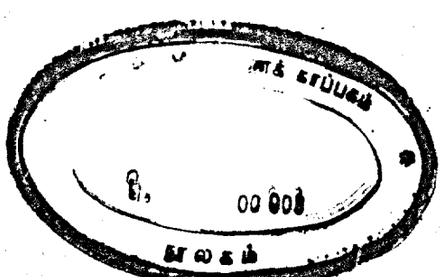
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VOL. V.

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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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WHEN, early in 1836, the British first ascended the Ghats of Goomsur, the scene presented to their view was as novel as it was unexpected. It was in reality the discovery of a previously unknown and unexplored territory—a previously unknown and undescribed people. Beyond the mere fact of the existence of the hills and of a wild people, called the Khonds, who were said to inhabit them, little or nothing seemed to be antecedently known.* The change, therefore, from the low lands of Goomsur, to the colder climate and open country of the elevated table land above the Ghats, where the hills are bare of jungle, the inhabitants vastly more numerous, and their houses greatly superior to those below, was exceedingly striking, and did not fail to operate

* The entire description given of the Khonds in Mr. Sterling's valuable and elaborate work on Orissa, so late as 1825, is contained in the following passage:—"The Khonds are found in great numbers in all the Hill Estates south of the Mahanadi. They form the principal part of the population of Killa Rampur which has thence been called Khondrah Daudpar. The natives have also the idea of a district situated between Dusphalla, Boad and Goomsur, inhabited entirely by this tribe of hill people, which they call Khondra. I believe that the vast unexplored tracts of mountain and forest lying at the back of the Ganjam and Vizagapatam hill estates, down as far as the Godaveri, are peopled chiefly by Khonds in a very savage state, who differ probably very little from their neighbours the Gonds, though Captain Blunt observes, on the authority of the Jaghirdar of Malud, and Manikpatam that the Coands (Khonds) and Goands are to be considered quite distinct races."

The Rev. Mr. Brown, in 1837, after describing some of the forms of human sacrifice among the Khonds, adds:—"How horrible the scenes here presented, *so long practised almost within sight of the European station, and yet none knew it till the recent resurrection.*"

with all the effect of a sudden surprize from an unexpected discovery. The appearance too of the savage-looking inhabitants,—with their only dress consisting of a cloth bound round the middle in such a way as to make the end hang down behind about as low as the flaps of a coat; their hair tied in a knot on the temple or forehead, which was ornamented with a band of red woollen or other cloth, or even paper; and each man carrying an axe, and the far greater part of them a bow and arrows also,—could not fail to contribute powerfully to the general effect of blended surprize and astonishment.

As it is our intention to enter at some length into an account of the measures pursued by the British Government for the general civilization of these wild tribes, and more particularly the extirpation of their atrocious system of human sacrifice, it may better serve to attract and fix the attention of the reader, if, at the outset, we refer to the position of their country, the mode in which we were suddenly brought into contact with them, as well as the social and religious characteristics by which they are so peculiarly distinguished.

Orissa, in which Goomsur is situated, though now only a British province, was anciently the seat of a renowned Monarchy. It derives its name, according to Mr. Sterling, from *Or* or *Odra*, the designation of an original Hindu tribe, and *desa* country—meaning the country of the *Or* or *Odra* race. Its classical name in the Purans is *Utkala*.

Conformably with the style of the Brahmanical Shastras, its annals commence with the death of Krishna, the opening of the *Kali yug* or evil age, 3001 B. C. The legends connected with this early period are in the ordinary style of the wonderful, the ridiculous and the incredible. It is with the accession of the Rajahs, called the *Kesari Pat* or *Vansa*, A. D. 473, that Mr. Sterling is disposed to date the commencement of the real history of the province. It is to the time of the founder of this dynasty, that the recovery of the image and the restoration of the worship of Jagannath are usually referred. After the extinction of the Kesari family, early in the twelfth century (1131), the sovereignty of the country was acquired by a conqueror from the south, who was fabled to have been "the offspring of the goddess Ganga Sana, or the lesser Ganges (Godaveri) by a form of Mahadeo" or Shiva. With him began the race of princes called the Ganga Vansa, or Gajapati line, who ruled the country for about 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,—if such terms may be applied to the annals of a hitherto unknown dynasty, governing one only of the many provinces, which now constitute the British Empire in India."

When conquest had enlarged the Orissan dominions, a new coin and seal were struck with the following titles, so characteristic of the turgid taste of orientalism :—"The illustrious hero, the Gajapati (Lord of elephants); sovereign of Gaur (Bengal), Supreme Monarch over the rulers of the Tribe of Utkala, Kernata, and the nine forts; a divinity terrible as Bhairava to the wicked; protector of the grants enjoyed by the pious; King of Kings; like the Lord of a thousand arms in the field of battle by his unequalled might; and a comet (or portent) to the martial race." At length the Mahommedan invaders appeared, and after many fierce and deadly conflicts, succeeded in establishing their supremacy. With the death of the Rajah Pertab Rudra Deo, A. D. 1524, terminated all the glories of the Gajapati dynasty, and the royal House of Orissa. Soon after the demise of that sovereign "the race itself became extinct, and the independence of the country was not destined long to survive;" though the Rajahs of Khurda "claim to represent the majesty of this once powerful race."

After the lapse of two centuries, (1743) the Berar Mahrattas suddenly made an incursion into the country—plundering and destroying without mercy. And after repeated invasions of a similar predatory character, the whole territory, in about ten years, fell under "the sole undisputed government of the Berar Mahrattas." Their administration was, as in every other part of their foreign conquests, "fatal to the welfare of the people and the prosperity of the country, and exhibited a picture of misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence combined, which makes one wonder how society can have been kept together under so calamitous a tyranny."

In the strange revolutions of empire, however, the whole territory was eventually destined to fall piecemeal under the sway of Imperial Britain. In 1804, the last surviving vestige of Mahratta sovereignty was extinguished in Orissa. Since that period "the proud but insignificant representatives of the Maharajahs of Orissa, (the royal family of Khurda) have been officially acknowledged only as private land-holders. But the liberal policy of government has conferred on them a sufficient pension," in the enjoyment of which they may "pass their days in tranquil and honourable retirement."

A kingdom, which experienced such political vicissitudes,

must also have undergone many and essential territorial changes. The modern Zillah of Cuttack, *(Katak)* which in Sanskrit, means "royal residence," or "seat of empire," may not inaccurately, says Mr. Sterling, "be called Orissa proper, from its comprising the ancient original country of the *Uriya** or *Odra* nation, and from the circumstance of its retaining among the natives of the present day the exclusive appellation of *Or Desa* or *Oresa*." But when the kingdom was in the zenith of its glory, under the Gajapati sovereigns, it occupied an extensive territory of several degrees, both in latitude and longitude—stretching along the western shore of the Bay of Bengal, between the Great Delta and valley of the Ganges and those of the Godaveri. In other words, it comprized within its limits "four of our modern zillahs entire, and portions of three others, viz. Midnapore, Cuttack, Ganjam, and Vizagapatam, with parts of the Jungle Mehals, Hugli, and Rajamundry, besides a portion of the hills and inward land country of Gondwana."

The accounts which the Purans give of the beauty and fertility of this ancient kingdom and the happiness of its inhabitants are quite in keeping with their panegyrics on its ancient heroes. "Its happy inhabitants," say they, "live secure of a reception into the world of spirits, and those who even visit it, and bathe in its sacred rivers, obtain remission of their sins, though they may weigh like mountains. Who shall describe adequately its sacred streams, its temples, its khetrs, its fragrant flowers and fruits of exquisite flavour, and all the merits and advantage of a sojourn in such a land." But without stopping to describe its sacred streams or fragrant flowers, as depicted in the visions of a glowing imagination, it is more to our purpose to point to its leading divisions, Historical and Natural, as they really are. Glancing, then, at a map of the country, it will at once be seen, that it was traversed in its whole length by the range of Eastern Ghats, running at an average distance of fifty or sixty miles from the Coramandel Coast, and was naturally divided, though by no strong or clear lines of demarcation, into an Alpine, a Subalpine, and a Maritime Region. Of these three divisions, the following is Captain Macpherson's brief but clear and intelligible description:—

"1st. Its Maritime division extended along the whole sea board, with an average breadth of fifteen miles. It was an open, salubrious, and highly productive expanse, with the exception of a tract of marshy and forest-

* Towards the south in Ganjam this term is pronounced and written Oodiah or Wodiah.

covered deltas, intersected by lagunes, which was situated in its Northern portion. The open and fertile parts of this territory formed, in conformity with the general usage, the khalisah or state Domain, whilst the wilder and less accessible districts were partitioned into a number of Zemindaries of very various rank, value and extent.

2nd. The Subalpine region comprehended the subordinate ramifications and the dependent hill groups of the great mountain chain upon either side, with the extensive tracts of country which they embraced. It comprized above one-half of the entire area of the kingdom, forming a vast, ill explored expanse of hilly wastes, impenetrable forests, and swampy wood lands, interspersed with numerous vallies generally characterized by beauty and fertility, and broken occasionally by broad and productive plains.

This region was divided into a large number of Zemindaries, some of which, bearing the rank of petty principalities, have made a considerable figure in the history of the eastern division of the Peninsula of India.

The subject of the relation of these great estates to the Orissan Monarchy, and to the empires in which they have been included since its fall, has been obscured rather than illustrated by the application to it of the terms and analogies of feudalism by writers who have regarded its objects, and its external features, rather than its origin, its principles and its spirit. These Zemindary Domains vary in point of extent, from inconsiderable estates of small value, to territories of great dimensions, yielding large revenues. The latter are possessed by families which derive their origin from the Royal Houses of Orissa, or from the principal stocks of Rajputana, or which have sprung from successful adventurers generally of two classes, the leaders of predatory bands and great provincial officers, in whose hands administrative have passed into proprietary rights.

But the greater Zemindars of Orissa, as a body, do not owe their territories, like the original nobility of feudal Europe, to the direct patronage of a sovereign, nor their authority to the social wants of a particular age. Their possessions were generally acquired by the enterprize or by the policy of the founders of each house; either conquered from earlier Hindu proprietors, or wrested from the primitive occupants of the soil, or severed by fraud and force from the state. But all have acknowledged the theoretical supremacy, in succession, of the Orissan Monarchy, of that of Delhi, of the Mahratta power, and of our Empire, accepting from each either original or renewed deeds of tenure, which bear every date within a period of twelve centuries, and exemplify conditions endlessly varied.

The precarious and unfruitful allegiance which they have yielded to these powers has been signified by the payment of tribute which, under our rule, is in some quarters nominal, in some heavy; by the performance of services generally formal, and the maintenance of nominal contingents.

But the chiefs of these estates have always borne the title of Rajah, and have generally exercised, with few practical limitations, all the powers of independent sovereignty, ruling the haughty and uncontrolled despots of their wild domains,—save where revolts have arisen, generally from the operation of unsuitable laws and excessive assessments, and we have bent them completely or partially to our yoke.

3rd. The Alpine Region, comprising the central ridges, the lofty plateau, and the inner vallies of the chain of Ghats, with the great tracts of forest by which they are surrounded, has been occupied from the earliest historical period, as it is at present, chiefly by remnants of three races, which claim, with the universal support of tradition, the aboriginal possession not of this portion alone, but of the greater part of the soil of Orissa.

Of these remnants, the Koles prevail in the Northern parts, the Khonds

in the middle region, and the Sourabs in the south; and whilst each of these holds exclusive possession of a part of the central tracts of mountain and forest, it exists also, thinly scattered over portions of the Zemindary domain, under various relations to the Hindu people.

The Khonds are now seen, in both of these situations, within the following ill defined limits. Upon the east they appear scattered over the wilder tracts of the Ganjam district bordering upon the Chilka Lake, and are seen in that quarter at a few points, upon the coast of the Bay of Bengal. They are found, on the north west, on the confines of Gondwana, in longitude 83°, while on the west they extend within the unsurveyed frontier of Berar. They are found as far south as Bustar in latitude 19° 40′, while the Zemindary of Palconda is like that of Kunapur possessed by a Khond Chief. On the south east, they are replaced on the limits of the Souradah and Moherry district in Ganjam, by the Sourah race, which thenceforward occupies the eastern acclivities of the Ghats to the Godaveri. To the north, fifty miles beyond the Mahanadi, in the Meridian of Boad, they are succeeded by the Kole people. On the north east, they are found high in Cuttack, while Sourahs (not identified with the southern race) there inhabit the inferior ridges of the Ghats.

The extreme length of the territory which is thus indicated, is about two hundred; its extreme breadth about one hundred and seventy miles; and it is unequally divided by the Mahanadi flowing from west to east in 20° 40′ N. lat.

The Sourah race extends from Kimedy Zemindary which adjoins Goomsur upon the south to the Godaveri, a region two hundred miles in length, which is almost entirely unexplored."

The races now named form, to all appearance, a portion of the "numerous remnants of the primitive population of India, which have survived the Hindu conquest where favoured by social and physical circumstances; and which are now to be observed under the most various aspects and often under highly interesting relations to the supervening people."*

It would, however, be altogether repugnant to our present purpose, were we to expatiate more at large either on the History of the Orissan Monarchy, or on the condition of the diverse races which it claimed as subjects or as allies, or on the varieties of the wild and uncivilized hill population of India. Our more immediate business is with the Khonds, and our first object is to shew how we originally came in contact with them.

Before the recent Goomsur war we had no relationships with this race nor any knowledge of their peculiarities. But

* "Exactly similar to these," says Captain Macpherson, "is the position of the Cheunswars to the south of the Kistna, on the same range of Ghats; that of the Goands (or Gonds) which replace the Khouds on the West and North West, following the Vindhya chain across Behar; that of the Tadawars of the pastoral tracts of the Nilgiri Hills, and the Curumbars at their bases; that of the Bheels of the Dekhan and Central India, and, innumerable others between Nepal and Comorin, which, with diverse institutions, manners, superstitions, tongues, and physical features, exist both unchanged, and at every stage of assimilation to the more civilized people."

Goomsur had long been one of the British tributaries, and it had certain political relationships with the Khonds, unintelligible and unknown to us. In the case of this petty principality the tribute happened to be rather a heavy one. The average gross revenue has been estimated at rather more than a lakh and a half of rupees*. Prior to 1783, the public tribute derived from it was never more, generally less, than half a lakh. In that year, the reigning Rajah, Virama Bunge (Bhonju) having failed to perform his engagaments to Government, the Zemindary was taken from him and made over to his elder brother, Lutchmana Bunge; who, besides undertaking to liquidate the arrears then due, agreed to raise the tribute to a lakh. In those days the invariable practice was to effect such arrangements through the medium of sirkars, who became responsible for the fulfilment of the terms entered into by the Zemindar, and, under that plea, were permitted to take the management of the country and the collection of the revenue into their own hands.

In 1788, the Rajah died and was succeeded by his son, Strikara Bunge; but the country remained as before under the grinding sway of the securities. The Rajah, disgusted at the situation in which he found himself, at length went on a pilgrimage to Brindabun, and resigned the Zemindary to his son, Dananjia Bunge who held it until 1795, when his father returned and expelled him from the country. From this period the Zemindary continued in a state of the utmost disorder and confusion. For about three years little or nothing was paid into the public treasury. During the greater part of that period, the Rajah himself absconded. His conduct was attributed by the collector to his inability to meet the public demand; he, on the other hand, declared that the course he had taken was forced upon him by the ill-treatment and the frauds of the securities and other agents employed by the collector. But be the cause what it might, his disaffection terminated in open rebellion, and in setting the public authorities at defiance.

When matters were in this state, Mr. Brown, in 1800, succeeded to the collectorate. At first he felt sanguine of reclaiming the Rajah to obedience; but the hope proving fallacious, he was constrained to apply for military aid to eject

* The actual sum is said to be 1,66,140. To save the necessity of future reference we may, once for all, state that our brief epitome of the recent history of Goomsur is derived or rather compiled mainly from original documents which had been drawn up with great care by the Commissioner Mr. Russel, and other public officers in the service of Government.

him from the Zemindary. The Madras troops in the northern Circars not being sufficient, troops were sent from Bengal under Colonel Marley, who was armed with power, to bring to summary trial, and, if necessary, punish with death all persons found in arms, or, in any way, aiding or abetting the cause of the insurgents. On his arrival in Ganjam, early in May, 1801, the Colonel issued a proclamation, offering a reward of ten thousand rupees for the apprehension of the Rajah. War was then commenced in earnest throughout the district. It was prosecuted with vigour. Forts, barriers, and stockades were destroyed. The country was completely scoured; but from the enemy's better knowledge of the roads, he was always enabled to make good his retreat into the jungles. Having established posts for protection, in different parts, Colonel Marley, by proclamation, formally deposed the Rajah (Strikara) and appointed his son, Dananjia, in his stead.

In September, the unhealthiness of the posts compelled the troops to fall back into the more open country; which encouraged the peons in the interest of the deposed Rajah to make incursions from the jungles, and occasion much mischief. In October, sickness increased to such an extent that all the regular troops had to be withdrawn, and the protection of the country left to the friends and adherents of the young Zemindar. The rebel party then renewed their efforts with increased vigor. They retook the principal post of Koladah, but were soon again dislodged with great loss. At length, a temporary cessation of hostilities ensued, in consequence of a compromise on the part of Mr. Brown, who granted forgiveness and a pecuniary provision to the ex-Rajah, on condition that he should acquiesce in the accession of his own son. But as his proximity to the Zemindary and the intrigues of his adherents tended to keep it in an unsettled and disturbed state, Mr. Brown next gave him certain Maliah districts for his maintenance, free of any payment to government. This arrangment lasted for several years, when he got into difficulties with the Khonds. Through the ascendant influence of his son, he was obliged to abandon the country. He then roamed about in the garb of a religious mendicant—visited most of the shrines and places of pilgrimage in the western provinces—returned, through the Mahratta country, to Madras—had an interview with the Governor, and through him, obtained a passport once more to Ganjam.

About the year 1812, a great many accusations of violence, cruelty and murder were brought against the reigning Zemindar, Dananjia Bunge, which led to a voluminous correspondence

between the Magistrate and Government. At last, in 1814, a warrant was issued for his apprehension, and for the employment of troops to enforce it. For resistance to the process of the Criminal Court, the Zemindary was declared to be forfeited. War was commenced, and pursued so hotly that, in June of the following year (1815), Dananjia gave himself up to the collector, and was finally sent to Chingleput. The Zemindary was then held by Dora Bisaye* and other leading native officials, in the name and for behoof of a supposed son of the ejected Rajah Dananjia. But there was really no such son in existence—the father having previously murdered him. For this supposed living but really dead son, Dora Bisaye and his wily compeers actually succeeded in passing off a *female child* on the public authorities.

The former ex-Rajah, Strikara, the father of Dananjia, after his return from Madras betook himself to his wonted vocation of fomenting all manner of seditious disturbances. He was seized, in the guise of a Byragi, or religious mendicant, and confined in Berampore, Ganjam. Early in 1818, he escaped and fled to Goomsur. He was soon at the head of a party—detected and exposed the conspiracy of Dora Bisaye and his co-adjutors—sent the supposititious girl-Rajah to the collector, and was himself eventually re-instated in the Zemindary, in May, 1819. It was, however, stipulated, that, at his death, the Zemindary should revert to Government, to be disposed of as might then be thought most proper. The rent or revenue was fixed at 75,000 rupees. From this an allowance of 8,000 rupees was made to Dananjia, who, moreover, was told, that should his demeanour be peaceable and his conduct satisfactory, he might, at his father's death, be restored to the Zemindary.

For about ten years, Strikara paid the public demand with unwonted regularity. He then began to get embarrassed. Through the mismanagement of his people, and the appropriation of his resources to superstitious purposes, he fell into arrears, to the amount of nearly a lakh of rupees. Finding himself incompetent to liquidate so large a sum, he intimated his wish to retire from public business and surrender the Zemindary to his son Dananjia. The latter was recalled from Chingleput; but before he arrived, the old man had changed his mind and refused to make over the country to him. Finding, however, from the appearance of a detachment of troops, that the government was determined to use force, he submitted to

* This is the official title of a functionary, the nature and character of whose office will afterwards be explained.

the necessity, and retired in 1831 to Jagannath, on an annual pension from the public treasury of 8000 Rupees. The Zemindary was then formally restored to Dananjia, on the same terms as it was held by his father, so far as related to the future amount of tribute; but subject to the farther condition, that he was to discharge the balance due for former years. In the event of his failing to make good this engagement, it was distinctly stipulated that the Zemindary would be resumed by government and transferred from him and his family for ever.

For two years (1832-33 and 1833-34) the assessment was paid in full; while in addition to the current demand, he undertook to discharge, by annual instalments of about ten thousand rupees, the heavy arrears which had accumulated during his father's management. All this he seemed at first really anxious to perform. But soon a change came over his mind,—whether from its being impaired by excessive riot and debauchery, or from the selfish intrigues of his courtiers,* or from these and other causes combined, it is not easy to determine. But, be that as it may, of the fact itself there could be no doubt. The Collector's agent he would not allow to proceed beyond the frontier village; and threatened with punishment any one who afforded him shelter, or attended to his orders.

In July, 1835, the Board of Revenue at length directed the Collector to warn him that, if arrears were not discharged, within a month, the Zemindary would be resumed by Government, agreeably to the terms of his *sunnud*. A warrant was, at the same time, transmitted for his arrest, if necessary, as a state prisoner. But the Collector was authorized to offer him a restoration of his former pension, if he agreed to retire and live peaceably beyond the bounds of the Zemindary. The official communication was made to him on the 7th August following. Still, unwilling to proceed to extremities, the Collector made several attempts to obtain a personal interview with him, so as faithfully to remonstrate, and solemnly to warn him of the danger on which he was rushing headlong. At last he made his appearance; promised to pay all arrears within twelve days; and requested, in the meanwhile,

* It was afterwards fully ascertained that one of the chief authors of the Zemindar's revolt was Dora Bisaye, the Khond chief, who had been appointed by Dananjia Bunge, Head Agent, in connection with his Government, for all the Khond territory belonging to Goomsur above the Ghats, under the title of Maliah Bisaye. He had filled the same place when Dananjia was in power before. Strikara, after his accession, had appointed another, Lochana Bisaye, in his stead; but the power he (Dora) had acquired, enabled him to defy his authority, and evade all his efforts to seize him. Of late years, he had lived chiefly in a village established by himself on land belonging to Keradah.

that the Collector's Amin or Agent be withdrawn from his territory.

On the 7th September, the period, within which the arrears* must be paid, expired. The Collector had no alternative but to carry the orders of Government into effect. Anticipating resistance, he deemed it expedient to advance a body of troops into the country; though the season was peculiarly unfavourable for any military operation. On the 22nd September, the detachment under Colonel Hodgson reached Askah. Various unsatisfactory proposals were then made by the Zemindar, the discussion of which occasioned delay. The Collector did every thing in his power to induce him quietly to submit; but in vain. He would not surrender himself. After coming, on one occasion, a great way with the Collector's Agent, he suddenly jumped on his horse, and galloped back again.

All measures of conciliation having thus failed, the force advanced, and on the 3rd November (1835) occupied Goomsur; and on the 9th, the town and fort of Koladah—meeting with no molestation, till, on the 12th, they reached Gullery. Here the adherents of the Zemindar opened a fire on the camp, and did all in their power to oppose its farther progress. On this act of open rebellion, martial law was proclaimed; the Zemindary was declared to be forfeited; and a reward of 5000 Rupees offered for the apprehension of Dananjia Bunge.

In marching forward, the troops were incessantly fired on from the hills and the jungles:—the Rajah and his followers getting constantly ahead. The difficulties to be encountered were now found to be immense. The whole country was in a state of insurrection. The authority of Government was acknowledged only where the presence of the troops was felt; and they were all but disabled with fever. The neighbouring Zemindars, the hill chiefs, the inhabitants of the country, and in many instances even the public servants of Government seemed averse to the downfall of the Goomsur family† and the establishment of the *direct* power of Government

* The balance due was Rs. 40,333 and Rs. 10,767, the instalment payable on account of his father's arrears. This may seem a large sum to have been demanded, in payment, within so short a time. But, from the accounts and documents of Dora Bisaye, afterwards seized, it appeared that he and his master had 70,000 Rupees, when they went into rebellion—a much larger sum than that claimed by Government—so that there seemed to be much perverse wilfulness in the matter.

† In the Madras Journal for January 1838, appears the translation of a long Telúgú Manuscript purporting to be an historical narrative of the Rajahs of Goomsur. It is altogether a purely Brahmanical Legend—tracing the origin of the *Bhonju* family, to some *rishi* or great sage of the *Treta Yug*—some thousands of years it may be before the Mosaic era of the creation—and gravely registering the genealogy and the exploits of the ruling members of the family down to Dananjia Bunje, in whom the line finally terminated.

instead. The country was deserted by the inhabitants, with no symptom of a friendly disposition any where. In these circumstances, the Collector, Mr. Stevenson, was induced to propose that a son of Dananjia, Vurdaranze Bunge, should be appointed; or even Strikara to be again restored. This, however, was a measure which the Government could not entertain—being apprehensive that such a proceeding would amount to an open acknowledgement of its own inability to enforce the penalty which it had proclaimed. On the other hand, they could not shut their eyes to the difficulties of completely subjugating the country. Detachments might, and did, march to any part of it. But, when they arrived, they found nothing but a few deserted thatched cottages or huts, in some place of difficult access. The post, from the nature of its position, the difficulty of supply, the deadliness of the climate, could not be retained; and even if it could, the cost of so doing would be immensely greater than any concurrent gain that could be expected from it. The detachments were obliged to retire under a heavy and constant fire from invisible enemies, who naturally attributed the necessity of retreat to their own superior prowess. The British had no party—no friends to give any information on which the least reliance could be placed;—while the enemy was made acquainted with every minutiæ in their movements. No promise of reward—no bribe,—had the effect of drawing a single individual of any weight to assist in any material point. The authority of the British in these quarters was found to be little more than a shadow—not being acknowledged in the least beyond the fertile plains of the low country. The Rajah was all in all. The extensive mountain tracts of Goomsur joined on to other endless tracts of mountains and forest, of which the British had no knowledge, and with the independent chiefs of which they were even unacquainted by name.

When affairs began to assume so serious an aspect, the Collector at last suggested that some person invested with greater powers than himself, should be appointed to undertake their management. Accordingly, the Honourable Mr. Russel, was commissioned to the discharge of the arduous task. Leaving Madras on the 22d December (1835), he reached General Taylor's camp, near Goomsur, on the 11th January 1836.

It was now given out and very generally believed that the rebel zemindar, Dananjia, was dead. And the object, on all sides, seemed to be, to secure a public recognition of his son, Vurdaranze, as his successor. Mr. Russel, however, would give no pledge, beyond that of kind treatment, if the son was given up to him.

After various excuses and delays, this boy, aged about 13 years, was on the 6th February, brought to Mr. Russel, being accompanied by one of the leading insurgent chiefs. The rest of them remained behind, to see whether the youth would be formally installed in the zemindary. Being disappointed in their expectation, in this respect, they, after a few days, resolved to disperse, and stir up more disturbances.

