been originally a poor *Oomedwar*, but had the good luck, by backstairs' influence, to get appointed orderly of the Huzúr* magistrate bahadúr. To this friend he

* *Huzúr.* Presence. A term of reverence or adulation: like highness, excellency.

† *Buhadúr.* A term applied to persons of rank; meaning, the powerful.

made a visit, and found him, bearing, indeed, a sort of resemblance to his old acquaintance, but at the same time, with such a new air of grandeur and so altered, that he was afraid to address him. "Involuntarily," says our hero, "I joined my hands and salamed; but no notice was vouchsafed to me; until, happening to enquire whether my friend *Suntokhea* were in existence, one of the party told me that *Suntokhea Singh* was indeed before me." Apologizing for his rudeness, our hero tried to make himself agreeable; and, every body else having left, his friend at length deigned to notice him, and to enquire as to his adventures. He first satisfies his friend's curiosity; and taking advantage of his complaisant mood, begs him to enlighten him, as to the ways and means by which he, once a poor *Kúmbre*,* had acquired so much substance.

It will be observed that the manner, in which these characters are cast, is particularly favorable to mutual confidentiality: and the reader has the great benefit of it, in hearing, in a conversational and rapid style, and with equal truth and air of verisimilitude, the origin and history of some of the greatest social and political corruptions, which prevail in the police, revenue, and judicial branches of the public service.

SUNTOKHEA SINGH EXPLAINS TO HIS FRIEND THE CAUSES OF HIS PROSPERITY.

"What a silly fool you must be, my friend, to suppose I could have saved aught from my pay. As an orderly, I receive four rupees† a month. I am expected to be smartly dressed, and to be in constant attendance on the Huzúr; I must have something to eat during the day, and I cannot come home to my wife for my meals. How then can I keep myself in decent clothing, and feed myself, wife and children, on four rupees a month?"

Paunchkourí replies, that he was only the more puzzled to find out the secret of his system, "as he could do nothing for any suitor for justice; nor could he bar access to the Huzúr; how then could he make money?"

Suntokhea explains the mystery:—

"A great man's Múktyar,‡ or Karinda§ is sent by his master "to wait on the Huzúr. He is admitted into the entrance "hall, where he remains unnoticed for a couple of hours. To "all his prayers, to give intimation to the Huzúr of his pre-

* A cultivator, of a caste famous for its industry.

† A rupee is intrinsically worth about 1 shilling and ten pence.

‡ *Muktyar*. Agent. § *Karinda*. Messenger.

"sence, a deaf ear is turned, until fairly exhausted, the Karin-
"da offers me a rupee. This is spurned, and I ask him whe-
"ther he thinks I *could* possibly take *one* rupee? The poor man,
"driven to desperation, offers me five rupees. On this I pocket
"the affront, put on my sweetest smile, declare that he is a per-
"fect *ushraf (nob)*, and intimate to my master, that such an one
"craves an interview. Five rupees, you will say, is but a small
"morsel. I allow it; but then these delicate bits come frequently.

"Again, every rich native gentleman, who is in the habit of
"visiting the "*Sahaben Alíshan*,"* fees us, orderlies, on every
"festival. Suppose my gentleman becomes a nonconformist to
"our rules, or is in any way inclined to be bumptious; he
"finds that, in the next visit he pays the Huzúr, his suwarí† re-
"mains unnoticed in the compound;‡ or, if he enters the entrance
"room, no one will so much as give him a chair to sit upon.
"If he becomes impatient, we recommend his going away, as the
"Huzúr is busy, and has positively prohibited intrusion. My
"gentleman finds himself at a non-plus,—and is glad to compro-
"mise, by paying us all double fees, and giving a solemn promise
"of good behaviour for the future.

Paunchkourí, though a very great rogue, is a sensible fel-low, and sees danger in such conduct. He therefore asks his friend, how he would get out of the scrape, if one of those gentlemen should inform the Huzúr of his tricks.

Why, replied he, nothing is easier. No man will dare to in-form, because he would criminate himself. He can merely complain of useless detention; and if the Huzúr gives us a wigging for that, the next people that call are at once ushered into the presence, whether the Huzúr be busy or not. The end is, that his patience becomes exhausted; he scolds at indis-criminate admission being given; the servants reply that they had the Huzúr's own orders; he despairs of managing them,—and again they have their own way.

Let us here pause to make a remark, before we proceed with our hero's story. That such abuses exist, and are even common, is certain. It appears to us that the degree only, in which they are found, is remarkable: and *that* we take to be a great reproach to the ability and character of the heads of departments and of Government. Paunchkourí's solution of the manner in which they have risen to such a height is probable. But can it be, that officials, such as thanadars, § when they come to the magis-

* *Sahiban Allshan.* Lord. † *Suwari.* Carriage, conveyance, &c.

‡ *Compound.* The inclosure of land appertaining to the house.

*Thanadar.* The officer in charge of a thana, or police district.

trate on duty, are under the same necessity of bribing these "jacks" of the kacheri? It would seem they are: and Suntokhea explains this singular thraldom, as it respects them, in the following manner:—

"Suppose a thanadar does not purchase our favor; nothing "is easier than getting him turned out. Of course, we dare not "meddle directly; but we watch our opportunity, and when we "find the saheb idle, we talk in stage-whispers, and invent some "scandal or lie against the thanadar, which one tells to another "by way of news. A second states, that he also has heard such "a story of the thanadar, and mentions it. A third says, that the "thanadar is a *nimuk-haram* (unfaithful to salt, an ingrate,) for "he abuses the magistrate saheb bahadur, and says he does not "care for him so long as he does his duty. These whispers are "overheard, and operate like slow poison; and, on the occasion "of the first irregularity occurring, our stories are (perhaps un-"consciously) remembered against the unfortunate thanadar, and "he is suspended *sine die*—which is in fact a dismissal."

Here Paunchkouri takes leave of Suntokhea in admiration of his inventive talents. He resolves to fee him for his interest in getting a berth as a burra saheb's orderly for himself, when, as he says, he shall be able to withdraw the curtain which hides other mysteries. He soon succeeds,—becomes Paunchkouri KHAN, late "*Omedwar*," and gives us revelations henceforward from his own rich experience. By promising two months pay, he first gets a chuprass (badge), which denotes his being on the regular and permanent establishment; and, soon after, is recommended to the "Dipty Saheb," (Deputy Magistrate*) whose orderly, in due course, he becomes. Several weeks pass, and still he pockets nothing, because, as he supposes, none but petty matters are tried by his master. In despair, he consults his friend Suntokhea once more, who calls him a simpleton to be in a "fix" about such a trifle. The Deputy Saheb has the *Surasúree* Department (for decision of cases between landlord and tenant); and Suntokhea delivers the following discourse on the advantages which it throws open to his friend:—"Where "two parties contest a case, one must lose. The gainer, as an "established *dustúr* (custom), pays for the decision in his "favor. It is an undoubted prerogative of the Huzúr's orderly to "receive a fee, as also that of the mohurir (clerk). Thus a dou-"ble object is gained. You will get a fee of at least four or "eight annas,† and by and bye, become the agent between the

* Deputy Magistrate: the uncovenanted grade of the magistracy.

† An *anna* is the sixteenth part of a rupee, consequently less than three half-pence.

"decree-holder and the clerk (mohurir); you will have the latter "under your thumb, and can compel him to improve your pros- "pects."

Paunchkourí doubts and fears,—the natural consequence of his inexperience: but his more knowing friend assures him, that his saheb (master) is as blind a mole as the rest of them. How is he to discover anything? The decree-holders,* for their own sake, will not tell tales; and one leaves the presence on so many occasions, that so long as somebody is within hail, the absence for a few minutes of an orderly is unnoticed. "Ask boldly," says Suntokheá; "I am confident of the result, and,— "do not fail to give me part of your earnings."

Paunchkourí proves an apt scholar. The next day, as soon as a case was decided, he quietly sneaked out of the room, and, following the successful suitor, significantly held out his palm. "To my joy and surprise," says Paunchkourí, "he slipped a rupee "into it, and whispered me to give the múnshí (the Persian "clerk) his share. I thought that bad luck would come of a "division of such spoils, so I uttered an *ulhumdúlillahi* (thanks- "giving, praise to God,) and, stroking my beard, entered the "presence with increased gravity." He adds, that the same experiment was repeatedly tried with varied success as to the amount; but in no case was he utterly disappointed.

After a few days, the múnshí, a person of very superior grade to these understrappers, sent for Paunchkourí, to inquire if he had made any money: he calls the prophet to witness, that nobody thought of offering him a kowrí. Friend, said the múnshí, have I not seen thee follow out the decree-holders? surely it was not without a purpose, and without some result. So help me, Allah, replies Paunchkourí, I received nothing but scurrilous abuse. The múnshí then told him, that it was established as an ancient rule, that whosoever gained a cause, should give a douceur to the umlah (officers): that in future he must demand fees in the múnshíjí's name, and retain one-fourth for himself and fellow-chuprassís, and give him (the múnshí) three-fourths, for himself and his friends.

HOW MUNSHIJI SCHOOLS PAUNCHKOURI AS TO THE MODE OF PROCEEDING.

"Suppose an order is passed, calling for a *kyfeut*, (report) "or record, from the sheristah.† Nobody ever thinks of exe-

* *Decreedar.* Decree-holder. † *Sheristah.* Native registry.

"cuting the order before the lapse of a week at least. If the "plaintiff be importunate, and the saheb desire you to ascertain "why the *kyfeut* has not been written, you take the complainant "out with you, and ask him what he will give, if you get the *ky-* "*feut* written at once? The poor wretch, tired of waiting for days, "gladly offers a rupee. You pocket it,—go to the Muhafiz-duftur, "(record-keeper), and say that the saheb has sent word, that if the "order is not at once executed, he will be fined roundly. The "matter is ended at once, and we divide the spoil. If the party "will not pay, you go and enquire why the *kyfeut* is not written? "The answer is, that some important papers are called for by a "superior authority, and the Muhafiz-duftur begs that the Huzúr "will give him a few days' grace. The harassed litigant finds it "cheaper to pay a rupee, than to be kept cooling his heels "at the court for weeks, and gives in at last, paying his fees with "interest.

"Again, it is the established practice for a zumíndar * to pay a "fee of one rupee for every jummabundí † that is filed in the "office. This is taken by the Muhafiz-duftur and Qanúngos.‡ "But, friend Paunchkourí, it is cruelly hard that you and I "should not partake of the spoil. So look sharp; and whenever "you hear a zumíndar complain to the Huzúr that his jumma- "bundí, although given in, has not been filed, try and make a "bargain; go and bully the Qanúngo and Muhafiz-duftur, as if "with the saheb's *húkúm* (order). The zumíndar will fee "you, and we will divide like good friends."

Paunchkourí turned the lesson to proper account: made lots of money, and generally contrived to keep the lion's share of the prey to himself: but not satisfied with such small game, he resolves on the first opportunity to change his service for one of greater emolument and higher station. He soon succeeds in doing this, and, in the next phase of his career, we meet him on the staff of the Nazir (native sheriff). This official is the chief of the executive; and his chuprassís share in the prestige of his name, as well as in the emoluments of his office. Our hero derived great advantages from this promotion: we cannot do better than quote his own description of them. Being a stranger, he had at first the fag, and none of the profits. "But," says he, "I was becoming quite a man of the world and a practical "philosopher; so I consoled myself with the reflection, that "when my *kismut* (fate) ordained it, I should become as great "a man as Suntokhea Singh. Most diligently did I do the

* *Zumindar*. Landholder paying revenue to Government.

† *Jummabundi*. Rent-roll. ‡ Fiscal officers.

"Nazir saheb's bidding. Most assiduous was I in filling his "chillum (native pipe); bringing him water; running after his "palkí or garí (carriage),—until I fairly won his confidence, "and was looked upon by all persons as his especial favorite."

HOW PAUNCHKOURI MAKES MONEY, WHILE A SHERIFF'S OFFICER, OR PROCESS SERVER.

"I found that a deal of money was to be made, and by the "simplest process in the world. The Dipty Saheb issues a "summons for the appearance of a petty defaulter of revenue. "The *tullubana* * is paid by the plaintiff; but, if he does not "make a *moamlah* † with us, the process is never served. "Several of these writs are entrusted to one man; but the ma- "jority of them are never out of the *kummurbund* ‡ of the chup- "rassí. When the period allowed for serving them has elapsed, "a *kyfeut* is given in, to the effect, that 'the plaintiff would not "indicate the party named, and that, therefore, the serving of "the process was impossible.' Perhaps the plaintiff protests "that no chuprassí ever went to the village. The Nazir is "summoned. On being spoken to, he sends for me, and sharply "asks whether the summons was served or not? I call the "prophet to witness that the plaintiff's allegation is a lie; that "I did go for three several days, but that the plaintiff would not "indicate the defendant. Upon this, the saheb issues a warrant "of apprehension, which is entrusted to me to execute; and the "plaintiff not only pays the *tullubana* a second time, but pays "the piper besides, by feeing me roundly to apprehend the "defaulter."

Paunchkourí gives us a detailed account of the manner in which an auction purchaser of a nominal, and perhaps fictitious, possessory right, at the collector's sale, may manage eventually to supplant the true zumíndar (if he is a small one), and get possession of his property. We can vouch for the probability of this story, but shall pass it by, for the present, as rather illustrative of the faults of the revenue and judicial part of the system, than of the character of the executive officers. Paunchkourí soon gives us another example of exceedingly complicated villainy; he himself makes fifty rupees "by the job," and, under color of a decree for rent, is the instrument to eject the poor cultivator. Having a mere summons to serve, he is feed, by the zumíndar or decree-holder, not to serve it. Accordingly he makes a return, that the defendant will not come out of his house to receive the summons; in

* *Tullubana.* Fee for serving a process.

† *Moamlah.* Compromise. ‡ *Kummurbund.* Waist-band.

short, that he is rúposh (keeping out of the way, or concealing himself). Thereupon the unfortunate cultivator is ordered to be dispossessed of his fields for his contumacy, and "I," says "Paunchkouri, "go out with a force of peons (followers), and "uproot every thing already grown by the cultivator, and aid the "landlord in re-ploughing the fields."

If, on the other hand, the zumíndar refuses to fee the staff of the Nazir, they will do nothing for him.

"Should the landlord imagine that he can carry out the col- "lector saheb's order without giving us fees, it gives us no "concern. We make a bargain with the other party, and, if the "worst comes to the worst, on going out to put the landlord in "possession, we instead of doing so, pretend scruples of con- "science as to uprooting crops about to ripen, and report to "ths saheb, in a well got-up *kyfeut*, that he, *decreedar*, is a "*zalim** and a *múfsid*,†—that Bulbhnddur Singh's repu- "tation is so well known to the Huzúr, that it does not need "for the slave to represent, &c., &c., and so the *asami*‡ keeps "possession of his field."

HOW PAUNCHKOURI GETS ON TO THE PAY LIST OF A WEALTHY NATIVE.

Paunchkourí explains, in the following case, how he succeeded in getting on to the pay-list of a wealthy zumindar. "I was," says he, "directed by the Nazir (native sheriff) one day to "apprehend a revenue defaulter, or to bring his principal Karin- "dah (agent) before the Huzúr. The defaulter was a Nawab- "zadeh, and the apprehension of even his steward would be "looked upon as a disgrace. However the Collector Saheb, "Bahadúr, passed the order to the Nazir, and it was my pro- "vince to obey orders. I proceeded at once to the Nawab "saheb's house, with two other chuprassís, and, presenting the "warrant, desired them to accompany us to the Nazir. We "had a broad hint to quit, for the warrant was thrown back "to us, and a cry of "*mar* (beat) *mar*" raised, that induced "us to bolt in double-quick time. Next day, a formidable "*kyfeut* (report) was given to the Huzúr. I had heard that "the Karindah was wont to come daily to the kacherí (office) "to consult the sherishtadar (registrar). I was on the look "out; and, the moment he appeared, I ran and informed the "Huzúr, who at once ordered his apprehension. He was in "quod for three days; and his master soon paid the amount

* *Zalim.* Tyrant.

† *Múfsid.* A fellow that makes rows.

‡ *Asami.* Defendant.

" due by him, for his man's release. This was a grand moral, " lesson for the Nawab saheb ; and the next time he took care " not to insult people in power. When I went to make my " salam, I was gratified with a fee, and promises for the future."

To us it appears, that this narrative affords not only a racy graphic, and amusing illustration of character, but is also pregnant with instruction. It shows how quick and expert those are, in turning the slightest opportunities to account, who make their fortunes at the public expense by bribery and venality. Paunchkourí, accidentally, and in the most easy manner, as may many a time in fact have happened to many others, was brought to the notice of the Nawabzadeh, who had committed an offence of a very common and profitable kind,—default in payment of revenue,—but probably relied for temporary impunity, as ordinarily he might do, on the connivance of the sheristadar (native registrar), or other umlahs. But Paunchkourí was a new man, who had yet a position to gain : so, being independent, he makes the unusual move of going direct to the Huzúr, to inform him of the approach of the great man's múktyar. This intercepts or baffles the influence of the serishtadar, and leaves, by a rare chance, the magistrate to his free and independent impulses. Consequently, the law is vindicated ; but the Nawabzadeh becomes justly sensible, that such a result is an anomaly. He therefore gives our hero a present fee, notwithstanding his *honesty*, and promises for the future, not that he may act the like part again, we may be sure, but that he may have a motive for acting very differently.

Our hero gives some curious illustrations of the practical working of what he calls the abkarí system, or system established for raising a revenue from the consumption of spirits, ganjah, bhang, and other intoxicating drugs and liquors. Raw spirits, such as toddy, and some of the drugs alluded to, are pretty nearly spontaneous productions in many parts of India : and taxing them may be likened, in many of its consequences, to what would result from an excise on wheat or barley, or such consumables, in the countries of Europe. It would necessarily open opportunities for all sorts of oppressions, the actual amount of which would, of course, in degree depend on the character of the people, and of the servants employed to realize such a revenue. A worse or more oppressive method could not be devised for such a population as that of India, than to farm out such a revenue : it would involve a delegation of fiscal power to persons, who would be sure to abuse it without mercy or moderation. Our hero bears valuable testimony on this subject.

"A fruitful field (says he, is the Abkari system) and the "license granted to opium and drug farmers to oppress the "people, and screw money out of them. I say license given, "because they make use of their farming license to be guilty "of all kinds of villainy. I was directed one day to execute a "search warrant for contraband opium. The *thikadar* (farmer) "sent for me, made much of me, and put five rupees into my "hand. I asked no questions, but knew very well that I was "expected to do something for my fee. Several of the farmer's "people accompanied me to the house which was to be searched. "I authoritatively called out to the owner of the house to "admit me to search for contraband opium. The man was a "wealthy Bunneah ;* and, appearing to be conscious of his inno- "cence, at once opened the door, and admitted us. I saw one "of the farmer's men quietly deposit a bundle of something "under some rubbish ; and, after rummaging about, he ferretted "out his own bundle, which he held up in triumph to us, as "*the* contraband opium we had been desired to search for. The "poor Bunneah was horror-stricken, and appealed to me ; but, "having received a retainer, I dared not to defend the poor "man. I swore he was a liar ; and called out to the witnesses, "before whom the opium was taken out of the Bunneah's house, "to remember what they had seen, and to depose to that effect "before the Huzúr. The Bunneah in desperation offered me "fifty rupees to release him. But as I could not do so, after "having proceeded so far, I abused him ; called all persons "to witness that he had offered a bribe, and bundled him off "to the Saheb Bahadur. He was fined 100 rupees, of which "one-fourth was carried to the account of Government ; one- "half was given to the farmer's people, and the remaining fourth "was bestowed on me."

But it is as easy under such a system to screen the guilty as to convict the innocent ; and, to corrupt officials it is indifferent which they lend, or rather sell, themselves to do. Our hero thought this an admirable plan of making money : and characteristically resolved to try whether he could not make more by siding against the *thikadar* (farmer) rather than with him. "I had not long to wait," says he, "when an order was passed by the "Dipty Saheb, to search the house of a well known courtezan. "The thikadar sent for me, but I would not go ; and during "the night I paid a visit to Madame Dilfureb. She received me "haughtily ; but I soon convinced her of my power to molest "or protect her ; and I was not only treated to every delicacy

*Bunneah.* Shopkeeper.

"of the season,' but to her blandest smiles. I ascertained that "she had a quantity of opium in the house, which her servants "made up into *muddúk*, or little pellets for smoking. This we "carefully hid; and next morning I accompanied the thika-"dar's men to the house of Madame Dilfureb. I insisted upon "the people being searched, in the presence of a police burkun-"daz, previous to entering the lady's house. One fellow had "a large bundle of *kuffa*, which was boned by the police, and the "search proceeded; of course, nothing was found. I duly "reported the delinquency of the thikadar's people, who were "roundly fined; and I not only received a handsome fee from "Dilfureb, but additional marks of respect and esteem."

Our author sometimes drops his assumed character: a dramatic impropriety we confess; but we gladly listen to the real opinions of a man of such varied and extensive experience. The system of farming he condemns;—and for evils, as we conceive, which are inseparable from it.

"The farmers of the Abkarí make large profits, not by the "sale of drugs, but by holding a threat of searching honest "people's houses in *terrorem* over them. They seize contraband "articles, and extort money from the contrabandists, who are too "glad to compromise with them, rather than be sent up to the "Collector Saheb. And the farmer is glad to let them off for what "he can screw out of them, because he gets the *whole*, and has "neither the onus nor trouble of furnishing proof of the guilt "of the parties. It is *only* in cases of public seizure, when the "farmer dares not suppress the case, that rich contrabandists "are sent up for punishment; or, where the parties are too poor "to be squeezed, and the farmer's interest requires him to cram "the maw of the penal law with a few victims."

To these objections we may add, that the Abkari tax creats a numerous body of persons directly interested in demoralizing and corrupting the habits of the people. It gives legal establishment to a band of apostles and priests of intemperance among a simple, rural, sober population; and, we are sorry to believe, they carry on a too successful mission, and are rapidly extending the taste for intoxicating excitement.

It is natural that, with such opportunities as he has already described, Paunchkourí should feel a contempt for the legitimate pay and *dustúr* (customary fees) of office, and look about him for the more lucrative, but equally well established, profits, which corruption offers. He describes, in animated strains, the condition of his comrades. On comparing notes with them, he discovered that even his friend Suntokhea was but a "gudgeon" in comparison with several, who might, he observes, be not inapt-

ly styled the "sharks and alligators of our legal sea." Every man of them had one pukka house (house built with masonry and timber), or more, and ranges of shops in the bazars, which they had contrived to convert into their own property; and Paunchkourí's eyes glistened at the prospect, which shewed that his own fortune, which he already deemed so rich, was but begun. Such truth, as this, explains why Government employment, of every kind and degree, is so universally and eagerly sought after, though the pay be ever so inadequate. The recipient of a few rupees per month, by the magic of office, becomes the master of elephants, rides like a prince on holidays in a howdah, and is a man of substance. Native society is thus put as it were topsy turvy: the great are those who should be the least, and the entire mass presents nothing but disorganization and chaos.

In the character of Jubbur Khán, our author personifies the prosperous policeman, who with a miserable pittance of pay, of some four rupees per month, soon gets the command of every kind of comfort, and comes to the possession of pecuniary means, which might be envied by persons of considerable grade and importance in native society.

A PORTRAIT OF A PROSPEROUS POLICEMAN.

"I was connected," says Paunchkourí, "with Jubbur Khán, "by marriage, and we saw each other frequently. Jubbur "Khán was confidential orderly to Nimaz Khán, one of the "officials of police; and he had played his cards so cleverly, "that he had a considerable sum of money in cash, besides "jewels with which his wife and children were bedecked. Some "five years ago, my friend was a poor devil of a *burkundaz*,* "his own clothes were ragged, and his appearance was meagre. "His wife and children were in rags, and half-starved. Whereas "now he is as unctuous-looking a man as ever lived upon a "*pow* of *ghee* † per diem. Of course, we frequently compared "notes; and this is the marrow of his story.

"When a suitor goes to the thanah, it is the duty of Jubbur "Khán to take him aside, and enquire how much he will give for "settling the case in his favor? A bargain is driven, and the "utmost squeezed out of the party that can possibly be obtain-"ed. Even a pair of shoes, a *topee* (hat), or a *kummurbund* "(waist sash), are accepted in the absence of anything more "preferable. Of course, Jubbur Khán swears to his patron that "he takes nothing for himself, and is content, like a well-be-"haved jackal, to feast on the lion's leavings; but not a day

* Policeman of the lowest grade. † About half a pound of clarified butter.

"passes without his pocketing something handsome; and many "is the time that the lion's share has fallen to his lot. He told "me that his cue was to get up a *moamlah** against some "rich Mahajun, or other wealthy person. For then, if the rich "man would not fork out handsomely, nothing was easier than "to word the *kyfeut* of the police report, so as to induce the "*Hakim* (judge) to issue an order for a *tuhkeehat* (criminal "process): and then a golden harvest was reaped. For in- "stance—a man well-dressed (as every swindling blackguard "may be) appears in the thanah, and gives in a formal complaint "against a *nouputtee* (newly come) Mahajun, for the abduction "of his sister, or daughter, or wife. Now such a charge is not "cognizable; but, like an artful dodger, Jubbur Khán tells the "complainant to state that the woman had 500 rupees worth of "jewels on her person, which the defendant has also robbed "him of. The complainant takes the hint, and depones accord- "ingly; and, as he expects to get a handsome sum of money "from the Mahajun, for giving in a *razeenama* (charge), he gives "a fee of 25 rupees to Nimaz Khán; and Jubbur is sent to the "Mahajun's house with a warrant. Jubbur Khán blusters and "bullies the unfortunate Mahajun, and producing his warrant, "declares that, although much against his wish, he must take "Dumree Lall to the thanah. The Mahajun gives 100 rupees "for a day's respite, and Jubbur Khán returns to the thanah. "Next day he goes again to the Mahajun, who sends his "confidential man with another 100 rupees to Nimaz Khán. "At first the *Karindah* (messenger) is well bullied, his mas- "ter abused, and a threat held out that every mother's "son shall be *chalan'd* (put in the report). At length Jubbur "Khán folds his hands before Nimaz Khán, and, after lauding "him to the skies, as the soul of honour and peerless amongst "the undaunted, entreats that the thanadar would reflect for a "moment, whether it be possible for a man of such respec- "tability, as Dumree Lall Sahoo, to have committed such an "act as the prosecutor charges him with: that Dumree Lall is a "*nouputtee* Mahajun, and a man of reputed munificence; "whereas he had heard from several people, that the prosecutor "is a *Dullal* (broker) and a *budmash* (bad fellow), &c. Here the "*Mohurir* (native writer) and *Jumedar* edge in a word in praise "of Dumree Lall, and in abuse of the prosecutor. Nimaz Khán "relaxes the austerity of his countenance, and acknowledges "that he *had* heard of the *housilah* (circumstances) of Dum- "ree Sahoo, &c. He takes the *Karindah* into a private apart-

* *Moamlah.* Case.

"ment, and after a short while dismisses him. The prosecutor "is sent for, abused most heartily, and threatened with all the "most unheard of severities, if he again presumes to make such "a false complaint against people of respectability. The *Dullal* "respectfully enquires; whether the small sum of 25 rupees had "been received by the thanadar or not. He appeals to Jubbur "Khan; but one and all turn upon him, call him a liar and "scoundrel, and he is summarily kicked out. A report goes "up to the Saheb Magistrate, simply intimating that a charge "of abduction had been brought by a *Dullal* against Dumree "Lall Shahoo; that the *Huzúr* knows well the character of "*Dullals*, and that as the charge was not cognisable by the "police, the prosecutor was referred to the "*Adalut-ool-alea*: "And thus ends the farce."

Another source of wealth to the police is the abstraction of part of the stolen property, after it has been recovered by them: "no one ever thinks of suspecting the police, and if "suspicion be excited, (kyá faidah) what matters it? where is "the proof?"

Jubbur Khan was desired one day to apprehend a suspected coiner, who had been circulating a quantity of base coin. "Such is the cleverness," says our author, "of these fellows, that "it is asserted as a fact, that the very day the new Company's "rupee was circulated, a supply of the base coin was simulta- "neously sent into the bazar. Jubbur proceeded boldly to the "house of Jalea Purshad, the suspected party, and calling out to "him, declared he had come to intimate the Huzur's orders. He "was desired to remain outside, until the women were put out "of the way; and, after a quarter of an hour's delay, he was "ushered in, with extreme civility, into the presence of Jalea "Purshad. Jubbur produced his warrant, and told him, that he "must accompany him at once to Nimaz Khan; and bullied him "roundly, for keeping him for so long a time at the door. Jalea "Purshad begged of him to be pacified; declared his readiness "to accompany him at once; and, before leaving his house, put "a gold-mohur into Jubbur Khan's hand, and begged of him to "mention nothing of the detention outside Jalea's house. The "*Sahoo* took a bag of a hundred *inducements* with him, in case "of need, and departed with Jubbur Khan.

"On reaching the thanna (police office), the first order given "is to put Jalea Purshad in the stocks. He is taken away for "the purpose; but whispers to Jubbur Khan, to tell Nimaz Khan "that he has brought a *nuzzur* (present) for his worship. The "thanadar receives the inducements, and finds them sufficiently

"weighty to remove the prisoner's feet from the stocks. He is "introduced into a decent room apart from the others, and his "people are permitted to bring in his *bistur* (carpet), and to "make him as comfortable as circumstances will permit. Of "course, Jalea Purshad gets off, minus the *inducements*, for there "is no proof against him; and Jubbur Khan swears that, not "only did he not see any thing suspicious in Jalea's house, but "that he was at once admitted therein. In short, by Jubbur "Khan's statement, the execution of a search warrant, or a war- "rant of apprehension, may be always evaded, *if* the delinquent "is able to *oil palms*. For, as he candidly confessed, the *Sirkar* "*Buhadur* gives me four rupees a month, and the offer of a "sum equivalent to six months' pay, whether often, or occasion- "ally, ought not to be resisted by an orderly."

The revelations of our hero are not confined within the wide circle of the umlahs of the courts, and the class of policemen. He presents us with a lively portraiture, from a class whom he designates as "a set of miscreants that infest the courts,"—meaning the *Múktyars* (a sort of attorneys). "Without any pretence." he says, "to education, without any legal knowledge, they de- "rive a maintenance, by fomenting quarrels, by mystifying their "clients, and by misquotations of the Qanun-i-Sircar (Govern- "ment regulations), 'the circular chitties' (circular orders), and "the 'contractions' (constructions of the Nizamut Adawlut). "Noisy declamation and lying are their talent, and extreme "impudence is their privilege. Rebuked, fined, turned out as "they have been, they contrive to creep in again, as soon as there "is a change of administration. Many an amusing scene have I "seen," says our hero, "and many *a rise do* they take out of the "*Hakims* (judges)." Such is our author's description: but we do not quite agree with the spirit of the criticism, and we doubt the wisdom or justice of holding this class up to official vengeance. They are paid agents, selected for required services, and open to the influence of mutual rivalry and competition. If depravity is characteristic of them, we may be sure it is owing to the dirty work which is necessary to be done to serve their principals. The fault lies in the tribunals. Practising in the very hot bed of corruption, men, with such aptitudes, such manners, and such depravity, are the proper retinue of the Augean stable. We have endeavoured to find in our hero's illustrations of the múkytar tribe, by what qualities he characterizes them, in relation more particularly to the judges. He appears to have chosen deceit and adulation, two vices which commonly are united; and the portrait is natural.

THE MUKTYAR TRIBE ILLUSTRATED BY EXAMPLES.

"A clever Múktyar, one Lallah Door-undesh, once played off "a fine trick on a *raythur* soft Joint Saheb. There had been a "serious affray in the country, and two men died of *lathee* (club) "wounds. *A consideration was given to the thanadar*, who "ordered the corpses to be burned and thrown into the river; "and a report was sent up to the Huzúr to the effect, that a slight "*mar-pít* * had taken place; but that the *fidwí* † had himself "proceeded to the spot, and satisfied himself that the "affray had been so trifling as to be unworthy of notice:—that "Jhút Bhur, Goraet, had indeed informed him, that two men "had died, who were concerned in the affray; but, having made "due enquiry, he, the *fidwí*, had ascertained that the de-"ceased had been laid up with fever for three months, and "that they must have died of natural disease:—that in the "*ukkul-nakhis*' ‡ of the thanadar, no further investigation was "needed; and that he recommended, that Jhút Bhur be dis-"missed." Thus far, all we have is a very ingenious con-spiracy between the múktyar and the thanadar to screen a murder. Reader, observe the details! Respecting them, singly and collectively, if you have any Indian experience, you will attest, as we do, the verisimilitude of the picture. Now let us follow up the conspiracy: "While the Joint Saheb "was in deep meditation, puzzled what to do, up walks "Lallah Door-undesh, and salaming profoundly, offers a peti-"tion, purporting that his client, who was son and heir to one of "the deceased, declared that the deceased did really die of "disease, and that the heir prayed that the '*razinamah*,' "be accepted. The Huzúr's countenance gleamed with satis-"faction at this untying of the Gordian knot; and, turning "approvingly to Lallah Door-undesh, he enquired whether the "petitioner were present? An answer was given in the affirma-"tive, and a lad of twelve years produced. The Saheb then "asked the Múktyar, whether the boy was really and in truth "the heir to the deceased? To which Door-undesh replied, "with a becoming smirking humility, "Can the Huzúr imagine "that any one would presume to think that the Huzúr *could* be "deceived? *Jenabe-i-allee* (His Lordship) knows that such "a thing is impossible, and that he, the "*doulut-i-khwah*" "(slave), is incapable of deception." The Sáheb entirely satisfied, "cocks his hat, and tells the Múnshí (Persian clerk)—'*Buhot* "*khúb; razínamah munzúr; misl dakhil duftur*." ("Very well:

* *Mar pit.* Assault. † *Fidwí.* Slave. ‡ *Ukkil-nakhis.* Office.

"the razínamah is admitted; let it be filled in the office).'" Thus, the conspiracy succeeds; but not without a previous suggestion of a doubt on the part of the múnshí, who, in the end, only gets wigged for venturing to ruffle the even path of the magistrate.

"The poor múnshí endeavours to remind the Saheb, that there "are strong presumptions of homicide having been committed; "that there is no proof that the boy who gave the *razínama*, is "not a fictitious personage, &c. When Lallah Door-undesh "breaks in with—"Thus it is, sir, that the Umlah try to warp "your impartial judgment for their own base purposes, even "after your honour has pased a final order, which is equal in "discrimination to the judgment of Solomon." The mún-"shí gets wigged for presuming to dictate to the Huzúr and "the parties leave the *kacheri* (office), in triumph.

"Lallah Door-undesh not only benefits by fees from the "thanadar and the parties concerned in the affray, but his cha-"racter rises to the culminating point in the regions of public "opinion. People at once perceive how well he can tickle the "Saheb, and client after client comes with his retaining fee to "entreat the services of Lallah Door-undesh. He walks con-"sequentially towards his *ekka* (*anglice*, hack-cab), and, "meeting the Múnshíjí in the way, jostles him, and passes on "inflated with vanity and consequence."

Our hero discourses instructively on the want of a uniform practice, or procedure in the magistrate's offices. It was his lot, he tells us, to serve under several hakims (masters). Their power and propensity to enforce each his own personal and peculiar rule and mode of practice, appear particularly to have struck his attention. "One," says our hero, "has a *shoukh* (pas-"sion or propensity) of turning every thing *últa púlta* (topsy-"turvy). Nothing, that has been proposed or done by his prede-"cessor, can be right. One objects to time-honored usage, and "asks the spectacled Sheristadar, *Keon? koun ayeen ba moojib* "(why? according to what regulation is that done)? The old "man, almost old enough to be his grandfather, stands before "the Huzúr, and with folded hands replies, *Zabiteh yih hye*, "*khodábund, sudamut (kadamut) se*, (according to custom, Sir, "from a long time ago).

"*Zabiteh be d—d; ayeen dekhao* (Custom—nonsense; look "at the regulation). Other hakims, says our hero, there are, "who are content to look only through the spectacles, and to "hear only through the ears of their umlahs. To every remon-"strance they reply, never make any enquiries yourself, or you

" will ruin the case. With such an official, an unanswerable " argument is *Zabiteh yih hye* (that is the custom here). He " respects every thing which he finds established. Every thing " goes to rack and ruin from this man's easy yielding temper. He " shews too much, while the opposite character shews too little " deference to the opinions of his officers." But, as our hero observes, the fault is in the system, or want of system, as we should say, " which allows officials, in so great a degree, to " influence the rules of practice, and the conduct of the officers. " The fault of the administration is, that officials have it in " their power to alter the rules of practice as they please ; and, " instead of every zillah being governed on uniform principles, " the modes of procedure of no two zillahs are similar."

Great evils, these, without doubt ; but our author has not shewn the root of them, which we take to be the want, in the magistrate, of nearly all qualifications for the office, when he enters upon his functions. First, he is a mere lad. Secondly, he is of a privileged class, therefore puffed up in a manner unfavorable to the best developments. Thirdly, for three or four of the first years of his official life, and often much longer, he is not possessed of a colloquial familiarity with the language of the people ; yet he hears, and is allowed to use, no other ; and fourthly, as a consequence, he is dependent, in all he does, on the umlahs and police. They are his teachers ; his mind is a blank, which receives just the impressions which they give him ; and when matured by years, he is, we should say, all but spoiled,—ruined ; and all the examples, which our author gives, are but the proper results of such an establishment.

Our author points out another evil :

" Where so much depends upon the *mizaj* * of a functionary, " and he has it in his power to do evil, or to do good, with but " little control over his own actions, of course, the necessary su- " pervision over subordinates must be considered as a contingency " depending on chance. In some districts it is so *overdone*, that " the services of the subordinate officials are lost to the State ; " in others, it is so imperfectly and weakly exercised, that the " subordinate officials, in every department, are the *de facto* " *rulers*."

Evils these are justly called ; but they are not the radical or primary evils. In the latter class, the superior confesses his own incompetency ; in the former, he accuses his subordinate officials ; but, in both cases, the fault of the magistrate is essentially the same,—the want of qualifications for managing his establishment.

* *Mizaj*. Temper, humour.

Our hero has enriched his revelations with protraits of many of his companions, and narratives of cases in which they were concerned.

ZUBBURDUST MISR AND LALLA RAMBALUK ; AND HOW THEY ROSE BY ACCUSING THE INNOCENT WHEN THEY COULD NOT FIND THE GUILTY PERSONS.

"Zubburdust Misr was a strong, black, middle-aged man, "with an 'oily-gammonish' kind of look about him, that de- "ceived every body. He was a burkundaz,* in the receipt of 4 "Rs. per mensem, and had been on the staff of the well known "thief-catcher, Lalla Rambaluk, thanadar of Zalimgunje, dis- "trict of Beinsafpúr. A set of miscreants, whom nobody could "trace, were going about the country, poisoning and robbing the "lieges. Parties used to be found lying dead, or dying, near "wells, or in the suráees,† stripped of every thing, and without "any marks of violence. The Civil Surgeon, on making a "*post-mortem* examination, could only affirm that they had been "poisoned, he presumed, with *dhutúra*. ‡ The men "died, and "their corpses presented no outward sign of violence" The "greatest consternation prevailed. The magistrate reported "the circumstance to Government, and got a wigging for his "pains ; and he, in consequence, issued an order to "stop the "pay of all the thanadars, until the delinquents were discover- "ed. Upon this Rambaluk was sent for, and directed to pro- "duce the poisoners, under penalty of the Huzúr's severe "displeasure. Every thing that man could do was done, but "we could make nothing of the case ; so, like Lord Burleigh, we "solemnly shook our heads, and pronounced the affair a mystery.

"Again, it was repoted that four travellers had been poison- "ed and robbed. Two died, but two recovered after a deal of "trouble. The survivors deposed, that they had made a long "march, and about noon-day, having come to a shady peepul "tree on the road side, close by which there was a well of sweet "water, they sat down to refresh themselves. They had no- "thing to eat but a little *chubenah*,§ which humble fare "appearing to excite the compassion of a party of travellers, "who were also seated under the peepul,‖ they offered them "some *suttoo*,¶ which having eaten, they suddenly became insen-

* *Burkundaz.* Constable.
† *Surdees.* Houses at the road side for the shelter and use of travellers.
‡ *Dhutúra.* A strong poisonous fruit, called thorn-apple.
§ *Chubenah.* Parched grain.
‖ *Peepul.* A tree sacred among Hindus.
¶ *Suttoo.* Prepared oatmeal.

"sible. They stated that sundry articles of silver, such as "bangles, armlets, &c., were in their bundles, the whole of which "had been taken by the poisoners."

A sufficiently alarming state of things this,—and not to be cured by "Acts for the punishment of wandering gangs of thieves and robbers," or any other merely legislative measures. The magistrate thinks it to be a state of things demanding the attention of the highest authorities; but all he gets, when he reports it to head-quarters, is, "a wigging for his pains." And what is the consequence? He must do the best he can; he must put in motion the police myrmidons. "Again," says our hero, "the most thundering orders were fulminated to the police. "The Kotwal (keeper of the jail) and all the thanadars (people "in charge of district police offices) were sent out to hunt for "the poisoners. But nobody could give any information as to "their whereabouts. *At last*, Rambaluk *sent for* Zubburdust "Misr!" And these two worthies availed themselves of the intense anxiety of the magistrate, as an occasion to enhance and extend their extortions, and to save their own credit and places by sacrificing innocent persons.

HOW RAMBALUK INSTRUCTS ZUBBURDUST MISR TO PROCEED IN THE EMERGENCY.

"Brother Zubberdust Misr, said he, you know that Bhow-"anee Pershad Sahoo is a notorious *thangeedar* (receiver of "stolen property), and that of late he has not given us any but "the smallest fees. Go at once to his house, search it, and "produce the silver articles, according to the Huzúr's orders. "I at once twigged his meaning; but, wishing to gammon him, "I insinuated, that "Lallah Saheb, the Sahoo, must have in his "*dokan** scores of bangles and armlets: how then am I to know "which are the ones that the poisoned traveller owned?" To "this Rambaluk replied, you and I should understand one "another by this time, Zubburdust Misr. Ask no silly ques-"tions, but go and produce the articles from Bhowanee Pershad's "house, and there will be no difficulty in identifying them. "I went, as directed; and, producing my warrant, proceeded to "business. The Sahoo asked me, if I were mad to be searching "the house of an old friend? He denied having any of the "stolen property; and talked very much about his "*izzut*."† "Friend Sahoo, I enquired, how will you account for having "such a variety of silver and golden ornaments as yonder "chest contains? (Here I pointed towards an old acquaint-

* *Dokan*. Shop. † *Izzut*. Character: honour: known respectability.

"ance, which was carefully concealed). He understood me, "and offered me a hundred rupees, which I at once pocketed. "I was afraid, however, to return to Lallah Rambaluk without "*any* silver ornaments; so I took from the Sahoo sundry bits "of silver that *had* been bangles and armlets; and, after *sumjhaoing** him, in the presence of witnesses, asked him whence "he had procured them? He replied, that a woman, called "Lutchmineah, by caste a Brahminí, had sold them to him two "days previous. I took Bhowanee Pershad and the bits of "silver to Lallah Rambaluk, who, after cogitating for a few "moments, uttered a devout "*Sree—Sree—Sree*," and, looking "at me triumphantly, exclaimed that the whole plot was unra- "velled, and in two days our faces should be made white before "the Huzúr. The Sahoo paid the thanadar another fity rupees, and was released on bail.

"We then apprehended Lutchminea, and asked her to con- "fess. But she persisted in denying all knowledge of the bits "of silver, or of the gang of poisoners. Give her a remem- "brancer, Zubburdust Misr! said Rambaluk. I took a large "loose bag, containing decayed and dried chillies, and put it "over her head, with a few shakes. In a few moments she was "nearly suffocated, and, when she recovered her senses, she said, "she would confess to whatever we bid her. Her confession "was taken in the thana before three witnesses; and, according "to her statement, we proceeded to seize Debi Misr and Singha "Ram. Both these worthies denied the charge; but they were "old offenders, and required a little *sumjhaoing*. They were "kept out exposed to the fierce rays of a vertical sun for a cou- "ple of hours, and, when fainting from heat and thirst, they were "treated to the chilly bag. They readily confessed before wit- "nesses. Now here was a beautiful case for the magistrate. "The surviving travellers had sworn to having received *sattoo* "from a party, consisting of a woman and two men, who called "themselves Brahmins. Two men and a woman had confessed "to the crimes of poisoning and robbing. The bits of silver "they allowed to be part of the property robbed from the travel- "lers. What booted it, that the travellers could not identify the "robbers or the bits of silver? They had barely seen the rob- "bers for a moment, and the bangles, &c., had been broken up. "But the robbers freely confessed; and all was right."

We must here pause and ponder over this statement, and admire how naturally the plot grows. This is no figment of the imagination. The extortion, followed by silent submission; the

* *Sumjhao.* To cause to understand.

false accusation; the confession made in open day and before witnesses, but under the influence of torture, previously inflicted in secret, on poor creatures who had no one to look to for protection;—such horrors are but too real. What follows? The case, thus concocted and refined by the police, is taken before the Magistrate, who was delighted at their success. "The "Huzúr was delighted at our success; promised great "things to Rambaluk Lallah, and *made me a jumedar of* "*police at once.* The defendants confessed before the Magistrate. "They had been imprisoned previously for malpractice; and they "were committed for trial by the Sessions Judge. The *Sahoo* got "off on the pretext, that he was ignorant of the silver having been "stolen property; that he had voluntarily given it up to me, "and named Lutchminea as the party from whom he had "purchased it. Here Zubburdust Misr paused to enjoy my astonishment.

"Friend, I said, what you have just related gives me the "highest respect for your abilities. But surely the Sahebs are "not gulled so readily? I also have played a few tricks, but had "no notion of such wholesale consummate art as you mention. "How were the alleged poisoners punished by the Judge "Saheb?

"Zubburdust Misr sighed deeply, or affected to do so, and "continued thus:—I had disbelieved that 'RamJ ee'* interfered directly in the matters of this world; but the issue of "the case I have related gave me serious matter for reflection. "You shall judge for yourself. Two days remained for the "trial of the poisoners before the Junab Saheb Judge, when a "*rúbakari*† was received by the magistrate, from the officiating "joint magistrate of a neighbouring district (a young, headstrong, opinionative boy,—one that *would* do everything himself, "and not trust to his Umlah; one can never depend upon "*what* they do), purporting that a gang of poisoners, consisting "of two men and a woman, had been taken by the police, just "as they were rifling some travellers, to whom they had administered *dhutúra*: that they had a very miscellaneous collection "of all kinds of silver and golden ornaments; that, finding "denial of no avail, as they had been caught in the act of robbing, they had confessed to having poisoned and robbed sundry people at different times; and that they had heard, that some "innocent persons had been apprehended, and were committed "for trial by the Sessions Judge, in the zillah of Beinsafpore. 'They pointed out the property taken from the travellers, which,

*Ram Jee.* A Hindú idol. † *Rubakari.* Proceeding.

"together with a copy of their confession, was sent to the Magis-
"trate of Beinsafpore."

"Here was a go! The Saheb Magistrate raved and swore at the "whole of the police. The men and woman, who had confessed, "were asked, why they had confessed? and out came the whole "story. This would have gone for nothing; but the travellers "swore to the identity of the property sent by the boy Joint, "and there could be no doubt as to the innocence of the parties "we had apprehended. The upshot was, that the Kotwal, Lalla "Rambaluk, and two other thanadars were turned out, and I "was reduced to a burkundaz, in which place I have continued "ever since."

A case, invested with more than common tragic interest, is told by our hero, of a man convicted on his own confession, of murdering his own nephew; when the fact was, that there had been no murder at all, but the supposed murdered man had absconded, to avoid the consequences of a criminal intercourse, which he had had in his brother's family. The story is well worth following, step by step, in all its details. The case comes before the Magistrate, first, in a true and probable report by the thanadar, of a man being missing, and that nobody could give any account of him: but it was known that he had a criminal intercourse with his own brother's wife, the brother being absent, and the intrigue having come to the knowledge of an uncle named Zalim, the missing party, it was supposed, had fled, no body knew whither.

Upon this state of facts, how does the Magistrate act? Upon this "the Magistrate suspended Gudha Purshad, thana-
"dar; recorded his conviction that Lootcha Singh had been mur-
"dered by his own relations in revenge for the intrigue with "his brother's wife; that the thanadar of Bewuqoofpoor had "been bribed to send up a false statement of the case. Fur-
"ther, he ordered that the Kotwal of the city be directed to go at "once to the village of Fussadgunj; and, within a fortnight, to "produce the murderers of Lootcha Singh, with the neces-
"sary proofs, under penalty of dismissal."

Now, suppose this case not a real one: even as fictitious, it shows what our author deemed both possible and probable. Aided by no light of jurisprudence, the Magistrate yields to the first surmise which crosses his mind, and sets his myrmidons to chase after his own phantom. Hear the sequel:—

"Within the fortnight, the Kotwal reported to the Magistrate "that "*ba ikbul Huzúr*" (according to his command) he had "apprehended the murderer of Lootcha Singh, who proved "to be his uncle, Zalim Singh; and that the murderer not

"only confessed his crime, but that strong circumstantial evi-
"dence went to criminate him, &c., &c. The defendant Zalim
"made a free confession before the magistrate. He deponed
"that a criminal connection had existed between Lootcha Singh
"and Phooljhurea, wife of his own brother, who was absent:
"that, fearing loss of caste, should the intercourse be fruit-
"ful, he had first remonstrated with Lootcha Singh; but
"finding him deaf to reproof, he murdered him one night, and
"threw his body, the same night, into the Ganges. No ques-
"tion was asked the prisoner: and the confession, having been
"written in a corner of the room, out of ear-shot of the Saheb,
"was attested by him and three witnesses, as a free and unex-
"torted confession of murder.

"Sundry witnesses deponed to having heard of the existence
"of a criminal intimacy between the deceased and his brother's
"wife Phooljhurea. They heard defendant reprove the
"deceased; and certain witnesses heard defendant threaten
"to kill him. But nobody saw the deed done. No body was
"found. There was no bloody weapon—no marks of a strug-
"gle, or other indication of violence. The magistrate commit-
"ted Zalim Singh to take his trial before the Sessions Judge for
"the wilful murder of his nephew Lootcha Singh.

"The prisoner confessed before the judge. The witnesses
"corroborated what they had previously deponed to. The law
"officer gave a *futwa* * of '*kissas*'; the judge referred the
"*misl*† of the case to the Sudder Nizamut Adalut, and recom-
"mended that Zalim Singh should be hanged."

But sentence of death cannot be executed without the confirmation of the highest Criminal Court, the Nizamut Adalut: and, out of the three judges of which it is composed, there luckily was one, more acute, and legally tinctured, than his brethren. His doubts led to a mitigation of the sentence: the man is ordered to be imprisoned for life (which generally is transportation), and to be branded on the forehead as a felon. This is done, and, on the real truth coming out, remains indelible, and makes life intolerable. But let our hero tell the tale:—

"In due course of time, the file of papers was laid before
"their Worships, the Judges of the Court of Nizamut Adault.
"One judge concurred in opinion with the Sessions Judge, and
"was for hanging Zalim Singh. But, for the credit of the 'Sa-
"heban Alishan, the second judge Mr.——, differed entirely
"from all the other Sahebs. He observed, that Zalim had
"himself gone to the thanah of Bewuqoofpoor, and reported

* *Futwa*, Sentence. † *Misl*. Record.

"that Lootcha Singh was missing: that the magistrate had "merely attested his deposition without putting a single ques- "tion to him: that the wording of the confessions, as record- "ed before the Kotwal, the Magistrate, and Sessions Judge, "was almost similar, *verbatim:* that although the evidence "went to prove that a family dispute had occurred, and that "the prisoner Zalim had been heard to threaten Lootcha Singh, "—yet, that there was no proof of the murder having been com- "mitted at all, as the '*corpus delicti*,' the only positive proof "was wanting. He therefore voted against capital punishment, "and recommended that the prisoner be confined for life,—or "until Lootcha Singh turned up.

"The whole of the judges concurred with Mr.——, and Za- "lim Singh, branded on the forehead as a felon, was trans- "ported to Goruckpore. Gudha Purshad was turned out, and "declared to be incapable of again serving Government; and "the Kotwal received a very oily purwanah of good-conduct, "and a reward of 500 rupees."

The truth afterwards came to light, by the return of the sup- posed murdered man, who came back, in consequence of hearing of his uncle's conviction; he had fled, for the reasons already mentioned, and enlisted in a sepoy regiment.

The sequel is not less interesting.

"The Saheb did not lose a day in sending for Zalim Singh "from Goruckpore; and, when he was questioned, I made it a "point to be present. The Saheb told him that he was free, "as his nephew was proved to be alive. The poor victim of "the law burst into tears, threw himself at the Saheb's feet and "pointing to his branded brow, asked the joint magistrate, of what "use would freedom be to him, when he bore the mark of Cain "for life? He was asked, why he had confessed three several "times? He submitted, that the Saheb himself would have "done so under similar circumstances: that he was kept in a "privy, with putrid ordure up to his knees all night, and ex- "posed to the influence of a burning sun all day,—until, mad- "dened by the treatment, and wishing for death, or, at any rate, a "release from his intolerable torture, he confessed just as he "had been tutored to do by the Kotwal. He stated that not a "question had been put to him by the magistrate or judge; and "that, on attempting to speak, he was rebuked. He said that "his release was a matter of indifference, as he was broken- "hearted, and could not shew his face again in the company of "honest men, owing to his branded brow.

"The Saheb Joint sent up a strong representation to the "Nizamut Adalut. He recommended that the Kotwal should

"be dismissed, made to refund the reward he had received, and "tried criminally, for having trumped up a false case of murder; "that Gudha Purshad should be employed again, and receive a "reward from Government; and that poor Zalim Singh be sup- "ported at the expense of the State for life. This was asking "only what was due from the Government. But what was the "result?

"Poor Zalim was, of course, released; but no provision was "made for him, nor any recompense awarded for his branded "forehead. Gudha Purshad remained unnoticed. And as for "the Kotwal, not only did he *not* disgorge the reward of 500 "rupees given him for his iniquity, but he was retained in pos- "session of his appointments; and for aught I know, is still "a "jack in office."

"I saw that the Saheb was very greatly disgusted at all this; "but he was helpless, and was obliged to swallow his indigna- "tion. I could not help reflecting, however, on the cruelty of "the punishment of branding, or '*Godna*.' Government has "always objected to mutilation of a limb, because the culprit "is thereby rendered helpless for life. But a branded felon, if "ever released, is punished even more severely than by mutila- "tion. He is morally degraded, and rendered an outcast from "the society of men. The mark has mutilated his moral cha- "racter, and disqualified him from resuming a reputation, of "which he was innocently deprived; and he ought no longer to "be made liable for raising his hands against those who point "to that mark * as a disgrace and a reproach. It were well if "our legislators gave the subject the reflection it merits, and "repealed the damning law. But I forget that I am a poor, "ignorant orderly, and must not presume to give a hint even to "my betters."

That the harrowing case, here related, may be a real one, we should not doubt, if we had the author's assertion; but he may intend it only as a representation of incidents, which, though never, to his knowledge, found combined as he has related them, are often occurring. First, we have a case of mere suspicion that a crime has been committed, worked up unto a charge, —contrary to the police report in the first instance, and without the essential fact, the corpus delicti, to raise a reasonable presumption. The magistrate was the author of the suspicion; and, following it up by the dismissal of the thanadar, whose version of the case was the correct and most probable one, he prevented evidence of the truth coming to him.

* Our legislators have, since this was written, given this subject their consideration, and, by an act just passed, have abolished the punishment of branding.

Then the requisition, that within a fortnight the murderers should be produced, obliged the police to commit, in self-defence, the atrocities which happened. Finally, "no question was asked the prisoner:"—probably because the magistrate was unable to ask a question, and the evidence was taken in a corner of the room.

The story, on the other hand, does justice to the humanity and feeling of our countryman. His error discovered, he instantly addresses, to his superiors in authority, the proper recommendation: not one of which, (except what respected the discharge of the poor innocent convict, and which cost no money and little trouble,) received any attention. We pass by the cruelty of sending the branded man back to his home, an outcast, without some provision for his subsistance. In money matters, this is sometimes the greediest and shabbiest of all governments; lavish towards favorites; denying what is just to all out of the privileged circle. But this we pass by, to note and point out the double impolicy here illustrated,—of leaving unpunished, and continuing in employment the wicked Kotwal, and refusing the fair redress of taking the thanadar back into employment. One servant, who had committed no fault, and did only his duty, was treated as a criminal; while another, who had committed a great crime, was continued in public employment. The punishment of corrupt umlahs has often been pressed upon Government. The guilt of specified individuals is often confessed, but the hydra is also confessed to be a case beyond punishment.

We cannot think it, (nor will our readers,) a misemployment of these pages to multiply illustrations. A single one might deserve to make no lasting impression: but, from such a number, and such a variety as our author has given, we can have no hesitation in drawing conclusions. "On occasions of sus-"picious death, burglaries and robberies," says our author, "the police are in their glory:" and he gives us the following illustrations:—

"A dead child is found lying in the middle of a cross road. "The *Goraet** (called *go-right*, because he always *goes wrong*) "proceeds to the thana, and informs the Thanadar that a "'*laash*' is found! that the umbilical cord has not been cut, "and that the child must have been purposly and wantonly "exposed to meet a fatal end. The Darogají cross-questions "the *Goraet*, and ascertains, that a suspicion of an intrigue "between Kulloo Kulwar, only son of the rich Sahoo, Bhowa-"nee Kulwar, and Mosummat Lutchminea, a young widow, had "for some time been current in the village of——. The

* Headman of a village.

"*Goraet* declared that he was positive the child was their's. "How far is the house of the *Sahu* from the place where the "child was found? Only five koss,* *Darogahjí.* Is Bhowa- "nee Sahu rich? *Lakho rupea ka doulut hye, Khodawund* "(He has lakhs of rupees, my lord!) The very man, says the "Darogah Saheb. Here, Jubbur Khan, go and bring me Kulloo "Kulwar and Lutchminea, while I send a report to the Magis- "trate Buhadúr. While Jubbur Khan is going on his errand, "the Thanadar sends the putrid *fœtus* to the Magistrate, and "intimates, 'that the practice of infanticide is daily increasing "—that the Huzúr is aware that 'the *turúkki khwa*' has not "the power to investigate such charges without an order from "the Huzúr—that the *Goraet* had given such information as to "induce the *fidwí* (servant) to believe that he could trace the "parties, &c., &c.' To this the Magistrate replies,—Make the "investigations *husb-izabiteh* (according to custom).

"Jubbur Khan brings over Kulloo Kulwar and his reputed "Dulcinea, and they are at once put into the stocks, as proved "malefactors. But they have not come to the *thana* alone. A "*Chumarin*, an old withered hag, who deals in drugs and "philtres, is also brought as a witness against the parties. She "swears that some nine months back she was sent for to the "house of Lutchminea, who asked her whether she could admi- "nister any potion to hide the effects of love? and that she, the "witness, did give her a powder, for which she received one rupee. "But the prisoner, Lutchminea, flatly denied that she ever had "a child, and alleged her readiness to undergo an examination "by midwives. The thanadar has his wits about him, however, "and does not think proper to permit an examination. Next "morning, the old *Sahu*, Bhowanee Kulwar, comes over to the "thana, to bespeak the *Darogahjí's* good offices; and he ven- "tures to hint that his son is innocent. 'What have I to do with "that, *Sahuji?* The *Goraet* swears to your son's guilt, and the "*Dai* (nurse) swears that Lutchminea bought a powder from her. "I have the Magistrate Buhadur's *hukum* (order) to apprehend and "*chalan*† the parties,—and go they shall. The *Kacherí* is only "twenty miles off, and, if your son and Lutchminea are inno- "cent, of course the *Saheb Buhadur*, whose justice is as famed "as that of the renowned Nousherwan, will release them.' The "*Sahu* finds that he must bleed, and pour out the contents of "some of his beloved money bags. He accordingly makes a bar- "gain with the Darogah, to release his son at once for one hun- "dred rupees cash. Very good, says his worship, release *Kulloo*.

* A koss is about two miles.

† *Chalan*. Send on.

"But Mr. Kulloo refuses to budge a foot, unless his beloved "Lutchminea is permitted to accompany him, and old Bhowa- "nee is forced by his son to pay fifty rupees in addition for "her release. They are released, and go their way rejoicingly; "while the Thanadar orders a *Kullian*,* and whiffs away in "delight, uttering an occasional *Ulham-dool-illahi* (thanksgiving "praise to God!) Of course a report is made to the Saheb Magis- "trate Buhadur, that there is no proof against the accused "parties—that the *Goraet* is a liar, and a *mufsid*, for having "implicated Kulloo and Lutchminea; and that, in the *fidwi's* "*ukkil-nakis*,† the *Goraet* is deserving of punishment. The "unfortunate wretch is suspended by orders of the Magistrate, "and is eventually dismissed from service, and imprisoned."

It has been seen that we cannot always give an unqualified assent to our author's criticisms. In one of the most interesting and graphic of his revelations, he describes the practices of certain classes of Hindus, as public nuisances, and, among others, those of the dullals, at Benares, a species of native brokers. One of their customs is described to be, to dodge after people who go into the bazars to make purchases, forcing their opinions upon them to their great annoyance, and levying a *huq*, the difference between the fair market price of an article, and the price which the broker's practice raises it to. The huq thus begins in a nuisance, but becomes established as a custom, and, though described by our author as illegal, is evidently regarded by him as necessary to be endured. But if illegal customs, which never took root at Calcutta, or have been eradicated, exist in Benares, it can only be by reason of some difference in the law, magistracy or police of the two places; and therefore must be the result of bad government. Such in fact, it is shewn by our author to be

THE NUISANCE OF THE DULLALS.

"Go into the *chouk*,‡ and attempt to purchase the most trivial "article. Take up a pair of shoes, or a shawl, and you will find "a dullal at your elbow. The man praises one thing, abuses "another; beats down the price of the vendor authoritatively; "and you are surprised, that such disinterested officiousness "should be shown to a stranger in a crowded *chouk*. The man "civilly offers to take you whithersoever you please, and to "assist you in purchasing whatever you may require. You re- "turn home wondering what was the man's inducement to "waste his own time in chaffering for you?—I lift the curtain

* *Kullian*. Hookah. † The servant's poor opinion. ‡ *Chouk*. Market.

"to show you, that the venders and your *chaperon* are in "league; and that your complaisant friend is a *dullal*, who takes "very good care to lower the vender's price only so much, as to "admit of his coming in for a handsome *dusturi*. The dif- "ference between the bazar price, and the amount price of the "article sold, is the '*huq*' of the *dullal!* You will ask, whe- "ther the vender may not himself pocket the whole of the "money? I answer, that he dares not. The whole of the *dullals* "would cabal against him; would cry down his wares; would "thrash him within an inch of his life; would, by force, prevent "purchasers from attending his shop. Can such things be, you "ask? Can the authorities submit tamely to such outrages? "Why do not the parties, who are cheated or bullied, complain "to the Magistrate? They *have* tried the experiment, and, al- "though in a few instances successful, they have generally failed "in obtaining redress, from want of judicial proof. Moral convic- "tion is one thing, and judicial proof another. And were a "magistrate to punish on moral conviction alone, his judgment "would, in all probability, be reversed by the Judge in appeal; "who, having to form *his* judgment by the *written evidence*, "must be guided by *judicial proof alone*.

Now, here our hero refers the inveteracy of the nuisance to the vicious action of the appellate system. Thus, it appears that a common street nuisance, which a common policeman ought to be qualified to prevent, cannot even be dealt with summarily by a magistrate; but an appeal lies in case of a conviction. We will venture to say, that on no just theory is a right of appeal in such cases given. Why then is it given? Because the police, the magistracy, the entire judicial service of the country have not been found worthy of public confidence. The Government dares not trust them without supervision at every step, and a check, in the minutest details, on independent action. But in its arrangements to prevent the apprehended mischief, it paralyzes what is good. And the policy of the government, in this respect, is the policy of nearly every covenanted civil servant, who has subordinates under him. Distrust, suspicion, all the most hateful dissonances which chaos might admire in a world just emerging from its sway, or about to fall under it, naturally arise under the present system. To prevent misdecison in a lower, an appeal lies to a higher tribunal; but then the mischief becomes only aggravated, for the appellate is not better qualified, and, proceeding merely on the written evidence, is less likely to form a correct opinion. And, as our author observes, the moral considerations which sway the judge below, are lost on the appeal against his decision.

THE DULLALS FALSELY PERSONATE THE GRAIN DEALERS.

The great supply of grain to Benares comes by way of Burna Sungum ghat, to the Trilochun bazar, and, if unmolested in its course, would be laid down without intermediate charge of any kind beyond carriage. It is the interest of the trade and of the public that it should be so; but our author represents the *dullals*, as setting up a right to act as a sort of middlemen or brokers, and to take a *huq* or custom at the ghat, or landing stairs, for which they render no service, and to which they have no just claim whatever. This nuisance is felt to be such by the grain dealers, and is prohibited by the authorities; in fact, it has been put down: but, at each change of magistrate, the dullals make an attempt to re-establish it. The means which they employ for this purpose, are singularly curious and characteristic. The dullals, conccaling their true character, petition in great numbers as grain dealers, and bring complaints of oppression, and of the levy of illegal imposts, against the owner of the grain market. They reason thus: if we succeed, the disgrace and discomfiture of our adversary will revive our power, and alter our relation to the police and magistrate; if we fail, we are only as we were; the fraud and perjury will go unpunished. Our author represents the trick as eventually unsuccessful; but the story is pregnant with instruction, as it respects the character of the people, as well as their opinion, and our author's opinion, of the state of the magistracy and police, in permitting such experiments. It shows, what is unhappily too true, the entire want of virtue in great masses of the population. They have no right sense of religion; no avenging conscience to avert the designing thought of any kind of wrong; and police and law, which are therefore so much the more needed, serve as auxiliaries to the vices of the people. Such tricks, as our author has brought to light, spring from the opinion, and the experience, that it is easy to enlist the police in the service of crime, and to deceive the tribunals. Sometimes they succeed; sometimes they fail: but, failing and detected, still they go unpunished, and that, as our author represents, mainly by reason of the vicious action of the appellate system. We will, however, give the case in the words of our author, and leave the reader to his own reflections:—

"The largest, if not the only, wholesale grain market in Be-
"nares is the Trilochun bazar between the city and the Burna
"Sungum ghat. Here, as elsewhere, the Dullals have establish-
"ed their sway. One of the principal of these was Bisheshur
"Singh, who contrived, by some means or other, to eke out a
"comfortable subsistence by his iniquitous practices. If a boat

"put to at the ghât, and any transaction with the grain market "was negotiated, Bisheshur claimed his *huq*. If the grain were "attempted to be sold directly to the owner of the Gunje (market,) "Bisheshur Sing gathered his band of Dullals together, got up a "scrimmage, and himself lodged the first complaint in the thana; "but the proprieter of the Gunge, Sheikh Chalah, was a cautious "and canny cove, and managed always to escape, being saddled "with the onus of these rows. Bhisheshur Sing waited patient- "ly, until there was a change in the administration; and no "sooner was a new magistrate appointed, then he presented a "thundering petition to the Huzur, purporting that the Gunje "was public property—that the former Hakims had removed "all taxes and cesses, and had declared every person at liberty "to land and send his grain at will—that Beoparis (merchants) "brought large fleets of boats, laden with grain for the use of the "city,—but that owing to the great oppression of Sheikh Chalah, "they could not land the grain—that a tax of so much per boat "was taken by the Sheikh from every Beopari—that the grain "was forcibly stacked in the granaries of the Trilochun—and "that the Sheikh took a fixed sum per maund for selling the "grain, &c. Scores of similar petitions were filed by parties "calling themselves Beoparis.

"To these charges Sheikh Chalah merely replied, that he "was owner of the grain market at Trilochun—that he made "large advances to Beoparis in distant provinces, who brought "or sent the grain to his market—that he provided choukedars "for the protection of the boats—that he afforded accommoda- "tion to the Beoparis for their grain in his ample store-houses, "where it remained, until sold—that he supplied money to the "Beoparis on the hypothecation of their grain—that, in short, "he was merely a broker on a large scale, and received from "the Beoparis only that brokerage, which mutual convenience "and long usage, had established. The Saheb Magistrate desir- "ed his assistant to go the next morning, and make enquiries "on the spot, and I accompanied him as his orderly. When "the assistant reached the bazar, there was a great crowd, crying "out 'Cumpani ka dohai! Saheb Shistunt (Assistant) *ka dohai!*'* "The Chota (junior) Saheb seemed quite perplexed, and asked the "people what they had to say? '*Dohai! Dohai!* Sheikh Chalah "has ruined us and cheated us,' was all he heard. Upon this, "turning round to me, he sagaciously asked, 'PAUNCHKOURI, "are these poor people very ill, that they want *dowai* (medicine)? "Why do not they go to the Doctor?' I humbly submitted that

* *Dohai.* A cry for help, or justice.

"they were not ill but cried for justice, or *dohai*. But, said "the Saheb, *dowai* or *dohai*, it is all one; for the poor men "appear to be grievously oppressed. Here Múnshí! *sowal* "*purho*.* Some fifty petitions were read: the petitioners an- "swered to their names; and the puzzled Saheb Shistunt looked "at one, and then at another, and yawned from the sheer fatigue "of thinking so profoundly. I whispered in his ear, 'May it "please the *Jenáb-i-ali* (Lordship) to enquire, whether the peti- "tioners and the crowd present are real Beoparis or not? Your "slave recognises them as Budmashus (scoundrels of) Dullals. "The hint was taken, and the Saheb himself put the question to "every petitioner, '*Tum koun?*' (What are you)? '*Dullal* "*hye, Khodawund*,' was the invariable answer. 'Very strange,' "said the Saheb Shistunt, 'where are the oppressed and "aggrieved Beoparis? Turn out the rascals, darogah, and "bring me the Beoparis, from the bazar and the boats.' "Several Beoparis presented themselves, who denied that they "had any cause of complaint against Sheikh Chalah. They said "that they paid him brokerage by the custom of the country; "but that they *had* to complain against Bisheshur Sing and "his rascally Dullals, who, by abuse and cajolery, cheated them "out of small sums of money daily. The Saheb Shistunt repre- "sented matters truly to the Magistrate, who '*dakhil duftur'd*' "the case (ordered it to be referred to the proper office).

"Why was not the principal, Bisheshur Singh, punished, "you ask? For a plain reason. He would have appealed to the "Saheb Alishah, the Judge. He would have proved by the "evidence of fifty witnesses, that he had received, as his father "had done before him from time out of mind, a fixed rate for "every boat that arrived at the ghât—that the owner of the "bazar was the oppressor, &c., &c., and the Magistrate's order "would have been reversed. It is true, justice is a grand thing; "but who can expect it without *judicial proof?*'

The descriptions which our hero gives of various classes in the city of Kashi (Benares), are in every point of view highly important and interesting. Regarding them in a political point of view, they strikingly shew, how impotent in fact, how nearly a nonentity, British civil authority is for the purposes of Government, in the crowded cities of Hinduism. It will be seen, that many of the practices, described by our author, are entirely contrary to the feelings of mankind in general. Wherefore we hold that Government might safely use special means to suppress them: and, though it would require time, it is surely due to humanity, that each succeeding decade should record some new systematic attack, or prohibition, on the part of civilization against

* Read their petitions.

some one or other ancient cruelty of a degenerated superstition. The abolition of suttee and sitting dhurna, ought not to have remained the sole triumphs of humanity for twenty years.

"It is not, perhaps, generally known, that in the ancient and "holy city of Kashi, there have existed from time immemorial, "and do exist at the present moment, several classes of men, "who live by extorting, from the citizens and devout pilgrims, "more than is sufficient to maintain them in the most reckless-"ly profligate careers. They levy a regular and systematic "'*black mail*' upon high and low, rich and poor. No rank or "station is above their reach; and no person is so poor, as to be "unable to afford these gentry profit, either by payments in "coin, or by some kind of service. The wealthy Babu, the "*nouputti* Mahajun, the Vakils, the Umlah, the very Munsiffs "and Sudder Amins, are subjected to their influence. For "either by direct violence, or by a veneration for '*dustur*,' "these worthies are coerced. I allude to the Pundahs, the "Gunga Putras, the Ghatias, the Bhururias, the Dullals; and "to the whole tribe of carrion-crows, with which the city is infest-"ed, and under whose domination it groans. In attempting "to expose the villainy and oppression of a class, I shall not "stop to delineate individuals; for the law can reach them when "known. But my object is to show the public a body of mis-"creants, who, by their combination and the force of circum-"stances, defy all law; which, as an orderly, I am able to do "from personal experience."

THE PUNDAHS, THE PRELATICAL ORDER OF BRAHMINISM.

"The 'Pundahs,' in the holy city of Kashi are the prelates "of their priesthood; and, like every other calling in India the "sacred offices even are hereditary. They are not bound to "celibacy. Their wealth is enormous. Their lives are a tissue "of profligacy, arrogance, fraud and deceit; and as for morals, "'*they never had any.*' Like the Papal pretensions of univer-"sal supremacy, they arrogate to themselves privileges and "superiority over the laity; and assert them with a haughtiness, "exceeding that of a Thomas-a-Becket. The daily offerings, "at the celebrated temples and the shrines they contain, are "collected by officiating priests, who account to the Pundahs. "The annual income of the temples is enormous; for, like the "Papal church, the Hindu system of religion allows of the "compounding of every sin—from a peccadillo to homicide—"for a consideration: and, the greater the amount of guilt, the "larger, of course, is the propitiatory offering, and the greater "the profit of the priests. The ordinary ceremonials and sacri-"ficial rites are performed by the 'Pújáries.' The Pundah

"officiates only on grand occasions, when some wealthy Rajah "or Babu makes his advent in Kashi, and offers to propitiate "the gods by an offering, in proportion to the enormity of his "sins. Then, indeed, the satellites of the 'Sri Pundah Ji' "are on the alert; and desperate becomes the conflict of wits, "between cupidity on one side, and superstition mixed with ava- "rice on the other.

"When His Highness the ex-Paishwa came to Kashi after "the death of his father, and solicited the Pundah of the great "temple of Vishiwur to assist him in the fulfilment of his "vows, he refused to do so, until the Maharajah should fill with "coined silver the *houz*, or font of the temple. This was acced- "ed to; and it was found that one lakh and twenty-five thousand "rupees were required for the purpose. A goodly breakfast, I "ween, and sufficient for a time to stay the cravings of a morbid "sacerdotal appetite! On other occasions, he is induced to "attend the temple, when some zealous votary lures him thither, "with the promise of an after-recreation, in which the choicest "specimens of the sweet songstresses of Ind enrapture the senses, "by their voluptuous song and dance. The Pundahs, like the "elders of old, are connoisseurs of beauty; and those, who cannot "afford the lure of wealth, make use of the lure of beauty to in- "sure the honor of the Pundahs presence.

"The office of Pundah is hereditary; and, where the family "has increased, a division of the profits of the temple proceeds "is always made. Fierce contentions take place among the bro- "therhood for their shares; and then the-easily-gotten wealth of "the Pundahs finds a channel for itself into the pockets of the "civil courts. Tact and ability, however, render one of the "parties superior to the others; and he becomes, in fact, *the* "*Pundah Ji.*"

"Many a dark deed has been done, and is done, in the exten- "sive houses of these Pundahs and Púj*á*ries. While the gong "is loudly sounding, and scores of athletic priests are blowing "*sunkhs* in the numerous temples that are dotted about and "around the houses, the last expiring shriek of some victim is, "perhaps, suppressed by the noise. Disobedient '*chelas*,'* "victims of jealousy, and unnatural crimes, die by slow torture, "or poison, or famine. No intimation is, or can be given to "the police; for none but the initiated and privileged may enter "these houses, sanctified by the numerous temples. And who, "but the most devoted and trustworthy, are ever permitted to see "the dark places where crime is committed? It is believed gene- "rally, but I speak not from experience, (for being of the faith

* Domestic slaves; or sometimes, pupils.

"of Islam, I am not permitted to approach such places) that, in "the innermost recesses of several temples, is a shrine dedicated "to 'Devi,' or 'Bhowani,'—those infernal deities, whose "delight is in blood,—where children of tender age are enticed, "and offered upon certain occasions. Frequent are the reports "made to the police that children are missing: the informants "suspect nobody, and no trace of the innocents is ever found. "Can it be, that they are the victims of the horrible suspicion I "have alluded to?

"A Pundah cousulted some learned Brahmins about the horo- "scope of his infant son, his first-born. It was foretold, that the "shadow of the child would press heavily upon the fortunes and "life of the father. The Pundah took the infant in his arms, and "fondled it with apparent delight. On returning it to the mo- "ther's arms, it was a breathless corpse. He had squeezed "the nape of the neck to prevent the fulfilment of the horo- "scope! Some person, inimical to him, lodged a formal com- "plaint before the Magistrate: the Magistrate, after taking the "deposition of the informant, summoned the Pundah to appear "in person, and answer to the charge of infanticide. He evaded "process for a long while; but, at last, was forced to appear "before the Huzúr. But what can simple honesty of purpose "in a Magistrate do against the combinations of wealth and "venality? The Pundah was acquitted 'from want of judicial "proof.'"

THE GHATIAHS.

"I said that the 'Pundahs' of the temples in 'Kashi' are "a curse to the city. How then shall I describe the 'Gungapu- "tras' and 'Ghatiahs' who, like a foul ulcer, are daily increas- "ing, and eroding the vitals of their deluded victims? From "the Burna Sungum ghat to the Assi, a distance of some "five miles, the bank of the Ganges is besprinkled with "temples, *kutcha chubutras*, (raised earthen platforms) or "wooden platforms, called *tukht-poshes*, that overlook the "brink of the holy stream; and scarcely a cubit's length is "left for a landing place for boats and travellers. Every one "of these *chubutras* or *tukht-poshes*, is occupied by its proprie- "tor, who sits cross-legged, in the simple dignity of nudity, with "his '*chundan*' * and flowers, mumbling out, in a measured and "monotonous voice, the names of his favorite divinities. Every "orthordox Hindu, as he comes out of the broad bosom of "Gunga-mai, makes an offering to the Ghatiah; who, in "return, marks his forehead with *chundun*, and pronounces a

* *Chundun.* An odoriferous dust of sandal wood.

"blessing on him. But when the bathers are foreigners, they "are not permitted even to approach the stream, in places "occupied by the Ghatiahs, until they pay down the sum "demanded from them. Numerous are the petitions given in to "the Saheb Magistrate Buhadur, against these Ghatiahs; and "frequently an order is passed to the police, to see that the com- "plainants are not prevented from taking a dip. In such cases, "the Ghatiahs commence a volley of curses, the most foul and "blasphemous that can be imagined. And what Hindu can "stand out against the curses of a Brahmin and a Ghatiah? The "bathers appeal to the police burkundazes; but they coolly say "'We have no orders to prevent the Ghatiahs from speaking. "If a small *douceur* be offered, it is indignantly rejected: and the "bathers reflect, that if a considerable gratuity is to be given, "they had better conform to the '*dustur*,' and give it to the "Ghatiahs, as '*pun*.'"

But if, by Brahiminical curses, the Ghatiah prevents the devotee from bathing, he as much contravenes the order of the Magistrate, as if he used personal violence: and it is a false gloss of the police to say, they "have no orders to prevent the Ghatiahs from speaking,"—the object of the order being to secure to the people the unmolested exercise of the sacred rite of bathing. The practice of the Ghatiahs, as described by our hero, is a common nuisance. The advantage which they take of foreigners, is an oppression. against which Government ought to give protection, for the sake of peace and order, of its own authority, and even of civilization. This is not a question of tenets or belief, but of the right of the Hindu public to perform the ablutions required by their own religion, in spite of impostors who tyrannize over them. Our author says, they appeal to the Magistrate; and this proves, that the tyranny of the Ghatiahs is not sacred in popular estimation.

Our hero describes another curious method which the Ghatiahs have of exercising extortion, somewhat analogous to the sitting Dhurna, which Lord William Bentinck had the sagacity to see might safely be prohibited. It was accordingly enacted to be a crime, and is consequently now, we believe, become nearly obsolete. And this, therefore, affords one proof more, how much evil may be prevented, and how much good done by authority, under the impulse and direction of an enlightened, liberal, anp energetic mind. Yet after all, for what is it, in the cases alluded to, that the public feel such admiration and gratitude? For mere sagacity and good common sense, applied to the business of Government;—for measures of no marvellous kind, but simply springing from good general principles, and a real faith in

them. But to the old twenty-four, Hinduism is a bugbear, which frightens away the perception of the broad line, which separates the essential superstition, from mere abuses, which no religion can consecrate, among a people a single step advanced in civilization. But to our text, the Ghatiahs again.

"Some of these Ghatiahs go to the most distant provinces, "and join a troop of pilgrims coming to Benares. Or they "follow in the wake of some Raja, or Babu, who has vowed to "perform a tour of pilgrimages. The whole of the party are "then dubbed his '*jijmans*' by the Ghatia. He considers "them under his special protection. No one else may take a "fraction from them; and the Ghatiah and his partners alone "reap the harvest. If other Ghatiahs interfere, serious affrays "ensue; and the Magistrate is bewildered with their mutual "complaints and recriminations. Suppose that the rich pilgrims "choose to assert independence of will, and to make presents to "other Ghatiahs, then the parties, who think themselves ag- "grieved, threaten to stab themselves in the presence of the pil- "grims; and, rather than be responsible for shedding the blood "of a Ghatiah, they are fain to give in on any conditions."

THE GUNGAPUTRAS.

"The 'Gungaputras' are sons of the Ganges, and exercise "despotic sway in their domain of the 'Munkurnika.' Their "numbers are considerable; and, in the division of spoil, despe- "rate conflicts occur. But they know that union is strength; "and consequently, always combine to hunt the common prey— "the Hindu public. The. Munkurnika is a reservoir lined "with flags of hewn stone on the bank of the Ganges. During "the rise of the river, it is filled with the sacred stream. Be- "sides which, a puny springlet dribbles into this basin from the "landside, and, during the hottest season of the year, suffices "to keep up a filthy puddle, rendered more and more impure by "the daily immersion of hundreds: but nevertheless, this filthy "semi-fluid matter is looked upon by the Hindu as the purest "of the pure,—the cleanser from sin and moral impurity. The "Kundh (holy pool) is thronged every morning by votaries, each "with his silver in hand, to bestow upon his Gungaputra, and "eager to plunge into the basin of holy water. And who dares "venture to take a dip in it without first obtaining the permis- "sion of the Gungaputras? He would run the risk of being "beaten to death; or, of being found '*suffocated by accident*,' "as he dipped into the Kundh.

* * * * * *

"These Gungaputras and Ghatiahs are generally the greatest

"'*budmashus*' (rascals) in the place. There is not a crime or "enormity, of which they are not suspected, and of which they are "supposed to be incapable. Violent assaults on women and boys, "with criminal intent, are common ; but very few such cases are "ever reported by the police ; or, if reported, they are slurred "over, and represented as '*tukrar-i-khufeef*' (trifling distur- "bances.) The assailants are protected by their wealth, and their "position ; and, unless the complainants can afford to pay more "largely than the Ghatiahs, they are not likely to obtain redress. "A common practice, among the more disreputable of these "Ghatiahs, is to jostle a well dressed woman, and to snatch from "her nose or ears the golden jewel she wears. In dense crowds "of thousands, cooped up in narrow thoroughfares, it is not "easy to catch these miscreants ; and, if caught, they easily "evade proof, by giving the robbed jewel to their compa- nions, who pass it from one to another, with the rapidity of thought."

There is nothing sacred in all this. It is repugnant to all the interests of the population. The authorities have no pretence for winking at it, on the principle of non-interference, or toler- ation. It is extortion, robbery, assassination, practised on boys and women, the most helpless and innocent of the population. Yet such is the state of things, connived at by the police, and unpunished by the tribunals.

THE AGHORPUNTS.

"The most loathsome sight at the ghats are the Aghorpunt "*fukeers*' (Anglice, ogres) ;—practical philosophers, who effect "to disbelieve that there is any difference between things, and "who avow that any difference depends upon the imagination. "A cuff, or a kick, is as immaterial to them as a blessing. They go "about in *puris naturalibus*, with a fresh human skull in their "hands, (off which they had previously eaten the putrid flesh, and "from which afterwards, they had, with their fingers, scooped out "the brain and eyes) into which is poured whatsoever is given them "to drink. They pretend to be indifferent, whether it be ardent "spirits, or milk, or foul water. Their food is the first thing that "offers, whether it be a putrid corpse, cooked food, or ordure. "With matted hair, blood-red eyes, and body covered with filth and "vermin, the Aghorpunt is an object of terror and disgust to every "body. He looks rather a wolf, ready to destroy and then devour "his prey, than a human being. I once saw a wretch of this "fraternity, eating the head of a putrid corpse ; and, as I passed "by, he howled and pointed to me ; and then scooped out the "eyes and ate them before me ! I had my matchlock in my hand,

"and was within an ace of putting a ball into his head, for I "deemed him a wolf;—and, in fact, he was a brute.

"A magistrate took up a monster of this sort, drinking liquor "out of a bloody human skull. He was in a fearful state of "intoxication, and had a kind of Malay Krís, a spiral dagger, "about a cubit long,—a blow from which would have been death. "The Magistrate had him taken up at once. On referring to the "records of the office, it was ascertained that this wretch had "been thrice imprisoned in jail, for rape, for assault amounting "almost to homicide, and for being a vagrant. The Magistrate "ordered him to furnish heavy security for his good behaviour, "or, in default, to be imprisoned for three years. In all such "cases, the Magistrate is bound to make a report to the Judge; "who sent for the *misl* of the case, and released the Aghorpunt."

Here we have again the authority of the magistrate set aside by the next superior jurisdiction: through what influence is not suggested, but we may surmise, by that of the Umlahs, who profit by the debasement of the people. What were the grounds for this decision we know not; but, from the sequel, which we shall presently quote, it may be inferred, that they rested on the sacred character of the Aghorpunt. Our hero himself represents the tribe, as objects of popular veneration. Be it so; it by no means concludes the question of exercising a penal jurisdiction over them. Are not their habits those of brutal savages, unfit to be tolerated in cities crowded with men, women and children, the busy and the idle, of all ranks and classes, from all parts of Hindustan? Are not the acts imputed to them essentially criminal, and such as ought to be deemed so, by every civilized Government? Where is the plea of religion and toleration to stop, if it is to protect the Aghorpunts? But, as a fact, is it not true, as our author states, that they have been taken up, arraigned, tried, convicted, and imprisoned as criminals, without exciting any resentment on the part of the people? It may then safely be done: and, this point conceded, it is impossible to deny that it is expedient to be done; and, if the law gives the magistrate such a jurisdiction, his decision ought to be final. Our hero concludes—

"Should not such monsters in human shape be incar- "cerated for life as a disgrace to humanity? Or, would the "precepts of Islam not sanction the wholesale slaughter of such "brutes? But the Hindus themselves look upon the Aghor- "punt with veneration; and none of them would dare to drive "him away from their doors. Strange infatuation in a people,— "to worship incarnations of the divinity in every bestial shape, "and to respect men even lower than the brutes!"

If such be gods, let them keep to the divine form; but, if they

assume the human, let them be incarcerated; and, from a full persuasion of what human nature is, whether in Hindu or Christian,—we mean, as respects the great body of the people, of all, in short, except the millionth fraction,—we feel convinced that the justice of such a measure will be felt and acquiesced in by all; and thus a step gained for civilization.

Our author conducts us from the police court to the city, from the city to the ghât, again to the law courts, to the collector's office, to the village, the mart, the raj-ghur, through such a diversity of scenes, places, incidents and events, and all so amusing or instructive, that we find selection difficult. Turning from grave to gay, let a lively picture now compensate for our previous disquisitions.

BULBHUDDHUR SING PERSONATES A RAJAH: TAKES A GREAT HOUSE: GETS A TREASURER, AND DECAMPS AT NIGHT WITH HIS PLUNDER.

"A common mode of swindling in the city of *Kashi* (Benares), "as practised by the clever *budmashes*, is, for one of the party to "personate a Rajah, on a visit of ceremony to the holy city; "while his companions pretend to precede him, and hire a stately "*huweli* (house) in '*Dal-ke-Mundurvi*,' which they furnish for the "nonce. Bulbhuddur Singh sits in state as Rajah Guchpuch "Rae, bedecked in false gems, and dressed in shawls and *kim-*"*khabs* (anglice, *kingcobs*). His retainers go about the city, and "entice shawl-merchants and jewellers to the Rajah's house. "They arrive with costly wares, and eagerly proceed to expose "them: but the Rajah turns an indifferent eye upon them, and "declares they are not sufficiently choice for *him*. The Souda-"gurs (traders) promise to return next day. In the meantime, "the song and dance proceed with fierce rivalry. Six sets of the "best dancing women exert their lungs and limbs, and go "through every facinating movement, to delight and amuse "Rajah Guchpuch Rae. Where is my treasurer? exclaims the "Rajah; bid him bestow a largess of 100 *Ushrufis* * on these "soul-enslaving terrestrial houries. A retainer, after going "through the farce of a search, respectfully approaches His "Highness, and intimates that the treasurer has not yet arrived. "The *nimukharam, beh-hyah!* † exclaims the Rajah. Here, "fellows, see that a proper treasurer be in attendance on the "morrow, to whom we shall deliver our treasure, and *tosheh-kha-*"*nah.* ‡ The Rajah enjoys himself, until no longer able to sustain

* A gold coin, worth about 32 shillings.

† *Nimukharam, beh-hyah.* The shameless one, unfaithful to salt.

‡ Wardrobe, or furniture.

"excitement; and then the gundrupias retire, and the torches "are extinguished.

"Next day, there are several candidates for the the honor of the "treasurer's office, who eagerly offer to serve. The salary is 200 "rupees a month, says the Rajah, and I hate accounts; constant "attendance, and implicit obedience are all I acquire. After "rejectng some, His Higness fixes upon Lalla Umbeka Suhai, "who receives a well-worn shawl as a *khillut*, and an immense "key. He ventures to ask, where the treasury is? And is told "to wait, until the *huzrut* has leisure to shew it to him. In the "meantime, the Rajh suddenly recollects that he has immediate "occasion for 1,000 rupees, and he shouts out: 'Here, Buha-"dur, take 1,000 rupees from Lalla Umbeka Suhai and give "it to Bisheshur Singh, and be sure to take a receipt for the "money. Tell him it is the price of a ring, I bought of him, for "my favorite Gulbehar.' Buhadur asks the treasurer for the "money. The poor man looks aghast, and shews a huge key as "all he has received of the Rajah's treasure. But Buhadur "tells him, that Rajah Guchpuch Rae never fails to cut off the "ears of a disobedient servant. So the hint is taken; and the "Lalla gives an order on his *shroff* in the city for the amount. "Of course Buhadur at once proceeds to realise the money. As "evening approaches, shawl-merchants and jewellers again ap-"pear, and press their wares on the Rajah. They see Lalla Um-"beka Suhai, figuring as treasurer. They are old acquaintances, "and they ask him the amount of Guchpuch Rae's treasure. In "reply to which he simply shews *the* key, about a foot in length. "The merchants open out their wares to entice the Rajah; but "he says, he will wait until all his things arrive. They offer to "leave their bundles for the Rajah and his ladies to choose from; "which is agreed to with apparent indifference. The song and "dance proceed as usual until midnight, when, as usual, the "torches are extinguished.

"Next morning, what a change has taken place! One old man "is seated at the doorway, dosing over a *chillum* of *ganjah*. "No other sign of life is visible in Rajah Guchpuch Rae's "palace. The treasurer arrives first, opens and rubs his eyes, "and asks the old man, where the Rajah and his people have "gone. He replies, that they decamped before dawn. In due "course, the *mahajuns*, the jewellers and the birds of song arrive; "but nothing of the Rajah is to be found; and smoke-stain-"ed walls and filth and litter about the rooms, alone betray that "revelry *had been* there! The jewellers and *mahajuns* turn in "wrath upon Lalla Umbeka Suhai and tax him with having "aided to cheat them. They proceed first to abuse, and then

"to beat him. In vain the poor man shews the huge key, and "laments his thousand rupees lost for ever. They drag him "to the Kotwal, and charge him with having cheated them; and "the defrauded treasurer remains in durance vile for a week at "least, and gets off at last on proving himself to be one of the "victims of this system of swindling, and after feeing the police "myrmidons pretty roundly.

"Who is ever to find out what worthy personated Rajah "Guchpuch Rae, when hundreds and thousands of travellers "are daily passing to and fro the holy city?"

Long though it be, we cannot withhold from our readers the following animated picture of

THE GHATS AT BENARES DURING AN ECLIPSE.

"Have any of my readers had the curiosity to visit the ghats "during the occurence of an eclipse of the sun or moon? If "not, I would urge them to go once on such an occasion. "The living tide, that keeps pouring in from all the principal "roads into the city some time before the event, is of itself an "imposing and interesting spectacle. The human wave, as it "rolls along the streets, gains accession from every lane and bye-"way, and is at once amassed upon the banks of the holy "stream, the *ultima thule* of the grand struggle. The eternal "hum,—the shout,—the struggles, as the strong push away the "weak to open a passage for themselves, afford a vast field for "study to the contemplative. Then, again, the variety of cos-"tume, and the draperies of every possible hue, captivate the atten-"tion of those who delight in the philosophy of dress. But, above "all, the enormous crowd brought to a standstill;—the living "mass squeezed together in a small space,—at once conveys to "the mind the enormous fecundity of the human species. Con-"template them closely, and if you have been accustomed to "read human nature, you will see in every face expressions of "the feelings that are ruling within. Philosophers of every "shade might, at such gatherings, find subjects for study and "instructions. But let me now leave generalities, and enter into "particulars.

"Look at the crowd: the struggle yonder shows that an "official, and a rich native gentleman, are pushing forward. The "one is mounted in a tonjon; the other is on horseback; the "troop of people running with switches in their hands are their "followers; they are striking the feet of the rabble shouting "'*furuk, furuk,*'* but still they cannot penetrate the crowd. The

* Be off! be off!

"horseman is obliged to stop, and the tonjon is forced up, from "the shoulders of the bearers, upon the heads of the crowd, "with the occupant in a perilous position.

"Suppose you have managed to reach the Munkurnika ghat "in safety. By all means have a boat ready there for your re- "ception; hasten on board; take an elevated position that "you may compass as much of the spectacle on shore as pos- "sible, and drop down the river leisurely. What do you see? "A vast concourse of living heads upon the surface of the water, "bobbing up and down in alternate succession; and, oh horror! "among them, several loathsome corpses gyrating in the eddies "made by the bather:—nor are they shunned, although the efflu- "via from them is sufficiently powerful to kill a horse. There, "a young girl rises from her immersion, and finds a dead body "in her arms; she transfers it without any sign of disgust to "an octogenarian female neighbour, whose charms have long "been veiled over by a network of wrinkles, and who now sees "an emblem of what she is soon likely to be; but she loathes "it not;—she passes it on with becoming civility.* Now, you "see a stout, upright man, the very figure head of a sepoy, with "a mannikin, perhaps two years old, seated on his shoulder, "holding on like grim death by the hair of his father's head, "while the elderly gentleman gives him a dip to his great de- "light, although not free from the chances of suffocation. "Nor are the scenes along the ghâts solemn, and purely cere- "monial. Love has its dominion here also, but in its gro- "tesque and primitive shape. Behold, yonder are a group of "beautiful nymphs, gracing the chocolate-coloured stream, like "rich lotuses in full bloom. Mark that young man with a smooth "brow and athletic frame; he has been viewing the nymphs for "some time: he can no longer resist their charms; he dives: now "he rises among them: he looks smilingly upon them all, and "then gravely utters his apology, with mock solemnity—*usha-* "*nan kea, pushanan kea, to nam lea permeshur ka,—bom, bom,* "*bom.* (So! bathing, worshipping). One girl ventures to look "at him, and seeing that he is a love of a man, returns his "glance, and inadvertently drops a flower; he picks it up "and keeps it as a token. Now, for some fun:—the *che-* "*valiers d'Industrie* are busy yonder. Do you see the group "of females bedecked with costly jewels, bathing as if it were "by themselves; see that girl taking a dip,—a nimble-fingered "gentleman dives simultaneously: the nymph rises suddenly

* *Aliquando bonus dormitat Homerus!* Here our friend Paunchkouri nods. No Hindu will touch a dead body, unless compelled by necessity or irresistible force.

"*mayah! re mayah! mere nuthni gye* (Mother, mother, my nose-"ring is gone). This attracts attention; but the spoiler escapes. "You hear another scream soon after, *dayah-re-dayah! mere* "*bali gye* (Nurse, nurse, my earrings are gone):—sure enough "her pendants were gone: there stands one with a nose rent "to the nostril, and the other with bleeding ears. But this "is nothing—often has the female entire been carried off, for the "sake of what she had on her person, and the *muggur* (alligator) "gets credit for the abduction. The riflers are expert divers; and "are sure to emerge in a crowd of bathers unperceived, roaring "*bom, bom, Mahadeo*, a sort of thanksgiving for the furtive success.

"Dropping down, you have a splendid panoramic view of the "stone ghâts and buildings, the minarates, observatory, musjids, "and everything that renders Benares remarkable. You then "proceed to Burna Sungum, where the crowd is, perhaps, most "dense. Here the same farce of ceremonials is going on as else-"where, and the same plunder is as active as ever, under all man-"ner of ingenious contrivances; but this ghât is most remarkable "for the scene which occurred there some years ago. The river "had been insidiously undermining it for several years: on "that occasion, the weight of the crowd was more than it could "bear, and it suddenly gave way, carrying hundreds and hundreds "of helpless beings into the jaws of death. Nor was this all; the "alarmed multitude made a retrograde movement, and thousands "were crushed under the tread of the panic-struck crowd. The "police reported that one thousand individuals had perished: "but the officials like to deal with even and low numbers; it is a "convenient way of stripping horror of its disgusting features.

"Such events furnish rare opportunities for the gentlemen, who "live by their wits, to practice their dexterity, and earn their ut-"most. Bangles, earrings, armlets, and nose-rings disappear, "as well from the persons of the living as from the bodies of the "dead; females generally are the victims. How the things are "carried off, and by whom, is a profound mystery.

"One brawny fellow is carrying the body of a young woman, "carefully wrapped from head to foot, bewailing the unfortu-"nate and untimely death of his sister. The crowd respectfully "make way. He carries her to the nearest unfrequented spot, "and lays her down. She is stone dead, and her nose, ears, "arms, and feet, are all stripped of their ornaments. No longer "useful to the dead, he leaves the corpse on that spot, and goes "to seek for the living—a wife, or, perhaps, some other female "relative; but where is she? alas, also gone; he becomes consci-"ous of another bereavement, and is plunged in the depths of "misery, and perhaps, becomes the immediate victim of lacerated

" feelings. Alas, poor Hindu! had you no well of clear water " in your vicinity to purify yourself and family with?

" A curious story is yet told of a *dome*, who flourished and was " *finished*, in the days of 'Junab William Welburfurs Burrud " Saheb Buhadur.' He was a most expert diver. One day, " while loitering for prey at the Munkurnika ghat, where the " family of a rich *mahajun* were bathing, he espied among " them a woman richly decorated with jewels. In a moment he " contrived to get into the river, and, after playing about accord- " ing to his wont, he dived and disappeared: the jewelled lady " also disappeared: neither the one nor the other was seen to " rise again, and her friends were under the impression that " some fierce alligator had taken a fancy to her, and perpetrated " an elopement. Several days afterwards, a devout person, who " cleansed himself of his sins in the river, and was just stepping " out on shore, accidentally put his foot under a stone step, and " there felt something soft. He was immediately filled with sus- " picions, and communicated his alarm to others. Some *domes* " were sent for, and the body extricated from its cell: it was the " remains of the *mahajun's* lady, denuded of all her costly orna- " ments. Suspicion rested on no one; but the *dome* who had " committed the horrid outrage, was, some months afterwards, " detected offering the jewels for sale; they were recognised as " the property of the deceased; the *dome* confessed, and ex- " piated his crime on the gallows."

Thus successfully does crime revel and riot on the holidays, and religious days of the people: and it does not appear that the magistrate much concerns himself about the matter. Our author next discourses on the *Ghat Majhis, ghat and ferry thikadars*, and the *Chouduris* of *hackeries*, whom he describes as " the heads of guilds and corporations:" " they are," he says " as " great curses to the community as any other of the thousand " ills under which it groans. Frequently and anxiously the " magistrates have tried to devise plans for the prevention of " oppression; but the best concerted schemes have failed, from " the extraordinary reverence for *the dustur* (custom), to which " the natives of this country bow with as much reverence as they " do to their priests. Where proof of oppression can be pro- " duced by a complainant, punishment will necessarily follow. " But I confess that no *preventive* measures occur to me." We will venture to suggest some, or rather some *principles*, which must form the basis of them. The chief object must be to break up these so-called " guilds and corporations;" and the first step obviously is, to withdraw all legal and public privileges from them: to open their business, as far as practicable, to

competition, and to protect the competitors: to substitute freedom of trade, in short, for monopoly, whether existing by the sanction of *dustur*, or of Government. Some of these classes have Government monopolies, as appears by our author's shewing; for example, in the case of the *ferry thikadars*, our author says, "the ferries of every large river are annually farmed to the "highest bidder, on condition that he keep a sufficient number of "good boats properly manned at every ferry:" and we are further told, that fixed rates are authorized by the magistrate; "nevertheless, it is a universal complaint that the farmers of the "ferries are the greatest extortioners:" and their boats are often such, according to our hero's description, as no rat would stay in; yet we are told that if a complainant does come forward to expose a public abuse, he is worried in all sorts of ways, and exhausted for his pains, besides being out of pocket. Now, to us it appears, that so far from this evil being irremediable, there are half a dozen ways, by any one of which, probably, it might be corrected. One certainly is to protect and multiply the landing places, abolish the thikadar, free the ferry, and open the transit trade to competition. Another might be to keep up Government ferry boats, giving a free passage, and to establish a sufficient superintendence to secure the proper performance of the duty. With proper superintendence, the duty might be better performed, even under the present system. Correct the judicial system; according to our author, its habitual, invariable action is to screen the thikadar from punishment. By the evidence of our hero, the thikadar is always, and is known by the magistrate to be, a very great scoundrel; but by the grace of law and police, he is always let off, and triumphs over the complainants. But we will give our hero's description of the state of things.

THE FERRIES, HOW THEY ANSWER AS A GOVERNMENT MONOPOLY.

"The ferries of every large river are annually farmed to the "highest bidder, on condition that he keep a sufficient number "of good boats properly manned at every ferry.....

"Some European recruits were crossing the river at Rajghât; "and my master the Nazir Saheb, was directed to be in attend-"ance, and to see that no useless delays occurred. I accompa-"nied him of course. We saw large boats, with about fifty "Europeans on board, each worked across the river, merely by "the swinging motion of the rudder. On landing the men, the "boatman was pushing off, but the Nazir called out to me to "seize him. I did so. 'Where are the three boatmen, you

"scoundrel, as directed in your pottah?' said the enraged Nazir. "'The *Gorah log** so hurried us, that my two oarsmen did not "come up in time.' Upon this I was desired to give him some "gentle admonitions, which I did, in the shape of sundry hard "boxes on the face, and some kicks on his '*Western parts.*' "We watched other boats as they came to the ghat, but in almost "all there was a great deficiency of *dauŕis* (boatmen). 'Go, "PAUNCHOURI,' said the *Nazir* to me, 'and drag that fellow Gun- "put Singh to me. I will take him before the Huzur, and get "his *ijarah* (lease) cancelled, for thus endangering the safety of "the *Kumpani ka Gora.*' I joined in the virtuous indignation "of the Nazir, and proceeded to Gunput's house. 'Come in, "BHAI, PAUNCHOURI KHAN,' said the wily farmer, 'and take a "*chillum* of delicious *ganjah.*' But I was not to be caught so "easily, and I began to bluster and to threaten to collar the "farmer. 'Oh! my friend,' he said, 'have a moment's pa- "tience. I had forgot to repay you the five rupees I owe you "for a tulwar I bought from you. Here is the money.' I felt "the full force of his persuasive rhetoric, and, pocketing the "money, began smoking the *chillum* pleasantly. After a time, "Gunput asked me, why he had been sent for? I explained. "Is that all?' he said, 'I will settle it at once.' He accompanied "me to the Nazir, and most obsequiously salámed him. The "Nazir commenced a volley of abuse, in which kind mention "of the farmer's sister and daughter was made. But the farmer "of the ferries, without moving a muscle of his countenance, "put a little *chit* into the Nazir's hand; and it was wonderful to "observe the sedative influence of that slip of paper. The "Nazir and the *Ijaradar* went away from the ghat, I following "in astonishment; and a report was made to the Huzur, that "the *Gorah log* had crossed over without accident.

"It was during the height of the floods, in the month of "August, that a ferry boat was observed, rushing down the "river with frightful rapidity. There were about seventy- "five human beings on board; and the water was scarce- "ly six inches from the edge of the boat. There were but "two boatmen, one at the helm, and the other at an oar. The "boat got into an eddy, and the strength of the boatmen was "unequal to extricate her. She went round once, canted "over, head foremost, and not a vestige of boat, or of the passen- "gers, was there! The farmer of the ferries was fined for his "neglect, in not seeing to the efficiency of his boats. But was "that punishment at all sufficient for the loss of so many lives?

* White people, European soldiers.

"Surely a case of this kind may be construed into *homicide* "*from neglect*, and should be punishable by several years' im- "prisonment."

Thus then, we see that, in the case of the farmers of ferries, the reverence of the natives for *dustur* is not the cause of the evil. Though the natives have the feeling, that custom is a law and a safeguard to them, yet any particular *dustur* of commerce has no essential hold on them. Prove it to be an evil; perhaps they may not know how, or, may not have the energy to enancipate themselves;—but set the choice before them, and we will answer for present interest being preferred to all other things. If then *dustur* has its monopoly ghat (we now allude to the alleged privileges of the *ghat manji*); near it establish another, where the manji's *dustur* shall be prohibited. It would then soon be seen, whether the so-called *dustur* be really an extortion and abuse, or the just reward of useful service and labour. For ourselves, we take its character from our author, but we entirely dissent from his opinion, that such abuses must last for ever. What must always be, must always have been: but, what ought not to be, cannot be of nature, but is arbitrary or accidental.

We cannot forbear of extracting our hero's account of the *choudhuris* of hackeries. Like the *ghat manjis*, they are a class who seem to have established an exclusive command, or monopoly of hackeries for the purpose of commerce. The choudhuris are not hackery drivers themselves, but the procurers of hackeries. Is the tone in which our hero speaks of them an error or prejudice? or are these agencies, *choudhuris*, *ghat manjis*, *churandahs*, the natural, or ordinary contrivances, or results of freedom, in the employment of the different kinds of labour? Our own belief to the contrary notwithstanding, we commend enquiry on this point to the political economist and social philosopher. Meanwhile hear what our hero says:—

"The *choudhuris of hackeries* are great men in their way, and "are the occasion of much annoyance to the lieges. At every "*uddah*" (stand), and in every market square, an emissary "of the *choudhuri* attends, to look after his master's interests. "When hackeries are required by *soudagurs* and *mahajuns*, "these *choudhuris* are the parties who provide them. They are "rather moderate in their requisitions from the proprietors of "carts, and limit their *dusturi* to only two annas in the rupee— "being *one-eighth!* When hackeries are required for the public "service, and an order for impressing them is passed by the "Magistrate and Commissariat, *then* is the *choudhuri* in his "glory. Travellers, with their wives and children, are summarily

"dismounted, and, with their property, lodged under the first "convenient tree; strings of carts laden with grain are taken "possession of, and the contents lodged on the road-side. No "complaints are listened to; and unless *oil of palms* is freely "used to slip out of the clutches of the press-gang, escape "is impossible. For every ten carts ordered for the public service, "a hundred at least are pressed. Why? you ask in your inno- "cence. Oh! happy ignorance. Suppose you have ten good "carts, with three bullocks to each: the feed of thirty bullocks "cannot be less than four rupees a day. Or, we will suppose that "servants and all come to five rupees a day. Now, suppose the "owner to be a bumptious fellow that will not fork out. He is "trotted backwards and forwards, first to the Kotwal, then to "the Sudder bazar, then to the Saheb Kumusuriut. He is not "paid a fraction until the troops march; and he may be a fort- "night or three weeks feeding his cattle and his servants, '*bey* "*khyr-khwah-i-kumpani* (without the Company's favour or pay).' "Now the moment he was pressed, had he had the sense to "have slipped twenty rupees into the *choudhuri's* hand, or half "that sum into the hand of the *burkundazes*, he would, I "conceive, have been a considerable gainer. Do you twig?"

The important facts to be observed here are first, what the Soudaghurs and Mahajuns (traders and merchants) pay; and secondly, the oppressions practiced in obtaining a supply of carriage for Government. From the statement, it may be inferred, first, that capital has not yet been applied to the establishment of the regular business of carriers; therefore, secondly, carriage for commerce can only be obtained by withdrawing it from agriculture which appears to be a great oppression to the tiller of the land; and, thirdly, that when Government has a demand for carriage, it employs an agency of the most atrociously oppressive character, which our author likens to the English "press-gang," but, in so doing, libels, we must say, that service. The Company's press-gang impresses many hundred per cent. more than is authorized.

Our hero relates, with considerable minuteness, the circumstances of a conspiracy to overturn the British Government, which ended in a State trial, and an acquittal of the suspected (guilty) parties. His reflections on this result, and the imputed motives of it, appear to us suggestive of much, that no eye is permitted to see, nor ear to hear, of smothered discontents and dangers, known only to Government.

"However, the knowing ones were of opinion, that the ac- "quittal of the prisoners was a political dodge: and, under the "circumstances, the wisest course that could have been pursued.

"To have brought conviction home to the prisoners, would have "been to shew the people of Hindustan, that the Sirdars and "Zamindars, who were fostered by the *Kumpani*, were eager "for a change of rulers; that the police officials and the sepoys "of the *jungi pultuns* (war regiments) were unfaithful to their "*salt*, and that Moulvi Rahut Ali and others like him, who had "been honored with important revenue and judicial trusts, were "ready to turn upon the *Kumpani's* Government. It was sufficient "that the conspiracy had been suppressed in the bud, and that the "parties implicated were known. And it was good policy to let "the world know, that the *Kumpani Buhadur* did not doubt "the fidelity of her army.

Our hero having concluded his revelations respecting the police, magistracy and criminal courts, proceeds to the revenue department, and opens this interesting and important subject with the following introduction:—

"I have 'said my say' as to matters in *Fouzdari* (the police;) "and shall now give my readers a few revelations in the *revenue* "department of the State. This, as well as the police, comes home to "every man's door. The *Putwari** (collecting) system: the *Muhuk-* "*ma-Commissioner-kurk*; † the *Quanungos*; ‡ the *Suzawuls*; § the "*Tuhsildars*, ‖ and *Peshkars*; ¶ the *Sheristadar* and his satellites "are all deserving of notice. The *revenue settlements*, and the "ordinary and extraordinary ways and means, whereby the offi- "cials make money, and the Zemindars and *puttids* (holders of "leases) lose their estates; all these are worthy of prominent men- "tion. I have been myself a humble ryot, and have felt the inso- "lence and oppression of the 'Jacks in office.' I have had the "produce of my little field, which, with the labor of my wife and "little ones, I had matured, and expected to reap, attached and "sold, despite my complaints to the Hakims. But my office "of 'Nazirs's Orderly' has shewn me strange scenes, which it "shall be my business to describe faithfully to my fellow-ryots "as a beacon to prevent them from suffering from the oppres- "sions carried on under the sanction of the law: and as a duty "to my present employers, the *Sahib Kumpani Buhadur*, whose "*nimuk-purwurdah* (salt-eater) I am, to prevent them from sanc- "tioning such under false coloring. The *Saheban Alishan* little "dream of the hundreds of ways, in which grinding oppression is "practised under their very noses. Be they ever so vigilant, they

* *Putwari system.* The system under which the land rents of the villagers are collected.

† *Muhukma-Commissioner-kurk.* Land Commissioner who makes seizures.

‡ *Quanungo.* Accountant. § *Suzawul.* The Government native collector.

‖ *Tuhsildar.* Petty collector. ¶ *Peshkar.* Inferior registrar.

"are deceived by the native officials; and, it is only by some "lucky chance, that they stumble upon the practices, which per- "vert the intentions of justice. If they be ever so clear-sighted, "they are made to see through the eyes of others. How is this "possible? you indignantly ask—are not the civil servants of "the Government, the elite of England? Are they not, some of "them, acknowledged to be the most talented men of the coun- "try? Has not this class furnished some of the ablest statesmen "in the world? All this I acknowledge. But what can they "do? I have stood behind the chair of the Collector Saheb, "and I have seen him absolutely unable to go through the "official drudgery of the day. I have seen him defer a case, day "after day, in the vain hope that he would find time for inves- "tigating it thoroughly. But, alas! such leisure could not be "found. I have seen his subordinate European officials simi- "larly puzzled with work. How then can you be surprised, "that these gentlemen are obliged frequently to let their deci- "sions pass, under the force of circumstances they cannot "overcome, in order to shew a good *nuksa* to the Board? Hence, "I say, they require promptings from people who are behind the "scenes."

The first case described by our hero is that of himself, when a poor ryot. He had had possession of five bigahs (about two acres) of land for upwards of fifteen years, and his progenitors had had possession of the same for upwards of half a century. They had never paid more than two rupees per bigah, or ten rupees per annum to the old Zemindar, and they were of a class of tenants (khoodkust) not liable to have their rent raised: but Bulbhuddhur Singh had purchased the village by private sale, and had served all the asamis (tenants) with a notice to quit, or to pay four rupees per bigah. "I went," says our hero, "to the Dipty Saheb, and gave in an uzudari (petition), and after hearing both sides, the Diputy Saheb ruled that Bulbhuddur Singh was merely kubáladar (a purchaser;) that, as such, he was merely a kaem-mukam (*locum tenens*) of the Zemindar, and could not legally demand enhancement of rent from a khoodkust ryot, and that even were he a nilamdar (auction purchaser) under the revenue sale law, he was debarred by Reg. 5, 1812, and Act 1 of 1845, which expressly declares "that no auction purchaser shall have the power to enhance the rate of *khoodkust chupperbund asamis*."

Without doubt the khoodkust ryot has by right a valuable and unalterable tenure; and this exposition of it by the Dipty Saheb assured our hero of safety. "But lo!" says he, "no sooner was my field ripe for the sickle, than a fellow put into

my hands a dirty bit of paper, with unintelligible Nagri characters written therein, which he verbally told me was the Putwari's wasil-baki (rent collector's rent bill), showing that I owed Bulbhuddur Singh the sum of ten rupees! I could not read, so I took the paper in great dismay to a Lallah (writer) in the next village, and he read it for me."

Recollecting the prompt justice rendered to him before, our hero again resorted to the Dipty Saheb and loudly demanded justice: *Dohai! dohai!* Dipty Saheb. "'Fool,' said the Dipty, 'what are you bawling yourself hoarse for? I can listen to nothing unless you present a petition on stamped paper.' 'But, Sir,' I urged, 'my crops are distrained; my wife and children will starve unless speedy justice be rendered. And from whence shall I get funds to purchase a stamp, and pay for engrossing the petition? All that I could get for my pains was, to be turned out of the room for my importunity."

The poor ryot (our hero) sells his pugri (turban) to buy a stamped paper, and get a petition written on it; and, fondly conceiving it would have melted a heart of stone, he presented it next day. "The Dipty Saheb at once passed an order to "this effect:—The petitioner is at liberty to give security to the "Kubáladar for the amount of distress; or deposit the money "in the treasury, and then to institute a bejah korki suit (a suit "for wrongful seizure). Ordered, that the petition be dakhil "duftur (put into the office).

"'But, *Junab-i-ali*' I entreated, 'I sold my very pugri to "enable me to present a petition on stamped paper to your honor, "and do you call this redress? I ask the prophet to witness "that the demand is unjust and illegal; and you desire me to "deposit fifteen rupees. Where, in the name of the prophet, "shall I get that sum? But the Dipty Saheb plainly told me "that he was helpless, and, that unless I did as he directed, he "could give me no redress. Finding myself lachar (helpless), "I borrowed fifteen rupees from the village Mahajun at the "rate of four pice per mensem interest, upon each rupee, or "75 per cent. per annum! (read this, ye ghosts of usurers; "and learn a lesson from the unsophisticated mild Hindu!) and "deposited the money, and had my crops released for the nonce "from the distress."

Here we find a combination of real causes, all having the same tendency to destroy the ryot's rights of tenure: and not one countervailing check in his favor. First, we have the exposition of right, and in the ryot's favor; but, being given without expense, nugatory. On the other hand, we have the Zemindar, armed with the power to enforce his own views, without a pre-

vious decree in his favor. Then, when the ryot comes for justice, he finds it can be had only on conditions as cruel as his merciless Zemindar. He submits; he institutes a suit for an illegal distress: let our hero describe the further progress of the case. He has a very moving petition drawn out, and it is decided, as a summary suit, by the Dipty Saheb in his favor.

"But lo!" says he, "a month afterwards, I was served with a "notice from the Munsiff's Court, intimating that Bulbhudder "Singh had complained against me for the amount of annual "*malguzari*, (rent) praying the court to authorize his charging me "four rupees a bigah, or twenty rupees for my *jot* (cultivation) per "annum. I went to Situl Purshad, and asked him to write a petition "for me; but he told me that this was a *lumburi moqudduma* "(tedious case), and that I must consent to undergo considerable "expense, and to employ a regular *Vakil* (pleader). I was in des- "pair. I had not a rupee in the world; so I was obliged to pledge "my pair of oxen to the village mahajan, to raise funds for the de- "fence of this suit. But I rested my hopes on the blessed pro- "phet, and the *insaf* (justice) of the *Hakiman-i-Adalut*."

"My vakil recapitulated the arguments used by the Dipty "Saheb, and quoted a host of regulations and *kantractions*. "But the Munsiff merely asked the *Putwari*, whether the *ittila-* "*namah* (notice) had been served upon Paunchkowri agreeably "to Regulation V. of 1812? To this, the Putwari replied in "the affirmative. I myself did not deny it, but produced a copy "of the Dipty's *rubukari*, in which the notice itself was pro- "nounced illegal. But the Munsiff threw away the *rubukari* "with contempt—"*Koun Dipty Kullucturr? our koun Hakim-i-* "*Adalut Dewani?* (Oh ye gods! Does he pretend to com- "pare the Dipty's contemptible intellects with mine?) The "Munsiff then asked the Putwari, whether the lands of my *jot* "were capable of paying four rupees a bigah, and what were "the general rates of the district? The Putwari submitted "that my *jot* was worth five rupees a bigah; that was the "average rate of the village. The Munsiff decreed for Bulbhud- "der,—casting me, and declaring me liable to pay four rupees "a bigah in future. My vakil advised me to appeal; but I "stared stupidly in his face. "Do not you understand me, "friend?" he said; "appeal to the Saheb Judge Buhadur, and you "will be righted. The Munsiff has warped the law from fear of "Bulbhudder; and the Judge Saheb will reverse his decree. "Oh, vakil," I answered, "where, in the name of the prophet "am I to get more money to fight with Bulbhudder? I have "sold my oxen; I have lost my cause; I shall be ousted out of "house and home,—and you tell me to appeal! Could appeals

"be heard without putting us poor ryots to ruinous expense, "they would be salutary; but as matters are, the *long purse* "*will always carry the day against a poor man.*"'

When the next *kist* (instalment) became due, Bulbhudder brought a summary suit for it, at the enhanced rate, before the Dipty Saheb. "When," says our hero—

"I appeared in person, and confessed that the Munsiff had "decreed against me, and that Bulbhudder's cause was a good "one this time. "Do you intend appealing," quoth the Saheb? "" No, sir," I replied; "I give in, and only pray that my *jot* may "be given to any one else. If Bulbhudder will release me of "all claims, I will resign my *jot*." God and the prophet know, "that the Saheban Alishan have a peculiar mode of adminis- "tering their own laws. One Hakim passes an order to a "certain effect, and another passes one diametrically opposite to "it. Both fancy themselves to be right; either the laws are "enigmas, or the administrators are over-instructed in them. "God help us poor ryots."

The statement of this case discloses several facts which deserve to be noted. First, the want of all special means to secure to the ryot class, the many valuable tenures belonging to them, which are repeatedly recognized in the Government Regulations. This is a great and just impeachment of the humanity, and, perhaps we might add, of the honesty of Government; for it must be recollected, that Government is the chief Lord of the soil, and participates in the profit arising from the oppressions of the zemindar, and the consfication of the rights of the ryots. This is not the place to discuss remedies. We advert to the subject only to note our opinion, which perhaps is not the prevailing one, that some remedies of greater or less efficacy are practicable, and that the will only is wanted. This we think must be apparent from this simple proposition, which we believe to be incontrovertible; namely, that the rights of the royts are precisely of the same nature as the permanent settlement; they are *the* ancient *settlement* of the rates payable to the original owner of the soil by the cultivator of it, but evidenced only by custom. All that is wanted is, what Government has known how to make for itself,—pre-appointed evidence. It would be as easy to register the khoodkust tenure, as the law and custom of a certain district, as to register the Government settlement.

But, secondly, let us note the peculiarities indicated by our hero, in the course of the litigation. There is the Deputy Magistrate's exposition of the law, which, though correct, is nugatory. There is the imposition of a stamp duty, which either bars justice to the poor man, or lays the foundation of his ruin. Then, there is the

conflict of decisions, between that of the Deputy Magistrate, which is right, and that of the Munsiff, which our hero ascribes either to corruption, prejudice, or ignorance; and he only speaks the prevailing opinion, in holding these up as characteristic of the East India Company's Courts of every denomination. Lastly, there is the Munsiff's contempt for the Dipty Saheb;—a feature well worth noting, because it is not merely an individual feeling, which may be ascribed to a bad man, but is not likely to be entertained by men in general. On the contrary, it is the necessary consequence of the established relation of this valuable class of public officers toward the covenanted civil service. Instead of being equal and independent, they are in a state of degradation and subordination, which deprives them of all deference and respect from other officials. Law and authority are as respectable in a constable as in a king; and no grades of service ought to destroy this species of equality.

As the same species of agency is employed in the Revenue Department, as in the Civil and Fouzdarí (Criminal), the same vices may easily be believed to prevail in it, and similar consequences to follow. We rise from this portion of our hero's revelations with the most painful impression of the utter insecurity of all rights of property. It was on the occasion of Paunchkowrí's losing his land, in the manner already described, that he resorted to his friend Suntokhea. From being a victim of oppression, he wished to become an agent of the Law, and in his turn to be the oppressor. He now relates, how his fortune throve, by joining in all the corrupt practices of the Collector's umlahs. Under the Company's system, the ancient zemindars have shared the same fate as the ancient ryots: and our hero illustrates in some degree how this has been accomplished.

"During," says he, "my incumbency as an 'Orderly,' I have "witnessed scenes that, if described with ordinary rhetoric, would "induce my readers to think that I am not dealing with facts, "but endeavouring to harrow their feelings with imaginary tales "of distress. I will leave such matters for the ingenuity of "romance-mongers and give you the naked truth, which requires "no high coloring to render it interesting. There lived "in the village of Tandah an opulent cultivator, by name "Bhuwani Singh. His ancestors had been the zemindars "of the village; but during the first revenue settlements, "by Junatin Dunkin Buhadur, his father had refused to "enter into the necessary engagements, alleging that the as-"sessments were too heavy; so that, at the time of my story, "Bhuwani Singh was cultivator of fifty bigahs of as fine "land as you would desire to see for miles around. The

" malguzari (rent) on these lands was 1 rupee 8 annas a bigah, " or seventy-five rupees per annum. The zemindars of Tandah " were also opulent men, and were never a day behind the fixed " time for payment of the '*kists*' due to the Sircar. But the " *taluk* (estate) was known to be profitable, and was coveted by " the Vakil and Umlah; and a plot was entered into between " them, to force it to be sold, when they would pounce upon it as " legal prey, and appropriate it as their own."

The plan resorted to was not to serve the usual *dustuck* (summons) out of the Collector's office; to bring the zemindars into default by this means; and in the end to induce a sale of the property for arrears of revenue. The taluk was sold, and purchased by Lalla Munshi and Mouhori Vakil, two persons in the Collectors's office; the zemindars appealed, but could get no redress, as the papers were right; and the auction purchasers got possession.

This case, as respects the zemindars, is the true type of a million. Never, before or since, did law or policy, war or rapine, effect so many and such extensive changes of property, as the East India Company's revenue system in the early days of its establishment. In Europe the property of the church and of other corporations has undergone indiscriminate confiscation: but in India the whole landed property of the country has been subjected to a system, the effect of which has been to sweep away the ancient proprietors, and to fill their places with the lowest of the Company's native officials. Our hero represents the ruin of the zemindars, as having been followed by the subversion of the ancient rights of the ryots; and he illustrates it by the relation of what further happened to Bhowani Singh in his new character of a cultivator. Bhowani was entitled by lineage, by intelligence, by capital, by the extent of his occupation, to be considered as of a very superior order, a sort of old Indian gentleman, who had lost his estate by the policy of Government, but, still cleaving to the soil, had turned farmer. He had, like the smaller ryots, a perpetual tenure at a fixed rent; and, according to the custom of the country, it was an inheritance and a property. Such a man would, of course, be obnoxious to the new revolutionary *Sansculottes* tribe of zemindars who sprung up like mushrooms in the *raj* of the East India Company, and, having no rights but what they acquired by fraud and rapine, had no respect for the principle of property. Mark, now, the cruel steps by which Bhowani and his sons were utterly ruined by the new zemindars.

" No sooner was the sale of Tandah concluded, than Moulvi

"Vakil obtained a *kubalah* (bill of sale,) and *umuldustuk* (writ of "possession), and took formal possession. Notice for enhance-"ment of rent was served on every *ryot;* and, among others, "Bhuwani Singh, and his fifty bigahs of *mourusi jot* (perpetual "tenure) were not forgotten. He had always paid one rupee eight "annas per bigah, and was now directed to pay five rupees. But "he was a tough old Rajput, and merely laughed the notice to "scorn. However, Moulvi Vakil was not a man to give in, while "a quirk or quibble was at hand, or a sheer face of brass could "frown forth withering terrors; so as soon as the first *kist* "became due, he instituted summary process against him. The "case was prepared by the Umlah, and heard before the Saheb "Shistunt, who had recently joined.

"There were, first, the Putwari's *wasil baki* (rent account); "second, a copy of the notice served on defendant, declaring him "liable to pay five rupees per bigah; third, the Collector's *kubalah* "to the auction purchaser. In answer to all these, old Bhuwani "Singh simply referred to the fact, that he was resident here-"ditary cultivator, from the cession of the province to the "Sircar Kumpani Buhadur—that he held a *puttah* signed by "the Saheb Kullan Junatin Dunkin—that by the regulations "of the Sircar he was exempt from enhancement of rent—and "that, please Ramji! he would not pay a fraction more than "he had done. While the Saheb Shistunt sat with a becoming "gravity, with his beaver hat knowingly cocked on his head, "Moulvi Vakil eagerly said 'Jenab-i-ali! did your honor "ever hear such insolence as has been uttered by that fellow? "He says, he will not pay a pice more than the *malguzari* he "has paid, even if your worship order it! He presumes to "defy the Hakim!' 'Well, well,' pettishly said the Saheb, '*chup* "*ruho* (silence). What are the sale regulations, Munshi?' "Now the reader will remember that the Munshi was a joint "proprietor with the Vakil, and his cue, therefore, was to mis-"lead; so he turned up Regulation 5 of 1812, Sec. 9. 'Here, sir, "is the *kanun* (regulation). Moulvi Vakil did serve the notice "for enhancement of *malguzari*, and is clearly entitled to a decree "in the present suit.' Decree for plaintiff was given accord-"ingly. This is grand, thought old Bhuwani, Singh, '*diggrui* "*to pah, lekin rupia to morpas bah.*" (You may get the "decree, but not the rupees). After a month the decree was "executed, and the usual process for apprehension of the person "was issued. The *mushkuri* that served the writ, was thrashed "soundly by Bhuwani's three sons, who were taken up for the "assault by the thanader, *chalaned*, and sentenced to six "months' imprisonment each; and old Bhuwani himself, heart

"broken and disconsolate, delivered himself up to the Nazir. "The case was called, the decree read, and Bhuwani was asked, "whether he would pay the amount? 'No; I will not,' was his re- "ply. 'For fifty years my father and I have never paid more "than one rupee eight annas a bigah, and not a pie more shall I "pay.' He was sent to jail. Moulvi Vakil next gave in a petition "to the Saheb Shistunt, for the sale of Bhuwani's property. "This was ordered of course; but it was strange that six fine "cows, two stone sugar mills, and a stack of grain, was sold for "only eighteen rupees. The sale was sanctioned; but, as the "whole amount of decree was not paid, old Bhuwani was, there- "fore, allowed to rot in jail.

"When the next instalment became due to the auction pur- "chaser, a summary suit was again filed according to the usual "processes; the return of the Nazir was '*ruposh*' (hiding.) But "the defendant and his sons were in jail; how then could the suit "be defended? The result was an *exparte* decree for Moulvi "Vakil. This decree was also executed; and the Nazir's *kyfeut* "was, that the defendant was in jail, in a suit of the decree- "holder, Moulvi Vakil. He was sent for from the jail; but "pleaded insolvency, and was released.

"Bhuwani was at large; his sons also were released; and "they commenced ploughing their fields Like men, they vowed "that Moulvi Vakil should rue the day he ever thought of "oppressing them. Old Dowlat Singh and his stalwart progeny "were also paupers; and, in the whole village, a feeling of hatred "and revenge was engendered against the *Nilamdar*. But the "Moulvi was not one that would rashly venture his person "within a village, the inhabitants of which were inimical to "him; and he laughed at the deadly threats of the tribe of Raj- "puts.

"He sent his *Karindah*, however, to *tusil* (collect); and on "the first night of his arrival at the *ch'howni* (hut), it was fired; "and he and his party were knocked down with lattees (clubs), as "they ran out to escape the devouring flame.

"This was what the Vakil had longed for, and had anticipat- "ed. He smoothed down his beard with the hand of satis- "faction and prepared to act. Meantime Dowlut Singh and his "stalwart sons, and old Bhuwani and his sons, were so alarmed "at their own violence, and frightened for the consequences, "that they left their homes and fled. A very exaggerated re- "port was made to the magistrate, of a case, which required no "coloring to heighten its enormity. The wounded men were "sent into hospital; and weeks passed before they were declared "to be convalescent. The defendants were not forthcoming,

"until they were proclaimed as out-laws, when they made neces-
"sity a virtue, and gave themselves up. They were tried, fully
"convicted, and sentenced to imprisonment for seven years.
"Thus Moulvi Vakil got possession of the entire taluk at
"the expense of a few broken bones to his retainers.

"This result made a serious impression on me. I reflected that my own case was not parallel in hardship. For here "were zemindars, and old *istimraree puttidars* (holders of re-"claimed land), turned out of their fields, and irretrievably "ruined in purse and reputation, by the machinations of a man "who had risen from the dregs of the people to be a Vakil, "by the sheer force of villainy, aided by, it must be confessed, "great talent. Here were the well-meaning regulations of a "Government that would be paternal, misconceived and distort-"ed, to suit the views of interested parties. And the Hakims, "what were they doing? Alas! I saw by my own practice "that they were as children in our hands. Their various duties "so interfered one with another, that a portion only could pos-"sibly be performed."

THE MOCKERY OF AN ADJUDICATION.