It was now determined to pursue the rebel fugitives, who betook themselves to the jungles and the hills. In furtherance of this object, it was found necessary for the *British* troops, for *the first time*, to ascend the Ghats. And, in doing so, they came in contact, for *the first time*, with their wild Highland inhabitants, the Khonds.*

Every effort was made to prevent the outbreak of any hostilities with them. They were distinctly apprized of the sole object which the British had in view. They were expressly assured that they had nothing to fear—that no new duties would be imposed on them—only the general duty they had always owed *the Sirkar*†, viz. obedience to the persons appointed as Bisaye over them, attendance in arms when their services were required, the seizure and delivery of all offenders obnoxious to their authority, and a trifling annual *nuzzur* or offering, in token of their allegiance. At first, these positive assurances appeared to have the desired effect. They visited the British troops by tribes and villages, and brought fowls to barter with the men for small pieces of cloth and tobacco. They soon got very fond of amusing themselves with looking glasses. Mr. Russel was highly pleased to find the good understanding which prevailed between the Khonds and the troops. On his own way to join the camp,‡ he was met by the people of all the villages near the road. Great numbers came to him with their chiefs, bringing with them the usual presents, of a kid, a bunch of plantains, and some fowls, and receiving in return

* The troops under Captain Butler appear to have been the first that encountered these in any number. When marching up one of the steep passes, the Khonds collected in great force, and appeared determined to oppose any further progress of the British troops. But, after the explanations given, they quietly withdrew. At that time the region into which the troops had advanced was entirely unexplored. "Of the Khond people," says Captain Macpherson, "we knew nothing save the name. We were ignorant of the nature of the connections which subsisted between them and Goomsur, or the neighbouring zemindaries. We knew nothing of their social organization, or their feeling towards the late zemindar, or towards ourselves; of their numbers, their language or their manners;—while they could have formed no idea of the character of our power, of our views, or any of our objects."

† The universal native designation for the Supreme or Paramount power for the time being.

‡ Mr. Russel was accompanied to the interior by Lieut. Hill, of the survey department; Capt. Campbell, his own assistant, had been despatched on another errand.

red handkerchiefs, and other little articles on which they set value.

This pleasing, kindly and friendly intercourse was destined, however, to be but of short continuance. The evil counsel of Dora Bisaye and the other fugitive chiefs at last began to prevail. These succeeded in beguiling the unhappy people, with their base insinuations and gross mis-statements. It was strongly asseverated that the real ultimate intention of Government was to deprive them of the privileges they had hitherto enjoyed and so highly prized—their independence and birthright liberties—to seize upon their country and subject it to a heavy revenue assessment. Deceived and duped by such artful and mischievous representations, the deluded people, in an evil hour, resolved to resort to arms and repel force by force.* Every attempt was made to undeceive them, but in vain. And this was the signal for the commencement of a harrassing and miserable and inglorious warfare.

It were altogether foreign to the purpose of this article to enter into any detailed account of the scenes of devastation and bloodshed, which, for the next three months, were so widely enacted throughout the hitherto unvisited and unknown Highlands of Goomsur. We need only glance at a few leading particulars, and then very briefly state the result.

Rewards varying from 500 to 5,000 rupees, were, by proclamation, offered for the capture of the chief rebels, Dora Bisaye and others. But, wretched and poverty-stricken though the people were, not one in all Khondistan was found ready, in the case of one of their own chiefs, to take the price of blood. The circumstance may serve to remind us of the

* It was also supposed that the unworthy and unjustifiable conduct of some of the men who lagged behind to steal fowls from friendly villages, might have furnished some ground of provocation, and given a colouring of plausibility to the fictitious statements of Dora Bisaye and his companions. Afterwards it was found that there was another, and still stronger cause than any yet named, and one of whose nature or existence the British had originally no suspicion. As will be afterwards better shewn, there existed a *very peculiar political* relationship between these Khonds and the Rajah of Goomsur. "The dying Rajah," says Capt. Macpherson, "had obtained a pledge from several of the tribes of the plateau, given before their great Divinity, to prevent in any event the *capture* of his family which had suffered treatment, in the last degree dishonourable, at our hands, upon a former occasion, when taken by Colonel Fletcher's force in 1815. The disposition of the Khonds, at first considered amicable, was observed to tend towards hostility, upon the apprehension of these distinguished guests. But the existence of their pledge first appeared from a bold, startling, and partially successful attempt to fulfil it. They rose and overwhelmed a small detachment, which, contrary to the intentions of the Commissioner, was employed to escort a portion of the family of the Zemindar by a difficult pass from the plateau to the low country, putting to death, to prevent their dishonour, seven ladies of the Zenana." Thus these poor people "were arrayed against the British in the name of every authority which they regarded as legitimate and in the sacred name of hospitality."

somewhat similar devotion of the Scottish Highlanders to Prince Charles, when even the magnificent lure of three lakhs of rupees could not tempt the poorest of his followers to betray him into the hands of a hostile Government. Dora Bisaye, in particular, as their principal chieftain, was an object of deepest reverence to the Khonds. He had freely thrown himself on their hospitality and protection. And in that feeling of honour, which in such circumstances, such wild tribes, whatever be the other defects of their character, have often been seen to exhibit, he found a refuge of more inviolable security than in the munitions of rocks.

Various attempts were next made to open communications with any of the chiefs who had not yet committed themselves by any overt acts of rebellion; but in vain. No offer of money or of presents could induce any of the commonest Khonds to act intermediately even as messengers. In this emergency, recourse was had to the native method of fastening letters, written in the Uriya language, to the boughs of trees, and other conspicuous places, where they were most likely to attract notice. The letters were always found afterwards to be removed; but no effect whatever was produced on any of the chiefs.

When any villages were approached, it was uniformly found that the inhabitants had fled to the higher hills and neighbouring jungles, carrying with them all their cattle, grain, and other property. And if, in any case, a few were discovered lagging behind, they manifested no disposition to espouse the British cause, either because they could feel no real interest in doing so, or because they were deterred by fear lest any aid they might afford during the short stay of the troops, would render them objects of revenge after their departure. When any of them, under the influence of fear, undertook to act the part of guides, to any of the fastnesses in which their principal chief might be reported to have taken refuge, they almost invariably proved their acquaintance with the tactics of their brother mountaineers of the west, when professing to assist the celebrated Baillie Nicol Jervie in his pursuit of the redoubtable Rob Roy. They repeatedly brought the troops to a dead fix—conducting them to spots, where they found themselves literally shut up—surrounded by rocks and precipices hundreds of feet in height. Then to their surprize and dismay, would a comparative handfull of British officers and soldiers find themselves suddenly encompassed by a bristling array of one or two thousand Khonds starting from their ambuscade, and displaying axes and bows and arrows in a manacing attitude from the "bush and bracken" of the

neighbouring hills—somewhat reminding us of the famous apparition which started into being at the shrill whistle of Roderick Dhu—

> "Instant through copse and heath, arose
> Bonnets and spears and bended bows;
> On right, on left, above, below,
> Spring up at once the lurking foe;
> From shingles gray their lances start,
> The bracken-bush sends forth the dart,
> The rushes and the willow wand
> Are bristling into axe and brand,
> And every tuft of broom gives life
> To plaided warrior arm'd for strife.
> That whistle garrison'd the glen
> At once with full five hundred men,
> As if the yawning hill to heaven
> A subterranean host had given."

It was not the policy of these wild people to meet disciplined troops in the open field. No. Such encounter they always took good care to avoid. It was from behind the bush and the rock that they aimed invisibly their fatal shafts; for there was scarcely a solitary crag or thicket that did not conceal a foe with his deadly axe and poisoned arrow. In this way they repeatedly cut off stragglers, and small guards. On the occasion already alluded to in a previous note, they nearly destroyed a detachment of upwards of thirty men with two British officers several women and servants. After this the Khonds were wont to insult the British troops by vauntfully appearing in the clothes and uniform of their murdered comrades. At last the fear of them became almost contagious; and the sepoys were well nigh seized with a general panic. And to add to their misfortune, no European or Native escaped fever; though the country above the ghats was to appearance healthy.

Of the Khonds, on the other hand, numbers were shot like wild beasts. Some were seized and hung up on the trees. Their villages were every where laid in ashes. The inhabitants were either dead, or fled to enter into fresh contests with the tiger and other lords of the forest. And with the habitations of man perished also the produce of the field; while the hopes of a coming harvest were wholly blasted. The widow and several members of the late Rajah's family together with some of the more notable of the rebel chiefs had also been taken.

At last, Sam Bisaye, the powerful chief of Hodzoghoro, accompanied by Ostan Sing of Tintalagudda, made their appearance. The various shuffling excuses and delays of the former greatly shook Mr. Russel's confidence in him. He professed to be friendly. But it soon appeared that his sole object was

to amuse with false hopes and idle stories about the lurking places of Dora Bisaye, and other fugitives. Well did he know where they lay concealed. With his knowledge and connivance they often skulked in safety within a stone's throw of their pursuers. While professing a desire to aid the British, he gave secret information of all their movements, and, by his influence with the people, under whose protection they were living, he prevented these from delivering them up. Thus it was that, through his continued treachery, Dora Bisaye and others still escaped; while, in other instances, there was the best reason to conclude that he was accessory to the rescue of some, after they were captured. As it was, Dora Bisaye, in particular, had many hair-breadth escapes. His temporary place of refuge was often invaded, but an hour or two after he had decamped—leaving his cooking vessels still warm with sundry other petty articles behind him.

Thus before the setting in of the monsoon in June (1836), the whole of the district, including its strong holds and most difficult positions, had been frequently visited by the British troops, who left behind them a universal scene of havoc and desolation. The insurgents had no longer any place that they could rely upon as a safe retreat. With the exception of Dora Bisaye, the most influential of their chiefs had been taken. Some of the rest, it was ascertained, had fled to the Hill Districts of Boad and Duspalla in the Bengal Presidency.* In the low country, hostilities had entirely ceased; and the people returned to their ordinary occupations. And thus,—after an infinitude of harassing work—fighting, burning, capturing, marching and counter-marching—terminated the *first* campaign of the Goomsur War.

Meanwhile, during the interval of the cessation of hostilities, an Act (XXIII.) was passed, merely declaring Goomsur and Souradah† to be no longer subject to the general Regulations, and giving the Madras Government power to adopt the

* In anticipation of such a contingency, Mr. Stevenson, the collector, had, as far back as the 13th November, 1835, written to the commissioner of Cuttack to move troops into the hill Zemindaries on the Bengal side. This the Bengal Government, from their want of information respecting the nature of the country, declined to do. Mr. Russel subsequently wrote to the same effect, with a similar result;—though permission was granted to him and his party, if deemed necessary, to cross the frontier. Afterwards Mr. Wilkinson, the collector of Púri, went to use his influence with the Zemindar of Nyghur, to deliver up the rebel fugitives, still lurking in his territories; while Mr. Ricketts, the commissioner at Cuttack, intimated that the Bengal Government must move on forces to crush a rebellion in Baunpore, which bordered nearly on Goomsur, and punish those who continued to harbour the rebel fugitives.

† This Zemindary had been annexed by purchase, in 1829, to that of Goomsur; and now, of course, and shared in the common forfeiture.

mode of administration best suited to the tribes. During the monsoon, Sam Bisaye and other chiefs were also detained, from motives of policy. All doubt of the death of the late Rajah had ceased. No disturbances any where broke out. And at length the Government resolved on the absolute resumption of the Zemindary.*

And however ominous the forebodings seemed to be, before this step was actually taken, the propriety of it was now proved by the general satisfaction with which the decision was received when finally and irrevocably taken. The people, far from evincing, as was anticipated, any sympathy for the family ejected, hailed their removal from the Zemindary as a deliverance from rulers, who knew no law but the gratification of their own passions, and from whose cruel oppressions no family was safe.

Of the *second* and *last* campaign of this unhappy Goomsur war,—which, commencing about the middle of November, 1836, terminated about the beginning of May, 1837;—little need be said. Both in its leading characteristics and more minute details it very closely resembled the *first*. At its close, the spirit of insurrection and rebellion was not only fairly broken but every where exterminated—and peace and order not only restored but every where formally established.

New villages began to rise up on every side. The Military classes who had always been foremost in their resistance, and all along the most active opponents of British supremacy, gave the most substantial proofs of their submission. The entire country was in the absolute possession of the British. With the exception of Dora Bisaye, every chief, whose capture was of any importance, had been taken,† and condemned to

* Among the considerations which influenced this final consummation, the following may doubtless be specified, viz., that the numerous military expeditions necessary to be undertaken for the suppression of disturbances, arising from the misconduct of the Zemindars, and the intrigues of parties struggling for power, rendered Goomsur an expensive appendage to the British Government—that all claims on the part of the reigning family had legally ceased—that the restoration of it to power would, in a few years, produce a renewal of the same scenes and a repetition of the same calls for the aid of military force; whereas, from the situation of the zemindary, its direct and continued possession, on the part of the British Government, would add to its salutary power and influence over the neighbouring states.

† "The Khonds themselves," says Captain Macpherson, "refused with the most admirable constancy, to bring their natural Heads, or their guests, bound to our scaffolds. The country was laid utterly desolate. The population was unceasingly pursued by the troops. The Rajah's *Hindu officers* were given up for a reward in the Maliahs of Boad. The Khond Chiefs of the offending district of Goomsur were betrayed one by one by the (Hindu) Naiks of the border, and the Hindu inhabitants of the hills, with the exception of the Chief, Dora Bisaye, who favoured or feared by all, escaped to the Patna Zemindary, from whence, having obtained the promise of his life from the Commissioner for Cuttack, he sometime after came in."

imprisonment, exile, or execution. And as regarded the great ring leader of the rebellion he was now reduced to a condition of utter powerlessness. There remained not the shadow of an apprehension that he could any more disturb or endanger the public tranquillity. Instead of the former chiefs, new Múlikos were every where appointed. And Sam Bisaye,—to whose character, on account of his treacherous conduct in the *first* campaign, much suspicion naturally attached, but who had rendered some very important services in the *second*—was rewarded by having the office of Dora Bisaye, or chief Bisaye, to whom all the others owed obedience, conferred on him, with the additional honorary title of *Bahadur Bukshi*.* To bring him into closer and more frequent intercourse with the European functionaries of Government, a portion of land was allotted to him in the low country. The peons who were most deeply implicated in the late rebellion were removed to a distance; and their lands bestowed on the sirdars who had been faithful, and who by being thus mixed up with others that had been more or less disaffected, contributed essentially to the general protection and safety. The native corps of peons, raised and organised by Major Campbell, appeared to answer every expectation. And thus, all things around seemed to hold out the promise and the guarántee of lasting peace and prosperity.†

* This is a title only given to "chief Ministers," and it was added to distinguish Sam Bisaye from his predecessors It is common to man, in all stages of civilization, to be flattered with honorary titles. The names, by which the principal leaders in the late insurrection were best known, were titles of this kind, conferred upon them by the Rajah. Of some of them, which were very characteristic, the following are translations:—"Strong of Arm;" "Lion in war;" "Unconquerable;" "Strong as the elephant in battle;" "Lion hearted;" "Strong as the Lion in battle;" "One who works in darkness;" "Swifter than the winged tribe;" "One who can get through a rock;" "Swift as the hawk," &c.

† From the brief sketch given of the recent history of Goomsur, it has appeared that the whole country has been in an unsettled state since it came into our possession—that each successive zemindar had been in rebellion against us—that the public revenue was uncertain, and even when realized, was collected with difficulty—that the actual state of the country and its management was so little known, that it was governed for more than two years in the name of a boy who was dead, and was personated by a girl—that the endeavours made at different times to establish our power by means of troops had been attended by a great sacrifice of treasure, life, and character, owing to the system of compromise which had marked the close of every such attempt. And the history of our connection with Goomsur, it would seem, is but a repetition, more or less, of the history of our connection with all the great zemindaries to the south— Purlah Kimedy, Golkondah and Vizianagram, and various parts of the Vizagapatam Districts. Such having been so uniformly and extensively the scenes of violence and anarchy exhibited in these regions, it well becomes the Statesman and the Philanthropist to ask, what has been the cause? There is good reason to believe, and if we mistake not, it was Mr. Russel's opinion, that one chief cause has been the great mistake of our system in applying laws and regulations, unsuited alike to the nature and circumstances of the country and the character and feelings of the people—laws and regulations, too, which, more especially in the hill districts, we have not the means of enforcing. For surely, there can be few greater

Such, then, were the time, the way and the circumstances in which the British were first brought into direct contact and

absurdities than, on all occasions, to apply the laws, that are adapted to one state of society, to all other states however widely dissimilar.

Nor is it that the system pursued there has been inapplicable merely. We have not been consistent with ourselves. The system pursued in one place has been often at total variance with that adopted in another—provoking unfavourable contrast and terminating in irritation and open anarchy. Look, for example, at either side of the border or frontier line between the Presidencies of Madras and Bengal. On the Bengal side, in the neighbouring zemindaries of Cuttack, the tribute paid to the state is a "mere pepper corn;" the zemindars are free from all interference whatever with the internal government of the country; neither are they subject to the ordinary Courts of Justice. On the Madras side of the frontier, on the other hand, the Zemindars or Rajahs have been subject to the Courts and Regulations in common with all others; the assessment was originally high, being made on the principle of allowing one third of the gross revenues; in case of default, the lands were liable to sequestration, and eventually to sale for recovery of arrears; while the Rajahs themselves were liable in their own persons to arrest and imprisonment.

A change of system was obviously demanded; and in the necessity of some modification all parties appear to have concurred—from the Governor-General of India downwards.

What, in the first instance, Mr. Russel proposed was, that while the low country or coast zemindaries remained subject to the Courts as before, both in Ganjam and Visagapatam, the Hill zemindars and Tributaries "should be exempted from the jurisdiction of the ordinary Courts, and placed exclusively under the Collector of the District, and that the powers then vested in the Criminal Judge and Courts of Appeal and Circuit be transferred to that officer, modified so far as to dispense with Mahommedan law, and provide in certain cases for a reference to the Sudder and Foujdari Adalut, and the Board of Revenue." Even in cases of reference, whether Civil, Criminal, or Revenual, Courts or Boards, in the exercise of their supervision, "should look only to the administration of substantial justice and dispense with the observance of any forms not essential to that end." Much latitude and discretion ought, in all respects, to be allowed, since it is the knowledge that a Functionary "has the power to act on the instant, that will best prevent the necessity of putting it in force." And since, if this recommendation were acted on, the duties and the powers of the Collector would be both increased and enlarged, it would be clearly expedient to confer on that officer some designation more suited to the relation in which he would stand to the people placed under his control and jurisdiction, and to the nature of the further authority proposed to be vested in him. Perhaps, the most appropriate designation might be that of Collector and Government Commissioner or Governor's Agent for the Hill country.

The duties of the Functionary who might be thus appointed would be exceedingly various and onerous. In consequence of the resumption of the Zemindaries of Goomsur and Bouradah, a fair and equitable settlement of the revenue or public assessment would itself be a complex work of the greatest difficulty. From the defective system heretofore pursued, and the interest which all classes had in disguising the truth, the attainment of correct accounts of the resources of the Zemindaries, leading to a final adjustment, would be a slow and arduous process. The Collector-Commissioner ought, therefore, to be provided with an able assistant. And it was desirable that the assistant should be a Military Officer, with a band of armed peons, ready to repel any predatory incursions on the part of the Khonds, and keep in check the various Military retainers in the Zemindary. Such an assistant ought to make it his business to qualify himself by getting acquainted with the political state of the district, and the peculiar character of the people with whom he had to deal; and for this end he ought to spend some months of every year in the zemindaries.

The recommendation of so sagacious, experienced, and competent a Functionary as Mr. Russel could not fail to carry the greatest weight. And we believe that in the future management of the Hill zemindaries it was substantially acted on. A Governor's Agent or Commissioner with increased powers was appointed, with a Military Assistant. By Act XXIV. of 1839, all previous Regulations were declared to have ceased to have effect, and a complete change was made in the Judicial Administration of the District. And when, early in 1841, Mr. Bannerman, the Commissioner, was called on to say, whether from his experience of its working, he found the powers vested by it

personal acquaintance with the Khonds. A recent time, it must be allowed—when we consider that for upwards of a century they were located in their immediate neighbourhood, and that the very capital of British India is not above a distance of three hundred miles from Khondistan. A rough way of forming a first acquaintance, it must be acknowledged—the way of the sword, of fire, of bloodshed, and of horrible devastation! Unpleasant and untoward circumstances, it must be confessed—rebellion in one of the provinces and the hospitable entertainment of the rebel fugitives by an ignorant, innocent and deluded* people. But, how often is this the way in which a mysterious over-ruling Providence begins to work out what shall eventually issue in the consummation of the wisest and most beneficent designs! It is only by the lacerations of many a stroke of the hammer and the chisel that the rough block in the quarry is at last converted into a polished statue. It is only by the torture of many a cutting and hewing and carving that the rude trunk in the forest is in the end transformed into a beauteous cabinet. And it has only been by the terrific shock of war and havoc and ruin that many a people has been violently wrenched from the grasp of barbarism, and placed on the high way of ultimate civilization and general prosperity.

It is now, however, time to change our theme, and direct attention, as originally proposed, to the general, social and religious characteristics of the singular race thus recently and suddenly brought within the limits of our statistics and geography. In doing so, we must briefly indicate the sources of our information.

One thing is obvious enough, that when the British first ascended the Ghats in February, 1836, every intelligent officer, and indeed every man, whether intelligent or not, who had simply eyes to see, and ears to hear, must have formed some acquaintance, more or less minute, with the Khonds and their country. The general aspect of the hills and valleys, the general appearance of the people and their abodes; the

in the Governor's Agent adequate, his report was, that "it appeared to him to be most full and ample for the punishment of all crimes of whatever description," but, that, "in his opinion, the *restrictions* and *forms of procedure* which had been prescribed by the *Rules* for the guidance of the Agents under the provisions of the Enactment, were calculated, and had operated, to frustrate in a great degree the main effect of the late change."

* It is impossible not to be touched at the spectacle of these people when returning to fields and villages which the scourge of war had laid waste. "They seemed astonished," says an eye witness, "at the strange men wearing red cloth breaking in amongst them;" saying, "Why did they come to us? We never saw these new men before; we never gave them trouble; why give us pain, and leave us hopeless?"

general products of the field and the forest;—these and other merely *external* phenomena must have obtruded themselves on the senses of all;—though the degrees of accuracy with which even these were noted must have varied indefinitely with the taste, talent and intelligence of the different observers. But, with whatever degree of accuracy these might be discerned by the outward eye, it is clear that the power of accurately describing or recording them for the benefit of others must have been possessed but by few; while to fewer still would belong the faculty or the power of penetrating beneath the outer surface, of threading the mazy labyrinth of the social economy, and of detecting the sources and the symbols of the inner life of the people. Indeed, the latter is a task of so difficult and arduous a character, that few probably would ever think of attempting it. Be this as it may, as far as we can discover, it is an achievment, which, with any tolerable pretensions to completeness, *only one man* has succeeded in accomplishing,—and that man is Captain Macpherson, formerly Assistant Surveyor General and now Government Commissioner to the Khonds.

In his first report to Government* the Hon'ble Mr. Russel announced the simple *fact* of the *existence* of human sacrifice among the Khonds. In his second report† he was enabled to incorporate a statement of *one of the modes* of the sacrifice, which had been furnished to him by the collector, Mr. Stevenson—adding, at the same time, a few general items of intelligence relative to the appearance, the dress, the occupations, and the abodes of the people. In Mr. Ingles' Return‡ to the Precept of the Northern Court of Circuit, two or three facts are stated respecting the elemental or Sabian worship of the Khonds. In one of Lieut. Hill's Survey Reports,§ there are some valuable topographical notices of the portions of the country, said to be occupied by the Khonds. At a later period,‖ on the Bengal side, Lieut. Hicks supplied a few particulars relative to the mode of sacrifice; but added nothing to what was previously well known. But beyond these few and scantling *notanda*, which do not profess to give any thing like a full delineation even of *exterior* phenomena, still less to sound the *interior* depths, we can find nothing worth naming, or rather literally nothing at all respecting the physical, social,

* Dated, Berhampore, Ganjam, 12th August, 1836.
† Dated 11th May, 1837.
‡ Dated 23d December, 1837.
§ Dated 2d July, 1838.
‖ Reports, dated 13th May, 1844; and 1st June, 1845.

or religious condition of the people in any of the voluminous official Reports to Government.

And, then, as to the public, the matter seems to stand thus. In the *Calcutta Christian Observer* for April and July, 1837, appeared two papers by the Revd. Mr. Brown, of the general Baptist Mission, Orissa. These contained the gleanings of a short tour in the seat of war among the hills of Goomsur, during the preceding cold season—gleanings, which were the result partly of personal observation, and partly of hearsay from the British Officers engaged in the harassing and desultory warfare. The somewhat copious notices thus given to the public of the Khonds and their country—though, for the most part, loose, unconnected, and, as respects the inner frame and workings of the social fabric, partial, fragmentary and unauthoritative—must have possessed an uncommon degree of interest and value, at a time when little was known of the people but the name. They were moreover, pervaded by a fine spirit of noble-minded Christian benevolence which tended greatly to enhance their value and deepen their interest. Again, nearly cotemporaneous* with these notices, appeared, in the *Madras Journal*, a paper "On the language, manners and rites of the Khonds, or Khoi Jati of the Goomsur mountains; from documents furnished by J. A. R. Stevenson, Esq. Commissioner in Goomsur, and W. G. Maxwell, Esq., M. D.; with illustrative and connecting observations, by Revd. W. Taylor, Member of the Madras Literary Society, &c." A few months afterwards† some additional notes were given on the same subjects, in the same Journal. Except on the topic of the Khond language, these notices are not nearly so copious or so interesting, as those supplied by Mr. Brown in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*. The same Journal, much about the same time, published a paper by Lieut. Campbell, Assistant Surveyor General, on "Meteorological experiments," made by him on the Goomsur Mountains; but this paper is strictly limited to its own professional object, and contains no remarks on the people.

Apart from occasional scraps which appeared, from time to time, in the Newpapers of the Madras and Bengal Presidency, and which made no substantial addition to the information conveyed else where, the papers, now succinctly described, exhaust, as far as we can learn, with a single exception, the entire catalogue of formal documents on the subject—whether official or unofficial—published or unpublished. That single exception is the original and subsequent reports of Captain

* July, 1837. † January, 1838.

Macpherson. His original Report was drawn up from information which was obtained during his employment with his Regiment, and on survey under the orders of the Commissioner in Goomsur and Souradah, in the years 1836 and 1837; and the following year, from intercourse with Dora Bisaye, the Chief Khond Patriarch of Goomsur, after his final surrender of himself, and with other prisoners of Ganjam. The effects of exposure in the most unhealthy parts of the region of the Ghats, then compelled him to leave India for two years; and immediately on his return he was called on to submit the result of his enquiries for the consideration of Government. This he did, in June, 1841, in the form of the Report now adverted to. Of the more popular parts of this Report, which was afterwards published by order of the Supreme Government of India, a copious analysis, with remarks, was given in the October and November numbers of the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, for 1842. The Report itself is a large and elaborate document—extending, in print, to 125 folio pages. It is a full, clear, systematic* and authoritative dissertation on the whole subject of the Khonds—their country, its general configuration and superficial characters, its geological features and routes—their relations to the neighbouring Zemindaries—their Government and organization in tribes and other subdivisions—their usages of mutual intercourse, social and domestic, as also of civil and criminal Law—their manners and customs relating to marriage, convivial habits, dress, habitations, medicines—their religion, priesthood and ritual observances—together with minute statistics relating to their vegetable and other products, their professions, their Mutahs and villages, the numbers of

* A brief statement of the sources whence the information in the report was mainly derived, will at once establish its authoritative character. They are the following :—

1. The Bansavulli or Book of Family Records of Goomsur.
2. The Bansavulli of Boad.
3. The Rajah of Boad and his principal servants.
4. Nowbhum Khomo, the Chief Khond Patriarch of Boad, who met me in the district of Atcombo.
5. Madhwa Khouro, the present "Khouro," whom I saw in the same district.
6. Mysor Mullik, Chief Patriarch of Ruttabarri, whom I visited there.
7. Dammo Jami, one of the two Chief Patriarchs of Borogutza, whom I met there.
8. Pura Bisuse, and the Patriarch Kando Mullik of Balscupa, whom I met there.
9. Nittar Naik and the Chief Patriarch Ghusei Mullik, of Dummasinghi, who came from thence to Cosmingbi to meet me.
10. Babano Mullik, Chief Patriarch of Ugdur, who met me at Boad.
11. Bagwan Sen, Chief Patriarch of Bara Mullik, who met me at Boad.
12. A Nephew of the Chief Patriarch of Panchora, who came to meet at Boad.
13. Sam Bisaye at Hodseghoro.
14. Ostan Sing Dulbehra whom I saw at Tintilaghorn.
15. The Hindu Collector of Tolea at Gatteguda, and other Hindus whom I found in Chokapad.
16. The Chief Patriarch Usera Magi whom I visited in Nowsagur in the Duspalla Zemindary.
17. The Chief Patriarch of Goomsur, Dora Bisaye, when in confinement at Ganjam.
18. The Kazzis and Kumums of several of the Districts of Goomsur below the Ghats.
19. Khond and Hindu prisoners in the Jail at Ganjam.

the houses and the names of the Chiefs. On all these and their kindred or connected subjects the Report sheds a full and steady light which we look for in vain elsewhere. The whole is mapped out and cantoned with the skill of one who was thoroughly master of his subject—every topic, whether leading or subordinate, occupying its proper compartment, appearing in its relative dimensions, and having its proportional value affixed to it. To the author, who has in it displayed so much talent for original and recondite research, and who has had the courage and patience voluntarily to undergo so much personal toil and fatigue in prosecuting it,—it is an honour. Nor must we withhold the credit that is due to the Government which shewed itself capable of appreciating such rare and arduous labours.

In subsequent reports,* hitherto unpublished, Captain Macpherson has been enabled to confirm, as well to make considerable additions to the valuable materials previously collected and arranged. On one subject in particular he has succeeded in supplying information that is altogether new. Formerly the existence of female infanticide among any of the Khond tribes was but barely suspected. In his first Report Mr. Russel simply intimated the fact of its supposed existence. But we have not been able to ascertain that either he or any one else was ever able to furnish any details on the subject. Indeed, in none of the official reports to Government do we find the painful theme ever afterwards so much as even alluded to. In an after Report, however, Captain Macpherson was enabled to lay it bare in all its extent and heinous enormity.

With these preliminary remarks we shall proceed to supply the proffered intelligence relative to the Khonds—making, for the reasons now stated, Captain Macpherson's *reports our* principal guide, while, at the same time, ready to draw from any other available source any interesting or important item which may timeously present itself.

The name of Khonds.—On this subject Captain Macpherson's words are:—

"The Hindu name for this people which we have adopted, "Khond," in the plural "Khondulu," means Mountaineer, from the Telugu word signifying a "hill." Their sole native appellation south of the Mahanadi is

* It must be distinctly borne in mind that Captain Macpherson's *first* Report referred chiefly to the state of the Khond race in the zemindaries of Goomsur, Boad and Duspalla—and that while subsequent inquiries tended to shew the general identity of the Khond system, in regard to its leading features, as exhibited elsewhere, they also served to bring to light many striking differences in points of particular detail.

"Koinga" or "Kwinga," which may be a corruption of "Kulinga," which, by the exchange of convertible letters may be Pulinda, meaning in Sanskrit and thence in Tamil, a "barbarian," and savage mountaineer using an unintelligible dialect. They employ as distinctive epithets of their race, the terms—"Subbora" and Mahâro,—the latter signifying "hill people" from a root common to Tamul and Telugu: the Khonds designate the alpine portions of Orissa solely by its Hindu name (from that root) "Malwa" meaning "highlands." The Hindu people they call "Sassi," a word whose signification is not ascertained. The Khonds who inhabit the mountains are styled "Maliah Koinga," those of the low country "Sassi Koinga."*

Their History and Political relations.—From their appearance, manners, dress, habits and the general belief and traditions among the people of the surrounding countries, the impression has become general, that the Khonds are descendants from the aboriginal inhabitants of the country. The following is a condensed view of the statements of Captain Macpherson on this head:—

"In the great Zemindaries or Principalities of Goomsur and Boad, to which the report chiefly refers, the primitive population seems to have consisted of a simple race, of which the modern Khonds are the representatives. No mythology or legend yet discovered, furnishes any clue to their origin or place of descent. They believe themselves to have existed in Orissa "from the beginning"—having either sprung from the soil itself, like the branch of the Greeks which traced its origin to the Arcadian Pelasgus, or having been created cotemporaneously along with it. Their vague traditions, the scanty national annals of Orissa, the bare and uncertain records of Zemindary families, and the surer evidence which is afforded by existing institutions, however, combine to establish the conclusion,—that the power of the Hindus was extended over the maritime and subalpine territory originally possessed by the Khonds, partly by national, but principally by private enterprize—that, advancing gradually, these reached the base of the Ghats about the 12th century—and that each leader of the encroaching

* Respecting the name of Khonds, Lieut. Hill remarks, that, in their own language "they term themselves *Knee.* A single Khond is called *Kuinga.* By Uriyas, they are termed *Khunds;* and by the Telingas, Kodúlú, and often *Kodúwanúlú* or hill people." From Mr. Taylor's remarks it appears that Kodu or Kodú wadú is singular in the Telinga language, and Kodúlú or Kodúwanúlú is plural—the addition of wanúlú or correctly vándiú to the singular being merely the addition of the personal pronoun in the third person plural to the singular of the noun, a custom not unusual in Telinga. In some parts the name is pronounced short, as *Khund*—but never long as *Khoond* or Khúnd, by any class of natives. The Uriyas in Ganjam, corrupting their own language, say *Khondú*; as if in bringing the English word *hill* into use they might say, *hillú or hillalú.* In the designation *Kodulu* Mr. Taylor traces a resemblance to the native term for the Coorg mountaineers, which is Kodúgú; and he is inclined to think, "that any one who fully understood the Coorg dialect, could hold intercourse with the Khonds." They are also said to be called *Khoi jati.* This, however, is supposed by a correspondent of the *Madras Journal* to be a mistake; as this compound appears to be only two simple Uriya words for "what caste;" the same precisely as one might say, *ka zat,* in Hindustani. Mr. Taylor, on the other hand, supposes that, since it appears from papers in the Mackenzie Collection, that a wild class of people is scattered over the peninsula, termed still in Telugu writing, *Koya jati,* it may be that the term *Khoi* or *Koya* is not a mere interrogative pronoun but a proper name.

race secured his conquests by the systematic assignment of lands, upon the tenure of military service, to the agricultural soldiery, called Paiks, by which they were achieved. Accordingly, it appears that under the operation of a few simple causes, the modern Khonds are divided into *three* principal classes.

First. In the level plains below the Ghats, the ancient race now exists only in scattered families, which either occupy, upon what may be termed *servile* tenures, tracts lost amid the forests, too wild, inaccessible or insalubrious, for the habitations of the Hindu; or dwell in petty hamlets whose services are assigned to particular villages or temples. This constitutes the completely subjugated or *servile class*—designated "*Bettiah*" Khonds, i. e. "labouring without hire."

Secondly. Along the rugged and forest-laden skirts of the bases of the mountain chain, the Khond population, animated by the spirit of wild freedom and aided by the physical advantages of their locality, instead of suffering degradation, were permitted to retain their lands either upon a rent tenure, or on condition of free service to the Rajah. And their descendants, gradually becoming assimilated to their conquerors, now assist as *free* subjects of the Zemindary, under the appellation of "*Benniah*" Khonds.

Thirdly. The lofty plateau or central table-land of the Ghats is occupied by Khonds that are either *wholly* or *virtually independent.* For this independence they are mainly indebted to the ramparts which the God of creation hath reared around them. The table-land itself, elevated about two thousand feet above the plains, is broken by vallies and crossed by ridges of various altitudes. The great subalpine forest sends large offshoots up the exterior vallies of the plateau which occasionally rise above its edges and meet from either side. But many considerable tracts are perfectly bare of wood; others are lightly sprinkled with forest trees of luxuriant growth, scattered singly in clumps; some portions are covered with light bushy jungle rich in flowers; while every where dark umbrageous groves mark out the abutments and deeper recesses of the hills. The climate of this region has been proved to be, to strangers and foreigners, like that of every other forest-girt plateau in India of similar elevation, as highly insalubrious as that of the wooded district underneath; though, favoured by the influence of never failing rains and perennial springs, it yields a rich return to the skilful and energetic industry of its native inhabitants—the Khonds. Whilst, therefore, from the difficulties and the advantages of their position, none of the hill tribes were ever reduced under a foreign yoke, it might yet be expected that those which occupied the portion of the Ghats bordering upon the great Zemindary domains, would be brought into frequent hostile collisions with their powerful lowland neighbours. Their simple traditional history, accordingly, abounds with the usual rehearsal of "border" friendships and "border" enmities, "border forays and border" compacts;—*sometimes* upon the point of falling into vassalage; *at others,* affecting a distant and independent interest;—*now* combining, in the prosecution of their objects with the domestic, and *then,* with the external enemies of the Zemindaries;—*at one time,* obeying the summons of the Zemindar-Rajah to render their aid in uniting with him against Hindu chiefs that might be mutual foes; at *another,* rallying round their own Federal Heads to defend their ancient rights against his encroachments. In the course of ages however, a growing sense of mutual interest led to the establishment of something like mutual permanent relations between the "border" tribes and the neighbouring Zemindary Chiefs—relations based on a mutual recognition of perfect political equality*

* This statement will serve to account for the extreme ignorance which previously existed respecting the Khonds. These tribes have existed from a period

and independence. Whatever disparity may be observed to exist between them, or whatever superiority, the latter may manifest over the former—it is not of a political, but altogether of a social and moral character;—it is the disparity that must ever exist between even demi-civilization and comparative barbarism—the superiority of learning and arts of any kind over rude untutored ignorance. Socially and morally severed from each other by lines of demarcation as clearly defined as their respective territories, they are *politically* on a footing of complete equality, as free and independent* allies. While the heads of the Khond tribe do not scruple to recognize the *superior social and personal rank* of the Hindu Chiefs, in contradistinction to their *unacknowledged authority*, by outward forms which superficial observation might easily mistake for rites, resembling those which attached in the feudal usages of Europe to the incidents of "homage" and "investiture;" the Zemindar-Rajahs, upon their accession, must, in their turn, accept a silken "sari," or dress of honour and investiture, under the alternative, in case of refusal, of not being recognized by the Khonds as friends and allies. When military aid is required by any of the allied Hindu Rajahs, they communicate their desires, respectively, to the Federal Head of the cluster of tribes connected with each. This aid may be given or withheld with perfect freedom. Should the requisition require consideration, a Council of Chiefs or of the whole people may be assembled, as usage may prescribe, to determine the course to be pursued. Should there be no doubt as to the propriety of compliance with the demand, the Federal Head at once sends his "arrow of summons" through the mountain vallies within his jurisdiction, and, as it circulates with lightning-speed like the Celtic fire cross, each house affords its fighting man or axe-armed warrior."

of the remotest antiquity, as they are seen at present, nearly isolated by manners, language and prejudices of race from the surrounding Hindu population; while they have been until recently completely cut off by the *interposed Zemindary domains*, from all contact, from *all relations* with the successive Governments,—the Orissan, that of Delhi, the Mahratta, the British—which these have acknowledged. To these Zemindaries they have all along been attached, individually, and in loosely coherent groups, as independent but subordinate allies. The barrier, by which they were thus separated from our immediate provinces was suddenly removed by our assumption of the Zemindary of Goomsur for arrears of tribute, which was followed by the rebellion of its Rajah, in the end of the year 1835. That chief retired before a force which advanced to apprehend him and to take possession of his estates, into the Khond districts above the Ghats, which were most anciently attached to Goomsur, and there he soon after died. A small body of troops then penetrated, as we have already detailed, the great Mountain Chain, *for the first time*, to endeavour to obtain possession of his heir, of the remaining members of his family, and of his treasures. Thus it appears that we first met the mountain Khonds of Goomsur as the ancient and religiously pledged allies, and at the same time the hosts of its rebel Zemindar, with whom, *from* their situation, *and from* our policy, they had necessarily exclusive relations. A portion of them, in profound ignorance of the character and the objects of our power, blindly offered resistance, and suffered the extreme penalties of rebellion.

* A late event, says Captain Macpherson, "established unequivocally the true nature of this relation. The Khond District or rather half district of Hodzoghoro, *lately transferred its attachment from Boad to Goomsur*. This affair was the subject of frequent discussion, while I was at Boad, between the chief servants of the Boad Rajah, and the Khond Chiefs who visited me. The right of any Khond community to dissolve old and enter into new relations was not disputed on the part of the Zemindar. He complained only of the loss, through the arts of Sam Chinaye, of an old subordinate ally whom he had never injured. The idea of the defection of a subject society, far less of the departure of a fief from its allegiance, was not for a moment contemplated."

Their Language.—It has been well remarked by Dr. Taylor, that "the number of languages in any given district is generally in the inverse proportion of the intellectual culture of the inhabitants. Messrs. Spix and Martius collected the vocabularies of sixty different languages in Brazil alone. It is utterly impossible to classify those of Australia; and to add to the complexity, there is reason to believe that unwritten languages are constantly fluctuating." And if the variations of language among an uncultured people be not so marked as to constitute essentially distinct tongues they at least constitute widely different dialects. From the scanty information we possess on the subject, this appears to be the case among the Khonds. Their language, says Captain Macpherson, "has *more than one distinct dialect with many varieties.*" The people of certain districts which he names are scarcely intelligible to those of others at no great distance.

"It would be a work of some difficulty," says Lieut. Hill, "to form a correct vocabulary of their language, without a thorough knowledge of Uriya, from the circumstance of its not being a written tongue, the perplexity occasioned by their using many Uriya words, *and the number of different dialects which prevail.* A Khond of one district has been found unable to hold communication with one of a neighbouring tribe."

The language is "distinguished," says Captain Campbell, "by a peculiar pectoral mode of enunciating it."

From Mr. Taylor's able philological remarks on the materials supplied by Mr. Stevenson, the general result is, that the Khonds have many words peculiar to themselves—though there is an intermixture of terms which are found in common with the lowland languages of the Peninsula—more particularly Uriya, Telúgú and Tamil. On the supposition, therefore, that there was an ancient primitive people, with one original substratum of an early rude language, running through the whole of Hindustan and the Peninsula—a supposition which is confirmed by many philological investigations and traditional and other analogies—the probability is, that "the Khond dialect is a relic of that common language, somewhat modified by time"—together with a due intermixture of more modern terms which intercourse with their neighbours* may have naturalized in the dialect of the Khonds. "If at an early period," adds Mr.

* The Uriya language is said to have "a closer affinity to that of the Khonds perhaps than any other; and all the Digalds, or Khond village accountants, speak and write Uriya, as do many others among the Khonds." The Khond is not a written language, but "they readily understand Khond written in the Uriya characters—a method frequently adopted during the late operations."

Taylor, "they were driven to take refuge in mountain fastnesses, by reason of nomadic hordes of foreigners taking possession of the low lands, then they might very probably carry with them the ancient general dialect of the low country."

Their domestic relationships.—The highest authority has pronounced that "it is not good for man to live alone." The first and simplest form of association is the domestic or conjugal union. Now, in the rudest state of society, this has always been marked by irregularity, degradation and bondage. Women, as has been said, "belong to the man who seizes them first. They afterwards become the property of any one who has the address to seduce them, or the strength to carry them off. The children who spring from this irregular intercourse, scarce ever know who are their fathers. They know only their mothers, and for this reason they always bear their name." What can be expected to result from such a condition of things, but disorder and misery? Hence it is that the resolute and systematic endeavour to strengthen the ties of marriage, and render that union sacred and inviolable, has always been a sure sign and symbol of an improved society. And the success with which such endeavour is crowned may well be regarded as an infallible index of the degree of its civilization.

From this we must infer that, however rude or barbarous, in a comparative point of view, the Khonds may be, they have not yet sunk into the lowest depths. Among them there is much of what is irregular and loose. Still, woman is not degraded into an absolute drudge or slave. On the contrary, she usually enjoys a degree of social influence suited to the genius of rudely modified Patriarchal institutions. Mothers of families in particular are generally treated with much honour; and few things are said to be done either in public or private affairs without their being consulted. On this subject, however, it is better to condense the statements of Captain Macpherson:—

"Marriages can take place only betwixt members of different* tribes, but not with strangers; though these may have long been adopted into or domesticated with a tribe. A state of war or peace appears to make little difference as to the practice of inter-marriages between tribes. The women of each tribe, after a bloody conflict, visit each other to condole on the loss of their nearest common relatives. Reversing the usage which prevails amongst most other people, boys of from ten to twelve years of age are married to girls of fifteen or sixteen. In the superior age of the bride may

* One exception to this general practice Captain Macpherson afterwards found in the Khonds of a Southern district, called Bodoghoro. While the rest of the Khond population regards marriage betwixt persons of the same tribe as incestuous, intercourse between such parties being followed by their instant expulsion from the society, the Khonds of Bodoghoro do not hold, and it is said, have abandoned this view. But of the origin of this remarkable difference he could learn nothing.

perhaps be seen a proof of the supremacy of the paternal authority amongst this singular people. The whole arrangement is of course completed by the parents of the parties. The father of the bridegroom pays twenty or thirty lives (of cattle) to the father of the bride. And in the wives thus obtained for sons, during the years of their boyhood, the parents possess very valuable domestic servants; and their selections are avowedly made with a view to utility in this character. The marriage rite itself is very speedily and simply solemnized. The father of the bridegroom with his family and friends bear a quantity of rice and liquor in procession to the house of the parents of the girl. The priest dashes the bowl and pours out a libation to the gods. Immediately the parents of the parties join hands and declare that the contract is completed. An entertainment, to which both families contribute equally, is then prepared, of which all present partake. To the feast succeed dancing and song. When the night is far spent, the principals in the scene are raised by an uncle of each upon his shoulders and borne through the dance. The burdens are suddenly exchanged, and the uncle of the youth disappears with the bride. The assembly divides into two parties. The friends of the bride endeavour to arrest those of the bridegroom to cover her flight; and men, women and children mingle in mock conflict which is often carried to great lengths. Thus, the semblance of forcible abduction attends the withdrawal of the bride amongst the Orissan Khonds, as it did among many nations of ancient Europe, and now does amongst the tribes of the Caucasus! The new wife lives with her boy-husband in the father's house, aiding his mother in domestic duties, till he grows up and gets a house of his own, unless he is the youngest son.

Notwithstanding the payment which is made by the father of the bridegroom, the wife cannot be correctly considered the property of the husband. If childless, she has a right to quit at any time; if otherwise, she may still do so within six months after the marriage—the consideration paid to her father being in either case restored. In any case, a wife who chooses to retire to her father's house cannot be forcibly reclaimed. Marriage is *ipso facto* dissolved by a woman's unfaithfulness to the conjugal compact. In such a case, or that of a voluntary withdrawal, she cannot contract another matrimonial alliance. With the permission of his wife, a man may ally himself to another without any disgrace. Concubinage is not reckoned, in any degree disgraceful,—fathers of respectable families allowing their daughters to contract this connection. The children of a concubine in some districts inherit but a half, and in others an equal share of the paternal property with the children of marriage. An unmarried woman is not considered disgraced by becoming a mother; but no one will marry her if acquainted with the circumstance. Ordinarily the wife and children serve the father of a family while he eats; and then take their own meal. Women, for some unknown cause, are never permitted to eat the flesh of the hog.

Births are celebrated on the seventh day after the event, by a feast given to the priest and to the whole village. To determine the best name for the child, the priest drops grains of rice into a cup of water, naming with each grain, a deceased ancestor. He pronounces from the movements of the seed in the fluid, and from observations made on the person of the infant, which of his progenitors has re-appeared in him, and he generally receives the name of that ancestor. On the death of a private person, his body is burnt on a pile with no ceremony, save a drinking feast, which is given to the inhabitants of the hamlets on the tenth day. On the death of any of the chief Patriarchs, the event is every where proclaimed by the beating of gongs and drums. The Abbayas and Heads of society assemble from every quarter. The body is placed on a high funeral pile. A large bag of grain is laid close

by upon the ground. and in it is planted a high staff bearing a flag. Over the grain are piled all the personal effects, such as the clothes, arms, eating and drinking vessels of the chief. These are subsequently distributed among the Abbayas present. The pile is next fired, and his family and the people of the hamlet dance a dance peculiar to this occasion around the flag-staff, until the whole is consumed."

But, passing by other minor points, we hasten on to the remarkable disclosure made by Captain Macpherson, relative to the practice of *female infanticide*, which he found, in his visit of 1841, so extensively and lamentably to prevail in some of the Southern Khond districts. His own account, hitherto unpublished, is as follows:—

"The practice of female infanticide, and the usages with which it is connected, alternately as a cause and an effect, deforms the system of life of a large division of this middle Khond population, including that of all Pondacole (with the exception of Degi) the tribes of Gulodye, those of Bori, and much of the sacrificing population in the quarter of Guddapore. In Bodoghoro, the custom is regarded with abhorrence.

This usage appears to have existed in these tracts from time immemorial; and, there generally the life of no female child is spared, except when a woman's first child is a female, or when the head of a tribe or of a branch desires to form connections by inter-marriage. The infants are destroyed by exposure in the jungle ravines immediately after their birth, and I found many villages without a single female child.

This custom has no connection with—bears no reference whatever to—religious feeling. The facts which the Khonds allege as accounting for, and as justifying it, are amongst the most obvious and necessary of its consequences,—reference being had to the usages which here prevail relative to the property which is involved in marriage contracts and to the very peculiar ideas which exist respecting the relations of the sexes.

The Khond bridegroom every where gives a consideration for his wife to her father which is called "Seddi," in contradistinction to the *price* which is paid for a woman of any other race, who, as a wife, becomes property. Should a woman quit her husband at any time, he is entitled to the repayment of this consideration, deducting the nuptial expenses which the father has incurred. While, should she become the wife of another, the father has a right to recover the same amount from him.

Now, the peculiar rules and habits which affect the marriage tie in these tracts, are barely compatible with the fulfilment of the first object of that contract. Women have the right to quit their husbands at pleasure, with this sole restriction, that they cannot leave them when pregnant, nor for one year after the birth of a child; and upon the other hand, no man who is without a wife, can refuse to receive any woman who chooses to enter his house to become, in that capacity, its mistress. And the women of Pondacole, for example, exercise this right of change on an average four or five times in their lives; some, twice as often; but very few, not at all. And to do so, is a very easy process. In some parts of the country in a village containing a hundred men, not above twenty or at most thirty women are to be found; so there is always abundant room for choice, while, should the repugnance of the person preferred be extreme, or should there be any other temporary difficulty, his tribe must receive the seeker of his bed until it is overcome, or she would pass on heaping shame upon the rejectors, declaring of them

that such people had once lived but had ceased to exist, and deep disgrace would attach to them.

The wife, upon changing her husband and domicile, takes with her, her child or children if they be young, the father reclaiming them at his pleasure at a later period. No new marriage ceremony is performed on the occasion of such change, and the new connection is in every point of view a marriage, and the woman is, as before, a wife.

So much trouble and vexation, so many serious consequences arise, say the Khonds, out of each such matrimonial change—out of the exaction by the deserted husband of his original payment to the woman's father, and out of the simultaneous process of levying a like sum from the new spouse, that a married daughter is to any man and to his tribe, unless he be a rich patriarch, a curse.

The amount of the marriage consideration, and the degree of difficulty attendant either upon its repayment by fathers, or on its production by husbands (voluntary and involuntary) as well as the power of the woman to range amongst these,—all depend, of course, upon the proportion which exists between males and females. In Pondacole, where few female children are permitted to live, the marriage consideration amounts to farm stock, &c. of the value of from fifty to seventy Rupees, so that no one who has a daughter married can tell, save during the intervals to which I have alluded, what part of his property he may consider his own; nor can his tribe, which is answerable for his engagements, know what sum it may be called upon at any time to make good for him, nor what important payments it may have to enforce in his favour against members of other tribes.

In the adjacent district of Bodoghoro, on the other hand, where the practice of female infanticide is regarded with detestation, the consideration given for a wife is nearly nominal, not exceeding three or four rupees. Hence every man there is married, or, as is extremely common, from the abundance of women, lives in concubinage, which is regarded as an honorable connection; and wives, although in theory as free to change their husbands as in Pondacole, have no power to enjoy that right.

The Khonds of Pondacole, it is to be observed, consider the position of a concubine as highly disgraceful to a woman, and they partly justify the practice of infanticide on the ground of its preventing that evil. But their feeling upon this point is, I believe, from the whole spirit of their manners, clearly a secondary one, and has arisen out of the high marriageable value of their females.

The extreme license which exists with respect to the marriage tie, does not appear to conduce in any degree to fidelity to their voluntary attachments on the part of Khond women. On the contrary, their great boast is the number of intrigues of which their lovers have been convicted, and have paid the penalty called "prúnjú," a fixed amount of fine, of twelve heads of cattle and one pig; a woman advanced in life will taunt a younger female with the remark, that before her age, six or eight "prúnjús" had been paid for her sake. And the same feelings and the same practice, it is to be remarked, exist amongst the people of Bodoghoro who do not destroy their female infants.

Neither the character, nor the influence in society of Khond women, the latter of which is extraordinarily great, appears to suffer in any degree whatever from their indulgence either in matrimonial change or in intrigue.

The desertion of his wife is a matter of great concern to a Khond husband, unless he is rich enough immediately to supply her place. But in cases of infidelity, if the "prúnjú" is readily produced, he is held to have no serious cause of complaint. Should a Khond of these districts have

even ocular testimony of his wife's faithlessness, he never proceeds to any act of violence against the lover,—while to strike a woman, or even to insult her seriously, would entail lasting disgrace upon a man's family.

The convicted wife is excluded from her husband's house generally for a day until the "prúnjú" is adjusted, when the affair is considered settled. In a few tribes, indeed, which may perhaps value themselves upon a nicer sense and observance of the point of honor, it is customary for the husband and his wife's lover to do a species of battle previous to the settlement of damages, but not in right earnest with bow and battle axe, but with arms of courtesy. The combatants cast loose their long hair, and each seizing his adversary's side locks, they wrestle furiously for some hours, until both are utterly exhausted. Then the "prúnjú" is agreed upon with some modifications and a dinner of reconciliation is eaten.

At the lowest estimate *above one thousand female children* must be destroyed *annually* in the districts of Pondacole, Gulodye, and Bori."