"Most of my readers are aware that "*summary suits*" for "rent or replevin (known as *moquddumat surasuri*, or *bigah* "*tulbi*) are heard and decided by a covenanted assistant to "the Collector, or by the "Dipty Saheb." But, perhaps, all "are not aware, that the proof in such cases is based entirely "upon the Putwari's (rent collector's) accounts. For any "claim that is doubtful, the parties are referred to the civil "courts. But as no witnesses may be examined, the Putwari "has it entirely in his power to depone, for zemindar, or for ryot, "exactly as his own interest may bias him. He produces a "Jummabundi (rent-roll) and the village accounts, which are "confessedly dictated by the zemindar himself. He asserts "that the ryot owes the zemindar so much money, and has not "paid it, *because it is not mentioned in his accounts!* "The poor ryot calls his *debtas* (gods) to witness for him; names "the mahajun, to whom he pledged his bullocks for the money "to pay his rent, and the witnesses in whose presence "the money was paid. But the inexorable Dipty merely asks "him, "*Putwari yah* zemindar *ka ruseed rukhteh ho*' (Do "you hold a receipt from the Putwari, or Zemindar)? *Nu-*"*hee purwur* (No; Protector of ryots)! A decree for "plaintiff is the certain result. But who shall blame the "Assistant or Deputy, when they are so desired to do, and "are forbidden to make aught approaching to judicial in-

"vestigation? The jummabundi itself, the principal, if not "only, documentary evidence in suits for rent or repleviu, is a tissue of falsehoods and errors. Pick out any one, "or a dozen at random, and try and reconcile the discrepancies. "You will find the same number of the field, the same jumma "and area, put down against two or three distinct *asamis*, in "the same number of distinct entries. Why? you ask. Merely "to enable the Zemindar and Putwari to charge one or the "other party with the *malguzari*, according to the necessity "of the occasion. But is there not an establishment of Deputy Collectors, Tuhsildars, Qanungos, and Mohurirs, to exa-"mine records, and to rectify errors, wilful or unintentional? "True; but how can one man get through the work of four? "The comparison is slurred over, and the people suffer."

The true economy would be not to have any such establishment at all: but a *sham* one, though useless for its proper objects, is a name, and may be referred to as a fact, by the sophist or sycophant in defence of Government; while it blinds the Government itself.

"But to illustrate my allegations with a tale: There lived in "the village of Bhurturrah, one Ramkishoon Koonbee, who had "a *jot* of seven bigahs of land, which had devolved on him "as his inheritance. He was industrious and prosperous, and "always paid his rent of twenty-one rupees per annum to Bul-"bhudder Singh, the Nilamdar. Ramkishoon's sons had grown "up; and, leaving two of them to manage the fields, he, "with one son, took service with the Rájah of Bettiah. "They had been absent two years at the period of my tale. A "bigah of land, that had been left fallow, was about to be "ploughed by Ramkishoon's sons for sugar-cane; when Debee "Lalla, with five strapping *latthuals*, forcibly stopped them, and "ploughed the field themselves. On the lads' remonstrance, "Debee Lalla told them, *that their father had been dispossessed "two years ago!* They were too weak to fight; so went to "another of their fields and commenced tilling it vigorously. "A year passed away, and Ramkishoon Koonbee returned to "Bhurturrah; his sons told him the story of their dispossession "from part of the *jot*. The old fellow's blood was up, and he "filed a petition in the *surasury* for *bey-dhukli* (ejectment). "The Putwari was summoned, and deponed upon oath to the "dispossession of Ramkishoon from his entire *jot, three years "ago!* further, that Ramkishoon had fled from his village; and "that the Nilamdar had made a *bundobust* (settlement) of the "seven bigahs of land with Ramdeehul Singh, who had paid "the *malguzari* regularly. Great was the horror of the poor

"Koonbee. He produced receipts given to his sons for the "money they had paid the Karindah, Debee Lalla. He swore "that he was in possession of six bigahs of his old jot, and beg- "ged of the Saheb to look at the accounts. This was done, but "lo! the last two jummabundis bore the name of Ramdeehul "Singh, as cultivator of the fields formerly held by Ramkishoon "Koonbee. What could the Saheb do? Ramkishoon's case was "dismissed, and he was referred to the civil courts for redress.

"Here was a poor cultivator, resident and hereditary, dis- "possessed, first of one field by force, and then of all the rest "by an unscrupulous Nilamdar, and a rascally Putwari. Had "the Qanungo first reported to the Huzur, that an entry in "the Jummabundi had been made, contrary to the preceding "year's papers, an enquiry would have been ordered, and the "false entry corrected. But the more inaccuracies there are in "a Jummabundi, the greater is the fee demanded for filing it; "and if the *douceur* be sweet enough, there is never any diffi- "culty in getting the Huzur's signature affixed to it."

The filing of the jummabundi, or rent roll, of a village annually, evidently appears to be commanded by the regulations, as a protection to the ryot. It is the duty of an officer, who is paid for the service by a special tax. Hear from our hero, how this duty is performed, and the office converted into a means of extortion:—

"The filing of the Putwari's papers is a tax to the entire "district; and when the Saheban Borad issue stringent orders "to the Collectors to expedite the delivery of the papers, then "comes a glorious harvest to us orderlies. The *Dipty* sends "first one *dustuck* upon the zemindar and Putwari, then a "second, and a third. They are at length brought before the "man "in a little brief authority;" and the culprits tremble for "the result. Has the tullubana been paid? No, your honor. "Then put the Putwari in the Nazir's guard; and place an "extra *peadah* on the zemindar until the tullubana has been "paid. The zemindar alleges that the *peadah* only served "him with the notice four days ago. But he is turned out sum- "marily. He offers to pay whatever is demanded: the *peadah* "coolly asks *ten rupees*. This is refused indignantly; but every "day the bullying increases, and the extra day's tullubana is ad- "ded to the first demand, until the zemindar, *lachar*, (helpless) "gives the *peadah* all he demands, to get away to his quiet "home, far from the harpies of the *Kacherie*. But what "is the law? There is no penal law by which the zemin- "dar may be coerced to file the jummabundis. The only pu- "nishment the law contemplates, is to debar any zemindar the

" privilege to sue for his rent in any court. if the jummabundi " is not filed ; and yet, each village is mulcted from five to ten " rupees per annum ; and a parcel of vagabonds called " *mush-* " *kuri peadahs*" fatten illegally on the villagers. *In every* " *district, where the Putwari's papers are filed regularly, and* " *before the beginning of the year, a legion of these muskuris* " *is set loose upon the zemindars, to force them to do as the* " *Saheban Alishan desire.*"

The law and the local administrations thus appear to be equally defective. All our hero's revelations conspire to shew that the European agency employed by Government is incompetent for the public service required from it ; and this gives freedom to the natives to follow every corrupt impulse and motive of personal interest. Our hero next relates a case of the enhancement of the customary rents through the assistance of the Qanungo :—

" A Mahajun had purchased the village of Buhadurpur, and " his Karindahs suggested, that by doubling the rents of every " cultivator, he would get a clear profit of a hundred rupees per " mensem. How was this miracle to be effected? You shall see. " A jummabundi was given to the Qanungo to be filed in the " Collector's office ; but the increase shewn was so alarming, " that he did not dare to attest it. He gave a *kyfeut* to the " Huzur to the effect, that 'there was an increase in the jumma " certainly, but the Nilamdar alleged that the Asamis had agreed " to the enhancement of rent, on his consenting to dig wells, &c., " for them.' The Saheb ordered the Qanungo to go out himself, " to assemble the Asamis, and to report faithfully whether they " had really consented to the increase? And if so, to get the " signatures of the majority affixed to the jummabundi. This " was pretended to be carried out ; and a month had not elapsed, " when the Qanungo again presented the jummabundi with his " *kyfeut* to the Huzur, asserting that the names of all the culti- " vators had been affixed to the document, in the presence of " himself and the Putwari. What could the Saheb do? The " jummabundi was signed and sealed, and ordered to be filed " among the records."

" The Qanungo fattens most when it is the misfortune of any " village to be made "kham tuhsil," that is, where the zemindar " becomes a defaulter, and no person offers to take a farming " lease for a term of years, and pay the balance. The Collector " appoints a manager on his own part called a Suzawul, to " collect the rents, and in most cases the Qanungo is chosen to " fill this office. The first thing done is to go to the village, " assemble the inhabitants, and ask for the *nuzurana* (good-will

"offering) for the Sircar. Nothing but silver is ever taken from "the majority, but the Suzawul is sometimes content to commute "the cash payment for the offering of a fat sheep. As soon as "the sheep has been digested, the asamis are again summoned "to adjust the new *jummabundi ba-mujibhukum Saheban* "*Borad.* The Brahmuns are let off lest they should curse the "Lalla; but from every other caste, from four annas to eight "annas a bigah is rigorously exacted. As these sums are in- "tended for the Suzawul's private purse, they are, from a mere "infirmity in his memory, omitted in the village accounts. The "zemindar's dues are always enforced by the Sircar's represen- "tative. The shepherds present the younglings of their flocks; "the barbers shave him, and sooth him to rest, or gently arouse "him by the delicious pressure of the limbs known as shampuing; "sometimes the young Nayins (barberesses) take the place of "their husbands to lull the Suzawul to rest; the *telis* furnish "sufficient oil for a lamp to burn throughout the night; and "thus a Suzawul, in charge of a large estate, is *the* picture of "a happy man, in the enjoyment of rural felicity and rural afflu- "ence. Many a feast do his friends receive at the expense of "the villagers; and who would not feast, 'eat, drink and be "merry,' when all the materials cost nothing? A case comes on "before the Saheb Collector; the *qanungo* is ordered to attend. "He cannot be found. Where is he? Nobody can tell. The "Nazir roars out to me, go, Paunchkouri, and bring that "*suhalinkar*, that *nimukharam*, to the Huzur. Go, to his "house, and if not there, go to the village of Sundaha where "he may be playing the Suzawul."

This accords with many native testimonies which we have heard on this subject. The zemnidars are universally acknowledged tyrants; but in the case of *khas* lands (Company's lands, farmed through official agency), the tyranny of the Suzawuls and his assistant is insupportable; just as a pack of wolves, by reason of their greater number, will carry off, devour, and destroy, more than one tiger.

THE KOMMISHNUR KURKI.

"But *the* great man, '*who plays fantastic tricks before high* "*heaven*' is the *Kommishnur Kurki*, and *I* have watched his "doings with much edification. He has his sudder kacheri, "and writes his rubukaris like a Hakim. As far as I could "learn from the muktiars and mohurrirs of the Collector's "office, the duties of this officer are simply those of an Ameen "of distraint and sale, for which he is entitled to a com- "mission of ten per cent. *on the proceeds of sale.* And in the

"event of a compromise, or non-completion of the sale, from any "cause whatsoever, he is entitled to five per cent. *on the valua-* "*tion of the property distrained.* The resources from this coms "mission *only* would amount to about thirty-five or forty rupee- "per mensem. The Kommishnur Saheb has to pay the rent of "a suitable kacheri. He has a mohurrir on seven rupees a "month, and six chuprassi at least to whom he must give three "rupees each. Thus, little enough, it would appear, is left for the "provision of the great man himself. He has generally a wife "and several children at home. He sports a horse or palki, "keeps one or two servants, and a comely woman servant, who "acts as his *khudmutgar.* Money must be found for these "expenses; and, by the blessing of the *debtas,* who watch over "the prosperity of the mysteries of chicanery, it is never want- "ing. Without tiring my readers with all the minutiæ of "trickery, I shall just give a few examples of extortion."

Of these examples we shall present only the last, and beg our readers to note in it, how unsafe capital, when applied to the soil, is rendered by such misgovernment. The produce of the soil at the present reduced prices will not bear the tax of such enormous corruption: and the tendency of the system has already become apparent in Lower Bengal, which is rapidly in the course of conversion into one vast rice-field. The rest of the country, which requires much tillage, labour and capital, especially for the more valuable crops, must go gradually out of cultivation.

"An asami has been allowed to cut his kurrif (harvest) crop "without his rent being demanded. He is in debt, and has paid "away the greater part of his produce to the village mahajun; "when he finds *two bigahs* of half grown *sugar-cane* distrain- "ed, and notice of sale advertised. If allowed to come to "maturity, and the juice to be worked into *gur,* the two bi- "gahs of cane would yield from 150 to 200 rupees; but the "zemindar is resolved to ruin him The poor ryot runs to the "Collector Saheb, or the Saheb Dipty, and petitions against this "grinding oppression. He is told to give malzamini (security), "and to institute Bejah Kurki. He hypothecates the standing "crops to his mahajun, who becomes his surety, and the case "is instituted. After the usual forms, the case is heard. The "ryot does not deny that the claim is just, but pleads that if "he had time granted him, he would pay the demand, and still "save himself from ruin. The Saheb says, *wajib hai,* it is reason- "able. But the Mukhtyars ask, whether the zemindar is not "entitled to receive the malguzari from the produce of the soil? "They allege that the khurrif was cut and sold by the ryot, with- "out paying the zemindar his dues; and that if the Saheb Baha-

"dur will now interfere, how is the zemindar to pay the revenue "due to the Sircar? The Munshiji quietly folds his hands, to "say his *iltimas* (prayers); and he urges that the sale of stand- "ing crops is authorised by usage. The case is dismissed, and "a sale ordered. And the poor ryot has the option of either "permitting his half-grown crops to be purchased by the ze- "mindar (*ism furzi*) in a fictitious name at the twentieth of the "value, or, of borrowing money from the Mahajun, on the hypo- "thecations of the crops, *at seventy-five per cent. per annum* "*interest.*

"Well, thought I, the *Kumpani ka Raj* is a paternal and "fostering *Raj* for the poor ryots!"

> "Ill fares the land, to hastening ills a prey,
> Where wealth accumulates, and *men* decay;
> Princes and Lords may flourish, or my fade.
> A breath can make them, as a breath has made;
> But a bold peasantry, their country's pride,
> When once destroyed, can never be supplied."

In several chapters our hero describes, in an historical manner, the survey, and other operations in the N.-W. Provinces many years ago, for making a revenue settlement. They are revelations rather of the past than the present; but are exceedingly curious and interesting, and pregnant, we may add, with instruction. Instead of making extensive extracts, we will endeavour to give an abridgment, in which our object, like our author's, will be not so much the amusement of our readers, as their instruction.

The whole of the ceded and conquered provinces laboured under the disadvantage of short leases for the revenue, for terms of five or ten years: and, as these terms expired, there was a constant struggle between Government and the zemindars, on the one side to augment, on the other to reduce, the revenue assessments. The periodical revision of settlements rendered large establishments necessary, and burdened the Government with the expense of highly paid revenue boards, as well as their deputations over various parts of the country. To introduce a change, the first object was, to ascertain the precise limits of each estate, with a view to the measurement of the included area. "This led," says our author, "to the appointment of young gentlemen of the Civil Service" as *settlement officers*, and the employment of *Revenue Surveyors*. Their proper object was (like that of every land-owner in appointing a land-steward and surveyor) to define the boundaries of the different farms, so that the tenants might have no pretence for encroaching on one another: to ascertain the quantity, more or less, in each farm

and zemindari, and the kind and quality of the land, so that a fair rent might be exacted; and, on the other hand, to give the tenant a sufficiently long term, to give him an interest in improving the property. Such were the objects: but the operations, according to our author, were a complete failure. This he appears to assume as unquestionable fact and matter of notoriety; and he shews in detail how it came to be so. Reader, you have seen in the foregoing pages, how the Company's system of police, how its administration of justice, have become failures, or worse; now mark how similarly this other great service, established by the State, became a failure: "The root of the evil" (that is the failure,) says our author, was the ignorance of the officers to whom the work was entrusted, as to the exact nature of what they were required to perform. The young settlement officers had to learn the rudiments of the revenue system; and the surveyors were not instructed to prepare their papers, so as to tally in all points with the records of the collector's office. Thus, it appears, there was no competent head to direct the operations at starting. All sorts of discrepancies and confusion followed. In the essential point of the lists of estates, the returns of the survey and settlement officers materially differed. A confusion was made between *muhals* (estates) and *mouzahs* (villages). Here we have ignorance, alike of the language and of the customary territorial divisions of the country. They did not know such a difference, as that between an estate and a county, or between a manor and the hundred in which it might be situated. In many instances the collector, the settlement officer, and the surveyor were at open feud, or privately bent on playing at cross purposes, and thwarting each other; and officers of the same class entertained different ideas respecting what were their duties. Settlements, however, were made, and fixed by the fiat of authority: but they worked badly Zemindars could not afford to pay yearly losses. They tried a desperate game, and neglected the cultivation, as our author says, to induce a remission of the revenue: but their estates were sold to recover the balances due to the Sircar. Thus, one set of proprietors was relentlessly swept away, to be succeeded by auction-purchasers. These rack-rented the cultivators; who fled, and affairs became worse than ever. The native officials, employed in the survey, had fine scope for their activity. A desperate struggle arose of bribery on a large scale to prevent the true arrears of villages being brought to light; and every native official, of whatever grade, not only was promoted by gigantic strides, but emulated the wealth of the Company.

Our author does full justice to the principle of these Revenue Settlements: it was, he says, excellent, and evinced the wisdom and practical (sed quære) skill of the legislature, and of the many able men who compose the Boards of Revenue.

He specifies several errors on the part of those who had the ordering of these surveys. The great mistake, or, as we should prefer to say *one* great mistake was, an order to go through with a fixed quantity of work within a definite time and to make the assessments as high as the country could bear with reference to its means. When the consequences of this were seen, modifying orders were issued, to make the *bundobusts* (settlements) light, that the people might not be overburdened: but this, as our author wittily observes, was "like telling a cook to slaughter a calf, and then, out of superfluous humanity, to shed tears over the untimely fate of the unfortunate animal!" It may well be doubted, indeed, whether the humanity and the tears were intended to be real; for, whenever remission was suggested, so many explanations were called for, that officials became wary and wise, and tried to square their course so as to save trouble.

From general remarks such as the above which our author calls his *prolegomena*, he returns to the beginning of his subject, and shows how the work of the settlement proceeded. "A set of hungry Amins (native commissioners), were let loose upon the district, whose duty it was to set up earthen *termini* at every angle of the boundry of each estate." These men are described as extorting, by fair means or foul, large sums from the Zemindar: and, if he tried to break off, they reported him to the Peshkar (deputy registrar), and he to the settlement officers, and the settlement officers fined him roundly.

The boundaries being completed, the survey commenced; and, first and foremost, a fat Tindal (foreman) went to every large village, and, gathering the notables together, announced that the Parmash-ka-lushkur (great man's attendants) would encamp therein; and, mind friend, he would say, get ready ten thousand naiks (tent pins,) &c. This hint was always sufficient to induce the Zemindars to shell out handsomely, and to beg the Tindal to represent to the Saheb-i-Massah, that the village was not adapted for an encampment. The Tindal knew very well that the village was too much out of the way to be chosen by the surveyor; so he pocketed the rupees, went on his way to the next large village, and repeated his experiment of selecting an encampment with similar success.

The encamping ground being fixed upon, next the khulasis were sent out to prepare the villages for survey. They had to remove obstructions in a direct line: a rich crop of sugar-cane,

or a fine old mangoe tree, or a peepul held in veneration by the villagers, *would* come into the direct line ; if the Zemindars paid freely, the station was removed to one side : but, if they asserted independence, a report of opposition to the survey was made, and in most cases the villagers were mulcted by the settlement officer.

The lines being prepared for survey, parties of surveyors were sent out to measure the boundaries.

" This used to be carefully and satisfactorily done at first by " European assistants ; but it was discovered in the course of " time, that it was *cheaper* to use native agency, and to pay twen- " ty-five rupees a month to a boundary Surveyor, instead of " 150 or 200 to an assistant. This notable discovery, however, " did not answer its end. It took some time of course to train " natives to their work ; but it *was* at length accomplished ; and " the work then got on as rapidly as the projectors had antici- " pated. But the new *material* had odd notions of honesty, " and of course adapted it, as it seemed to be most beneficial to " individual interests. The Tindals nearly lost their monopoly, " and the gathering of the harvest devolved on more influential " hands. The Lalla Saheb or, as he used sometimes to be " styled, the Kumpass-walla, claimed, and took the lion's share of " the perquisites. But, you ask, how were the perquisites ob- " tained? Why, a common trick was for the Kumpass-walla to " adjust his theodolite, and to pretend surprise that the magne- " tic needle would not play. The Tindal would anxiously " enquire what was wrong? The khulasis would do the same. " The Zemindars present would thus have their curiosity excited, " and would crowd round the theodolite with gaping mouths. At " last the Tindal would venture to ask the Lalla Saheb, whether " the usual morning *puja* to the instrument had been performed? " This acted as a flapper to the Lalla, and he asked his next " neighbour, the Zemindar, to put a rupee on the glass of the " needle. It was done ; but deuce a bit would it move. The " attraction is not sufficiently strong, he would say, try another ! " This was done until the patience of the villagers was exhaust- " ed, and they had put down as many as ten rupees. The Lalla " gingerly touched the catch, and the needle swung round to " the astonishment and edification of the villagers. The rupees " were pocketed, and divided afterwards among the whole of the " party. But the ordinary mode was to induce the Zemindars " to believe, that the Kumpass-walla had it in his power to in- " crease or decrease the area of the village, by a single squint at " the Kumpass.

" The boundary survey over, a party of detail measurers wen

"out to measure the cultivation. If the zemindar feed highly, "a good portion of cultivated land was put in as fallow, or "waste; and specifications of soil were noted so favorably, as to "induce a belief, that the cultivation was not highly productive. "The item of irrigation was exaggerated in the same manner. "There were *no* wells, *no* ponds, *no* streamlets to furnish an "adequate supply of water. If the zemindar did *not* pay, then "a picture diametrically opposite was drawn and submitted. "The cultivation was increased; every deserted field, on which "the furrow of a plough was faintly visible, was included under "the head of cultivation. The barren waste was entered as "'arable,' and even tracts of pure sand were represented as "such: every field was highly irrigated, and the sources of "irrigation multiplied.

"It was soon found that a detailed survey, such as I have at-"tempted to describe, was of little service to the settlement officer. "There were, in the first place, no data for an asamiwar set-"tlement; and, secondly, the extent of cultivation was more than "doubtful. Then was introduced the admirable mode of *khusrah* "(field-book) *surveys*; a most excellent mode of procedure if "you can look sufficiently sharp after the Amin, to force him "to be honest and correct. The mode of procedure was as "follows:"

We cannot follow our author in these details; but we refer to them, as demonstrative proof that he thoroughly understands the subject, and was conversant with the operations depicted. At the commencement of the khusrah surveys, the simple and unsophisticated mode of measurement with *ropes* of Indian hemp, or thongs of leather, was adopted; but the difference of measurement of the rope, when wet, and when dry, baffled all testing. Iron chains were substituted; but a link could be taken away, or a link added; and, according as the zemindar paid, the chain was lengthened or shortened. "Where bribery," says our author, "took root to any extent, it went through the establish-"ment of the testers, and the mohurirs (clerks) and munshis "of the survey and settlement office; and every return was "*judged*, as school-boys term it." In the several matters of irrigation, soil, average of produce, name of the holder of the field, even his *caste*, the Amins reaped a rich harvest.

"The name of the holder was a most important point, and "which the surveyors themselves did not understand rightly; "and the changes under this head occasioned serious mischief. "The distinction of *Sar lands* and *Sikhmi Asamis*, or here-"ditary cultivators, was not understood, or not regarded. When

"an opulent Asami of the Rajput or Brahmin caste assert-
"ed independence, and would not pay, he was recorded as a
"'Chumar'!* When the register of holdings was publicly
"tested, and Phullanah Chumar called, no answer was returned
"from sheer pride of caste: and the unfortunate wight was
"obliged to petition the settlement officer, and to fee the Qa-
"nungo and Mohurirs handsomely to get his name correctly
"entered. But what I have said was merely the light skirmish-
"ing of irregular troops—the real seat of war was the *Kache-*
"*ri-i-paimash* (surveyor's office); and the chief plunderers were
"the munshis and their satellites in that department.

"When a *khusrah* was tested, and signed by the surveyor, it
"was sent into the Munshi-khanah. Now, the signature was
"confined to the leaf shewing the *total area*. Nightly durbars
"were held by the Munshiji, and large sums were paid to
"him, to *falsify the papers entirely!* The page shewing the
"total area, and bearing the surveyor's signature, was the same;
"but the *details* were entirely changed. This was proved to
"have occurred in the district of Futtehpore; and what guaran-
"tee is there, that similar tricks and deceptions were not more
"or less universal?"

The survey papers are at length prepared, and, such as they are, sent to the settlement office.

"Now came to the actual responsibilities of the settlement
"officer's duties. He had to fix a rental upon each *muhal*. He
"had to apportion the *malguzari* of each ryot to the extent of
"his holding. He had to adduce reasons for the reduction or
"increase of the revenue. The proper mode would have been
"for the Saheb *mohtumim* to proceed into every village and judge
"for himself, and *then* to decide this important point. But
"alas! few had the inclination to take so much trouble; and,
"even if they had, they were hampered by the orders of the
"superior authorities. They were expected to go through a
"certain quantity of work; and, to save their credit, they did so,
"but to the frustration of the object for which Government had
"appointed them. A common mode was to divide each *purgun-*
"*nah* into a number of imaginary portions, assuming that each
"portion consisted of similar soil and facilities for irrigation.

"Thus, by assuming an arbitrary standard, a false valuation
"of the estates was (as a consequence) made. Scores of really
"profitable *muhals*, that were assessed at the *average*, were
"very greatly under-rated. While other estates, that were poor,

* Shoe-maker, a low caste among the Hindus.

"and whose productiveness fell *under* the average, by being "lumped with their more profitable neighbours, were irretriev- "ably ruined. The reports of settlement were plausible enough, "and read well; but the results of experience prove the falsity "of a data, upon which the settlement operations were based. "In calculating the means of a village, the ordinary mode was "to take the average of the rates of malguzari, and thereby "multiply the number of bigahs under cultivation; to deduct "therefrom the ordinary village expenses, and ten per cent. for "the Zemindar's *malikana* (or dues for right of management); "—and the balance was the Government jumma. Suppose an "estate with 1,000 bigahs of cultivation, and the average mal- "guzari rate to be three rupees a bigah, the gross assets "would be assumed at 3,000 rupees. There are two chowkidars "(watchmen) and one goraet at two rupees a month each, and a "putwari at four rupees. The annual expense would be 120 "rupees. The *malikana* at ten per cent. would be 300 rupees. "The accounts would stand thus:—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Hal hasil* (present assets) ..... | Rs. | 3,000 |
| Deduct *malikana* at ten per cent. ..... | | 300 |
| Rupees ..... | | 2,700 |
| Deduct wages of village servants ..... | | 120 |
| Balance, or Government revenue ..... | | 2,580 |

"By the abovec alculation it will be seen that the Govern- "ment revenue bore the extraordinary proportion of *86 per "cent. on the gross returns! (quære*, rental?)

"But the duties of a zemindar do not consist only in receiv- "ing the rents from the ryots. He is obliged, or he *should* be "obliged, to make advances to the needy villagers for seed, for the "purchase of cattle, and for alleviating calamities of the seasons. "He is obliged to renew old wells, to dig new ones, and to in- "cur a pretty considerable figure in nuzzurs to the Qanungo "the Tahsildar, and the Darogah of police. None of these "items are ever taken into account; and, however much the "notion of allowing, or conniving at such fees may be repudiat- "ed, yet *they are extorted;* and, therefore, some allowances "should be made for this *secret service* expense. Let any one "that is doubtful, purchase a pair of oxen and a plough, and "cultivate one, or five, or ten bighas of land. Let him set "down carefully every item of expenditure, including the ex- "pense of irrigation. Let him add to all this the ground-rent

"to the zemindar, and the interest on the money expended. "Then take the current or average price of grain and bhusa, "and set both calculations of expenditure and profit in juxta- "position, and he will then have some notion of the large pro- "fits of an agriculturist."

From the nature of many of the preceding revelations, it takes us by surprise, as it will our readers, to find that several chapters still remain, which are specially devoted to the Civil Courts. Judicial functions are largely distributed among the magistrates and collectors; but the Civil Courts form a separate department or system. These are composed, in the Regulation Provinces of Bengal, of Munsiffs, Sudder Amins, Principal Sudder Amins, Zillah Judges, and the highest court, (merely of appeal and superintendence,) the Sudder Dewani Adalut. We shall give a few extracts from our hero respecting this great department:—

"I have endeavoured to expose a few of the blemishes in the "administration of the revenue and criminal departments, and "I shall now notice the Dewani Adalut. My readers will not "expect much legal knowledge from '*An Orderly;*' so I shall "confine myself to noticing facts that have occurred and which "do occur every day in these Courts, and the truth of which "may be verified by any one that choses to make enquiry of "the *people*. With all the present extra machinery of Govern- "ment in this department, the several grades of Munsiffs, "Sudder Amins, Principal Sudder Amins and learned Judges, "the system does not work to the satisfaction of the people. "As in a piece of machinery having a multiplicity of wheels, "the stoppage of a minor wheel will prevent the revolution of "the larger ones, so in the machinery of the Dewani Courts "the wheels are sometimes checked—now at the small end, pre- "sently at a medium one, and again at the main wheel, which "appears to move all the rest,—and the whole will not go on "smoothly, until they are sufficiently greased by the '*oil of* "*palms*' in the minor division. And here I would have it dis- "tinctly understood, that my remarks will apply not to any "individual, or to any zillah, but to the whole system, as a "machine, in which there are some screws loose.

"As in duty bound, let me begin at the lowest end, and shew "how justice is done by a Munsiff. The son of a Lalla earn- "ing *ten rupees* a month, who from childhood is, of necessity "conversant with all the petty chicanery and fraud practised "around him, becomes a Mohurir, or writer to a Vakil. He "is brought up at the feet of Gamaliel, like Paul, to become

"a persecutor; and, as in Paul's case, a miracle must be worked "for his conversion. After a few years the lad finds that he "can aptly quote the regulation, or construction, or precedent, "which gained such and such a case. He has a tenacious me- "mory, and is naturally sharp-witted, and aspires to become "a Munsiff. He fees the Serishtadar, who certifies to his "respectability to the Judge, who allows his name to be "entered as a candidate; and he is permitted to stand an "examination.

* * * * *

"No questions are put to test their having been well grounded "in jurisprudence; no attempt to ascertain the nature of their "education, and the depth or shallowness of their understand- "ing. The lad passes his examination, receives his diploma, "and, when a vacancy occurs, and fortune favors him, he is "elevated to the rank and office of a Munsiff."

Our hero illustrates the action of this part of the judicial machine by a case, the main features of which are the same as have already been several times given, and therefore we need not repeat them Our author blames the system, not the individuals. He insinuates that the Munsiffs are generally selected from the lowest classes of the people. Government probably could shew reams of foolscap fairly written, containing plans to purify and elevate them, but without effect,—we may say, like most of the good intentions of Government. If an honorable man, who would refuse bribes, by chance, or by the exertions of friends who know his merit, gets into this class, the umlah and other native agents, by all sorts of conspiracy, will be sure to get rid of him. Cases of this kind have actually happened: and we fear that maxims, and habits, and interests, prevail at the India House, which entirely disqualify the body there, from effecting a reformation. They can shew fine plans admirable correspondence; but no real fruits in performance.

"Between the Munsiff, and the superior grades to which he "may rise, the only difference consists in their different salaries, "and their degrees of power. The nature of the man continues "the same, but his appetite is increased; and why should this "surprise people? A *nuzzur* varies in proportion to the status "of the party to whom it is offered; and an offering to a small "deity, which will be held meet for his dignity, will be an insult "to a bigger one, who has been used to hecatombs. In all "these grades of office, as in most others, a great evil exists; I "allude to the mode adopted of judging of an official's ability "and efficiency by certain statements which are called for

"monthly by the superior courts. These forms are dry statis-
"tics of work done; they cannot shew *how* that work was
"done. Some of the most efficient and honest of our judicial
"officers, those who are most popular with the *people*, are those
"that are in bad repute with the Sudder."

How can a Government set up a standard of qualification, or character for native judges, when it has none for the European? Our author's picture of the latter, both as it respects past times and present, is instructive, though less satisfactory than most of his other revelations: and we surmise that his own personal experience has chiefly been in the magisterial and revenue departments.

"'*In the good old days*,' when judges received the munificent
"salary of 300 *rupees* per mensem, the practice of the Courts
"was to extort in fees, from the plaintiff and defendant, so much
"as to enable the judges to live in splendour, and to retire
"with princely fortunes. The late Mr Brooke used frequently
"to relate, how he was enabled to live up to ten thousand ru-
"pees a month, when his Honorable Masters paid him three
"hundred! Every petition, that was presented, was not filed
"until the party had given a fee to the Huzur, in proportion
"to the amount or value of the property contested. This was
"done, as a matter of course, until the final proceeding, when
"the party who gained the cause presented the judge with a
"Shukranah, (or thanksgiving-offering). Since those days,
"a very different system of payment has been adopted, and the
"fees are pocketed by Government in the shape of proceeds of
"stamps. The restrictions on every class of public officers have
"produced a salutary effect; but every order may be evaded.
"Even the order lately passed, directing every judge to write
"the summing-up (*awjuhat*) in his own handwriting, is prac-
"tised in letter, but not in spirit. In many instances, the
"Serishtadar writes the *rubukari* as usual; the English wri-
"ter translates the summing-up, and the judge corrects it, and
"re-writes it. Others again, who are men of talent, and quite
"capable of doing their duty, have not leisure for the purpose!
"They are busy in playing at billiards, shooting, or horse-
"racing; so the work, for which they are paid, is left to be
"done by their native officials. But, generally speaking, these
"are solitary exceptions, and not the rule.

"There used to be a very common practice in former years, that
"gentlemen, who were found unqualified for the important duties
"of Collector of revenue, were promoted to judgeships. My
"readers will doubtless call to mind several such. There was

"one, very well known in this neighbourhood, who was notori-
"ously the puppet of his Serishtadar. This latter worthy used
"to wait in person on the Huzur every morning, with a list of
"the cases that would be called on that day; and the Saheb
"Judge wrote against each case, 'decree' or 'dismiss,' as he
"was prompted. In full Kacheri, after going through the farce
"of hearing all the pleadings and depositions, he would decide,
"as had been previously concerted. The Serishtadar, although
"very corrupt, was a very able officer; and the Saheb not only
"seldom had his orders reversed, but was accounted a wise per-
"sonage by the Sudder. This gentleman could not tolerate the
"idea of an European being in Court, as a party. One day, a
"respectable English planter, who had a case in Court, and
"who could not account for the delay, went in person into the
"Court. The sapient judge in a blustering voice demanded his
"business. He submitted that he had business, and respect-
"fully enquired, whether the Court was not an open one? No,
"sir, was the rejoinder; it is not. Go out, sir, and send your
"constituted Vakil!"

The dependence of the English judge on his native umlahs is repeatedly dwelt upon, and always as an unmixed evil; because the umlahs are entirely unworthy of confidence. The dependence is, we fear, necessary and inevitable; but it may be rendered, we believe, less fruitful of all kinds of mischief than at present. How? is the question. We can reply here only in general terms; by altering the constitution of the courts, and putting in the place of the present umlahs and judges, men of different qualifications, and in other mutual relations. The case of a judge turning an English suitor, or defendant, out of his court, as cited above, could scarcely happen a second time. But our countrymen are under every sort of disadvantage in mofussil litigation. They are obliged to speak and to write the native language, that is, the language of their adversary, whether they are plaintiffs or defendants; and where both plaintiff and defendant are English, they must still use the language of the court, that is, the vernacular language of the district, though the judge be an Englishman. Thus, treated as natives, they are reduced to the necessity of employing the same agency as natives do; and thereby they become involved in the prevailing system. The only instance, in which the advantage of using his native language is given to an Englishman, is, when both parties agree to employ, for advocacy alone, English vakils or counsel. Native prejudices are supposed to be consulted in these arrangements;—and some native interests, besides public convenience;

and it is said, it would involve enhanced expense to the suitors, extensively to substitute the English language in law proceedings. But there is a medium in all things; as for expense to the suitors, a remission of the taxes on law proceedings would afford an ample pecuniary indemnification; and as for prejudices, if our rulers could renounce their own, those of the natives would soon give way, when it was found, that with the language of their rulers, was also introduced scientific jurisprudence, and that the foul harpies that now fill the courts had to give place to virtuous and educated men; men, we mean, not only of our own race, but those to whom justice is not yet being done—men, who have learnt our language, and lost their own, and to whom Government has held out hitherto only hopes, but not opened any important public employments.

Our limits oblige us here to conclude our extracts and comments. But we must add a few words in answer to an objection which we anticipate may be made to them. It may be said that we have treated as history and matter of fact, what is really mere fiction. We reply, the whole is essentially true; the form only is that of a work of fiction. This, and other objections may come from various classes of persons, united only in a common feeling unfavorable to our author, and perhaps to ourselves. Mere official pride will excite the resentment of some. But there are no less safe councillors and guides than class-feelings. The "revelations" are not the less true, though they must inevitably lower the Government and the Civil Service in general estimation. We admit, and we regret this result; but at the same time, our regrets are the seed of our hopes; and we congratulate ourselves and mankind that the present is an age, when the love of truth is paramount, when all false worships are fast losing their holds, and men will not bow down, after the veil is drawn aside, and the objects behind it appear to be but golden calves and painted idols.

Others will demur from a feeling of real incredulity. They cannot believe in the possibility of such a state of things. There is a respectable sort of nationality in this feeling. They could believe it, of the French Government in Algeria, of the Pachas in Egypt, of the Sultans in Turkey, or of any semi-barbarous oriental or Mahomedan domination. It is not an impossibility in the nature of governments, or of things; but they cannot believe it, where the chief moving powers are Englishmen. But only suppose, that the East India Company is behind the nation,—and it becomes credible. Power is in the hands, not only of a few, (for to that there may be no sound

practical objection); but of a few, who have peculiar objects, habits, and interests of their own, and barely catch a reflection of the light which shines on all other persons.

For many reasons these revelations are entitled to be regarded as real. They are intended to be a picture of actual experience. This is as certain, as that they are written by a real person. In the sport of fancy, the author desires to make a certain and true impression; and, in his preface and conclusion, he avows that his objects are to expose abuses, and bring about a reformation. These revelations then, are the testimonies of a well-informed individual, and really better as evidence to guide the British statesman, than what the Company is likely to adduce before Committees of Parliament. Their key-note again will be, as it was in 1831, that of alarm at projected change; but they will not exhibit the actual present state of things.

As to the value of these revelations, not only are they intended to make true impressions, but the impressions which they make, precisely accord with all the real testimonies which we have heard from residents in the mofussil, and persons of much Indian experience, not being in complicity with the existing system. For the sake of British interests, and the interests of humanity, we desire this truth to be declared and known. By the bad state of the law and police, in short, of all the local administrations, it is hardly possible for our countrymen to establish themselves beyond the presidency towns. For every one European, there would be 100 under a proper system. From the same causes, British capital is wasted in every operation. A lakh and a half, or £15,000 sterling, for instance, is required for an operation, which, but for mis-government, would require but a lakh, or £10,000. We name a sum but to illustrate proportions. In the actual results, for thousands, we must substitute millions. The merchant, the manufacturer, the political economist, can deduce from this the true consequences;—to be found, as we apprehend, in enhanced prices, checked production, diminished exchanges, and a state of things, though prosperous, less so by fifty per cent. than it might be under a better government.

But native interests and native industry are still more seriously injured than European, except so far as they are mutually dependent. Property is without legal protection. Zemindar is pitted against Zemindar; law and justice have no real part in the struggle. The Zemindar indemnifies himself by oppressing the rural population, but the rights of the cultivator are

without protection. No man can tell what rights he has; or when, or how bribery, perjury, forgery, and all the vices illustrated by our hero, may not be brought to bear against him. Hence also monopolies in all directions, and all sorts of tyrannies and terrors on a large scale, every where prevail. For example, hence arises the lattial (club) system of the indigo planter, whose rich produce enables him to pay armed bands for aggression or for defence, it matters not which. This is one of the signs of misgovernment. He resorts to force, because there is no justice to be had throughout the land. Hence again, for example, such monopolies as the coal monopoly in the great Burdwan coal field, where a Company, with possessions covering less than five square miles, has put down competition, though the coal strata extend through seven or eight hundreds of square miles. Entreaty, remonstrance, every sort of representation have been made over and over again by capitalists and adventurers, to Government:—but in vain. By this monopoly,—this mere fruit of cupidity, to which opportunity is given by mal-administration,—not only is a large district kept a howling wilderness, and its population in the habits of barbarism, where multiplied capital might and would produce its happiest transformations: but we in Calcutta also sensibly feel the consequences, in the enchanced cost of steam power of all kinds, whether employed for carriage, or for production. And here again, we ask the merchant and political economist to deduce the more remote consequences, how it is as bad as a tax on our steam boats without any profit to Government; and how it robs the proprietors of them, of the fair fruits of *their* enterprise and capital; how it is a tax on the sugar, which Lancashire takes in exchange for cotton fabrics; and a tax on these fabrics, when steam is employed in carrying them to the markets of consumption. Nothing is without its consequences; nothing stands alone: the consequences of Indian misgovernment extend to the people of England; and the character, the honour, the power, the commercial greatness, the glory, the very life-blood of Great Britain, suffer by all the vices, so ably illustrated by our friend Paunchkouí Khan.

# PHYSICAL ERRORS OF HINDUISM.

By Baboo Bipin Behari Shome.

1. *The Vishnu Purána, translated from the original Sanskrit*, by H. H. Wilson, M.A., F.R.S., 1 vol. 4to. London, 1840.
2. *The Mahábhárata*, 4 vols. 4to. Calcutta, 1836-39.
3. *The Ramáyana*, 5 vols. 8vo. Serampore, 1802.
4. *Goladhyáya*, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta, 1842.
5. *Grahalaghava*, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta, 1843.
6. *Ganitadhyáya*, edited by L. Wilkinson, Esq. Calcutta, 1842.
7. *Asiatic Researches*, 4to. London and Calcutta, 1799.
8. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* Calcutta, 1832.

IT is object our in this article to give a faithful picture of the state of living physical science amongst the higher and middle classes of orthodox Hindu society, and to record the monstrous physical errors, which, (in this city especially) forced into strange and unnatural juxtaposition with the triumphs and discoveries of the 19th century, yet form the undoubting belief, not only of the multitude, but of nearly all learned and intelligent Hindus.*

To speak of physical errors in a religious system, appears, at first sight, a glaring contradiction in terms. But, with

* This paper is the production of a young native gentleman, entirely educated in the Free Church Institution, in which he is at present employed as a teacher.

In a slightly different form, it obtained a prize, given by the proprietor of the *Calcutta Review*, for the best account of the physical errors of Hinduism:—and hence, its appearance is peculiarly appropriate in these pages. Its chief title to public notice, however, rests upon the fact, that the information, which it conveys, has not been obtained from books, but exclusively from the lips of learned and intelligent Pandits in Calcutta; and it may be relied on as a faithful and accurate account of the present state of science amongst them. The references to the Puránas, &c., are, so far as we have traced them, in every instance, correct; and, when it is remembered how much of the youthful author's time is occupied by a laborious and exhausting profession, it appears to us, that both the amount of information accumulated, and the manner in which it has been obtained, indicate remarkable sagacity and powers of observation, and high promise for the future. Several omissions and verbal corrections have been made; but otherwise the original is unaltered.—Ed.

regard to Hinduism, this is more an apparent than a real contradiction; since it at once disappears, when we come fully to understand the nature and constitution of this grand system of religion.

It is a marked and peculiar feature in the character of Hinduism, that, instead of confining itself within the proper and lawful bounds prescribed to every theological system, it interferes with, and treats of, every department of secular knowledge, which human genius has ever invented; so that grammar, geography, physics, law, medicine, metaphysics, &c., do each form as essential a part of Hinduism as any religious topic with which it is concerned. Indeed, a person, who has not studied Hinduism in all its parts, can scarcely form an adequate notion of the vastness of its extent. And those foreigners, who, after incredible labour and much expense, have acquired some knowledge of this religion, have been obliged to confess this truth by applying to it such titles as "huge," "gigantic," and the like.

It is, indeed, true that a system, professedly religious, may sometimes allude to, or incidentally take notice of, certain points belonging to any department of secular knowledge, for the sake of illustration, without incurring the charge of having transgressed its legitimate bounds. But in such cases, where any point of philosophy, or human science, is brought to illustrate religious doctrines or sentiments, it is always necessary to remember, that we take that point as a truth already established and universally known, and not as a new discovery, that is now going for the first time to be made known to the world. Indeed, fables might be framed, or known fables introduced, for the same purpose; which serves to show, in a very strong manner, that whatever example is used, whether it be a point of philosophy, history, or an invented tale, to expound any truth or sentiment in a system of religion, must be viewed merely in the light of an illustration. All that we have to do with, is the purport, sense, meaning, or bearing of the illustration, and not its correctness or incorrectness in itself. But the case is quite different with the writers of the Hindu Shastras. In their religious works, they have treated of all the branches of secular knowledge known among them, in a regular systematic manner; and have given them out to the world in a tone of absolute authority, from which there could be no appeal. Or rather, with a view to secure the universal belief of the people, they have sanctified with the name of religion, whatever they have been pleased to conjecture on any subject, secular or spiritual.

K.

The Hindus accordingly receive information on all subjects, historical, literary, scientific, or theological, from the mouths of the Brahmans alone; who, in their turn, have no other fountain of knowledge than their own sacred writings. The Shastras are made the standards of all sorts of knowledge; and the disagreement of any opinion with them is regarded a sure proof of its fallaciousness. Whatever is contained in them, or whatever has passed by, and come down, under the sacred name of Shastra, *must* be received as true, without the faintest shadow of doubt: and, whatever differs from them, must be rejected as spurious and false, simply on the ground of its not coinciding with the infallible doctrines of the Holy Writ. The act of doubting a point, which rests on the authority of the Shastras, is always followed by the severest anathemas;—the rejection of it is deemed nothing less than downright infidelity. Freedom of enquiry on any subject, the exercise of one's own mind, and thinking and judging for one's own self, are not only wholly unpractised, but are thought to amount to a crime. Accordingly there prevails, among the orthodox Hindus, such a mean and dastardly spirit, that it is ever ready to give its assent,—its amen,—to any thing and every thing, whether it be reasonable or unreasonable, wise or foolish, true or false, if it has only had the honor of having come out from the lips of the Brahman, the sole interpreter of the Shastras.

The genius of Hinduism imperatively requires, that every thing should be stereotyped. There is no word in the whole vocabulary of the Sanskrit language, expressing the idea of a new edition. We, who have the privilege of enjoying the benefits of western civilization, can scarcely be brought to feel the force of the strictures, laid upon freedom of thinking, by the narrow-minded and meanly jealous authors of our national religion. Even the Brahmans, who are said to be its guardians, are sternly required to listen to its dictates in all matters, as the only rule and guide of their conduct; and any deviation from it is threatened with heavy and dreadful penalties, both in the present world and in the world to come. And the submission of the Brahmans to the injunctions of the Shastras is as complete as the demands of the latter are broadly absurd and unreasonable.

Such is the despotic sway, with which these Shastras rule the consciences of their followers, and such is the slavish subjection which they exact from them, that gross absurdities and glaring contradictions, such as lie exposed even to the view of a child, are blindly passed by unnoticed. Or, if they inadvertently happen to perceive them, they immediately

begin to suspect themselves of being guilty of blasphemy, and soothe their minds, and satisfy their consciences, by the ever satisfactory argument, that "Whatever the Shastras say, can never be untrue." Such being the state of the native mind, we need no longer wonder, why the ancient Hindu writings should descend to us, through many centuries, untouched, unaltered, and unimproved. When two opposite theories on the same point,—as we shall have afterwards many occasions to see,—are *both* received as true, only because they have both found a place in the Shastras, how can we reasonably expect, that any alteration in them could ever be thought of by such a credulous and cowardly people?

We need not wonder then, that the Hindu Shastras abound with physical errors of every kind and species.

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The Hindu Shastras are most copious on the subjects of geography and astronomy. Of the other physical sciences, we receive nothing but brief, dark and confused notices. The Indian sages of yore, handled, we read, such branches of knowledge, as natural philosophy, botany, anatomy, chemistry, &c.; but their knowledge of these subjects appears to have been peculiarly superficial and extremely scanty. With regard to many of them we find nothing more than mere references made in the Shastras; and scarcely any one of them has been treated in a systematic or scientific form.

Again, limited as the knowledge of our countrymen is on scientific topics, that knowledge is remarkable only for extravagance of imagination, wildness of thought, and inaccuracy of description. The Hindu authors appear to have made their own imaginations the only fountain of knowledge, and to have drawn from them information on every subject of human learning. Observation and experiment were not only wholly unused, but thought to be perfectly useless and unimportant. Truth had no charm in their sight. Nothing, but what was pompous, gaudy, splendid, brilliant and marvellous, could find an admittance into their speculations. Nature, with her unfading and inexhaustible beauties, was a dead blank to their eyes. They strove to create for themselves imaginary worlds, filled with imaginary objects, and adorned with imaginary beauties. Whenever they stood in need of information, or wanted to account for any natural phenomenon, instead of applying to the real sources of knowledge, observation, experiment, intuition, &c., they adopted a very apt method of arriving at all knowledge, and solving every difficulty. They shut themselves into their respective closets, and there each

began to spin such a theory out, as might best suit his own liking. Hence, while the Hindu Shastras teem with wonders the most unnatural, and abound with errors the most ridiculous, they are equally distinguished for glaring contradictions, as we shall have afterwards many occasions to see.

Before proceeding further, we think it both necessary and advisable to ascertain and enumerate what those works are, which, among the old Sanskrit writings of Hindustan, have come down as Shastras, that is, as authoritative writings, and which have always been honored, and are still respected as the standards of the Hindu religion. This we do, partly for the purpose of corroborating the assertion we have before made, that natural science and other branches of secular knowledge form as essential parts of Hinduism, as any purely theological subjects treated therein; and partly, because the upstart Vedantists of the present day, reckon every other Sanskrit work as spurious and heretical, except the Vedas, and the commentaries upon them.

The Hindu Shastras are enumerated and classified in the following manner, by the Hindus themselves:—

I. The four Vedas, *viz.*, the Rik, Yayush, Sáma and Atharva.

II. The Vedangas, or six Angas, or bodies of learning (treatises subsidiary to the Vedas); comprehending, (1) Siksha, rules for reciting the Vedas; (2) Kalpa, treating of the ritual of the Vedas and containing a detail of religious acts and ceremonies; (3) Vyákarana, treating of grammar; (4) Nirukta, or commentaries in the form of glosses; (5) Chhandas, or dissertations on metres; (6) Jyotish, explanatory of astronomy and astrology. These works are said to have been given by inspiration of God to enable the Brahmans to read and understand the Vedas. Here, then, is a double inspiration,—that of the Vedas, and that of the Angas, which form the key, by which the Vedas are opened.

III. The Upángas, or inferior bodies of learning; namely, the Mimánsá, comprehending theology; Nyáya, logic and metaphysics; Dharma-Shastra, institutes of law; and the Puránas, or legendary treatises, eighteen in number.

IV. The Tantras, containing rites of a most secret nature, some of which are exceedingly impure, by which a man is said to become Sheddya, or supernaturally gifted. They are also the great source, from which are drawn almost all the *Mantras*, by which the different manifestations of Shiva and Sakti are worshipped.

This enumeration is in perfect accordance with numerous

Hindu authorities. "The four Vedas," says the Vishnu Purána, "the six Angas, with Mimánsá, Nyáya, Dharma and the Puránas, constitute the fourteen principal branches of knowledge: or, they are considered as eighteen, with the addition of these four, the Ayur-Veda, medical science as taught by Dhanwantari; Dhanur-Veda, the science of archery or arms, taught by Bhrigu; Gándhraba-Veda, or the drama, and the arts of music, dancing, &c., of which the Muni Bharata was the author; and the Artha-Shastra, or science of Government, as laid down first by Vrihaspati." Though this Purána does not take any notice of the Tantras, yet we can safely affirm that they form one of the great standards of the Hindus.

We shall notice first the *Geographical* errors contained in the Hindu Shastras. The Hindus possess no treatise that treats exclusively of geography. Systematic, or methodical knowledge of this subject is not found among them. Indeed, geographical instruction, in the true acceptation of the term, is not to be got from any work, which forms a part of the Hindu Shastras. All that we meet with on this head, are either mere references to geography, or information respecting the origin of the world, the rise of continents and islands, the mode in which the seas were formed, &c.; subjects, which more properly belong to cosmogony than to geography. In some of the Puránas only, we find certain books, or sections, devoted solely to this subject, such as the fifth book of the Srimat Bhágabata, the second book of the Vishnu Purána, and certain chapters of some other Puránas, as the Brahmá, Márkandeya, and Brahmanda Puránas. But the geographical notices which they contain are chiefly remarkable for lawless extravagance of description. They speak of countries, mountains, rivers, &c., which are nowhere to be found on the surface of the real globe, and the very names of which do not appear in the writings of any other nation under the sun. The descriptions which they give of continents, seas, mountains, &c., are not geographical delineations, but high colored effusions of poetry, such as flow from excited imaginations.

I. The Hindu Shastras widely differ from, and flatly contradict one another, in regard to the form of the earth.

The popular notion, which is maintained by some of the Puránas, is, that the earth is a flat plain of a *triangular* form. This idea has evidently arisen from the shape of India, which is like that of a triangle. As the Hindus, if not always, at least from a remote period, were forbidden to pass beyond the limits of their country,—all their knowledge was necessarily confined within the boundaries of Hindustan, which they gradually

came to look upon as the whole world. Natural circumstances assisted them to fall deeply into this error. India being on all sides either surrounded by water, or bounded by lofty chains of mountains,—its inhabitants, ignorant of the art of navigation, and unable to cross the mountains, naturally concluded, that there was nothing beyond the boundaries of their own observation. And though time and knowledge have enabled men to form paths over the mountains, and to sail over the wild ocean, yet the veneration in which the Shastras are held by the Hindus, is so deep, and the word of the priest so powerful, that they still obstinately and blindly adhere to their erroneous notions, although contradicted by the experience of the whole world. Some Brahmans, especially those that have any intercourse with the European community, and have received some notion of the European method of investigating science, seem to be ashamed of their own Shastras, and positively deny that the Puránas maintain the triangular form of the earth. A Pandit of no common rate being asked by us, What is the shape of the earth, according to the Shastras? replied, "it is round like a *Bátábi Lebu*," a species of lemon, larger than an orange, but of the same form. His comparison, and our knowledge of his occupation,—for he is a teacher in the Fort William College,—made us suspect his honesty; and, being pressed, he tried to evade our questions by citing slokas, or texts, which had nothing to do with the matter in question. We then, to satisfy our mind, went to the Tola Pundits, or Adhyápakas, as they are generally called, who have no connection whatever with the Europeans; and they unanimously supported us by saying, that the popular notion of the earth's triangular form is not groundless, but is based upon several of the Puránas and Tantras. We can, therefore, safely conclude, that the triangular form of the earth is an orthodox doctrine of the Hindu Shastras.

2. The same Puránas teach that the earth is a *circular* plain. This notion seems to be a more learned one since the Pandits generally adopt it. Indeed, the grand system of geography, now universally embraced by the Hindus, as will afterwards be seen, can never be upheld without this supposition. Here, then, we find two notions widely differing from each other, equally supported by the same authorities, which are professed to have been given by inspiration of Heaven. But what can be plainer than that the same thing cannot both be triangular and circular at the same time? The absurdity of upholding two such opposing theories seems to be felt by many a Brahman of the present day. Hence some, who are more

enlightened than the rest of that sacred class, really feel ashamed at these glaring contradictions contained in the holy writings, and, being utterly at a loss to account for them, begin to suspect the inviolable purity of the Shastras. Some would even go the length of refusing to admit the Puránas into the number of their sacred works. But this they do not dare openly do; for, so doing, they would run the risk of being condemned as heretics by the great mass of the people. Those, who are of a more subtle turn of mind, come forward with their ever ready and extravagant conjectures, and their unmeaning, dark, and intricate logic, to explain away the difficulty in question. "Why," say they, "where is the difficulty so loudly spoken of? Is no body aware of the fact of there being a succession of ages, in each of which a new world,—a new universe—is formed by the great Author of all things? If so, is there then any necessity for supposing the Shastras, which are eternal, to deal only with the things of the present age? Then, then, you see," the subtle Brahmins continue, with a proud, self-conceited air, "the difficulty melts away, just as wax does in contact with burning fire. In some age (this they say exultingly) the earth was of a triangular, in some other age, of a circular form. What, what," they continue, with triumphant laughter, thinking they have for ever put to silence their opposers, "what have you to say to this? Are you not satisfied?—you must be by this time." Such is the tenor and force of the arguments, which the clear headed Brahmans of the Naiyáika school, bring forward to reconcile the differences in their sacred writings. But what are we to think of a people, who greedily devour these explanations as the fruits of supernaturally improved intellects, or rather as suggestions that can only proceed from inspired heads? Need we here add, considering the wide diffusion of sound European knowledge among the Hindus, that both these suppositions, respecting the form of the earth, are utterly false; and that its real shape, as found by actual and accurate observations, is nearly that of a sphere or globe?

(3). Besides the notion of the earth's being a uniformly flat plain, of a triangular or circular form, there is still *another* opinion on the same subject, entertained by some of the more scientific writers of ancient Hindustan. Bhaskar Acharjya, of illustrious memory among the Hindu writers of yore, has clearly taught, in his famous astronomical work *Siddhánta Siromani*, that the shape of the earth is that of a sphere. But this notion of the globular form of the earth is now almost buried in oblivion, notwithstanding its philosophical accuracy;

though, when reminded of it, the Pandits of the present day, in spite of their obstinate attachment to the Puranic system, on which they absolutely depend for the success of their priest-craft, cannot but admit it as an orthodox doctrine of the Hindu Shastras. It is because of the widespread of the Puranic knowledge among the people of this country, that this true theory respecting the form of the earth, like some other sparks of truth, scattered here and there through the voluminous and unwieldy gatherings of oriental nonsense, has become all but obsolete.

II. With regard to the support of the earth, the authors of the Hindu Shastras err as egregiously as respecting its shape or form; nor do they less contradict one another in the former than in the latter instance.

One supposition, and that which is the most popular, is that the earth rests on the thousand heads of the infernal dragon Ananta, the great serpentine manifestation of Vishnu. The Hindu philosophers, who were always in the habit of judging from appearances, felt a great difficulty in conceiving how the earth could stand in empty space without a prop, when they saw everything on its surface, unsupported, fall to the ground. While, therefore, they were thus compelled to assign an imaginary support for the earth, they felt, at the same time, the necessity of supposing that support to be without an end; for the difficulty in question is not at all removed by any supposition, which makes the prop of the earth a finite object; as, in this case, the same question that was started in the beginning, can with equal force be asked again. Hence the Hindu writers, very ingeniously, as they themselves considered it, made the great upholder of the earth to be a monstrous serpent without termination; and thought thereby to remove all the difficulty that lay in the way of accounting for the position of the earth in the immensity of space. How narrow must have been the knowledge of these sages, the boasted models of wisdom, and how limited the capacities of their understanding, not to have known the simple fact, that the earth requires no support at all?

But this is not all. The theory of the interminable serpent was too simple to suit the minds of *all* the Hindu philosophers. They must have something more complicated, more prodigious, and more marvellous,—something better adapted to the peculiar turn of the native mind, which takes delight in nothing, but the most fantastic dreams of the imagination. Accordingly, the Hindu philosopher begins to work in his fancy, and brings out a theory, as remarkable for its novelty

as for its wildness and extravagance. "The earth," says he, "is first placed on the heads of Ananta, which again stands on the back of a tortoise, which in its turn is supported by eight elephants, standing on eight sides." Though, in point of accuracy, both the former and the present theory stand on the same footing,—for they are both equally erroneous ,—yet, viewed merely as theories, this is far inferior to the other. For it does in no way, not even by supposition, as the other does, clear the difficulty, which it proposes to remove. It gives no answer to the question, if the earth rest on a serpent, and the serpent on a tortoise, and the tortoise on eight elephants, what supports the elephants? We are aware, that many, who, without reading the original Shastras, receive the theory from the Pandits orally, are led to invert or change the order of the animals supposed to support the earth, placing Ananta always at the lower extremity, as a supposition more natural, and better calculated to solve the problem in dispute. But whatever others may think, there is unquestionable authority to support the theory, as we give it. For instance, when Ráma, the great hero of the solar race, went to the kingdom of Mithila to compete for the hand of Jánika, by breaking the formidable bow Gándiva, and, being animated with the spirit of chivalry, took the almost inflexible bow in his hand ;—Lakshmana, his fond and favorite step-brother, looking at the furious aspect assumed by Ráma on the occasion, and feeling the ground tremble under his feet, adressed the earth and its supporters, in the following words :—

"O earth ! do thou support the weight of Ráma : O Ananta? do thou sustain the burden of the earth and Ráma, put together : O Kúrma Deva ! uphold the weight of Ráma, the earth, and Ananta, all three combined ; and O Dig Hastis ; support the accumulated weight of Ráma, the earth, Ananta, and Kúrma, all put together."

Observe then the blindness of the Hindus, and the ignorance of their ancient teachers. If the necessity of a prop was felt by the sages of India to keep the earth from falling to the depths of illimitable space, how did the theory framed obviate the supposed difficulty? To suppose a support of the earth, where there is none, is itself a gross error : to say, that that support is an enormous serpent with a thousand heads, which no man has ever seen, is highly to aggravate that error ; but to maintain, that, besides the unknown dragon, there are eight stupendous elephants and a mighty tortoise, sustaining the earth, is such a puerile extravagance of conception, that a parallel instance can scarcely be found, even in the romances and fables of the most rude and

uncultivated nation. The Pandit, whom we consulted on this point, and who cited the foregoing sloka of the Ramáyana, seemed to be utterly bewildered, when asked, What supports the lowermost elephants? After a long pause, he made the following reply:—"Why may not the elephants rest on the waters that are supposed to be below the earth;" "Yes," we said, "when we can suppose a thousand-headed serpent, a tortoise, and eight elephants under the earth, it is but an easy affair to imagine a subterranean ocean!"

Before we dismiss the consideration of this point, we think it proper to record the opinion of Bhaskar Achárjya in this place, for the sake of doing justice to his memory. Instead of following the foolish popular notion of the earth's resting on the heads of the serpent Ananta, the author of the Siddhanta Sirománi was of opinion, "that the earth is suspended in the air by the hand of the Deity."

III. Nothing can exceed the grandeur, and at the same time, the wildness of the *theories* of the Hindu geographers, regarding the superficies of the earth. For what are called geographical descriptions in the Hindu scriptures, can be viewed in no other light than as mere theories, although they are given with as much confidence as a thorough conviction of their truth would warrant.

There appear to be two grand theories of the earth, brought forward in the sacred writings of the Hindus. The first of these supposes the world to be composed of seven concentric islands, or continents, which are separated from each other by as many seas, consisting of liquids very different in their natures. The following statement of this magnificent system we chiefly draw from the second book of the Vishnu Puràna, which contains sixteen chapters, and treats of the earth, and the things above and below it. Of the seven great insular continents, Jambu is placed in the centre of the world. It is of a circular form, and surrounded by the sea of salt water (Lavána). Next in order is the Plaksha Dwípa, which encircles the sea of salt water, in the form of a belt, and is itself surrounded by the sea of sugar-cane juice (Ikshu). Then follow in regular succession, the Sálmali, Kúsa Krauncha, Sáka, and Pushkara Dwípas, bounded severally by the seas of wine (Surá), of clarified butter (Sarpi or Ghee), of curds (Dadhi), of milk (Dugdha), and of fresh water (Jala). Beyond all these continents and seas, the Hindu geographers place a country of gold (Swarna Bhumi). This most extraordinary belt of land, according to their opinion, serves a very important purpose. It prevents the waters of the last, or the

furthermost ocean, from flowing off in all directions. Round this golden country, they imagine a circular chain of mountains, called Loká-loka. Beyond is the land of darkness, encompassed by the shell of the mundane egg.

But the most extravagant point connected with this monstrous system, is perhaps the account given of the origin of the seven continents, and the seas by which they are divided. "Time was," says the inspired writer of the *Srimat Bhágavata*, "when the whole surface of the earth was one uniform and continuous plain, not intersected, as it since has been, by so many circular oceans. It was only at a later date that the earth came to be so divided. Mark then the way in which the seas were produced. In the early part of the Satya Yug, or in the infancy of the world, there flourished an illustrious monarch, named Priyavrata, the son of Swayambhu, the first great king of the earth. This most beloved disciple of Vishnu, grieved at the inconvenience under which his subjects labored in the darkness of night, proposed to himself the pleasant task of riding in his magnificent car, and giving light to the world, in the place of the sun, after it was set in the west. And well might he undertake this business, for the splendour of his body equalled that of the meridian sun. Accordingly he rode in his splendid car, which had but a single wheel, and began to drive it with a motion as swift as that of the sun. He made only seven revolutions, and the furrows, which the wheel of his car made on the earth, became the seven mighty seas." It is much to be regretted, that while our author furnishes us with such a satisfactory account of the origin of the seven great oceans of the world, he leaves us in utter darkness, respecting the manner, in which they came to be filled with such sweet and pleasant contents;—especially, as we feel assured, that he could have given us, had he chosen, as much satisfaction on the latter head, as on the former.

The Hindu writers are as much mistaken respecting the extent of the seas and continents, which form the system of the world, as respecting their origin and existence. They maintain in general, that each of the seven insular continents is twice the extent of that which precedes it, and that each sea is of the same extent with the country which it encloses. If, therefore, we take the extent of the Jambu Dwípa as unity, the extent of the sea of salt water should also be 1; that of the Plaksha Dwípa, and Ikshu sea, 2 respectively; that of Sálmali, and the sea of wine, 4 each; and so on of the rest, increasing in geometrical progression. The country of gold is said to be as large as the rest of the earth; and the breadth of the Loká-loka

mountains is equal to the tenth part of the central Dwípa. This seems to be very clear; but, under this apparent clearness, there is much ambiguity. What are we to understand by the *extent* of the seas and continents,—whether their breadth, or their circumference? We would not have entered on this useless and unprofitable discussion, had we not intended to record, in this place, the opinion of the Pandits on the subject, and the mode of reasoning which they employ to bring it to a decision,—which is too curious to be omitted. "Though the Puránas," say they, "in describing the extent of the seas and continents, seem to mean their breadth, yet as the seas were formed by the edge of the same wheel, they must all be of the same breadth; but, as it is said, that the extent of each sea is double the extent of that which precedes it, it is the circumference, not the breadth of the seas, that is thereby to be understood."