Their social organization and Government.—The most elementary unit in any social community is undoubtedly the *family*. And if the family, in some form or other, exists, because man cannot help it; so may it be said of society, organized society, that, in some form or other, it exists, because men cannot help it. One of the chiefest characteristics of lawless barbarism is that pourtrayed in the Odyssey, where the Poet writes of the Cyclops that they "know no laws"—that "each governs his family and rules over his wife and children"—that "they trouble not themselves with the affairs of their neighbours, and think not themselves interested in them"—that "they have no assemblies to deliberate on public affairs"—that "they are governed by no general laws to regulate their manners and their actions." Compared with the state of things here represented, the Khonds certainly manifest a considerable superiority. If any thing could prove the primitive and aboriginal character of this people, it would be the continued predominance of the *family* or *patriarchal* principle throughout the entire framework and constitution of their society. In the rudest form of society, children are "subjected to no coercion or corrective discipline." The savage, it has been said, "does not chide his child; but this forbearance arises not from love, but from recklessness which shews the weakness or absence of love. He suffers the children to be absolute masters of their own conduct, because he is too lazy to watch and superintend their actions." With the Khonds, on the other hand, we are told it is a maxim, that "a man's father is his God," disobedience to whom is a great crime. All the members of a family live united in strict subordination to its head until his death. Before that event a son cannot possess property of any kind. The fruits of his labour, all his acquisitions, go to increase the common stock; and the form and sense of family unity are farther preserved, by

the remarkable usage, according to which all the sons of a house with their wives and children continue, while their father lives, to share the patriarchal board prepared by their common mother. The married sons, however, necessarily occupy separate houses, with the exception of the youngest who never quits his father's roof. Now, from the ideas which produce, or which spring from this singular system of family life, Captain Macpherson very naturally and properly conceives, that the *outward* order of Khond society—its varied conditions and texture and colouring—chiefly derive their distinctive and permanent character. His deeply interesting representation on the subject is, in substance, as follows:—

"A number of families located together constitute a *village*. This aggregation of families implies relationships and reciprocal dealings, not provided for by the institution of the family "*Abbaya*" or Patriarch. Hence it is that, for the management of village interests, there is a *village Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is the lineal descendant, of its original founder. A number of adjacent villages constitute a *district*. The interchange of offices between different villagers creates a new series of relations. For the regulation and adjustment of these, there is a *district Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is regarded as lineally descended from the Head of the colony or migrating family that first took possession of that portion of the soil. The inhabitants of a number of contiguous districts constitute a *Tribe*,* over which presides a *tribal Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is the representative of its common ancestor. A cluster of adjoining Tribes constitute a loosely coherent *federal group*, which is presided over by a *federal Abbaya* or *Patriarch*, who is the representative of a Chief, the Head of a Tribe, who was anciently selected to represent and maintain the common interests.†

It thus appears that the various grades of the Patriarchal office now enumerated are immemorially hereditary in particular families—special provision being made for cases of failure of direct male heirs, or temporary incapacity from non-age, or any other contingent causes. And the strength and perpetuity of the family principle are still farther enhanced by the sacredness of *religious feeling*. Originally the chief civil and sacerdotal offices, in strict accordance with the spirit of the Patriarchal system, appear to have been conjoined in the Heads of the chief Patriarchal families. At present, while the Patriarch, of whatever grade, is in some

* The *Tribes* are distinguished from each by various significant appellatives. Thus we have the Syalinga or "Spotted Deer" Tribe; the Pochangea or "Owl" tribe; the Olli or "Bear" Tribe, &c.

† Such is the *theory* of the social organization of the Khond people. But it is no where to be seen completely realized. Every conceivable deviation from the model occurs. As for example, two of the districts in Goomsur (those of Bara Mútah and Athara Mútah) have now no chief Patriarchs—their subdivisions being governed by their respective Abbayas without reference to common Heads. The Khond people necessarily suffered very extensive permanent disorganization during the contest with the Hindus, which ended in their gradual coercion,—a broken remnant within the limits of the Mountain Chain. The tribes, accordingly, are generally much intermingled, although some are said to remain distinct. But each now forms a social body, of which the chief bond is the idea of natural affinity. While a common name, community of interests, of religious rites, of associations, of traditions, render its sense of unity complete.

districts uniformly, and in all occasionally, the priest, the fortunes of his house are regarded as the chief Patriarchal index of the disposition of the deity towards the society over which he presides. On this account, he inevitably becomes the object of a certain degree of *religious veneration*; somewhat on the same principle as the Teutonic and Celtic *Chiefs* came to be venerated as the special favourites, if not the issue, of gods and demi-gods. Thus it is, that *the family and the religious principle*, both conspire to perpetuate and dignify the Patriarchal office of every grade as the heritage of particular families. But what, it may be asked, if, with the gradual growth and complication of public interests and private rights, the want of a public authority, more powerful than that which the principle of family alone can supply, should be felt?—In such a case, not unlikely to arise in the fluctuations of human affairs, what remedy, if any, has been provided? Has it ever been proposed, as in similar exigencies elsewhere, to change the nature of the existing jurisdiction—to endow the Patriarch with prerogatives enabling him to blend coercive with moral authority—to convert the Tribe's Father into a Chief Magistrate? No—never. The actual course adopted has always been to maintain the nature of the public governance unchanged—to provide security for its more efficient exercise by the introduction of the principle of *selection*, or by making *personal fitness*, in addition to birth, a condition of tenure—especially in those higher trusts for which it is desired to secure efficient depositories. In other words—the Patriarchal office, remaining still *hereditary as to family*, often becomes virtually *elective as to person*, without suffering any change in its peculiar character or any shock to its real stability. And when this supplementary principle of *selection** within the Patriarchal circle is superadded to the *family* and the *religious* principle, a *three-fold* guarantee is afforded not only for the maintenance, but the *vigorous* discharge of the functions of all the grades of the Patriarchal office.

On what, then, does the *authority* of the Abbayas or Patriarchs, superior and inferior, rest? Chiefly if not solely, it would appear, on *moral* appliances as contra-distinguished from *coercive* or *forcible* measures. The Patriarch or Abbaya is simply the head of a family of which every member is socially of equal rank—the spirit of equality pervading the entire fabric of society. He is the *first* amongst *equals*. Unlike the clan or feudal baron, he is no way raised above the community, whose interests, associations, traditions, and manner of life he shares. None minister servilely to his comforts or necessities. He has no trace of state or external pomp, however rude—no separate residence or castellated stronghold with frowning battlements—no gay retinue of flattering courtiers—no costly appendage of idle retainers—no property or domain save his ancestral fields, by the cultivation of which he lives—lives, like another Cincinnatus,—lives, amid the patient toils of a frugal and untiring industry! He receives neither tribute nor aid, save perhaps an occasional harvest offering of good will. The enjoyment of the place of dignity at every public and private festival may be reckoned, as in the case of the Homeric kings, amongst the most valuable, as it is amongst the most agreeable prerogatives of the Patriarchal Headship.

The Federal Patriarch, or hereditary Head of a cluster of Khond Tribes, loosely associated for general purposes of mutual protection as well as the attainment of various secondary and accidental objects, is the centre and bond of union of the group. He exerts, as might be expected, a powerful influence on society at large—the authority which he derives from birth

* For example, the late federal Head of Goomsur, Dora Bisaye, was raised to that office on account of his superior abilities, in the room of his elder brother.

being generally enhanced both by the possession of superior abilities, resulting from the principle of *selection*, and by superior official education. His first duty is the maintenance of the degree of union which is essential to the principal ends of the confederacy. He aids in the arbitration of all difficulties which do not yield to the authority of the Patriarchs of Tribes. The settlement of boundary questions, the most frequent sources of quarrel, are his especial care; and he generally takes a part in the decision of all important disputes to which both Khonds and Hindus are parties. He is usually the sole channel of intercourse between the confederated tribes and the Zemindar-Rajah in matters of highest importance;—as with respect to military aids, which he assembles, and when on a considerable scale, accompanies to the field. Hence it is that the Federal Patriarch appears, as occasion requires, in each great Zemindary, in the ostensible character of representative or hereditary agent (technically designated *Khonro* or *Bisaye*)*

* The federal Patriarch of a cluster of Khond Tribes, constituting, a loosely aggregated confederacy, being the centre and bond of union of the group, it was obviously the policy of the Hindu chiefs to conciliate, and to attach by ties of interest and of feeling, these heads of the unconquered remnants of the primitive race with which they formed relations; and they appear, accordingly, at a very early period, to have induced them to accept the office of their agent for Khond affairs, with which were enjoyed advantages and distinctions which the rude Patriarchs greatly prized.

This representative or heriditary agent of the Zemindar is designated in Boad by the Orissan term Khonro, in Goomsur, by its synonyme Bisaye. The Khonro (who is the Abbaya of the Dubakkia tribe) bears for the insignia of his rank the Orissan symbols of a turban, a sword, a shield, a banner and a horse; and when Mahommedan styles penetrated the jungles of Orissa, the designation of "Omrah" was added with a grant of land; and in Goomsur, the head of the Jakro tribe represented by Dora Bisaye, had a similar investiture and the immediate descendants of the holders of these two offices all assume, respectively, the affix, "Khonro" or "Bisaye."

The duty of these Patriarchs, as the Agents of the Zemindars, is this:—It is their part to reside near them, to wait on them at their pleasure, to advise them on all that relates to Khond affairs, and upon every occasion to advocate their interests, and to vindicate their claims.

Now, so long as the duties and engagements of these two offices generally coincide, their combination, which makes it the interest of the chief Patriarch, for the enjoyment of his two fold dignity, to reconcile the conflicting claims of the Rajah and the tribes, has generally a beneficial—a pacific tendency. But when their claims are irreconcileably opposed; when no compromise can be effected between them, or when the federal heads, as is frequently the case, are personally hostile to the Zemindars, this union of functions enables the former to act against the Hindu Chiefs, with the accumulated influence derived from both offices.

The recent annals both of Goomsur and of Boad, present striking examples of such opposition arising from various causes, and of the expedients, which have been fruitlessly resorted to by the Zemindars with a view to remedy it.

From all this the precise rank, position and office of *Dora Bisaye*, who figured so conspicuously in the Goomsur rebellion, may be distinctly understood. In his family was the hereditary Federal Patriarchate of the Khond tribes of Goomsur. He himself, from his superior abilities, was raised to supersede his elder brother in that office. On his uncle was conferred the distinction of "*Dora*," meaning "chief" Bisaye, by a late Zemindar of Goomsur; while he himself likewise received from the same source the titles of "Runjit," and of "Birbol Patro." meaning "Chief of Angelic nature." Of this celebrated personage, now a state prisoner, Captain Macpherson favours us with the following description:—

"Dora Bisaye, Chief Patriarch in Goomsur, commands to a great extent the admiration both of the Hindu and the Khond population of the districts which lie between Kimedy and the Mahanadi; and he is well known beyond that river. He is the object of feelings of the deepest veneration to his own race in Goomsur, Duspalla and a great part of Boad. And having had opportunities of observation, I may state that my estimate of his character justifies the opinion of those before whom his life has been spent.

This remarkable man, it may not be out of place to observe, is in his 57th year, and although

of the Zemindar, in respect of his relations with the independent Khond tribes —whose affairs he is sacredly bound to manage, whose interests to protect, and whose claims to moderate, with patriarchal wisdom and patriotic zeal. In important matters, he always consults, in accordance with prescribed usage, the Heads or Patriarchs of Tribes; and, in great emergencies, convenes an assembly composed of the entire population of the federal group.

The Patriarch of a Tribe has charge of the *especial* relations of his own Tribe to the neighbouring Tribes and Zemindaries. He leads in war; and always accompanies the military aids rendered to the Hindu chiefs. At home he is the protector of public order and the arbiter of private wrongs—conciliating feuds, and dispensing justice, but depending for obedience to his decisions entirely upon his own *personal* influence and authority. He too is aided and controlled in the management of ordinary affairs by a Council consisting of the Heads or Patriarchs of Districts—while it is his duty from time to time, to assemble the whole Tribe, either for deliberative or judicial purposes. He moreover discharges the local duties of Patriarch of his own village.

The position of the Patriarch or Abbaya of a District is, with reference to his more limited jurisdiction, exactly analogous to that of the Patriarch of a Tribe. Aided, in his turn, by the Heads or Patriarchs of villages whom he consults as his assessors, and co-operating with the Chief Patriarch of whose councils he is a constituent member, he contributes to the same general and local objects.

The Patriarch or Abbaya of a village, in like manner, administers its affairs in concert with its Elders or Heads of families. Thus assisted, he endeavours to determine in the first instance all questions of slight importance relating to property or to order. If he do not himself exercise sacerdotal functions on behalf of his fellow-villagers, on him, in conjunction with the village priest, devolves the public duty of making suitable provision for the maintenance and celebration of religious ceremonies.

From this brief outline it appears, generally, that the *ordinary* affairs of a Khond Society, whether relating to its public interests or to private justice, are conducted by Patriarchs of federal groups, of tribes, of districts, and of villages—aided and controlled, the three former by the Abbayas of the next lower grade, the latter by the Elders of each hamlet. At *all* these Patriarchal Councils, however, the common members of every Society have a free right, if they will, to be present, and to give their voices on the questions mooted, although the Patriarchs alone take a part in the public *discussion*. But, besides these Councils, general Assemblies, as already stated, of whole federal groups, or tribes, or districts, or villages, may, in causes of emergency or for the settlement of business of general importance,

care-worn, is still vigorous. In person he is somewhat below the middle size, according to the Hindu standard, of spare habit and by no means robustly formed. His physiognomy is spirited, and when excited, intellectual, but with a predominating expression of benevolence. His features are regular, sufficiently bold in expression, but by no means striking, and not strongly marked by the peculiarities of his race. His manner is animated, perfectly self-possessed, and very pleasing. He might pass as a well-bred Brahman of Orissa.

His views upon every subject on which he is informed are clear and discriminating, and he perceives new facts and their relations, with remarkable facility. His habits not being Military (as also is the case with Nowbhun Khonro, chief Patriarch of Boad) cowardice was vulgarly imputed to him in our camp, as if a people ever lavished its affections upon a poltroon.

Having passed his time by turns amongst the Khond vallies of the Ghats and the petty Courts of the Zemindars, he is as well informed of all that relates to the Hindu population of a considerable portion of Orissa, as of the usages and interests of his own people. He is well read in the Puranas, and forgot his prison in enquiring of the present state of the jewelled palace of Lanka. His personal habits are those of an Orissan Brahman, and he is attended exclusively by persons of this caste."

be formally convened by the patriarchal Chiefs of these several departments. As an average specimen of the method of procedure, on such occasions, we may refer to the convocation or gathering of a Tribe.

When, in the judgment of the chief Patriarch, any thing has occurred to require a collective expression of the general will, he sends a summons to every village to attend upon a particular day, at a central point, which is selected by him for the Assembly. The nearer hamlets contribute the *whole* of their population to the Council; the more distant depute the person or persons thought best qualified to represent them. The place of meeting is, generally, the open slope of a hill. The District Patriarchs and the Abbayas of sections first seat themselves in a circle. Around them the Abbayas of villages form an outer ring. The rest of the male community, all bearing arms, arrange themselves beyond the Patriarchal circles. Women and children sit apart, but within hearing distance. As the day advances, and the Assembly begins to fill, the chief Partriarch rises from time to time to demand, whether such an Abbaya has taken his place?—Whether such an Elder has appeared?—Whether the men of such a village are prepared for their part? He then dispatches messengers for some, chides others for delay, and receives replies, apologies, and explanations, loud and various in return. With the completion of the Assembly, the *peculiar* functions of the chief Patriarch appear to cease. Though its most distinguished member, he does not usually regulate, or even preside over, its proceedings. Having convened the meeting, he makes obeisance towards the four quarters of the globe, to the sun, and to the earth, and then takes his seat among the other Abbayas. In an Assembly of a Tribe, the Patriarchs of the inner circle alone usually offer public counsel; and upon its formation, one of them immediately rises to address the meeting. He generally begins by touching upon some spirit-stirring theme of the past,—the actions of a distinguished man, or the memory of a cherished event which bears some obvious relation to existing circumstances. Having by such preface prepared his auditory, he invites from amongst the circling crowd some Elder of the people of venerable age and character, to bear testimony, as a living record and as a depository of the traditions of the past, to the facts and principles on which their proceedings should be based. He next exhibits his own views of the matter under consultation—appealing, as he progresses, to the reverend witness, who, standing in the centre of the meeting, now avouches, now modifies his statements; or, taking the part of an interlocutor, maintains a dialogue with the speaker, or interposes episodes in his discourse,—while the Assembly freely interrupts the Patriarch with loud tokens of applause or of dissent, but in all causes, it is said, without infringing the natural laws of decorum. When the different Abbayas, succeeding each other in debate, have fully expressed their views, a plan of action in accordance with the general sense of the Assembly is finally determined on. This final decision is then formally announced by the chief Patriarch; and the meeting is forthwith dissolved without farther ceremony.

No distinction, or clear line of demarcation, exists amongst the Khonds between *Deliberative* and *Judicial*, *Legislative* and *Executive* Assemblies, or Courts, or Councils, in regard either of constitution or of forms of procedure. In this respect they only resemble every other people at a similar stage of advancement. When the Abbaya of a district, instead of consulting with the heads of villages, formally assembles *all* under his authority; or when the Abbaya of a village collects its inhabitants in familiar council beneath the appointed tree;—forms similar in spirit regulate the proceedings. The jurisdictions of *all* these councils and assemblies, however composed,

are, of course, entirely undefined. Those of each higher grade are simply supplementary to those below—deciding on matters which these have not sufficient weight to determine.*

Such is a general outline of the *peculiar constitution* and *government* of the community of independent Khond tribes—by means of the simple machinery of *different grades* of *Patriarchs, Patriarchal Councils,* and *Popular Assemblies.* From the disorganizing influence of intestine feuds, offensive and defensive wars, and other causes, the theoretical regularity and uniformity of the scheme must often be disturbed; while other influences of a local, fluctuating, and partial character must constantly originate temporary or permanent shades of difference in the *details.* Overlooking, therefore, minute particulars and distinguishing singularities, we have contented ourselves with marking out characteristics which

* In order to complete this description, as well as to throw light on the position and office of another personage, who, next to Dora Bisaye, figured most in the Goomsur War, and who, in point of fact, at the conclusion of the war, succeeded him —Sam Bisaye—it is proper to advert to another kind of institution of comparatively recent origin among some of the Tribes, which are at present, or were at no very remote period included in Boad. We quote Captain Macpherson :—

"The relation betwixt these tribes and this zemindary having become (through causes which will be hereafter noticed) peculiarly complicated in the time of Rajah Bir Bunje; about seven generations ago, a class of hereditary Hindu officers was established to aid the chief Patriarchs in the discharge of their duties, particularly those relating to the external interests of their Tribes.

These employes received the Hindu appellations of Bisaye, Mahalika, Naik or Dulbehra, the two former of which are usually applied in Orissa to the civil managers of districts, while the latter denote Military authority.

The object of the institution of these offices was, to remedy the incapacity of the natural heads of Tribes for the conduct of such interests as required any considerable degree of knowledge of Hindu usages and manners, by attaching, by the ties of birth and of interest, to each district, a person bearing a respectable rank in Hindu society and sharing its civilization.

These offices are hereditary in the direct line, and are held during good behaviour; valuable grants of land are attached to them, upon which villages formed of the families and dependents of the holders, uniformly spring up. The Bisaye, &c. are formally recognized as channels of intercourse by the zemindars, who confer "Sarí," upon them when they assume office, and generally court their friendship.

The first duty of an officer of this class, however designated, is the practical management, under the Abbaya, of the relations of the tribe to Hindu Society. It is his part to represent his chief at the petty courts of the zemindars, and to attend him thither, and elsewhere, upon all occasions when required to interpret his language or to write for him. And finally, the ministry of the Deity adopted from the Hindu pantheon, and generally that of certain local Gods, is added to his cares.

These functionaries uniformly enjoy a high degree of consideration amongst the Khonds. They have an honorable place in the public assemblies, at all private entertainments, and at religious festivals. When endowed with the talent which is requisite to sway the passions of their rude employers, their influence often predominates in their councils; and as arbiters in cases which the ordinary public authority is unable satisfactorily to determine, they often exert a very important power. But any semblance of pretension to independence, or forgetfulness of their subordinate situation in the Tribe, is promptly and indignantly resented.

The Bisayeship of Hodzoghoro was established under these circumstances.

A Hindu family by degrees established a separate interest in the Western quarter of the district, and its head was ultimately selected as "Bisaye," by a division of the Tribe, and was recognized as such by the zemindar of Boad

It may be added, that the father of the present Bisaye having quarrelled with the Boad Rajah, laboured to bring the Khonds of Hodzoghoro into connection with Goomsur. And this object has been recently effected by his son Sam Bisaye.

This Hindu Bisaye, the employe of a section of a Khond district, until now attached to Boad, has been appointed on our part, to take the place in Goomsur of the federal Khond Patriarch, the late Dora Bisaye."

form the leading points of co-incidence and agreement. To attempt more would be to enter on the trackless wilderness of perpetual and almost imperceptible distinctions between the modes, forms, and usages of constitutions, the most nearly resembling each other,—giving, as Fergusson the Historian has remarked in reference to societies in general, to "human affairs a variety in detail, which, in its full extent, no understanding can comprehend, and no memory retain."

Their personal and social characteristics—physical, mental, and moral.—These exhibit the ordinary mixture of good and bad qualities which distinguish a rude but not utterly savage state of society. From the account given of their notions and practices in regard to hospitality, we almost fancy ourselves listening to a tale of Arab life. From the representation given of their principles of honesty and the circumscribed limits of their respect for property, we almost fancy ourselves transported back to the days of Robin Hood or Rob Roy, whose guiding maxim has been happily embodied in the lines—

> "The good old rule, the simple plan,
> That he should take who has the power,
> And he should keep who can."

Their favourite phrase is that they "seize whatever they like best;" which happens unfortunately to be, as Mr. Brown remarks, "just those things which their neighbours also most esteem—property of the solid kind—cattle, rice, and implements of husbandry." When returning from the plains which tradition delights to picture as having once belonged to their own ancestors—laden with the spoil or "black mail" levied on their low land neighbours, we may almost fancy the Khond chief indignantly vindicating himself in the words of Roderick Dhu:—

> "These fertile plains, that softened vale,
> Were once the birthright of the Gael:
> The stranger came with iron hand,
> And from our fathers rent the land.
> Where dwell we now? See rudely swell
> Crag over crag, and fell o'er fell.
> Pent in this fortress of the north,
> Think'st thou we will not sally forth
> To spoil the spoiler as we may,
> And from the robber rend the prey?"

But it is time to hear Captain Macpherson:—

"The Khonds are distinguished by *bodily* strength and symmetry. Their height is about the average standard of Hindus in the peninsula. The muscles of the limbs and body are clean and boldly developed. The skin, is clear and glossy, its colour ranging from a light bambu to a deep copper shade. The forehead is full and expanded. The cheek-bones are high and rather prominent. The nose is seldom, though occasionally, arched and is generally broad at the point. The lips are full but not thick. The mouth is rather large. The whole physiognomy is generally indicative of

intelligence and determination, blended with good humour. In their personal demeanour they exhibit the easy bearing of men who are unconscious of inferiority, and rarely employ expressions of mere courtesy. In salutation they raise the hand perpendicularly above the head. In meeting on the road, the younger person says, "I am on my way," and the elder replies, "go on."

They exhibit considerable *intellectual* capabilities. They shew an aptitude for the perception of new facts and the comprehension of new relations. Their views on any common subject on which they are well informed, are clear and discriminating. This is true, more especially of the Patriarchal families. Their own language has not been reduced to a written form. In the absence of a vernacular* literature, some of the Abbayas have betaken themselves to the study of the Hindu Shâstras which they read with considerable ease.† And their children are declared to exhibit a capacity for learning equal to that of Hindu youth of any caste. Of the women, a celebrated Khond chief, gave this character: "They are not," said he, "deficient in intelligence; but they have this fault that when we are at feud with our next neighbours we never dare intrust to them a purpose of war. It would be strongly opposed, or inevitably revealed to some relative or friend whom it might endanger." But, added he, with an expression of deep thankfulness, "we can impart such designs to the youngest stripling who can bear an axe."

Their *natural moral* qualities, good and bad, as in the case of all tribes similarly circumstanced, are strongly marked and strangely contrasted.

They are highly distinguished for personal courage, bravery, and unconquerable resolution. They manifest a wild and passionate love of individual liberty, which is but partially subdued by the softening influences that usually accompany the hereditary possession of competence with freedom, and which often unequivocally shews itself in the preference of death, in its cruelest forms, to the endurance of the least restraint. Rather than brook any thing like confinement, they have been known, by sternly refusing food, or tearing out their tongues by the roots, to perish. Their attachment to the *institutions* of Tribe, Branch, or Hamlet, is comparatively feeble; but their devotion to the *persons* of the Abbayas, or Patriarchal Chiefs, is equal to any which the annals of humanity can record. In private friendships they are faithful; and their fidelity to all public engagements is not less conspicuous. But, while faithful to friends within

* Like all rude nations, however, the Khonds have their songs and traditional legends. Of the former a few characteristic pieces, rendered into English verse by the well known D. L. R, lately appeared in the columns of the *Hurkaru*. One or two specimens may be supplied hereafter.

† Science, in any proper sense of that term, they have none. Even in Arithmetic they appear to be deficient.

"They do not," says Lieutenant Hill, "count *beyond twelve;* after which they say Runbarra, Runbarra, &c. one dozen, two dozen, &c. Two dozen is also called Koreka, and twelve dozen Ritta. The Digallâ and others who have occasion to keep accounts, use the Uriya method of numeration."

Such deficiency in numeration is quite characteristic of rude tribes. But in this respect the Khonds are in advance of many. Of some of the American Indians it is veritably related, that "they could not reckon further than three, and had no name for numbers beyond it."

The fact above stated of accounts being kept in the Uriya language may account for the difference between the numerals as given by Dr. Maxwell and Lieut. Hill. In the list of the former they are all of Sanskrit origin through the medium of Uriya, which like Bengali and Hindi, is but an off-shoot from the great Sanskrit trunk. In the list of the former, some at least of the numerals seem peculiar, such as, one, *mundi*; two, *rindi*; three, *muji*; four, *naligi*, &c

their own tribe, and honorable in the maintenance of special compacts entered into with communities beyond their social sphere, the idea of pacific rights and obligations, considered as incidental to the mere fact of social existence, apart altogether from ties of natural affinity or arising from express covenants, has not yet been attained. Peace towards each other, and towards those who are allied by convention express or implied, is the rule; but enmity, hostility, or war is equally the rule towards all mankind besides. With respect to communities beyond their own system, to which they are attached by no natural or artificial ties, the very idea of social or international rights and duties, has never entered their minds. Accordingly, while the different tribes do restrain the conduct of their individual members towards each other, or towards those who may be associated in intimate alliance, such as the neighbouring Zemindaries, they never attempt to impose any restrictions whatever upon man's supposed natural privilege of acting freely for himself beyond the prescribed pale. Within that pale, a Khond is generally faithful, honest, and honourable; beyond it, he may be a robber, a spoiler, a plunderer, not only without loss, but with a positive gain of credit and character. As contradistinguished from the idle roaming spirit of savage restlessness, the disposition of the Khonds is settled, industrious and laborious. Their patient passive endurance under physical sufferings, the most excruciating and protracted, has been rarely paralleled—never surpassed. As might be anticipated of such a people, they are "given to hospitality." The duty is equally imperative upon all. "For the safety of a guest," say they, "life and honour are pledged; he is to be considered before a child." Every stranger is an invited guest; and any person may acquire, under any circumstances, the privileges of the character by simply claiming them. No person, whether Khond or Hindu, can appear at a Khond village without being invited to enter; and the burden of public hospitality does not fall more upon the Abbaya than upon any one else. There is no limit to the period* to which hospitality may extend. A guest can never be turned away; and his treatment must be that of a member of the family. Fugitives upon any account whatever, from the same or other Tribes, must be received and protected. If a man, even though a murderer, can make his way by any means *into the house* of his enemy, it is considered a case of refuge, and he cannot be touched, although his life has been forfeited to his involuntary host by the law of blood revenge. Sometimes, however, when an enemy or a criminal thus makes himself a guest the house may be vacated; food may thus be refused to him, and he may be killed if he comes out. But such a proceeding is very rarely considered justifiable.