Such being the explanation given by the Pandits themselves, we need not in vain seek for a more satisfactory one, but proceed to notice the account given by the Hindu writers of the circumference of the *whole* earth.

With regard to the circumference of the earth, there is great difference of opinion. The generally received opinion on the subject, which is founded on some of the Puránas, is that the earth, with its continents and oceans, is 500,000,000 yojanas, or 4,000,000,000 miles in extent. But, according to the Brahmánda Purána, the breath of Jambu is 100,000. Now, following the rule above stated, that each continent is twice the extent of that which precedes it, and that the land of gold is equal in extent to the rest of the world, and that the breadth of the Loká-loka mountains is one-tenth of that of the central island, we first find the radius of the surface of the earth, and then from it we obtain something more than 304,860,000 yojanas for its circumference. Again, the Tantras give an account different from both. According to the Shaiva Tantra, for instance, the circumference of the earth is said to be 25,350,000 yojanas only. Here, then, we have again one of the many instances in which Shatras contradict one another. But, whichever be the orthodox opinion, these accounts are all very far distant from the truth. Let us consider for a moment the magnitude of the error committed by the Hindu writers. The real circumference of the earth, as found by the most accurate observations and measurements, is only about 25,000 miles; but the Hindu sages maintain that it is one hundred and sixty thousand times that number. Indeed, they make the circumference of the earth so prodigiously large, that it is more than sufficient to fill up the whole orbit of the earth round the sun.

One of the greatest defects in the character of the Hindu writers appears to have been an inordinate love for symmetrical arrangements of countries, mountains, rivers, &c.: and to this, geopraphical truth is unhesitatingly and at once sacrificed. They seem not to have had the slightest taste for natural beauties, which consist in points far different from harmony of numbers, and regularity of position. But, possessing only a relish for artificial painting, the have transferred their own notions to natural scenes and objects. Accordingly, the delineations which they have given of places on the surface of the earth, are purely artificial; and, possessing no regard for nature or truth, they have brought out what may very properly be called, monstrous pictures of geographical nonsense, on the very face of which error is visibly stamped.

Priya Vrata, by the wheel of whose car the earth was divided into seven continents, had thirteen male children. Six of these embraced an ascetic life; the rest ruled the seven divisions of the earth. To Agnídhra was assigned the Jambu Dwípa; to Medhátithí, Plaksha; to Vápushmát, Sálmali; to Jyotishmat, Kúsa; to Dyutimat, Krauncha; to Bhavya, Sáka: and to Savala, Pushkara. With the exception of the sovereign of Jambu, each of the six other kings is said to have had *seven* sons, among whom he divided his kingdom into *seven* equal parts. Here there is only one point of similarity. But mark what follows: These *seven* divisions, in each of the six continents, are separated by *seven* chains of mountains, and *seven* rivers, lying breadthways, and placed with such inclinations in respect to one another, that if a straight line be drawn through any chain of mountains or rivers, and its corresponding mountains or rivers on the other continents, and produced towards the central island, it would meet the centre of the earth. Now Nature nowhere exhibits scenery like this. Marks of artificial contrivance are so palpable imprinted on this description, that were we even ignorant of all the parts of earth, except the norrow spot around our own dwelling, we would at once reject it, as a piece of elaborate fiction.

Among the number of countries which we see on the maps of the real world, very few are wholly defined by natural boundaries; and, among these again, no two countries are bounded in the same way. But the Hindus will have all their countries, except those on the central island, similarly bounded,—and bounded by natural lines of demarkation, such as nowhere exist in the works of Nature herself.

Agnídhra, to whose lot fell the central island of Jambu, had nine sons, among whom he equally portioned out his

dominions. The divisions of this Dwípa are not marked by any natural boundaries, but are artificial, with the exception of one, situated in the middle, in the form of a square, being on its four sides bounded by four ranges of mountains. It is but reasonable to expect, that the mode of *equally* dividing a continent, so circumstanced, must be something peculiarly curious. And so it is. The usual division of Jambu, (which, it must be remembered, is exactly of a circular form,) is into nine Khandas, or portions, which are perfectly equal in superficial contents, but of very different forms. Of these nine divisions, one, which is in the centre, is a perfect square; and, of the eight others, every two divisions are exactly of the same figure and dimensions. Conceive now the difficulty of dividing a circle in the manner above described. What mathematical formula enabled the ancient Hindus to solve this problem we long to know; and we heartily regret, that we do not find it in any parts of their writings. We are therefore led to conclude, that they must have been assisted in the task, by some of that supernatural agency, which they can so readily command.

The same extravagant, poetical tone is preserved by the authors of the Hindu Shastras, in their descriptions of mountains, countries, rivers, lakes, &c., as in those of seas and continents. The Hindu authors, when they describe these natural objects, seem to look at them through prisms and magnifying glasses, which show them adorned with the liveliest colors, and enormously distended in all directions.

Before proceeding any further, we should here remark, that the Hindu geographers seem to have formed to themselves a rule, which they are found nowhere to violate; *viz.*, that of dividing the objects they treat of into two distinct classes, the *common* and the *uncommon*. Of the former class, they generally give the bare names, or such descriptions as are remarkable only for brevity, and for the monotonous tone which pervades them. Accordingly, numberless names of mountains, countries, rivers, &c. are found in the Hindu Shastras; but of these we have scarcely been able to collect any thing further than their names. Very little is said about them in the Shastras.

Of the *uncommon* again, the descriptions of certain mountains are in the highest degree beautiful and magnificient, calculated to excite wonder, and delight the imagination, and well adapted to draw forth feelings of deep reverence in the minds of the vulgar.

In each of the nine divisions of the Central Dwípa, a

mountain, or a chain of mountains, is said to stand. In the centre of this continent stands the golden Meru, or Sumeru, the highest and the most exalted of all mountains. Towards the north are three ranges of mountains, Nila, Sweta, and Sringavan. Answering to these, in the south, are three other ranges, named Nishadha, Himacuta, and Himapráya. Between the ranges, to the North and South of Meru, the Puranics place two other ranges of mountains,—one on each side of Meru, running in a north and south direction. The western range is called Gandhamádana, and the eastern range, corresponding to the former, is known by the name of Mályavána. These are the nine chief hills, of which we propose to take some particular notice.*

We begin with the description of mount Sumeru, the highest and the most glorious mountain on the face of the earth according to the Hindus, who call it the great king of the hills, the mightiest sovereign of the mountains. It is the unanimous voice of all the Shastras, that mount Sumeru stands in the centre of the earth, or, which is the same thing, in the middle of Jambu. In the *Mahábhárata* it is described as follows :—

"There is a fair and stately mountain, and its name is Meru, a most exalted mass of glory; reflecting the sunny rays from the splendid surface of its gilded horns. It is clothed in gold, and is the respected haunt of Devas (gods) and Gandharbas (celestial singers). It is inconceivable, and not to be encompassed by sinful man; and it is guarded by dreadful serpents. Many celestial medicinal plants adorn its sides; and it stands, piercing the heavens with its aspiring summit,—a mighty hill, inaccessible even by the human mind. It is adorned with trees and pleasant streams, and resoundeth with delightful songs of various birds." Book I. chap. 15. The *Brahmánda Purána* gives the following description of the same renowned mountain :—"Meru (of gold,) of four colours, is the greatest of mountains; its body appears high in all its dimensions, of many colours all round. Eastward it is white, like the offspring of Brahmá, born from the navel of Vishnu. South, it is yellow, and appears like a Vaisya. West, it is like the dry leaves of a tree, and like a Sudra looks Meru of many names. North, it is red, like the dawning morn, and looks like a Kshetrya; these are conspicuous from their colours. Brahma, Indra, and all the gods, declare that this largest of all mountains, is a form, consisting of jewels of numberless colours, the abode of various tribes. On this mountain are the heavens of Vishnu, Shiva, Indra, Agni, Yama, Nairita, Vayu, Kuvera, and other gods."

Such is the general description given of this most wonderful mountain, the great Olympus of the Hindus.

* The names in the Vishnu Purána differ from these. Mályavána and Gandhamádana, as in the text, are on the west and east of Meru; and Nila and Nishadha are the northern and southern ranges. But it has Játhara and Devakúta, Trisringa and Jarudhi, for the other ranges. The Bhágavata again places Trisringa and Makara on the north; Játhara and Devakúta on the east; Kailasa and Karavíra on the south; and Pavana and Paripátra on the west.

But the most striking feature connected with Sumeru, is the account given of its form and magnitude. The Hindus sometimes represent mount Meru to be of a conical figure. To establish this opinion, they refer to the fact, that several kings of Hindustan were formerly in the habit of raising mounds of earth in that shape, which they used to venerate as the divine Meru, and gods were called down, by spells, to come and dally upon them. They are called Meru-Sringas, or the peaks of Meru. There are four such mounds, either in or near Benares; and one, which is more modern, and of course the most perfect, is at a place called Sai-natha. This opinion seems, however, to be unsupported by the Shastras, as far, at least, as we have been able to investigate. The most popular notion, which is supported by several of the Puránas, such as the Márkándeya, the Vishnu, and the Brahmánda Puránas, is, that the shape of the golden Meru is like an *inverted* cone;—a notorious instance of oriental fancy. The height of this mountain is said to be 84,000 yojanas, or 6,72,000 miles from the surface of the earth, and its depth below is 16,000 yojanas, or 1,28,000 miles. Its diameter or circumference (for in some books, it is said to be the *one*, in some, the *other*,) at the summit is 32,000 yojanas, or 2,56,000 miles, and at its base 16,000 yojanas, or 1,28,000 miles.

Here, then, we have a mountain, whose diameter at the bottom is 16 times, and at the top 32 times the diameter of the earth upon which it is said to stand. Again, the mean distance of the moon from the earth, as found by the most accurate calculations, is about 2,40,000 miles. But here is a mountain, whose height above the surface of the earth, is very nearly 3 times that distance. We are at a loss to know what to say to this. Has any Hindu, or any other man ever seen this mountain, though it is said to rise much higher than the orb of the moon? Is it possible for a mountain, in height and magnitude several times greater than the earth, to stand on its surface? But this is not all. The Hindu authors, place at the lower extremity of this wonderful mountain, seven infernal regions called Talas, each extending downwards 7,000 yojanas,* or 56,000 miles. Their names according to the Bhágavata, are, Pátala, Talatala, Rasatala, Mohatala, Sutala, Vitala and Atala. In other Puránas other names are given. All these subterranean regions are said to be parts of mount Sumeru. Below these, again, and below the water, are placed the Narakas, or hells,

* The Vishnu Purána gives 10,000 yojanas, or 80,000 miles.

properly so called, in which the wicked suffer various kinds of punishment, according to the crimes committed in their bodies. Where, then, is to be the end of these erroneous notions? We pause in despair to take notice of other things.

The descriptions of other mountains contained in the sacred writings of the Hindus, like those of Sumeru, abound with geographical errors of the grossest kind. There is no mountain which is less than some thousands of yojanas in height, and all are said to shine with splendid colors, and to be rich with brilliant jewels. Some of them are conceived to be of pure gold, and others to be entire masses of precious stones.

The following is a literal translation of the words of the *Bráhmanda Purána,* descriptive of the eight other ranges of mountains said to stand on the central island of Jambu :—

"Himapraya or Himavana, full of snow; Hemkutaka, full of gold; Nishadha, resplendent with gold, like the rising sun; like the Vaidinya (lapis lazuli gem), is the Nila mountain; Sweta, abounding with gold; Sringavan, like the feathers of the peacock; Gandhamádana, full of medicinal plants: and (8) Mályavána, full of sweet odour."

These are truly extraordinary mountains. Here, for instance, we have one, looking like the lapis lazuli gem, and another, having the appearance of the feathers of a peacock. Splendid pictures, indeed, but suited only to fables, not to natural science.

These mountains are said to extend from sea to sea; and, therefore, they are of different lengths according to the latitudes they are in. They are taken two by two in order, one on the north, and another on the south of Meru. They are all of the same breadth and height. Those, on the east and west of Meru, are exactly equal in their three dimensions. Here then is another instance of artificial regularity being ascribed to the works of nature.

"I have mentioned," says the author of the *Brahmánda Purána,* "the breadth of Jambu, which is 1,00,000 yojanas. Now the breadth of the two middle ranges, Nila and Nishadha, are 10,000 yojanas less. Sweta and Hemacuta, are likewise 10,000 less than the two former: and so are Himavana and Sringavan: Gandhamádana and Mályavána, are of the same length, breadth and height." All these mountains are said to be 2,000 yojanas broad, and as many high, or about 16,000 miles.

In all this the extravagance of the Shastra writers is so manifest, that the authors of some of the Puránas have tried to evade it, maintaining that the mountains were so formerly,

but that they have since subsided, and that the highest mountain now is not above one yojana in height. This excuse is made by the author of the *Kalika Purána*. With regard to these mountains it is farther to be observed, that they are all said, excepting the ranges on the east and west of Meru, to run parallel, and are all placed on the north of Himapraya, the outermost range towards the south. From the description given of this last mountain, namely, that it is full of snow, and situated on the north of Bharata Varsha, we are led to conclude, that it is none other than the Himalaya mountains, which is also the general opinion of the Hindus. Now, do the accounts given in the Shastras hold true of these mountains? Are they 60,000 yojanas in length, and 2,000 yojanas high? But, what are we doing? Are we seeking for accuracy in the accounts of the ancient writers of Hindustan? Vain task, indeed! It is much, that we have been able to find out even *one* range of mountains corresponding to one of the ranges they treat of.

We shall now proceed to the descriptions of the nine great countries, or divisions, of the central continent, and show, that they contain errors of no less magnitude. In the centre of Jambu Dwípa is the Varsha, or division, called Ilavrita: it is a perfect square, and in its middle stands the golden Meru: to the east is Bhadraswa, and to the west Ketumala, or simply Ketu. Between the three ranges of mountains, lying to the north of Ilavrita, there are two countries, Ramyaka and Hiranmaya (or the country full of gold); and, between the three chains of mountains on the south, lie the divisions called Harivarsha, and Kinnara, or Kimpurush. The extreme northern division, which is situated on the north of the Sringavan mountains is called Kuru; and that lying on the south of Himalaya, or the extreme southern division, is the well known Bharata Varsha. These countries are said to be so enormously large, that the real earth has not space sufficient to contain one of them. They are each supposed to be, as we have before observed, perfectly equal in superficial contents; therefore it is quite sufficient to have the area of one of them, and this we find in the *Brahmánda Purána*, which says, "close to the Gandhamádana, along the banks of Apara Gandika, is the county of Ketumala, 34,000 yojanas in length, and 32,000 broad" which gives 1,088,000,000 square yojanas, or 69,632,000,000 of square miles, for the area of each of the countries, on the island of Jambu. According to the Hindu theory also, the form of Bharata Varsha is that of the segment

of a circle. Now by this division the Hindus universally understand the country of Hindustan; and so it must be,—for that is the only country lying between the Himalaya, and the sea of salt, or Indian Ocean. But the shape of India is not the segment of a circle: and the Hindu sages, in making it so, have committed a gross blunder.

In their descriptions of rivers, like remarkable instances of high colored fictions are met with. Soaring above the level of sublunary affairs, they give us rivers, whose sources are traced to heaven, whose currents pass over the orb of the moon, and whose streams flow with honey and living water.

The principal rivers, that are said to water the plains of Jambu, are four in number. They are declared to be the branches of one original river, the Ganges, called Swarganga, or Mandakini, in the Puránas. Most extraordinary accounts are given of its rise, and its passage to the earth. It is supposed to flow from under the feet of Vishnu at the pole star, and, bathing in its passage the orb of the moon, to pour down upon the summit of Meru, where it divides into four streams, which run towards the four cardinal points For a more minute description of these wonderful streams, we quote passages from two of the most renowned Puránas. In the *Vayu Purána* the following account is given:—

"The water, or Ogha, coming down from heaven, like a stream of Amrita, upon Meru, encircles it, through seven channels, for the space of 84,000 yojanas, and then divides into four streams, which, falling from the immense height of Meru, rest themselves in four lakes, from which they spring over the mountains through the air, just brushing the summits."

"Hear, now, says the author of the *Brahmánda Purána*, what divine streams issue from the lakes, abundant with Ogha, living water. The water of the ocean, coming from heaven upon Meru, is like Amrita; and from it arises a river, which, through seven channels, encircles Meru, and then divides into four streams, springing over towards the four cardinal points."

Then follows a very minute description of these four streams, of which we merely give an abridgment. The first overflows mount Mandara, and waters the country of Bhadraswa. The southern branch goes to Gandhamádana. Mahadeva received it on his own head, from which, spreading over all his body, its waters become most efficacious. The stream called Mahabhaga or (Chakshu), most propitious, passes through Ketumála. North

from Meru, there falls a branch, called Bhadra, upon Supárswa, the mountain of gold. Each of these four streams is said first to fall into a lake, or encircle a forest, and then to ascend to the top of a mountain!

Besides these chief rivers, there is another which deserves some attention. This is the river called Jambu, from which the central Dwípa derives its name. The description of this river, though short, is yet perhaps of all the most wonderful. It is said to flow from the mount Sumeru. "From this mountain," say the Hindu Shastras, "issues the Jumbu river flowing with honey: in it is found the gold called Jambu-nada, with which the gods are adorned. From it Jambu derives its name."*

What an ocean of blunders is here! A river flowing from the feet of a god, and, breaking through the concave of the heavens, issues from the pole star;—a point too high and heavenly for our humble capacities. This river, in its way downwards, meets the moon, and pours its waters over that luminary!—a description probably written under the influence of her rays.

Before we take leave of this subject, we think it worth our while to take some brief notice of the sacred stream of the Ganges, as being undoubtedly the most renowned and sanctified of all the rivers spoken of in the Shastras. Bhagíratha, when conducting her from Hurdwar, is said to have traced with the wheels of his chariot two furrows, which were to be the limits of her encroachments. The distance between them is by some supposed to have been four *kos*, by others, four yojanas; and it is said, in spite of eye demonstration, that she has never been known to overflow on either side. She falls into the ocean according to some, through seven channels; according to others, through a hundred mouths. But the most extraordinary circumstance, connected with the accounts given of this river, is the description of its course, through the various parts of the universe; which is as follows:—"The Ganges flows through the Gandharbas, Kinnaras, Yakshas, Rákshasas, Vedyadaias? Nagas (or large snakes), Kalápagramakas, Páradas, Swiganas,

* The account in the Vishnu Purána is somewhat different. The Jambu Dwípa derives its appellation, according to it, from a Jambu tree, extending over 1,100 yojanas. Its apples are as large as elephants; and falling, when rotton, on the crest of the mountain, their juice oozing out forms the Jambu river. The waters of this stream have such healing virtue, that all who drink of it, pass their days in content and health, being subject neither to perspiration, foul odours, decrepitude, nor organic decay. The soil, absorbing the Jambu juice, and dried by the wind, becomes the gold, named Jambu-nada.

Swasis, Kiratas, Pulíndas, Kurus, Pánchálas, Kásis, Matsyas Magadhas, Angas, Bangas, Kalingas, Tamaliptas."

Observe the wild grandeur of the description! A river, far different from our common streams, runs, not merely through countries, provinces, and districts, inhabited by a low and insignificant race of creatures, called men, but passing through higher regions, occupied either by the most glorious, or by the most dreadful beings of creation,—by races of heavenly musicians and songsters, of giants and demons, of the most beautiful beings in nature, of mighty serpents, and through tribes and countries, known and unknown, which few now-a-days have ever seen or heard of.

We shall next briefly notice the islands that are said to be scattered in various parts of the seven great seas, or oceans. Besides the seven great insular continents, which are called Maha-Dwípas, there are several other smaller islands which, to distinguish them from the former, are called Upadwípas, or inferior islands. We shall notice only two things concerning these,—their number and their origin. They are said to be exactly 1,000 in number;—a wonderful example of the minute accuracy of the Hindu geographers.

These islands, according to the Hindu Shastras, did not exist from the beginning of the world, but were subsequently formed by the operation of supernatural agency. What this agency was, we of course long to know. Was it by the action of volcanic force that these islands were raised up? Or, were they formed in the same way, by which the sand-banks rise? No; these are ways too commonplace to win favour from the Hindu sages. They must have something far more marvellous. Accordingly they proceed in the following manner:—In the first age of the world, King Sagar, who had sixty thousand children born in a pumpkin, celebrated the great sacrifice of the horse. The horse, which he had brought for this great object, when travelling unrestrained through the various parts of the world, was missing. No one could tell where he was gone, or by whom he was taken away. The sixty thousand sons of the king, being very sorry for the loss of the horse, without which all the preparations would go for nothing, began to explore every corner and creek of the world, with the hope of finding out the animal at all hazards. But their efforts proving fruitless, they began to suspect that the horse might have gone down into the infernal regions. Hence, with the view of opening a passage down to those dismal places, they be-

gan to work in the bottom of the sea ;—digging up the earth, and throwing it into heaps, which in time became islands. Such is the account given of the formation of the islands. If the question be asked, How could the sons of Sagar dig in the bottom of the ocean without being drowned ? the Hindu writers give the following reply ;—At the time, when the islands were dug up by the numerous progeny of the king, from whom the sea derives its name, the bed of the ocean was dry, Agastya having previously swallowed its waters at one sip. If, indeed, it be possible for a human being to have sixty thousand children, and for men to raise 1,000 islands by manual labor, what is there to prevent a Rishi from drinking up the waters of the universal ocean, and thereby making its bottom dry ?

The account given of the formation of lakes is equally extravagant. We shall give only one example as a specimen. The lake called Mansaravara, the same as Mánasa, one of the four principal lakes mentioned in the Shastras, is declared to have been formed by drops of water falling from the hairs of Mahadeva, when he received the holy stream of the Ganges from heaven on his head. Hence this lake is also known by the more significant name of Vindusáravara.

Besides the principal countries, mountains, rivers and lakes, of which we have already spoken, the Hindu geographers give us accounts of other inferior countries, mountains, valleys, and rivers, whose number and extent exceed all belief. The *Brahmánda*, *Vayu*, and *Brahmá Puránas* are most copious on these subjects. In each of the divisions of Jambu, hundreds and hundreds of countries, mountains, rivers, &c., are said to exist, the bare names of which would fill up more space than we can allow. With respect to the descriptions given of these imaginary places, they are stamped by the same puerile extravagance of thought, which characterises the Hindu writings in general.

The Hindu Shastras furnish us with yet another very striking theory of the earth. The notices, which we possess respecting it, are chiefly extracted from the *Bhágavata*, *Brahmánda*, and *Brahmá Puránas*. It represents the earth, under the emblematical representation of a padma (lotus), floating on the ocean. The following passage of the *Brahmánda Purána* will serve as an authority :—

" The great God, the great omnipotent, omniscient one, the greatest in the world, the great Lord, who goes through all the

worlds, is born a moulded body of flesh and bones, made, whilst himself was not made. His wisdom and power pervade all hearts; from his heart sprung this padma (lotus) like world in times of old. When this flower was produced by Vishnu, then from his navel sprung the worldly lotus, abounding in trees and plants."

The germ of this amazing lotus is Sumeru; and the mountains, with which Meru is surrounded, are as its petals and filaments. The four leaves of the calyx are the four vast Dwípas or countries, towards the four cardinal points. In the intermediate spaces, are eight external leaves placed two by two; these are the eight subordinate Dwípas. The names and positions of the four great countries, or Máha-Dwípas, are as follows:—To the north is Uttara Kuru; to the south is Jambu; Bhádráswa is to the east, and Ketumála to the west. In the intervals, lying between every two of the principal countries, are the following inferior islands: Swarná prastha, Chandra sucla, Avarttana, Ramanaka, Mandahára, Lanká, Sinhalá, and Sánkha.

Who would not be struck with the ingenuity of the Hindu theorists? They have accurately finished their task. The comparison between the earth and a lotus is perfect and complete. To every part of the flower, a counterpart is found in the world. Proof or evidence has nothing to do with the matter. Similies, allegories, illustrations, are taken for proofs. This is the universal tendency of the genuine native mind.

Meru, and its surrounding mountains, which form the most prominent objects of the system of geography we are now considering, are thus described in the Brahmánda Purána:—

"In the middle, Meru is hollow like the germ of the lotus. Its breadth is above 32,000 yojanas: its circumference twice that added to it. The circumference of the germ Karnika, is 90 000 yojanas; the internal circumference is 84,000: the stamina and filaments extend lengthwise to the number of 100,000; and their circumference is 300,000 yojanas. The four petals are 80,000 yojanas long and as many broad. I am now going to describe this great and wonderful Karnika, the germ or pericarp.

"It consists of 100,000 angles. Bhrigu says 3,000; Savárni 8,060; Varsháyani, 1,000. Bhagari says, it is square; Gálava, that it is hollow; Gramya (?) that it is like an egg, with the broad end below; Garga, like three twisted locks of hair; whilst others will have it to be spherical. Every Rishi represents this lord of mountains, as it appeared to him from his station.

Brahma, Indra, and all the gods declare, that this largest of all mountains, is like gold, like the dawning morn, resplendent with 1,000 petals, like 1,000 water-pots, with 1,000 leaves.

"Within, it is adorned with the self-moving cars of the gods, all beautiful. In its petals are the abodes of the gods, like heaven; in its 1,000 petals, they dwell with their consorts. Above, is Brahma, with 1,000 gods; in the east, Indra; between the east and south is Agni, &c., with their respective Loks and Rishis.

"Such is the pericarp above the surface of the earth. Its circumference at the surface of the earth is 48,000 yojanas."

This description presents a striking instance of Hindu authors positively contradicting one another. The Rishis, Bhrigu, Savárni, Varsháyani, all differ from one another, respecting the number of angles which the pericarp contains; while Bhaguri, Gálava, and Garga give us equally conflicting accounts of its shape.

We annex a map of this renowned Meru, drawn by the pandits themselves. It professes to be founded on the description of the mountain contained in the *Srimat Bhágavata.* We received it from a native gentleman to whom it was presented by a pandit. The map appears to be as wonderful, as the mountain which it represents. Beginning from its bottom,the spaces or rooms marked E, are the seven Talas below the mountain; and t′ is the place for the spirits of the dead. G is the gate of virtue, g of heaven, and g′ of hell. The column, exactly in the middle, contains the héavens of the gods and of god-like beings. In the columns, to the right and left of this, are the habitations of various tribes of celestial or aerial beings, either good or wicked. The rooms, on the left of the map, marked H are the heavens, in which the fruits of good actions are enjoyed. The names of these good deeds, of various sorts, will be found generally in their respective heavens. The rooms on the right, marked H′ are hells, in which the wicked suffer various kinds of punishments, according to the nature of their guilt. The names of different sorts of vices also will be found in each hell. There is some ingenuity in the arrangements of the heavens and hells with their corresponding good or bad actions, as can be easily perceived by inspecting the map. The names of the heavens and hells, it should be remarked, are so significant, that they at once indicate the nature of the happiness or pain to be enjoyed or suffered in them. Besides these general features, there are several other

particulars which deserve notice, but for these we simply refer to the map itself.*

Before we bring the subject of Hindu geography to a close, we think it desirable, to take a cursory view of

*We subjoin a complete list of the heavens, hells, &c Their arrangement will be easily understood by referring to the numbers in the map. In the popular system the hells lie *under* the Talas.

1 Golaka .
2. The power of ignorance.
3. True Light.
4. Vaikuntha.
5 Sri Parbramha Náyaána
6. The quality of goodness.
7. Vishnuloka.
8. Mahatatwa.
9 The five Airs.
10. The five Natures.
11. The five Senses
12 The five principles of life.
13. Panchatawa.
14. The region of Goodness
15. The region of devotees.
16. Janaloka.
17 Mahaloka.
18. Swarloka.
19, Bhuvarloka.
20 Bhuuloka.
21. The Gate of Virtue
22. The region of the dead.
23. Pátála
24. Talátala.
25. Rasátala.
26 Mahátala.
27. Sutala.
28. Vitala.
29. Atala.
30. The quality of passion.
31. Bramhá.
32. Dhruvaloka.
33. Bishákha Mandala.
34 The region of the Sun,
35 The region of Mars
36 The region of Jupiter.
37. The region of Saturn.
38 Ketuloka
39 Yakshaloka
40. Gandharbaloka.
41. Kinnaraloka.
42. Kuveraloka.
43. Varunaloka.
44 Indraloka
45. The Gate of Heaven.
46 The heaven of goodness.
47. The heaven of Indra.
48. A gift of a kingdom.
49. Sankhyaswarga.
50 A gift of gold
51 The heaven of joyfulness,
52. A gift of a daughter.
53 Vaikuntha Swarga.
54. A gift of life.
55. Nishkama Swarga
56 Nibandha Swarga.
57. A gift of an Umbrella.
58. Sádhusebá.
59. Faith.
60. Deva Swarga.
61. A gift of a cow.
62. Mukti Swarga.
63. A gift of an elephant
64. Brahma Swarga.
65. A gift of the earth.
66 The heaven of desire.
67. A gift of cotton.
68. Teja Swarga
69 The heaven of Shiva
70 A gift of learning
71. Guru's Service.
72. The seven heavens.
73 A gift of boiled rice.
74 The heaven of enjoyment.
75. A gift of boiled rice.
76 The heaven of happiness.
77. Mantradána,
78 Apsará Swarga.
79. A gift of jewels.
80. Ashoka Swarga.
81 Náma Swarga.
82. Bachana Dána.
83, Hari's Service.
84. Máyá Swarga.
85. A gift of fruits.
86 Chitta Swarga.
87. Brata Dána
88 Varuna Swarga.
89 A gift of Virtue.
90 The heaven of Hari.
91 Puja dána
92 Vaksha Swarga.
93. A gift of Amrita.
94. The Heaven of virtue.
95 A gift of flowers.
96 Yoga Swarga
97 A gift of a chariot
98. The heaven of Brahmá.
99 A gift of cloths.
100 Kuvera Swarga.
101. A gift of a Palanqueen
102 Tapo Swarga
103. A gift of water.
104. The quality of darkness
105. The region of Shiva.
106 The seven Saints
107. The circle of Anuádhá.
108. The region of the Moon
109 The region of Mercury.
110. The regon of Venus.
111. Apsaraloka
112. Ráhulok
113. Pisáchaloka.
114. Pretaloka.
115. Bhútaloka.
116 Chitrapuptaloka.
117. Dharmaloka.
118. The region of Yoma.
119. The gate of Hell
120. Keeping of bad Company.
121, Reproaching the Vedas.
122. Vaimohana Naraka.
123. Speaking against Sacred places
124. Tamishra Naraka.
125. Speaking ill of devotion.
126 Adhatamishra Naraka.
127. Reproaching one's father.
128 Mahaurarava Naraka.
129. Reviling the Saints.
130. Sukaramukha Naraka.
131. Reviling Hari.
132 Suchimukha Naraka.
133 Absorption.
134. Reviling Yajna,
135. Vishwabhojana Naraka.
136. Reviling the gods.
137 Parjapat Naraka.
138 Reviling acts of charity.
139. Abatani Naraka.
140. Reviling faith.
141. Trishnabarta Naraka.
142. Reviling Munis.
143. Ramava Naraka.
144. Paramanda
145. Kumbhipáka Naraka.
146 Reviling religion.
147. Shálapreta Naraka.
148. Reviling act of merits.
149 Tamadhara Naraka.
150. Reviling Yoga.
151. Chhuridhára Naraka.
152 Reviling Brahmá
153 Chhuridhara Naraka.
154. Reviling Shiva.
155 Kálasutra Naraka.
156 Reviling virtuous men.
157 Mahatamava Naraka.
158 Reviling Vishnu.
159. Taptabaitarani.
160 Reviling the wise.
161. Vidhá Naraka.
162 Reviling the king.
163. Bhutadhaha Naraka.
164 Reviling men.
165. The hell of hot ground.
166. Reviling Brahmanas.
167. Dantasáka Naraka.
168. Reviling works of merit.
169 Sánmali Naraka.
170. Reviling the heavens.
171. Adhomukha Naraka.
172. Reviling the fruits of good works.
173 The hell of worms.
174. Reviling caste.
175 Samasa Nataka.
176. Máya Nindá.
177. The hell of fire.

This list contains several repetitions, and differs from the fuller list of the Vishnu Purána. We give it as a curious illustration of living popular superstition.

India, or Bhárata Varsha, of which the Puránas give a most splendid and minute, but by no means very correct, description. The first error which the Hindu geographers commit on this subject, respects the form of India, which is, as we have previously seen, said to be that of the segment of a circle. The second is still more gross: for the Vishnu Purána makes it 9,000 yojanas—or 72,000 miles from North to South.

The main divisions of Bhárata Varsha, are nine in number, *viz.* Indra Dwípa, Kaserumat, Támravarna, Várána, Gabhastímat Kumárika, Naga, Saumya, and Chandra Dwípa. The first and the last of these divisions are, in general, called Gandharba Khanda, being supposed to be the abode of gods, with their usual retinue of heavenly musicians. Through the seven remaining divisions, seven rivers are said to flow. They have a common source in the lake, from which issues the Ganges. To the east flow Naliní, Pavaní, and Hládiní; to the west, Sitá, Chakshú and Sindhu; and in the middle is the Bhagirathí. So says the Váyu Purána: but the others differ widely.

Besides the principal divisions of India, there are recorded a great number of smaller sub-divisions, of which we mean to give the number only, not the names, which are too tedious to be mentioned. With regard to these minor sections of Bhárata Khanda, it is to be observed, that they afford a remarkable instance of what we have repeatedly remarked, that the Hindu Shastras abound with names of places, which are nowhere to be found. The following list will exhibit the truth of this assertion :—

| | *Divisions.* | *How many can be found.* |
|---|---|---|
| In the centre of India | 38 | 4 |
| East | 17 | 2 |
| South-east | 21 | 2 |
| South | 35 | 5 |
| South-west | 24 | 0 |
| West | 19 | 1 |
| North-east | 13 | 0 |
| North | 38 | 0 |
| North-west | 23 | 0 |
| Total | 228 | 14 |

Of the two hundred and twenty-eight divisions of India, which we read of in the *Márkándeya Purána*, we could find only fourteen (a very insignificant minority indeed) to correspond with real places in the country; the rest have names, and names only.

Here we close our researches into the geography of the Hindus. Enough has been said, we hope, to show the grossness of their errors on the subject. We have dwelt rather too long upon it; but we have done so for the purpose of pointing out the different *kinds* of errors, into which the Hindu authors have fallen—as well as to show the peculiar features and tendencies of their character and genius. The remarks which we have made, will be found to apply equally to other sciences known among the Hindus, on which, therefore, we shall try to be as brief as possible.

We next proceed to point out the errors of the Hindu *astronomy*. With regard to this most important branch of knowledge, a distinction should be made between their Puranic and scientific systems of astronomy. The scientific treatises of astronomy, called the Siddhantas, are so little known among the Hindus, that they can scarcely be regarded to form any part of the popular belief. To that system of astronomy, then, which is founded on the Puránas, as to that which alone is popularly believed, we direct our attention. How much Hinduism is in danger from the diffusion of such astronomical knowledge, will be best understood from the following specimens:

We find the arrangement of the *solar* and *stellar systems* thus described in the Vishnu, Padma, Kúrma, and Váyu Puránas. The firmament, or the sphere of the sky, called Bhuvar-loka, is said to be of the same extent, both in diameter and circumference, with the sphere of the earth, or Bhúr-loka, which extends, with its oceans, mountains and rivers, as far as it is illuminated by the rays of the sun and moon. The earth is supposed to be the centre of the system; around which revolve, in regular succession, the sun, the moon, the lunar constellations, Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, Saturn, the orbit of Ursa Major and the pole star. The history of astronomy furnishes us with several erroneous systems, formed since the infancy of that science: but where can we find a system so absurd and extravagant, as that framed by the inspired sages of Hindustan? Here the sun is placed nearest to the earth, and the moon is supposed to be higher than the sun! Of the constellations, some are placed lower than the orbit of Mercury; one is placed beyond the orbit of Saturn, and another at the farthest distance of all; while all these heavenly bodies are supposed to move round the earth, which is fixed in the centre.

With like absurdity, the solar orb is placed 100,000 yojanas, or 800,000 miles from the earth: the space between them is

the residence of the Siddhas, a race of demi-gods. The distance from the sun to the moon is equal to that of the sun from the earth, or 800,000 miles. At the same interval, above the moon, occurs the orbit of all the lunar mansions. Two hundred thousand yojanas, or 1,600,000 miles above the lunar constellations, is the planet Budha (Mercury). Sukra (Venus) is at the same distance from Mercury, and Mangala or Angáraka (Mars) is as far above Venus. At the same distance, still ascending, is Vrihaspati (Jupiter), the priest of the gods; while Sani (Saturn) is as far from Jupiter according to some, but according to others, 250,000 yojanas from the same planet. Ursa Major, (the sphere of the seven Rishis or canonized saints,) is 100,000 yojanas above Saturn; and, at a similar height above the seven Rishis, is Dhruva, the pole star.

The Hindu sages surely, while spinning out such theories of the heavens, never could have dreamed of the arrival of these wicked times, when men no longer make imagination the source of all science, but depend solely on actual observation and measurement,—or else they would never have run the risk of exposing themselves so egregiously.

But we are carried still higher in the Vishnu Purána. At the distance of 10,000,000 yojanas above Dhruva, lies the sphere of the saints, or Mahar-loka, the inhabitants of which dwell in it throughout a Kalpa, or day of Brahma. At twice that distance is situated Jana-loka, where the pure-minded sons of Brahmá reside. Rising still higher, at four times the distance between the two last, lies the Tapo-loka (the sphere of penance), inhabited by the deities called Vaibhrájas, who are unconsumable by fire; and at six times the distance, or twelve crores, (120,000,000 yojanas,) is situated the Satya-loka, the sphere of truth, the inhabitants of which never again know death.

Thus the Hindu astronomers deeming it too great humiliation on their part to treat only of known heavenly bodies, have attempted very successfully to preserve their dignity by the invention of certain heavenly spheres, which no instrument, to whatever perfection it may be brought, can ever disclose.

The origin of the *planets*, according to the Puranic system, was as follows:

In the first part (quarter) of the Treta Yuga, the daughters of Daksha were born, of whom he gave twenty-seven to the moon; who became the twenty-seven lunar asterisms. From this union the Hindu astronomers have feigned the birth of four of the planets Mercury is born of Rohini; hence he is called Rohineya after his mother. Maghá brought forth the

beautiful planet Venus, otherwise called Maghaba. Ashádhá brought forth Mars, hence called Ashádhá-baba; and Jupiter, being born of Purvaphalguni, was called Purvaphalguni-baba. Saturn is supposed to have originated from the shadow of the earth, at the time of the churning of the ocean, or the war between the gods and the giants. To the same period is assigned the birth of the moon, the account of which is too interesting to be omitted. "When they (the gods) heard the words of Náráyana, they all returned again to the work, and began to stir about with great force that butter of the ocean; when presently, there arose from out of the troubled deep, first the moon, with a pleasing countenance, shining with ten thousand beams of gentle light. The moon, as swift as thought, instantly marched away towards the Devas, keeping in the path of the sun."

It should always be remembered, that of the fact that these planets are bodies composed of matter, and immensely large, they seem to have been quite ignorant: for nowhere in their writings do we find the least indication of such a supposition. They describe the planets as living beings of a superior order to man, and sometimes rank them with the gods. At the same time they speak of them as orbs, each with its respective inhabitants;—a mass of obscurity, which cannot be pierced through. We sought for the assistance of many pandits to make the matter plainer to us, but all of them signally failed.

The *sun*, in this system, is supposed to ride throrgh the heavens on a most glorious car, drawn by seven white horses. The rays of light proceed neither from the chariot, nor from the body of the sun, but from a most brilliant *mandala*,* or seat, that is placed within the car. This mandala, the seat of the sun, is circular; hence does he appear round to the sight of men. The sun is said to move round Meru, by which the alternate succession of day and night happens to the inhabitants of the terraqueous globe. His orbit is bounded by the Loká-loka mountains, which is the utmost limit of his declination, and beyond which he cannot pass. The purest rays of the sun, or more properly of its mandala, are not always emitted to terrestrial beings; since they sometimes pass through the medium of the body of Aruna, the charioteer, who is fabled to sit in the front of the car, wherein the father of Dharma, the Sun, is seated in his majestic grandeur.

We cannot pass over this description of the sun without one or two observations. The sun, which is a vast material

* A mandala is properly a diurnal revolution of the sun, or one degree nearly.

world, 13,80,000 times larger than our earth, is reduced to an insignificant car, with an imaginary being placed within it. The world-enlightening rays of the sun, which proceed from the luminous clouds by which it is surrounded, are attributed to a small shining plate, believed to be the seat of the regent of that luminary,—to which again a progressive motion is assigned, while, in truth, it is stationary. The Vedas are perhaps the best authority for Hindu astronomy. In them the sun is supposed to be born of fire, into which he *literally* enters, when setting, and from which he is actually re-produced every morning!

The description of the *moon* is, in many particulars, substantially the same as that given of the sun. The moon* is supposed to move round Meru on a splendid charriot, and his light emanates from a brilliant seat placed within his car. But there is one thing peculiar to the lunar orb. At the total wane of the moon, the Puránas describe him to be exactly above the sun, in a perpendicular line with that luminary, by which his light is prevented from descending to the earth. The different *phases* of the moon are attributed to a cause still more marvellous. This beautiful planet, on account of doing some wrong, was cursed by his father-in-law, which extremely grieved him. By the interposition of his wives, however, his father-in-law was disposed to withdraw his anathema; but as the word of such a great person can never be recalled, he mitigated the sentence, and addressed the moon in the following words: "Thou shalt not die, but shalt alternately increase and decrease in perpetual rotation." From that time, the moon can never be full, but once in a month; and he must once be apparently dead in the same time, as a punishment for offending a superior. The Vedas again declare that "the moon is born of the sun." They add, that "The moon at the conjunction disappears within the sun; on which the commentator makes the following remark:—"The moon disappears within the sun at the conjunction; but is re-produced from the sun on the first day of each bright fortnight." Thus the Puránas place the moon at the conjunction directly above the sun, while the Vedas make him enter its orb.

The *fixed stars* are styled, in the Hindu Shastras, Nakshatra-loka, that is, a race of celestial beings, who are supposed to come down, and be born again in human frames, after a fixed period of their airy residence. A fuller description of these luminaries will be given hereafter. The milky way, or galaxy,

* The moon is supposed in the Hindu Shastras to be of the male sex.

is termed a river, one of the *tridharas* of the Gunga, when she passes through heaven.

We have reserved, for the last, the theory of the Hindus respecting the *eclipses* of the sun and moon. The writers of the Puránas affirm, that a monster, or rather the severed head of a giant called Ráhu, now and then attempts to grasp the sun and moon in their orbits, on account of an old enmity that subsisted between them. This giant approaches, and threatens to devour them. He does not indeed venture to touch them, yet his enormous head intercepts their rays, and thereby produces that extraordinary phenomenon called an eclipse. The enmity between Ráhu on the one hand, and the sun and moon on the other, arose out of a singular event. It is thus described in the Mahábhárata, in the famous story of the churning of the ocean: "And it so fell out, that whilst the Suras were quenching their thirst for immortality, Ráhu, an Asura, assumed the form of a Sura, and began to drink also. The water had but reached his throat, when the sun and moon, in friendship to the Suras, discovered the deceit; and instantly Náráyana cut off his head, as he was drinking, with his splendid weapon chakra. And the gigantic head of the Asura, emblem of a mountain's summit, being thus separated from his body by the chakra's edge, bounded into the heavens with a dreadful cry; whilst his ponderous trunk fell, cleaving the ground asunder, and shaking the whole earth to its foundation, with all its islands, rocks and forests. And from that time the head of Ráhu resolved on eternal enmity, and continueth even unto this day, to strive at times to seize upon the sun and moon.

Let us turn now to the *Physical Geography* of the Hindus. Nothing can be more ridiculous for a man, than to pretend to know every thing, while in truth he knows nothing: yet such has been the case with the philosophers of Hindustan. For instance, they notice several phenomena which form the subjects of physical geography, and attempt to explain them; but their explanations are as far from the truth, as the North Pole is from the South. A few examples will be sufficient to shew the extravagant and erroneous mode in which they account for some of the most familiar natural appearances.

Nothing, perhaps, is better calculated to shew the wildness of fancy in which they were accustomed to indulge, than the explanation which they give of the *tides* of the ocean. "The tides," say they, "began to flow and ebb at the time when the great ocean was churned by the united bands of the gods and Asuras. Previous to this time, the ocean had been as tranquil

as the surface of a lake, in the stillness and serenity of a mild summer evening. Now the Suras, being desirous to drink the water of immortality, applied to Narayana, who directed them to churn the great ocean, in the following words:—"Let the ocean, as a pot of milk, be churned by the united labour of the Suras and Asuras; and when the mighty waters have been stirred up, the Amrita shall be found." The mighty mountain Mandara, which standeth eleven thousand yojanas above the earth, and eleven thousand more below its surface, was to serve for the churning stick; the lord of serpents, Ananta, was to be the rope; and Indra, the king of the gods, was to churn the ocean. But Indra, finding the mountain too heavy, said unto Kúrma Raja, the king of the tortoises, upon the strand of the ocean: "My Lord is able to be the supporter of this mountain." The tortoise replied, "Be it so;" and it was placed upon his back. So the mountain being set upon the back of the tortoise, the operation of churning the ocean was regularly begun. Now Kúrma Deva, being fatigued with the enormous weight of the mountain which whirled on his back, began to breathe fast; and the force of his breath was such, that at each expiration the waters of the ocean rushed forward, and at each inspiration they rolled backwards; and in this manner the tides began to flow and ebb in the ocean." The pandit, from whom we received this information, being asked, Whether the tortoise still continues to breathe, as the tides always rise and fall in regular succession? replied, No; but the waters of the ocean at that time received such an impetus, that they still continue to do so; though the impulse, originally imparted to them by the breath of the tortoise, has long since ceased.

The cause stated in the Shastras for the rising and ebbing of the waters of the Ganges is quite in keeping with the foregoing account. The Ganges, it is said, advancing towards the ocean, becomes frightened, and flies back through one hundred channels; and this exercise she continues twice every day. It happens at a place called Purana Sagara.

The phenomena of *rain* are still more surprising. It is the unanimous voice of all the Shastras, that rain descends from the moon. On this subject, we can produce passages from the highest of the Hindu Shastras,—the Vedas. For instance, it is said in the Rig Veda, and that in a manner the most explicit, that "rain is produced from the moon." In some other portions of the Hindu Shastras, the moon is described as the great Adhara, or repository of water. But this is not all. Not only is rain believed to fall from the moon, but, after falling on the ground, it is said to return or re-ascend

to the same luminary. To support this curious opinion the Rig Veda thus states: "Rain having fallen, evaporates, and disappears within the moon." On which the commentator makes the following remark: "Rain enters the lunar orb, which consists of water, and, at a subsequent time, it is reproduced from the moon." The Puránas, which are more modern, supply an intermediate step. They say, that from the surface of the earth the waters rise first by the attraction of the sun, from which they are next drawn up to the moon. Thus curiously enough the moon, which is found by modern research to be probably without any water, is described by the sages of Hindustan as an orb full of that liquid.

Still more absurd is the account given of the mode in which rain is said to descend upon the earth. The Puránas maintain, that the clouds ascend one-third the height of Sumeru, or 200,000 miles high, and that they are full of small pores resembling sieves. Eight great elephants, called Dighastis, are said to sprinkle water on the clouds, which fall in drops through their numerous pores.* So erroneous then are the notions entertained by the Hindus, on subjects which the mere use of their faculty of vision might have enabled them to understand. But their minds can never be satisfied with plain and simple facts. To say, "we see the rain fall from the clouds," is an assertion devoid of all attraction. So simple a statement could never captivate the native mind.

The most popular notion respecting *the seven-colored bow* is, that it is a reflection of the great *Gandiva* of Rama, whence the name Rama Dhanika is derived. But, in the Puránas it is described as the bow of Indra, brought out, now and then we suppose, to keep it clean from rust. The pandits of the present day seem to be ashamed of such opinions, since many of them are found to give the English explanation of this phenomenon, under a Hindu disguise. We ourselves met with a pandit of this sensible but dishonest class, who, to our great astonishment, said, that the rainbow was occasioned by Jalaknana, or the reflection of the rays of the sun from the drops of rain.

The flashes of *lightning* are believed to be emanations of light from the brilliant person of a celestial nymph; who is fond of coming out to sport on the clouds at the time of rain. With respect to lightning, the Hindu sages give us the old story of the thunderbolts of Indra, the Indian Jupiter.

The *height of the atmosphere* is said to be indefinite, or, in

* This is rather the Puranic theory of *dew*. Rain is otherwise accounted for.

other words, it is believed to be as high as the firmament, by which the Hindus understand a fixed sphere, which, in common language, is the blue-colored sky. See how many errors crowd into a single statement of the Shastras! The atmosphere, of which the mean height is only 45 miles above the surface of the earth, is believed to reach the regions of the fixed stars; the firmament, which is a mere apparent sphere, is supposed to be substantial and fixed; and the vulgar notion of the *blue* colour of the skies is entirely preserved. The motion in the atmosphere, or *wind*, is declared to be produced by the virtue of a certain inherent and occult quality which it possesses, and which imparts to it the tendency of always blowing in all directions. What a want of common observation is indicated here? Yet the Hindu writers would never confess their ignorance, but must give some reason for every phenomenon; so, by pretending to be learned, they incur the additional charge of being dishonest and stupid.

For the phenomena of *earthquakes*, the Hindus give a reason quite consistent with their theory of the supporters of the earth. When Vásuki, the thousand-headed serpent, say they, or any of the Dighastis, become weary of bearing the enormous load of the earth, they change their position, by means of which is produced that extraordinary phenomenon, called an earthquake.

The theory of *the falling stars* is pretty and poetical. These meteors are believed to be the same as the fixed stars, which are again supposed by some to be a race of celestial beings, called Nakshastra Loka; but by others they are conceived to be the spirits of the dead. These, when the term of their enjoying heaven is elapsed, descend to the world to take new births. In their way downwards they are known by the name of the falling stars. Those, which fall in the evening, are believed to live but for a short time in this world after their birth; those, which fall in the advanced parts of the night, are supposed to live long. Again, those which appear comparatively dim, are said to be the spirits of the wicked; and those which are brilliant, are the souls of virtuous men.

The *halos* of the sun and the moon are said to be occasioned by the assemblies of gods, held in their regions, for the purpose of consulting on affairs relating to the government of the world; and the profusion or scarcity of rain is believed to be the respective consequences of these circles round the sun and the moon.

*Burning fountains* are held peculiarly sacred by the Hindus and are believed to be the favorite haunts of some of their

chief gods. The flames, that proceed from these curious fountains, are taken for visible demonstrations of a divine presence. Fire, they say, is the mouth of the gods, and, therefore, the issuing of fire from below the water, is a sure indication of the gods protruding their tongues for food. Hence the Hindus are seen to throw plaintains and other victuals into these fountains to satisfy the hunger of their gods.

The science of *chemistry* has always existed among the Hindus in a state extremely low and imperfect. Indeed, in their hands, it can never be said to have passed its infancy. The theory of the elements, and of their successive generation, is perhaps the only point in the chemistry of the Hindus which deserves attention.

The great Hindu chemical theory is in substance the same with that of the ancient philosophers of Greece and Rome. It inculcates the doctrine of *five* primary elements, namely, ether or vacuum, air, fire, water and earth, of which all objects, visible or invisible, are said to be made. Nothing can be more erroneous, as the modern discoveries in this science show, than the foregoing theory of simple substances; yet the Hindu philosophers pretend to account by it for all the phenomena of the material world. A single instance will be sufficient to show the arbitrary style, in which the Hindus decide without enquiry. The human body is one of their favorite illustrations. The flesh and bones, they say, are composed of *earth*, and they will return to their kindred element after death. Hunger or appetite is the internal *fire*, by which food is consumed. *Water* is visibly seen in the watery secretions. The breath is the action of *air*, and the several cavities in the body, both external and internal, are *vacant* spaces. In a similar way they give us the analysis of all compound substances. Metals, stones, and, in short, all minerals and solid substances, are said to be formed of earth as their base, with a smaller proportion of each of the other four elements. All liquid, aeriform, and igneous substances, have water, air and fire, for their respective bases. In this way all substances in nature, known or unknown, are exhausted. Thus fire, air, earth and water, each of which is a compound substance, are made first elements; and metals, which are all simple bodies, are believed to be compounded of several substances,—while *all* bodies are reduced to five primary elements, into which they are not at all resolvable. The number of metals, according to some authorities, is eight only; but, according to others, a full hundred,—a remarkable instance of contradiction and error, both in one place. The most striking feature in the chemical system of the Hindus, how-

ever, is the mode in which the elements are said to be generated. Of the five elementary bodies, ether, air, fire, water and earth, each subsequent one is said to be produced in order from that which immediately precedes it. For example, from ether came air, from air fire, from fire water, and from water earth.

On this subject, we quote the institutes of Manu, as translated by Sir William Jones, and the Vedas. Thus says Manu: At the close of the first night of Brahma, "intellect, called into action by his will to create worlds, performed again the work of creation; and thence first emerges the subtle ether, to which philosophers ascribe the quality of conveying sound." A sounder philosophy has established, that air is the great agent in the conveyance of sound. The Hindus, however, ignorant of this important fact, were obliged to fabricate an imaginary vehicle of sound, of the existence of which they had no proof. But if by ether they mean vacuum, they still go farther from the truth, for no sound can pass through a vacuum.

Equally fantastic is the opinion which the Hindus entertain of the origin and quality of air. "From ether, effecting a transmutation in form, springs the pure air, a vehicle of all scents; and air held to be endued with the quality of touch." On this obscure passage, we quote the opinion of a learned author. "The word touch, here, is ambiguous; it may mean either that air is tangible, or that it has the faculty, the sense of touch." The latter, we suspect, is the meaning of the original; for we can hardly credit, that so great a master of languages as Sir Wm. Jones, would have explained a passage, which only meant that air is tangible, by so exceptionable a term, as that it is endued with the quality of touch. We can with less difficulty suppose, from other instances, that he endeavoured to cloak a most absurd idea under an equivocal translation.

The following passage gives an account of light and heat: "Then from air, operating a change, rises light or fire, making objects visible, spreading bright rays; and it is declared to have the quality of figure." The Vedas add the proof of this extraordinary assertion. "Fire is born of air, for, urged with force by breath, it increases." It clearly appears from these several passages, that the explanations which proved satisfactory to the Hindu mind, are merely such random guesses, as would occur to the most ignorant, uncultivated, and uninformed minds.

What is meant by the Hindu writers, when they affirm, that

fire, or light, has the quality of figure, we possess not sufficient genius to understand. Indeed, it seems impossible to attach any sense to it. Did they mean to express that fire, or light, has figure, or is itself a figured body? If so, we confess our utter incapacity to make any thing of it. If by it they understand that fire, or, which with them is the same thing, light, is the *cause* of figure in all bodies, we have then an affirmation, which is in perfect accordance with the mode of their philosophising on other operations of nature.

Their account of water and earth is equally absurd. "From light, a change being effected, comes water with the quality of taste; and from water is deposited earth, with the quality of smell." Here we see the chain completed. As from ether arose air, so from air came light, from light water, and from water earth. Here it may very naturally be asked, what connection is there between water and light, or between earth and water? But, "connection, reason, probability," says an eminent writer, "had nothing to do with the case. A theory of successive production struck the fancy of the writers, and all enquiry was out of question." Do the Hindu writers then give no proofs for the support of their statements? To say that they do not, would be perhaps bringing a charge to which they do not deserve to be exposed. Let us us then see what reason they give for the assertion that from fire proceeds water. "Why," says the Brahman, "does not water vanish in fire? if so, whence can it else come but from fire? A thing, which, when disappearing, enters fire, must needs flow from the same thing, when it appears."

Having thus pointed out the errors in the speculations of the Hindus respecting the origin and qualities of the principal parts of inanimate nature, we annex here a specimen of their ideas concerning one department of animated being. "From hot moisture," says the same great Hindu lawgiver, "are born biting gnats, lice, and common fleas; these, and whatever is of the same class, are produced by heat." Though this is an idea natural enough to strike the fancy of an untutored observer, yet this can in no way plead for the absurdity contained in the supposition. That cranes propagate without the male, another assertion of the Vedas, is simply another absurdity.

On the science of *Botany* we have scarcely been able to gather any thing from the Shastras, worth offering to the public. Of all the Pandits whom we have consulted, not one was found able to shed any light on the subject.

Instead of offering, therefore, our individual opinion, we insert that of a most industrious explorer of the Sanskrit literature. Mr. Wilford, in his essay on Egypt and the Nile, contained in the 3rd vol. of the "Asiatic Researches," makes the following remark:—"the Hindus were superficial botanists, and gave the same appellation to plants of different classes."

Before we leave the subject in this poor state, we propose to take notice of some particular trees, the descriptions of which are given in the Puránas. In conformity with the custom we have so often noticed, the Hindu botanists —if they at all deserve that name,—divide all plants into two great classes, the *common*, and the *uncommon*. In the former class, they could discover nothing sufficient to interest their minds; but of the latter class, of which there are only four specimens, they have drawn a most splendid picture. Thus they go on:—'There are four large trees, each with as many roots and branches, with a thousand smaller ones, all beautiful, and with flowers; these trees are the largest in the Dwípas. On the summit of Mandara, is a beautiful Kadamba tree: its fruit is like a great water pot, with flowers with open calices. Its fragrance is felt one thousand yojanas above, and all round. The Jambu tree, most beautiful, is on the south of the mountain of Meru; the fruits of which are Amrita Kalpani, (or like nectar). On the Vípula mountains toward the west is the Plaksha tree: from this flag-like tree, or Ketu, the country is called Ketumala. On Suparswa, in the north, on its summit is a large tree, the Nyagrodha;* its large branches and their circumference extend many yojanas all round." In this description we find a number of most fantastic notions;—to flowers is ascribed a fragrance that can be felt 1,000 yojanas all round; a tree said to be so enormously large as to occupy several yojanas; and to fruits is attributed the taste of the water of immortality. The artificial arrangement also, as opposed to what is natural, of the four trees, each having four roots and as many great branches, cannot escape notice. We conclude with our own firm belief, that these trees as really exist, as the mountains Mandara, Meru, and others, on which they are said to stand.

It would indeed excite the surprise of our readers to hear that the Hindus, who would not even touch a dead body, much less dissect it, should possesss any *anatomical* knowledge

* Or Vata.

at all. But when we remember that the Hindu authors make their own imagination the inexhaustible mine of information on all subjects, we cease to wonder at the announcement of their having handled the science of the human body. From the Vedas and the Puránas, however, we receive nothing but some scattered notices of some of the functions of the animal frame, such as the processes of digestion, assimilation, respiration, &c., which are too short and uninteresting to call for any particular attention. It is the Tantras that furnish us with some extraordinary pieces of information concerning the human body. To these, therefore, we shall first direct our attention.

But before we enter upon the proposed task, it is necessary to observe that, of all the Hindu Shastras now extant, the Tantras lie in the greatest obscurity. This is owing partly to the secret and impure nature of the rites which they teach, and partly to the widespread of the Puranic systems, which, in this country, have nearly eclipsed every other branch of the Hindu religion. The Pandits of our country are for the most part either ignorant of this department of Hinduism altogether, or they observe that secrecy which its doctrines require from them. Hence, we have been enabled to do nothing more than to collect the leading points of two great theories of the human frame, from the two annexed maps, with the assistance of a learned Pandit. These theories, as exemplified by the maps, are as famous for their novelty, as for their extravagance.

Before proceeding further we shall give a brief account of these two most curious drawings of the *interior* of the human body;—we say, *interior*, for at first sight, they do not appear so to be. We propose to do so on account of their scarcity in this country. All the Pandits, to whom they were shown, were equally startled at the sight, and, after reading them a little, exclaimed, "Oh, you have exposed the most secret parts of our Shastras! we have never seen such things before;—better keep them to yourself, and do not show them to the public." On being asked, why they required such privacy, they answered, "Because these two maps, as we see by reading them, exhibit the theories on which all the *Bijmantras*, or the principal incantations, are founded:" and they pointed out some of the Mantras on the maps, requesting us at the same time, to beware of pronouncing them on account of our being by caste a Sudra. The history of the maps is as follows:—The late Babu Gunga

Gobinda Singah, a wealthy native, residing in a village near Múrshedabad, spent the greater part of his fortune in making researches into the Hindu Shastras. Not satisfied with the Pandits of his own village, he came to reside in Nuddea, the famous seat of Sanskrit learning in Bengal. By the assistance of the Nuddea Adhyàpakas, he was enabled to drink deep at the fountain of Sanskrit lore. But, after a time, he found their knowledge too shallow to serve *all* his purposes. Hence, he invited several Pandits from the Upper Provinces, the original seat of Hinduism. It was by a set of these Pandits, known by the name of Daudus, that the originals of these two maps were drawn, according to the principles of the Tantras, expressly for the use of their employer. A few months ago, these originals fell into the hands of a native gentleman of our quarter, also a very diligent explorer of the Hindu Shastras, who gave them to us for inspection. We caused them to be copied by a Brahman: and these copies we now present our readers, rather as specimens of the wisdom of the Hindus on anatomical subjects, and of the most hidden parts of their Shastras, than for any thing interesting in themselves.

Now it may be asked, what do these two theories of the human body treat of? Do they treat of the bones, muscles, arteries, veins, nerves, and ligaments? Do they describe the several organs of the human body, external and internal, such as the eye, the ear, the nose, the lungs, the stomach, the liver, the intestines, &c.? No! These are common place things, and therefore they are left to the observation of the vulgar. The Tantric theory, on which the well known *yoga*, called Shat-chakra-bheda, is founded, supposes the existence of six main internal organs, called Chakras, or Padmas, all having a general resemblance to that famous flower, the lotus. These are placed one above the other and connected by three imaginary chains, the emblems of the Ganges, the Jumna, and the Saraswati. Here we take only a cursory view, referring to the Plate III. and the *note*, for a more minute detail of the theory. The first Chakra (A) called Muládhára Chakra, has four petals, and is placed in the pelvic cavity. The second (B), called Linga Chakra, is said to have six petals, and supposed to be in the middle of the intestines. The Chakra (C), placed under the navel, is called the Nábi Chakra, and has ten petals. The fourth Chakra (D), seated at the heart, and containing 12 petals, is called the Hrit Padma. That placed in the thoracic cavity, (E), containing 16 petals, is known by the name of Kantha Chakra. The sixth or last Chakra (F) is seated in

the forehead, and called the Atma Chakra. The small circle marked (a) is the seat of the moon in the navel, and that marked (b) is the seat of the sun.*

Such are the main outlines of the first of the two great theories of the human frame according to the Hindu Shastras. With regard to the six Chakras or Padmas, it should be remarked, that they are even to this day believed really to exist within the body of every individual. What then are we to think of those who could believe such absurdities? We have already had the Vedas; and the Puránas, and now we

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* We have been favored by a friend with the following literal translation of all the writing on the original drawing, of which plate III is a copy. It gives a full explanation of this really curious sketch :—

1. After the perforation of the Six Wheels, (the mantra is) *shwetang or mahashetang ;* after that (it is) *kulluka* ; after that the real work of *jap*, (or repeating the name of some deity).

2. While contemplating form, taste, smell, touch, &c , the establishment of these by meditation is effected

F In the brow is the *atma chakra* (wheel of the soul); in that locality are (two petals designated by) two letters ka and ksha, of golden colour. There flow the three streams, *Ganga*, *Jamuna*, and *Saraswati*.

E The *kantha chakra* (wheel of the throat) has sixteen petals, and is like a white water lily. The (presiding debatas deities) are *Mahadeva* (Shiva) *Bhagavati* and *Shakti*. The petals are designated by the sixteen vowels having the chandrabinda attached to each, viz., ang, áng, ing, íng ung, úng, ring ríng, ling, líng, eng, aing, ong, aung, ang, angh. Its corresponding *mantras* are *kuchchah, máyá*

D The *Hritpadma* or water lily in the region of the heart, has twelve petals, and is of blue colour The presiding deities are *Bhagaván (Vishnu), Lakshmi, Shakti*. In the hand of Bhagaván are the Shangkha, the chakra, the gadá and the padma (the conch, the discus, the mace, the water lily) The corresponding *mantras* are *Kámo* and *Lakshmi*. The (petals are designated by) twelve letters from ka to tha inclusive, viz., ka, kha, ga, gha, gnua, cha, chha, ja jha, gnua, ta, tha

C. The *nábi chakra*, or wheel of the navel, has ten petals and is of red colour. its petals are designated by ten letters from da to pha inclusive, viz., da, dha, ána, ta, tha, da, dha na, pa, pha, The presiding deity is *Bramha*, and the *mantra* is *chamtu bijang*. There, is the position of the moon and others, as it is said.

> Beside the navel is the moon beside the moon the Lord of day.
> Beside whom flows the air, and in front of the air is the place of the mind.

B. The linga chakra has six petals designated by six letters, from ba to la inclusive, viz, bha ma, ya ra, la The presiding deity is *Kandarpa*, without bodily form. The corresdonding *mantra káma-bijang*. There are 108 japs.

A The lowest chakra has four petals designated by the four letters from wa to sa inclusive, *viz*, wa, sha, sha, sa. Its face looks upward. The presiding deities are *Maha Vishnu* and *Ganesha*. In this place *Shakti* has a spiral form and is resplendent as *Bramha*. It encircles two and a half times.

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In the posterior region of Meru, on whose head are the moon and sun (in the region of the spine, on which is supported the head, containing the two eyes) are the left, the right and middle *nadis* (veins or arteries). On the left are the Shiba-arteries, resembling fire On the right are the Vishnu-arteries, resembling sunshine. In the middle are the Bramha-arteries, of excessive splendour. As regards the rules for performing the *six works, viz* (which are effected by the recital of magical texts, *viz*, killing infatuating, enthralling, expelling, exciting animosity, and privation of faculties) and other similar performances —by the left (the Shiba-arteries) may be effected, *killing, disease, the destruction of enemies, expelling, detrivation of faculties* and the *hatha yoga* and other facts of austerity, by which victory over the senses is obtained: by the right (the Vishnu-arteries) *subjection to control*, and every species of work can be effected. By the middle (or Brahma-arteries,) every thing mentioned above can be effected, and by the middle one of the Bramha-arteries can be attained the perfection of intellect. The middle arteries are of a white colour; the left and right are red.

have the Tantras before us. We find them all much alike. Imagination is the foundation of them all, and truth has little share in any. It would be idle waste of time to point out the errors and absurdities, contained in this theory. But such is the obstinacy with which the Hindus adhere to these erroneous notions, that even, when we show them, by actual dissection, the non-existence of the imaginary Chakras in the human body, they will rather have recourse to excuses revolting to common sense, than acknowledge the evidence of their own eyes. They say, with a shamelessness unparalleled, that these Padmas exist as long as a man lives, but disappear the moment he dies. Those who will not believe their own senses, what can be said by us to convince them?