The *evil* qualities or *vices* that mar the moral constitution and temperament of the Khonds are not less marked than their natural virtues. Foremost we may place the spirit of retaliation and revenge. In cases of murder, revenge is recognized as an individual right, inherently belonging to the nearest relatives of the deceased; only it is optional, without incurring disgrace, to accept of private satisfaction or some substantial equivalent instead. Moreover, the ideas of the Khonds on moral and social rights and duties being necessarily few and vague, uncertain and perplexed,

* The inviolable sacredness attached to the rite of hospitality was remarkably exemplified in the case of Dora Bisaye. He was their guest. They viewed with horror the violation of hospitality. "Give up," said the British Government, "give up Dora Bisaye and the other leaders, and your villages will cease to burn and yourselves and your helpless wives and children will cease to suffer." But, No, Death itself was braved in preference.

there is often combined with childlike reason, on such objects a maturity in passion. Hence it is that, apart from acknowledged cases of bloodshed, they are often seen to gratify their baser appetites, indulge their resentment or revenge, with all the selfishness, brutality, and head-strong fury of the barbarian. In special cases, such as those connected with human sacrifice, there is periodically manifested a revolting cruelty—a savage ferocity—that cannot be out-matched by the Indian scalping-knife or tomahawk. To all this may be added the habit of lawless plunder, after the manner of free-booters, in some; and an addiction to the debasing and unhumanizing vice of drunkenness, in all.* At the season of periodical intoxication—the blowing of the *mow* flower—of which their favorite spirit is made, the country is literally covered with frantic and senseless groups of men. And though usually the women share more sparingly in the liquor cup, they yet, on public festival occasions, partake in every form of social enjoyment—food, drink, extemporary songs, recitations and dancing—mingling freely and without shame with the other sex, both married and unmarried, in more than saturnalian license and revelry, which often terminate in gross and nameless excesses, and as the guests are armed, not unfrequently in sanguinary brawls."

Their Judicial Usages—Civil and Criminal.—There are certain notions, sentiments, or principles of right and wrong which spring spontaneously from the natural reason or conscience. These may be more or less distorted or obscured, according to the ever varying circumstances of individuals. In the case of rude communities, they give birth to *customs* and *usages*, which, with them, have the effect of *laws*. In a loose way they constitute the unwritten rules and precedents for all judicial decisions. Still, from the absence of acknowledged judges, in all cases, authoritatively to apply them, and of acknowledged magistrates, in all cases, authoritatively to carry them into execution, it must needs happen that interminable disorders and inconveniences must be the result. Such, as might be expected, is the state of things among the Khonds. They do not possess any thing like a code of written laws or statutes, passed by competent legislative authority, and held as obligatory on the community at large. With them traditional prescription, or

* "The Khonds," says Lieut. Hill, "are immoderate in their use of intoxicating liquors. The forest does not produce the toddy, viz (Palma maxima) so prized by the Khonds of the hills; but the abundance of the Mow tree compensates for its absence; from Bundarra of the Ganjam Hills it is found in the neighbourhood of every hut, besides being in many places thickly scattered in the jungle In the villages of Nagpore large quantities of liquor called *morora*, are distilled from its flower, and consumed by people of all denominations publicly and privately."

"The Khonds," says Mr. Brown, are "a nation of drunkards." They drink "any thing, the stronger the better." He then adds one or two of his illustrative anecdotes. "A young man going up to a tent was offered some spirits; first of one sort, then of another—all of which he drank off without any hesitation. Several sorts of liquors were then mixed up with some ketchup: still he shewed no repugnance but drank all up with the utmost glee." A gentleman expressed a desire that he should see Ram Makika one of the Khond chiefs, though, it was observed, it would be "difficult to find him sober,"—his maxim being, "As much as I may find, so much I will drink, and more if I can."

immemorial usage, supplies, in most cases, the place of a statute-book:—

"The right of property is distinctly recognized. Land is possessed without tenure, the rights of possession being simply founded on priority of appropriation or of culture. In some quarters, the waste or unreclaimed land for pasturage or for jungle produce, is partitioned among the villages; in others, not. Landed property and agricultural stock descend exclusively in the male line, females being incapable of holding land. In some districts, the eldest son receives an additional share of both these species of property; in a few, they are equally divided. Daughters participate equally in the personal ornaments, household furniture, money and moveables; while their brothers are obliged to maintain them, and to contribute conjointly to the expense of their marriages. On the failure of heirs male, land becomes the property of the village, and is divided among its members. When land is transferred by sale, the selling party goes with the intending purchaser to the village to which it is attached. Summoning five respectable inhabitants, as witnesses, they proceed to the property. The owner of it then invokes the village deity to bear testimony that the portion of land specified is alienated by him, for ever, to the individual present, for a certain consideration. He then delivers a handful of soil to the purchaser, when the transaction is complete.

Cases of murder, manslaughter, and wounding are left very much to the operation of the law of private retaliation. When the revenge of blood is foregone, the entire personal property of the murderer is awarded, in compensation, to the representatives of the deceased. For wounds inflicted under circumstances of extreme provocation, or in a drunken squabble, slight compensation is awarded. If the injury be severe, or of a lasting nature, a large equivalent in property is adjudged. And in every case, the injured party has a right to subsist in luxury at the expense of the offender, during the period of convalescence.

In cases of established matrimonial unfaithfulness the husband has a prescriptive right to put the seducer to death; while the guilty spouse, not being regarded as his property, is punishable only by dismissal to her paternal home. In cases of theft or of robbery, the restitution of the property abstracted, or the substitution of an equivalent, is alone required by Khond usage on the first offence; but expulsion from the society follows upon its repetition. More important questions, whether of property or of personal offence, are generally decided by the different Patriarchal Councils. On such occasions, there is a formal examination of witnesses. Of judicial tests the two most sacred are founded on the belief that rice, moistened by the blood of a sheep killed in the name of the earth god, will, if eaten by litigants, destroy the perjured; and that a portion of disputed soil, made into clay will, if swallowed by them, have a similar effect. The common oaths are upon the skin of a tiger, from which animal destruction to the perjured is invoked; upon a lizard skin, whose scaliness they pray may be their lot, if foresworn; upon the earth of an ant-hill, like which they desire that, if false, they may be reduced to powder; and upon a peacock's feather;—while the universal ordeals of boiling water, oil, and hot iron are constantly resorted to. Boundary lines, when determined by public tribunals, are marked by stones set up with renewed sanctions, in the presence of the Abbaya. The liberal entertainment of the members of every tribunal with rice, flesh, and liquor, at the conclusion of the proceedings, falls in all cases, as costs of suit, upon the losing party."

Their Arts and Manufactures.—The number, the variety, and

the constant increase of arts and manufactures may well be regarded as a test of advanced and still advancing civilization. In a rude state of society the range of these is at once limited and stationary. In the rudest state of all,—where men live, solely on undressed roots and fruits, insects and reptiles, while they are content simply to cover their nakedness with a few leaves or untanned skins of beasts,—they can scarcely be said to exist at all. Into so low a state as this none of the Khond tribes of which we have learnt has ever sunk. Hunting and war have called into existence their axes, bows and arrows. Their husbandary has called for a species of plough and other agricultural instruments. Their mode of domestic economy has made them acquainted with various processes of preparing food, distilling liquor, extracting oil, and working in clay. Their habit of dress—which consists in wearing a single piece of coarse cloth, either white or checquered, from twelve to twenty cubits in length, girt round the loins, with its extremities flowing loose behind—has made some slight demand on the operations of the loom and the dyer; while the fondness of the women for brass armlets and anklets, and small nose and ear ornaments of gold and silver, has led to some acquaintance with the art of working in metals. The style of their habitations has created a species of architecture. Each man constructs his own dwelling, which is usually formed of strong boards, joined together and frequently plastered inside—the roofs being thatched. Several of these dwellings,—arranged in two rows, so as to form a street increasing gradually in width towards the centre, and having a strong barrier at each end formed of logs and planks—constitute a village. A Khond village,—which is in general beautifully situated, either by a clump of trees, or at the bases of the wooded hills, or on the knolls of the vallies—lasts on an average about fourteen years. When it begins to decay, it is not repaired, but a new one is built on a different site, and none of the old materials are used. Yet even here, the stationary, unimproveable, unprogressive, monotonous state, so characteristic of barbarous society, is strikingly manifested. Forty or fifty houses constitute a village. Now, "one uniform plan of building," says Mr. Brown, "appears to prevail—which plan all must follow." Moreover, "the houses are as uniform as the towns. One uniform plan obtains amongst them: like the cells of a bee-hive, the one is the facsimile of the other. The patrician and plebeian—if such distinction indeed exists amongst them—are lodged the same. They eat, drink, sleep, and perform all the duties of life in precisely the same sort of habitation."

Before concluding the subject of "arts and manufactures," it is proper to state, that, with the exception of some of the tribes in the Southern districts, who practise the arts of working in iron and clay, the mountain Khonds themselves regard the occupation of agriculture, varied by the pursuits of war and of the chase, as almost exclusively honorable. How, then, it may be asked, do they manage to maintain this exclusiveness? The reason is obvious. From time immemorial, families of the Pariahs or low Hindu castes, or rather Hindu outcastes, have settled amongst them; viz. the Panwas* or

* As this is by far the most important class of settlers, it is proper to enter into some farther detail concerning them. The name by which they are known among the Khonds is "Dombango." It is in the low country that they are denominated by the Hindu appellation of "Panwa" or weaver. "The Panwa," says Captain Macpherson, "is proverbially indispensable to every Khond hamlet. His duties are to provide human victims; to carry messages such as summonses to council or to the field; to act as musician at ceremonies, and to supply the village with cloth, of which the Khond allowance is a yearly garment." He uses both the Khond and Uriya languages. Again in his Report of the Southern districts, Captain Macpherson thus writes:—

"Of the origin or the history of any of these races nothing certain is known. The tradition of the Khonds respecting the Dombango, is, that they have sprung, generally from the illicit offspring of Khond women and from that of Hindu women who have visited the hills for traffic, or during times of famine. And it is certain that the descendants of several families of the Gour Caste, who removed from Souradah to the hills during a drought which occurred about fifty years ago, are now regarded as pure Dombango.

This class of people is attached by families to particular Khond Tribes, by whose names they are distinguished, as the "Syalinga Dombango", but they frequently change their place of residence and their protectors. In the country betwixt Kimedy and Boad their social position is seen to range between a state approaching to equality with the Khonds and one bordering upon servility. But they no where attain to the former point, nor sink distinctly to the latter. They are always inferior and protected, but are always free. The Khonds, in some districts rarely, and in others frequently buy their daughters for wives, but, save in some parts of Bodoghoro alone, they never give their children to them in return.

The Dombango may and frequently do acquire land by purchase; but, as the full rights of citizenship in a Tribe attach to the possession of property in its soil,—rights which involve a circle of mutual responsibilities both for private engagements and for public conduct—the Khonds practically prevent as much as possible their acquisition or their long retention of such property. The Dombango, with the rare exceptions of those who possess land in certain quarters, have no voice in the public councils of the Khonds, although they constantly sway them in private. Their proper occupations are said to be weaving, trade, and theft. As the brokers, and interpreters, on all occasions, betwixt the Khonds, and Hindus, they manage the whole commerce of the hills. They are the musicians at festivals, and they provide the human victims in the sacrificing districts by kidnapping or purchasing them in the low country and occasionally by the sale of their own offspring. They keep up constant intercourse, and connection by marriage with the families of their race who live in the low country near the Ghats, and those at least in Souradah uniformly call a priest from the hills for the performance of their domestic ceremonies. They are of the Khond religion, and frequently act as Jannis or priests for its lesser rites, but the families who reside in the tracts under the hills, have acquired many ideas of Hinduism. On changing their residence from a sacrificing tract, to a district which does not sacrifice, they are not free from the imputation of easily adapting their system of faith to their interests. The Dombango in the Northern districts are unwarlike in their habits, in some of their Southern tracts they are held to be quite equal to the Khonds in courage.

The character of this race forms a striking constrast in all its features to that of the Khonds and curiously exemplifies the power of circumstances to produce moral and intellectual diversity. The masters of the soil form a bold, free, rude, laborious, mountain peasantry, of simple but not undignified manners, open, faithful, and upright in their conduct, serious and sincere in their superstition, well informed of their rights and resolute to defend them. The Dombango, excluded from property in land and from the power to practice the only honorable art, and depressed by a sense of social inferiority, are, with the exception of those in some retired districts, a mean, false, mercenary, thievish race, who live chiefly upon the ignorance, the superstition and the industry of the primitive people as low priests, brokers and pedlars, sycophants and cheats."

weaver; the Lohara or ironsmith; the Romaru or Potter; the Gouro or herdsman; the Sundi or distiller.* These, in their different capacities, manufacture most necessaries, and otherwise perform sundry handicraft and indispensable menial services. Though generally treated with kindness, the whole of these constitute an inferior, protected, or even servile race. They can in no case, in the northern districts, hold lands; and in many of the peculiar forms and ceremonies of the ruling class, they are not allowed in any way to participate.

Their professional usages—Martial and Agricultural.—Arts and manufactures, as we have seen, are not accounted honorable among the Khonds. But this is by no means singular. A distaste for handicraft or sedentary employment of any kind, and an ardent thirst for exciting occupations, such as hunting and war, have ever been distinguishing marks of a people so circumstanced. It was so among the petty states of ancient Greece, and until recently the clans of Scotland. To define, strengthen, and secure the rights both of the individual and the community is one of the highest triumphs of civilization. But, "where rights are unsettled and undefined, wrongs must be frequent, and recourse must be had to violence for that redress which no law exists to afford. When the right of redressing his own wrongs is left to every individual, injuries are felt most deeply, and revenge is sought with unrelenting rancour." This is precisely the state of things among the Khonds. Their rights are ill defined; wrongs are very frequent; and the right of retaliation and revenge is fully conceded. And when they do war, it is, says Mr. Brown, "to exterminate not subdue; for revenge and not honour. They destroy without mercy; neither age, sex, guilt or innocence is spared." The following is a summary of Captain Macpherson's statements in reference to the two great departments of honorable employment—war and peaceful agricultural industry:—

"All the Khonds are, from their earliest years, trained to the profession of arms. Their weapons consist of the sling, the bow and arrow, in the use of which they are peculiarly dexterous, and an axe with a blade very curiously curved, and a light long handle that is defended by brass plate and wire. No shields are used. They usually prepare for hostilities by sundry propitiatory offerings to the god of war. They adorn themselves for battle, like most rude nations, as for a feast. They carefully trim their hair, plaiting in a flat circle on the right side of the head, where it is fastened with an iron pin and adorned with peacock's feathers, or cock's tail plumes, and bound with a thread of scarlet cloth. From the neck to the loins the combatants are often protected by skins,—cloth being wound round their legs down to the heel, but the arms quite bare. They advance with blowing of horns and beating of gongs. The women follow behind, carrying pots of water and food for refreshments; and the old men, who are past taking an active share in the strife, accompany for the sake of giving advice and encouragement. The priest, who in no case bears arms, gives the signal to engage, by flourishing an axe in the air and shouting defiance. They often commence with slinging showers of stones handed by the women. When they approach nearer, arrows are thrown in flights. At length single combats spring up betwixt individuals; and when the first man falls, all rush to dip their axes in his blood, and hack his body to pieces. The right hands of all who are slain are cut off, heaped in the rear beside the women, and afterwards hung up on the trees of the villages. Of the wounded, many die from their entire ignorance of the simplest healing processes. The dead are carried away and burned on funeral piles.

From such sanguinary and revolting scenes, there is some relief in turning aside to contemplate the occupations of the Khonds during the intervals of *peace*. These are chiefly of an *agricultural* character. Their distinct recognition of the right and consequent distribution of property, and of the law of inheritance as essentially involved therein, is eminently favourable to the spirit of individual industry;—a spirit which is in direct antagonism to the characteristic sentiment of unbroken barbarism—that labour is at once an evil and a degradation.

With the exception of a few districts, in which the arts of working in iron and clay are cultivated, the occupation of agriculture, varied by the pursuit of war and of the chase, is almost exclusively regarded as honorable. Being therefore pursued with no ordinary degree of skill and energy, it results in no small share of rural affluence. They have large herds of bullocks and buffaloes and swine, numerous flocks of fine goats and abundance of poultry. Rice of several sorts, oils, millets, pulses, fruits, tobacco, turmeric and mustard, are the most important species of hill produce. These are often bartered in exchange for salt, cloth, brass vessels and ornaments. With the exception of cowries, the use of money was, until recently, nearly unknown. The value of all property is estimated in "lives;" a measure that requires some adjustment every time that it is applied,—a bullock, a buffaloe, a goat, a pig, a fowl, a bag of grain, a set of brass, or any thing else that may be agreed upon, being each and severally regarded as "a life." The whole community consists of one class, viz. that of allodial proprietors of the soil. There are no renters of land, nor labourers for hire. Each petty freehold consists of a portion of the irrigated soil of the valley, which is minutely sub-divided, and of a tract of the upland which is held in much larger portions. At the season of labour, the Khond rises at daybreak. Before quitting his cottage he eats a full meal, of which goat's or swine's flesh usually forms a part. Yoking his team or shouldering his axe, he sallies forth for the day. When employed in ordinary work, as at the plough, he labours without intermission until three o'clock in the afternoon, when he bathes in the nearest stream. But when his toil is more severe, as in felling wood, he rests to eat a mid-day mess which is brought to him to the field. At evening, when he returns home, his meal has the addition of liquor and tobacco. During harvest and seed-time, the women share in every form of field labour; to their share it often falls to watch the village cattle by turns."

* The existence of these artizan and servile classes, led at first to the supposition that the distinction and division of *castes* existed among the Khonds. Mr. Brown was even led to imagine that the *Sundi*, "from many circumstances," was "the principal caste." But this was plainly a mistake. The *Sundi* is no caste or class of Khonds at all; but one of the meanest classes of settlers amongst them.

Their diseases and remedies.—The most prevalent diseases are fever, inflammation in the bowels, and small pox. The first of these may be said to be a periodical visitor; the second is usually brought on by excess of drinking;—while the last frequently rages as a desolating epidemic. Such being the case, it may, at first sight, appear somewhat surprizing that amongst the Khonds the use of medicine is unknown.

To external wounds they may apply the earth of an ant-hill made into a warm mud, or a poultice of millet; they may also apply, in extreme cases, the actual cautery to the belly—using a hot sickle over a wetted cloth. But be their internal ailments what they may, they use no medicines of any sort. This, however, is nothing but what might be expected of a people circumstanced as the Khonds. It has often been noted that in the earliest ages we find no mention made either of physicians or medicines for the cure of internal maladies, or those "diseases which proceed from the disorder of the humours." And what is true of the earliest ages, is equally true of every existing race situated as the people of those earliest ages were. But how are we to account for this state of things? It cannot be attributed solely to the difficulty of discovering the specific virtues and properties of different herbs. The repeated observations and experiments, made partly from choice, partly from necessity, could not fail, if rightly noted, to lead ultimately to a discovery of the medicinal effects and qualities of various natural products. But the truth is, that in all ages and countries, the invariable tendency of ignorance and superstition has been to refer sickness in general, and especially sickness in any unusual form, to *supernatural* causes or agencies. Of course, whenever this persuasion prevailed, there could be no expectation of aid from the application of any *merely human* art. Consequently it is to the ministers or interpreters of the Divine will, in other words, to the *priests*, or to *conjurers* of some description, that recourse would be had. It was long ago remarked by Celsus, the celebrated physician, that the barbarians "imagined that all internal diseases come immediately from the Gods, and that they applied to them only for their cure." In such a case, "incantations, sorceries and mummeries of various sorts" would be resorted to and employed instead of medicine. The New Zealanders, it is said, "believe that whenever any person is sick, his illness is occasioned by the *Atua* or deity, in the shape of a lizard preying upon his entrails." And by Dr. Taylor, in his Natural History of Society, it has been very properly remarked, that substantially similar is the impression, and similar the resources of ignorance in every

country. "In some parts of Ireland," says he, "an unfortunate child suffering from rickets or consumption is declared to be fairy-struck." In other cases the patient is believed to be literally "bewitched." Accordingly, he adds, "the use of spells and charms is not quite banished from our own land. The writer has one in his possession, given him as an infallible remedy for toothache, by one who so firmly believed in its efficacy that he made its unfortunate failure a cause of quarrel." And he mentions the case of a young man of respectable family, who sewed the verses of which this spell consisted in his sister's petticoat, really believing that they would ease her of her toothache. Now, how exactly all this presents the state of things among the Khonds, the following statements from Captain Macpherson will amply shew:—

"In cases of sickness, as of every other species of misfortune, it is the duty of the priest to discover the real or supposed causes, in the immediate displeasure of some deity, or of some ancestor ungratified by food and honours. This he attempts to do, by resorting to charms, incantations, and other magical arts. Seating himself by the afflicted person, the priest, taking some rice, divides it into small heaps, each dedicated to a god whom he names. He then balances a sickle with a thread, places a few grains upon each end, and calls all the gods by name. The sickle is slightly agitated. A god has come perching by the offering. The priest declares his name and lays down the sickle. He then counts the heap of rice dedicated to that god; if odd in number, the deity is offended; if even, he is pleased. In the former case, the priest becomes full of the god, shakes his head frantically with dishevelled hair, and utters wild incoherent sentences. The patient addresses the god in his minister, inquiring humbly the cause of his displeasure. He refers to his neglected worship, sorrow is professed and forgiveness prayed for; and the sacrifices prescribed by the priest are instantly performed. Deceased ancestors are invoked in the same way as gods, and appeased by offerings of fowls, rice, and liquor. The consecrated rice with the brass vessels used in these ceremonies are the perquisite of the priest."

Their magical and other superstitious usages.—Under the last head notice has been taken of the manner in which, in the case of internal maladies, the Khonds, like all unenlightened people, have substituted the spells, charms, or incantations of the priest for the medicines of the physician. But this is not a solitary instance of resort to the mysterious and the superhuman. The constant tendency of all uninstructed and superstitiously disposed minds is to fancy, not to investigate, causes—promptly to ascribe phenomena to imaginary agencies, instead of patiently endeavouring to detect the real ones—to multiply the number of influences, natural and supernatural, rather than attempt to simplify and generalize them. Hence the strong and fervent belief of the ignorant of all lands in all sorts of non-descript beings, such as wizards and witches, magicians and sorcerers, augurs and astrologers, diviners and conjurers,

who are in league with diverse invisible and powerful beings that are supposed to control and regulate the destinies of man—and in all sorts of non-descript influences, such as spells and talismans, sorceries and incantations, witcheries and charms, omens and auspices, the second sight and the evil eye. On this prolific head to adduce examples were as needless as it would be endless. Suffice it to say that the Khonds, like all people similarly circumstanced, are in the habit of attributing to the interposition of some superior and invisible power, every unusual occurrence in the works of nature or the events of life—the thunder, the drought, the murrain among cattle, the epidemic or the pestilence that mows down its thousands of human victims. And with the view of averting such evils or of mitigating their rage, all manner of superstitious usages have been instituted.

For the present, however, we shall simply advert more particularly to their belief in magic and witchcraft, because of certain peculiarities, both in theory and practice, which have been connected with it. On this subject Captain Macpherson, in one of his unpublished reports, remarks:—

"The belief of the Beuniah Khonds upon the subjects of Witchcraft, Sorcery and Magic influences in a considerable degree nearly all their habits of life; and they retain with respect to them, nearly unmodified, the ideas of the Maliah Khonds of this quarter. But while the Hill Tribes exact compositions, in the spirit of their usages, for injuries inflicted by those arts, the Khonds of the low country, following an ancient but long disused Hindu practice, have, until very recently, assigned to them the extreme penalties which have been generally their meed elsewhere.

The views of the Khonds upon this subject are chiefly founded upon their peculiar doctrine, that death is not the necessary and appointed lot of man; but that it may be incurred, either as a special penalty for offences against the gods, by their appointment, or by magical agency purely human. The gods are held to inflict death either by ordinary means, as by a wound received in battle, or by the agency of men who are endowed by them with the power of transformation (called Mleepa) which enables them to assume the forms of wild beasts for the purpose of destruction, or to enter into other men's bodies to cause disease and death. And this gift is considered to be very commonly dispensed, as the Khonds, at least of these Districts, attribute all deaths by tigers to persons so endowed; for they believe that the gods did not create the tiger to prey upon man, but to hunt to provide food for him;—much game being left to them by this animal in the open cultivated spots in the vallies where it generally strikes down its prey; and all sickness is, in the same way, attributed immediately to a god, or to a man, who is thus gifted. *Magicians* are, however, believed to have acquired the power to take away life at pleasure; without reference to the will of the gods, by dark and impious arts which are purely human.

Against the class of sorcerers gifted by the gods, those who have suffered by them frequently rise, to compel them by threats of plunder and by violence and by levying heavy compositions, to promise to cease to afflict them. But the Magician experiences a different doom. In Pondacole, until very recently, he expiated his crime in the flames, at a stake which was placed close by the funeral pile of his victim.

A person whose testimony may be implicitly relied upon, saw three persons suffer death in this way at Pipulpanka in Pondacole in the years 1834 and 1835. A foolish looking old woman was pointed out to me in a neighbouring village, for whom the faggots had been several times prepared, but who had escaped from the introduction of our authority into Souradah. The guilt of Sorcerers and Magicians is always ascertained and declared by a priest, and the imputation, whatever may be the consequences, appears to be never denied by the accused."

Their Mythology.—It has been a question whether any race or tribe of men has ever sunk so low as to have lost all traces or impressions of a superior invisible power. Our own persuasion is altogether on the negative side. And we think that they who advocate the contrary, do so, very much, from confounding the form with the substance—the name with the reality. But this is not the place to weigh the merits of this controversy. On one point, all would be agreed—that if there be a people any where, totally insensible, not merely to the being of a distinctly conceived Divinity, but to *all impressions of the existence of any superior invisible agency whatsoever*, that people, both intellectually and morally, must inevitably be sunk to the dead level of the brute creation.

To this lowest depth the Khonds have certainly never been reduced. At first it was very difficult to ascertain what their belief, in this respect, really was. On this subject Mr. Russel, even in his second Report, could only say that their "religion appeared to consist of the worship of the Earth and the Sun." And Mr. Brown, in his first paper in the *Calcutta Christian Observer*, writes thus doubtfully, "Of their mythology, *if any really exists*, we have no means of knowing at present, and the history of bygone ages who can tell?" Again, "They appear to consider the Earth a Deity, whom they sometimes call *Deirne*, or some such name; and they pay a kind of adoration to the sky and the elements." And even in his second communication to the Observer, some months later, the Revd. Gentleman was able to add little or nothing on this vitally important subject.