The second theory, which is a mixture both of anatomy and phrenology, is still more grand. Its main doctrine is that the seats of all mental faculties, passions, and feelings, are within the great trunk of the body; and that each of the faculties and passions has its respective material organ, by which its function is carried on: so that the brain, which is the real seat of all the mental faculties, is altogether put out of the question. Here, therefore, we have a sort of compound absurdity. In the first place, all the mental functions are made the result of matter, for material organs are assigned to them: and, in the second place, not one of these organs is placed in the head. This latter circumstance does strongly incline us to believe, that the ancient anatomists of Hindustan possessed no brain at all. It is not our business to refute in this place the doctrine of materialism. Allowing it to be true, the absurdity of the theory is not in the least diminished.

But this is not all. In the middle of the lowest extremity of the trunk of the body, is placed a tortoise (A), as will be seen by referring to plate II. Above this, we see a small serpent (B), the representation of the great Ananta. Above this is a Chakra (C) of 4 petals, called the Adhára Chakra, the seat of Ganesha. Then in regular gradation, one rising above the other, we have the following wonderful objects:—(D), the Adhishtán Chakra of 6 petals, the seat of Brahmá; (E), the navel, like the Roman figure XX; (F), the gastric fire; (G), the Padma, called Manipura, where Vishnu is said to reside; (H), the Mánasha Chakra, the seat of the mind; (I), the Anáhata Chakra, the place of Shiva; (J), the Bishunda Chakra, the seat of life; and (K), the Triganti, three small circles, the meaning of which we do not know. In the head, under the eyes, are the Agyankhya Chakra on the right, and Balaban Chakra on the left side; and in

the forehead is placed the king of the birds, the goose (L). Within the cranium is the Karpara Chakra, at the top of which is the Brahma-Randra, the passage through which the souls of virtuous men are said to ascend to heaven. All these unheard of and unseen objects, the tortoise, the serpent, the gastric fire, the Chakras, the goose, are believed *literally* to exist within the human body, of which we have received several testimonies from the mouths of the Brahmans. If this be not fanaticism, carried almost to insanity, we know not any thing in the world more appropriately deserving the name.

As for the internal organs, by which the faculties of the mind are said to be manifested, we give here a translation of their names, referring to plate II. for the corresponding numbers :—

1. Covetousness.
2. Envy.
3 Wickedness.
4 Irreligion, or Impiety
The waking state
5, The faculty leading to seek the Supreme Being, or Spirituality.
7 Compassion.
8. Good sense.
9. The love of one's own religion.
10. The mind.
11. Religious penance.
12. Anger.
13 The dreaming state.
14. Goodness.
15. The vowel a.
16. Bramha.
17. Pedantry.
18. Intelligence.
19. The place of the mind.
20. Fire.
21. The state of profound sleep.
22. Passion.
23. The vowel u.
24 Vishnu.
25. False ostentation of wisdom.
26. Attention.
27. The place of intelligence.
28. Water.
29. Ojya.
30. Ignorance, or darkness.
31. The Letter m.
32. Shiva.
33. False ostentation of bodily accomplishments.
34. Egotism.
35. The place of life.
36. The air.
37. Bramha Randra.
38. Karpara Chakra.
39. The goose.
40. Triganti.
41. Bishunda Chakra.
42. Anáhata Chakra.
43. Manasha Chakra.
44. Mani pura.
45. Gastric fire.
46. The navel.
47. Adhishtán Chakra.
48. Adháta Chakra.
49. The endless serpent, Ananta.
50. The tortoise.
51. Sálokya.
52. Sohangpada.
53 Múrddhni.
54. State of Childhood.
55. Leanness of body.
56. Happiness.
57. The enjoyment of visible objects.
58. The family state.
59 Sámípya.
60. Tangpada.
61. The heart.
62. The state of youthfulness.
63. Obesity.
64. Misery.
65. The enjoyment of imaginary objects.
66. The state of a mendicant.
67 Sárúpya.
68. Tatpada
69 The belly.
70. Old age.
71. Káranadeha.
72. Birth.
73. The enjoyment of optional objects.
74. Brahmáchári.
75. Sayujya.
76. Devotedness.
77. Useful knowledge.
78. Wisdom.
79. Discrimination.
80. Death.
81. Charitableness.
82. Pride.
83 Ignorance.
84. Want of knowledge.
85. Self-conceitedness.
86. The habit of reproaching.
87. The fruits of virtue.
88. The fruits of vice.

Having taken this brief view of the two main anatomical theories contained in the Tantras, we next turn our attention to some isolated notices on the same subject found in the Vedas.

The Vedas maintain that, in the heart of every person, there is a corporeal being, of the size of the thumb, called *Linga Sharira.* This is the whole man in miniature, and at death goes out through an artery, called Shusamna. The Vedantists try to evade the absurdity of supposing the existence of this *little man* in the heart of every body, and, to escape detection from actual dissection, they assert, that it does not remain in its place after death,—a sophistry too common among the Hindus, who always attempt to explain one absurd supposition by another. Yet they have every reason to say, that the existence of the Linga Sharira is as true, as the Chakras, the tortoise, and the serpent.

Moreover, the Vedanta Sutras say: "A hundred and one arteries issue from the heart, one of which passes to the crown of the head." Nothing can be more flatly contradictory to truth and observation. Let the Vedantist but once enter the dissecting room of the Medical College, and there he will find a practical refutation of his opinion. We see only two arteries, the great Aorta, and the Pulmonary artery, issuing from the heart; by the former and its ramifications, the blood is conveyed to the extremities of the body; by the latter and its branches, it is carried over the lungs, that it may be aerated, or purified in that organ. Besides, instead of one artery, several are known to enter the crown of the head.

The Vedanta Sutras furnish us with some further notices on two very important functions of the animal frame, the processes of assimilation and respiration. "When nourishment," say they, "is received into the corporeal frame, it undergoes a three-fold distribution, according to its fineness or coarseness. Corn, and other terrene food, becomes flesh; but the coarser portion is ejected, and the finer nourishes the mental organs. Water is converted into blood; the coarser part is ejected as urine. Oil, and other combustible substances deemed igneous, become marrow; the coarser part is deposited as bone, and the finer supplies the faculty of speech." (Brahmá Sutra, 2. 4. §, 9.)

From this physiological extract, it sufficiently appears how much the sages of Hindustan rely merely on external appearances, and draw their inferences from these alone. It contains nothing more than such easy guesses, as would occur to the most vulgar and untutored mind:—solid food is turned into thick flesh, water into liquid blood, and oil into the greasy substance, marrow. Is not this natural enough to strike the fancy of the most ignorant and careless observer?

But natural as it is, there is not the least trace of truth in it. Whatever substances are taken into the stomach, they are all dissolved by the action of the gastric justice, and converted into one, uniform, pulpy mass, called chyme. Here, we may as well remark, that there is no such thing as fire in the stomach. What the Hindus erroneously take for fire, is in reality the gastric justice, which is secreted from various small glands, placed between the coats of the stomach. Chyme next passes through the pylorus into the intestines, where, after undergoing some changes by the action of the bile and the pancreatic juice, it becomes capable of affording a fluid, somewhat resembling milk in appearance, called chyle, which is in fact the real blood. This fluid, after several processes, becomes red blood, which supplies nourishment to *all* the parts of the animal frame. Thus we see the error of the Vedantists, who suppose different kinds of substances to nourish different parts of the body. What they mean, when they declare, that the finer particles of water and oil severally support the breath and the faculty of speech, it is impossible to say. It is however an affirmation, which, notwithstanding the absurdity it implies, " is in exact harmony with the mode of guessing at the operations of nature, admired as philosophy among the Hindus."

There is another point in the physiology of the Vedas that deserves some attention. It respects the process of respiration. The account is as follows :—" Respiration is a vital act, and comprehends five such.—1st, Respiration, or an act operating upwards. 2nd, Inspiration, one operating downwards. 3rd, A vigorous action, which is a mean between the foregoing two. 4th, Expiration, or passage upwards. 5th, Digestion, or circulation of nutriment throughout the corporeal frame." Numerous are the errors contained in this account of the process of respiration, of which we shall mark only one or two. Respiration is confined only to the action of the lungs, and has no connection whatever with any other functions of the internal organs. But the Hindu philosophers would make it a compound process, consisting of different operations which have no connection with one another. But the grossest of all the errors committed by them on the subject, is the supposition, by which the processes of digestion and the circulation of nutriment are reckoned as parts of the action of respiration. We need not however dwell any longer on this point. If the opinions of the Hindus are found to be erroneous on subjects which a mere child can understand, how can we expect them to be accurate in describing such a difficult process as respiration ?

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# CEYLON, AND LORD TORRINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION.

By W. Knighton, Esq.

1. *The history of Ceylon, presented by Captain John Rebeyro to the King of Portugal in* 1685 *; with an Appendix, containing chapters illustrative of the past and present condition of the Island*, by George Lee, Postmaster-General of Ceylon.

2. *Papers relative to the affairs of Ceylon, presented to Parliament*, February 1849.

IF we form opinions as to Ceylon from the books of our Sanskrit sages, we must believe that the people there are a race of giants. If, on the other hand, we trust to the newspaper press of the island itself, we cannot escape the conviction that they are pigmies—Lord Torrington being their obnoxious Emperor, and Sir J. E. Tennent his Prime Minister. The *Ceylon Observer* proclaims that the Government does nothing right; the *Ceylon Times* that it does nothing wrong; while the more quiet *Ceylon Examiner* contents itself with discussions on political economy and literature, too high, we should think, to be very profitable in Colombo. Thus, between the three, every thing falls to the ground, except the bad feelings which they kindle and keep alive, and the bewilderment into which they throw those at a distance, who, like ourselves, desire only to discover the truth, and to do justice to all.

But if we turn to more intelligent and more intelligible sources of information, such as those which head this article, and put to ourselves the question, what is really doing in Ceylon? We obtain a very different result. We find that a grand experiment has been made, and is now progressing in that country, which may ultimately affect the destiny of all India; and, even as to Lord Torrington's Government, we cannot help thinking, that it is very far from deserving that obloquy, which has been so recklessly cast upon it by its local assailants.

The grand experiment, to which we have alluded, is nothing less than the endeavour to superinduce, in so far as Ceylon is concerned, the progressive spirit of the West upon the immobility of the East; in a word, to substitute the European type of civilization for that of Asia. This experiment, which may be said to have been begun from the first year of this century, when, by the 5th article of the treaty of Amiens, the Batavian republic made the cession of Ceylon to the British absolute, has been progressing all along with more or less prudence and success, although sometimes precipitated in a way which the chemistry of nations forbids, more especially by the changes

ordered in consequence of the report of Commissioner Colebrooke in 1832, and the coffee mania of the last ten years. Hence an explosion in the Kandian country in the August of last year; and hence financial difficulties to Government of far more consideration.

The universal enthusiasm which attached to the planting of coffee ten years ago, unhappily extended to those who principally assisted at the movements of Government. In common with all others who had the command of any capital, the Government servants entered personally into the speculation; and carrying their bright hopes, as coffee planters, into the treasury offices and executive Council, they concluded that a public revenue of almost indefinite amount might be counted upon for all time coming. The expenditure of Government was therefore fearlessly increased. The fixed establishments of the colony received a permanent addition, which, in 1848, amounted to £47 545 annually above what it was in 1840; and, with everything looking bright, with a surplus revenue appearing in the present, and presumed on for the future, things were put into such efficient train for emptying the treasury, that in 1847, the expenditure of the Government reached the figure of £518,987, while the largest income realized in any one year, the surplus of former years included, never exceeded £454,146. Of this last sum, moreover, the odd thousands (in a general view) were nothing better than Government notes in circulation and payable on demand, but which it had been the strange fashion of the Ceylon treasury to estimate as revenue: so that the most prosperous condition of the revenue of Ceylon may be taken at £400,000,* while its liabilities in one year amounted to £519,000; and what was still more sad, the year of greatest liabilities lagged behind that of greatest prosperity; for it was 1845, which gave the maximum revenue, and 1847 which demanded the maximum outlay.

But why this unlooked-for disaster? Because the coffee bushes on too many estates, on which too many thousands had been already spent, were found to be dying; and the thoughtless planters were obliged to look to their lands, and consider whether a soil, composed of grains of quartz, and scales of mica, at a stove heat, and swarming with vermin, where fit for growing coffee. The ultimate result however, is, that things are com-

* The number 400,000 may be taken as a Memonic number for Ceylon statistics. Thus it represents in a general way—

1. The Island revenue in pounds sterling.
2. The value in grain, which it imports, also in pounds sterling.
3. The Coffee, which it may be expected next year to export, in cwts.
4. The Cinnamon, which it can export annually in lbs.

ing right now. The coffee culture will stand, and be a good thing for those who begun economically in a good soil and climate, and a still better for those who have purchased estates cheap from the first class of speculators. Still, however, (let it be confessed) the prospect of coffee-planting is not now what it once was.

But while all was progressing, and all anticipated large fortunes, these originals of planter who it must be acknowledged, have "gathered of all kinds," were careering over the Kandian country, in a way which, however much it was fun to them, was worse than death to the Kandians—and let us add, to their cattle also, which used to roam over the forest at large, constituting the wealth of their masters, and, to say the truth, society for them also far more congenial than these rough-shod planters in their leech-gaiters, with their accompanying gangs of much-detested Pariah Malabars. The social organisation of the Kandian country, such as it had previously been, became rapidly broken up. The Kandians grew discontented to the last degree; and ultimately, excited on the one hand by the earnest desire of the Home Government to detach the local Government from all official participation in the Kandian heathenism, and, on the other, by the apprehension of a multitude of new taxes, which were never dreamt of, they gathered together, bent upon recalling pretenders to the ancient kingdom of Kandy. Both puppets and princes appeared, and in a word, the Cinnamon Isle had the glory, during the eventful year 1848, of sharing in the political strife which then agitated all Europe.

And here, though but glancing now at the causes of the Kandian rebellion, let us not fail to mention another cause. It is what the priests alleged to the people equally, when they were urging them on or consoling them under reverses and fainting hopes. "On last New Year's day (April 11, 1847), the princely Vishnu (said they) descended from the throne, and gave the reins of Providence into the hands of the destroying Iswara, and for twenty years to come, you are to look for nothing but the degradation of your holy religion. Has it not already begun? Henceforth, however, princes are no longer to career over the people as they have been doing for the last twenty years, when Vishnu, the Protector of princes, ordered all things for their benefit. The people must now rise. So says the sacred Book. Do you not feel something working within you? It is the God, urging you to rise." And so they did. They rose, dark, dreaming creatures! They rose; and, thousands having gathered at Matelle, and Dambúl, and Kornegalle, and all their ancient seats of royalty and of superstition, they appeared in arms against the troops of the Queen of

England! The prospect was fearful: for, previously to the British occupation, the Kandians were an eminently cruel people; not even to the English had they shown any mercy, as the melancholy events of the year 1803 attest, when they massacred our sick in the hospitals, and shot our disarmed soldiers in couples. And therefore it was not without good grounds, that the Europeans in Kandy and the central province generally, looked with horror at the idea of the natives getting the upper hand, and not without sound policy, that Lord Torrington took the most vigourous measures to suppress the rebellion.

But did the Kandians manifest any barbarity on this occasion? On the contrary, not one European lost his life at their hands. Nay, their forbearance, even to those whom they had altogether in their power, was most remarkable, although their prisoners were the very parties, whose planting operations had so much annoyed them In fact, contrary to all the hopes which could have been safely counted upon, the evidence goes all to show, that the Kandians are now changed into a gentle and timid people—foolishly gentle indeed, if they are to assume the attitude of rebels at all. Now, what could be the cause of a change so notable and so unexpectedly benignant? This question bring us back to our starting place; and, having introduced our subject by this general sketch, let us now enter upon it with somewhat of scientific detail.

Ceylon, as we have said ever since the beginning of the present century, has been the theatre of a grand experiment, having for its object to solve the question, Whether the type of Asiatic civilization can be made to give place to the European? That the types are very different, is obvious enough to any one who has visited this country, and especially to him who has visited Ceylon. The man, who looks upon the natives with his European eyes, is apt to go so far wrong as even to mistake the men for the women. The men in Ceylon wear long hair, gathered together behind by a high tortoise-shell comb, and kept braided back in front by a crescent-shaped comb of the same material. Their necks, shoulders, and breasts (which are often strangely mammiferous in appearance) are usually bare; while they inclose the lower part of the body in a petticoat, wrapt so tight round the figure, that a manly gait is impossible, and the dandies among them mince it, as they go, with little steps, like the veriest coquettes. Moreover, this difference which appears in dress, appears in every thing. The types of Asiatic and of European civilization are eminently different. Now, though it be most true, as Sir Joshua Reynolds somewhere says, that, as to costume, it is hard to say whether

that of the gentleman of Europe, or of the Cherokee Indian, be farthest from a true propriety and fitness; and that, as to this matter, all nations had best be left to please themselves, provided only that the fashions be not very unhealthy, or very painful, as for instance tight-lacing and tattooing in European ladies and New Zealand chiefs; yet, looking to the question in a higher point of view, few things can be conceived as more desirable than the substitution of the active progressive type of European civilization, for the immobility and deadness of that of the East. Few thoughts can be more distressing to a truly philanthropic mind, than to be obliged to believe that the Eastern Asiatics are to be left for ever in the state in which they are now—in a society composed of a frigorific mixture of castes, with no signs of emotive life at all, but that which is awoke by the practice of haggard, soul-destroying superstitions.

Now this grand question has never yet been solved, nor can it be solved in a satisfactory manner by mere speculation. It has, indeed, been proved, that the Asiatics cannot emancipate themselves. It has been proved, that they have reached a certain condition of cilivization, beyond which they cannot pass by any internal energy of their own Custom, which is a second nature even to a Saxon, has somehow come to be to an Asiatic, all the nature that he has; and it may be set down for certain that, if the Eastern nations are ever to get out of that habit, which they all have fallen into, or ever looking to the past, and living in it, as the only golden age for their country—the time when the beau-ideal of truth, religion, and government realized itself—the escape from this must be affected for them, not by them. But whether the thing be practicable on the great scale, by ordinary human agency, has not yet been ascertained, nor can it be ascertained by mere cogitation. Very cogent trains of reasoning by different thinkers have given conflicting conclusions. There is, therefore, no satisfactory way of solving it, but by trying it in some suitable portion of the field. Now this is what the British Government has been doing in Ceylon, ever since it got possession of the island; and surely a noble enterprise it is, every movement and result of which is deeply interesting to the philanthropist, wherever his dwelling place on the surface of our planet may be, and specially interesting to us in India.

What the ultimate result will be, cannot as yet be foretold. If the rebellion, which has been referred to, shows that risks must be encountered in carrying it on, it shows also a most encouraging moral change in the character of the people since they rebelled before. If they have suffered in 1848 on the supposition that

they were still the dangerous and cruel race that they were in 1803, this is no doubt a misfortune. But it could neither be prevented nor foreseen; and the discovery of their unlooked-for timidity and respect for Englishmen, will redound to their advantage every way in the future. Much light will be thrown on the whole question, by the reception and working of Lord Torrington's road-making ordinance, now in the course of being introduced to the natives; which, far from being a mere tax magisterially laid upon the whole population solely with a view to revenue, as it has been represented, is on the contrary, a very sagaciously devised scheme for developing the social system among the natives themselves and calling upon them, in an eminent degree, to exercise their own wills; for, to do this in an energetic manner, is all that they want in order to become active and enlightened men, and good subjects of the Queen of England. The Asiatic mind even as it is found in the women-like men of Ceylon, is far from being defective in dialectic power. Never in the masses, indeed, does this reach the dignity of reason; but it falls short only through the weakness of the power of volition, which is at once the life of the soul, and the principle which is, in a word, the man himself. Take away the individual will, and there remains only the *caput mortuum* of human nature—an imitating, self-repeating thing, a creature of mere custom, whose wants, as an animal alone, serve to keep him alive.

Now this, to a most distressing extent, was the condition to which the Singhalese had fallen, when the British found them. The despotism of their own emperors and kings, and the tyranny still more absolute of the headmen whom they appointed to rule them, tended wholly to crush the spirit of the people. The Portuguese sought only to astonish them with Catholic grandeur, to flatter, and to please them; and the Dutch, while their main object was to grind money out of them, conducted their Government (and even their most laudable attempts at conversion to Protestant Christianity) in such an absolute way, that the native will was suppressed under our immediate predecessors, even more than it ever had been under their native princes; so that, as we found them, when we acquired the island, the Singhalese had become a most abject, suspicious, and deceitful race, ready to profess any faith, or to occupy any position which would save their interests or serve their turn; and above all things, never daring for a single moment to entertain such a notion, as that they were fellow-subjects of the same prince with those who ruled them.

Such was the inheritance to which Great Britain succeeded in 1796, when she got possession of the maritime provinces of Ceylon. But it was obviously impossible that a British Government could tolerate such a state of things in what was to be ranked as one of her colonies. In a word, as soon as Ceylon was included in the category of a British colony, the colonial system of England was extended to it, including, of course, the review of all local legislation at Westminister; and consequently there was established from that date a security for every man, whatever his creed, colour, or language, whom the Queen of England acknowledge as her subject, that he should have all his rights and privileges, as such, as soon as he was in a condition to use, or even to appreciate them. Such is the glorious principle of English colonization. But here truth obliges us to confess that, in so far as Ceylon was concerned, the maintenance of the principle was for a long time the best of the result. When proceeding to apply the principles of Western civilization, and of the constitution of England to the natives of Ceylon, their abject state, and their prepossession in favour of another order of things altogether different, were not duly considered. And still worse, the distressing fact was forgotten, that the natives then looked upon the British, as indeed they still do, exactly as they looked upon the Dutch, that is, merely as masters, holding their country by force of conquest, and for the purpose of taking money away from them.

Still, however, even so early as the year 1811, trial by jury was established, and has continued ever since; and doubtless this was a noble offering of confidence to the natives, and might have been expected to win them over, if anything would. In point of fact, however, it has been but indifferently appreciated; and if it had to be done again, and either "the Governor in Council" or "the collective Supreme Court" were asked for an opinion as to its expediency, we rather think even now, that both would agree in saying, "Wait a while." The melancholy fact is that, among the Singhalese, as they actually stand at this day, it is only when veracity concurs with interest (interest estimated on the coarsest principles) that the truth is to be looked for from any Singhalese man on his oath. Add to this, that their point of honour is ever more to refuse to report to Government any delinquency in one of themselves, however flagrant,—and it will be easy to see that courts of law, framed after the model of those of England, must work very badly in Ceylon. But we have not told the worst; and we must here let out a secret. There is (in fact especially for the

purpose of frustrating the course of justice) in every considerable Singhalese village a class of persons, who style themselves "Rural Proctors," whose self-taught education consists in hanging about the courts, and learning by observation there, the course which trials take, with a view to discover the management which secures the escape of the guilty, and the success of the unjust; this being mastered, they set up in their villages, their profession being to shape the case for any one who has been caught in a crime, or is bent on attempting one under the cover of the law,—which is a favorite form of revenge among the Singhalese. As the complement of this system, there is also in every considerable village a supply of false witnesses (familiarly known among their countrymen by the name of the Demon, who is believed by them to watch by a dying man to carry off his soul), and these false witnesses will swear to anything that is feasible for a rupee or two; and now, indeed, that prices are falling, for much less money. It is needless to say after this that trial by jury in Ceylon necessarily failed in its object. It is also a serious thought that it failed in that collateral benefit, which it brings so largely along with it in England, —namely, the intellectual development of the common people, and the training of them to conceptions of equity. The Singhalese have quite lost sight of this long ago. With them the root of equity has long ago run to seed; and all that remains is casuistry. Of this they sometimes give fine displays. Thus, a high caste headman was being tried the other day by the court, when the interpreter (who was a person of inferior caste,) in putting a question to him from the judge, addressed him without the honorifics to which he was entitled. The headman immediately complained; but before the complaint reached the bench, the interpreter with admirable casuistry answered, "You ought to consider that at present my mouth is the mouth of the court, and that I must address you as if I were the judge." The great evil of the establishment of the English judicial system lay in this, that it went to feed this quibbling and litigious, or (to give it a better name) this dialectic disposition, in which the orientals are quite at home from time immemorial; and that it did nothing to develop their wills, in the want of which their main weakness, as compared with Europeans, consists. Upon the whole, it fully appears, that the establishment of trial by jury was an unreasonable, if not an altogether unfit step in the grand experiment; and it is to be desired that those whose philanthropy leads them to propose such bold measures should have a higher order of intelligence than Sir Alexander Johnstone. Trial by jury has not, however, been altogether without good fruits. Thus

the jury ordinance (which, however, dates from the time of the present chief justice Sir A. Oliphant, and not from that of the original institution) takes no cognizance of caste, but only of language. It has in this way done a great deal to break down the prejudices of caste; and so well does it seem to have worked, notwithstanding its apparent boldness, that it is said that the Singhalese, in their own village councils, have adopted this fusion of castes, and elect their arbitrators from all the castes of the district, who sit together without objection.

Another movement of the British Government, of still greater moment than the judicial establishment, was an order of the Queen in Council in 1832, in which it is declared and ordered, "That none of Her Majesty's native, or Indian, subjects within this island (Ceylon) shall be, or are, liable to render any service in respect of the tenure of their land, or in respect of their caste, or otherwise, to which Her Majesty's subjects of European birth, or descent, are not liable; any law, custom, or regulation to the contrary notwithstanding." This was in other words, the abolition of the Raja Karia (king's service, or forced labour system. Previously to that date, an iron-handed feudalism prevailed, in virtue of which the people were subject to be called upon by the Government headmen, to execute whatever works Government took in hand. And doubtless it was a noble step to emancipate them from such a thraldom; and a noble result of their privileges as subjects of England. It is much to be regretted, however, (as the Secretary of State for the time remarked three years after, in a despatch to Sir R. Horton, then Governor of Ceylon) that in setting the masses free from this bondage, the effects of the change upon the future progress, or rather possibility, of public works, and yet more upon the status of the headmen, had not been more maturely considered. Singhalese people in general will never work, if they can help it. All nature invites them to vegetate And as long as every family lives in its own garden, or in a garden free from rent, as is generally the case now, all the members of it will rather share in common, and content themselves with the husks which the swine do eat, than stir from home, or even stir at home to grow better food. Wretched, indeed is the diet on which the masses of the country people subsist. Various sorts of young cocoanuts, jack fruits, cucumbers, and jungle leaves, with condiments, constitute the usual ingredients of their curries. Rice falls rarely to the lot of the poorer classes; fish very seldom; and flesh next to never. Hence arise great feebleness of frame, and a constitution which succumbs under the first invasion of disease: though it may be also remarked that, in consequence of the carbonaceous nature of their diet, corpu-

lency is not uncommon, and now and then a very strong man is to be seen. Only a very small portion of the labour of Ceylon is performed by Singhalese. They have not an adequate motive to bestir themselves in working. Nirvana, or extinction, is the highest prospect which they promise to themselves in heaven, and sleep is their highest standard of enjoyment upon earth. Sleep is also the practice of their religion, for they have no God; to attain Nirvana is every thing, and sleep goes far to commence it. It was therefore a pity to relieve them from the Rajakaria, without opening to them, at the same time, some definite way of bestirring themselves voluntarily, in obedience to those habits of activity, which had been fixed upon them. How easy and beneficial would it have been at that time to have introduced the road ordinance, which, with all the privileges it confers, they are now so disinclined to accept! The opportunity was lost however; and we need say no more about it.

But still more serious in its consequences to the administration of the Government, was the abolition of forced labour in its bearings upon the characters of the headmen. During the existence of that system, they derived their emoluments by taking bribes from parties whom they called out to work, and then let off, in consideration of what they gave them —a way of raising the wind which, though dishonest and unlawful, had yet a sort of equity in it behind the scenes. But now there is scarcely any way in which the headmen can make money, but by the disposal of their patronage (for generally speaking they still continue to nominate all the petty headmen); whence it comes to pass, that the latter, having emptied their pockets to buy their places, must lose no time, as soon as they get into office, to replenish them again; for which, indeed, a fine field is open to them, as they constitute the rural police, and can always depend on a goodly proportion of presents from all gamblers, thieves and robbers, who have any discretion. Thus, we have a system, which not only saps all possible morality among the Singhalese people, and which utterly frustrates all missionary and educational enterprise, but which throws the headmen into necessary opposition to every Englishman,—the worst of whom has never yet been known to go along with the natives in such villainy. Hence, on the part of the headmen, conscious guilt, suspicion, cunning, and a readiness for every evil course that they have strength for. Hence their fitness for a rebellion, and the possibility of planning one all over the country, headed by outlaws and robbers, as is well known to have been the case in the late rising in Kandy. On the abolition of the Rajakaria, care should have been taken to increase the salaries of

the headmen, and to confer new honours upon them, in consideration of their having been headmen at so glorious an epoch as the emancipation of their countrymen from serfdom. At the same time all that was practicable should have been done to educate their sons, and to train them to principles of equity and humanity, and, as far as possible, to instil into their minds the principles of our holy religion; which being once secured in the heart, every thing is secured that a good Government and a happy people can desire; and in order to which, it is pleasing to find, that there are not in Ceylon the same difficulties to be contended with, that there are in this country, as may be seen more fully by reference to our 10th number, in which an account is given of the educational system of Ceylon. Not that everything can be safely intrusted to headmen, however satisfactory their character. Such a form of Government is wholly incompatible with the European type. Still it needs but a slender knowledge of the East to know that this system must not be lightly interfered with. It is pleasing to learn, in reference to Ceylon, however, that since the abolition of serfdom, there has been gradually arising what may be called a native public. Enterprising individuals have appeared in the field, who, by their agricultural, commercial, or manufacturing ability, have risen to wealth, all independent of Government patronage. The villagers generally also are becoming more happy, and beginning to feel that they have rights; and thus a generally diffused check to the operations of the headmen is beginning to make its apparition in every village, and the wiser among the headmen are beginning to be somewhat circumspect. It is now the moment for Government to do something; and a long letter on this subject from Sir J. Emerson Tennent to Lord Torrington, of the greatest value, is to be found in the Ceylon Published Papers at p. 160. But the profound ignorance on the part of the Civil Servants generally of the native language, (a fact existing in the face of the most explicit injunctions from the Secretary of State given again and again,) places them wholly at the mercy of the headmen whom they have about them, and renders every change unsafe, and all real progress impossible.

After the establishment of the judicial system, and the abolition of forced labour, there is no event which has exercised so important an influence upon Ceylon as the coffee mania. In virtue of this great movement, the mountain Singhalese, or Kandians, came prominently under the eye of Government, which had previously shaped its legislation chiefly for the low country, or maritime Singhalese. Now, between these two tribes, there is a great difference, depending not only on the physical conditions of climate, &c., but also on their respective histories. The maritime

Singhalese are in a high degree a plastic people, of eminently gentle dispositions; and, though they cannot originate anything, they are very apt in imitating. In consequence of this they have amongst them many valuable arts; but all of them, without exception, they appear to have learned from their successive masters, Tamuls, Portugese, Dutch and English. The mountain Singhalese, on the other hand, are far from being the same modifiable sort of beings. They are inferior in the use of their reasoning powers, and are less reflectively disposed; but they are more passionate and firm in their hereditary habits and attachments. Both live in the past, and consider the state of things, when their sacred books were composed, as the golden age and beau-ideal of social, as well as of religious order; but the low country Singhalese live more in the world than the Kandians, and are every way far more practicable subjects for an enlightened Government to deal with. They are wholly disposed to be good subjects, and to move along with the Government; and this might be at once secured, if the Government agents or collectors would but move about amongst them, and make themselves accessible to the better classes of natives, otherwise than through their much-detested headmen as interpreters; who, in addressing their inferiors in caste or rank, still attempt to keep up the disgusting refusal of respectful terms to common people, as used to be the case in the days of their utmost serfdom and degradation. Nothing can be farther from a Singhalese man's mind, than to think of a public meeting for the recall of a governor, or even for the repeal of a tax. The day for such things may possibly be coming in the East, as it has come in the West; but it is far distant now. We do, indeed, hear of such things even in the present day: but it is all stuffed into them by a set of men who, for the sake of revenge, are going directly in the teeth of their own principles, and professing to be friends of the Singhalese, are raging at Government like furies—though Government has done nothing worse than to have made a new and well-considered attempt to rouse this dormant people, for their own good, from their immemorial slumbers.

But to return to the coffee mania. We cannot change the name, though the reader may not approve of it; for a mania it truly was. Only fancy, sea captains, London-bred merchants, and younger sons, in short, speculators of all sorts, all most innocent of the veriest rudiments of agriculture, leaving their decks, their desks, and their drawing-rooms, to plant for themselves or those whom they represented) coffee estates in the Kandy country of Ceylon! No doubt, they had before them the example of the civil and military servants in the island, who began the specula-

tion, whom it might seem safe to follow; and who, to tell the truth, have much to answer for, as well as the Government that sanctioned their rashness. But that was all their fitness, and all their guidance: yet they rushed into the jungle, and, that in such style, that they never drew breath, nor looked behind them, until they had purchased from Government 3,00,000 acres of forest land, the great bulk of it destined for growing coffee, and even now, cultivated to such an extent, that the coffee expected from Ceylon is more than equal to the entire consumption of the British Isles! Now to realise such an enterprise as was projected, millions of sterling money would be required; and in point of fact, for several years, money flowed in abundantly; and not money only, but Europeans bent on spending it in Ceylon. Every ship that reached the roads in Colombo, every steamer at Point de Galle, gave a long list of new arrivals, every one gay and flush of cash, or ready with his signature, which was then quite as good. Soon there was nothing but felling and burning of forests on every mountain; and then there was the planting out of the little hopeful nurslings; and, in due time, there was the beautiful white coffee blossom, sprinkling the new cut hill side as with fragrant snow; and then there was the happy superintendent, with his boasted salarly of hundreds, and plenty of good cheer in his bungalow, slapping his lank coolies half in fun, and singing out, through his cigar-retaining teeth, "surka, surka," being his whole vocabulary of their language as yet.

And now the berry is ripe; and there is the gathering; and there is the grating off the pulp; and the washing off the gratings; and there is the drying of the bean in the parchment; and then there is the storing; and the bandy getting; and the sending off to Colombo; and then there is the peeling, and the picking there; and then there is the shipping; and then in good course, there is the selling in London. All is right. All is life. The only cry is, "Let us fell, and plant more." The work proceeds. Labour is in great demand. Coal-black coolies, with their long staves and spindle-shanks, gang after gang, are footing it from the far-away country of the Malabars, leaving behind them by the long road-side what is seen by them on their return home (for they soon weary of Ceylon), as a rain-bleached skeleton, grinning at the sun. Meanwhile, the more cautious Singhalese man is stealing up by some well-known jungle path, with his axe over his shoulder. The Moorman mason keeps to the road; while the Portuguese fellow tries to get a cast in the coach: for there are now two coaches between Colombo and Kandy every day. Long trains of covered carts, or bandies, are seen wending

round the shoulder of the mountain on the Kandy road—the bandymen roaring to their bullocks, so as to match Cerberus himself, and in fact every way as bad as that dog. They are a horrid set those bandymen. Meanwhile the little bullocks pull and pull, the yoke resting on their necks before the hump, which buffs it well; and up go the rice, and the fish, and the arrack, and the implements; and down comes the coffee bag; and all is life and hope, and hope again, in a fair day till evening. Infinite spirit do the planters display. They stick at no expense —at nothing.

But what is Government doing meanwhile? Why, what better could Government wish for? But plainly it must not merely look on. The sales of land, the importation of stores to maintain such a prodigious increase of population, and of implements of all kinds, necessary to a large planting and thriving community, as well as the liberal comsumption of excisable commodities on the spot, gave such a flourish to the revenue, that from £331,200, which was its amount in 1840, it was found in 1845 to have reached the figure of £454,146; and that without any pearl fishery at all, and less than usual from cinnamon. Now all this is most pleasing, nay, spirit-stirring; and accordingly, even the despatch of a Secretary of State grows spontaneously eloquent: "The great importance of that possession (says Earl Grey writing of Ceylon); the amplitude and variety of its native resources; the field it has opened to European capital and enterprise; its geographical position as the key of the Indian Ocean, and the great insular outpost of the British Empire in the East; its salubrious climate; its unrivalled harbour, pointing it out as the great reserve station of our military and naval forces in that quarter of the globe; all these are considerations," &c. Thus it went; and plainly the local Government, in receiving such despatches and such increase of revenue, and having to preside over an island in such a state as Ceylon then was, incurred new responsibilities, and came under new obligations. To do justice to the manifold applications for land, the survey department needed to be put on a more efficient and expensive scale. To make the land which was bought of any use to the purchasers (the major part of whom paid £1 per acre for it) a net work of roads, all over the mountains, must be constructed; and a road department of great efficiency must be added to the Government department Moreover, the great increase in property, and its transfer, and the influx of a new population, gave rise to endless calls for the aid of the law; and thus the judicial establishment must be increased. But all this added immensely to the work of the civil depart-

ment of the Government; so this needed also to be reinforced. Nor was this all. This sudden influx of new comers, bringing neither houses, furniture, nor food, but only plenty of money with them—yet wanting all these things, and ready to pay whatever might be demanded for them—so raised rents, and the cost of living generally, that the old stagers, and the military, could no longer live upon their pay, as they had been accustomed to do. A sudden depreciation had in fact taken place in the value of the circulating medium; and a general rise in all salaries indiscriminately was called for to make them to be worth what they were before. And thus it comes to pass, one way with another, that the expenditure of the Island, which in 1844, the year of greatest promise, was only £374,576, mounted up; so that Lord Torrington on his arrival, found it in a fair way for reaching in 1847 (as it actually did), the sum of £518,987, leaving at the year's end an absolute deficiency of £26,000—and that after the last dregs of a boasted surplus, the accumulation of former years, had been drained!

It was understood by every body here and in England, and doubtless by Lord Torrington himself among the foremost, that he was coming to govern a prosperous colony, with a prosperous revenue, and a large surplus of hard cash in the treasury. But the tide had turned; and so rapidly did it ebb, that the coffers could not bear to be looked into, long before the end of the year in which he arrived. Nor could either he or Sir J. Emerson Tennent, or all his Council, even though they had been true magi, have stemmed the outward-bound current of cash. It was easy for the planters to stop spending money when they had no more to spend; and for English merchants to stop sending goods to Ceylon, when they found themselves realizing a dead loss. But a Government cannot change its ways so easily. The people it has bred, or made a nest for, insist on being fed. What, though they know that their mother's breasts have gone dry? they cannot starve 12 000 miles from home.

But supposing that there had been permanent funds to meet the new expenditure, as was fondly and foolishly hoped for by the coffee-planting council of Sir Colin Campbell, was the outlay judicious? or was there, as there is always reason to apprehend, much jobbing on the occasion? This is a fair question. In answer, it fully appears from the published accounts, that though, during the interval between 1840 and 1848, the annual ordinary expenditure was augmented by a sum no less than that which has been stated, and though there was sometimes a contingent outlay for public works, &c., amounting to £100,000, still nothing appears, which will bear the construction of obvious jobbing

by those who were on the spot, and in possession. There is, on the contrary, a *bonâ fide* enlargement of Government men and Government work, proportional to the increase of outlay. In some of the more exalted walks of improvement indeed, some public servants seem to have been appointed by anticipation. Thus in 1844, Lord Stanley, then Secretary of State, sent a Bishop to the folks of Ceylon on an income of £2,500; though there is certainly a want of evidence, even to the present day, that such a dignitary was either wanted, or could be turned to much use there. Mr. Anstruther, the Colonial Secretary, who immediately preceded Sir J. Emerson Tennent, although he must surely have borne a hand in forwarding the enlargement, has since his return to Europe, given it as his opinion, that the Government of Ceylon might be better conducted on one-half of its present cost. And it may no doubt be well argued, that a few first-rate men would be better than ten times the number of bad ones. But a certain system had been adopted ever since the Civil Service of Ceylon (unhappily for itself) was broken off from that of India: and Sir Colin Campbell was too old a soldier to recommend any organic change in his day.

Happily for the confusion into which things had fallen, however, some time before Sir Colin returned home, Sir J. E. Tennent arrived as Colonial Secretary: and he, seeing that things could not possibly be allowed to go on longer as they had been going, began forthwith to apply his well-known talents to the revision and reform of the entire commercial system of the island—which, notwithstanding great steps made in a right direction, especially by Mr Anstruther, who possessed enlightened views in political economy, still bore too many marks of the Dutch Factory system in which it originated. The result was an elaborate report by Sir Emerson, setting forth the entire commercial policy of the island, with his own plans for opening and improving it: and this, having been considered by a Committee appointed by the Secretary of State, was productive of another report by them; and thus the ground was laid for the policy which was dictated to Lord Torrington when he took the reins in hand.

And here, whether we look to Sir Emerson's report, to that of the Committee, to Earl Grey's instructions in connection with them, or to Lord Torrington's Government, we see a fixed determination towards the steady pursuit of the grand experiment of forwarding, if possible. the European type of civilization in Ceylon, and giving the Singhalese a fair chance to become a free, industrious, and progressive people, like those of the West—if only they have it in them. For proof of this the entire Blue Book, published by command of Parliament, may be consulted, and

especially Earl Grey's despatch, of Oct. 24, 1848, consisting of four folio pages, and Lord Torrington's of May 6th, 1848, of six pages. We should have been happy to have quoted from them, but we refrain, feeling that to have abridged them would be to do them injustice. Suffice it to say, that their general principle is, that the taxes must be so levied, as not to oppress industry, and dissuade from it ; but on the contrary, so as (if possible) to develop the activity of the people, to interest them in their own affairs, and to raise their standard of enjoyment.

But while such plans were being formed in reference to the affairs of *this* world in Ceylon, Her Majesty's Government had resolved, that the connection, which had hitherto subsisted between the British Government and the religion of Buddha, at once atheistical and idolatrous, should altogether cease ; that the Government should no longer appoint Buddhist priests to Buddhist temples ; and that the Government agent of Kandy should no longer be the custodian of the Dalada, or sacred Tooth. In a word, it was resolved to require of the Buddhists to manage their own affairs, for which every facility would be afforded them, and full protection in the exercise of their religion; while they should retire with the whole of their property, and with every immunity, except the participation of Government.

But this was what the Kandian chiefs and priests were by no means disposed to accede to voluntarily, on any terms that could be proposed or suggested. The State connection of their church appeared now to be everything in their eyes. And, as they knew that it could not be broken, without a violation of the Kandian convention (according to their understanding of it at least), they were very difficult to deal with ; believing in all probability, that if they were firm and successful in starting objections to all possible plans that were proposed to them, the connection would not be broken at all. There were positive instructions from Downing Street, however, to the effect, that that unholy alliance should forthwith terminate, as certainly it ought, whatever the cost in worldly advantage to England. The dissolution was accordingly announced, to the great annoyance of both priests and Kandian chiefs. The Dalada was committed to their own keeping, where it ought always to have been; and thus matters remained until the late rebellion, when it was unhappily resumed—not however as a symbol of rebellion or a trophy of war, in which case all would have been right, but for its safe custody ! And thus, this most difficult question is thrown as far back as ever; and it is very hard to say what ought to be done. There should certainly be a right understanding, and an honorable observance

of the Kandian convention, on the part of England: and therefore the consent of those who were parties to it, or of those who now represent them, should by all means be obtained—provided their interpretation of the convention be legitimate, according to the usual understanding of such treaties by natives generally. But if it should appear, that their view of the matter is that, in virtue of the Kandy convention, every interest in the Kandian country was thereafter to stand for ever in *statu quo*, and all things and interests whatsoever to remain for ever, as they were at the time when the British Government became masters of the country—too much pains could not be bestowed to show them the unreasonableness of such an interpretation. Yet there is ground to apprehend that such is their conception. Thus, in the petition of the inhabitants of Dumberre against the new taxes, the 3rd complaint opens in these terms:—"That the Government has altered the laws and customs in force at the British accession to the kingdom of Kandy, is evident from the following facts:—" Ceylon Papers, p. 143. This shows that the principle of the grievance is the alteration of customs and laws, apart altogether from the question of the merit of the changes. The same fact is also very emphatically brought out by Lord Torrington, in a remarkable despatch to Earl Grey, dated August 14th, 1848, in which His Excellency assigns his views as to the causes of the Kandian rebellion, and at the close uses these words:—"Above all, I cannot forget the expression, which was addressed to me by one of the Chiefs, at a solemn conference at the pavilion at Kandy last year, to the effect that *if you neither respect our religion, nor our customs, what is the benefit to us of the British Government?*" Ceylon Papers, p. 188. Here we have the true Asiatic. The same view of things appears also in the evidence of the Priest, Panebokke Gúneratane Unanse. He assigns, as the first ground of rebellion, the abandoning of the temple Dalada Maligawa, and the other temples called Dewalis? and as the second "that contrary to the customs of the Kandian country, individuals of low caste are made equal with those of ancient and high families, or equal power is given to the former as to the latter," (p. 229)—an objection, with which it is most instructive to compare Sir J. E. Tennent's remarks on this subject. "It is a fact, (says Sir Emerson, in one of the paragraphs of his tour of conference,) worthy of your Excellency's special attention, that the districts, thus well affected and peaceful, are chiefly under the charge of chiefs and headmen, who have been chosen by Government in consideration of their intelligence and ability, and who are, in many instances, men of inferior caste; while the Corles (districts) recently

in rebellion are those placed under chiefs, who had been continued in office for no better consideration than their hereditary rank, or that deference and submission which the people exhibit to the pretensions of caste and family" (p. 200.) And here let us quote these all-important observations on this head from another report by Sir Emerson, the result of a former trip among the people. "Whilst the tendency of our recent policy has been, by abolishing unjust distinctions, to bring down the power of the chiefs to the level of the people, we have forgotten the still more important duty of elevating the people nearer to the level of the chiefs; and whilst, as a matter of course, the headmen and their creatures are the organs of all information conveyed to the natives, and the immediate authors of all the impressions they receive on public or local matters, we have not amongst the people themselves, throughout the interior of the island, any controlling check whatever, nor any countenancing authority to detect abuses, and encourage the well-affected. *We have no press, no paid police, no resident justices, no itinerant catechists, no school masters, in short, no class, whose intelligence and independence would be a restraint upon the assumptions or misrepresentations of the chiefs.* (B. B., p. 163). He had previously said, that periodical circuits, and personal visits, attention to complaints, and inquiry into abuses on the spot, more frequent intercourse with Europeans, and the general diffusion of education, would soon quicken the apprehension of the natives, and set matters right: and there can be no doubt that, as to all these matters, there has been most culpable neglect in all successive Governments of Ceylon, since the acquisition of the Kandian country in 1815.

But let us return to the causes of dissatisfaction with Government, as ascertained from the Priest Pannebokke already referred to. The four following, together with the two which have been stated already, constitute the first half dozen—the number being thirteen in all. "3rd. When roads (says he) are being made or opened through districts or villages, some of the drunkards and vagabonds employed on them, use most indecent and improper language, which not only females but even males are shocked to hear. They forcibly pluck and take away the fruits from the neighbouring gardens. In some districts, coffee estates are left without fences, and the cattle that enter them are shot; or they are tied, and the owners are made to pay £1, or 2, for each head of cattle. This is done only in some estates, and not in others. 4th. That, after coffee estates are planted on hills belonging to Government, the neighbouring waste lands being private property, are prevented from being

cultivated, on the alleged ground that they are crown property. 5th. Whenever taverns are established in the interior, either on the road side or in the villages, the neighbouring inhabitants become drunkards, use indecent language, gamble, commit robberies, burn houses, and in some instances commit murder. 6th. Some of the low country people, uniting themselves with drunkards, kill privately the cattle of other people, and eat their flesh." Now these, it must be confessed, are very substantial grievances to a people quite indisposed to participate in the advantages of the coffee speculation, and who formerly occupied these mountains, as if they were all their own; and let us add, grievances to a priesthood also, who, though they take no active interest in the morals of the people, nor are required by Buddha to do so, yet believe themselves to be hindered in their own march towards Nirvana, which is all their mission, by contact with every thing that is immoral, or impure. It is quite obvious, however, that if the Kandian country was to be opened to agricultural enterprise at all, these are evils which any Government could do but little to prevent.

As to taverns, indeed, to which most of the priests' grievances are plainly to be ascribed, we trust that something will soon be done: though, of course, it would be too much to insist upon it now, when the sails of the revenue of Ceylon are so completely backed by the causes which have been stated. For a revision of this source of revenue, and of the ordinance by which it is raised, every principal of justice and of humanity calls. Not less than one sixth of the entire regular revenue of Ceylon is derived from arrack and toddy farms, and from duty upon stills and spirit licenses. The ordinance is so stringent, that a native incurs a penalty, if he even venture to draw a tumbler of flower sap from his own cocoanut tree, without first procuring and paying for a license. He is thus forbid access to an innocent and healthful beverage, which the trees of his own garden yield; and, what is worse, he is required, if he will have it, to go to the tavern for it, where he can only procure it in an already intoxicating state, and accompanied by the persuasion of the tavern-keeper to take arrack instead, which it gives the latter less trouble to keep in the tavern, and which pays him better. Add to this, that the arrack farms are so large, the rents so high, and the importance of the renter so great in the eyes of his countrymen, that the wealthy Singhalese bid against each other for these farms at such a rate (they are sold by public auction), that the purchaser has no chance of recovering his money, but by offering every conceivable induce-

ment to the entire population, in the district which he farms, to drink ardent spirits. Nor is it possible for the Government to prevent this evil, while the present system continues. When objections can be raised against any particular taverns by missionaries, or well-conducted natives, the Government agents (collectors) do indeed readily order them to be shut up ; but the renter is not long in finding another more secluded spot in the same neighbourhood ; where the poison may be dispensed, and greater crimes indulged. This is surely a wretched state of things, demoralizing and ruinous to the native population to the last degree.

Still it is only of a piece with the old revenue system of Ceylon Thus, there is also a land revenue, more honestly a paddy tax, which yields one-sixth of the regular revenue remaining, after the produce of the arrack rents is deducted; and, by the ordinance under which this is collected, every villager is obliged to report to a headman, perhaps at some distance, and perhaps an unaccommodating, insolent fellow to boot, that his field is ripe for cutting ; and he must wait for the headman's leisure, and for Government watchers, before he dare cut it down, although, with every breath that blows, the grain may be falling in bushels among the mud beneath.

And then, again, all of a piece, there is the salt tax, from which, deducting the arrack and paddy taxes, one-sixth of the remaining revenue is derived, which makes it penal for a man to gather up the salt, which the friendly sea and sun unite in throwing up to him at the foot of his garden. No doubt through custom the people are now reconciled to all these taxes. But such imposts give reason such offence, that she forsakes the people who find no fault with them. They are altogether opposed both to the intellectual and moral development of the Singhalese, and of every other people. But until a new system can be introduced, we need not enlarge on this theme now ; for if you abolish these and such like taxes, where is the revenue of Ceylon? As a grand step to develop native industry and foster produce, all export duties have been abolished by Lord Torrington's Government, except a comparatively small residuary duty on cinnamon. which is also ordered by the Secretary of State to be abolished, the first moment that the state of the revenue will allow. Co-ordinate with this, it is to be remembered that several years ago, in order to free the Government from all charge of being a trading company, the cinnamon gardens were sold by public auction to private parties. The pearl fishery also, after yielding the best part of one million sterling

to the British Government from the date of its accession till the year 1837, has since that time, through causes not discoverable yielded absolutely nothing. What may therefore be considered as the natural and peculiar sources of revenue in Ceylon are gone for ever. In the present transition state, the main burden of the regular revenue lies upon imposts, stamps, and tolls; but these depending (as they do) for their productiveness mainly on European enterprise, and not being benefitted one anna from one in ten of the natives—it becomes indispensable to reach the people by new taxes, which shall be such, that without offending reason and justice, or dissuading from industry, but rather urging, or even forcing to it, till the habit is formed, they shall produce the revenue which is indispensable to the maintenance of the Government. The Dutch, by pursuing the system which has been described, and securing a revenue by taxing the very necessaries of life, and the springs of the cherished activity of the natives, made Ceylon, by the sale of the Government cinnamon sent to Amsterdam, to be worth nearly £100,000 yearly to the mother country. England asks no profit; she only asks that Ceylon shall support itself. But this she asks magisterially; so that plainly the thing must be done: and, let us add, £24 000 must be paid to boot, in aid of the Queen's military chest—a heavy charge this, and a sore disparagement. What then is to be done? Plainly the system, which was begun nearly half a ceutury ago, *must* be pursued. The subjects of the Queen of England in Ceylon are not to be looked upon as mere things of custom: they are to be treated as human beings, capable of activity and self-development What though it be true that such is their present intellectual state, that they appear to consider the repeal of a long-established tax, however shameful and unjust, as great an injury and offence on the part of Government* as the appointment of a new one? Gradually

* This fact had, within the last few years, a curious verification in Ceylon. There used to be in the Dutch time a fish tax: every fish that was caught in the sea was required to pay a tax, for the privilege, we may suppose, of being allowed to enter another element. For this purpose the Indian Ocean, which surrounds the island, was constituted a fish farm; and an organisation was established by the renters, at every fishing village along the coast, by which the fish might be sold, as soon as a boat landed, and a share of Government secured before any risk was run. This most obnoxious tax was done away with by Mr. Stewart McKenzie, many years ago. But, strange to say, the natives still keep up the organisation of the fish tax for their own comfort (which lies wholly in the maintenance of a custom, be it what it may); and at Colombo, the metropolitan province, they sell this sea farm themselves, year after year, as Government used to do, for the behoof of their priests, who, being Roman Catholics, have not the same objections to the receipt of money that Buddhist priests have. Let us add in justice to them, however, that they have not the same indolence, and appear to bestow the money faithfully for their own church extension purposes.

they will get out of such feelings ; and when they awake to themselves. they will learn to appreciate good government. Let them therefore be awoke, even though the first form of their awaking be that of uneasiness and discontent : for nothing is more certain than that, but for the existence of this uneasiness, there never would be industry, or activity of any kind, in man or beast.

The great measure of government in Ceylon at the present moment is the road-making ordinance. It is positively called for by the fact, that, even supposing the public expenditure curtailed to the lowest figure practicable, still there would not be funds adequate to keep up and extend the communications of the island, as the welfare and progress of the population demand. The contemplated working of the new ordinance is thus described by Lord Torrington, in a despatch to Earl Grey, dated June 26th, 1848 ; "I feel it to be my duty at once to state to your Lordship, that the principles brought directly into practical operation by this ordinance, are of a much more important and extensive nature, than the title of the ordinance would intimate, if unaccompanied by an explanation of the machinery by which it is intended that it shall be reduced to practice. The importance of more ready and convenient modes of internal communication is too obvious to require more than a passing observation..... But the real effect of this measure will be to initiate the element of local self-government ; to habituate the mass of the people to interest themselves in matters which are obviously conducive to their individual as well as their common interests ; to teach them the advantage of combined exertions for the general good ; and, I am free to admit, to relieve the Government, or, rather I should say, to delegate from it some of the responsibilities, which directly attached to it, as the guardian of the people I proceed therefore unreservedly to lay the matter before your Lordship in all its bearings. The report of Sir W. Colebrooke in 1832, his memorandum of 18th July 1834, transmitted by Mr. Spring Rice in his despatch No. 38, of 28th October 1834, and the views developed in your Lordship's committee of 1847, alike point to the expediency of entrusting, to a certain extent, the management of local concerns, and especially the care and maintenance of public works to local bodies, duly elected, and invested with a power of local assessment for purposes of this nature. Sir W. Colebrooke's memorandum distinctly alludes to the ancient village councils of Ceylon, as institutions once popular amongst the inhabitants of the interior, and requiring little regulation to render them an efficient means for providing for the police, for

the registration of lands, and for other objects of local interest. At the same time he refers to the regulations, framed in Java, by Sir Stamford Raffles, during the brief period of our occupation of that island, for restoring to the original native institutions some portion of the effective character which they had lost. No steps, however, appear to have been hitherto taken in Ceylon for carrying out the recommendations of Sir W. Colebrooke in this respect, although fortified by the approval of the Secretary of State. The present ordinance, though ostensibly, and in truth practically and simply, a road ordinance, is in reality the first step yet taken in the direction of self-government. But we must refer to the entire despatch, which is a very masterly production, as also to the second of its inclusives, *viz.*, a minute of the Governor to his Council, from which it appears, that His Excellency proposed to set about the matter, by the establishment of rural municipal bodies in the first instance. In favour of such a step very much may be argued; since, doubtless, if the measure had been preluded in this way, it would have been accepted as a boon by the natives, who are universally disgusted with the system of the headmen, who form a dead weight, and in fact a barricade, between them and the English Government to which they only want free access, in order to be both contended and happy. Through the influence of the official headmen however, we presume, Lord Torrington's more enlightened policy appears to have been overruled. There was at one time reason to apprehend, that in all, but the most enlightened parts of the country, the natives would remain quite passive, and refuse or neglect to elect their division officers; which apathy, or passive resistance, the headmen would of course favour to the utmost, their constant policy being to persuade Government that nothing can be done among, or for the natives, but by and through them. To admit this, however, is to consign the masses to profound ignorance, and degradation for ever. We understand, however, that contrary to what was apprehended, not only in the more enlightened parts of the country, not only over all the maritime provinces, and in all the neighbourhoods of the great roads in the interior, but throughout the country generally, the people have come forward well: and there is reason to believe, that the ordinance will bring itself into operation within a very short time. But truly ridiculous, and beyond all possible anticipation, are the constructions which such people put on the proceedings of a Government, however enlightened according to European notions. Thus, as the road ordinance requires every man between

the ages of eighteen and fifty-five, either to work, or to supply work for the roads in his neighbourhood, for six days in the year, not only was it said to be a revival of the Rajakaria, or serf-system, (although headmen are included as well as tenantry, and in a word, every body except the Governor and the Buddhist priests, who showed that their religion, as recognised by the Kandian laws, forbade both their working, or giving money instead), but, because those who would not work had to pay a sum which would purchase six days' labour, and which in different districts of the island would vary from one shilling to three, it was called a Poll Tax—such as used to be imposed by the Dutch on strangers for leave to sojourn in Ceylon, and was therefore viewed by the Singhalese as a disgraceful encroachment on their rights as the lords of the soil. It was called by them a "body rent"—"a tax for leave to live." The construction, which they put upon another tax, or rather registration of dogs, with a view to the diminution of their numbers, and the putting a stop to the brutal work of an annual butchery of them by the police, was also very strange. "Our dogs!" said they, "Tax our dogs! Tax dogs! dogs! Are we indeed to be ruled by a Government, which raises its revenue by dog's flesh?" Almost equally queer was their reception of another tax, commonly called the gun tax; one main object of which was to register the firearms actually in the hands of the natives. Instead of sending their guns in lots to the kacheris to be registered, if they did not wish to make a hunting excursion of the trip, which only the knowing ones did, they all came trudging along the road, every man with his gun over his shoulder. And now, behold them on the way, awoke to that heroism which arms inspire, finding that their dogs' teeth were to be honoured by Government by being made the subject of a tax, and Buddha's tooth degraded, by being given over to their own keeping; under a sense of these manifold wrongs, the old Kandians began to stroke their beards in the jungle, imitating the Wanderús or Seleni monkeys, (whom the mysterious author of the Vestiges of the Natural History of Creation would find to bear out his theory excellently well, having all the characters of being immediate ancestors of these Kandians); they did more; they began to gather in companies, and to traverse the jungle, brooding rebellion, and bent on having a king of their own. And kings came forward—kings one, two, three, knowing fellows, and not in earnest like their deluded followers. And in fact, so well did these rascals play their part, that only one has yet been caught. It was intended by the true movers of the re-

bellion, that these should be but men of straw ; but the truth is, that they kindled such a blaze, as scorched the real culprits far more than themselves.

But, to be more serious on what is certainly a serious subject, it appears to be a great question, whether Lord Torrington is to be justsfied, in the very vigorous measures which he took to repress this rebellion. We certainly hold it to be against them, that Sir H. Maddock had such a hand in them as he appears to have had : and that he should have come in between Lord Torrington, and his Attorney-General and Chief Justice, as he appears to have done, is very much to be deplored. This much is certain, however, that Lord Torrington's measures were eminently successful : and if, in general, where there is a question as to the means employed, success be allowed to give the casting vote, we do not see why Lord Torrington should be deprived of its benefit in this case. Much has been said, no doubt, especially by the press of India, to the prejudice of Lord Torrington. There has even been a kind of hue and cry against him : but we must confess, that in vain do we look for any adequate grounds. He seems, indeed, to be somewhat given to hurting the self-esteem of the merchants of Colombo, as well as that of European descendants, and other individuals besides; all which is to be regretted, but chiefly for his own sake, because a Colonial Governor is always good game for an angry tongue to fly at. But, looking to his Government, we see a great work going on, which must have cost him, and his more immediate counsellors, infinite labour ; a work, in which He deserves in an eminent manner to be supported ; and we will not refrain from expressing the hope, that Lord Torrington will remain in Ceylon, until he has done all that he can to relieve the island from the dreadful financial embarrassments, in which, contrary to every previously-published account, he found it on his arrival, and to see the road ordinance realizing itself, and accomplishing the highly important objects which were contemplated in enacting it, and by Earl Grey in sanctioning it in terms unusually complimentary.—Ceylon Papers, page 339 It is the most decided step which has yet been taken in the grand experiment of endeavouring to replace the Asiatic type of civilisation by the European. Let us hope that it may be more successful than the practice of trial by jury and the English system of administering justice ; and that it may be more maturely considered in all its bearings, than the emancipation of the natives from forced labour. Between these two great movements there was an interval of twenty-one years ; and from the last to the pre-

sent time, seventeen have elapsed. It was surely time to make another move. We shall watch the result, and recur to it hereafter.

Only one word more on a subject which appears to engage much of the attention of the Committee of Parliament on Ceylon affairs; we mean the fact that martial law was proclaimed in two districts during the late rebellion. On looking dispassionately on the various statements affecting the administration of Lord Torrington in Ceylon, and weighing the points on which his discretion, or his policy, has been impugned, either by the local press of the island, or by the representations made on its authority in the House of Commons, they all resolve themselves into these main questions;—was the proclamation of martial law the result of an absolute necessity, with a view to the suppression of the rebellion of last year? or, admitting it to be necessary, was it enforced with sufficient judgment and forbearance?

On the subject of the first enquiry, we can unhesitatingly answer in the affirmative. We have read all the papers laid before Parliament; we have seen all the communications of the newspaper press; we have conversed with numbers of persons from Ceylon, both military and civil; and we are bound to say, that we have, from one and from all, the same concurrent assurance,* that the proclamation of martial law was not only prudent and indispensable, but that the vigour displayed by that measure, and the firmness with which it was enforced, were the means of saving the interior of the island from plunder and devastation, and the colony generally from anarchy and bloodshed. This is not the first insurrection, or threatening of an insurrection, with which the Government in Ceylon has had to contend. The restless chieftains of the Kandian hills have neither the good faith to abide by the terms of a convention, nor the patience to accommodate themselves to the march and movements of a liberal Government: and, at every interval of ten or twelve years, the local authorities have had to struggle with rebellions, some of which have extended to one or two years of turbulence and devastation. We are credibly informed, that a war similar in extent and duration was contemplated on the recent occasion.

* We are wrong when we say that we have heard of no one who condemned the policy of Lord Torrington in this particular. We see by the Ceylon Papers, that a Mr. Wodehouse, one of the Civil Servants of the Colony, entertains that opinion, *Probat regulam exceptio.*

Papers laid before Parliament show, that Government were in full possession of the plan ; and it is equally demonstrable, that nothing but the boldness of Lord Torrington's measure, in proclaiming martial law in each district in succession, as the flame of rebellion burst out within it, prevented the whole train from being ignited, and wrapping the interior of the island in a blaze.

But then, it is said, even admitting martial law to have been unavoidable, the punishments inflicted on the guilty were attended with circumstances of unnecessary severity ; for example, that it was an insult to the faith of the Singhalese to shoot a Buddhist priest *in his robes*, and an unnecessary aggravation of his sentence to whip the pretended King, before transporting him to Malacca. Why, this pretended King was a scullion in the kitchen of the Colonial Secretary. So far from being a Prince of the blood, he was a cook of the lowest caste ; a man, who was not only degraded by his low pursuits, but had been previously incarcerated for his unlawful deeds. Forsaking the accomplishments of Soyer and Careme, he exchanged the cares of the kitchen for those of bullock driving : and, being unhappily arrested for bullock stealing, he had but recently escaped from the hospitalities of a jail, when he longed to undertake the cares and anxieties of Royalty, and was actually seized by the mob, when driving cattle into Kandy, and placed at the head of the rabble, who advanced in his name to sack the bazars of Matelle, and the town of Kornegalle. He was to have acted as the puppet of the rebels, till the country should be fairly aroused, and the English garrisons butchered ; and then this illustrious Cincinnatus was to have yielded his diadem to some nobler aspirant. Unfortunately the police were too precipitate ; and he found himself in a lock-up house, when he had anticipated a palace. To have treated such a miscreant with the honours of a Prince, or even to have punished him with the horrors of war, would have been to prostitute both. Lord Torrington took the common-sense view ;—he whipped him soundly, and sent him to write his reminiscences of royalty at Malacca. The last and dullest of these diatribes against Lord Torrington turns on his having shot the priest, who was condemned by a court-martial as a traitor, *in his robes*. Of course, this complaint comes exclusively from England. No one in his senses would concoct such a matter into a subject of complaint in Ceylon ; for the very obvious reason, that a Singhalese priest has no other robe than that of his order. He must either have been shot in this

covering, or without any covering whatsoever. It is the yellow robe, which is the characteristic of his class, which he affects in his noviciate, and assumes on his admission to the priesthood, when, as a matter of religious obligation, he renounces every other, as secular and profane. His yellow robe is his vestment by day, and his covering by night; he carries it through life; it is his coverlet in dying; and, on the funeral pile, where he is consumed, his last earthly vestment is the long accustomed robe of his order. To have stripped him of this previous to execution, would have been to add indignity to severity, degradation to punishment. It would have been tantamount to the studied insult in the times of chivalry, by which the spurs of a knight were hacked ignominiously from his heels, before he was led out to be beheaded.