Captain Macpherson, however, has succeeded in pouring a stream of light on the whole subject. The Khonds have their Divinities. These have arisen from the deification of the most prominent forms of the sensible universe, or rather of the powers which are believed to animate and control these forms; or, from the deification of those preter-natural agents which are supposed to direct and influence the leading events and pursuits of life. But, with these are often

blended or associated the most awful and mysterious notions of *a supreme power*, whose attributes are vaguely conceived, and therefore confused, perplexed and undefined—making up but a dim barren abstraction in the minds of men incapable of forming distinct ideas of existence or energy, not immediately derived from the sphere of their sensible experience. Apart from this all-comprehending or supreme power, which, apparition-like, flits up and down the chambers of a fearful fancy, without shape, form, or substance, physical or metaphysical—the Khond Deities may be conveniently divided into two great classes:—

"*First.—The superior or generally acknowledged Deities.* From the dependence of the Khonds on the earth as the proximate or immediate nourisher of their bodies, the 'Earth-god' or rather goddess, may well be placed at the head of their Pantheon. She appears to be worshipped under two distinct characters, which, however, are seldom separately contemplated by her trembling votaries—viz. as the supreme power, and as the deity who presides over the productive energies of nature. In the former character, she appears to receive distinct worship in one case only. When a tribe engages in war with enemies of another race, her awful name is invoked, and vows of sacrifice are recorded in the event of success. Her nature is purely malevolent; but she does not seem to interfere with the independent actions of other deities in their respective spheres, and she is nowhere peculiarly present. As the divinity who presides over the operations of nature, the character and the functions of the Earth-goddess are defined with a considerable degree of distinctness. They reflect generally the leading wants and fears of an agricultural population. She rules the order of the seasons, and sends the periodical rains. Upon her depend the fecundity of the soil and the growth of all rural produce, the preservation of the patriarchal houses, the health and increase of the people, and in an especial manner the safety of flocks and herds and their attendants. She is worshipped by human sacrifices.* She has no fixed corporeal shape, form, image, symbol,

* On this subject additional light has been thrown in Captain Macphesson's second unpublished Report, as the following important extract will shew:—

"While the whole Khond race professes the same nature worship and adores the same powers which animate and control the sensible forms of the universe upon whose functions they chiefly depend, and the divine energy as associated with certain abstract ideas and sentiments, and local objects, the tribes of the northern tracts (the only portion of the sacrificing population whose opinions I have had an opportunity to ascertain exactly) regard the earth goddess as supreme,—and at the same time attribute to her, in her character of regent of the operations of nature, pure malevolence towards man, and they believe, that while no observances or course of conduct can change her malignant aspect into benignity, her malevolence may still be placed in partial or in complete abeyance by the sacrifice of human life, which she has expressly ordained.

The Khonds of this middle region upon the other hand, seem to believe, that the Sun God and the Earth Goddess exercise an equal and joint supremacy—forming an inseparable *duad*. No malevolence towards mankind is ascribed to them, on the contrary they are merciful and benign towards those who observe their ordinances and discharge their rites; instead of delighting in cruel offerings they abhor the inhuman ritual of the Northern, Southern, and Western Districts; and they would resent with detestation any semblance of participation in it by their worshippers.

It is plain that there must exist an endless diversity of opinions, an infinite variety of sentiments and of feelings, amongst this widely spread people, upon every point of their vague, fluctuating, and undefined superstition, some of the leading doctrines of which I have attempted to seize, and to fix in exact language; and it is to be expected that the two *sets of elementary ideas* which I have found to prevail, respectively amongst the most Northern Tribes which practice the rite of sacrifice, and the most Southern Tribe which

or temple. But she together with the other superior gods, may *temporarily assume* any earthly forms at pleasure; as, for instance, that of the tiger as convenient for purposes of wrath. 2.—It is easy to understand why, among a cluster of jealous tribes which depend entirely upon the soil, a "God of Limits," should be universally and signally acknowledged. He is adored by sacrifices, human and bestial. Particular points upon the boundaries of districts, fixed by ancient usage and generally upon the highways, are his altars; and these demand each an annual victim, who is either an unsuspecting traveller struck down by the priests, or a sacrifice provided by purchase. 3.—The sun and moon are universally regarded as deities by the Khonds, but to neither the "Sun-god" nor the "Moon-god" is ceremonial worship addressed. They are acknowledged by a simple reverence, which is paid to them when visible upon every occasion of public solemnity, whether religious or not. 4.—The "God of Arms" has in every Khond village a grove sacred from the axe, in the centre of which, beneath a spreading tree, his symbol, a piece of iron about two cubits in length, is buried. To no Khond Deity is worship more assiduously or devoutly paid.*

abstain from it, will be found to approximate, to blend and to run into each other in every possible way. But the conclusion at which I have arrived, in opposition to preconceived views, with respect to these two sets of ideas, and to the distinct rituals which spring from them, is this;—that they are equally ancient and original—that the tribes which do not now offer human sacrifice, have not relinquished that rite, as other barbarous races have done, either in consequence of impressions received through contact with superior civilization, or as the result of gradual mental development, for they are decidedly behind the northern population which offers sacrifice, in respect of the number and the variety of those impressions, and in *point of general* advancement. But that those non-sacrificing tribes, entertain ideas of some of the attributes of God with which the rite is incompatible, and have always held it in abhorrence."

* The following war lyric is one of the specimens of Khond poetry referred to in page 42:—

1.
Great God of Battles, Oh, forgive
(For thou our wants and weakness saw)
If we so long have seemed to live
Regardless of thy glorious law;
Our herds were few, our fields were bare,
Our bravest warriors bowed with care.

2.
But how Fate scowleth on the foe,
And famine haunts each cot and bower,
And some the fever blasts lay low
And some the gaunt wild beasts devour;
Unnerved is many a manly limb,
And many a youthful eye is dim.

3.
Oh Laha Pennú, Lord of strife.
Watch all our weapons as thine own,
And at each mark of mortal life
Direct the shaft and hurl the stone;
Make wide the wounds on every frame,
Deface the dead, the living maim.

4.
Oh let our ponderous axes fall
Like blows of death from tiger's paws,
Or crush bone, flesh and garb and all,
As' twixt the fierce hyena's jaws;
Let arms not ours as brittle be
As long pods of the Karia tree;

5.
Each aim misguide, unnerve each hand
Of those to mock our might that dare,
Make all their weapons light as sand,
Or Mowa blossoms borne on air;
Or let our wounds quick dry again
As blood drops on the dusty plain.

Success in arms is carefully ascribed in every case to his immediate interposition—never to personal valour; and it is in the power of the priest upon any occasion to prevent war by simply declaring him to be unfavourable. 5.—The Khonds being much given to *hunting*, there is a "God of Hunting," who must always be propitiated by parties proceeding, usually in the hot weather, to the chase. Such parties generally consist of from thirty to fifty persons who drive and mob the game, killing it with their bows, slings, and axes. They seem now to be ordinarily *unaccustomed to the use of* poison for their arrows: 6.—In cases of barrenness, the *priest is immediately* put in requisition. He takes the woman to the place of confluence of *two* streams, sprinkles water over her, and makes an offering to the "God of Births; and the *same deity is uniformly appealed* to when any animal fails in fertility. 7.—The Khonds being greatly *subject to the ravages* of the small pox, there is a "God of Small Pox," who, they say, "sows that disease upon mankind as men sow seed upon the earth." When a village is threatened with the dreadful scourge it is deserted by all save a few *persons who* remain to offer the blood of bufaloes, hogs, and sheep, to the destroying power. The inhabitants of the neighbouring hamlets attempt to prevent his approach by planting thorns in the path which lead towards the infected place. 8.—Every knoll and eminence in the Khond country has a name and a divinity, called the "Hill-God," but as from him little is to be hoped or feared, to him no formal worship is addressed. 9.—That timber may never be wanting, in case of accidents from fire or *from enemies*, a *considerable grove*, generally of saul, is uniformly *dedicated* by every village to the "Forest God;" whose favour is ever and anon sought by the sacrifice of birds, hogs, and sheep, with the usual accompaniments of rice and an addled egg. The consecrated grove is *religiously preserved*—the young trees being occasionally pruned, but not a twig cut for use without the formal consent of the village and the formal propitiation of the god. 10.—Among a people who depend so much on regular and copious supplies of rain, it it not to be wondered at that there should be a "*God of Rain*." When there is a failure of this fructifying element, a whole tribe generally meets to invoke the deity. Quarrels are now forgotten or suspended. All go forth, men, women, and children, accompanied by the loudest music—the men shouting and capering madly in the circles—to seek the God of Showers at some old appointed tree or rock. While some

6.

May every axe wear ruddy hue
As home we pant from vict'ry's field;
And while women, proud and true,
Their stores of sweet refreshment yield,
May neighbouring beauties seek our bowers
And yearn to mix their blood with ours.

7.

Our war gained wealth, let all behold,
Brass vessels, herds and scented leaf,
And Maids present to parents old
The trophies of our struggle brief;
And fowl and buffaloe and sheep
Thy shrine in sacred blood shall steep

8.

Oh Laha Pennu, God of war,
Not new the favor now we crave;
For thy fierce smile, like lurid star,
Oft led to strife our fathers brave;
And we their sons, when danger lours;
Still hail their honored God and ours.

keep up the dance without intermission, others strip and cook the victims, which are bullocks, sheep and hogs, and which are sacrificed with invocations by the priest. 11.—Next to rain, the chief dependence must be on springs. Hence the "God of Fountains" is caressed with special favours, and sought with special offerings. 12.—As the fulness of streams and rivulets must depend on the copiousness of rain and fountains, though there is a "God of Rivers," who is often addressed he is not honoured with any peculiar rites. 13.—As the Khonds, for the purpose of irrigation, carefully collect the waters of rills and brooks near their sources, by means of rude weak dams or bunds, there is a "God of Tanks," to whom they assiduously sacrifice sheep and fowls under the nearest tree, praying him to preserve their embankments. 14.—Last of all, there is the "Village God," who is the guardian deity of every hamlet,—the universal *genius loci*. He is the special object of domestic and familiar worship. The ruin or prosperity of villages is in his power. To him are vows made and recorded in sickness; and in most undertakings his aid and patronage are implored.

Second.—The inferior, local, or partially acknowledged Deities. Besides the ancient, indigenous, and universally acknowledged divinities now enumerated, there are others of subordinate importance and limited sway. These, for the most part, seem to be of local and accidental origin, and in many cases, obviously of modern growth. As they are found chiefly in those districts that are most exposed to impressions from Hinduism, it can be little doubted that the greater part owe their real paternity to that source. In what manner Hindu ideas might ultimately be imparted, and Hindu modes of worship incorporated with or engrafted on the simple stock of Khond traditions, there is a recent illustrative example. A moss-grown rock on the hill of Koladah, in Goomsur, which bore a rude natural resemblance to a man seated on a tiger had been, from the remotest antiquity, an object of superstitious veneration. The father of the late Rajah of Goomsur in compliment to the Jakso Tribe, whose former territory included Koladah, built a temple near the spot, and placed within it the image of a man and tiger, of the best Hindu workmanship. The gaudy idol remained entirely unnoticed, while the Khonds continued to regard the rude natural image with unabated reverence. In the year 1815, however, when a British force took possession of Koladah, a party of Sepoys chanced to bivouack in the temple. Their camp fire was allowed to scorch the idol; and a Mussalman contemptuously pricked the nose of the tiger with his bayonet. Blood, say the Khonds, flamed from the wound, and a pestilence wasted the English camp, which proved that their divinity had transferred his presence from his ancient hill to the new Hindu shrine. Since then, the tiger rock has ceased to be in any degree an object of religious regard; though it would seem that, for the present, his worshippers have declined to follow him to his new abode.

1.—In some places, a rude stone, smeared with turmeric, is worshipped under a name which signifies "great Father god." In one village his symbol is enclosed within a small temple; in others, it is placed under a lofty forest tree where tradition generally records that a rift once marked his passage into, or emergence from, the earth. To this imaginary being, are due two yearly offerings of goats, fowls, milk, rice, ghee, incense, and occasionally buffaloes—the one, at seed time; the other, at harvest. 2.—In the District of Nowsagur, a new deity has of late been adored, concerning whom the present Patriarch states, that he manifested himself in a material form, on the occasion of his own marriage. The god was found in the large dish of rice, which, according to custom, his wife's mother at that ceremony placed upon his head. Its material is declared to be neither gold, silver, wood, iron, stone, nor any other known substance. It is deposited in

a small building or shrine, under the guardianship of a Hindu priest, who is entertained for this service. 3.—In two districts, the "conservative principle," or rather that of the "statu quo" is worshipped on a lofty mountain. The blood of victims is annually poured out before an immense concourse of devotees, whose single aspiration is, "may we ever live as did our forefathers and may our children hereafter live like us." 4.—In another district, another power or influence is worshipped, which is said to have arisen from the earth in the form of a piece of iron, and which may be regarded as the "destructive principle." It is firmly believed that the tree, under which this deity is placed, must die—that the water in which he is laid must be dried up—that the priest in his service cannot expect to survive four years, while he cannot decline the fearful office. 5.—Besides these, there are several other local and minor tutelary deities. One of these is Bahman Pennu, apparently the Brahman god. Indeed, most of these are obviously of Hindu origin. Besides, they are found in those parts of the country that are most exposed to such inroads; and where, moreover, tradition records the former existence of a Hindu city founded by Rama on his return from Ceylon. And of this there can be no doubt, that the goddess Káli, the Sakti or active energy and consort of Shiva, the destroyer or reproducer, who is worshipped by the Hindus of the surrounding portions of Orissa, has been very extensively added to the number of native Khond divinities;—though, every where, her worship is postponed, or held subordinate, to that of their own."*

Their Priesthood.—It would appear, as indeed might be anticipated from former statements, that originally the chief civil and sacerdotal offices were united in the persons of the Abbayas. In some districts, this primitive union of offices is still perpetuated; in others, it has been wholly dissolved. Where the Priesthood and Patriarchate are not combined, the Civil and the Religious heads of tribes generally act in concert for the maintenance of the national observances, as well as from a sense of private interest,—the former, desiring to strengthen their hands as temporal rulers by the aid of superstition; the latter, aiming at influence through alliance with the secular authority. In all cases, however, the priesthood lays claim to divine institution. Each deity is believed to have originally appointed ministers in every tribe by which he was recognized. The office is hereditary, descending usually but not necessarily to the eldest son. But no absolutely exclusive privilege is transmitted by descent. The priestly office may be assumed by any one who choses to assert a call to the service of a god—the mandate being

* "While the primitive race thus aspires to approach and to blend with the more civilized people, a union which has taken place, through plain motives, at a single point, betwixt their superstitions, is worthy of observation. The Hindus, when they assumed the Khond soil, in some quarters, adopted the chief Khond Diety, or rather duad of deities as their *Grám-Devata*, or local Tutelary God, under the name of *Khoudsi*; and Brahmans have ever since officiated with Khonds at her shrine. Her worship became partially confused with that of Durga, but it is still discharged with regularity and pomp by this joint ministry."—*Macpherson's 2nd Report.*

communicated in a dream or vision;—while the ministry of any divinity may, apparently, be laid aside at pleasure. Hence the Khond priesthood has no tendency to form a caste, endowed with inherent, incommunicable, or untransferrable qualities and attributes:—

"Every Khond village has its priest. From the rest of the community he is separated only in these two respects,—that he may not eat with laymen, nor partake of food prepared by their hands, though this rule does not extend to the liquor cup of which he freely partakes in common with others—and that he may not, in his own person, bear arms, though, in connection with warlike operations, he has many special duties to discharge. In accordance with the general spirit of Khond society, the members of the priesthood are perfectly equal in point of rank, although some degree of traditional precedence is necessarily enjoyed by the older priestly families. They have neither privileges of rank nor endowments in any form. Even their own inherited land is not tilled by the common labour as is the custom among other tribes. Their simple prerogative consists in having an honorable place at all public and private festivals, in receiving perquisites of some value at certain ceremonies, in occasional harvest offerings of good will when the deity to whom they minister has proved propitious.

It is, of course, their special vocation to perform the prescribed rites and ceremonies in honour of the deities, whose wrath it may be desired to deprecate or whose favour to win. But, besides such professional performances, on them devolves the discharge of many other miscellaneous functions. On the occasion of marriages, or births, or sickness, or deaths, or funerals, they have a part to act in the appointed ceremonies. Again, when the place of an Abbaya, whose race has become extinct, is to be supplied by popular election, the community is almost uniformly guided in its choice by the priest, who does not omit on such occasions to consult, with vigils and fasting, the will of the deity. And when, in the public council, a priest of venerable age and character demands, in language peculiarly modulated, "will not *men* listen to those to whom god listens?"—the appeal is rarely resisted. From all this, it is evident, that, in spite of the theory of equality, the influence of the Khond priests, viewed as a body of interpreters of the will of the deity, as mediators betwixt him and man, and as adepts in magical arts, must, in general, not only be very great but practically predominant.

In addition to the native priesthood, a class of Hindus, whose number is not considerable, is employed by the Khonds as co-adjutors in the service of the lesser divinities;—while the Khond priesthood conducts exclusively the worship of the Earth-goddess, and generally that of all the indigenous deities who are universally acknowledged."

Their religious rites and ceremonies—human sacrifices.—The traditional ritual of the Khonds is exceedingly varied and extensive—each divinity being worshipped, according to modes that are supposed to be suited to its peculiar nature, character, and predominant attribute. There are no temples or houses consecrated to worship. All ceremonies are performed in the open air, in the presence of assembled multitudes; or in solitary retired spots, such as groves and jungles. To recount all of these were alike endless and useless. Omitting all the rest, as

of inferior importance, we shall at once direct attention to the dreadful ceremonial by which the Earth-goddess is propitiated —a ceremonial which amply and awfully verifies the saying, that, where "we find a warlike ferocious race, delighting in cruelty and devastation, we may be assured that they will have deities delighting in slaughter, and rites polluted with blood."

"The Earth-goddess being the principal divinity of the Khonds, her worship is that which engrosses the largest share of public attention. It is, moreover, that which, in itself, is most deeply fraught with tragic interest; inasmuch as its central point consists in the offering of human sacrifices. Of the origin of this sanguinary rite, the only recoverable tradition among the Khonds is the following:—"The Earth,"* say they, "was originally a crude and instable mass unfit for cultivation, and for the convenient habitation of man. Then, said the Earth-goddess, "Let human blood be spilt before me!—and a child was sacrificed. The soil became forthwith firm and productive, and the deity ordained that man should repeat the rite and live." Thus the Khond enjoys the ordinary bounty of nature on the express condition of deprecating, by the ceaseless effusion of human blood, the malignity of the power by which its great functions are controlled. This may well be pronounced the most characteristic and fundamental doctrine or principle of his ancestral and national faith; and contribution to the support of the ceremonial in which it is embodied, may be regarded as an indispensable condition of association in a Khond Tribe.

Human sacrifices to the Earth-goddess are either *public* or *private*. The considerations on which the performance of *public* sacrifice is offered by a tribe, or district, or village, are generally these: 1st.—It is considered necessary that every farm should share the blood of a human victim at the time when each of its principal crops is laid down, while a harvest oblation is deemed scarcely less necessary than the spring sacrifice; and it is considered in the last degree desirable that several offerings, according to the promise of the year, should intervene betwixt them. 2.—Should the health of society at large be affected in an extraordinary degree, or should its flocks or herds suffer from disease, or from the ravages of wild beasts, public expiations to the Earth-goddess must be performed. 3.—The fortunes of the Abbaya being regarded as the chief index of the disposition of the deity towards the portion of society over which he presides, the failure of his crops, the loss of his farm stock, and sickness or death in his household, are considered as tokens of coming wrath which cannot be too speedily averted by public atonement with human blood. *The private* performance of bloody sacrifice is deemed necessary, when any extraordinary calamity marks the anger of the deity towards a particular house, as, for example, when a child, watching a flock, perishes by a tiger—the form which is believed to be assumed by the Earth-goddess for purposes of wrath. On application to the priest, he of course refers the visitation to the neglected worship of the dread deity, and generally demands an immediate victim. If this requisition cannot be complied with, a goat is led to the place of sacrifice, where its ear is cut off

* The Rev. Mr. Brown favours us with another and slightly varying from of the tradition on this subject; but as all such traditions are merely legends of *posterior* fabrication, they may safely be rejected as utterly worthless.

and cast bleeding upon the earth—a pledge that must be redeemed by human blood, at whatever cost, within the year.

From what has now been stated, it appears that the number of sacrifices in a Khond district depends upon circumstances, so numerous and so variable, that it is scarcely possible to form a correct estimate in any case of their annual average. One thing is painfully certain, and that above the possibility of question, that the number is great beyond what any humane spirit can contemplate without a thrill of horror. In one small valley, two miles long and less than three quarters of a mile in breadth, our author discovered *seven* victims whose immolation was temporarily prevented by the vicinity of the British troops, but it was to take place immediately after their departure.

These unhappy victims are known, in the Khond language, under the designation of "Merias." They do not usually consist of native Khonds, but are provided by a class of Hindu procurers, called "Panwas," who purchase them without difficulty upon false pretences, or kidnap them from the poorer classes of Hindus in the low country, either to the order of the Abbayas, or priests, or upon speculation. When conveyed to the mountains, their price is determined by the demand, varying at from fifty to a hundred *lives*, i. e. of sheep, cows, fowls, pigs, &c. A few are always, if possible, kept in reserve in each district to meet sudden demands for atonement. Victims of either sex are equally acceptable to the Earth-goddess—children, whose age precludes a knowledge of their situation, being, for convenience sake, preferred. Brahmans, who have assumed the sacred thread, being perhaps regarded as already consecrated to the deity, and Khonds are held to be not quite so acceptable; but the word of the procurer is the only guarantee of fitness in these respects which is required. But whatever be the real class, rank, or nation of the victim, it is a highly characteristic feature of the system, pregnant with important consequences, that, in all cases, *it must be bought with a price*—an unbought life being an abomination to the deity.

The Meria is brought blind-folded to the village by the procurer, and is lodged in the house of the Abbaya—in fetters, if grown up; at perfect liberty, if a child. During life, he is regarded as a consecrated being; and if at large, is eagerly welcomed at every threshold. Victims are not unfrequently permitted to attain to years of maturity in total ignorance of their situation; although it is not easy to understand how this ignorance can be maintained. Should one, under such circumstances, form a temporary alliance with the wife or daughter of a Khond, thankfulness is expressed to the deity for the distinction. Generally, however, to a Meria youth, who thus grows up, a wife of one of the Hindu castes upon the mountains is given. Farm stocks and land are presented to him; and should a family be the result, it is held to be born to the fearful condition of the sire. The sacrifice of lives bound to existence by these ties is often foregone, but should the dread divinity require atonement not easy to be afforded, the victim-father, with all his children, is dragged without hesitation to the altar. It is a rule, however, that persons standing in the relation of direct descent shall not be immolated in the same district. This is, indeed, so rigidly observed that when a victim is thought in any degree to resemble a former mature sacrifice, he is always out of precaution resold or exchanged. By this means, also, the risk is avoided of sacrificing, according to the ideas of the Khonds, the same life twice to the divinity.

All arrangements connected with the ceremony of human sacrifice are conducted by the Patriarch in concert with the priest. The divine will is in every case declared by the latter, as it is communicated to him in visions;

and he may demand a victim at any time, even when no visible *signs of* divine displeasure appear. From the festivals of sacrifice no one is excluded, and at them, all feuds are forgotten. They are generally attended by a large concourse of people of both sexes. They continue for three days, which are passed in the indulgence of every form of gross and indescribable *excess*.

The *first* day and night are spent exclusively in drinking, feasting and obscene riot. Upon the *second* morning, the victim, which has fasted from the preceding evening, is carefully washed, dressed in a new garment, and led forth from the village *in* solemn procession with music* and dancing to the *Meria* grove. This consists of a clump of deep and shadowy forest trees, and usually stands at a short distance from the hamlet, by a rivulet

* *The following is one of* the hymns of invocation usually sung on this occasion :—

1.
Goddess of Earth, dread source of ill,
Thy just revenge overwhelms us still
For rites unpaid;
But Oh, forgive, our stores are small,
Our lessened means uncertain all
Denied thine aid.

2.
Goddess, that taught mankind to feel
Poison in plants, and Death in steel
A fearful lore,
Forgive, forgive, and ne'er again
Shall we neglect thy shrine to stain
With human gore.

3.
Let plenty all our land o'erspread,
Make green the ground with living bread,
Our pastures fill
So close with cattle, side by side,
That no bare spot may be descried
From distant hill.

4.
And when unto the broadflat pool,
Their *thirst to quench*, their sides to cool,
Our herds are led,
So numerous make them that no *form*
Of fish or frog, or toad or worm
Survive their tread.

5.
So fill with sheep each ample fold
That he who digs man-deep the mould,
Their compost rare,
Meet not a stone. May swine abound,
Until *their plough*-like snouts the ground
For seed prepare.

6.
So fill our cots with childhood's din
The voice be rarely heard within,
And neer without.
Each thatch with crowded poultry hide,
Give jugs that bruise the fountain's side
With metal stout.

7.
Oh Bera Pennd. Once again
Protect us, with the grove and plain,
From beasts of prey.
Nor let sly snake or tiger bold
Fright children save in stories old
Of fathers grey.

8.
Oh make it each man's only care
Yearly to build a store room fair
For goods god-sent,
And wealthy rites we'll duly pay;
Lo one bought victim now we slay,
One life present.

which is called the Meria stream. It is kept sacred from the axe and is studiously avoided by the Khond, as haunted ground. In its centre, an upright stake is fixed, at the foot of which the victim is seated, and bound back to it by the priest. He is then anointed with oil, ghee, and turmeric, and adorned with flowers; and a species of reverence, which it is not easy to distinguish from adoration, is paid to him throughout the day. There is now infinite contention to obtain the slightest relic of his person:—a particle of the turmuric paste with which he is smeared, or a drop of his spittle being esteemed, especially by the women, of supreme virtue. In some districts, small rude images of beasts and birds in clay are made in great numbers and stuck on poles—of the origin or meaning of which there is no satisfactory explanation. On the *third* morning, the victim is refreshed with a little milk and palm sago; while the licentious feast, which has scarcely been intermitted during the night, is vociferously renewed. The acceptable place for the intended sacrifice has been discovered, during the previous night, by persons sent out for this purpose. The ground is probed in the dark with long sticks; and the first deep chink that is pierced is considered the spot indicated by the Earth-goddess. As the victim must not suffer bound, nor, on the other hand, exhibit any shew of resistance, the bones of his arms, and if necessary, those of his legs, are now broken in several places. The priest, assisted by the Abbaya and by one or two of the Elders of the village, then takes the branch of a green tree which is cleft a distance of several feet down the centre. They insert the Meria within the rift;—fitting it, in some districts, to his chest: in others, to his throat. Cords are next twisted round the open extremity of the stake, which the priest, aided by his assistants, strives with his whole force to close. All preparations being now concluded, about noon, the priest gives the signal by slightly wounding the victim with his axe. Instantly, the promiscuous crowd, that ere while had issued forth with stunning shouts and pealing music, rush with maddening fury upon the sacrifice. Wildly exclaiming,—"We bought you with a price, and no sin rests on us"—they tear his flesh in pieces from the bones!—And thus the horrid rite is consummated!—Each man then bears away his bloody shreds to his fields, and from thence returns straight home. For three days after the sacrifice, the inhabitants of the village which afforded it remain dumb, communicating with each other only by signs and remaining unvisited by strangers. At the end of this period, a *buffaloe is slaughtered at the place of sacrifice, when all tongues are loosened!"

* While essential features remain the same, there are, in different parts of the country, considerable varieties of detail in the mode of offering the sacrifices. Of some of these varieties we have distinct accounts in our possession which had been furnished by Mr. Arbuthnot, the Magistrate, and Mr. Stevenson, the Collector of Ganjam; by Lieut. Hicks, Assistant Commissioner of Cuttack; by a rescued Meria and by a professional kidnapper. It would, however, answer no practical end to quote any of these at length here; as they are only varieties of horrid cruelty. The variety pourtrayed by Mr. Stevenson appears to diverge most widely from the type described by Captain Macpherson. The conclusion is as follows:—"They proceed to dig a pit, and having killed in sacrifice a hog, the blood is allowed to flow into the pit. The victim, who, if it has been found possible, has been made senseless from intoxication, is seized by five or six persons, thrown into the pit and his face kept pressed to the earth, till suffocated in the bloody mire. All cries, if any, are drowned by the noises of instruments. When supposed to be dead, the Jani (priest) cuts a piece of flesh from the body, and buries it with ceremony near the effigy (of a peacock, formerly described) and village idol (represented by three stones), as an offering to the earth; all present then cut pieces of flesh and carry it to their own villages,—part being buried before the same idols, and morsels in the boundaries of the villages, or fields, to which it is carried in procession with music, &c. The head and face remain untouched, and when the bones are deprived of flesh, they are buried with the head in the pit."

Having now given, in a condensed form, the substance of all the authentic information which we possess relative to the Khonds, it becomes an object of interesting and important inquiry, to ascertain, if possible, and approximately determine, *the position which they may be said to occupy on the great ethnographic chart or general map of human society.* On this particular subject, we were led some years ago, through the medium of another channel, to offer some observations. At that time very few indeed seemed to know or care any thing about so obscure and barbarous a race as the Khonds. Since then, however, the inquiries of private individuals, the occasional discussions which have arisen in the public journals, and the increasing efforts of Government to bring them within the pale of civilization, have all tended to create something like a general interest in their favour. And since the progress of further research during the last three or four years has in no way tended to impugn the substantial accuracy of the views we were led formerly to express on the social and religious condition of the Khonds, we may be pardoned, if we now endeavour to bring together, in a combined and connected form, the leading heads of our former remarks.

It requires only a glance at the previous statements to satisfy any ordinarily furnished and intelligent mind, that the Khonds cannot be classified either with the *perfectly savage* or the *averagely civilized.* What then is their position? Is it that of a *descent* from a higher and better?—or, that of an *ascent* from a lower and worse? Were the original ancestors of the Khond tribes *more* or *less* elevated in the scale of social refinement than their present successors and living representatives? The *former* of these alternatives we believe is that which most accurately pictures forth the *reality.* But why so? Because we at once repudiate the theory which long reigned supreme while Europe lay benumbed and still under the despotic sway of a cold philosophism—the theory, which delineated the *primeval state* of man as that of *the savage,* whose vacant idea-less hours were alternately spent in a precarious struggle for supplying the wants of mere animal nature, and in a melancholy warfare with raging elements or still more raging beasts of prey—the theory, which then proceeded by the method of subtilties and assumptions purely gratuitous, to account for the growth and development of the social principle, amid chance suggestions or arbitrary conventionalities, through diverse steps and stages, up to the towering pinnacles of loftiest civilization. The once favourite but now generally exploded theory we reject utterly. And why? Because it is as decidedly opposed to enlightened reason as to Divine Revelation—as directly at variance with the promptings of true philosophy as the dictates of Heavenly Inspiration—as flatly contradictory to the testimonies of general history as to the authoritative statements of Sacred Scripture.

In like manner, and for similar reasons, do we wholly reject the *kindred* theory, that the *religious* condition of mankind was *originally* that of gross Polytheism, or even of total Atheism, whence, by the force of some happy intuitions, or the combination of some fortuitous circumstances, they *gradually rose* to the attainment of the notion of a presiding Deity. Indeed, apart altogether from the facts of history and the indubitable evidences that attest the divine authority of the Mosaic record, the gratuitous assumptions and self-evident contradictions of the upholders of such theories would constrain us to betake ourselves to the Sacred Oracles for *the only* statement, which, viewed even hypothetically, can satisfactorily account for the strange and otherwise inexplicable phenomena that crowd in the varied and fitful history of man. With that statement before us, all seems mournfully luminous.

Originally created in the Divine likeness, the progenitor of the race of man must have enjoyed a knowledge of the character and perfections of his Maker, that could be limited only by the disproportion between faculties that were finite and an object that was infinite. It was the season of the soul's freshest bloom—the season of its bridal love—the season of its joyous day-light. Jehovah shone upon it without a cloud. The bright rays of his attributes, natural and moral, were reflected from it as from a pure unsullied mirror. And as man's Theology was perfect, so was his Philosophy too. It could then be felt no desecration to turn away from the direct contemplation of Jehovah himself, to the indirect contemplation of Him in his marvellous handiworks. As the uncreated Wisdom was seen streaming forth, impressing resemblances of itself on the constitution and order and form of created objects,—these resemblances would be speedily caught up by the unclouded understanding of man. Before it, the origin and nature of things, and the laws or divine statutes for their government, would be spread open as revealed or manifested truths. The whole creation would be hailed as one grand assemblage of visible types and images that faintly, yet accurately, adumbrated the transcendent excellencies of Him, who is the Eternal Source and Spring-head of all being. And thus would a perfect Theology be the nurse and mother of a perfect Philosophy; and a perfect Philosophy, the daughter and nurseling of a perfect Theology.

But alas, this rosy and harmonious constitution of things did not last long. Created holy and innocent, just and good,—

"Sufficient to have stood, though free to fall,—"

Man abused his freedom,—disobeyed his Maker,—broke the probationary command,—incurred the threatened penalty,—and contracted a sense of guilt. Instantly the hue and aspect of all things became changed. But the change was not in God, the Supreme object of knowledge;—it was in the soul of man, the subject or recipient of knowledge. God, the grand object of true Theology, is without variableness or shadow or turning; and those signatures of His wisdom, and goodness, and power that were enstamped on Creation, the grand object of mere human Philosophy, remained comparatively uneffaced. The strange revolution was in man himself. In transgressing, his spiritual and corporeal frame experienced a shock. The harmony of his mental faculties became disturbed, and their lustre sadly dimmed; the bloom of his spiritual being faded and withered; his peace of conscience was broken; his ardour of love waxed cold. As a fractured or discoloured mirror will be sure to distort the most perfect symmetry of form, and falsify the brightest hues of summer, so must the soul of man, shattered by its fall from primeval innocence and beclouded by the obscuration of contracted guilt, distort and misrepresent the most glorious manifestations of Deity—whether in the world of matter or the world of spirit.

But, though the entire frame-work of humanity was thoroughly disorganized, it was not obliterated,—though totally depraved, it was not annihilated—by the fall. There still remained certain lingering indications of its pristine nobility;—like the fragments of frieze and marble columns, that bespeak a melancholy tale, amid the ruins of some mouldering capital. Certain lively notices of a Superior Power, stampt ineffaceably in the soul, tended to preserve the religious sentiment. Certain notions of right and wrong, still cleaving to or springing from the inward *monitor*, served to perpetuate the sense of varied obligation. Certain unquenchable thirstings after truth helped to prevent the total extinction of the light that feebly glimmered in the understanding. Certain insatiable longings after some ulterior or supreme good contributed to rescue from oblivion the surviving traces of man's high original and god-like destiny. And these notices and motions—these impressions and tendencies—indelibly imprinted on the soul of man—were implemented from age to age, by transmitted beams of primitive Revelation, or derivative rays of fresh illumination, from such

as were honoured with heaven's great commission to fallen man.

Now one of the most distinguishing and most fatal characteristics of the *revolution* which the nature of man, considered individually, socially and nationally, underwent at the fall, has been the superinduction of a *confirmed tendency* to decay, degeneracy, dissolution and death, through every department of his *physical, intellectual, moral,* and *religious* being.

First, then, with a view to determine the *social* position of the Khonds, *let us look at man in his general social capacity.*

Previous to the fall, progression and *amelioration were* enstamped on his nature as the very law and condition of existence; subsequent to the fall, retrogression and *deterioration became the fatal heritage.* In the unfallen state, the predominant tendency was towards an *indefinite optimism; in the fallen state, the* paramount tendency was towards an indefinite *pessimism.* Look at Noah and his sons after the flood. Though sadly changed from the paradisiacal state, these doubtless were the depositories of all the arts and sciences, all the civilization and revelations, of the anti-diluvian world. While they kept close together, all these treasures and endowments would have been preserved in a state of comparative integrity. If there were no material advance, there could be no very perceptible or rapid recession. But when the necessities of a multiplying society pushed numbers forward into regions remote from the old seats of patriarchal wisdom and sage experience, the process of degeneracy would speedily manifest itself. In proportion to the distance and wideness of the dispersion would the process of decline in all kinds of knowledge, observances and institutions, social, civil and sacred, be *accelerated*;—till, in numberless instances, the downward career must, and actually did, terminate in all the ferocities of savage barbarism.

From this account, which, declaratively or deductively, or both, is clearly that of the Bible, it necessarily follows, that the *savage state*, far from being the *primeval condition* of man, is in every case the *mere degeneracy of one more cultivated*;—when, as has been well observed, "wanderers or exiles, few and helpless, driven aloof from their fellow-men, sunk, overpowered beneath the pressure of physical necessities, and lost all traces of their previous civilization."* And do not the researches of true philosophy—an experimental knowledge of human nature—a faithful observation of historic facts—point emphatically to the same conclusion? The annals of colonization

* Hetherington, on the "Fulness of Time."

and especially of settlements on barren and uninhabited shores, where the arts and sciences of civilized life have generally perished amid the painful struggles to support mere bodily existence, furnish appalling proofs of the inherent tendency in fallen, depraved, debilitated humanity, to degenerate even into savagism. But where, in the records of all climes and of all ages, is there one clear and indisputable example of the *reverse* process?—of a savage community, unprompted and unsolicited, *beginning* the work of its own amelioration—of a savage community, *spontaneously originating* the measures of its own improvement—of a savage community springing up, by the *voluntary motion* of some *intrinsic* force, from the depths of social, mental, and moral elevation? No!—All history proclaims, with one consentient voice, that, in every instance, the *first* quickening and reforming impulse has, in point of fact, come *from abroad*. An *extrinsic* stimulus, whether direct from heaven above, or indirect from some quarter of the earth below, where that originally imparted had not wholly died out, has invariably *preceded* every upward or ascending movement. The arousing energy may come from Revelation; or it may be communicated by aggressive warfare patriotically resisted, or by the stirring activities of a newly opened commercial intercourse, or by the presentation of objects that awaken cravings, longings, tastes, convictions, sensibilities which may for ages have lain dormant. But, be the originally impellant cause or the channel of its conveyance what it may, come it always has *ab extra*, and not *ab intra*—from *without*, and not from *within*.

In this view of the subject, we are now prepared to ask, what is the present social position of the Khonds? Without hesitation we reply, that it may be regarded as *somewhat more than mid-way down* from the lofty table-land of the Noachic civilization to the dead level of savage barbarism. At this rather more than half-way station the further progress of *rapid* degeneracy seems to have been in some degree arrested;—whether, in consequence of favourableness of soil and climate, or the rivalries of neighbouring states, or the adhesiveness of primitive traditions in congenial circumstances, or any other cause, it were idle now to attempt to conjecture. As regards the knowledge and management of territorial property, the *earliest* post-diluvian state,—when the unpeopled world lay all before the yet nascent society, and there was no occasion for having territory strictly appropriated even by tribes,—has been fairly passed. So also the *secondary* state, when fields, whether in pasture or in tillage, begin to be distinctly appropriated,

but not parcelled in lots, by out-spreading communities; and continue to be cultured or pastured by their several families in common, or in succession, agreeably to varying usage. The *third* state in the natural progress of settled industry and impropriation, when not violently impeded by a sudden relapse into utter barbarism, or that in which individuals acquire, cultivate, and transmit particular spots to their posterity, has long been reached. This circumstance would tend materially to ascertain and fix the *relative chronological* position of the Khonds among the dispersed of Noah's race. But, this circumstance *alone* would not enable us to determine whether, in other respects, their manners be more akin to those of barbarism or of civilization.

The mere fact of their having become hereditarily the possessors and cultivators of the soil, could not, of itself, settle the question of their barbarism or no-barbarism, either as to kind or degree, for this plain reason, that, in all parts of the world, barbarous races are really found to exist under the three leading conditions of hunters, shepherds, and agriculturists—or conditions, in which one or other of the vocations peculiar to these three modes of life, clearly predominates. Throughout the scattered islands of the Pacific Ocean the agricultural type of barbarous life is found to prevail in conjunction with perfect savagism or even cannibalism. The inquiry, therefore, as to the actual kind or degree of barbarism manifested among the Khonds could only be ascertained as the result of such *actual observations* as have been made and recorded by Captain Macpherson. And that result, as already stated, appears to mark the position of the Khonds, even in their best estate, as considerably more than half way down from the Noachic civilization to the lowest depths of the most ferocious type of barbarism.

Secondly, with a view to determine the *religious* position of the Khonds, let us look at man in his general religious capacity.

Of the Patriarchal faith, as professed in its greatest purity before the Flood, Noah and his family were the honored depositaries, even as they were the favoured depositories of the highest ante-diluvian civilization. And, as every state of subsequent barbarism was the mere degeneracy of one more cultivated; so, every state of subsequent polytheism or idolatry was the *mere corruption or oblivion of an earlier and a purer faith*. In neither case, however, was the transition from the best to the worst, or from the better to the worse, immediate or complete. In both cases, and in both alike, the downward progress, though often rapid, was never instantaneous. In some instances, it

proceeded by such slow and insensible degrees, as, within limited periods, to be almost imperceptible; in others, it was partially or wholly arrested by ordinary or extraordinary causes, long ere it had reached the zero of mental, spiritual, and physical debasement. In every instance, however, in which the progress of degeneracy advanced farthest, it is worthy of special note, that the gradual lapse into the extreme of barbarism, or the almost total loss of all traces of real humanity, and the gradual lapse into the extreme of false religion or the almost total loss of all traces of Divinity of any kind, have invariably kept pace, or ran parallel, with each other. And no wonder!—since the fatal root of both is one and the same:—the loss of original knowledge and original righteousness. Indeed, so complete is the parallelism or synchronism between the two processes of degeneracy, civil and religious, that the skilful Ethnographist would inevitably infer the general character of the one from the general character of the other, at any marked stage of the downward movement. In other words,—given, in the case of a particular tribe or nation, the leading features, whether of its barbarism or civilization, and he will almost infallibly determine the leading features of its religious faith. Conversely,—given the leading features of its religious belief, and he will as certainly disclose the leading features of its barbarism or civilization.

It were quite beside the purpose of our present remarks to enter at any length on the immense theme of what may be properly designated the *Natural History* of the rise and progress of Pagan Idolatry—whether in its simpler or more complicated forms. The original source of all idolatry, as of all other human evil and woe, was doubtless the loss of primeval rectitude. But the causes which subsequently directed, controlled, or modified the degenerate tendency were not generically one, but specifically many. Hence the signal failure of all theories whatsoever, framed with the view of accounting for the origin and progress of Idolatry, by a reference to any *single* principle or leading event in the history of man. It were every whit as rational to attempt to refer every manifestation of dynamic power, from the motion of a planet to that of a steam-boat or pismire, to the single force of gravitation, as attempt to refer every modification of the idolatrous tendency to a single principle of thought, a single affection of the heart, a single object in nature, or a single event in history. Of the nature, variety, and operation of these modifying causes we have no detailed narration—no formal record. Nor, if we had, born as we have been under the full blaze of gospel light, could we adequately comprehend the more minute steps in the chain of sequence, by which beings, endowed with

reason and intelligence, could be led so madly to confound the creature with the great Creator. And this may help so far to account for the feeling of unsatisfactoriness, coupled with the want of sympathy, with which we are apt to pursue the most plausible and ingenious theory on such subjects. Habituated from infancy to know and acknowledge the one living and true God, we can form no proper conception of the feelings and views of a mind wholly destitute of such elevating knowledge. Consequently, such feelings and views, even if disclosed to us, might appear unnatural, or utterly irreconcileable with what we are prone to regard as the unvarying laws of the mental and moral constitution. A few of the more obvious points only, we may momentarily glance at, as these may enable us the better to discriminate the peculiar subject of our intended inquiry—the religious position of the Khonds.

Of all created objects "the host of heaven," and of "the host of heaven" the sun, seems almost universally to have been the *first* to receive divine homage. Was it that man, blighted in his intellectual power, felt unable for the effort of abstraction in contemplating an invisible and incomprehensible Being? And, on this account, was he tempted to seek for and adopt some sensible emblem of the majesty and supremacy of Him who dwelt in light inaccessible to mortal vision? If so, what emblem more appropriate, or significant of the splendour of the High and Holy One that inhabiteth Eternity, than—

> "The orb, that with surpassing glory crowned,
> Looks from his sole dominion, like the God
> Of this new world?"

Or, was it that man, smitten with the plague-spot of sin and conscious guilt, could no longer brook the presence of a God, whose holiness is "a consuming fire" to the workers of iniquity? And, unable to escape from the overwhelming impression of a Superior Power, did he, in order to lull the agonies of a scourging conscience, offer incense to the king of day—the noblest object of the visible creation—resolving to persuade himself that he was the King of heaven too, or at least the most fitting representative of the Invisible Creator?—Or, farther still, was the process so gradual as to be insensible in its advances? The Sun, so glorious in his form, and in all his apparent motions so regular, stately, and rapid, could not fail to be intensely admired. Was this intense admiration the germ, which, in the case of a people deceasing in knowledge and holiness, at length ripened into actual adoration?—The Sun too, how prodigal of bounties!—the exhaustless source of influences, sensible, varied and prolific—the regulator of time and the distributor of seasons

—the fountain, not of light merely that diffused beauty and gladness all around, but of life too, which, vivifying the sluggish earth, flung from its bosom a perpetual banquet for all animated being!*—And was the gratitude, supremely due to Him whose visible agent the Sun was, in dispensing such manifold blessings gradually transferred, in the growing ignorance of man, from the Great Monarch himself to the mere instrument of His royal bounties?—Be all this, however, as, it may, the fact seems indisputable that to the Sun, of all created objects, the *first* divine honours were usually ascribed.

The gulph that separates the Infinite from the finite—the Creator from the creature—having been once crossed, every succeeding step in the downward progress became fatally facile and natural. In Eastern climes, where the inhabitants, spend so many of their nights under the serene, cloudless, and brilliant expanse of heaven, moon, planets, and stars would soon be greeted with Divine honours and taken into "co-partnership in worship." The deification of sensible objects or of the powers that animate them, having proceeded so far, what could arrest its farther progression? Nothing.—Descending, therefore, from the upper spheres, the mother-Earth, on account of her blessing with fruitfulness or blasting with barrenness, became a caressed or dreaded Divinity. And, as the Earth, so its principal constituent parts, and the great primary elements were soon honoured with separate and special rites of invocation or deprecation. Of course, in every country those elements, or those natural objects, from which the people had most to expect or most to fear, would naturally obtain the pre-eminence.

At this stage may be said to close the *first grand epoch* of the natural history of idolatry. Here, the degenerating tribe or people may be arrested in its descent; and, if one may be allowed the expression, from some peculiarity of circumstances, completely *stereotyped*. Or, the downward progress may be accelerated by dispersion over an ungenial soil, aggravated by inclement seasons. In this case, while the knowledge of arts and science usually disappears, the knowledge of religion dwindles away, abstractly, into nought but dim, perplexed, and undefined apprehensions of invisible agents, that are supposed to guide "all precarious events to which human foresight cannot extend"—and, practically, into nought but the childish imbecilities and absurdities of spells and charms, and fetishes

* Hence Julian the Apostate's oration to the sun:—"Some forms, the sun perfects; others it effects; others it beautifies; others it excites; neither is there anything produced without his influences," &c. The Egyptians also styled the Sun, the "Opifaer or Framer of the Universe," &c.

and witcheries. Or, the downward progress may be arrested without entailing fixed or rigid forms, whether of faith or of practice. In such cases, there is room not only for modifications and expansions of what is old, but for the introduction and addition of what is new. Stirring traditions of the past or exciting events of the present kindle the muse into fire. Before the mind of the Poet, all nature is animated and vocal. In his lively figures and glowing similitudes, sun, moon, and stars; hill, stream, and forest;—all, all stand forth personified. And, what he meant for entertaining fiction comes, in time, to be regarded as literal historic fact.—Hence, a strange host of mythological personages emerge on the religious horizon, with attributes the most clearly marked, characteristics the most expressly defined, and actions the most minutely detailed! Again, the exploits of heroes or the founders of states came to be so exaggerated by fame, time, and distance, that, *if real*, the conclusion seemed inevitable that they must be those of Gods or Demi-gods in human form.—Hence, a fresh assortment of Deities or Deified humanities for the extending pantheon of poor, fallen, degraded man! Moreover, when curiosity fairly roused men to inquire into the hidden causes of nature's phenomena and sequences, the physical principles or powers, supposed to animate or guide these, were often metamorphosed into spiritual principles or powers, and finally converted into mythological Beings or Divinities.—Hence it was, that every branch of natural science contributed its quota to the swelling catalogue of false gods!—while continued observation of the processes of growth and production, in the animal and vegetable kingdoms, led, by low grovelling analogies, to the strangest and most grotesque conceits relative to the origin of the Gods, the world, and man—whence, a fresh brood of wild imaginations under the name of theogonies, cosmogonies, and androgonies, which, blending inextricably with the rest, helped to render the growing "confusion worse confounded!" Once more, in settled and powerful communities, the priesthood, in order to maintain their ascendancy over the popular mind, often wrapped up the knowledge of which they were the depositaries under the cloak of pictorial or sculptured representations of natural objects, such as plants, beasts, birds, fishes and creeping things. Hence, in the lapse of time, were these hieroglyphic symbols, from being shrouded in awful mystery, themselves converted into "vegetable and bestial gods!"—Surely the force of sinful degeneracy could no farther go!—Now, with these, and many other sources of idolatrous mythos

and fable, too tedious to be enumerated, were blended obscure traditions of Paradise with its Serpent-tempter, of the Deluge with the second Father of the human race, and his three Patriarch sons, and the stately Ark that safely carried them over the bounding billows. At length, the whole, jumbled and piled together, like Pelion on Ossa, and these overlaid by myriads more, constituted a mass of religious error and corruption, phantasies and lies, so vast, so complex, so heterogeneous, that to unravel it would be a task, compared with which the bridling of the Hellespont or the levelling of Mount Athos were but the playsome sport of children. Here closes the *second grand epoch* in the natural history of idolatry.

When matters had advanced to this climax of stupifying confusion, if the tranquillity of society, or its public institutions, or the kindlings of literary ambition, or any other cause, proved favourable to the moods and attitudes of a contemplative spirit, there would arise individuals in whom natural reason, struggling through midnight gloom, would strive to vindicate and re-assert her sullied honours. Dissatisfied utterly, yea, almost horrified at the superincumbent mass of irrationalities under which the human mind had gone to sleep—dreaming amid visions as fantastical as those of the raving maniac,—what is awakened Reason to do? Where can she light her torch? Whither can she go for refuge? To whom can she appeal for help? How is she to effect her own emancipation and escape? In what direction is she to move, direct, and guide others? Whence breaks a friendly voice to greet and cheer her on, in her darksome woesome labours? Alas, alas, after moving backwards and forwards; to the right hand and to the left; downwards, and finding no bottom; upwards, and discovering no centre of repose; she is constrained to retire to her own chambers of imagery, and there weave some fresh theory of her own, which only gets quit of the entangled wilderness of error, by adroitly converting it into a smooth "slough of Despond!" "Divinity," argues beclouded baffled Reason, "Divinity, has been successively ascribed to *every object* in heaven above, and in earth beneath, and in the waters under the earth. What, then, remains but that the *whole* should be pronounced *Divine?* The sun, the moon, the stars, and their shining abode, the circling firmament—the great elements, air, fire, and water;—isolated combinations of material substances, fountains and rivers, hills and forests, fowls of the air, beasts of the field, and fish of the sea;—together with the entire aggregate of elementary and composite parts, constituting the solid earth itself;—all, all have been deified. And are not *all*, parts of one stupendous *whole?* If so,—and if all the parts, viewed separately, have been pronounced divine,—must not the *universal whole* be pronounced *divine* too? Hail, then, *Pantheism!*—be thou, henceforward, the resolver of all my doubts—the unraveller of all my perplexities! Again, hail, thrice honoured Pantheism!—thou stateliest monument that hast been reared by Reason, while blindly groping, benighted and fettered in quest of gladsome light and liberty!" Such, in very truth, has usually been the natural history of Pantheism! By the easiest and most natural transition imaginable, a universal and extravagant polytheism, on the part of the unthinking many, led irresistibly to as universal and extravagant a Pantheism, on the part of the contemplative few. How fraught with signification the word of Inspiration—that "the world by *wisdom* knew not God"—and that its great men and pretenders to superior Reason "*professing themselves wise, became fools!*"—And thus terminates the *third grand epoch* in the natural history of religious degeneracy.

After these remarks on the religious history of man generally, we are now better prepared to ask, what, in a religious point of view, is the ethnographical position of the Khonds, on the great chart of fallen, dispersed humanity? If to the test or criterion, which these remarks appear to furnish, we bring the portraiture of their religious system, as exhibited in the foregoing pages, we cannot hesitate in asserting that, chronologically, it must be referred to the conclusion of what we have termed the "*first epoch.*"

In other words, the system which has come down to us along the stream of ages, in a somewhat fixed and stereotyped form, is obviously the growth and representative of the period, which, in other lands, distinguished by farther progression or retrogression, preceded the era, when the symbolising spirit of the priests, and the personifying spirit of the poets, and the allegorizing spirit of the philosophers, multiplied divinities of every imaginable, and all but unimaginable, shape and form—divinities, whose minutely defined figures and lineaments could be faithfully represented by painters and sculptors—divinities, for whose painted and sculptured figures spacious caverns must be excavated and gorgeous temples reared. As regards the generally acknowledged and clearly aboriginal divinities, which chiefly consist of the principal powers and objects of visible nature, from whose operation and influence most was to be hoped or feared, there are not, with a single

slight exception, any emblems, or symbols, or images, or personified forms or temples. And even the single exception of the god of Arms is more apparent than real. He has neither image nor temple; but a piece of iron is said to be his symbol. Now, is not this, viewed as the *chief* instrument of destruction, rather the *object* over which he presides, than a symbol, in the ordinary hieroglyphic sense of that term?—just as a particular fountain is one of the special objects over which the god of Fountains presides, and not a hieroglyphic symbol—and so of the rest? As to the minor, local, or partially received deities, some of whom have symbols and rude shrines, there is the clearest internal evidence that they are not of ancient or aboriginal growth at all—but are wholly a modern encroachment and graft from the prolific stock of Hinduism. They are found only in those isolated localities that have been most exposed to the invasion of the latter system. They are in the custody chiefly of Hindu priests, while these have nothing to do with the guardianship of the principal Native deities. Some of them are of such recent incorporation as to belong to the present age. And what are those mysterious beings or principles, that seem to have so much puzzled our author, but counterparts or transmutations of Hindu deities? What is the "great Father God" but the "Pitamaha"—the "Great Father"—or Brahmá of Hindu Mythology?—What, the conservative principle, but "Vishnu," the preserving or conservative power of the Hindu Triad? What, the destructive principle, but "Shiva," the destroying power of the same?—Others might be similarly detected;—but the notice of these is sufficient for our present purpose. As to the future destiny of man, the Khonds simply but firmly cherish the belief that the soul is imperishable, and may animate an endless succession of human forms. But the *total absence* of any poetically embellished descriptions, resembling those of the classical Tartarus and Elysium, prove the *real antiquity* of their system.