And such are the charges on which the fair fame of the Governor of Ceylon has been lied away by the press, and his policy, equally with his humanity, made a subject of doubt by the highest tribunal of his country—a Parliamentary inquiry.

Of the result of this inquiry we cannot for a moment entertain a doubt It is pending whilst we write; but we cannot hesitate to express our conviction, that its issue will be equally honorable to the injured fame of Lord Torrington, and disgraceful to those, by whom it has been so loudly and so falsely assailed.

# THE SECOND PUNJAB WAR.

By J. C. MARSHMAN, ESQ., C.S.I.

1. *Papers relating to the Punjab.* 1847—1849.
2. *Annals of India for the year* 1848. *An outline of the principal events which have occurred in the British Dominions in India from 1st January* 1848, *to the end of the second Seikh War in March* 1849. *With a perfatory notice of the circumstances which led to our connection with the Punjab.* By George Buist, L.L.D., F.R.S.L. & E., F.G S., &c.

WE have been anxious to present our readers at the earliest period with a brief and connected narrative of the most important events of the second, and we trust the last, Punjab war, which commenced with the assassination of our political officers at Múltan on the 19th of April 1848, and terminated with the re-capture of Peshawur by Sir Walter Gilbert on the 16th of March 1849. We felt, however, that any such notice of this eventful and important campaign would be premature, before the appearance of the Parliamentary Punjab Blue Book for which we have, therefore, postponed the present article. One of the works mentioned above, the Annals of the year 1848, compiled by Dr. Buist, the Editor of the *Bombay Times*, gives a very clear and accurate account of the progress of political and military events during the campaign, and will furnish the future historian with much valuable data for his labours. The utmost confidence may be placed in this work for the accuracy of its details; but this is not its sole merit. Some of the most remarkable transactions of the campaign are depicted with such vigour and animation, as at once to place the reader in the midst of the scenes. Indeed, we have seldom read any thing more vivid and interesting than Dr. Buist's description of the investment of the Fort of Múltan—one of the most remarkable events in the military history in India, whether we look at the resources, the skill, and the energy of the besiegers, or the noble resolution of the besieged. Unfortunately, however, these "Annals" were put to press before the Punjab Blue Book reached India, and the author was, therefore, unable to avail himself of the rich sources of information which that work affords. It has been usual to mistrust these Parliamentary records, as having been compiled to subserve a political purpose, and not to support the cause of truth. The official functionary entrusted with their compilation, has been repeatedly charged, and not without apparent justice, with having suppressed some of the most important documents. The present book is equally remarkable for the fulness and the deficiency of its revelations.

All the most interesting transactions, in which the subordinate agents, Edwardes, Taylor, Nicholson, Herbert, Abbott, and Lawrence were engaged, and in which they have earned so splendid a reputation, are given at full length. We are enabled, day by day, to trace their progress, to appreciate their difficulties, and to mark the talent and resolution by which they were met and overcome. We have no such record of the events of any other Indian campaign : and it would almost appear as if the compilation were intended to be a monument of their exertions. For, as soon as the Commander-in-Chief takes the field, the record becomes scanty, dry, and uninteresting. All those documents, which would have enabled us to trace the latter events of the campaign up to their source, and given us a clue to the sentiments of Lord Dalhousie and Lord Gough, regarding the various disappointments which commenced at Ramnuggur, and terminated with the victory at Gúzerat, are carefully, and, we suppose, not undesignedly, withheld ; and in their stead we have a mere reprint of the political documents, and the military despatches, which have already appeared in the public journals. For an elucidation of the latter portion of the campaign, we must, therefore, be content to wait, until some fortunate circumstance shall unfold the real nature and progress of these events. The narrative, which we now present to our readers, has been compiled from the two works, of which the titles are placed at the head of this article.

Sawun Mull had been appointed, in the time of Runjít Singh, to the government of the city and province of Múltan, in the South West of the Punjab, which yielded an annual revenue of about thirty-five lakhs of Rupees. At his death, the administration of the district passed into the hands of his son Múlraj, subject to little more than a nominal dependence on the authorities at Lahore. Sawun Mull had been accustomed to pay seventeen lakhs and a half of Rupees yearly to the paramount power in the Punjab, but on his death, Lall Singh, who was then in power, demanded an immense Nuzrána (feudal fine) on the transfer of the powers of government into the hands of Múlraj After considerable discussion and difficulty on the part of Lall Singh, whose avarice had been stimulated by the report of Sawun Mull's immense wealth, this demand was commuted for one of eighteen lakhs, which Múlraj agreed to pay within a certain time. Owing, however, to the disorganization into which the country soon after fell, this agreement was never fulfilled : but on the re-establishment of the durbar by British influence, the claim was renewed, and Sikh troops were despatched to coerce the Dewan. These were, however, defeated

by him; and he then prayed for the interference of the British Resident to adjust the accounts. Mr. John Lawrence, who at that time held this important office for his brother, promised him a safe conduct to Lahore and back again, and succeeded in arranging the disputed questions, in a manner equally satisfactory to the durbar, and to the ruler of Múltan. Múlraj consented to pay down eight lakhs at once, and the remaining ten by regular instalments; and, moreover, agreed to surrender a district producing eight lakhs a year of revenue, and to add two lakhs to his annual payment to the durbar. During this visit, the Dewan expressed a wish to resign the important post he held: for which he assigned two distinct reasons. The new fiscal arrangements which Sir Henry Lawrence had introduced into the Punjab, were far less oppressive to the people than those which prevailed at Múltan; and Múlraj declared that he could neither adopt a similar system, nor suffer his own to continue, as the one would destroy his revenue, and the other produce discontent among his subjects. The second cause was the failure of his own health, and family dissensions, which destroyed his peace. It appears also that Múlraj had a great dread, lest complaints from his subjects against himself should be listened to, as well as a vague terror of the Adáluts, which were then in course of establishment all over the country. At length, however, he returned to Múltan, without having settled the question of his resignation, and with the understanding that he would retain his Government for another year. On the arrival of Sir F. Currie at Lahore, the Dewan wrote to him that he was willing to abide by the agreement which Mr. Lawrence had made with him, to the effect, (as he alleged), "that his honour and dignity should be guaranteed; that no charge against him should be listened to; that he should only be required to give in one year's papers; and that a suitable provision should be made for him during the remainder of his life." All this was of course without foundation: but, on the receipt of another letter from Sir F. Currie requesting an explanation, he distinctly expressed his wish to resign his government, without making any other stipulations, than such as regarded the saving of his honour in the eyes of his own people. The durbar, immediately after the perusal of the document in which these wishes were expressed, appointed a successor in the person of the Khan Singh Man, a good soldier, and of popular manners. The Sirdar was intended to be merely the Governor, and not the Nazim of the province: and it was resolved that he should receive a fixed salary of Rs. 30,000 per annum. Mr. Agnew, a civilian who had become favorably known to the

Government for his intimate acquaintance with the language and manners of the natives, was nominated to the office of Political Agent at Múltan ; and Lieut. Anderson, a good oriental scholar, was chosen as his assistant. Khan Singh was instructed by the Resident to be guided, in the administration of the province, by the advice of Mr. Agnew, "on all occasions, and in the conduct of duties of every department," the signification of which was, that the entire charge of the administration should rest with that gentleman, while the native Sirdar was the ostensible instrument of Government. They took their departure from Lahore on the 6th April, with an escort of 350 Sikhs and a few guns, and reached Múltan on the 17th. Much objection has subsequently been raised to the smallness of the escort, by which these officers were accompanied, but without any adequate reason. The British authorities had not the slightest idea of the determination formed by Múlraj, if such existed ; and they were but partially aware of the lingering hate entertained towards the British dominion by the Khalsa soldiery. Under ordinary circumstances, such a body of troops, of proved courage, and presumed fidelity, would have been regarded as amply sufficient for the escort of two officers, about to receive the keys of a fort from a Governor, who professed implicit submission, and whose professions there had been as yet no reason to disbelieve.

Múlraj himself had always been regarded by the British authorities, and particularly by Mr. John Lawrence, as a fair specimen of an Asiatic ruler ; and Mr. Agnew remarked, on his arrival, that the quiet aspect of Múltan had not belied the accounts which he had heard of its excellent order and arrangement. On the 18th, the Dewan paid a visit to the Englishmen, who had taken up their quarters in a mosque in the Eedgah, on the outside of the town, and held some discussion, as to the terms upon which the surrender of the fort was to be made. He wished to receive a regular deed of acquittance, without the production of more than one year's papers : but to this Mr. Agnew would not consent, and demanded all the documents for the last six years. Múlraj at last agreed to produce them : but he went away with a saddened face, and an angry flush upon his brow. When we remember what the accounts of an Asiatic prince really are ; the discrepancies between those which he keeps for himself, and those which he sends to his superiors ; and the endless train of deceit practised by the best of their number in the settlement of revenue ; we must acknowledge there was enough, even in this just and reasonable demand, to raise considerable emotion in the mind of a man, who had enjoyed

supreme power for four years. Add to this, that Múlraj was a childless man, at war with all his own relations, and hating his superiors; and we have little difficulty in accounting for his subséquent proceedings, without supposing, as some have done, any premeditated revolt,—a supposition, which is completely disproved by the collection of papers which we have placed at the head of this article.

On the following day, the 18th, Múlraj came to show Mr. Agnew, his assistant, and the new Governor, over the fort, and to surrender into their hands the government of the province which he and his father had so long swayed. On arriving at the entrance, he requested them to dismiss a portion of their guard, as it would be inconvenient to be followed by such a crowd. The wish was complied with; but a similar wish, expressed by the Englishmen to Múlraj, in regard to his own disorderly soldiery, was evaded on some unmeaning pretext. The whole of the interior of the fort, declared by Lieut. Anderson to be the finest in India, was exhibited to the officers. On the return of the cavalcade, Múlraj rode first, side by side with Mr. Agnew, and Khan Singh, with Lieut. Anderson, followed a few paces behind. As they passed over the drawbridge, a sepoy struck at Mr. Agnew with a spear, and wounded him in the side. Múlraj immediately gallopped away to his own house in the Am Khas, and abandoned the officers to their fate. The same sepoy then made another rush at Mr. Agnew, and wounded him so severely, that after breaking the villain's head with a stick which he held in his hand, he fell to the ground. Other sowars, Mussulmans, then attacked Lieut. Anderson and severely wounded him in the neck and other places. Two of his attendants, named Salabut and Rung Ram, then raised Mr. Agnew, bound up his wounds, and placed him on an elephant to return to the Eedgah. Another party also carried Lieut. Anderson on a mattress in the same direction; while the assailants, apparently alarmed at their own deed, withdrew within the fort, and towards Múlraj's own residence. As the officers passed the Am Khas, they perceived that artillerymen were bringing out guns; and, before they reached the Eedgah, a ball passed over their heads. On arriving at the mosque, Mr. Agnew despatched a messenger to Múlraj, declaring that he acquitted him of all share in the tumult, but that he must come to the Eedagh, and explain the circumstances. The Dewan's Múnshi returned with the reply, that his master would certainly make his appearance in the course of the night, and satisfy Mr. Agnew of his innocence. Meanwhile, that gentleman despatched a report of these events to Sir F. Currie, in which he evidently considered the whole

affair to have arisen from one of those tumults, which so frequently spring up among an Asiatic soldiery. All that night the Dewan was expected, and all that night Khan Singh and the other native officers continued to reiterate their conviction of his treachery. On the morning of the 20th, a brisk fire commenced from the fort upon the Eedgah, and was replied to by the pieces which had accompanied the escort from Lahore, and which were now mounted and served on the south side of the mosque. The firing continued on both sides till towards evening, when the commandant of artillery, Esra Singh, who had been for some hours in communication with Múlraj, with all his men, went over to the enemy. The Gúrkha soldiers had changed sides before; and the officers were now left to be protected by múnshís, clerks, and the sirdars themselves. At night, under cover of the darkness, an armed rabble, yelling for blood, poured in on the north, south and west sides; and the Englishmen were savagely murdered, after shaking one another by the hand, and expressing with their last breath the certainty that their fate would be fearfully avenged. Khan Singh received quarter, and was thrown into prison; while the rest of the attendants were taken into the service of the Dewan, who promised them the pay which they had enjoyed during the reign of Runjít Singh.

Intelligence of the tumult reached the Resident at Lahore on the 21st, and he immediately took the most energetic measures to avert all danger from the officers, if it were possible, and if not, to avenge their fate. All the disposable troops of the Sikh army, in any way available, were ordered to march on Múltan within twenty-four hours. A large British force was also ordered to hold itself in readiness for embarkation on the Ravi, by which it was proposed to reach Múltan. Another letter, however, from the Bhawúlpur news-writer, furnished Sir F. Currie with fuller information, and compelled him to alter his original determination. He saw at once that the Sikh soldiers were utterly untrustworthy, and that, if the proposed force were despatched, they would, in all likelihood, take the earliest opportunity of coalescing with Múlraj, and attacking the accompanying British force. The durbar expressed their opinion that the soldiers could not be relied on to oppose Múlraj. Under all these circumstances, and influenced by these considerations, the Resident, on the 25th of April, informed General Whish, that the British column would not be moved. On the 27th of April, he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, and expressed, in the most urgent terms, his desire that a British force, sufficiently large to reduce Múltan, should be at once despatched. It was repre-

sented to his Lordship, that the troops would be able to go down the Raví as far as Bhawulpúr Ghat, and within forty miles of Múltan: that they would there receive ample supplies, and be enabled at once to march upon their ultimate point of destination. The Resident stated, moreover, that the political necessity was exceedingly urgent; but that it remained for his Lordship, as Commander-in-Chief of the army in India, to determine on the military propriety of this step His Lordship's reply is cool and decisive. The military movement is declared to be useless and inexpedient. Under these circumstances, the whole matter was referred to the Governor-General.

In the meantime Lieut. Edwardes, (well known in India as the author of the admirable letters signed Brahmaní Bull, which appeared in the *Delhi Gazette*,) an assistant to the Resident in Bunnú, had commenced a career of exploits equalled by few in the annals of Indian warfare. He was employed in settling the revenue of the country in the Derajat, and had with him a force, consisting of about 1,200 infantry, 350 horsemen, two guns, and twenty zumbúruks. The men under his command were Pathans, who, however active in all affrays, had never seen a shot fired in anger. On receiving intelligence of the attack on the two officers, he determined to cross the Indus, and to move on Múltan to their assistance. On the 24th of April, he moved across the river with his whole force: but, hearing that they had been massacred, he marched to Leiah, an important town, and the capital of the Sind Sagor Doab. The Governor of the place, a servant of the Dewan, fled in alarm, and allowed Lieut. Edwardes to take quiet possession of it. Here he remained some days, awaiting the approach of the force, which he felt assured would be immediately despatched from Lahore towards Múltan. He calculated that the field brigade would positively be sent on the 24th of April, and that it would reach Múltan in ten days. No such force was despatched. Meanwhile, Lieut. Edwardes discovered from an intercepted letter, that his head had been sold by his own men for 12,000 rupees, and their own services for as much more; and that any advance towards the outposts of Múlraj would be the signal for an attempt on their part to fulfil the terms of the bargain. On the 29th, he heard that Dewan Múlraj had moved a force of between 4,000 and 5,000 men with eight heavy guns, to oppose him. The advanced guard appeared about four coss from Leiah on the 2nd of May, and Lieut. Edwardes summoned all his native officers into his tent, and informed them of his determination to re-cross the Indus, as it might be

dangerous to approach too near the enemy. The men, though mortified and enraged at his evident acquaintance with their designs, yet hesitated to seize him, either from a fear of ulterior consequences, or because they were aware that his personal guard would remain faithful to him at all hazards He accordingly recrossed the river, and remained upon the opposite bank, to await the arrival of General Cortlandt, an officer in the service of the durbar, who came up, on the 4th of May, with a regiment of trustworthy Mussulmans, and six small pieces of cannon. The two officers then exerted themselves to the utmost to raise troops free from the infection of treachery, and contrived to add to their muster roll nearly 3,000 "bold villains, ready to risk their own throats, or cut those of every body else;" fitted for the kind of warfare then before them; neither burdened by fears nor scruples. Múlraj, deceived by a report of the departure of troops from Lahore, re-called his men from Leiah on the 7th of May; and Lieutenant Edwardes, aware of the importance of maintaining his ground on both sides of the river, immediately threw a strong picket into the town. On the 12th of May, his force was weakened one-half by the departure of General Cortlandt, who left him, in obedience to orders received from the Resident, which imperatively enjoined him to go and raise revenue to the southward. On the following day, intelligence was received that Múlraj having recovered from his alarm, and having ascertained that his fears of a descent from Lahore were groundless, had detached a large body of cavalry to re-take Leiah. The cavalry picket, which had occupied the town, was immediately strengthened; and an attack, which was soon after made, was gallantly repulsed. The little band of scarcely three hundred horsemen, raised within the previous fortnight, to whom Lieut. Edwardes had assigned the defence of the position, pursued the enemy with such rapidity, that their leader, Jus Mull, only escaped destruction by concealing himself in a high tobacco field; thereby anticipating by three months the ever memorable expedient of the king of Munster. But it subsequently appeared that the object of the Dewan was not so much to attack Leiah as to cross the Indus below it; and a large body of nearly 6,000 of his troops moved down that river to a point below General Cortlandt's position, with the view of attacking him. On receipt of this intelligence from the General, Lieut. Edwardes determined to effect a junction with him. In pursuance of this project, he placed his infantry in boats, ordered his cavalry to proceed with all speed along the left bank, in half a night and a day effected a march of fifty miles, and

pressing forward with the same ardour, rejoined General Cortlandt on the 20th of May. A small detachment was immediately pushed on, under the command of a native officer, to Dera Gazí Khan, the possession of which was considered very important. The expedition succeeded beyond expectation. The combat lasted three hours, and the enemy was completely routed; but the most important result of this victory was the capture of thirty-nine boats, which had been collected to enable Múlraj's troops to cross the Indus. Lieut. Edwardes, however, began to feel that it would be impossible for him to maintain his ground with his raw levies against the increasing force of Múlraj, unless a diversion could be created in his favor by troops not likely to fraternize with the Dewan. He pressed the Resident to order the Nuwáb of Bhawulpur, whose fidelity (as well as that of his troops) was above suspicion, to take the field, and to keep Múlraj in check on the south-east. That ever faithful ally engaged to take on himself the occupation of all the country between the Sutlej and the gates of Múltan. On the 23rd of May, General Cortlandt moved down to Dera Gazí Khan. On the same day, Múlraj's force marched down to Koreyshí, opposite that town His cavalry made a single march to that spot, in the hope of securing another fleet of boats, which had been collected by order of Múlraj. But Lieut. Edwardes had sent off a party, twenty-four hours previously, to anticipate his movement; and when the rebel cavalry reached Koreyshí, they found that the boats were safely harboured in an island nullah beyond their reach. Lieut. Edwardes himself broke up his encampment at Peronwallah, and joined General Cortlandt at Dera Gazí Khan on the 26th of May. He had now a fleet of seventy boats at his command, and was able to throw 6,000 men across the Indus; and he earnestly solicited the permission of the Resident to cross that river, and to co-operate with the Bhawulpur troops in accomplishing the great object they had in view, of shutting up Múlraj in Múltan, till a British army should march against that place. On the 6th of June, he received the permission of Sir Frederick Currie to despatch General Cortlandt across the Indus, or to go himself, if necessary, for the support of the troops of Bhawul Khan; and he wrote back to the Resident, "The whole of my newly-raised Pathan levies are in just the temper that could be wished. War is their trade, and also their pastime; they like it. They have met with one or two successes at the outset, and are persuaded that the 'ikbal' is on their side; and my task is to restrain their impatience, which is a good omen when hard blows are to the fore. On the 10th of June orders were received from Múlraj for the whole of his force to quit

its encampment at Koreyshí, and march to oppose the Bhawulpur troops. That same day, Lieut. Edwardes put ten guns and 2,500 Pathans on board his boats, and began the passage of the Indus. The river was nine coss wide, and the whole force did not reach the opposite bank before the 14th of June. On the 13th of that month, the Resident wrote to Lieut. Edwardes, that Rajah Shere Singh's large force, composed of all the Sirdars in the Punjab, was at Chichawultun, ready to move towards Múltan: but he added, 'I dare not advance them to a point where there is a probability of collision with Múlraj's troops, till Bhawul Khan or yourself have gained some farther advantage over the Dewan, and it becomes evident to all that the game is up with him. The whole Sikh army is faithless to the Mahajarah; a strong desire to aid Múlraj pervades all the soldiers."

It is difficult to conceive why, under such circumstances, Rajah Shere Singh's troops were allowed to proceed to Múltan at all; and this indeed, appears to have been the great error of the first part of the campaign. It led to incalculable mischief in the end. On that same 13th of June, Lieut. Edwardes wrote to the Resident, that the Churunjít regiment had deserted bodily to Múlraj: "The event is most unfortunate, and commences a new era altogether. It tears the veil from the whole Sikh army, and leaves them all to view as traitors." Lieut. Edwardes now moved on with his force towards the Chenab to join the Bhawulpur troops, and Múlraj became anxious to attack them before the junction. 3,000 of Lieut. Edwardes' men were pushed across the river during the night of the 17th, and he himself slept on the right bank, having resolved to cross with the next detachment. But, becoming anxious, he crossed over early in the morning of the 18th On his arrival, he found that an attack was hourly expected; and he gazed on the scene around him with feelings that amounted almost to dismay. The whole of the Bhawulpur forces, amounting to about 8,500 men were, in the worst possible state of disorganisation. Clamour reigned supreme. Futteh Khan, their commander, was under a tree, muttering prayers, instead of heading his troops, and every petty Sirdar was offering his excessively impracticable advice. Lieut. Edwardes, by great personal exertion, and the able assistance of Captain Macpherson, contrived to establish something like order. The firing was kept up on both sides till three in the afternoon, when Múlraj's troops turned their whole fire on the left. "The galling volleys, poured at this time on the new levies, were enough to shake older troops, and their impatience to be led on to strike a blow in their own defence was most difficult to restrain. It was an anxious moment. Lieut. Edwardes' guns

had not reached him. But at half-past three, the two fresh regiments and the guns sent across the Chenab by General Cortlandt arrived, and Lieut Edwardes gave the long wished-for word to emerge from the jungle, and to fall upon the rebels. "I feel unable," says Lieut Edwardes, "to do justice to the gallantry with which this order was obeyed. Men, whom I had only enlisted a month ago, shook their swords with a will, and rushed upon the rebel cavalry with the most desperate and irresistible valour. The fight was hand-to-hand in five minutes; and the opposing guns were pouring grape into each other almost within speaking distance. At length Múlraj's army gave way." So rapid and disorderly was the rout, that the greater part never halted, till they were under the protection of the guns of Múltan: and many, who were scattered over the country, never regained the fort. Eight guns were captured in this brilliant affair; and, what was of much more importance, the prestige of the enemy was irretrievably weakened. Múlraj had evidently considered that his troops were more than a match for the half-disciplined and ill armed levies of the two revenue officers; and his men were inspired with the same contempt, and went out to battle in the full assurance of victory. This defeat completely changed the current of their feelings. They found that, however equal their forces might be in number, they could not cope with the energy and military skill arrayed against them; and, in the second battle which occurred soon after, the alteration in their spirit was strikingly manifested.

At this time, however, a new and more imminent danger arose, which compelled the Resident to turn for a time his whole attention to the intrigues in the metropolis. The Maharaní Jundakhore, the mother of Dhulíp Singh, had been concerned in every plot in the Punjab from the death of Runjít Singh, and was known to entertain the most decided hostility to the British rule, whatever form it might assume. She had, therefore, been placed in an honourable confinement at Sheikhúpúr, and her allowance reduced to Rs. 4,000 a month. On the 8th of May a rissaldar of Major Wheeler's irregular horse informed his commanding officer, and through him, the Resident, that efforts had been made to seduce him from his fidelity, and that a general conspiracy had been matured. It was stated that the conspirators were accustomed to meet together, to the number of about twenty-five, to consult upon the measures to be adopted for the extermination of the hated Feringhís. The Resident laid a plan to arrest them in the act; but the news got wind, and he was obliged to content himself with the arrest of the principal conspirators. Khan Singh,

an unemployed general in the Sikh service, Rung Ram, the Maharaní's confidential vakíl, and two others were arrested; and their complicity having been fully and distinctly proved to the satisfaction of the Resident and his council, Khan Singh and Rung Ram were executed within twenty-four hours, the third was transported, and the fourth pardoned on condition of giving evidence against his accomplices. He affirmed that the Raní was the moving spring of the whole plot; but that Shere Singh, Sheikh Emamuddín, and other Sirdars, were deeply implicated in it, and that the army, now on its way against Múlraj, would join him in the end. The sepoys were to be induced by large gifts, and larger promises, to murder their officers; and then it was expected that the English would be immediately driven out of the Punjab. The plot was, in short, laid with that judicious villainy, in which the Sikh surpasses all Asiatics, and the Maharaní all Sikhs. All these confessions were subsequently confirmed by letters under the Maharaní's own hand, and of themselves fully justified the energetic measures which the Resident adopted against her. The sepoys were instantly tried, shot, transported, or acquitted; the guards at the gates of Lahore were doubled; and the fakirs of the city, who were well known to be the most active agents against the British Government, were ordered to quit Lahore. The Raní was not only deeply implicated in this conspiracy, and suspected to be the instigator of the revolt in Múltan, but she had also become politically dangerous. All the disaffected in the Punjab looked up to her as their natural head; and her removal from the scene of her intrigues was considered absolutely necessary for the peace of the country. However small the legal offence which could be proved against her, every man in the Punjab was well aware, that her restless spirit never ceased from plotting, and that she needed only an opportunity to slake her thirst of blood upon all who bore the British name, or were friendly to the British power. Fakir Núruddín, an old friend of her husband, with Lieut. Lumsden of the guide corps, and some guards, proceeded to Sheikhúpúr, with an injunction to the Maharaní, from Sir F. Currie and the durbar, to obey their orders. As it was expected that resistance might be attempted by the guards at Sheikhúpúr, they were in part removed, and two companies of the 14th Light Dragoons were ordered to hold themselves in readiness for a march. The durbar suggested that a little deceit was advisable, and proposed that the Raní should be told that her destination was Lahore. This Sir F. Currie peremptorily forbade; and the Raní remained in perfect ignorance of her destination, until she arrived at

Ferozepore on the 18th. After her departure, it was found that she had taken away with her a large amount of treasure, belonging to the Maharajah and the State of Lahore; and Major Macgregor, Agent for the Governor-General at Benares, to which place she was sent, received orders to sequestrate all such effects. Much pseudo-pity has been wasted upon this atrocious woman, whose crimes have only been equalled by her strange fortunes. Renowned, even in the harem of Runjít Singh, for her licentiousness, and without any one claim on the British Government, except for the bare means of subsistence, her energy and activity have procured for her many sympathisers, and some defenders. No deceit was ever practised in the matter of her removal; and she never was closely confined, till her own intrigues rendered severe measures indispensably necessary.

In the latter part of May occurred one of those slight local revolts, which however unimportant in their results, furnish much instruction as to the course most proper to be pursued in the management of the country. Bhaí Maharaj, a Sikh Gúrú, or teacher, had been deeply connected with the Pieyma conspiracy, and a price had in consequence been set upon his head. He remained, however, at large, as it was impossible to induce any Kardar to risk the deadly hostility of his neighbours, by the arrest of so popular a character. He had been seen in Umritsír and various other places, but with a small retinue; and the populace invariably refused to lend the slightest aid towards his seizure. After the outbreak at Múltan, his proceedings became more open, and he had evidently a considerable command of money. It was subsequently discovered that this money came from Múltan; and that the Gúrú was one of the numerous emissaries, whom Múlraj employed to stir up rebellion in the various districts of the Punjab. As his band began to increase, he moved slowly towards Denauggur, at the foot of the hills, closely watched by the Resident, who despatched Lieut. Hodson and a party of irregular horse to Múkerian, with the view of surprising and securing him. The Mussulman zemindars and the Sikh, Misr Sahib Dhyal, whose estates were on the left bank of the Chenab, promised to arrest him, if he should come their way; and the Resident took measures, which necessitated the Gúrú to adopt that line of retreat. He received intelligence, that the next march made by Bhaí Maharaj, who had meanwhile crossed the Raví, would be within 30 miles of Lahore; and the 7th irregulars, the mounted portion of the guide corps, and a part of the 14th Light Dragoons, were ordered to leave Lahore at midnight on the 7th of June, and to surprise him. Unfortunately a storm came on, the Raví rose, and

the troops were unable to cross till the following morning. In pursuance of additional instructions from the Resident, they then made a forced march of 35 miles to a place called Jhundhalla, about 30 miles from the Ghat of the Raví. But intelligence of the arrival of a British force had meanwhile got wind. The Kardars, Adálutís, and all other officials were in the interest of the Gúrú, and when the English forces arrived at Jhundhalla, they found that the object of their pursuit had fled twenty miles further. The Bhaí was, however, thoroughly alarmed ; his partisans, who at one time had reached the number of 6,000, quickly dwindled down to 1,200 ; and with these he moved, at a speed, such as a Sikh army only can attain, to Jhung. Here he was met by Misr Sahib Dhyal and the Mahomedan zemindars by whom he was attacked, and, after a hard contest, driven into the Chenab. Nearly 600 men were drowned in that river, now swollen by the melting of the snows, and among them the Bhaí Maharaj himself. At another period, and under different circumstances, the Gúrú would have been the leader of a new revolution ; and, even on this occasion, the devotion with which his followers regarded him to the last, was extraordinary, and only to be accounted for on the supposition, that he united rare personal qualities with the asceticism, on which his religious character mainly depended. It is evident, too, from the narrative of those proceedings, that it requires very little exertion to stir up the Mussulmans against the Sikhs. So well aware was Múlraj of the effect which the junction of the Gúrú would have upon his fortunes, that he endeavored to resuscitate him for the encouragement of his troops ; and, during some days, thus produced a very considerable effect, and caused considerable alarm to Major Edwardes. The imposture, however, from some unknown cause, failed, and though subsequently tried again by Shere Singh, the Sikhs could not be induced to believe that he was alive.

We now turn to Lieut. Edwardes again. Within four days after the successful engagement of Kineyrí, he wrote to the Resident, that the task assigned to the army under him would be accomplished in a few days, and Múlraj and the rebels confined to the fort of Múltan. He therefore urged with great importunity, that his troops should not be exposed to the dangers of three months' inactivity, and that the siege should be commenced at once. He said, " All we require are a few heavy guns, a mortar battery, as many sappers and miners as you can spare, and Major Napier to plan our operations. That brave and able officer is, I believe, at Lahore ; and the guns and mortars are doubtless ere this at Ferozepore, and only require to be

put into boats, and floated down to Bhawulpur." When it is considered, that a large siege train, and fifteen thousand men, were subsequently employed for more than a month in reducing Múltan, the reader may be disposed to censure the ignorance, or over-confidence of Lieut. Edwardes. It was natural that he should under-rate the courage and resources of an enemy, whom he had just defeated with his raw levies. But it must not be forgotten, that the resources of Múlraj were then in their infancy; that they were greatly augmented between this period, and the time when the siege was actually commenced, five months after; and that the whole country had not then risen in arms and imparted the strongest confidence to Múlraj's counsels. To this letter the Resident replied on the 27th of June, in language which gave Lieut. Edwardes every reason to hope that his representations had made a favourable impression. Sir F. Currie said, that it would be useless to send guns and mortars without artillerymen to work them, and a plentiful supply of ammunition; that the character of the investing force would be in a measure changed by the addition of British materials; and that, if any part of the British army was employed, the force must be so large as to render success certain and speedy. He said that the aspect of affairs was certainly changed by the success which Lieut. Edwardes had obtained; and that another circumstance, which had great weight in determining the impracticability of operations two months before, was the belief that, at this time—the end of June—the fort and city of Múltan would be so inundated by means of cuts from the Chenab, as to render siege operations impossible; but that this apprehension was now removed. He therefore requested Lieut. Edwardes, and Lieut. Lake, of the Engineers, to report on the local features of the fort and the surrounding country with reference to the feasibility of siege operations against the fort, within the next two months, and also in October. The next day the Resident wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, that it was highly desirable in a political, as well as in a military point of view, that the means of reducing the fort should be at once provided; that the excitement which was caused, and the injury which was occasioned to all classes of the community, by the continued existence of rebellion in Múltan (confined though it was to the fort) were incalculable; and that the altered position of affairs, and the information obtained in the meantime, had induced Major Napier (whose opinion his Lordship had taken when the impracticability of operations two months before was determined) to consider it quite feasible to undertake the siege immediately, with even prospect of early success. He stated that a small force only

would now be required, except in artillery, and that a brigade would be sufficient. On the 1st of July, the Commander-in-Chief replied to the Resident, that he saw nothing in the altered position of affairs, which would justify him in taking upon himself the siege of Múltan at the present moment: that on the contrary, the success of Lieut. Edwardes rendered it less necessary to risk the lives of the European soldiers at this season. He stated further, that he considered the force proposed by Major Napier quite inadequate; and that he never would consent to an insufficient force, such as one brigade of any strength, being sent. But the most remarkable portion of His Excellency's letter is the remark, that it would appear from the Deputy Commissary General's letter, that the bullock train would have to come from Cawnpore: from which it appeared that, during the two months in which this rebellion had been gathering strength, no preparations whatever had been made for taking the field, even in winter. On the same date, Lord Gough wrote to the Governor-General, that he did not feel justified in taking upon himself the responsibility of sending such a force, as that now proposed by the Resident: but that, if his Lordship in Council should decide on an immediate movement, the smallest force which he could recommend, was two brigades of infantry, one of cavalry, and a native troop of horse artillery, in addition to the siege train. The Governor-General, after the receipt of Lord Gough's letter, replied to Sir Frederick Currie on the 11th of July, and informed him that, having carefully considered the various despatches which had been addressed to him, and weighed all the reasons which had been adduced for the immediate despatch of a force to Múltan, he entirely concurred with the Commander-in-Chief, in adhering to the former determination, and in abstaining from moving British troops against Múltan at this season of the year. The season of the year was thus, in the opinion both of the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General, the great obstacle to the commencement of operations.

On the 27th of June, Lieut. Edwardes informed the Resident, that he had, in the previous twenty-four hours, received an unbroken series of ill tidings. Sirdar Shumshere Singh was in command of a division of the Khalsa troops, sent to co-operate with Lieut. Edwardes against Múlraj: but they were so notoriously disaffected, that they had been ordered to stand fast at Chichawutní, about sixty miles from Múltan. Contrary to orders, they had advanced in the direction of the town; and the resuscitated Bhaí Maharaj Singh was said to have been sent to welcome them. The four guns of Jhunda Singh's detachment, which had been ordered from Leiah to Jhung,

were said to have arrived at Raj Ghat to join Múlraj; and Lieut. Taylor gave a most unfavourable account of the troops in Bunnú, among whom conspiracies were at work. Lieut. Edwardes adds, "Reflecting, however, that the treachery attributed to the Chíchawutní force, if really meditated, was not yet accomplished; that it might be arrested by our advance, but would certainly be hastened by our wavering; and that a second blow struck now at the rebels, before they can be reinforced, would drive them into the fort, and put us in a position to cut off all fresh comers; above all, remembering (as I do night and day) that the lives of all our officers in Bunnú, Peshawur and Hazara, depend on the speedy reduction of the rebellion to the smallest possible compass, and the complete humiliation of Múlraj in the public eye, I finally resolved to make not a single halt, but trust to the justice of our cause, and the Providence which defends the right. This morning, accordingly, we marched from Secundrabad." At the same time, he remarked, that there was not a moment's reliance to be placed on any Sikh army whatever; and that he heartily wished Raja Shere Singh, and Sirdar Shumshere Singh, and all the Singhs with them two hundred miles off at that moment, and that he was left alone to cope with Múlraj. Sheikh Emamúddín, who commanded a body of Mussulmans in the pay of the durbar, who were considered to be less infected with treachery than the Khalsa troops, was ordered to join him. His division was united with the force of Lieut. Edwardes on the 30th of June, and the whole body marched towards Múltan. The Sikh Gúrú, the pseudo Bhaí Maharaj Singh had consulted the stars with great forms and ceremonies, and had fixed the 1st of July as the auspicious day, when Múlraj would be invincible. Inspired with this assurance, the Dewan resolved to fight. The engagement began after midday; the Bhawulpur force was on the right, under the command of Lieut. Lake; the Súraj-Múkí Mahomedan corps, with General Cortlandt's ten guns in the centre, commanded by that General; Lieut. Edwardes' Pathan levies on the left centre, flanked by his Pathan cavalry; and on the extreme left, the troops of Sheikh Emamúddín, whose fidelity was doubtful. The scene of the engagement was the village of Suddúsain. Múlraj's artillerymen stood their ground with great obstinacy. The solemn blessings and promises of Bhaí Maharaj had inspired them with a desperate courage. At length the enemy was driven from grove to grove; and the Dewan, who commanded in person, and was said to have had a fall from his elephant, mounted his horse, and retreated precipitately from the field, carrying with him all the guns but two, which remained to

mask the movement, and were desperately served. The Súraj-Múkí regiment of infantry finally decided the day, by a brilliant charge on the guns, led by Mr. Quin, Lieut. Edwardes' writer, but an old soldier. The force of the enemy on this occasion was estimated at 11,000. Many of these were men, who had just deserted from Sheikh Emamúddín's and Rajah Shere Singh's ranks; the majority were old soldiers, and two-thirds of them Sikh and Hindú fanatics, to whom it had become a war of faith to uphold the Khalsa, and their Khuttrí master. The victory of Suddúsain was complete. "Now," says Lieut. Edwardes to the Resident, "is the time to strike, and it is quite painful to me to see that I have reached the end of my tether, and can do no more." But though the Dewan had thus been discomfited, and was obliged to resign all command of the plain, and confine himself to the city and fort, the treacherous troops of Shere Singh were now advancing to renew and increase embarrassments. He had been ordered to remain at Chíchawutní, but had advanced contrary to orders to Túlumba; and, though repeatedly requested to halt, he at length advanced to Gogran, within six coss of the city of Múltan.

The Resident, on hearing of the first victory at Kineyrí, consulted the Commander-in-Chief, as we have stated, regarding the feasibility of sending a British force to Múltan, to complete the work which Lieut. Edwardes had so happily begun; and he directed a force to be held in readiness to march, pending the receipt of letters from the Governor-General, approving that step. How the proposal was viewed by His Lordship, and by Lord Gough, we have already shown. It has been a matter of surprise not unmingled with censure, that, after having thus applied for instructions, the Resident should have sent forward the force without waiting for a reply. The Blue Book explains the enigma. Sir Frederick Currie had intermediately received information of the second victory, which had been gained at Suddúsain on the 1st of July, and resolved immediately to take on himself the responsibility of ordering the army to Múltan. On the 10th of July, he sent an elaborate despatch to the Governor-General, fully explaining the grounds on which he had ventured to adopt this resolution. To this letter Mr. Elliott, the Foreign Secretary, replied from Calcutta on the 22nd of July, stating that nothing had been advanced by Sir Frederick Currie calculated to weaken the strength of those reasons which induced the Governor-General, notwithstanding the political urgency of the case, to approve of his having refrained from bringing British troops into the field at this season of the year, or which could have induced his Lordship to alter the resolution, already conveyed to him, that

British troops should not move against Múltan, until the fit season for military operations should commence; but that since the Resident considered it necessary, in exercise of the powers conferred upon him, to assume the responsibility, and had publicly issued the orders for carrying his resolution into effect, the Governor-General in Council would not withhold his confirmation of those orders. It was his Lordship's wish, therefore, that he should immediately direct the advance he had ordered, and proceed with vigour to carry out, at all hazards, the policy which he had resolved upon. Sir Frederick, on the 10th of July, directed General Whish, commanding at Lahore, to take immediate orders for the despatch of a siege train with its establishment to Múltan,—stating that the fort itself was to a certain extent invested by the Bhawulpur forces and by those of Lieut. Edwardes, amounting in the aggregate to 18,000 men, and that the fidelity of this force could be depended on. He also stated that there was a force under Raja Shere Singh and the principal Sirdars of the country, associated with Lieut. Edwardes, which might be relied on, for doing *no mischief* in its present position. We shall see in the sequel, how soon even this negative virtue of our allies disappeared under the machinations of Múlraj. On the 13th of July, General Whish received his appointment from the Commander-in-Chief to command the Múltan force, accompanied by the usual complimentary assurances, that his Lordship had the most perfect confidence in his ability. He stated at the same time, that he would not consent to the employment, at such a distance as Múltan, of a British force of less strength than was detailed in his letter of the 1st instant; thereby giving his sanction to the supposition, that such a force itself would be amply sufficient for the successful performance of that duty. The intelligence of a design to send British troops to Múltan produced the most salutary effect on the motley group of faithful and faithless troops encamped before that city. Lieut. Edwardes wrote thus to Sir Frederick Currie: "In Shumshere Singh's graphic language, the news of a British force being positively about to take the field, came upon Shere Singh's camp like 'fire upon water.' The expression is so good that, as you read, you will, I am sure, fancy that you hear mutiny hissing at being extinguished, and dying away into smoke, with sputtering curses at the ever victorious Feringhís. Had you hesitated to take the field now, I candidly own that I think my position would have been converted, in a month, to one of the greatest peril." Before we proceed to notice the progress and the proceedings of General Whish's force, we would make one quotation from a letter of Sir F. Currie of the 31st July

which tends to show that he was not exempt from those miscalculations and misapprehensions, which were made by almost all others during this campaign. In a leisurely view of the past, present and future, the Resident says, "I do not think that any distinct plan of operations had been determined, beyond what I mentioned in my letter of the 10th, when the outbreak in Múltan occurred; from that time, it has been blended with the whole affair, and lately I have been assured, that, if Múlraj could hold out till November or December, the whole scheme, as at first planned by the Maharaní, would be executed, and a grand struggle take place, in which Sikhs, Hill Rajpúts, and Mahomedans were all to join. I put little faith in this; the combination could never be made." Yet, owing to the extreme dilatoriness of our proceedings, Múlraj was enabled to hold out till November and December, and the combination was made: and, instead of having six thousand troops to cope with at Múltan, we had six times that number to fight against at Chillianwallah.

It has, we know, been usual to ascribe all the difficulties experienced in this campaign to the movement made by Lieut. Edwardes across the Indus; which was also said to have been undertaken not only without orders, but contrary to the strictest injunctions of the Resident. The Blue Book enables us to estimate the value of these assertions. On the 5th of June, the Resident wrote to the Government of India, that as soon as Múlraj was obliged to recall his troops from the Indus to defend himself against the advance of the Bhawulpur troops, "Lieut. Edwardes *will cross the Indus again*, and in a very different condition from that in which he crossed it a month ago:" and on the 6th of June, Lieut. Edwardes himself wrote thus to the Resident—"I am happy to have received your sanction to my detaching General Cortlandt across the Indus, or going myself, if necessary, for the support of the troops of Bhawul Khan." Lieut. Edwardes crossed that river on the 10th of June. As regards the effect of his movement on Múltan, the Blue Book enables us to perceive that the plan (which the Resident appears to have designed, and Lieut. Edwardes to have executed) of confining Múlraj to his own city, was the very best which could have been adopted under existing circumstances. Lieut. Edwardes was thus enabled to afford full occupation to the Dewan and his troops during three entire months, from the date of the assassination of our officers, to that on which it was announced in Múltan, that a British force was proceeding against it. Múlraj was thus effectually prevented from marching into the districts lying to the North-West, between him and Lahore and raising

the country. If Lieut. Edwardes had been confined to the right bank of the Indus, there would have been nothing to prevent the progress of disaffection : and it is impossible to peruse the papers given in the Blue Book, without perceiving that, but for the active and energetic movements of Lieut. Edwardes, the treacherous chiefs and troops of the durbar, who had been sent against Múlraj, would immediately have joined his standard : that a large Khalsa force would have been organised in the month of May ; and that, encouraged by our inactivity and the report that we could not venture to move British troops "except at the fit season of the year," and gaining accessions at every step, they would have taken possession of the various Doabs, and appeared before Lahore in the month of June. We should then have been constrained to fight our Súdalapur, and Chillianwallah, and Gúzerat, in those months in which the Commander-in-Chief had declared it to be impossible for our troops to take the field. From this calamity Government was saved by the energetic and admirable movements of Lieut. Edwardes.

We now turn to the Hazara district. The control of it had been committed to Sirdar Chutter Singh, the father of Rajah Shere Singh, who commanded the troops before Múltan, and of Golab Singh, a chief at Lahore. Shere Singh was considered to be one of the leading chiefs in the Punjab, from his age, his wealth, his landed possessions, and his influence. He had more to lose than any other chief by an unsuccessful collision with the British authorities. His daughter had recently been affianced to the young Maharajah ; and the completion of this alliance would have made him the most powerful noble in the kingdom. Associated with him as the Political Assistant on the part of the British Government, was Capt. Abbott—the gentleman who was deputed by Major Tod to proceed from Khiva to Petersburgh in 1840, in reference to the Russian slaves, who were subsequently liberated. The narrative of his romantic and perilous journey over that unknown country is one of the most interesting works of the kind ever given to the public. He was equally conspicuous as a soldier, an author, and a politician. The Resident thus describes him : "He has many excellent qualifications as a public officer ; an indefatigable application to business ; a most scrupulous desire to show the strictest jnstice in all his investigations, decisions and proceedings; and a kind and eminently conciliatory manner to the natives, coupled with great firmness and intrepidity of character. In Hazara, of which he has made the settlement, he is beloved, in fact, almost worshipped by the people : all persons that I have conversed with, who have come from those parts, are unanimous in their estimation of him

They say that he has gained such an influence over the inhabitants of the province, that he can do whatever he pleases with a race whom the Sikhs could never control, and whom the wily and shrewd Maharajah Golab Singh was glad to get from under his Government on almost any terms. Since the outbreak at Múltan there had been but little intercourse between Capt. Abbott and Sirdar Chutter Singh; and evil-designing men had taken advantage of this circumstance to sow suspicions of the fidelity of the latter in the mind of the former. Perhaps Capt. Abbott might have been too ready, as the Resident supposed, to believe the reports of these treasons. But when it was considered, as the Resident himself allowed, that we were living in the Punjab, in such an atmosphere of treachery, perfidy, falsehood, and deceit, that it was certainly not easy to determine what was, or what was not, worthy of credit; and when the long perfidious career of the Sirdar was remembered, no one will be surprised if Capt. Abbott should have regarded Shere Singh with mistrust; and it must perhaps remain an enigma, whether it was his treachery that caused the suspicions, or the suspicions which caused his treachery. The Pukli brigade had for some time been in a very unsatisfactory state. On the 1st of August, Capt. Abbott was informed that they had broken up their bazar, sold their stores of grain, called in their cattle, packed up their baggage, and were about to march to Lahore. These proceedings were known to the Sirdar, but he did not choose to report them. Capt. Abbott immediately raised the country, and determined to prevent the brigade from issuing out of the hills. The armed peasantry, who sprung up at his bidding, struck terror into the mind of the Sirdar Chutter Singh —so he affirmed—and he collected a force near Hurripur for his own protection. He ordered the troops from the city to join him, and directed Colonel Canora, an American, who had long been in the Sikh service, to bring out the guns, which he positively refused to do, without Capt. Abbott's express leave. Chutter Singh repeated his orders more peremptorily; the Colonel still refused, and, standing by them, himself with a lighted match, after having fully loaded them, threatened to shoot any one who attempted to touch them. But he was deserted by his own artillerymen; the troops of Chutter Singh closed on him, and he fell pierced with many wounds. Capt. Abbott, on the other hand, considered that Chutter Singh had assembled troops at Hurripur with the treasonable design of liberating the Pukli brigade, and opposing the British Government. Immediately on the death of Canora, the Sirdar ordered all the troops in the province to his assistance; and Capt. Abbott organ-

ised the armed peasantry with the determination to oppose that force. The report of this insurrectionary movement had no sooner reached Peshawur, than Major Lawrence wisely despatched Capt. Nicholson, with a small body of men, to seize and to hold Attock, the key of the Indus. The progress of Sirdar Chutter Singh's defection was slow; but there cannot longer remain a doubt, that, from the time of the Múltan insurrection, he was engaged in the national conspiracy against us, and was only waiting a fit opportunity for declaring himself. Canora was murdered on the 6th of August; and, for three weeks after, we have in the Blue Book a very tedious and most uninteresting correspondence between the Resident and Capt. Abbott; the former being most reluctant to believe in the Sirdar's infidelity, while the latter, as strenuously, maintained it. The Resident then sent the Sirdar Jhunda Singh from Lahore, to bring Chutter Singh to reason. Jhunda Singh was said to have more influence over him than any other man: but the result was eventually, that Jhunda himself turned traitor, and joined the standard of Chutter Singh, who threw off the mask on the 28th of August, marched to Hussan Abdal against Capt. Nicholson, and obliged him to retire upon Attock. The Resident, in his letter to the Government of India on the 1st of September, acknowledged that Chutter Singh had at length, fairly and finally, taken his line, and would use every endeavour to make his rebellion as formidable as possible; but he still clung to the hope, that he might be persuaded to lay down his arms—at the very time that he was organising the most vigorous opposition to our interest, raising the country, and inviting Golab Singh and Dost Mahomed to join him. The wily Sirdar wrote to Sir F. Currie and the durbar, excusing himself from obeying the order to come into Lahore, because his troops would not allow him, and urging that Tej Singh, or Dínanath, or some European officer, might be sent *to assure the troops and himself.* The Rajah Dínanath was actually deputed on this fool's errand. It failed, as might have been expected. Chutter Singh then gave out that he had devoted his head to his God, and would stand or fall in the cause he had espoused. All the villages, which were known to have rendered Capt Nicholson assistance, were burnt and ravaged; and the insurgent troops proclaimed with shouts the return of the Gúrúj's rule. The officers in command in Hazara and Peshawur, implored the Resident to send a brigade to their assistance, in order to prevent the spread of the revolt: but the Commander-in-Chief determined that it would be highly dangerous to send a small force; and that no force whatever should be

sent, till a large body could be collected at the proper season of the year, capable of overcoming all opposition.

Let us now return to Múltan. We have stated, that the Resident ordered General Whish, on the 10th of July, to march with an army of the strength which the Commander-in-Chief had indicated as sufficient for the purpose, to the siege of Múltan. But, though the rebellion had now been raging for three months in the Punjab, and although the public, both in England and in India, had been assured that Lord Hardinge had placed the moveable brigades in such a state of equipment, that they could march on the shortest notice, such is the dilatoriness which marks almost every military movement in India, that the force under General Whish, consisting of only seven thousand men, did not reach Múltan, a distance of only two hundred and twenty miles, with unrivalled convenience for water carriage down the stream, until *thirty nine* days after the orders had been issued. The progress of the troops towards Múltan was marked by no incident; and they encountered no opposition. Neither did they suffer from the heat, as the Commander-in-Chief and the Governor-General had anticipated; there were fewer casualties than might have been expected, even if they had marched "at the fittest season of the year." The bugbear, which had terrified their Lordships, was found to exist only in their own imaginations; and the soundness of Sir Frederick Currie's judgment, so far as the weather was concerned, in sending a force for the reduction of Múltan at that particular time, was fully vindicated. There cannot be the shadow of a doubt, that, if the preparation for the campaign had commenced with vigour, when the *emeute* at Múltan was first announced, and, if the Commander-in-Chief had left Simla on the 15th of July, and marched in person at the head of fifteen thousand men towards Múltan, the war would have been brought to a close within six weeks, without that fearful sacrifice of life which subsequently darkened our success.

On the 3rd of September, General Whish addressed a brief proclamation to the inhabitants and garrison of Múltan, inviting them to an unconditional surrender, and declaring that he should otherwise, in obedience to the orders of the Supreme Government of India, commence hostilities on a scale that must ensure early destruction to the rebel traitor and his adherents. Lieut. Edwardes, to whom the translation of this document had been committed, observed that our treaty with Dhulíp Singh was still in force; that it was against him Múlraj had rebelled; and that, if we were to exclude his name from a proclamation, recalling the garrison of a Punjab fortress to their allegiance,

and mention only the name of Her Britannic Majesty, it would seem, as if we had already determined to confiscate the State. But his advice was overruled; and the inhabitants and garrison were invited to an unconditional surrender, "in honour of Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen of Great Britain." This proclamation, which was issued on the 3rd of September, produced no effect. On the 6th, a meeting of officers was held at the General's tent to arrange finally a plan of attack on the fort and city of Múltan. Two plans were proposed; the first, that of taking the town of Múltan by a *coup de main* at any cost, in one day; and the second, that of marching round to the north, and attacking the citadel by regular approaches. Both plans were rejected. Lieut. Lake then submitted a proposition to run a trench from the battery on the extreme right of the Daúdpútra camp, north-east to a point called Ramtírut, which would be upwards of a mile; and to throw up heavy gun batteries at such points of this entrenchment, as would drive away the enemy, without much loss of life, and with certain success. This plan was adopted. On the 12th of September, General Whish determined to take the enemy's position in front, and near the advanced picket of the trenches. The columns advanced to the attack about 9 A. M. The position was a strong one, and stoutly defended; the conflict terminating only in a series of hand-to-hand encounters. The enemy was at length driven from it, but our loss was very severe. We had five officers killed and twelve wounded; 39 men killed and 216 wounded. The victory remained with us;—but, within two days after, General Whish raised the siege, which was not renewed for more than three months.

This singular determination to suspend the siege, and to wait for the arrival of reinforcements, which could not be expected to reach Múltan in less than two months, filled the community throughout India, as might well have been anticipated, with indignation; but it was forced on General Whish by the treachery of Rajah Shere Singh. So admirably was that chief able to play the hypocrite, that he deceived even the sagacity of Lieut. Edwardes, who wrote to the Resident on the 4th of September, that, if the intentions of the Rajah were to be judged of by his past conduct, nothing could be more satisfactory or loyal. Since his arrival, he had omitted neither persuasion, threats, nor punishments, to keep his troops to their duty. After detailing various instances of his fidelity, Lieut. Edwardes stated, that on the previous day he had moved out of his camp, and cannonaded Múlraj's troops at the bridge, whom he threw into great confusion: but that he was obliged to retire

by the heavy guns from the fort, and (as Lieut. Edwardes supposed) by the refusal of Sirdar Uttar Singh's and Sirdar Shumshere's divisions, to take part in these "heretical proceedings." The Rajah acknowledged that he never expected to effect any thing by this move; but he thought it would be a good thing to get a few men killed on both sides, so as to destroy the good understanding between his own Sikhs, and those in the garrison. "Still," writes Lieut. Edwardes, "if Sirdar Chutter Singh should succeed in attracting the Peshawur troops to his standard, and raising any thing like a national movement against us, I should not expect Rajah Shere Singh to remain faithful, however well he may be inclined. It would be expecting too much from a son, and a Sikh." On the morning of the 8th of September, the Sheikh Emamúddín had an interview with Lieut. Edwardes, in which he stated that the Rajah Shere Singh, though hitherto firm in his allegiance, was now "altering his mind;" that messengers had come from Chutter Singh; that the Rajah, after reading the letters, which were in Gúrmúkí, had carefully put them into water, and obliterated all traces of their contents; and that his Mútbirs were beginning to open their mouths, and talk big, like other malcontents. On the morning of the 9th, Rajah Shere Singh waited on Lieut. Edwardes, to report a mutinous meeting of the troops of the Sirdar Uttar Singh, which had been held on the night of the 7th September, and exhausted himself in complaints against the divisions of that chief and Sirdar Shumshere Singh, although his own troops were daily deserting to Múlraj. In letter of the 10th September to the Resident, in which these and other particulars are given, Lieut. Edwardes says—"It becomes therefore necessary to consider it a probable contingency, that Múlraj's army will be swelled by two-thirds of Shere Singh's numbers; my feeling is that I should like to decide the matter myself, instead of leaving things to run their course, by surrounding and disarming the Sikh force, which I consider present circumstances would most fully justify; but unfortunately they are in such a position, that it is impossible to turn their flank, either right or left, and, if I were to move down on their rear, they would in self-defence be driven into Múltan." The General and Lieut. Edwardes having held a consultation on the subject, it was agreed that the only thing that could be done was to direct the Sirdars to march back to Lahore. Lieut. Edwardes then sent for the three Sirdars, and informed them of the General's wishes. They received the announcement with feelings of repugnance. They said their men would not march; but at the same time they confessed, that, if they remained before Múltan,

the whole force would go over gradually; and that there was no dependence to be placed on them. Shere Singh warmly expostulated against his division being sent away when they were ready to give their lives in the cause of the Maharajah. It was then settled, that Sirdar Uttar Singh's division should be ordered back to Túlumbah, under pretence of keeping open the road, and Sirdar Shumshere's division to Kurrumpur, for the same purpose; and that Rajah Shere Singh's division should take up a position to protect the ferry. The morning of the 14th was fixed for carrying out these arrangements. On that same day, Lieut. Edwardes wrote to the Resident: "The question of the intentions of the Sikh force under Rajah Shere Singh has this morning been settled, by the camp moving bodily off to Múltan, and joining the rebels. The Rajah put himself at the head of the movement, and ordered the 'Dhurm ka dhosa,' or religious drum, to be beaten, in the name of the Khalsa." The other chiefs were carried away by the troops; but Sirdar Uttar Singh subsequently made his escape from the army, and joined Lieut. Edwardes' camp; the nephew of Sirdar Shumshere Singh did the same; he himself had endeavoured to escape, but had been forced into Múltan. It appears that, four or five days before this event, the Chief Engineer had pronounced his opinion that the force before Múltan was not sufficient for its capture. The idea of raising the siege was combatted by General Whish; but he found that the same opinion had been formed also by other influential officers. Whether the siege would have been continued if there had been no defection of the Sikhs, it is now idle to enquire. That event rendered our retirement an act, not only of wisdom, but of necessity. On hearing of this treachery of Shere Singh, the General adjourned to the tent of the Chief Engineer, where several officers had assembled: and a unanimous opinion was expressed, that the siege was no longer practicable. Lieut. Edwardes justly considered that we were no longer engaged with a rebel Kardar alone, but with the whole Sikh army in another struggle for independence. It was therefore determined to concentrate the troops, and assume defensive but dignified position; till the British Government could organise its resources for the Punjab war, into which we were thus launched.

The number of troops which Shere Singh took over to Múlraj, on the 14th of September, amounted to about 5,000, with two mortars and ten guns; and 3,000 of the Khalsa troops at the same time proceeded towards Jhung and Lahore, with three guns. Immediately after his defection, Rajah Shere Singh issued his manifesto, to make known "to all the inhabitants of

the Punjab, with what oppression, tyranny, and undue violences the Feringhís have treated the widow of the great Maharajah Runjít Singh, now in bliss, and what cruelty they have shown towards the people of the country": wherefore, by the direction of the holy Gúrú, Rajah Shere Singh, and others, with their valiant troops, have joined the trusty and faithful Dewan, Mulraj, on the part of Maharajah Dhulíp Singh, with a view to eradicate and expel the tyrannous and crafty Feringhís. All who are servants of the Khalsají, of the holy Gúrú, and of the Maharajah, are enjoined to gird up their lions, and to proceed to Múltan without delay. Let them murder all Feringhís, wherever they may find them, and cut off the dáks. In return for this service they will certainly be recompensed, by the favour of the holy Gúrú, by increase of rank, and by distribution of rewards." It does not appear that the Dewan Múlraj either expected, or desired, to be joined by the Rajah and his troops. He was anxious that the Rajah should desert the British army, but not that he should take up his residence in the town. His troops, therefore, were not permitted to enter the city, till Múlraj was assured of their fidelity. They were encamped outside the Bohur gate, where Múlraj met them, attended by an overwhelming escort; and the *grunth* was brought in order to administer the oath of fidelity to the new comers. All swore fidelity, except (according to his own statement) the Sirdar Shumshere Singh. After this ceremony, the Dewan withdrew all his own troops from the entrenchments in front of the British army, and told Rajah Shere Singh to occupy them, to the great discontent of his troops. The accession of the Rajah raised the forces of the Dewan to about 15,000 men.

The failure forthe time of this expedition was naturally calculated to injure the political reputation of the Resident; and in one of the earliest letters written after the calamity was known, he addressed the Government of India in vindication of his proceedings. "The force sent from this was generally considered to be larger than was required. I am satisfied that its failure was never for a moment anticipated by any one, if the troops arrived at Múltan in an efficient state:" and no besieging army ever sat down before a fortress, in a more efficient condition, or in a state of higher equipment, than that of General Whish. Sir Frederick Currie likewise remarked, that the Chief Engineer gave his professional opinion, that a smaller force would suffice. The Commander-in-Chief was himself satisfied of the sufficiency of the force. The responsibility of despatching an army against Múltan, at this season of the year at all, rested with the Resident; the responsibility of sending a sufficient force belonged to the Commander-in-Chief. His Excellency's

words on this subject are very clear and decisive: "Unacquainted, as yet, with the political necessity for the immediate movement of this force, yet, as it is to comprise that detailed in my letter of the 1st instant to the address of your Lordship in Council, I do not feel justified in interfering; as neither the character of the army nor the safety of that portion of it which will be employed, can be compromised otherwise than by the loss of life, which the season of the year may occasion, and which, it appears, will be guarded against as much as possible." Sir Frederick Currie triumphantly refers to the admirable condition of the army: "The troops have in on way suffered on account of the season, but have, in fact, been more healthy and effective than the corps in any of the cantonments. When operations were suspended, the wounded and sick averaged only six per cent. of the force."

Immediately on receiving intelligence of Shere Singh's defection, Sir Frederick Currie determined to take possession of the fortress of Govindgur, which the Sikhs considered the key of the Punjab, and looked upon with reverence, as the work on which Runjít Singh bestowed so much attention and treasure, during the latter years of his life. A detachment of that valuable body, the crops of guides, was sent to this important fortress, who, though under a native officer, took possession of it in thirty-six hours, and before troops could arrive to their aid. At the same time the Commander-in-Chief at Simla ordered H. M. 20th Foot, and the 31st and 56th regiments of native infantry to proceed with all practicable expedition to reinforce Major-General Whish. This force, however, never went. On the 20th of September, His Excellency ordered the assembling of an army on the frontier; solicited the permission of Government to organise it into divisions and brigades; and pressed on the attention of the Governor-General the expediency of its being recruited up to the former establishment of 1,000 privates per regiment of infantry, and 500 sowars per regiment of irregular cavalry.

The Governor-General was now completely aroused to the necessity of adopting the most vigorous measures. In writing to the Secret Committee, he says, "This deliberate exhibition of perfidy, and cowardly malice against British officers, and professedly on the part of Maharajah Dhulíp Singh, has brought matters to a crisis, and compelled us, at last, to come to the conclusion, that no other course is open to us, than to prosecute a general Punjab war with vigour, and ultimately to occupy the country with our own troops." His Lordship therefore ordered the army to be increased by the addition of 17,000

men ; " and as these will be drafted into existing regiments, without adding to the number of European officers, we have observed the most economical scale, by which so large an augmentation can be obtained." He also ordered the Government of Bombay to send a brigade through Scinde to co-operate with the Punjab army, and transferred to some of the Bengal stations three Madras regiments.

Shere Singh continued at Múltan twenty-five days after he had openly revolted. His presence had always been irksome to Múlraj, who, from the first day, distrusted the motives of his defection. " He was also," as Lieut. Edwardes remarked in his letter to the Resident, " constantly afraid of the Sikh force exacting rewards from him ; a demand which his treasury in Múltan is now unable to meet ; and he at last hit upon the expedient of promising them pay, if they would go and have one good fight with the British, which the Sikhs declined." On the 9th of October, Shere Singh marched with all his force from Múltan, and offered battle to General Whish in the plain. He is said to have fired some eight pounders into the camp, and then made for Sirdarpur. Though he is supposed to have taken with him only 5,000 men and twenty guns, yet his army was swelled at every step by the old veterans of Runjít Singh, who crowded to his standard, exulting in the prospect of a second draught of the fierce cup of victory and rapine ;—and he departed unpursued. Great was the indignation throughout India at the news ; and for the second time men mourned over the decay of the old spirit of Assaye and Laswarí. Even the popularity of Lieut. Edwardes could scarcely stand the rumour, that his advice had produced this apparently pusillanimous resolution. We believe that his advice *did* produce it ; but on reasons somewhat different from those ordinarily given. The proposal was to despatch eight hundred cavalry, in pursuit of a regular army of 5,000 men, with twelve heavy pieces of cannon, and the finest artillerists in Asia to work them. It was this project which Lieut. Edwardes resisted, and for a time successfully : but at last General Whish determined to pursue his own course, and despatched this limited force in pursuit—fortunately without success. In truth, the idea of an English army (except when led by a racing General like Sir Walter Gilbert) ever overtaking a Sikh force savours of the absurd. Throughout the war, at Ramnuggur, and Chillianwallah, at Russúl, at the passage of the Indus, the Sikh army waited for, escaped from, or moved round the British, with the most perfect facility ; crossed rivers, which occupied British troops many days ; and, in every imaginable mode, demonstrated that the excellence of the British Commissariat

was no match for the simplicity of the Sikh, and that men, who can bivouac in the open air, and live on parched grain, will march much faster, than those who must have double tents, and carry their luxuries with them.

We now leave Shere Singh to pursue his course towards Lahore and proceed to narrate the progress of events in Hazara, Peshawur, and Bunnú. The reader will remember that the Resident had sent Rajah Dínanath to bring the Sirdar Chutter Singh to reason. The Rajah wrote daily to Sir Frederick Currie, while on his progress towards Hazara ; but it soon became evident to the Rajah, that Chutter Singh never intended to give him an amicable meeting, but was rather manœuvring to obtain possession of his person, in order either to induce him to join the Khalsa cause, or to retain him as a hostage. Under all circumstances he would have given out that the Rajah Dínanath was associated with him, to induce others to join in the rebellion. The Rajah was fully aware of the Sirdar's purposes, and avoided the line of road on which his adherents were posted. When the news of Rajah Shere Singh's defection reached Lahore, the Resident considered the time for negotiation at an end, and recalled Rajah Dínanath to the capital. Meanwhile the Sikh regiments in Bunnú, which had long been ripe for revolt, threw off their allegiance, murdered Colonel John Holmes, a most respectable officer, and a very old servant of the Sikh Government, and invested the fortress of Dhulípgur. The Governor, Futteh Khan Tawana, held it against them for some days, and was then obliged to evacuate it for want of water, when he, and six of his followers, were barbarously cut to pieces. The Bunnú troops, consisting of four regiments of infantry, 500 cavalry, six troops of horse artillery, and four heavy guns, were then at liberty to join the standard of Rajah Shere Singh.

The troops at Peshawur had hitherto resisted all the allurements of Chutter Singh. On the 13th of October, Major Lawrence wrote to the Resident, that he was still able to hold his ground ; and that, when he could do it no longer, he would take to the fort of Shahmírgur, which he had provisioned for 3,000 men for a month. He importuned the Resident to send only a single brigade up the Jhelum ; in which case he felt assured that the province might be saved. But, for reasons detailed by the Governor-General in his despatch to the Secret Committee, no troops were sent. The Sirdar Chutter Singh had been for a long time making overtures to the troops at Peshawur ; but they had resolutely withstood all. Despairing of being able to enlist them on his side, the Sirdar was on the point of marching from the Indus towards the camp of his

son, when the revolt of these troops was brought about through Sultan Mahomed Khan. This man, the brother of Dost Mahomed, was under the greatest obligation to the family of Major Lawrence. He had been detained as a prisoner at Lahore by Runjít Singh, who never would permit him to quit the city. On the appointment of Sir H. Lawrence, as Resident, he received permission to retire on his own jaghíre at Peshawur : yet it was through the instrumentality of this traitor that the troops were induced to break out into open revolt. On the 24th of October, at 8 P. M., they marched down and attacked the Residency. "Shot, sharpnell and grape, were poured on the house in rapid succession, and answered by musketry from the Residency wall ; and many men were killed and wounded." On the opening of the fire, the Sikh Governor, of whose fidelity no doubt was ever entertained, came to Major Lawrence in a state of frantic alarm, declaring his only anxiety to be the safety of the British officers, and stating, that as no dependence could now be placed on any of the troops, they ought to seek safety by flight. Major Lawrence, after having held his post for many weeks under the most desperate circumstances, seeing at length that it was no longer tenable, and that the attack must lead, during the darkness of the night, to a fearful slaughter, determined to quit his post. He and Lieut. Bowie, with Mr. Thompson, the sub-assistant surgeon, Mrs. Thompson, and fifty Affghan horse, got out of the south gate, not without difficulty; and they had scarcely done so, when his own Pathans gutted the house. During the day, Sultan Mahomed Khan gave Major Lawrence the most sacred promises of protection at Kohat (engaging to escort him at any time in perfect safety to Bhawulpur, Múltan, or Scinde) ; and the party therefore pursued their melancholy journey during the night to that town, which they reached the next morning. On hearing of the catastrophe occasioned by that "thoroughly faithless miscreant," the Resident wrote thus to the Governor-General:—"I am satisfied that the Governor-General will consider that Major Lawrence and Lieut. Bowie maintained their position, as long as it was possible to do so ; and that the ultimate defection of the Peshawur troops, in spite of all Major Lawrence's skilful management, in no way detracts from the merit that is due to him, for the judicious and intrepid conduct, which has kept that force to their duty, so long after the rest of their brethren were all in open rebellion, and using every endeavour, by appealing to their patriotism and their religion, to induce them to join the rebel standard. Major Lawrence had a most difficult task to perform, and he performed it nobly." The defection of the

Peshawur troops completes the circle of Punjab treachery. Within twelve weeks all the Khalsa troops, with all their Sirdars, had broken out into open revolt, and were now in the field, seeking the entire expulsion of the Feringhís from the land of the five waters. Major Lawrence and his party found Mrs. Lawrence at Kohat. She had left Peshawur, in the midst of the troubles, with a strong escort of Affghan horse, under the protection of a son of Sultan Mahomed, but was induced, through the treachery of that young Barukzye, to turn off to Kohat, though there were no difficulties in the way. While there, a chivalrous project was undertaken by Lieut. Taylor of Bunnú to bring them away by a steamer sent to Esakail: but, while engaged in this enterprise, Sultan Mahomed, the faithless traitor, sold them to Chutter Singh; and Chutter Sing sold the district of Peshawur to the Affghans. Major and Mrs. Lawrence, and the rest of the party, were then transferred to Peshawur, where they arrived on the 11th of November. They were strictly guarded, but otherwise well treated in every respect.

From intercepted correspondence, it appeared that Shere Singh left Múltan under instructions from his father, who appointed a meeting with him at Gúzerat, where there was to be a grand gathering of the Khalsa troops. Little did he dream, that *there* would be the last gathering of Runjít's soldiers, and that it was destined to be the grave of the independence of Lahore. Rajah Shere Singh left Múltan with 5,000 men; but it appears that there were constant desertions subsequently from the standard of Múlraj to that of the Rajah, to whom the Khalsa troops now looked for the re-establishment of their nationality. Múltan was comparatively deserted for the more dangerous and ambitious, and tempting enterprises, on which Shere Singh was about to enter. The Rajah left Múltan on the 9th, and marched with great rapidity towards the Raví, which he crossed on the 11th and 12th. He then moved toward Jhung on the Chenab, with the intention, as was supposed, of proceeding up the left bank of the river to Jellalpur, or Ramnuggur, where it was conjectured he would cross the river to Gúzerat. The Rajah himself gave out that he was marching on Lahore: "but this," said the Resident, "he will not do;" adding that, "if he has any enterprise, *which he has not*, he might occupy Sheikhúpúr and threaten Lahore itself, knowing that without reinforcements we could not march out to oppose him." It seems strange, that one month after it was known that we were involved in a war with the whole of the Punjab, so little care had been taken to strengthen our positions, that we were

unable to march a force out of the capital to prevent the approach of 5,000 of the enemy! The Resident, therefore, gently hints to the Commander-in-Chief on the 18th of October, that the advance of a brigade from Ferozepore to Lahore would make the Rajah cross the Chenab, and proceed up the Jetch Doab at once to his destination. But Rajah Shere Singh *did* shew enterprise. On the 22nd the Resident directed the officer commanding at Lahore, to beg General Cureton to order up from Ferozepore the regiment of cavalry, and the troop of horse artillery, which were said to be ready to march at the shortest notice. This movement, he said, was made necessary by the fact, that Shere Singh had thrown forward all his cavalry to within sixty miles of Lahore, with orders to advance to Sheikhúpur, and to cover the march of his infantry up the left bank of the Chenab to Ramnuggur. On the same day, the Resident wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, that Shere Singh's was a bolder move than he had expected, and could only have been adopted under the knowledge of our having no disposable troops at Lahore. He stated that the Rajah was devastating the country as he went along. "If we could get at him, push him into the river, and take his guns from him, I should be glad of his coming up the left bank of the Chenab; but, as I fear that cannot be managed, I am in hopes that the movement of the troops upon Lahore will have the effect of making him cross the river at or below Jellalpur" Two days after, Sir Frederick Currie wrote under still greater emergency. Shere Singh was advancing up the left bank of the Chenab with the avowed intention of attacking Lahore, and the Bunnú troops and those of Uttar Singh were marching to join him. He had shown great enterprise. He had pushed forward his advanced divisions to within twenty-five miles of the capital; and his officers were raising the country within twelve miles of it. But this was not the worst. So bold had he grown by our inaction, and the total inefficiency of our equipments, that he actually sent a party to insult us, by burning the bridge of boats constructed on the Raví within a mile and a half of the city walls! Happily only two boats were destroyed. At the same time his officers attacked a small post of durbar troops, on the right bank of the Raví, within sight of Lahore, and carried off eighteen zumbúrgahs in triumph. While the Rajah was moving about the country with such rapidity, and, as Sir Frederick Currie said in his letter to the Commander-in-Chief, "the garrison of Lahore was menaced and hemmed in by the rebels," our reinforcements from Ferozepore, which had been cut down from the

necessity of circumstances, to two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and a portion of artillery, were moving up at the rate of *eight* miles a day. If, said the Resident, an attack were made on the cantonments at Anarkullí by the insurgents, and a simultaneous rising were to take place in the city, the population of which is all more or less hostile to us, we should, without reinforcements, be in a very critical, as well as in the sight of India, a very discreditable position. Fortunately this despatch did not fall into the hands of the Rajah, else he might have taken advantage of circumstances, and come down with his whole force on the cantonment, while his emissaries created a simultaneous rising in the city. But his object was to form a junction with the troops coming to his standard from Bunnú and the Hazarah country; and he accordingly crossed the Chenab on the 23rd, after having committed the greatest excesses against the Mahomedans of Jhung, at the request of the Hindu residents. Brigadier Cureton at length reached Lahore, and crossed the Raví with a large and efficient force, consisting of two European regiments of cavalry, one of infantry, and one regiment of native infantry, and three of cavalry, well supported by artillery.

On the same day intelligence was received that the rebel force under Lall Singh Moraría, had moved towards Gúzranwalla, where he expected to be joined by two other chiefs and their levies. Gúzranwalla is the largest town in the Rechna Doab; and the retention of it appeared so important, that Sir Frederick Currie wrote urgently to Brigadier Cureton, on the day he crossed the Raví, to this effect: "If Gúzranwalla falls into the hands of the rebels, it will strengthen the cause of the insurgents amazingly, and if they retain possession of it, we shall get neither supplies nor carriage from the Rechna Doab, upon which we now depend to enable the army to move forward: it will also very much damage our credit if these parties, which are considered our most faithful allies, are left unsupported. If your force were to push on, the insurgents would probably fall back." The Brigadier appeared before the enemy on the 9th, and an attack was ordered for the following day; but in the interim new orders arrived from head-quarters, with a positive and unqualified prohibition of any active measures whatever, until the Commander-in-Chief came up with the grand army.

The Blue Book gives us a much fuller record of the despatches of the Resident than we were prepared to expect: and it is calculated, in an eminent degree, to correct that unfavourable impression of his proceedings, which has been produced by the

general ignorance which prevails regarding them. He was certainly incorrect in his calculation of Chutter Singh's intentions. He had too much confidence in the old man's love of ease and prosperity; and he was not aware, that his hatred of the British was a far stronger passion than his fondness for the jaghíres, or the influence, or the wealth, which he enjoyed. Sir Frederick Currie also committed an error, as it afterwards appeared, in detaching Rajah Shere Singh and the durbar troops against Múlraj, as soon as he heard of the assassination; but he was not then aware of that universal feeling of hostility to our rule, which burned in the breast of almost every Sikh chief. He did not know, that the hatred of the Feringhís, which the Rajah exhibited in his manifesto, after his open revolt, existed in all its virulence, when he was sent against Múlraj in the end of April. But, with this exception, all the proceedings of Sir Frederick Currie, from the first hour of his hearing of the outbreak, until the 13th of November, when his authority was superseded by the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief at Lahore, were marked by promptitude and decision of character. Immediately on hearing of the rebellion, he determined to despatch a large British force to the rescue of our officers at Múltan. It was only when he learnt that they had actually perished, and that their death was occasioned by the desertion of their escort, that he resolved to postpone the despatch of troops, and to refer the matter to the decision of Government. The reason he gives for this change of purpose is such as to commend itself to every mind. He expected that the other troops of the durbar, marching on Múltan, might act a similar part, and that the British reserve, sent to support and succour, would find itself opposed to hollow friends and actual foes: and, therefore, he would not consent to send a small British force. But at the same time he wrote to the Commander-in-Chief, stating the political urgency of the case, and consulting him as to the possibility of undertaking military operations, on the scale required, at this season of the year. His Excellency and the Governor-General decided against the movement: but had a sufficient force been sent at the time, there can be no doubt, that it would not have suffered from the climate, and might have been eminently successful. The step, which he subsequently took on his own responsibility, of sending a force to Múltan, on hearing of Lieut. Edwardes' second victory, was in the highest degree judicious. The only objection to the movement on the part of the Commander-in-Chief was, the season of the year; and yet the troops had not six per cent. in hospital throughout the march, or in the camp at Múltan.

There seems, therefore, reason to believe, that if Sir Frederick Currie had been at liberty to carry out his own views, and if he had been vigorously seconded by the Commander-in-Chief and the Government of India, he would have brought the campaign to a close in less than three months from its commencement.

The army, which had been collected at Ferozepore, at length began to move, with all its innumerable impediments. This force, with which the Commander-in-Chief now took the field in person (including the troops under Brigadier Cureton, which were in advance) has been generally computed at 25,000 men. His Excellency marched into Lahore with the head-quarters of the army of the Punjab on the 13th of November, and crossed the Ravi on the morning of the 16th.

The active operations of the campaign, under the personal command of Lord Gough, may be said to have commenced on the 22nd of November, just seven months and three days from the date of the murder of Agnew and Anderson at Múltan. Early on the morning of that day, an infantry brigade, accompanied by the cavalry division, in which were H. M. 14th dragoons, commanded by Col. William Havelock, and three troops of horse artillery under Brigadier Cureton, marched up to Ramnuggur, from which the camp was about three miles distant; and, not till then was it discovered, that the enemy had retired across the Chenab. A fire, apparently harmless, was immediately opened upon them from the British side of the river; and the artillery were pushed forward to enable them to play with greater effect. The heavy guns of the Sikhs, however, quickly silenced the fire of the six and eight pounders, and the artillery were compelled to retire, leaving one gun and some tumbrils imbedded in the sand. The course of this engagement and its disastrous result are described in the language of a soldier, in Dr. Buist's annals; and a more graphic description of a brilliant but unfortunate charge can scarcely be found in the pages of Napier:—

"A troop of our horse artillery had, by opening against the right bank, showed the position of the enemy's guns; and a steady charge of the 3rd light dragoons, aided by light cavalry, had chastised on one point the presumption of the Singhs. Cureton had given his consent to another body of these being attacked by the 14th; and the Commander-in-Chief, riding up to William Havelock, had said—"If you see a favourable opportunity of charging, charge!" "The gallant old Colonel," remarks one, who was present, "soon *made* the opportunity." And so it was; for not many minutes after, William Havelock, "happy as a lover," and sitting as firmly in his saddle, as when he overleapt the abbatis on the Bidassoa, placed himself in front of his cherished dragoons, and, remarking, "We shall now soon see, whether we can clear our front of those fellows, or not," boldly led them forward to the onset. All, who beheld it, have spoken with admiration

of the steadiness and the gallantry of this glorious gallop. The Singhs made a show of standing the charge "*a pied ferme;*" and some of them must have stood well, for sabre cuts were exchanged with effect. Captain Gall, while grasping a standard, had his right hand cut through by the stroke of a Singh, which he delivered with the hissing sound of an English paviour driving home a stone. Young Fitzgerald's skull was cleft to the brain by another blow from one of the enemy; but the mass of the Sikhs opened out right and left, and gave way before the victors.

"Thus the first charge seems to have ended in which Havelock was not even wounded. We pretend not certainly to know by whose order a second was hazarded; but it seems certain that is was executed; and, even regarding the first, there had been misapprehension; for, as Cureton watched its progress, he exclaimed—"That is not the body of horse I meant to have been attacked," and, riding to the front, received in his gallant breast a fatal matchlock ball.

"We hasten to the end, narrating as it has to us been narrated. Again the trumpets of the 14th sounded, and, overturning at first all that opposed them, onwards in the direction of the island they took their course. The Sikh battery opened on them a heavy fire, and there was a descent of some four feet into the flat; but Havelock, disregarding all opposition and all difficulties, and, riding well ahead of his men, exclaimed, as he leapt down the declivity—"follow me, my brave lads, and never heed their cannon shot." These were the last words he was ever heard to utter. The dragoons got amongst broken ground, filled with Sikh marksmen, who kept up a withering fire on the tall horsemen, throwing themselves flat on their faces whenever they approached them. After many bold efforts, the 14th were withdrawn from the ground. But their commander never returned from that scene of slaughter.

"It is not yet known exactly how he fell. Probably his charger was struck down by a cannon shot, and then he would have to contend against fearful odds; in fact, his orderly has related that he saw him lying in the nullah, with several dead Singhs around him, and that being wounded himself he could not go to his Colonel's aid. Another dragoon beheld him contending against several of the enemy. Havelock died, and his body remained in the sandy level in the power of the Singhs. He is said to have slain several of them with his own hand on this day. We need not be supposed to borrow from the romantic tales of Roland, and of Amadis, if we credit this assertion: for even the stag at bay will fiercely turn upon his hunter; what, then, the lion in the tiger's den? We know that few had learnt in youth to wield sabre or rapier like William Havelock; and, at fifty-six, his eye had lost nothing of its native quickness."

For a week after this event, the Commander-in-Chief awaited, about six miles from Ramnuggur, the arrival of his heavy artillery, which came up from the Ravi very slowly, but as rapidly as our guns can be moved. It arrived under Brigadier Penny on the 28th. On the 2nd a plan appears to have been matured, distinguished by the military accuracy, and even genius, which mark all the cabinet campaigns of Lord Gough. It was designed that Major-General Sir J. Thackwell, an officer celebrated in the Peninsular war, should cross the Chenab, at a certain ford recommended by the Engineers, and should proceed to attack the enemy's flank, while the Commander-

in-Chief himself stormed the batteries in front. The plan was excellent; but it was marred in the execution. Sir Joseph Thackwell set out at the head of a body of troops on the morning of the 2nd of December: on reaching the ford, he found that it was impracticable for guns; and it was so reported by the officer, whom the Quarter-Master-General had despatched to examine its condition. The second in command, considering that the attempt would prove abortive, advised a return; but Sir Joseph was far too enterprising an officer to make a retrograde movement; and he marched to Wuzírabad, twelve miles higher up the river. The army crossed the Chenab in boats during the evening and night, and for nine hours bivouacked in the cold and wet upon its banks. At dawn, on the 3rd, the word was given to advance; and the whole force moved forward, in earnest expectation of an engagement with the Sikh army, as the attack was expected to begin at 11 A.M.: but just then, an order arrived from the Commander-in-Chief, positively prohibiting any attack, until Brigadier Godby could arrive with a reinforcement. On the receipt of this communication, Sir Joseph was compelled to detach a portion of his already insufficient force to cover the crossing of that body. About two o'clock the Sikhs began to fire upon our troops; and the skirmish and cannonading did not cease till five o'clock in the evening. Shere Singh appears to have come down with a very large portion of his troops, and the conflict was for a time severe; but he was unable to make any impression on our ranks. Had our troops been at liberty to charge, it is possible that the victory might have been complete: but the General was still fettered by the orders from head-quarters, and, when at length he received instructions to act according to his own discretion, there remained but one short hour of daylight. It would have been necessary for Sir Joseph Thackwell, with 7,000 troops, jaded by a long march and three hours fighting, and within an hour of night, to storm three intrenched villages, defended by 30,000 men and 40 pieces of cannon. Sir Joseph well knew his troops. He knew it was possible for them to conquer the enemy with three-fold odds: but he also remembered Ferozeshuhur, and the fearful night after the battle—the night of horrors; and he halted till the morning light should give him time to complete his victory. Wherever the real circumstances under which he acted are known, he will be considered, not only absolved from all blame, but as deserving of all honour. The ford, which he was expected to cross, was pronounced impracticable by the very officer of the Quarter-Master's department, who was sent by the Commander-

in-Chief with Sir Joseph's force; and, just at the time when the troops were prepared to charge the enemy, the General was ordered to wait for Brigadier Godby's brigade; while the discretionary order to attack the Sikhs did not arrive till the shades of evening were closing on the army. In the morning it was found that the Sikhs had departed with characteristic celerity, with all their guns, ammunition and baggage: and thus the plans of the Commander-in-Chief were completely baffled, and six weeks more of precious time were lost.

We now return to the operations before Múltan. From the day when the siege of Múltan was raised, until the junction of the Bombay forces, which was delayed by a variety of causes, the army under General Whish was able to effect little beyond petty skirmishes. The sowars of Múlraj swept the country from end to end, and, as was afterwards demonstrated, accumulated so great an amount of provisions, as to enable him to maintain the horde within the walls, without indenting deeply upon his original resources. On the 22nd of September, a singular proclamation, published by Rajah Shere Singh, the Dewan, and his allies, fell into the hands of Major Edwardes. This paper calls upon all the Sikhs of the Punjab to join the revolted forces, and appeals with remarkable judgment to those feelings and passions, which were predominant among the Khalsa. In order to counteract its effect, Major Edwardes at once took upon himself the great responsibility of solemnly assuring the irregulars under his own command, and those under General Cortlandt, that, in the event of the annexation of the Punjab, every man who remained faithful to his salt, should be received into the British service. To this decided measure, and to this alone, must be attributed the subsequent fidelity of so large a portion of that force; for, as it afterwards appeared, the leaven of treason had already entered into their ranks. The act was cordially approved by the Resident, and afterwards confirmed by the Governor-General. On the 6th of November, General Whish determined to remove a battery which Múlraj had erected outside the wall of the town, and which greatly annoyed his position. The battery was on the side of the canal, about half a mile from the camp; and the 32nd attempted to storm it, but without success. On the 7th, two brigades, of 1,300 men each, were ordered, under the command of Brigadier Markham, to move upon the battery, and, if possible, take the enemy by surprise. Early in the morning, however, a report began to prevail, that the whole of the irregulars had gone over to the enemy; and the idea of surprising the position was given up. It was subsequently known, that only

three hundred of General Cortlandt's men, who had not been in the battles of Kineyrí and Suddúsain, had gone over to the enemy,—and evidently with a premeditated design, as the regiment had taken with them all the property in their possession, which they would not have done had they intended to return. The plan of attack was therefore slightly modified. Instructions were issued to Brigadier Markham and the other officers, to maintain a defensive attitude on the eastern (or camp) side of the canal, and not to attack the enemy's position, unless the irregulars could be relied on for the occasion. It appeared, however, that the remainder of the irregulars were faithful to the British; and the original attack was persevered in. In the morning the Sikh sowars, emboldened by the apparent passiveness of their assailants, but dreading to attack the regular troops, poured down on the position held by the irregulars, on the farther bank of the canal. Lieut. Edwardes called his men to prove themselves more faithful than their brethren had been; and, headed by Mr. Quin, Lieut. Edwardes' head writer, they sprang forward, and, after a sharp hand-to-hand fight of half an hour, drove the enemy from that portion of the canal, and succeeded in maintaining their position. Meanwhile the regular troops had crossed the canal in safety; and Brigadier Markham by a rapid movement placed the force under his command in a position to attack the rear of the enemy. Major Wheeler, in command of the cavalry, executed a brilliant charge, which drove the enemy up the bank of the nullah, and prevented the removal of the guns which had been posted there. The horse artillery opened their fire; the line advanced; and the route of the enemy was complete. The batteries were then destroyed, and the force returned to camp, leaving nearly 1,200 of the enemy dead upon the field, an evidence of the furious valour with which the British troops had fought and conquered. This was the last skirmish of any importance, before the arrival of the Bombay reinforcements.

The Bombay force started from Rorí on the 18th of December, and, after an uninterrupted march, arrived before Múltan on the 26th, and took up the position formerly occupied by the irregulars under Edwardes, Lake and Cortlandt. The new reinforcements, which were all ready for action on the 29th, amounted to 9,000 men, and swelled Whish's force to the number of 17,000, with a train of 64 heavy guns. Three months had now elapsed from the raising of the siege; a delay, which, despite all the interpellations, explanations, and recriminations concerning it, still remains unaccounted

for, and probably will remain so, until some fortunate historian shall discover, in some forgotten nook of the Chamber of Archives, the memoirs of the Indian Pepys. Nevertheless, when the seige did recommence, and the tardy march of the Bombay forces had placed at General Whish's disposal, what he considered sufficient means to obviate all risk of a second repulse, he acted with the decision and energy of a British general. The troops, at the recommencement of the siege, occupied nearly the ground which had been before taken up on the eastern side of the town. The Bengal regiments were upon the right; the Bombay column on the left; and Lieut. Edwardes' irregular bands a little in the rear, near the scene of the battle of Suraj Kúnd. It was resolved on the 27th, that the suburbs of the city should be cleared, and a position obtained, upon which the breaching batteries might be advantageously placed. Four columns under Colonel Capon, Col. Nash, Brigadier Dundas, and Colonel Young moved to the attack upon four points at once: and, although the enemy fought (as Asiatics always fight behind stone walls) with desperate valour, yet the bayonet ultimately proved irresistible, and, at all the four points, the attack was signally successful. Seventeen officers fell; many others were severely wounded; and nearly 300 privates were either killed or wounded; but the loss of the enemy was much more considerable, amounting to about 1,400 men. This brilliant commencement of active operations raised the spirits of the troops, which had been somewhat unduly depressed, and reflected a glory upon the besiegers, which proved highly advantageous to their future attempts. By this dashing affair, moreover, the entire suburbs were placed in the possession of the British, and their batteries advanced to within 400 yards of the town; from whence they began to open with fearful effect. The heaviest battery was posted on the Mundi Ava, a mound to the extreme right of the British intrenchments; and for the space of five days, the firing continued incessant from cannon, howitzers, and mortars. Night and day the fiery rain never ceased. The buildings within the town crumbled into dust. The populace died in hundreds, or were cut down by the cavalry in their endeavours to escape. Explosion after explosion shook the ground, and demonstrated the skill and resolute earnestness, with which the engineers had addressed themselves to their work. At length the great mosque, filled with thousands of maunds of gunpowder, was blown up, and the work of destruction appeared nearly complete. The breaches began to appear practicable on the 1st; but it was not considered

advisable to attack them till the 2nd, when the troops, selected for the enterprise, advanced in two divisions. The Bengal column consisting of H. M. 32nd, and the 72nd and 49th N. I., attacked the Delhi or northern gate ; and the Bombay column, comprising the 1st Fusiliers, the 4th Rifles, and the 3rd and 19th B. N. I., stormed the breach on the opposite side. Major Edwardes, with the irregulars, in the meanwhile opened a sharp fire on the west and south, and succeeded in distracting the attention of the enemy. The Bombay troops effected an entrance after a severe struggle, and were shortly afterwards reinforced by the Bengal column, who had found the Delhi gate impracticable, through the terrible fire of matchlocks from within, and the unfinished state of the breach. A sergeant, named Bennet, was the first to plant the colours on the wall ; and ought afterwards to have received a commission for the daring act. The troops bivouacked all night in the quarter they had won ; and in the morning another attack was made under Colonel Young upon the Doulut gate, the only one remaining in the possession of the enemy. It was completely successful ; by three o'clock, the whole of the town was in the hands of the British forces ; and the first grand step towards the reduction of the fort had been happily achieved.

Although the town was now in our hands, and the annoyance of constant skirmishing had ceased, yet the capture of the fort was nearly as distant as ever. During the next five days, the howitzers played upon the fort with tremendous effect. The shells buried themselves in the walls, and, exploding, threw off great masses of masonry and brickwork. On the 5th of January an envoy was sent from Múlraj to Major Edwardes, with a request for negociation. To this that officer replied, that the time was passed ; and that nothing short of unconditional surrender could be listened to. On the 8th, another effort to open negociations was made by the Dewan, and at once refused by General Whish and Major Edwardes. The breaches were reported practicable on the 20th, and an attack ordered for the 22nd : but on the 21st a messenger, with full credentials from Múlraj made his appearance in camp, and offered an unconditional surrender. It was accepted ; hostilities were suspended ; and on the afternoon of that day, Múlraj, with 3,500 men marched out of the fort, and surrendered himself to General Whish. Thus terminated a siege, the most memorable in our Indian history.

Before we proceed to narrate the battle of Chillianwallah, and the victory of Gúzerat, we must refer to two slight *emeutes* ; slight, as compared with the great events of the

campaign, but which excited at the time an interest totally disproportioned to their importance, from the great talent and gallantry displayed in their suppression, and from the circumstance of their occurring within the British territory. In the beginning of November, Mr. Lawrence, Commissioner of the Trans-Sutlej States, became aware of disturbances in the districts around Núrpúr and Pathan Kote. Ram Singh, the son of one of the titular Wuzírs of Núrpúr, had embraced the opportunity afforded by the general disquiet, to raise a small force of 300 freebooters, and to set up the standard of resistance to the British Power. He does not appear to have had either project or design, but only a vague hope of embarrassing our officers, and collecting an army. He took up a position on a high hill, commanding the Doab, and covered with a dense jungle. Mr. Lawrence, after collecting a small force, marched towards Núrpúr; while Major Fisher, with about 300 men, on his way to attack Ram Singh, besieged and occupied a little fort called Shahpur, and, after blowing up the bastions, proceeded onwards to join the other divisions of the force which Mr. Lawrence had collected. Ram Singh was finally attacked on the 20th of September in his fastness on the hill. The arrangements were perfect. The hill was ascended on all sides at once, and, after a brief resistance, the enemy fled, leaving eighteen of their number dead on the summit. Owing, however, to the density of the jungle, Ram Singh himself escaped; and, though frequent attempts were made to arrest him, he contrived to reach the camp of Shere Singh.

About the 7th of October, the Resident at Lahore considered that the presence of a small force, in the districts on the farther side of the Beas, would be advantageous; and he requested that Brigadier Wheeler might be despatched, with a sufficient force, to reduce two small fortresses in that country, named Rungurnuggur, situated about 15 miles from the Beas, opposite Srí Hurgovind, and Morarí, about 26 miles to the north of the other. Brigadier Wheeler accordingly marched against Rungurnuggur, and, after 12 hours' battering, the garrison evacuated the place at midnight on the 15th October. The Brigadier, throwing a small garrison into the fort, pursued his march against Morarí, which he reached on the 24th of October. An effort was made to prevent the evacuation of the place by the garrison, but it was fruitless; and, on October 26th, the fort, which is described as a paltry place, was entered without resistance. In all these movements the celerity and judgment of the officers in command were remarkable; and the regulars appear to have equalled even the lighter armed soldiers in the rapidity of their movements.

We left Rajah Shere Singh marching at his own leisure from the banks of the Chenab to those of the Jhelum, after the battle of Sudalapur. In that engagement, the advantage remained entirely with the enemy. Rajah Shere Singh was enabled, under cover of the night, to carry out the plan which he had previously matured; and he transferred his army from the right bank of the Chenab to the left bank of the Jhelum. When it was discovered, on the morning after the battle, that the Sikhs had taken their departure, parties were sent out in pursuit of them: but they had already advanced beyond our reach. The Commander-in-Chief's despatch to the Governor-General, on this occasion, was perhaps the most unfortunate his Excellency has ever written. "It has pleased Almighty God to vouchsafe to the British arms the most successful issue to the extensive combinations rendered necessary for the purpose of effecting the passage of the Chenab, and the defeat and dispersion of the Sikh force, under the insurgent Rajah, Shere Singh, and the numerous Sikh Sirdars, who had the temerity to set at defiance the British Power. This force, from all my information, amounted to from 30 to 40,000 men, with twenty-eight guns; and was strongly intrenched on the right bank of the Chenab, at the principal ford, about two miles from the town of Ramnuggur." How completely the Sikh army was defeated and dispersed, was ascertained forty days after at Chillianwallah. Rajah Shere Singh, having thus retired in good order, and without any loss, to a stronger position on the Jhelum, remained for forty days unmolested by our army.

This delay in following up a victory, which was said to have ended in the total defeat and dispersion of the enemy, is a complete enigma. The Blue Book explains it but partially. In his despatch to the Secret Committee, dated on the 22nd of December, the Governor-General says, "Being satisfied from accounts which had reached me, that in any extended advance which his Excellency might attempt to make, he would experience very great difficulty in procuring supplies for the army, I requested His Excellency on no consideration to advance into the Doab, beyond the Chenab, except for the purpose of attacking Shere Singh in the position he held, without further communication with me. This injunction is based upon certain circumstances, and is to continue in force only, while those circumstances remain unchanged. The information which I have since received, has led me to believe, that in many material respects, they have undergone a change. I have therefore acquainted His Excellency that, if he can satisfy his own judgment regarding the state of his own supplies and supports, and communications; if the intelligence

he may receive, and the reconnoissances he may be able to make, shall satisfy him that the enemy may be attacked with success, with such force as he may have safely disposable, and without a heavy loss—in such case, I should be happy, indeed, to see a blow struck that would destroy the enemy, add honour to the British arms, and avert the prospect of a protracted and costly war." This fearfully long sentence is very unlike Lord Dalhousie's clear, brief, and vigorous composition; and the complication of words is but an index of the complication of ideas, under the influence of which it was penned. The real meaning of these passages is, that Lord Dalhousie somewhat injudiciously interfered with the military movements of Lord Gough, on whom the entire responsibility of the campaign rested, and laid on him an injunction not to advance beyond the banks of the Chenab. It is true, that Lord Hardinge had controlled the military movements of Lord Gough to an extent, which, when fully revealed, will create no small feeling of surprise; but Lord Hardinge was a soldier, and Lord Dalhousie a civilian. This, however, was the only interference with the proceedings of His Excellency, chargeable on the Governor-General during the war. Perceiving the error which he had inadvertently committed, the interdict was taken off on or before the 22nd of December. The delay which took place in the advance of the British troops, from the time when the guns were across the Chenab, until the 22nd of December, is therefore to be attributed to the Governor-General's injunctions. The subsequent delay of twenty-two days belongs to the responsibility of the Commander-in-Chief.

While the army under Lord Gough was encamped in the vicinity of Rajah Shere Singh, Lieut. Taylor was employed in the siege of Lukkí, a fort of considerable importance, at this juncture, beyond the Indus. That officer had proceeded on a chivalrous expedition for the rescue of Mrs. Lawrence from Kohat, and had reached Esakail on the Indus, when he heard that she had been treacherously surrendered by Súltan Mahomed Khan to the Sirdar Chutter Singh. Seeing no further object in remaining at Esakail, he had intended to proceed, by way of Lukkí, to Dera Ismael Khan, and from thence to Múltan in time to meet the Bombay column. But as the people of the country had come in to him, and professed their perfect allegiance, he thought that he could do Government more service by marching into the district, and assuming the civil management of it. The garrison of Lukkí, however, appeared determined to hold out, and he resolved to besiege it; and, collecting a small body of soldiers, he sat down before it, on the 11th of December. On the 14th two batteries had been constructed,

but his fire was very weak and ineffective; his guns were old, honey-combed, and untrue, and the carriages were falling to pieces; he had none but hammered shot, carelessly made, and not nearly large enough for the bores of the guns; still he persevered in the siege for a whole month, and the garrison at length surrendered. Had they held out twenty-four hours longer, Lieut. Taylor would have been obliged to raise the siege, and probably to retire across the Indus; as Mahomed Azim Khan, the son of Dost Mahomed, arrived the next morning in Bunnú, with a force of between three and four thousand Affghans; and the same night his messenger reached Lukkí with tidings that the relieving force was at hand. But they were too late. Had Lieut. Taylor retreated across the Indus, the Dúranís would have taken possession of Bunnú, Murwit, and Esakail, and would have been enabled to co-operate with the Sikhs on the Jhelum. Lieut. (now Major) Edwardes, seeing the importance of supporting Lieut. Taylor, sent him large reinforcements, which enabled him to hold the district with perfect ease, till the Dúranís precipitately retreated from it, as soon as they heard of the battle of Gúzerat.

While Lieut. Taylor, however, was thus successful in Bunnú, the gallant Lieut. Herbert was obliged to abandon Attock. Though the place was so weak, that it could not have withstood a vigorous cannonade of a few hours, yet that gallant officer had now held out for six weeks, under such disadvantages, as few have ever been exposed to. He had hitherto relied on his Mahomedan troops, when combating against the Hindú Sikhs; but Dost Mahomed himself had now reached the banks of the Indus, and summoned all the Mússulmans in it to his standard. Lieut. Herbert held a durbar of his officers on the 1st of January, to ascertain the state of their feelings; when all disguise was removed, and he found that there was no longer hope, that either they or their men would oppose the Amír. Two rafts were secretly prepared, and at midnight he left the fort, and embarked on the Indus. Of his subsequent adventures we have no account: but he fell into the hands of the enemy, and joined Major Lawrence in his captivity.

The fall of Attock, and the advance of Chutter Singh to his son on the banks of the Jhelum, at length induced the Commander-in-Chief to determine to attack the Sikh position before the arrival of reinforcements. Sir Henry Lawrence had returned from England to the Punjab, aud was at this time in the British camp; and the revived activity of our armies was generally ascribed to his importunity.

The Sikhs lay in a long intrenched camp, which stretched from Múng and Chillianwallah to Russúl, a distance of nearly

a mile and a quarter: but with their main strength concentrated towards Múng. At Russúl, however, the intrenchments were the strongest; and the rear rested upon a broad pass, which afforded a ready means of escape in case of defeat. The Jhelum rolled half a mile to the right of their intrenchment at Múng, and was spanned by a bridge of boats; so that their whole line lay at a small angle from the river, while the pass and the bridge at either extremity, afforded the means for a rapid and unpursued retreat. The Commander-in-Chief determined, with his usual judgment, to dislodge the enemy from Russúl, and thereby to turn their flank and compel them either to retreat across the Jhelum in disorder, or to fight him on ground of his own choosing, and with their forces completely inclosed by his army and the river. The plan was admirably laid; and on the morning of the 13th of January, the troops were ordered to move to their new encamping ground. By the time they arrived in front of Múng, they were weary and exhausted with a long march, and six hours' fatigue under arms. They were almost beyond the range of the enemy's guns; but at one o'clock an unlucky shot fell near the Commander-in-Chief, and in an instant, the old chief's blood mounted to his forehead, and, without plan or reconnoissance, orders were issued for an instantaneous attack on the enemy's position. A brisk cannonade was kept up for nearly two hours; and at three o'clock with jaded troops, and three-fourths of the day already passed, an attempt was made to storm intrenchments, defended by Sikh batteries and Sikh artillerists. The brigade, commanded by Brigadier Pennycuick, consisting of Her Majesty's 24th, and the 25th and 46th native infantry, though unsupported by artillery, charged some batteries, which had been placed on an acclivity. The guns were spiked; but a raking cross fire from a body of Sikhs, posted in the jungle, compelled the regiments to retreat with terrific loss. The Brigadier, forty-nine officers, and almost one-half of the privates, fell, either killed or wounded, under those fearful volleys. Colonel Mountain, at the head of another brigade, stormed the central position through the jungle, right in the teeth of the enemy's batteries, and under a fire which mowed the men down by scores. The 3rd dragoons and 5th light cavalry made a charge against the enemy, who had advanced too far: but the 5th cavalry held back, and, in spite of the exertions of the officers, refused the encounter; and the 3rd, in its fierce charge, was almost surrounded. Captain Unett, their commander, perceiving the danger, immediately gave the order to turn, and to cut their way through the enemy, which was effected in perfect order. On the right, the brigade of Brigadier Pope, comprising the 14th dragoons, 9th lancers, and 1st and 6th light cavalry, charged on

the batteries through the jungle, under a fearful fire. The fire became heavier; the regiments appeared to be totally unsupported; the 14th remembered the skirmish and the slaughter of Ramnuggur, and that Havelock was not there; and some voice from the ranks shouted "Three's about!" The note was instantly repeated from mouth to mouth; the retiring became quicker; the expostulation and threats of the officers were unheard; and the regiments swept through their own hospital line, overthrowing dulies, doctors, and apothecaries in their course, and never drew bridle till fairly beyond the scene of confusion.

The disaster of H. M. 14th dragoons has been the theme of much discussion; and a charge of cowardice has been echoed through the land. But the fourteenth was noted in every Peninsular field for its reckless gallantry; and, six weeks before, the regiment proved, that it had lost no portion of its ancient valour. The character of a regiment does not change in a day, or in a twelvemonth either; and the Sikhs were no more terrible at Chillianwallah than at Ramnuggur. The truth appears to have been, that, the men finding themselves totally unsupported, their Brigadier just wounded, and with a lively recollection of the former ambuscade, obeyed an order given by one of their own number Every one else thought that it had been given by some superior officer. The officers were carried along by the rush of 600 horsemen; but the whole regiment was, we believe, as utterly free from fear, as English soldiers are or can be. Brigadier Pope did *not* give the order; for he was at the time in the hospital, wounded by a cut across the brow. Thus, with a heavy fire from Colonel Brind, ended the battle of Chillianwallah, one of the most disastrous engagements we have ever fought in India—an engagement, by which no one advantage was gained, and in which British troops were checked by a barbarian enemy, who had not even the advantage of numbers.

The victory, as it was called, was most dearly purchased on our part. "Our loss amounted to no less than 2,300 killed and wounded, of whom nearly 800 were slain. Twenty-six officers were killed on the spot, or died of their wounds; sixty-six were wounded. Her Majesty's 24th, and the 30th and 56th native infantry were so entirely disabled, that they were compelled to be disjoined from the force, and sent back to Ramnuggur and Lahore. Her Majesty's 20th and the 24th native infantry lost both their colours; the 25th and 26th lost each one; the 5th cavalry lost the colour they won on the field of Maharajpore." The Sikhs now took up their quarters at Russúl, in the immediate neighbourhood of the scene of conflict, and watched Lord Gough's movements, at the distance of five miles, expecting

daily to be joined by Chutter Singh. The Affghans, to the number, it was said, of 10,000, were to the north of them, watching the progress of events. Immediately after the battle of Chillianwallah, Lord Gough summoned H. M. 53rd regiment from Lahore, and H. M. 98th from Ferozepore, and also General Wheeler, with a body of 5,000 men, who had been occupied, during the greater portion of the campaign, in reducing and levelling several forts in the Jullundhur, and in some severe skirmishes with a body of rebels, who had obtained possession of Kote Kangra. Lord Gough also began to intrench himself, waiting for the fall of Múltan, and the arrival of the force employed in besieging it.

The army of the Punjab remained in a state of total quiescence opposite the enemy, until the 6th of February; when a rumour was spread aboard, that the Sikhs were no longer in their camp at Russúl. The officers of the espionage department smiled incredulously:—for, having lately most liberally rewarded a sepoy with 7 rupees for important intelligence, how could any thing of consequence escape them? The rumour, however, grew and prevailed, and at length it turned out to be an absolute fact. The Commander-in-Chief rode over the ground, which the Sikhs had vacated, and the intrenchments which they had thrown up, and which it would have cost thousands of lives to capture. But the men and the cannon, which should have defended them, were gone: and it became manifest, that the Sikh army of 30,000 men, with sixty guns, all lying within four miles of the British encampment, had marched round the army of the Punjab, had escaped the eyes of its Commander-in-Chief, and was now in his rear, in full march for Lahore.

Various reasons have been assigned for this move on the part of Shere Singh, and want of food, of pay, and of excitement, have each been put forward as the cause of it: but the supposition, that it might be a magnificent stroke of generalship, of which the greatest general would have been proud, has been overlooked. The march placed Shere Singh at once in the most fertile districts of the Punjab, with full privilege of plunder, and with the road open to Lahore or Delhi. Had he been successful, he would probably have turned aside, crossed the Sutlej, and fallen upon the provinces of Northern India like a devastating torrent. By the success of the movement, the hope of unlimited plunder, the desire of renewed liberty, and all the strongest impulses of man's nature, would have been enlisted against us. The warrior races of the North might have taken arms, and every petty prince might have poured in his horde of armed and half-disciplined dependents.

From all these evils, real and imaginary, the State was saved by a conjunction of circumstances in great part fortuitous.

Shere Singh found the Chenab guarded by Brigadier Markham's brigade, and the 53rd foot. General Whish left Múltan on the 27th of January. He was detained on his way for the reduction of the fort of Chiniout; but, on receiving the most pressing injunctions from the capital, he pressed forward by forced marches, and arrived at Ramnuggur on the 13th of February. He there heard that the whole insurgent force was in full march on the Chenab,—a part of them having already crossed at Wuzírabad. Without waiting for orders, he pushed on two nine-pounders and some irregular horse, up the bank of the river on the 14th. The next day a larger force under Col. Byrne was sent in the same direction. They marched over twenty-four miles of ground, and reached Wuízrabad in the evening. It turned out that the enemy had not crossed; but there can be no doubt, that, but for this timely arrival of our troops, they would have done so. On the 16th, Brigadier Markham's brigade pushed on to a ford, half way between Ramnuggur and Wuzírabad, and half the force crossed. On the same day, Col. Byrne despatched a considerable force under Col. Alexander to Súdra Ghat, where a body of 6,000 Sikhs were on the eve of crossing. They were not able to effect their purpose, but were driven back on their own headquarters at Gúzerat. These rapid and energetic movements prevented the army of Shere Singh from pouring down on Lahore; for it was the intention of the Sikhs to have pushed on to the capital, before they could be overtaken.

Shere Singh, thus defeated in his attempt to gain possession of Lahore, was anxious to regain his formidable intrenchments at Russúl; but he found himself hemmed in by our troops, and was constrained to make preparations for the final struggle at Gúzerat, on the very spot which his father had pointed out to him at the beginning of the campaign, as the field where the battle of Sikh independence was to be fought. We need not enter into any detail of the position of the various brigades in this engagement. The glory of the victory of Gúzerat, one of the most complete we have ever won in India, belongs almost exclusively to the artillery. Contrary to his usual custom, the Commander-in-Chief allowed himself to be prevailed on to give his guns full play. Never, in any battle fought in India, has there been so formidable an array of artillery brought to bear upon any enemy. For two hours one hundred pieces of cannon, for the greater part of the largest calibre, poured in such a destructive fire as no enemy had ever been exposed to in this country. The Sikhs themselves described

the effect of that torrent of shot, by the expression, that they felt themselves, "as if in hell." They stood their ground, however with undaunted bravery, till they saw all their guns dismounted; and, at length losing all heart, they fled in confusion, leaving their whole camp equipage and stores, with an incredible amount of ammunition in our hands. Fifteen hundred Affghan horse, conspicuous for their boldness, made a desperate attack; but they were charged, in the most magnificent style by the Scinde horse, mustering only 500 men. Amidst all the exploits of that memorable day, none excited more applause, than the mode in which this body disposed of the Affghan cavalry. Sixty pieces of cannon were the fruit of this splendid victory. Our loss in killed, wounded, and missing, amounted to about 800 men.

General Gilbert, well known as the best rider in India, was despatched with 15,000 men and 30 guns, to complete the ruin of the vanquished army; and, at the head of this force, the flying General crossed the Jhelum on the 28th. General Campbell captured the strong fort of Rhotas: Colonel Steinbach moved from the hills, where he had remained with Golab Singh's own troops: Capt. Abbott came from Nara, with a body of irregulars, to watch the campaign; and the Sikh chieftains found that further resistance was hopeless.

On the 6th of March, the European prisoners in the hands of the Sikhs were delivered up. On the 8th, Rajah Shere Singh came in to make arrangements for the surrender of the chiefs and troops. On the 14th, General Gilbert reached Rawul Pindí, and received the surrender of the whole body of the Sikh army, 16,000 in number. The men, sad and downcast, but with a soldier-like sternness of feeling, cast their swords into the heap, as they passed, and salaamed to the spirit of the steel. The total number of guns surrendered was forty-one, which, with those taken at Gúzerat, Chillianwallah, and Múltan, made the whole number of pieces of ordnance, which had fallen into our hands during the present campaign, one hundred and fifty-eight.

These events were made known by the Governor-General in a very spirited notification, which communicated a thrill of delight to the whole community of India; but no sentence in that document attracted greater admiration, than that in which his Lordship declared, that the war would not be considered to be concluded, till Dost Mahomed Khan and the Affghans had either been driven from the province of Peshawur, or destroyed within it. The gratification of thus putting a termination to the campaign was granted to Sir Walter Gilbert; and

we cannot give a better description of his dashing exploits than in the language of Dr. Buist :—

"The moment the Sikhs could be disposed of, Gilbert once more pushed on in hopes of overtaking the Affghans, before they had crossed the Indus, or, at all events, of preventing them from destroying the means of communication across. By a forced march of forty-six miles, they approached the Indus in thirty-one hours : the troops arrived at Attock in the forenoon of the 17th. When about six miles from the river, intelligence was received by Major Mackeson, that Attock had just been evacuated by the enemy ; that they had taken three guns along with them from the fort, and were about to destroy the bridge of boats to prevent us following them. Upon this, Gilbert and Mackeson, with a small escort from Nicholson's irregulars, with Lumsden's guides, and the whole staff, pushed ahead at a gallop, and only slackened their speed on reaching an eminence close by the river. About one hundred of the enemy were here seen dealing destruction on the bridge : 5,000 or 6,000 were drawn up on the opposite bank. The sight of British officers, supposed to be at least two days march distant, set them all a scampering ; and fifteen of the best boats forming the bridge were consequently secured. The principal object we had in view was thus completely accomplished, and the means of following on the heels of the flying foe attained. The artillery now came up, when the Affghans found it convenient to withdraw, after firing some guns at us, which did no harm. The fort of Attock was occupied immediately ; and early the following morning, a brigade crossed over and took possession of the small fort of Hydrabad, by which the town is commanded. Negociations had been entered into with the Khyberis, in hopes that the flight of the Affghans might be intercepted, and they left to receive the punishment, they so well deserved, near the famous battle-field of Jumrúd. Since quitting Lord Gough's camp, General Gilbert had succeeded to admiration in carrying to a successful issue every plan he had undertaken to execute,—securing, in doing so, the fullest confidence of those under his command. Vast numbers of disbanded Sikhs were now returning to their homes in a state of destitution and wretchedness ; the bulk of them seemed to belong to the Protected States ; a large number were men from Hindústan : in both cases allured to the field as mercenaries, or in hope of plunder, with no feelings of vengeance to gratify, or objects of patriotism or ambition to serve. A mismanaged insurrection anywhere in India would bring thousands of such miscreants into the field against us.

"Gilbert crossed the Indus on the 19th and 20th, and pushed on by forced marches for Peshawur, where he arrived on the 21st and 22nd. The Affghans, flying in terror of their lives, without baggage or impediment, had proved too fleet for him : they had ascended the passes, and got beyond his reach, before he could approach within twenty miles of them. The gates of Peshawur had been shut against them ; but they burnt the cantonments and the house of the Resident, and destroyed the suburbs and villages around. The war was now entirely over : and, so soon as the intimation of the complete success of General Gilbert reached the Governor-General, a proclamation was issued, intimating that the Sikh sovereignty had ceased, and that the Punjab was annexed to our dominions."

Lord Dalhousie now determined on the final *coup d' etat.* On the 29th of March, a strange scene appeared in the capital of the Punjab. There, in full durbar, stood the chiefs, who had so long swayed the destinies of the country of

the five rivers, and the boy Maharajah, whose dominions were about to be absorbed: and in the midst of that crowd of almost sovereigns, the secretary of the hired servant of twenty-four grocers pronounced the deposition of a monarch, the conquest of a country larger than their own, and the completion of an Empire, more extended than that of Rome, and mightier than that of Genghiz Khan.

The document itself, that transferred the dominion of five millions of human beings, was most simple and authoritative.

The war having thus been brought to a successful termination, the Governor-General determined at once on the annexation of the Punjab to the British dominions. This article has been extended so much beyond our original design, that we have left ourselves no room for those reflections, which this important and indispensable measure naturally create: but we trust that an opportunity will hereafter be afforded us of resuming the subject and of reviewing the political arguments by which it was justified, and the happy results which were expected to flow from it. At present we shall simply remark that, on the 29th of March, Mr. Elliott, the Foreign Secretary of Government, appeared at Lahore in the *last* Sikh durbar; and, in the presence of the chiefs, who had adhered to our cause, and of the young Raja Dhulíp Singh, read a proclamation of the Govenor-General, containing the decree that the family of Runjít had ceased to reign, and that the country of the five rivers was incorporated with the British Empire; which, in the course of less than a century, had thus been extended from the Mahratta ditch to Peshawur. The reasons, which influenced his Lordship's decision, we record in his own words:—

"The relations which exist between [the two States] the duties and obligations of each, were marked out in the treaty of Lahore, and in the subsequent articles of agreement, concluded at Bhyrowal.

The British Government has rigidly observed the obligations, which the treaty imposed; and it has fully acted up to the spirit and letter of its contract.

It has labored to prove the sincerity of its profession, that it desired no further aggrandizement. It has maintained the Government of the Council of Regency. It has advised the adoption of measures, which improved the condition of the troops, and lightened the burdens of the people at large. It has given liberally the use of its forces to aid the administration of the State of Lahore. It has carefully avoided to offend, by any of its acts, the feelings of the people, and has meddled with none of the national institutions and customs.

How have the Sikhs, on their part, fulfilled the corresponding obligations which the treaty imposed upon them?

There is not one of the main provisions of the agreement which they have not either entirely evaded, or grossly violated.

In return for the aid of British troops, they bound themselves to pay to us a subsidy of 22 lakhs per annum.

From the day, when the treaty was signed to the present hour, not one rupee has ever been paid. Loans advanced by the British Government to enable them to discharge the arrears of their disbanded troops, have never been repaid; and the debt of the State of Lahore to this Government, apart altogether from the vast expenses of this war, amounts to more than 50 lakhs of rupees.

They bound themselves to submit to the full authority of the British Resident, directing and controlling all matters, in every department of the State.

Yet, when the British officers were murdered at Múltan by the servants of a chief officer of their State, and, after having been deserted by the troops of the durbar, who, unhurt, went over previously to the service of the murderer, the Government of Lahore, in reply to the orders of the Resident, neither punished the offender, nor gave reparation for the offence: but declared, that their troops, and especially the regular army of the State, were not to be depended upon, and would not act against the Dewan Múlraj.

The conduct of the Sikh troops, in their various districts, speedily justified our suspicion of their hostility.

Repressed for a time, their disaffection broke out in one quarter after another, till, ultimately, nearly all the army of the State, joined by the whole Sikh people throughout the land, as one man, have risen in arms against us, and, for months have been carrying on a ferocious war, for the proclaimed purpose of destroying our power, and exterminating our race.

Thus we see that, not only has the control of the British Government which they invited, and to which they voluntarily submitted themselves, been resisted by force of arms, but peace has been violently broken; and the whole body of the nation—army and people alike—have, deliberately, and unprovoked, again made war upon us.

If it should be alleged that this has been merely the act of a lawless soldiery, similar to that which was committed in 1845, and that it has been done against the will, and in spite of the opposition of the Sirdars: I answer, admitting it to be so, what justification does that furnish for them, or what security can the reflection afford to us?

That which we desire to see—that which we must have, as indispensably necessary for the future prosperity of the territories we already possess, is peace throughout our bounds. That which we desire to secure in the Punjab is a friendly and well-governed neighbour, and a frontier without alarms, and which does not demand a perpetual garrison of 50,000 men. Of what advantage is it to us that the Council and Sirdars are friendly, if they have not the ability to control their army which is hostile?

If the Sikh army and Sikh people are eager to seize, and have power of seizing, on every opportunity of violating the peace, which we desire to render permanent, of what value to us, as a State, is the impotent fidelity of the Sirdars? But the fact is not so. Their chiefs have not been faithful to their obligations. The troops and the people having risen in arms—their leaders have been the Sirdars of the State, the signers of the treaties, the members of the Council of Regency itself.

If you will refer to the roll, which was lately transmitted to you of those who surrendered to Sir Walter Gilbert at Rawul Pindí, and to other documents, which have from time to time been forwarded, you will find there an array of the names of the Sirdars who then surrendered, and were disarmed.

Analyse it, and you will find there, not merely men who are of note in the Punjab, but the very chiefs whose signatures are affixed to the treaties of peace. For it is a shameful fact, that of the Sirdars of the State properly so called, who signed the treaties, the greater portion have been involved in these hostilities against us.

If irresponsibility should be sought for the Sikh nation, in the statement that their Government, at least, has taken no part against us—you will not admit that plea, when I acquaint you, that while the Regency, during these troubles, gave no substantial or effective assistance to the British Government, some of its chief members have openly declared against us, and one of them has commanded the Sikh army in the field.

In the preceding paragraphs I have said, more than once, that the Sikhs have risen in arms against the British. I request you to dwell upon the phrase: for I desire to press upon your attention the important fact, that this rising in the Punjab has not been a rebellion against the Maharajah Dhulíp Singh; that, on the contrary, the Sikhs have constantly professed their fidelity to their Maharajah, and have proclaimed that it is against the British and against the British alone, that this war has, from the beginning, been directed.

That the destruction of British power, and the expulsion of the British themselves, was the real object of the war (and not an insurrection against the Maharajah and his Government) does not rest upon my assertion alone, or upon inference. It has been avowed and declared by themselves, in all their own letters and proclamations to the neighbouring chiefs, to Mahomedan powers, and to the native soldiers of the British Government.

I will only quote a single passage from one of these proclamations, which was issued by Rajah Shere Singh. It sets forth distinctly, and in a few words, the sentiments and objects, which are declared in all the similar documents, and fully establishes the correctness of the statement I have made. It runs thus:—

"By the direction of the Holy Gúrú, Rajah Shere Singh and others, with their valiant troops, have joined the trusty and faithful Dewan Múlraj, on the part of the Maharajah Dhulíp Singh, with a view to eradicate and expel all the tyrannous and crafty Feringhís. The Khalsají must now act with all their heart and soul.

"All who are servants of the Khalsají, of the Holy Gúrú, and of the Maharajah, are enjoined to gird up their loins, and proceed to Múltan."

And the paragraph concludes with this truculent injunction, addressed to the inhabitants of the Punjab:—

"Let them murder all the Feringhís, wherever they can find them."

This is not all. Not content with making war themselves upon the British, the Sikhs have labored to induce other States and Sovereigns in India to attack us also.

There are in the possession of the Government many letters, which have been addressed by the Sikh chiefs to the neighbouring powers, Mussulman, Hindu, and Sikh; earnestly invoking their assistance; and the burden of every letter is the necessity of destroying and expelling the British.

The bitterness of their enmity has carried them yet further still. No one ever thought to see the day, when Sikhs would court the alliance of Affghans, and would actually purchase their assistance by a heavy sacrifice. Yet their hatred to the British name has induced them to do even this. They invited the Amír Dost Mahomed Khan, from Cabúl, to their aid. They promised him, as the reward of his assistance, the province of Peshawur, and the lands which the King of Cabúl formerly held; a possession, which the Sikhs themselves valued beyond all price; which for years they had struggled to obtain; and which they gained, and held, only by vast expenditure of treasure, and with the best blood of their race.

The Amír of Cabúl came. He raised immediately the standard of the Prophet in their land, defiled the temples of the Sikh religion, plundered their villages, and most brutally treated their people: yet, for all that, the

Sikh nation continued to court the Amír of Cabúl still. They have fought side by side with his troops, and after their defeat, applied for the continuance of his assistance. So inveterate has their hostility to us proved to be, that the securing of Affghan co-operation against the British has been sufficient to induce the Sikhs to forget their strongest national animosity, and has, in their eyes, compensated even for Affghan cruelty to their people, and for Mahomedan insults to their religion.

Such have been the acts of faithlessness and violence, by which the Sikh nation has a second time, forced upon us the evils of a costly and a bloody war!

If the grossest violation of treaties—if repeated aggressions, by which its national security is threatened, and the interests of its people are sacrificed—can ever confer upon a nation the right of bringing into necessary subjection the power that has so injured it, and is ready to injure it again; then has the British Government now acquired an absolute and undoubted right to dispose, as it will, of the Punjab, which it has conquered.

The British Government has acquired the right; and, in my judgment, that right must now be fully exercised.

I hold that it is no longer open to this Government to determine the question of the future relations of the Punjab with British India, by considerations of what is desirable or convenient, or even expedient.

I hold that the course of recent events has rendered the question one of national safety; and that regard for the security of our own territories, and the interests of our own subjects, must compel us, in self-defence, to relinquish the policy which would maintain the independence of the Sikh nation in the Punjab.

I cordially assented to the policy, which determined to avoid the annexation of these territories on a former occasion.

I assented to the principle, that the Government of India ought not to desire to add further to its territories; and I adhere to that opinion still. I conceive that the successful establishment of a strong and friendly Hindu Government in the Punjab would have been the best arrangement that could be effected for British India; and I hold that the attempt which has been made by the British Government to effect such a settlement of the frontier State, the moderation it has exhibited, and its honest endeavours to strengthen and aid the kingdom it had re-organised, have been honorable to its character, and have placed its motives above all suspicion, whatever may now be its policy towards the Punjab.

Experience of subsequent events has shown us, that a strong Hindu Government, capable of controlling its army, and governing its own subjects, cannot be formed in the Punjab.

The materials for it do not exist; and, even if they were to be found, it has now become evident, that the object for which the establishment of a strong Sikh Government was desired by us, would not thereby be accomplished.

The advantages, which we hoped to derive from such a Government were the existence of a friendly power upon our frontier; one which, from national and religious animosity to the Mahomedan powers which lie beyond, would be an effectual barrier and defence to us.

But we have now seen, that the hatred of Sikhs against the British exceeds the national and religious enmity of Sikhs against Affghans; so that, far from being a defence to us against invasion from beyond, they have themselves broken out again into war against us, and have invited the Mahomedan powers to join with them in the attack.

Warlike in character, and long accustomed to conquest, the Sikhs must of necessity detest the British as their conquerors.

Fanatics in religion, they must equally detest us, whose creed and whose customs are abhorrent to the tenets they profess.

It was hoped, that motives of prudence and self-interest might possibly counteract these feelings; that the memory of the heavy retribution, which their former aggression brought upon them, would have deterred them from committing fresh injuries; and that consciousness of our forbearance, and conviction of our friendliness, might have conciliated their good-will, or, at least, persuaded them to peace.

Events have proved how entirely this hope must be abandoned. If, in less than two years after the Sutlej campaign, they have already forgotten the punishment which was inflicted by us, and the generous treatment they subsequently received, and have again rushed into war against us, it would be folly now to expect, that we can ever have, either in the feelings, or in the reason, of the Sikh nation, any security whatever against the perpetual recurrence, from year to year, of similar acts of turbulence and aggression. There never will be peace in the Punjab, so long as its people are allowed to retain the means, and the opportunity of making war. There never can be now any guarantee for the tranquillity of India, until we shall have effected the entire subjection of the Sikh people, and destroyed its power as an independent nation.

It may probably be suggested, that it would be well for us to avoid the appearance of extending our conquests over another Indian kingdom; and politic to retain the Sikh nation as an independent State, while we provided, at the same time, for our own security, by introducing a larger measure of British control into the Government of the Punjab, and by effecting such further changes, as would place all actual power in our hands.

I am unable to recognise the advantage of such a course.

By the articles of Bhyrowal the Government of the Punjab was intrusted to a council of native chiefs, subject to the authority of the Resident in every department of the State.

If a more stringent and really effectual control is now to be established, the army of the State must be re-organised, and made directly subject to the orders of the Resident.

The native administration must be set aside, and European agency must be generally introduced. The Maharajah would be the Sovereign on the throne, and the Punjab would be governed for him by British officers.

Short of this, no change can be introduced, which will give to the Resident any more effectual control than he has hitherto held.

But if this be done; if a British functionary is at the head of the Government; if European agents conduct the duties of civil administration; if the Government of the chiefs is removed; if the army is (as it will be in such a case) entirely ours—raised, paid, disciplined and commanded, by British officers—then I say, that it would be a mockery to pretend that we had preserved the Punjab as an independent State. I conceive that such a policy would neither be advantageous to our interests, nor creditable to our name.

By maintaining the pageant of a throne, we should leave just enough of sovereignty to keep alive among the Sikhs the memory of their nationality, and to serve as a neuclus for constant intrigue. We should have all the labour, all the anxiety, all the responsibility, which would attach to the territories, if they were acutally made our own; while we should not reap the corresponding benefits of increase of revenue and acknowledged possession.

Nor should we, by such shifts, gain credit with the powers of India, for having abstained from subverting the independence of the State. Native powers would perceive, as clearly as ourselves, that the reality of indepen-

dence was gone ; and we should, in my humble judgment, neither gain honour in their eyes. nor add to our own power, by wanting the honesty and the courage to avow what we had really done.

It has been objected, that the present dynasty in the Punjab cannot with justice be subverted, since Maharajah Dhulíp Singh, being yet a minor, can hardly be held responsible for the acts of the nation. With deference to those, by whom these views have been entertained, I must dissent entirely from the soundness of this doctrine. It is, I venture to think, altogether untenable as a principle ; it has been disregarded, heretofore, in practice ; and disregarded in the case of the Maharajah Dhulíp Singh himself.

When, in 1845, the Khalsa army invaded our territories, the Maharajah was not held to be free from responsibility, nor was he exempted from the consequences of his people's acts. On the contrary, the Government of India confiscated to itself the richest provinces of the Maharajah's kingdom, and was applauded for the moderation which had exacted no more.

The Maharajah was made to tender his submission to the Governor-General in person : and it was not, until he had done so, that the clemency of the British Government was extended to him, and his Government restored. Furthermore, the Maharajah having been made to pay the penalty of the past offences of his people, due warning was given him, that he would be held, in like manner, responsible for their future acts. The Maharajah, in reply, acknowledging this warning, says : " If, in consequence of the recurrence of misrule in my Government, the peace of the British frontier be disturbed, I should be held responsible for the same."

If the Maharajah was not exempted from responsibility on the plea of his tender years at the age of eight, he cannot, on that plea, be entitled to exemption from a like responsibility, now that he is three years older.

As the Honorable Company most fully approved of his being deprived of the fairest provinces of his kingdom, in consequence of the misdeeds of his people in 1846, it cannot, on the same principle, condemn his being subjected now to the consequences of whatever measures the repeated and aggravated misdeeds of his people may have rendered indispensably necessary for the safety of British interests."

The last act in this great drama was the trial of the hero. The Governor-General had from the first resolved, that Múlraj, if taken alive, should receive a fair trial ; and if pronounced guilty of the murder of Agnew and Anderson, should suffer the penalty awarded. He was accordingly brought to trial on the 31st of May, before a court composed of C. G. Mansel, Esq., C. S., President, H. Montgomery, Esq., C. S., and Colonel Penny. J. B. Bowring, C. S., acted as counsel for the prosecution and Captain G. W. Hamilton for the prisoner. The defence demonstrated at once the exceeding ability of Captain Hamilton, and the exceedingly untenable nature of the line of defence adopted. We have already given the details of the evidence adduced, and have only to add the penalty by which they were expiated. The commission adjudged Múlraj to death, with a recommendation to mercy ; and the Governor commuted his sentence to transportation for life.

# THE COURT AND CAMP OF AURUNGZEBE.

[BY W. S. SETON-KARR, ESQ., C.S.]

1. *Histoire Generale des Voyages.* Paris. 1752.
2. *Voyage de Bernier.* Amsterdam. 1709.
3. *Voyage round the World,* by Dr. John Francis Gemelli Carreri.
4. *Relation de divers voyages curieux, qui n'ont point esté publiés, par M. Melchisedec Thevenot.* Paris. 1696.
5. *Elphinstone's India.* Vol. II.

IN a previous number of this Review we made an attempt to describe something of the Court and Camp of the best and wisest prince Muhammedan India had ever beheld. In the present number we intend to describe that of his great grandson. To this we are urged by two main considerations,—the character of the age, and the materials at our command. The appearance, moreover, of Sir H. M. Elliot's work has not unnaturally suggested the comparison of India as it appeared under the Moguls, and India under the Company's rule. That volume has met with, to a certain extent, adverse criticism, and some doubts have been raised as to the soundness, or the justice of its conclusions. It is therefore just possible that a few readers may not be unwilling to peruse a description of the Government of Aurungzebe, taken not from native historians, but from the accounts of men who saw with the eyes of travellers and of Europeans. For, in this attempt, we regret that Sir H. M Elliot's researches, as hitherto published, will afford us no material aid. Those who have read his work are aware, that few of his extracts relate to epochs at all subsequent to that of Akbar. But we need hardly say that we await with anxiety the continuation of his undertaking, for the soundness and accuracy of which the author's practised scholarship, elaborate research, and varied talents, will be our ample security.

There is a notion prevalent with many readers, that complete, or even average, accuracy in historical points is unattainable whenever the scene is remote. And to corroborate this and similar views, a foolish story of Sir Walter Raleigh is usually quoted, in which that polite scholar is said to have confessed

himself unable to arrive at the merits of a quarrel which happened under his very windows. From this is deduced the impossibility of knowing how things really happened three or four centuries ago. But in this age of severe historical criticism, it is hardly necessary to do more than remind the reader, that time alone can pass a true judgment on many important questions, which have divided the opinions of contemporaries: that stirring events are often as accurately represented to the third and fourth generations, as they were to the majority of men living at the date of their occurrence: and that, under the guidance of impartial eye-witnesses, we can be carried back some centuries, and with the eye of historical faith, form a true judgment, not only on the more momentous transactions, but can realise to ourselves the interior of the household, the domestic economy, the dress, the spectacles, the meals, the ways of intercourse, the forward or the retrograde movements of civilisation, and all the other details which enthusiastic antiquarians dote on, and grave writers of history do not wholly despise.

The seventeenth century, in which Aurungzebe reigned, gave birth to a succession of Eastern travellers of every European nation, active in body, ready with the pen, eager to contemplate, and sound to judge. The preceding hundred years had also had their generation of oriental adventurers; but these mainly issued from one and the same nation: and, at the time of which we are treating, their sun had set. Few nations, however, for the period of a century, had made more use of their opportunities. They had navigated dangerous and unknown seas with success, had made descents, and had stormed cities, under the guidance of such leaders as Albuquerque, and under the example of such exiles as Camoens. They wielded the sword with one hand, and the crucifix with the other. They freighted merchandise from every harbour of the East. Their monasteries and churches towered side by side with the mosque or the pagoda, in places devoted to superstition and to intolerance, and in the very capital of Muhammedan India. They made converts by hundreds. They enlisted and disciplined soldiers. Their forts gave protection to travellers, and their prowess repelled viceroys. They parcelled out lands, obtained the grant of charters, exacted tolls, levied taxes, and made their wrath to be dreaded and their alliance to be courted by ministers and by kings. The recollections of their fallen greatness did not easily pass away. Even as late as the middle of the seventeenth century, a Múllah

amused and cheated the youth of Aurungzebe with tales of the great Portuguese sovereign, as the first incomparably of all the petty princes, who divided amongst themselves the island of Farangistan.

The successful example of this people soon attracted wayfarers from every other European kingdom. The seventeenth century witnessed a great influx of men, who came to seek their fortunes, or to improve their knowledge, in the inexhaustible East. Such may fairly be divided into two sets, each marked by the most opposite and irreconcileable characteristics. In the first set were congregated the very dregs of European society, and the vilest parts of human nature. Scoundrels, who had escaped the stake or the gallows, who had pillaged convents, murdered their employers, or from privateers had became pirates; men who had outraged all the laws of society, and who sighed for the supposed license of an Indian Court, went to seek their fortunes in the camp, or the kingdom of the Mogul. Some took refuge with the king of Arracan, and, issuing thence on piratical expeditions, and in galleys of remarkable swiftness, turned the flourishing islands of Lower Bengal into dreary wastes. Others sought favour at the foot of the Emperor's throne. Nor were such men wanting in that boldness and activity which, in certain states of society, ensure success. If they could mount a horse, if they could point a gun, if they could handle a matchlock, if they displayed trueness of sight and activity of body, they were certain of lucrative, and even honourable employment. They had their horses, their attendants, and their separate residences. They might, in virtue of their office, beat the bodies of true believers. Special immunities were granted in their favour, and their strangest requests were complied with in open durbar. Their misdeeds of whatever kind—a blow hastily struck, or the privacy of a dwelling invaded—were passed over with a moderate reproof. Leagued together by a consciousness of similar guilt, French and Portuguese, English and Dutch sailors, runaways and convicts—they lived and died in the country of their adoption, leaving no memorials, but in the rumours current of their disorderly conduct, and in the scandal conferred by them on the Christian name and character. Their evil doings were unwritten, and perished with them.

But there was another, and a very different race of travellers, who visited India under the various motives of curiosity, traffic, philosophic inquiry, or restless desire. These, too, were of all nations—the phlegmatic Englishman, the lively Frenchman, the inquisitive Neapolitan. They were mostly men of education, and to a disciplined mind they

united a manliness of disposition, and a fixity of purpose, which no dangers could daunt. Some of them had stood in the presence of European kings, and some were the correspondents of acknowledged *savans* and statesmen. All were eager to test the truth of those reports which Europe had listened to, of the vast riches, the despotic government, the strange customs, and the natural, or the artificial, wonders of the East. They came accordingly with ears open, ready to receive and write down everything told them, in the spirit of that truth-loving simplicity, which characterises the Prince of all travelling companions, and the Father of all accurate narratives. No wonder, then, that they occasionally fell into absurd and even childish errors. They jotted down unhesitatingly, and with perhaps a native caution against belief, every marvellous incident which lying Portuguese priests, or ignorant pandits thought fit to recite in their presence. Add to this, that their researches were confined and unaided by the published accounts of previous travellers, from whose errors they might have derived warning, and from whose experiences they might have gathered hints. Accordingly, in one point of view, their accounts appear puerile, fabulous, and unworthy of a second perusal. They have misquoted dates. They have miscalculated distances. They have spelt Eastern names after a fashion, which would puzzle Gilchrist, and astound Elphinstone. Neither the artist's pencil, nor the surveyor's skill, were forthcoming to embellish their tale. They have drawn maps of the Peninsula, where Hooghly appears as an island, and where Rajmahal is seen on the very shores of the Bay of Bengal. Their journals are illustrated by pictures of men, where Asiatics have white, and Europeans black faces, and where the trees, the fruits, and the animals of the jungle resemble no one single object in Indian landscapes. They have made awful havoc of Indian mythology, and have plunged in inextricable confusion, tales of caste, and sacred puranas, and social customs. They have told us of countries, which they had never visited, either beyond this river or sea, or on the *other* side of that range of mountains, in which black men stabbed elephants with daggers, and handled tigers, as if they were puppies; in which bullock's horns, if planted in the ground, took root, and grew luxuriantly; in which women exposed such naughty children, as refused to suck, to have their eyes pecked out by the crows.

These absurdities are, however, invariable related as information gained from others, and charged on localities which they had never seen, and are usually followed by doubts as to their accuracy, expressed with the most amusing simplicity. Far

different was the case, when they related the effects of their own personal experience. Here no romantic visions filled their imagination, and no plea of sophistry could blind their clearer judgment. They battled their own way through the difficulties of nature, and the obstructions of man. No invincible prestige was attached to their national character. The respect they inspired, the success they might attain, were due solely to their adroitness, their equanimity, and their individual courage. From them, Hindu and Mussulman, viceroy and merchant, soldier or peon, had nothing to fear, and sometimes not much to hope. Every ordeal of climate, or of circumstance, had therefore to be undergone. To brave the dust, the fierce sun, and the rain; to sleep at night under a clump of bamboos; to be exposed to every variety of pillage or extortion; to bribe swarms of officials, and to evade the custom house; to present the humble nuzzur in open durbar; to fight with robbers or Rajputs in broad day-light, and on the king's highway; to employ alternately entreaties, threats, and blows; to rid themselves of troublesome intruders by diplomacy, or by the drawn steel; to travel on miserable ponies, and to be jolted to death by camels; to follow the Emperor's camp for weeks together; to live on rice or water-melons; to bribe the imperial khansamah for the remnants of the imperial table; to gain admittance into the policy of Eastern cabinets, and to listen to the *on dits* of the harem; these were amongst the experiences, to which every one of the travellers we shall enumerate, had more or less to submit. On points which they noticed, while thus circumstanced, their testimony is unimpeachable. They did not write to foster pre-conceived prejudices, or to sacrifice to the idols, either of the forum, or of the cave. It was not their object to gratify the passions of demagogues by invidious comparisons, in which the hollow splendour of a native dynasty should be preferred to the solidity of European states. They told their unvarnished tale of the enormities they had witnessed, and the abuses by which they had suffered. Whenever they describe the cities, the palaces, or the tombs, they had visited, the shows at which they had been present, or the toilsome marches they had endured, the reader is at once transported to familiar localities, and will candidly allow that he is perusing a narrative, written by shrewd and intelligent eye-witnesses, and stamped with the impression of authenticity and truth.

We proceed briefly to notice the characteristics of the principal European travellers who visited the Mogul's Court during the seventeenth century. First in order of time, and in appa-

rent importance, is Sir Thomas Roe. Most readers are aware that he visited the Court of Jehangír as an accredited ambassador from our own King James the First. He describes with considerable minuteness the morals and manners of the Eastern court, the drunken violence and the furious outbreaks of Jehangír, and the numerous calls on his own patience and purse. But the chief impression left by his narrative is, that its author was unfitted for the duty he was selected to perform. He made little or no way with the chiefs of the durbar, or into the mysteries of the cabinet. His best intentions were repeatedly thwarted, or foiled, by some hidden and more practised opponent. He was stolid, or querulous, where he ought to have been uncomplaining, or active. In the intrigues, and the counter-plots, and the warfare of party, which encompassed the throne, he appears to have been as little at home, as an English cockney, ignorant of continental languages and customs, who lands for the first time at Havre or Ostend. The main result of his embassy seems contained in the fact, that the Emperor suspended over his own throne portraits (probably presented by Roe) of the King and Queen of England, of the Lady Elizabeth, the wife of the Count Palatine, and of the Director-General of the East India Company, Mr. Thomas Smith. What omen of future supremacy to the adventurers from the West might not lovers of coincidence draw from this one fact?

Edward Terry and Captain Hawkins were men of different mould. They travelled at the same epoch as Roe; but they were more active, and less given to complaint. The only defect we find in the narrative of the latter is extreme brevity. But from the elaborate account of the former, much interesting information may be obtained.

John Albert Mandelsoe was born of a distinguished family in the Duchy of Mecklenburgh, and in his youth had been a page in the Duke of Holstein's Court. To an insatiable desire for travel, he sacrificed both his comforts and his fortune. He visited Moscovy and Persia as an attaché to an embassy, from which, at the termination of the business in hand, he made his escape, and took the not unusual route to India, from Arabia to Surat, and thence across the continent to Agra. His narrative is well worthy of a perusal, though unequal as a performance to the narratives of the three remaining travellers.

But from these three men, who all visited India during the reign of Aurungzebe, the most valuable and the most curious information is attainable. The first, John Baptiste Tavernier, was born at Paris in the commencement of the seventeenth century, and at

the age of twenty, he had already visited the most remarkable courts and countries in Europe, and had familiarised himself with the language in use at each. A jeweller by profession, he next turned his attention to the East, and made bargains successively at the courts of Turkey, of Persia, and of Hindústan. How he spent thousands in presents to Nawabs and Naibs; how he travelled from Surat to Agra; how thence, in company with Bernier, he visited the plains and the marshes of Bengal; how his profession naturally led him to recount the progress of commerce, the facilities of intercourse, the texture of precious cloth, and the value of diamonds, in preference to the maxims of Government and the general administration, and how he derived wealth from his travels in spite of plundering and deceit, may best be learned from his own entertaining pages. The second of the triumvirate, on whom we mainly rely, is an inhabitant of the sunny South, the Doctor John Francis Gemelli Carreri. He resided on the shores of that beautiful bay, the sight of which, according to a well-known Italian proverb, ought to leave a lover of the picturesque nothing further for which to live. Natural curiosity and domestic misfortunes were, he tells us, his motives for travelling. Of the three, he is the most discursive in his narration, the most piquant in his anecdotes, the most amusing in his simplicity. As he travelled for no one particular aim, but to see and to hear, there are a few Indian topics on which he does not give us some thing. Natural productions, the beasts and the birds, manners, Hindu theology, State maxims, the causes of Portuguese supremacy and degradation, anecdotes of the camp, the convent, and the harem, accidents by water and land, complaints of personal inconvenience, and remarks on the tendency of Eastern despotism, are scattered plentifully throughout a narrative, which owes very much to the author's own liveliness and observation, but occasionally something, we are compelled to say, to the labours of others who had gone before. His plagiarism is, however, confined to specifications of caste or creed. Where he saw or suffered personally, his narrative is clear, picturesque, and beyond suspicion. He tells us, for instance, that he left the shores of Arabia in a vessel, piloted by a "miserable tobacconist," and, through the unskilfulness of this pilot, sailed twice over a voyage of twelve hundred miles: that at Diu he heard a marvellous account of a native, who had carried St. Francis on his back over a river in Bengal, and who, in virtue of this good deed, had lived to a surprising age: that at Bazaim he saw a juggler, who, without any other visible support, rested on a bamboo "thirty spans in the air:" that he was offered the appointment of Advocate to the Portuguese monasteries, on six hundred pieces

of eight a year, and that he refused the place: that one day he discovered the virtues hidden in the bamboo, and marvelled to see how the natives, on whom fair words were thrown away, understood a man's thoughts under its sovereign power, and did good service with readiness; that the lower order of natives generally were such a degraded set, as to receive a beating with thanks, and to return a salaam for kicks: that he travelled all the way from Goa to Muttra, experiencing *en route* all manner of inconvenience: that he never lost an opportunity of smashing idols and images, when no one observed him: that he wept over Suttees: that he finally reached the Emperor's camp: that there he laughed much at a Kotwal, whose "foolish copper trumpet" reminded him of the swine-herds of his native Campania; and that by means of a Christian and of an eunuch his friend, he obtained an audience of Aurungzebe in the year of grace 1695. All this and more, relative to India, we are told by the worthy Doctor, who, after this expedition, proceeded on his return to Goa, went on to Macao, visited South America, and completed the tour of the world.

Last of the three, though not last in date, and certainly the first in importance, we have the ardent, the enlightened, the philosophic Bernier. To the vivacity, the wit, and the humour of the Frenchman, he united the Englishman's perseverance and energy. He made friends of the humble and the great. He spared neither pains nor money to arrive at an accurate knowledge of whatever passed around him. Whether it was his skill as a physician, or his character as an individual that procured him the support and patronage of Danishmand Khan, one of Aurungzebe's chief Amírs, we are not told: but we can see clearly that few men in any court in the world ever enjoyed such facilities for observation. Nothing could repel his ardour, disturb his equanimity, obscure his judgment. He had no credulity for the long-winded absurdities of Pandits, and no belief in the so-called miracles of Mahommedan jugglers. He could talk in fluent Urdú, translate from Persian, and quote couplets from the Gulistan with accuracy. The influence of his master and his own social qualities appear to have given him free access everywhere. Not in the recital of tales of cruelty or licentiousness, as current in Agra or Delhi, does he vindicate his claims as an author and a traveller so successfully, as in those chapters devoted to the internal administration of a kingdom, which he had traversed in person, from Balasore to Kashmír. Here we have the activity of a man, who travelled, just as the natives travel on horseback in Upper India, and in a budgerow throughout Bengal: the rapid enumeration of those causes which had

turned gardens into jungles: the graphic description of a system, where the watchword was misrule, and the chief maxims were oppression and violence: the characteristic anecdote, the logical deduction, the honest invective, the indignant remonstrance, the profound remark. Those who may be inclined to doubt the validity of these assertions may refer to the author himself. They will be enabled to travel over the India of Aurungzebe in company with a man, amiable as a companion, and delightful as an instructor; quoted with approbation by Gibbon, and referred to on numerous occasions by Elphinstone; a contemporary historian more accurate and less prejudiced than Burnet; a narrator of incident and anecdote, almost as minute and as painstaking as Boswell.

Thus much for the materials on which this attempt is based. We next proceed to consider how far the character of Aurungzebe can fairly be taken to represent the genuine character of Eastern absolutism. Here, possibly, we may be met by objections on the score of cruelty and crime. The man who imprisoned his aged father, planned and plotted for years against his nearest relatives, despatched one brother by the sword, and another by poison, the man whose life is represented as a tissue of craftiness and fraud should never be taken, it may be said, as a fair sample even of the oriental despot. But considerable misapprehension is prevalent as to the crimes or the vices of Aurungzebe. That he could practice successfully every sort of artifice, that he clothed ambitious designs under the guise of humility, that he appeared occupied with rosaries and beads when he was meditating on sovereignty, that he lured and duped his unfortunate brothers to their destruction, that no sentiments of filial piety or of honour restrained his systematic ambition, is not for one moment to be denied. But blood was by him only shed when absolutely necessary for the attainment of some cherished object, or for the removal of some competitor. When he had once reached his high place, his whole system of policy underwent a change. There were no wholesale butchery and no ruthless proscriptions. He had been cruel and calculating only when State reasons required it; and they were reasons which, however repugnant to common morality, almost justified his course in the eyes of the native population, and well nigh dazzled the judgment of contemporary travellers. Had he failed, or had he even wished to live unmolested in a private situation, Gwalior, or the poppy draught, would equally have been his fate. Add to this that his private morality was unimpeachable. In the enjoyments which the law of Mahomet

permits, he was unvaryingly temperate: from those which it forbids, he refrained altogether. The wine of Shiraz never tempted him to those excesses, which turned Jehangír's palace into a tavern, and which lightened the sorrows and the hard campaigns of Baber. Strange stories, too, were current in the zenana relative to his rigid asceticism. He would spend whole nights in conversing with pious Múllahs, or in reading the Koran, until the wondering eunuchs, who attended at the chamber door, believed him to be assisted by the powers of darkness. He prayed regularly five times a day. His food was of the plainest and simplest kind. He worked caps with his own hand; he distributed justice, he read petitions, he endorsed them with his own pen. His continence, his diligent application, his mildness to the officers of State, and to his numerous dependants, his wonderful powers of endurance in health and in sickness, his methodical habits of business, his love of detail, his familiarity with affairs, were the theme of universal admiration and praise. No unbecoming parallel to his character suggests itself in that of the Emperor Augustus. Like him, in the search of power, he had been crafty, ambitious, and unpitying: like him, on its attainment, he became tolerant, equitable, and mild. But Aurungzebe needed the galaxy of talent, the monuments of art or utility, and the unbroken quiet of thirty years, after which we are half tempted to forget the deliberate massacres of Persia, and the faithless surrender of Cicero. Had gifted pens been devoted to his service, and had the last years of his reign been undisturbed by the growing insolence of Mahratta leaders, his name might perhaps have been lightened of its obloquy, and his era have been quoted as that of unexampled prosperity and peace. Even all the crimes of his early days, even the failings of his later years, the economy degenerating into avarice, and the diplomacy bordering on suspicion, have not prevented Mussulmans from comparing him with the enlightened Akbar, and, even at this day, from recounting with approbation the main points of his character, and the policy of his not unprosperous reign.*

The above remarks on Aurungzebe's peculiar position are necessary, in order to escape the charge of having purposely selected a sovereign whose career was stained by cruelty and bloodshed. We shall now attempt to describe something of the internal condition of his empire; and commence naturally with the two great cities, which are still known in India, to this

* Elphinstone, vol. ii, p. 554.

day, as those respectively of Akbar and Shah Jehan, and in which invariably centered the wealth, the power, and the magnificence of the empire.

It was a part of Aurungzebe's policy to have no permanently fixed residence, but to live alternately at the old or the new capital. The appearance of Agra, with its enclosing wall of redstone, its seventy mosques, its eight hundred baths, its fifteen bazars, its eighty caravanserais of two and three stories in height, its magnificent buildings and spacious gardens, the residences of Rajahs and Amírs, suggested a comparison disadvantageous to Ispahan, in spite of the well-known Persian proverb that it was "one-half of the world," and almost unfavourable to Paris. On the banks of the Jumna was situated the Imperial palace. It was surrounded by fortifications, enclosed by a large moat with the usual drawbridge and portcullis, and had four principal gates, destined respectively for the Emperor himself, for the princes of the blood, for the nobles, and for the commonalty. Occasionally a magnificent present, or some secret influence, might procure for an anxious European the coveted privilege of inspecting its hidden mysteries. Inside, we are told by a fortunate individual, who managed to gain admittance, were three (if not four) spacious courtyards, surrounded by airy porticos, or by lengthened galleries, or by ranges of small apartments for the swarming inmates of the palace. From one of these galleries, facing the river, the Emperor might behold at his leisure the combat of wild beasts in the lists below. The skill of French or Italian artists had been employed to adorn another; and the walls were decorated with gold, with azure, and with frescoes. In a third, a vine of rubies and emeralds, intended to represent the vintage in its various stages of maturity, but left unfinished owing to the enormous expense, hung down in graceful festoons from the roof. In a fourth, was the throne of massive gold, more celebrated as the peacock throne, and studded with jewels of incomparable lustre and size. The other quarters of the city presented a strange mixture of splendour and of wretchedness, of poverty and of pride. The buildings had been raised at various times, and without any regard for symmetry and space. With the exception of four or five principal streets, the remainder of the town was a confused assemblage of alleys, lanes and culs-de-sac. In this respect, Agra showed at a great disadvantage, when compared with the elegance and order by which the new Delhi was distinguished. But to compensate for this inferiority, the tomb of Akbar at Secundra, and the inimitable Taj Mahal, carried away the palm from the new sister city, and the latter emboldened men

of taste and judgment to declare, that in all the celebrated structures of Europe or Asia, they had met with no monument of art so classical in design, so august in appearance, so exquisite in detail, so harmonious in proportions.

From Agra to Delhi the traveller passed over a noble road, laid down by Jehangír, as straight as a line, and bordered with lofty trees—the date, the cocoanut, and the banyan. Delhi had, like Agra, its enclosing walls, though without the usual ditch, and a palace or fort. Outside the walls, on the bank of the Jumna, a splendid public garden had been laid out, round which extended a cleared space, where the horses of the imperial palace were taken to exercise. The city was distinguished by two principal streets, and five or six others of smaller size; but here again appeared, in spite of greater symmetry, the same partial union of wealth and poverty, which had characterised Agra. There were houses, or rather miniature palaces, with verandahs to the four quarters of the heavens, and ample courtyards to catch every changing breeze. Others, again, were crowded together, built of common brick—dirty, close, and ill-ventilated. Nor was there wanting the usual numbers of thatched houses, which distinguish native towns, and which are generally burnt down during the hot winds every other year. Two buildings in the city attracted especial notice, the grand mosque, and the caravanserai of Begum Sahib, the eldest daughter of Shah Jehan. The former was a fine piece of architecture, principally of redstone, contrasted by a pavement and turrets of the whitest marble, and adorned by three magnificent doors of entrance. To this mosque the Emperor, on every Friday, would go in state, when the road from the palace was lined with infantry, and the dust was laid by an endless host of water carriers. The caravanserai was compared by Bernier to the Place Royale at Paris. It had galleries and arcades on all four sides, and was filled by a constant succession of Persians, Usbecks and other merchants, with the wealth and the traffic of Central Asia. But the object, which most excited, and least gratified the curiosity of Bernier, was the Zenana. It was guarded with the usual jealousy of Eastern despotism, and closed to strange eyes. Of the beauty or the worth of its inmates Bernier had evidently formed no high opinion, as he applies to them, amongst other epithets, those of *honteuses* and *imbeciles*. But their chambers must have been repositories of elegance and art. Once, when a favourite stood in need of the physician's aid, he was permitted to enter. His head was enveloped in a Kashmír shawl, and he was conducted to her presence by an

eunuch. But he saw nothing save at a furtive glance, and he returned with only such stories, as the attendants related to him, of the comfort and luxury of the inmates, the reservoirs of running water in every apartment, the cool grottos, the endless jets d'eau, the gold and azure of the walls, and all the numerous appliances to defy heat.

The degree of splendour, daily exhibited during the Emperor's residence in one or other of the capitals, was such as we can only realise in part and (with every fair deduction) from the accounts of eye-witnesses, it must have surpassed the grandeur of Louis the Fourteenth. Early in the morning the Emperor presented himself at the Jarokha, or lattice, for the gratification of his subjects, and at eleven and at six o'clock in the day, he received in durbar the salutations of his nobles. From this daily service no one was exempted, save under the most special reasons; and a deduction from the monthly pay was the invariable penalty of non-attendance. On these occasions the King's elephants were passed in review, or the latest batch of horses from Kabúl or Arabia underwent inspection, or the stranger, just arrived from the land of the Feringís, was admitted to make his salaam. Nor did the internal affairs of the empire fail to occupy some portion of the day. Monday was devoted to the affairs of Lahore, Delhi, and Agra; Tuesday to Kabúl; Wednesday to Bengal and Patna; Thursday to Guzerat; Friday to the weekly State procession to the grand mosque; and Saturday to the Deccan. These sights were deeply impressed on the memories of those who beheld them. The long lines of each nobleman's retainers, the elephants, the palanquins and the horses; the crowd of suitors for justice, the unvarying habit of exacting presents in durbar from all new comers, the occasional acts of summary and impressive justice, the fulsome compliments, the waving of chowries and the peacock's plumes, the low soft music of the Emperor's band, which played during the whole audience, and the presence of men from all parts of India, and from almost every nation in Europe and Central Asia, contributed to form a spectacle of which the strangeness, in the eyes of our travellers, was not removed by even a daily repetition.

Besides these usual exhibitions, State ceremonies took place, in which the solemn and the ludicrous were singularly blended. Once every year the Emperor was weighed in scales before the whole Court against sacks of gold and silver, when a few pounds increase to the imperial weight was obviously a source of gratification and joy. At another time he held a fancy fair in the palace At this, the beauties of the zenana for once came

forth from their privacy: the wives and daughters of Amirs and Rajahs attended: and the nautch girls from the bazar were not denied admittance. It was an Eastern saturnalia. The Emperor bid, and the haughty ladies enhanced the price: female voices disputed in a high key: in short, it was a scene, says an eye-witness, of reiterated jokes, and buffoonery, and unseemliness. The full resources of the Court were, however, not displayed, save from some more weighty cause. One year only was rendered memorable by the arrival simultaneously of five different embassies from as many foreign princes. The first three may be summarily dealt with. The Sharif of Mecca sent his batch of Arabian horses, and a broom of great sanctity, which had been used to sweep the Bait-ulla, or small chapel in the centre of the great mosque; a place of the highest importance in the eyes of a true believer, as the first temple dedicated to God by the patriarch Abraham. The King of Yemen, or Arabia Felix, and the ruling Prince of Bassora, each sent a similar present of horses, but without any sacred gift. The fourth embassy, from the Christian King of Abyssinia, brought with it a bull's horn full of civet, some elephant's teeth, a live zebra, and twenty-five slaves, which, with a strange inconsistency to the faith he professed, the dusky representative of the primitive church intended to be guardians of the Mahommedan harem. But the unlucky embassy had met with mishaps by the way. Several of the slaves died on the voyage to Surat, together with the zebra: and Sevaji, then commencing his memorable forays, and only known as a rebel with a few followers, plundered the cortége of every thing but the zebra's skin, half a dozen slaves, and the empty bull's horn. At length they reached Delhi, but in such forlorn and miserable plight, that all the influence of Bernier and of his patron Danishmand Khan, was barely sufficient to procure them an audience of the Emperor, followed by the usual presents of a sir-a-pa, or long robe, some brocades, a jewelled dagger, and six thousand rupees. Far different was the reception given to the fifth and last embassy from the Shah of Persia. Every bazar, through which the cortége had to pass, was decorated for the occasion; and the road was lined with horsemen for miles. Deputations of nobles were sent for the usual istikbál, or meeting: the royal artillery saluted the ambassador on his arrival; his letters were received by Aurungzebe's own hand, and his presents were passed in review before all the courtiers, who gazed with admiration on twenty-five horses of the purest breed, twenty camels, brocades, stuffs and carpets curiously worked, and numerous jars of the precious

bed-mushk. On the other hand, the whole splendour of the imperial city was displayed, and the hall of audience was adorned with all the magnificence of the East, and with all the artistic skill of Europe. Thirty-two pillars of marble were inlaid with the choicest specimens of mosaic work, or painted with the most natural imitations of flowers; in the centre was a small couch, canopied, spread with a gold cloth, and hung with the weapons worn by the Emperor himself, the battle-axe, the scimitar, the quiver, and the bow. The place assigned to the officers of State, or to the nobles of rank, who mustered their strength, was portioned of by a balustrade, covered alternately with plates of gold and silver. Before the couch, which served as a throne, ran a small rivulet of clear water, six inches in breadth, at which the candidate for an audience respectfully stood, until a given signal informed him that he might advance, and lay his credentials at the sovereign's feet.

The details of this costly splendour, centering round one exalted object, when related by divers of those old travellers, appear to have excited in their minds the different feelings of awe, of admiration, and of mistrust. But, before entering on the state of the provinces from which this vast wealth was drained, we shall endeavour to describe the third city, in which, equally with Delhi and Agra, the court resided for a considerable portion of the year. It resembled the other capitals in the vast amount of its population, far surpassed them in regularity of construction, and was inferior only in permanence and stability. It was in truth, nothing more or less than the camp. No sudden emergency induced Aurungzebe to exchange stone for canvas walls, such as induced King James the II. to pitch his camp at Hounslow. It was a part of the State policy, handed down from the days of Humayun or Baber, which recurred at stated periods with the changes of the seasons. From the end of October to the middle or end of March in every year, the Emperor took the field with his court and army, for the purpose of quelling some rebellious foe, for indulgence in his favourite pursuit of hunting, or for the mere object of keeping his unwieldy forces in activity and exercise. The propinquity of great towns and the usual lines of intercourse were rather shunned than sought; and the moving city carried with it every thing that could facilitate intercourse, minister to comfort, or provide against want. The Emperor had his double set of tents; and his example was followed by every Amír or Rajah, who could well afford the expense. Agra and Delhi were almost entirely deserted. A huge multitude composed the camp, brought there by the various motives of duty, of necessity,

of profit, of curiosity, and of crime. The nobles brought their horses, their elephants and their retainers; the banian his sacks of money and his notes-of-hand; the múdí his stores of rice, of ghee, and of grain: the juggler practised his vocation by day, and the thief plied his silent trade by night. Whenever this mighty armament changed its position, the greatest pains were taken to ensure regularity and order. One set of the royal tents moved on the evening before the change, and an officer was especially charged with the duty of fixing on the encamping ground, and of marking out the four quarters of the city. Whenever the Emperor purposed to make a stay of two or three days' duration, the locality was chosen with a precision and care, such as would not have dishonured a Roman legion in the field. A detachment of pioneers levelled all inequalities in the ground. A host of attendants and coolies erected the durbar tent, the ghúsal-khana, which then designated the cabinet, where only the highest nobles entered to pay their respects, and the khalwat-khana, or secret council-house. At no great distance rose the private tents of the Emperor, of which the kanats were lined with flowered satin, or with the famed cloth of Masulipatam: adjoining were the apartments of the begums and the zenana; and, a little further off, space was reserved for the officers of State, for the royal stables, where the horses were tethered with ropes of silk, for the menageries containing the tiger, the buffalo, and the nilgao, for the hunting leopards, for the arms, the accoutrements, and the presents given in durbar, and, lastly, for the dried fruits, the saltpetre, the betel, and the never-failing water of the Ganges. From this central spot were drawn the great thoroughfares. One broad street was designated as the royal bazar, and invariably pointed to the direction in which the host would next move. The quarters of the Amírs, of the lesser Mansabdars, and the smaller bazars were sketched with equal accuracy. Posts of bamboo were planted at every crossing, ornamented either with a red flag, or with the tail of the Thibet ox, by the aid of which the traveller, lost in the confusion and bustle, might be enabled to retrace his steps. The whole was surrounded with a palisade and ditch, over which were planted a number of small field-pieces. Men estimated the circumference variously at from three to six miles, and the multitude at not less than two hundred thousand souls. The confusion, which prevailed in spite of all these attempts at symmetry, when the camp broke up, may perhaps be conceived by those who have witnessed a cold weather campaign under Lord Hardinge, or Lord Gough. The tents were struck long before daybreak, and the

heavy artillery moved on by the usual high road. But the Emperor, all the nobles, and all the camp-followers, with the light artillery, or that of "the stirrup," so called from its close attendance on the mounted cortége, just skirted the villages, and made their way over the open plains. Whole crops were destroyed by the moving host. Roads were hastily cut to facilitate progress through the jungle. Bridges of boats were built, on emergencies, to cross streams and nullahs. But, in spite of means and appliances, the armament was occasionally put to great inconvenience, and even loss. When it diverged to some well-preserved hunting ground, all trace of the high road might be lost for days together. Portly cavaliers endured the sun's heat till three o'clock in the day, or rode through grass jungles six and eight feet in height. Camels, ponies, and bullocks, floundered and perished in quicksands: elephants fell down ravines: the beauties of the harem were scared out of their senses. With all this we may imagine the signal to be given for encampment. Chaos and confusion, according to the law of nature, preceded the state of order and array. A few solitary tents, belonging to the richer and nobler class, and sent on previously, formed the nucleus of the town, which arrived piece meal on elephants, camels, and coolies: clouds of dust marked the long files of the beasts of burden: the artillery of "the stirrup" fired a salute: the palanquin, or the howdah, of some great lady might be seen surrounded by a crowd of insolent retainers, who made way for their mistress by abuse and blows: tents were pitched and thrown down again: Bernier himself was lost in a maze of kanats and tent ropes: it was one universal scene of shouts, imprecations, and entreaties. Night fell, as the camp gradually assumed its wonted appearance. Innumerable fires were lit: beacons were erected at the crossing: the beasts were picketed, and the noise sank into a deep hum: even that gradually died away; and the silence was only broken by the periodical shouting of the watchmen, and the tramp of the kotwal's guard. Such was the spectacle, which might be seen every week, for five months of the year, in various parts of the empire, from Agra to Lahore: a spectacle which has left behind it one lasting memorial in India, in a so-called camp-language, the most harmonious, the most polished, and the most universal of Indian dialects: a spectacle, which, narrated by travellers returned from the East, gave rise to a rumour in the marts and palaces of the West, that the great Mogul made a yearly grande chasse, with his wives, his children, his courtiers, his menageries, and a train of one hundred thousand followers.

The condition of the vast army, maintained at the court and throughout the empire, forcibly illustrates the power and the policy of Aurungzebe. A very exaggerated account estimated the standing force at three hundred thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. It is obvious that the last item includes the countless tribe of camp-followers; for the most accurate of our authorities has recorded, after deliberate inspection, that the condition of the infantry was most wretched, their pay mean, their number small, their discipline lax, and their equipments despicable. The total amount of this branch of the army, including European gunners, never exceeded fifteen thousand. The main strength of the Emperor lay in the cavalry, over which were set in the order of their rank, the Amírs, the Mansabdars, and the Rozindahs. The Amírs were from thirty to forty in number, the partisans of rebellions, the pillars of the State, the Governors of provinces. They commanded nominal quotas of ten, five, and one thousand men; and they received monthly pay from the treasury in proportionate ratio. Five thousand rupees a month was the allowance attached to the highest dignitary. The Mansabdars were about two hundred in number; and their pay varied from seven to as low as one hundred rupees a month. The Rozindahs, or, as their name implies, "men of the day," received more than the soldiers of our irregular cavalry, or about thirty rupees. The total of cavalry on service, either near the court, or dispersed through the provinces might amount to two hundred thousand, without counting the other contingents, which tributary sovereigns or governors of districts were called on to supply or levy on emergencies. The park of heavy artillery numbered seventy pieces; that of "the stirrup" sixty of brass; and two or three hundred zambúruks were mounted on camels. The stables were never filled with less than three thousand horses of Arab or Persian breed: nine hundred elephants composed the fíl-khanah; while the droves of mules, the herds of bullocks, and the hosts of porters, were literally past all enumeration.

The commanders of the army, and the chief ministers of State, were generally selected from the men of pure Mogul descent and of the Mahommedan religion. Amongst these the highest value was set on the light olive complexion, which, as yet undarkened by a lengthened residence in Hindustan, retained evident marks of the colder climate of Central Asia. But of the Hindu race, there were some who could neither be awed by severity, nor dismissed with neglect. There were men nurtured in the sandy regions of India, whom heat had

failed to enervate, and in whom patriotism was not wholly extinguished: men conspicuous for their lofty bearing, faithful as retainers, formidable as foes. They derived an unbroken descent, it was said, from that second order in the Hindu polity, which had vainly contended with a more powerful priesthood for temporal dominion over the conquered races of India. Their princes had ever been remarkable for a high personal sense of honour: their princesses had maintained unspotted chastity, and had, in occasional sieges, displayed signal heroism; while among them, as a body, there prevailed a spirit of union and of independence, such as even Akbar could not always control, and such as Jehangír never dared to provoke. Without their promised aid no revolution in the Court would have been complete, and no pretender to the throne would have thought himself secure. There were amongst them two chieftains, Jai and Jessant Sing, whose forces had decided the event of more than one battle; while in the times of peace their contingents, and those of similar barons, were employed by the Emperor, either to awe other Rajas, to quell disaffected Mussulmans, or to exact the revenue of recusant feudatories. Special regard was accordingly paid to their prejudices of caste, and to their outbursts of pride. Like other Amírs, the Rajput princes in their time mounted guard at the palace; but they were permitted to reside for such time in their own tents, or in a separate building. Their retainers followed them everywhere; and the boldest adventurer amongst the Patans, the Usbecks, or the pure Moguls, respected these chivalrous sons of the soil, who openly avowed a dislike to confinement within four walls, and who instantly repaid an insult with the cold steel. Thus in the Emperor's army the elements of activity and valour were not wholly wanting. But a contemplative spirit, such as that of Bernier could not gaze on this varied array of forces without indulging thoughts of the comparative efficiency of European or Oriental tactics. To the noble spirit of Rajputs, to the courage displayed by Mussulmans in the civil wars which he had himself witnessed, ample justice is done in his narrative. He had not, however, lived in the seventeenth century, and in the age of Louis the Fourteenth, to be ignorant of the irresistible influence of order and of discipline. Countless numbers covering the plain, long lines of elephants, of camels, and of horses, splendid trappings, luxurious tents, occasional despotic command and implicit obedience, in his mind never compensated for the want of nationality, and the absence of systematic union and control. In one place Bernier makes honourable mention of certain English merchants, who repulsed

the Mahratta, Sevají, when he burnt Surat, and who extorted admiration from his plundering companions. In another, he gives vent with honest exultation to an opinion, that all these numerous hordes, neither animated by patriotism, nor swayed by a sense of shame, would never make a moment's stand against twenty-five thousand of that famous French infantry, serried in close array, and led on by the captains who had conquered at Rocroi, at Fribourg, and at Nordlingen.

The arrangements for the collection of revenue and the administration of justice, together with some details as to the internal condition of the empire, are perhaps equally worthy of our attention with the account of the army and the camp. We commence this part of our subject with the police of the metropolis. Here are unquestionably found considerable traces of regard for life and property, and of impartiality to all classes. There was a kotwal appointed for all the large towns, as well as for Agra and Delhi, who was accountable to the Emperor, or the governor alone. But his office was entirely unknown throughout the district. His powers were evidently more unconfined in their operation, and his local rank was higher than that of the native officer, who, with designation mainly unchanged, is now located at the principal station of every zillah. The retention of the name under the Company's rule in particular localities is easily understood. The term kotwal was retained in those places, where such an officer had held authority for time immemorial under the native regimé, or, in the large towns; but where no similar functionary was in existence, or in the district generally, the deficiency was supplied by the designation of darogah.

With a durbar open for five days in the week to which the humblest were not denied access, and with a sovereign, whose vigilance extended to the minute details of every department, it is very conceivable that a full measure of justice was occasionally meted out. A bell was suspended at the door of the palace, which any impatient suitor had only to ring. In the reign of an uncertain tyrant like Jehangír, or of a confirmed voluptuary like Shah Jehan, we may readily believe that as told us, death was the penalty of such as made groundless calls on the sovereign's time. But with a prince like Aurungzebe, who was accessible even to a fault, many petitioners had not to complain of neglect. At times, too, those acts of summary retribution, or of unbending justice, were displayed, which, in the eyes of the native population, to this day, atone for whole months of tyranny. An insolent jogi persisted in outraging the decency of all the respectable inhabitants of Delhi, by his matted hair, his

disgusting filth, and his obscene appearance. After a fair amount of ineffectual warning, his head was cut off! A Hindu writer avenged the insulted honour of his family by stabbing to the heart the offender, who happened to be a Mussulman of some consequence in the harem. Yet Aurungzebe was proof against all the bed-chamber influence, and all the outcries of vindictive relations. The Hindu was permitted to turn Mussulman, and live. A third offender, whose conduct touched the honour of the Emperor's family, met, through misapprehension, with a worse fate. He had obtained entrance into the secret apartments of Roshanara Begum, had remained there in concealment for some days, had been committed to the guidance of certain females at the time of his departure, had been by them deserted in a labyrinth of gardens and enclosures, had been discovered wandering about in the morning by the King's guards, and had on inquiry given no other explanation of his conduct, than that he had obtained ingress by climbing over the wall. Aurungzebe simply ordered that he should return by the way he came. This command was interpreted literally, and the unhappy wretch was thrown violently from the top of the walls to the bottom.

Such is some of the court scandal, which Bernier's knowledge of the language and his prolonged residence enabled him to collect. But the effects of a grinding despotism on the one hand, and of habitual lawlessness on the other, were too evident to escape his viligant eye. There were many powerful nobles at the metropolis, who did what was right in their own eyes, and who met with no interference on the part of the Emperor. That personage, it is true, exacted on their part never-failing attendance and obsequious respect Without his permission they could not undertake a journey of twenty miles, or absent themselves from durbar for a single day. Few of them had even an acre of land. The governorship of a populous town, the charge of a province for a twelvemonth, a dress of honour, a few words of favour, a prominent place in the assembly, a hind quarter of venison killed with his own fowling-piece, a cap embroidered by his own hands, were the rewards by which Aurungzebe flattered and humoured the most conspicuous, or the most dangerous of his nobles. On one favorite, he might now and then bestow a jaghír. To another, he would concede the privilege of absence from durbar, and the undisturbed enjoyment of literary and philosophical pursuits. But no single Amír could have a reasonable prospect of acquiring an honest independence. The pay of a commander of thousands was often in arrear for two months, and that of his household for six. He was largely indebted to wealthy banians: and, after his death, his

son was seen begging for bread. Every item of property left by a deceased noble went to swell the Emperor's treasury, and the durbar was sometimes besieged by the widow, who with little to fear and every thing to gain, wearied out the despot's patience and obtained support. Even the greatest men about court dared not engage in any speculations with the avowed sanction of their authority and name. Amír Jumla, the Warwick of his day, to whom Aurungzebe owed his sceptre, only ventured to hold mines in Golconda, *benamí*, or under some man of straw. A haughty Rajput, like Jai Singh, alone might occasionally defy imperial mandates, and retire to those hereditary lands, where the master found some relief from the eternal etiquette of a court, and the subject some relaxation from the oppression of adventurers.

But Aurungzebe did not always care to check abuses of authority and high position on the part of his courtiers. There were men residing within a mile of his palace, whose extortions, prudence or policy might teach him to overlook. If they were regular in attendance at the durbar, if their cavalry was handsomely equipped, if their horses were well groomed, if they laid expensive presents before the throne, they might hope, that official inquisitiveness would not pry too closely into the insolence of their retainers. Accordingly, the accumulated weight of oppression fell heavily on the mechanic, the tradesman, and the merchant. To have sparkling diamonds, was the greatest crime a jeweller could commit. To set out for show, piles of goods, or bales of rich stuffs, was an imprudence of which the fruits were speedily felt. No man could be certain, that, on the morrow, one-half his stored wealth would not be plundered, or bought at a nominal price; no man could count on the secure enjoyment of his labour and of his time. Trade was thus restricted, industry fettered, and activity repressed. The rich, who really desired to fill their mansions with the products of the loom, or the chisel, with embroidery and hangings, with works of utility or of elegance, maintained, amidst a crowd of other retainers, artificers and handicraftsmen as their domestic servants. Those who were unable to afford this continued expense, used to seize on the readiest pair of hands in the bazar, lodged the hapless individual within their own courtyards, and forced him to work till their pleasure was satisfied, under valid threats of the korah (the lash), and under doubtful promises of pay. Men were thus compelled to conceal their wealth, or deny their skill. There was nothing like honest competition, or expansion of resources. Trade could only be carried on furtively, by the grant of a special charter, or under favour of the great. Even in intellectual

pursuits, there was no emulation ; and the traveller looked with wonder on a populous city, where commerce only existed by the permission of pomp and pride, and where learning was transmitted, without honourable rivalry, in the privacy of families, and the retirement of four walls.

If such things prevailed in the heart of the metropolis, and under the immediate eye of the Emperor, it would not be difficult to form plausible conjectures as to the condition of the provinces. But here we are furnished with the direct testimonies of men, who had no favourite theories to support, and in whose mystification no native could have interest. It is gathered from the concurring testimony of sundry travellers, that, in many divisions of the empire, the authority of Aurungzebe was little more than nominal. There were still Rajahs, who in their own kingdoms maintained unimpaired the traditions of their ancestors, the customs of the Hindu religion, and the authority of their own name. The respect they paid to a mandate from Delhi or Agra, was like that of an English feudatory Baron, in exact proportion to the awe they felt of the Emperor's army. They paid tribute readily, when refusal was either impolitic or impossible : or they delayed to send their quotas, until a detachment was sent to bring them. But meanwhile the condition of their subjects was undoubtedly better than that of men exposed to a continual succession of greedy viceroys, unconnected with those, over whom they were placed by ties of blood, and undeterred by feelings of shame or compunction. It is true that the territories of these petty princes were often inundated with robbers and outlaws ; that no single traveller could pass through them in safety ; that armed caravans, or companies of merchants, were repeatedly attacked and plundered on their borders, and King's messengers exposed to contumely an insult. But the position of the ruler, who permitted these outrages on others, not his subjects, was permanent : he had succeeded to the discus or the chattar held by a long line of ancestors : he derived his descent, perhaps, from the solar or the lunar race : he talked about the glories of the Pandús, and the learning of Mithila : he commanded a reverence from cultivators, who enjoyed under him the free exercise of their religious rites, and some respite from progressive taxation : he paid respect to Brahmans ; he permitted *Suttee ;* he distributed large sums in a so-called charity, and he exhibited annually splendid shows. Men, who could no longer endure outrages near the metropolis, flocked to him in numbers, and settled under his protection. His rule, tinctured as it was by some show of justice, and founded on hereditary right, to natives and to Europeans, seemed undoubtedly pre-

ferable to that of the Usbeck or the Pathan nobleman, whom the favour of the sovereign had hastily placed over a large and wealthy province, and whom the sovereign's displeasure might as hastily degrade.

There were thus, we may fairly assume, places which still retained some shadow of the fabled patriarchal government. But it is difficult, without the semblance of exaggeration, to pourtray the condition of those districts, which, confiscated at the time of conquest, and regularly annexed to the empire, were the main sources of the imperial revenue. Authority over them was granted under three different tenures. In some rare cases it was that of a jaghirdar, who had obtained his fief for a term of years, or for his natural life: or that of a governor, who was obliged to transmit to Delhi all surplus revenue, beyond his own pension, and the pay of his troops; or lastly, of the farmer, who was bound down to the transmission of a certain yearly sum. But in any case, there was no division of authority, and scarce any limit to an absolute will. The main business of the governor or farmer was to collect the Emperor's dues, and to exercise the whole civil and criminal authority. The period of power might variously extend from one to five years. For the sake of appearance, the governor or farmer was accompanied by a person, specially deputed by Aurungzebe, who bore the title of Wakya-nawís, and who, as his name imports, was commissioned to keep the court informed of occurrences of note, and of the general tenor of the administration. But the governor must have been ill-versed in his trade, who was unable or unwilling to allow this functionary a fair proportion of the spoil. *Ils s'accordent et s'accommodent ensemble*, is Bernier's expressive phrase. With a perfect understanding between the man in authority and the Wakya-nawís, all went on smoothly. The governor represented every department in the State. By him revenue was collected, troops called out to quell a disturbance, robbers decapitated, rival claimants satisfied or deluded, taxes enhanced or remitted, justice distributed or denied, a rule exercised as formidable and despotic as that of Aurungzebe himself. The effects of this system were manifest in villages deserted, fine plains uncultivated, and tanks or temples abandoned to wild beasts. Terry specially mentions the number and the variety of the wild beasts, as one of the plagues of India, more to be dreaded than even the government, the heat, and the diseases. Mandesloe shot deer as they bounded past him over the high road between Agra and Delhi. Gemelli Carreri carried his gun with him whenever he went out for a stroll. Whole tracts of country were set apart for the preservation of kingly game; whole tracts, under the

oppression of governors, returned by a natural transition to their primeval jungle. To shoot a deer, or to kill a tiger, in these sacred places, was a crime. They were preserved for those occasions when the Emperor took the field in person, under the operation of forest laws, of which the strictness might have done honour to the Norman Duke. The peasant might snare a stray quail or a partridge, but larger game was destined to receive its death-blow from the imperial hand. When a tiger or a lion fell to the Emperor's gun, its death was noted with circumstances of great ceremony. A scribe came forward with his pen and tablets ready in hand: the Amírs stood round in admiration, the dead animal was duly turned over and inspected, and the length of his claws and whiskers, the date of the occurrence, and all other particulars, were gravely recorded in the archives of State.

Traces of energy and vigour, the redeeming points of despotism were, however, not entirely wanting; and works of public utility or ornament variously represented the pride, the statesmanship, or the beneficence of their founders. The great highway from Agra to Delhi has already been mentioned. Another in the form of a dyke, as firm and broad as those which line the coast of Holland, extended from the country of Kamrúp or Assam, into the plains of Bengal. Every populous town had its public caravanserais; and many were ornamented with bridges of ten and twelve arches. Tavernier and his companion, of course, usually forded or were ferried across the rivers which interrupted their path; but they enumerate, and in terms of considerable praise, bridges of stone or brick at Gwalior, at Sasseram in the district of Shahabad, at Ahmedabad, at Dacca, at Kadamtala near Dacca, and at a place with an obscure name on the road from Benares to Patna. Tavernier also mentions the canals of Bengal; but he has evidently mistaken the natural nullahs for the works of man's hand. On the other score, examples of summary justice occasionally deterred the robber, and reassured the ryot. In suitable localities, forts were erected, where officers collected tolls, and had criminals punished. At one of these, near the division of the Ganges above Moorshedabad, Tavernier was startled by the aspect of a row of heads garnishing the gateway, like those which frowned on the adventurous Dalgetty on his arrival at the castle of Macallummore. Another party saw the road lined with the bodies of one hundred robbers, expedited after the fashion of Jean-qui-pleure, and Jean-qui-rit. At another spot, the same person met a convoy laden with the heads of three hundred rebels, sent as a

present to the King, whose authority they had dared to set at nought. Generally speaking, wherever the Emperor's service was interested, difficulties seemed to vanish. In a country, notoriously insecure for life and property, might be seen yearly the spectacle of one hundred bullock carts, each laden with fifty thousand rupees, quietly conveying the revenues of Bengal to the State coffers at Agra.

But occasional acts of salutary justice were balanced by others of passion, of licentiousness, and of caprice. One governor beheaded some unfortunate nautch-girls, who refused on a frivolous pretext to dance before his assembly. Another, from interested motives, pardoned a Persian Doctor, although he had, in a transport of jealousy, murdered his wife, his four children, and their thirteen attendants. Shah Jehan poisoned one man in open durbar, and boiled another alive for intruding on his privacy and sullying his honour. These are recorded on unimpeachable authority. How many similar instances must have passed away without a record! Besides all this there was the general system, where the tenure of office or favour was proverbially insecure, where freedom of trade, interchange of property, direct inheritance, or extension of private resources, were all fettered or clogged by innumerable restrictions, where there never could be a respectable middle class, where there was not even the semblance or the shadow of law, where a jealous suspicion stifled all patriotism or fidelity, and where, under an immutable law of human nature, habitual oppression, if it failed to generate resistance, generated habitual falsity and fraud.

The religion of the Hindus, it may easily be conceived, though not openly attacked under Aurungzebe, was exposed to constant insults from the zeal or the insolence of the Faithful. One amusing story is told of a mahout, who had trained an elephant to destroy daily with his trunk one image out of a number, which adorned the threshold of a temple on the public road. It was considered an act of clemency if a Hindu, arraigned on some criminal charge, was permitted to escape by adopting the Mohammedan faith. Large contributions were levied from Brahmans on the occasion of an eclipse when, according to their fantastic theology, the moon is swallowed by the giant Rahu. But on the great question of *Suttee*, Mussulmans listened to the dictates of reason and truth. This rite was only conceded to a formal request, preferred to the principal officer of the district. But permission seems rarely to have been refused, if we may judge from the number of instances on record. Of the travellers

to whose narratives we refer, various were the impulses, experiences, and impressions. They were plundered. They were promoted to favour. They thought the great Mogul the richest monarch in the world. They looked on him as indigent in the very midst of his treasures. But, however dissonant their accounts as to the morals, the statistics or the policy of the East, in *Suttee* they are, invariably consentient and uniform. They had come burning with curiosity to see if those strange tales were true, which said, that Hindu wives followed cheerfully to death the husband, whom in life they had reverenced and obeyed. Their curiosity was amply gratified. Not one of them but witnessed half a dozen of these spectacles. Bernier, indeed, prevented one by threatening the loss of a pension, which had been assigned to the children of the deceased husband, by his patron Danishmand Khan. But in all other cases his efforts were useless. Mandesloe received a bracelet, as a last gift from one unfortunate widow to the Feringí stranger, who had come to see her die. In other respects, the circumstances of the sad tale are well nigh the same in every recorded instance. The Mahommedan dignitary employed, as he thought best, his earnest entreaties, remonstrances, and threats, in nine cases out of ten, to no propose. Then came the scene, which those sturdy travellers could hardly describe without tears, which has been witnessed by many men still living, and which posterity shall blush to think our fathers ever sanctioned. There was the pile placed in a dried reservoir, or in a pit dug for the purpose: the crowd of officiating Brahmans, and of relatives without one single sign of sympathy and remorse: the deformed hags, the discordant music, the pitchers of ghee to accelerate the closing scene, and the burning sandal wood: the victim deluded with juggling, or stupified by drugs: the howl of delight, which arose, when the pile was fairly kindled, and the attendants who occasionally shared the untoward fate of their mistress. Surely, if the Company's rule had introduced no one other measure, the single abolition of this infernal rite might half atone for the imputed aggressions of questionable morality, and for the decried tendencies of an imperfect or an unjust legislation.

By those who are familiar with the acts of atrocity depicted in the orations against Verres, or with the well-grounded charges of extortion or violence which, under the later Commonwealth, or the early days of the Roman Empire, frequently pursued a retired pro-consul into private life, the condition of the provinces under such a government as Aurungzebe's will be easily realised. And yet Rome possessed many elements of order

and many aids to justice, which India had not; frequent and regular communication by sea and by land, ready appeals, publicity of procedure, a Senate not yet stripped of all love of freedom, nor deadened to all sense of justice, the indignant eloquence of men like Thrasea, remissions of annual tribute after the calamities inflicted by nature or by man, sympathy with oppressed innocence, and implanted reverence for discipline and for legality: yet all these things could not check, or could not atone for the evils of abused authority, as recorded by one of the most brilliant of orators, and by the most philosophic of historians. Unoffending citizens were put to death, wives and daughters were torn from their homes, lands were seized, temples were plundered, the humblest images of devotion, which adorned the private chapel or the domestic hearth, were forcibly taken away, whole provinces were ground down by a succession of rapacious governors: and for all this, a few stray individuals were occasionally banished to Seriphus or to Gyarus. With none of the above checks in India, there were even greater tendencies to abuse. The Governors were adventurers from distant lands. Their tenure depended on the machinations of an enemy, or the influence of a friend. The displeasure of the Emperor was fatal to them; nor was his favour always a subject for joy. The present of a cap, worth a few rupees, but embroidered by the Emperor himself, might be a direct intimation to the viceroy, that some substantial return in the shape of a large extra sum of money must be paid into the State treasury. To furnish this, it was necessary to have recourse to intimidation or torture. In any case, whether exactions were practised for the private or the public good, there was no counterpoise, save in the jealous suspicion with which Aurungzebe occasionally inspected every department of State. Where oppression resulted in private advantage, his vigilance was naturally lulled. In other cases, help was remote, and remedies were as bad as the evils they attempted to cure. It was a far cry to Delhi. Such a state of things could not evidently endure for long. Early in the seventeenth century, a sensible Mohammedan Governor of Patna lamented to Roe the unfortunate condition of India, where rights were neither secured by prescription, nor protected by law. Half a century subsequently, Bernier, after a deliberate survey of the empire, prophesied that all this enhanced oppression and tyranny would infallibly end in some tremendous dissolution. Nor was the unwieldly empire long kept together, though its fall was hastened by causes, over which even a more powerful mind than

that of Aurungzebe, could perhaps have had no control. Under the standard of a leader noted for his cruelty and his daring, an insignificant people gradually rose into importance. From assailing travellers, they took to plundering convoys: from plundering convoys, they sacked walled cities: after the pillage of cities, they dared to harass armies in the field. Their tactics and their morality were admirably fitted to advance them to power in the decline of a great empire. To good faith, or to the commonest rudiments of honesty, they were utter strangers: and pitched battles, or decisive engagements, they never ventured to risk. Thus, in addition to the consciousness of early crimes, and to the terrors of an unseen world, the close of Aurungzebe's long and adventurous life was embittered by the insults of the perfidious and active Maharatta. He died at Ahmednagur, having almost reached the patriarchal age of ninety. Exactly fifty years and four months later, Clive was encamped on the plains of Plassey.

Our attempt in this paper has been to illustrate the policy, and not to describe the historic events of Aurungzebe's reign. It is to the effect of such a policy, that many of the difficulties are owing with which any subsequent government will have to contend in the introduction of reforms. Not that either Hindu or Mussulman dynasties have failed to bequeath to India many great and worthy memorials. The Hindu has left behind him some of the elements of self-government in his village institutions, and in his local functionaries, who should protect the rights of the community in which they are born and bred. He has left to attest the days of his prosperity, stupendous monuments of labour and art, a rich, copious, and a varied literature, and a national character, of which the best qualities are versatile ingenuity, and, in cherished objects, unexampled perseverance. The Mussulman commands our attention by those classic structures, in which severity and elegance are skilfully harmonised, by the introduction of another language, the vehicle for history, and by some semblance of a legislation, intended to prohibit or to punish crime. Time has dealt variously with the splendour and the policy of either race. The accumulated wealth of provinces, the stored jewels, the peacock throne, most of the public works of utility, and some of those dedicated to religion, have either been dispersed, or have perished. The literature of the two nations still invites the researches of the learned, and their inscriptions on monuments of stone yet arrest the attention of the traveller. Meanwhile, the present activity of trade at least equals that of former days, and the natural fertility of

the soil, which two hundred years ago rivalled the Egyptian Delta, has over a far wider surface increased two-fold. But with those monuments, which time has not defaced, and with that fertility, which oppression could not wholly exhaust, there has also descended to us the hateful legacy of faithlessness and corruption. A system, such as we have endeavoured to describe, has produced effects on the national character of both Hindu and Mussulman, which the wisest legislation will not speedily repair. Any character, passing through such an ordeal, will be found vilified and deteriorated. Whence, but from the rarity of truth, proceeds the difficulty of reforming any one department of the State? Why should caution be redoubled, checks be multiplied, and supervision exercised to the utmost extent of jealous minuteness? Why is it that laws, which proceed fresh from the hands of the legislator on a mission of good, in one short twelvemonth are found perverted to the vilest purposes of hatred and oppression? Why is the statesman's brain racked to produce measures, which, while they give security to just rights, it shall defy even the perverse ingenuity of orientals to convert into engines of violence or fraud? What causes disunite families and set brothers at variance, consume in litigation many a fair inheritance, turn courts of justice into sinks of iniquity, wise provisions into instruments of torture, zemindars into tyrants, and ryots into slaves? It is nothing, but an universal want of good faith and honesty. No one, who takes a calm and deliberate survey of the causes which retard the progress of Indian civilisation, but will admit that the main source of popular grievances is an absence of truth in the people themselves. The corruption of one particular department is decried, just as it happens to fall within the scope of individual observation, or, from subordinate causes, to attract more general notice. But it is not that men in peculiar situations are marked by corruption, unknown elsewhere. Perhaps the plague is more virulent in one place than another. The general want of honesty, which has long injured the efficiency of this department, may almost bring that one to a stand. But more or less, it pervades everything: and men, who arraign the corruption prevalent in the executive police, or in the collection of the revenue, or in the salt, or in any one branch which protects public or class interests, may possibly some day be inclined to consider, whether, after all, the main evil does not proceed from the corruption of the people.

The most inveterate enemy of the Company will at least allow, that the native population are but sorry materials to work

with; and the unprejudiced observer will feel a satisfaction in the thought, that to such a native population the intentions of Government have been mild and beneficent. Our rule in India has, in fact, for the last fifty years, been one of the very best intentions. Comprehensive measures and vigorous reforms are perpetually about to be given to the world. A new enemy starts up from some unforeseen quarter, and the promised measures are immediately shelved and forgotten. But excuses, based on pressing emergencies, will not always be valid. Those men, who would prefer a native dynasty to the present Government of India, are well nigh beyond the power of argument, and may be consigned to the operation of their own prejudices, as Hume placed beyond the pale of reason English Whigs, who maintain the reality of the Popish plot, Papists who deny the Irish massacres of 1641, and Scottish Jacobites who believe in the innocence of Queen Mary. Those men, on the other hand, who laugh at incoherent rant and unscrupulous outcry, may think that a comparison with the regimè of Aurungzebe, or of any other sovereign, in which the Company shall appear to advantage, is after all no very great praise. That British functionaries are not habitually rapacious, that power is not perverted to gain, that districts are not plundered, that a numerous population may unhesitatingly confide in the good faith and the impartiality of Government and its officers, is no more than what every man has a right to expect. It were deep shame to the British character were it otherwise. But a high sense of honour in individuals, and an anxiety for the rights of aliens, will not compensate in the eyes of posterity for the absence or the deficiency of those measures, which, unattended by a direct and visible return of income, repay their projectors ten-fold, by strengthening the hands of Government, by binding together the interests of rulers and subjects, and by diffusing the signs of progression every where. For measures of this kind, to which we have an undoubted claim, Sir H. M. Elliot has demanded the period of six centuries. Grant us but one-twelfth of that time; grant that the remainder of this century may pass without foreign invasion or external aggrandisement; and we shall repose our faith in the independence of delegated viceroys, and the irresistible current of public opinion.

As we write, we are incontinently reminded of the favourable position of the empire at this moment. The era of peace, so long prayed for and predicted, seems about to commence. That splendid province, whose ultimate acquisition the ardent have desired, the timid have deprecated, statesmen pondered over, and

all thinking minds have revolved, has at length been annexed to the British empire. The Temple of Janus, open for so many wars, extending over a long series of years, has now been shut: the Indus now forms the natural boundary of the Peninsula, as certainly as the Euphrates should have been an impassable barrier to the Roman power in the East. In both cases the true *limes imperii* has been reached. *Ulterius tentare nefas.* We have perhaps reached the turning point in the long lane. Hitherto no appanage of any empire, ancient or modern, has given such noble opportunities for the growth of administrative or executive talent, created more captains, witnessed so many splendid instances of devotion, of self-denial, or of daring, rejoiced the mother country by so many successes, celebrated so many triumphs. In the service, or under the auspices of the Company, have arisen men, whose toils on Eastern ground have won for them an European reputation, whose incidental researches in Eastern lore have surpassed, in the result, the practised and proverbial industry of continental scholars whose strategy has in other fields been weighed in the balance and not been found wanting, whose diplomacy has been marked by a rigid adherence to good faith, and whose comprehensiveness of intellect and integrity of purpose have won or increased for them those hereditary honours, which, ennobling as they are, can yet hardly enhance the genuine nobility of their possessors. The rule of the Company, were it to terminate to-morrow, without having left any more enduring monuments of administration, might yet be perpetuated in the skill of its commanders, in the integrity of its officers, and in its general character, which has respected the rights and the prejudices of the highest, and with the humblest of its subjects has literally passed into a proverb. But posterity will demand something more; nor will history pass a favourable judgment on any race of men who should fail to stamp their own impress on the face of such a country. The present head of this empire has commenced his Indian career by an act, with which other men might have deemed themselves fortunate to close a long and useful administration. Henceforth may his talents be devoted to consolidate our resources, to extend out best interests, and to lay the permanent foundation of those peaceful measures, which, with thinking minds, shall far surpass the most advantageous of treaties, and the most splendid of triumphs.