That the position which we have assigned to the Khonds and their system is the right one, is confirmed by other internal marks. In his view of society in Europe, Gilbert Stuart remarks, that when the territory of a tribe or nation ceased to be its property, and individuals acquired particular spots or estates which they cultivated for their use, and transmitted to their posterity, it was a natural consequence of the old manners, that these advancements were often regarded, in the *first* instance, as the usurpations of the powerful on the weak; and historians assure us that it happened both in Greece and Italy, that the

land-marks which had been fixed to distinguish the boundaries of properties, were frequently removed or destroyed. It seemed at first like an encroachment on the rights of the people generally, that lands which, of old, pastured indifferently the cattle of successive occupiers, should be allotted to the use and convenience of private men. It was, accordingly, not merely necessary to make laws to prevent the violation of private rights, but, what is curious and worthy of special note, even the *termini* or *land-marks*, that they might *remain* unremoved for the preservation and separation of property, were exalted into *divinities*,—or a god of Limits was imagined to preside over them all. Now, as regards this particular subject, this is precisely the civil and religious condition of the Khonds at the present day. In the natural progress of primitive civil society they had reached the point where individual appropriation of territory became desirable and inevitable. In the natural progress of religious degeneracy they had, at the same time, reached the point at which every loved or dreaded object known to them was fancied to be a god, or animated, actuated, and presided over by a distinct divinity. From the coincidence of these two points, civil and religious, a god of Limits was the spontaneous growth. And, as the Khond system soon became fixed and stationary, we find the same earnest and devoted homage awarded to that deity now, which was rendered more than two thousand years ago.

Again, the religious condition of the Khonds admirably accords with the Scripture account of man's origin, fall, and departure from God. Hume in his Essays, declares that "polytheism" was the original faith—and that, however high we may mount up into antiquity, "no marks, no symptoms of any more perfect religion" are to be found. The Bible declares that "monotheism" was the original faith, and authentic history as well as the mythologies of all lands incontestibly prove that, the higher we mount up into antiquity, we find the clearer traces of a primitive belief in the *unity* and omnipotence of *One Supreme Being*. This has been proved with redundant evidence by Cudworth, in his great work on the Intellectual System of the Universe. And now, we may fetch an additional item of evidence from the creed of the Khonds, which, however polytheistic, distinctly admits and recognizes the *existence* of *One Supreme Being*—That this Being should be vague and undefined in his attributes is what we must have expected; for, having once turned away from Him and His worship, it was unavoidable that they should gradually cease to know who or what He

was. Moreover, having turned away from Him with aversion, under the convictions of a guilty conscience—beholding Him only as an avenging God, ready to execute the retributions of inflexible justice, while they had lost the knowledge or sure guarantee of his readiness to pardon and restore,—was it not equally natural and unavoidable that they should, as is actually the case, be tempted, by their own corruptions and criminal fears, to regard the Supreme as a Being of essential malignity, and not, as he truly and gloriously is, a Being of essential Goodness? Mr. Mill and others, unable to deny the fact so heedlessly set aside by Hume, and so solidly demonstrated by Cudworth, yet apparently unwilling to admit some of the consequences fairly, logically, and necessarily involved in it, inasmuch as these run counter to their own favorite theory of the rise and progress of natural religion, would fain attempt to account for it by an hypothesis of their own. Granting that such elevated expressions as "the Greatest," "the Supreme," "the One," "the One Eternal God," have, in point of fact, been in use among tribes sunk in barbarism, at the very time when they spoke of *many* gods, their counsels, operations and worship, in terms so incoherent, ridiculous and degrading, that, to borrow the language of Hume, they "resembled more the playsome whimsies of monkeys in human shape than the serious asseverations of a being who dignifies himself with the name of rational,"—freely granting all this, they would endeavour to account for the phenomenon, by saying, that the language of a people often out-runs their ideas—and that such high sounding epithets may be the *unmeaning* flatteries which rude and ignorant minds, quivering on the pinnacle of hope or reeling in a hurricane of terror, have learned to heap on the mysterious Being who is the Supreme Object of their terror or their hope. But, how much more accordant with the known constitution of the human mind, the indubitable facts of history, the authoritative record of Divine Truth, to say, that language, more stable than fleeting thought, has *often out-lived primitive ideas*—that, in losing sight of the character of the true God, mankind would still continue to invest the objects of their fancy and worship, with many of the attributes which really belonged to *Him alone*,—and that the terms and expressions, representative of these, ought to be viewed as the venerable relics of a language, which was once the vehicle of conceptions correspondent in sublimity, like antique caskets of rare workmanship that had once been the tenement of precious jewels now no more?

Once more, it is interesting to note the Khond tradition of a

primeval chaos, and the institution of the rite of sacrifice, as thoroughly accordant with the Mosaic history. Such facts and rites, and all other similar remains of heathen antiquity are but the "disjecta membra"—the severed, mangled, and scattered fragments—of primitive revelation and primitive institutions. That, in the course and progress of growing ignorance and degeneracy, divinely revealed facts and embodied truths and typical observances, should, in passing from one age or people to another, amid the varying tempers, dispositions, humours and designs of men, gradually assume such various disguises and exhibit such various alterations in regard to outward form, visage and complexion, as to leave but few marks and traces of their real original, is what every candid and thoughtful mind would at once anticipate. Even in countries where traditive facts and truths have not been couched under the veil of ingenious fables, or obscured by elaborate fiction, or distorted by the embellishments of allegory, or overlaid by the luxuriance of poetic drapery,—even there, such facts and truths must, from the very nature of things, become fainter and fainter by every transfusion from generation to generation. And revealed truths being once forgotten, either in part or as regards their essential integrity, human reason, far from being able to *discover* them when absolutely unknown, has ever shewn itself utterly insufficient to *recover* them, even when not wholly lost. From the first, the great truth, that "without shedding of blood there is no remission" was clearly made known. And expiation for sin by sacrifice was ordained to prefigure the Lamb of God, slain in decree and type from the foundation of the world, till such time as He, the great anti-type, came and did away sin and its typical expiations by the sacrifice of himself. The appointed memorial of the "great satisfaction" has, in its outward form, been preserved by the Khonds and almost all other people; though the internal import and significancy of it have, in the course of ages, been obscured or lost. Yea, such has been the singular strength of the expectation of benefits likely to accrue from the shedding of blood, that the most precious oblations—those of human blood—have been, as among the Khonds, constantly and largely offered. But, as the sacrifice of the Divine Redeemer for the sins of men is, or ought to be, the end and scope of other sacrifices, and that by which alone they are ennobled and rendered worthy of Divine institution, it surely behoves us, who know the truth, to go forth unto every region, proclaiming with the intrepid forerunner of the great Messiah, "Behold the Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world."

In now bringing our varied statements and remarks on the subject of the Khonds to a conclusion, we may, as on a former occasion, for the sake of the general reader and in order to render the matter still more intelligible, remind him of the state and condition of the German and Celtic tribes, as delineated by the masterly pen of Tacitus; since, between these ancient tribes, and the modern Khonds, there may be traced, in regard to certain leading features, a very striking parallelism.

When, however, the German and Celtic tribes are thus named collectively, it must be borne in remembrance, that, separately and in detail, these did exhibit, even at cotemporaneous periods, the most unequal degrees, whether of savagism or of demi-civilization. Both these extremes seem to find their types in the Fenni and the Chauci. The picture of the *former*, as pourtrayed by Tacitus, is substantially as follows:—"Their condition was that of unmitigated rudeness; to the most savage fierceness they had joined the most abject poverty; they had no arms, no horses, no religion; they clothed themselves in the skins of beasts, fed at times on herbage, and slept on the earth; their chief dependence was on their arrows, and having no iron, they pointed them with bones; the women accompanied the men to the chase; a covering, inwrought with boughs, was all the shelter which defended their infants from the rigour of the seasons and the ferocity of animals; these courses of barbarousness, this melancholy sadness they preferred to the fatigue of cultivating the earth and of building houses—*to* the agitations of hope and fear attendant on a care of their own fortunes, and on a connection with those of others; unapprehensive of any danger from men, and awed by no terror of the gods, they had reached a state which is nearly unattainable to all human endeavours—the being entirely without a wish." Of the *latter*, or Chauci, the picture is well nigh the reverse:—"They were an improved and an illustrious nation, and supported their greatness by their probity; they not only possessed but appropriated and replenished an extensive territory; they were lovers of peace and quiet, and contemners of avarice and ambition; they provoked no wars, engaged in no incursions or robberies; what may be considered a certain proof of their power and valour, they preserved their superiority, without having recourse to injuries and oppressions; when called upon, however, by the exigency of their affairs, they were not slow to take arms and to levy armies; they were rich in men and in horses, and in war maintained their reputation." Between the superior cultivation of the latter and the savage rudeness of the former,

the great majority of the Germanic tribes occupied a somewhat intermediate position. It is chiefly, though not exclusively, between these *middle* tribes and the Khonds that the parallelism obtains, as regards the more general lineaments and more distinguishing particulars that constitute their respective national idiosyncracies.

And if, in both, are to be found certain *natural* qualities that would not dishonour the life of civilization, why should any one be surprized? Men, not under the dominion of that grace which alone can truly regenerate and transform, are, *morally* and *spiritually*, every where *substantially the same*. They may, under the refining influences of arts and science, learn to veil, cloak, or varnish what is evil; but they cannot eradicate its root and principle in the heart. True religion, in the hands of the Almighty Spirit of God, can alone achieve this. And the civilization, which would result from such triumphs of omnipotent energy, could alone be styled *perfect*. Hitherto no perfect civilization has gladdened any region of earth. The civilization merely of arts and science may co-exist with the utmost extent of moral depravity. Even where partially aided, and it has never yet been more than partially aided, by true religion, it wears but a motley and checquered aspect. If it has its distinctive blessings, it has its distinctive evils too; if it has its peculiar virtues, it has also its peculiar vices; if it has its special advantages, it has its special disadvantages; if it has its great gains, it has its great drawbacks and losses; if it has its unrivalled triumphs, it has its no less signal defeats. Always and every where; in all nations, ages, and climes; in all stages and degrees of social progression or retrogression; and under every successive dispensation whether of Providence or of Grace,—the present system is a *mixed* one—a compound of varied abatements, deductions, and compensations—a pre-ordained scheme of reciprocal counterbalancings. It is only in heaven that we can expect good without any mixture of evil; only in hell, evil without any mixture of good.

Let us, then glance for a moment at some of the leading points in the parallel between the modern Khonds and the old Germanic and Celtic tribes.

Unpossessed of money, like the old Germans, and like them unpractised in commercial and other lucrative pursuits, the modern Khonds, uncontaminated by the base grovelling spirit of covetousness and mercenary accumulation, often exhibit a generosity of conduct, and a free, open hearty and even

romantic hospitality, in the entertainment whether of friends or of foes, which the cold calculating selfishness of refined luxurious manners may greatly modify or wholly banish the abodes of civilized society. Unacquainted, like the old Germans, with handicraft or operative professions, the modern Khonds are exempt from the temptation of resorting to the little arts and tricks of complaisance which are apt to diminish the sense of self-respect and generate the spirit of unmanly dependence.—Hence, probably, much of that unimpaired vigor of mind, that consciousness of self-importance, that stateliness of demeanour, which, disdaining the drudgery of any servile occupation, go to form the ingredients of *natural dignity*. Distinguished, like the old Germans, by the simplicity of their diet, expelling hunger without ostentation or any studied preparation of food; like them too, the modern Khonds are proportionally intemperate in satisfying their thirst.—The results also are seemingly the same;—the remark of Tacitus being alike true of both, viz. that "when supplied to their desire with intoxicating liquid, they are no less invincible in vice than in valour—and that, in the heat of their disputations and riot and disgraceful debauch, the dagger is often wont to deform with blood the meetings of friendship and business." Endowed, like the old Germans, with the spirit of a dauntless personal bravery, like them too, the Khonds are ever prone to deceive and circumvent—ever prone to bring their courage into suspicion by the artifices of that cunning which is the wisdom of weakness, and of that system of stratagem and surprize which is the ordinary resource of cowardice. Punctilious, like the old Germans, in the administration of justice within the bounds of their own tribes, like them, the Khonds recognize no natural rights beyond their own frontiers;—those acts of theft and robbery, depredation and pillage, which, *within*, would be regarded as great crimes and punished with the utmost severity, being, if committed *without*, extolled as virtues that ensure greatness and renown—Hence a grand obliquity in the sense of moral justice, and a grand confusion in the perception of the rights and privileges of our common humanity. Guided, like the old Germans, by the impulses of affection, appetite and passion, rather than by any rules of conventional *politesse*, or any systematised scheme or code of laws, the Khonds, as might *a priori* be expected, manifest the strangest and apparently the most contradictory qualities,—varying with every breath and breeze and gale of momentary feeling.—Hence their alternate acts of beneficence and horrid cruelty;

their bursts of magnanimity succeeded by despicable meanness; their fits of heroic honour and plottings of basest treachery; their gentleness under the domestic roof and their fierceness in the field; the graceful amenities of their friendship and the terrible ferocities of their enmity; the glowing ardours of their love and the deadly resentments of their hate. Accustomed, like the old Germans, to treat their women, for the most part, with consideration and respect, to regard them rather as equals and helpmates than as drudges and slaves, to consult them in their private and public affairs, and to admit them freely to feasts and general assemblies, the Khonds, at times, exhibit some of the gentler and kindlier amities of life, strangely efflorescing on the frame-work of a character, ordinarily sturdy and stern, often perfectly ferocious—as if in imitation of the beauteous flowerets that expand their gayest blossoms, and exhale their sweetest perfume, over the rough and rugged face of the steep-frowning precipices of their own native hills. Characterized like the old Germans, by their *equality* of social estate and their *identity* of professional employment, the Khonds are animated by a pervading sense of their own separate individual personal importance.—Hence much of their towering pride, and loftiness of bearing, and wild passion for independence; hence one reason why personal qualities become the chief foundation of ordinary distinction, and the ground of election to the principal offices within the hereditary lines of the chieftainship or patriarchate; hence, too, their claim to unrestrained freedom of speech in the expression of sentiment—their prescriptive right to be regarded all alike as legislators and judges, to be present at the patriarchal councils, to take a share in the public assemblies, and so overrule every discussion that the Heads, Chiefs, or Abbayas, instead of controlling the popular will, ever feel constrained in reality to respect and bend to it. Habituated, like the old German and Celtic tribes, to be ever prepared to meet the most sudden call to the battle-field, the Khonds swiftly respond to the "patriarch's arrow of summons" while it shoots athwart their wild mountain domain. And as, with winged speed, it flies from crag to crag and vale to vale, exciting stormy joys, and burning zeal for tribeship, and panting hopes of war's red honours, how strikingly are we reminded of similar scenes in the land of our fathers, ere yet the gospel voice of peace on earth and good will to the children of men had taught its "savage clans and roving barbarians", to turn their swords into plough-shares and their spears into pruning-

hooks—to "hang the trumpet in the hall and study war no more!" Strange, indeed, that the description of the wonted gatherings of the Scottish clans at the signal of the fiery cross should, with a slight change of names of places and natural products, be alike applicable to the warlike gatherings of the Indian Khonds!—yet so it is!—

"Not faster o'er thy heathery breeze,
———, speeds the midnight blaze,
Rushing, in conflagration strong,
The deep ravines and dells along,
Wrapping thy cliffs in purple glow,
And reddening the dark lakes below;
Not faster speeds it, nor so far,
As o'er thy heaths the noise of war.
Each valley, each sequestered glen,
Mustered its little horde of men,
That met, as torrents from the height
In Highland dale their streams unite,
Still gathering, as they pour along,
A voice more loud, a tide more strong;
Till at the rendezvous they stood
By hundreds, prompt for blows and blood;
Each trained to arms since life began,
Owning no tie but to his clan,
No oath, but by his Chieftain's hand,
No law, but ———'s command."

Having, like all heathen nations, lost sight of the true God, the irrepressible sentiments of the soul must needs have an *outlet* and an *object* in the fabrication of some false deity or deities instead; but having, like the ancient Germans, been arrested, and, as it were, *stereotyped*, at the earliest and simplest stage of religious degeneracy, the Khonds, to this day, retain the grand lineaments of the primordial elemental worship, in the deification of the sun, the earth, and other sensible objects, or of the powers that are supposed to animate them—each tribe naturally giving pre-eminence to the sensible object or power from which it was led to believe it had most to hope for, or most to dread. Like the old Germans, and other branches of the great Celto-Scythic family, who had no temples and no visible images of their elemental gods, but were wont to retire, for the celebration of their horrid orgies and the immolation of the god-devoted captives taken in war, into the gloomiest recesses of the embowering forest, where "no sylvan deity ever resided, no bard ever sang, no beast ever slumbered, no gentle zephyr ever played, nor even the lightning could rend a passage,"*—the Khonds, even now, have no temples and no visible images of their elemental gods, but resort, in phrenzied multitudes, to the consecrated groves that are drenched with the blood of human sacrifice and haunted with the dreaded ghosts of miserable victims untimely slain!

But it is needless to pursue the parallelism any farther. Enough, we trust, has been said to create and deepen a general interest in behalf of the Khonds, as one of the most singular and important of all the remnants of our aboriginal Indian races. Indeed, we know not whether a more striking or remarkable type of our common humanity is any where else to be found among the wide-spread realms of barbarism. And then,—they are our own neighbours; yea, and many of them now our own fellow-subjects—subjects of the crown of Imperial Britain. This consideration alone ought greatly to enhance the feeling of interest in their favour, and to predispose every generous mind to hail with unmingled satisfaction the measures which have been proposed and adopted by the British Government with a view to bring them within the pale of civilization. The nature and success of these measures, so highly creditable, as regards the disinterested zeal which originated and the unwearied activity which has continued to prosecute them, we purpose in a future number largely to develope. And a pleasant task it will be to shew, how,—amid the crash of dynasties and the revolutions of empire, the horrors of war and the devastation of provinces,—the British Government has been silently pursuing towards a barbarous people, unnoticed and unknown, an ameliorative course of action whose distinguishing characteristics are those of benevolence and peace.

* The classical reader will not fail to recal to remembrance the striking description of the Massilian grove in Lucan's Pharsalia, B. III.

Lucus erat, longo nunquam violatus ab ævo,
Obscurum cingens connexis aera ramis.
Hunc non ruricolæ Panes, nemorumque potentes
Sylvani Nymphæque tenent, sed barbara ritu
Sacra Deum, structæ sacris feralibus aræ;
Omnis et humanis lustrata cruoribus arbos.
Illis et volucres metuunt insistere ramis,
Et lustris recubare feræ: nec ventus in illas
Incubuit silvas, excussaque nubibus atris
Fulgura.

ART. II.—1. *Despatches of the Marquis of Wellesley. Allen and Co.* 1836.

2. *Roebuck's Annals of the College. Calcutta,* 1819.

3. *Rules and Regulations of the College of Fort William,* 1841.

A SHORT time ago a sketch was attempted of the embryo civilian in the place where his English education is terminated,—the studies to which he was called, the use he made of them, and the dangers moral, intellectual, and physical, to which he was exposed. We would fain draw attention once more to the same individual, but in a sphere somewhat enlarged, as not wholly emancipated from the thraldom of pen and dictionary, but yet fairly ranked as a citizen of the world: standing on the shore of the great ocean with the first act of his life concluded, but the serious business of the drama yet uncommenced.

The consideration of this topic naturally leads us to that institution which forms the heading of our subject: and it will hardly be deemed incongruous if we go back to unroll its *fasti* from the very first. The year which marked the commencement of the present century was also that of the final establishment of the College of Fort William*, and its consolidation is inseparably linked with a name under whose auspices some of the highest triumphs of Indian battles and Indian statesmanship —of the pen and the sword—have been made matter of history. When we read of *the acts* of the Marquis of Wellesley, with a calm and unprejudiced view of the series of events which led him to enlarge our Indian empire, we are compelled to bow in admiration before the comprehensive grasp of that master mind, and to praise the skilful hand which guided the helm in the closet, or the council with equal boldness and dexterity. But when we read what the great statesman *wrote*, when we are let in to see the working of the great machinery, and the tangled skein of threads which, under that guiding hand, fell, as by a natural consequence, into the most lucid order and regularity, we then become for the first time aware of the vast range of subjects comprehended by the greatest Governor-General that India has yet known. Nothing seemed too great or too little for him: no topic so vast but that he mastered it, none so trivial as to escape him. Whilst his energies were concentrated in foiling the wiles of Tippoo, or counteracting the secret influence of his ambassadors at the Isle of France, his far-seeing glance

* The law for its foundation was dated the 4th of May 1800, the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam.

could select from the ranks of the Indian army the deserving officer most calculated for a different diplomatic appointment. Here, he was writing, in the plain forcible language which the occasion demanded, his thanks for the victory of Lasswari, and the consequent overthrow of Scindiah's power; there, he could find a tear for the death of a favourite charger, and a lament for the gallant steed which had so long carried him safely in the field.* Whether his energies were directed to quelling the thousand and one intrigues of the independant native states, or to the improvement of the whole system of administration at Fort St. George, or to beautifying the town of Calcutta and reforming its police, or to the establishment of a Sudder Adawlut on a firm and lasting basis—we are lost in admiration of the mind which could with equal facility rise to the exposition of great and stirring events, or descend without loss of dignity to the illustration of the minutest details: adorning all it handled: investing the meanest subjects with a grace peculiarly its own: keenly alive to all the changes of the great empire under its sway, and no less acutely sensible of the pleasures of literature, and the sweet reminiscences of early studies,—commanding and energetic when roused into action, dignified and majestic when it sunk into repose. The historian, to whom the task of weighing men and events calmly and dispassionately has been entrusted, may with justice be disposed to place the public actions of a Governor on the same scales as he would his personal and private morality: he must feel, in the language of Lord Brougham, that there is nothing like a "set off" in morals, and that the viceroy and the individual, the domestic and the imperial rule, must be tested by one and the same unbending standard. But the writer who delights to contemplate only the bright side of the picture, turns away not unwillingly from pronouncing the sentence of condemnation:—he quits the grim visaged appearance of war and its sometimes slender pretexts, for the unpretending claims of the *mutæ artes* and the bloodless triumphs of peace. Early in July in the year eighteen hundred,† the Marquis of Wellesley forwarded to the Court of

* "I grieve for the loss of my poor friend *Old Port*. I have lately received some "fine horses from Arabia: one if not two of which I hope will be serviceable to "you. I shall immediately endeavour to send one to you." The above alluded to General Lake's favourite charger, which was killed under him at the battle of Lasswari 31st October 1803. He was given to the Commander-in-Chief by the Governor-General.

† The first notice of his intention to found a new College, we find in a letter dated 24th October 1799, addressed to the Right Hon. Henry Dundas. It is as follows:—

"I think it necessary to apprize you of my intention to adopt without delay a plan for the improvement of the civil service at Bengal in a most important point. The state of

Directors his bold and comprehensive sketch of the College of Fort William, over which, though still-born, we may be allowed to linger for a moment.

We cannot refrain, in justice to the noble author and his subject, from making large quotations from this most masterly and elaborate minute. The following are its opening passages:—

"The British possessions in India now constitute one of the most extensive and populous empires in the world. The immediate administration of the government of the various provinces and nations composing this empire is principally confided to the European civil servants of the East India Company. Those provinces, namely, Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares, the Company's Jaghire in the Carnatic, the northern Circars, the Baramahal, and other districts ceded by the peace of Seringapatam, in 1792, which are under the more immediate and direct administration of the European civil servants of the Company, are acknowledged to form the most opulent and flourishing parts of India; in which property, life, civil order and religious liberty are more secure, and the people enjoy a larger portion of the benefits of good government, than any other country in this quarter of the globe. The duty and policy of the British Government in India therefore require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the government to Europeans, educated in its own service, and subject to its own direct control, should be diffused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of our native subjects. This principle formed the basis of the wise and benevolent system introduced by Lord Cornwallis, for the improvement of the internal government of the provinces immediately subject to the Presidency of Bengal.

In proportion to the extension of this beneficial system, the duties of the European civil servants of the East India Company are become of greater magnitude and importance; the denominations of writer, factor, and merchant, by which the several classes of the civil service are still distinguished, are now utterly inapplicable to the nature and extent of the duties discharged, and of the occupations pursued by the civil servants of the Company.

the administration of justice, and even of the collection of revenue throughout the provinces affords a painful example of the inefficacy of the best code of laws to secure the happiness of the people, unless due provision has been made to ensure a proper supply of men qualified to administer those laws in their different branches and departments. This evil is felt severely in every part of this government, and it rises principally from a defect at the source and fountain-head of the service—I mean the education and early habits of the young gentlemen sent hither in the capacity of writers. My opinion, after full deliberation on the subject is decided, that the writers, on their first arrival in India should be subjected for a period of two or three years to the rules and discipline of some collegiate institution at the seat of government. In such an institution they might attain the groundwork of the several native languages necessary for their respective stations, together with the principles of general law, those of the Mahommedan and Hindu Codes, and the voluminous regulations enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the administration of justice in Bengal and the provinces; other branches of knowledge, also, suitable to their intended duties might be acquired, and habits of activity, regularity and decency formed instead of those of sloth, indolence, low debauchery, and vulgarity now too apt to grow on those young men, who have been sent at an early age into the interior parts of the country, and have laid the foundations of their life and manners among the coarse vices and indulgencies of those countries. I shall not pursue this topic further at the present, intending to make it the subject of ample discussion at an early period. But now I wish to inform you that I feel the mischief to be so pressing, that I intend, without waiting for orders from home, to proceed to found such an institution at Calcutta. I have already taken some steps towards the measure, and I hope to be able to carry my plan into effect with little (if any) additional charge to the company.

I rely on your active and zealous support of this arrangement, in which I feel the greatest interest."

To dispense justice to millions of people of various languages, manners, usages and religions; to administer a vast and complicated system of revenue throughout districts equal in extent to some of the most considerable kingdoms in Europe; to maintain civil order in one of the most populous and litigious regions of the world; these are now the duties of the larger proportion of the civil servants of the Company. The senior merchants composing the five Courts of Circuit and Appeal under the Presidency of Bengal exercise in each of those Courts a jurisdiction of greater local extent, applicable to a larger population, and occupied in the determination of causes infinitely more intricate and numerous than that of any regularly constituted courts of justice in any part of Europe. The senior or junior merchants, employed in the several magistracies and Zillah Courts, the writers or factors filling the stations of registers and assistants to the several courts and magistrates, exercise in different degrees, functions of a nature, either purely judicial, or intimately connected with the administration of the police, and with the maintenance of the peace and good order of their respective districts. Commercial or mercantile knowledge, is not only unnecessary throughout every branch of the judicial department, but those civil servants who are invested with the powers of magistracy, or attached to the judicial department in any ministerial capacity, although bearing the denomination of merchants, factors or writers, are bound by law, and by the solemn obligation of an oath, to abstain from every commercial and mercantile pursuit; the mercantile title which they bear, not only affords no description of their duty, but is entirely at variance with it.

The pleadings in the several courts, and all important judicial transactions, are conducted in the native languages. The law which the Company's judges are bound to administer throughout the country is not the law of England, but that law to which the natives had long been accustomed under their former sovereigns, tempered and mitigated by the voluminous regulations of the Governor-General in Council, as well as by the general spirit of the British constitution. These observations are sufficient to prove, that no more arduous or complicated duties of magistracy exist in the world, no qualifications more various, or more comprehensive, can be imagined than those which are required from every British subject, who enters the seat of judgment within the limits of the Company's empire in India.

To the administration of the revenue, many of the preceding observations, will apply with equal force; the merchants, factors and writers, employed in this department also, are bound by law to abjure the mercantile denomination appropriated to their respective classes in the Company's service; nor is it possible for a collector of the revenue, or for any civil servant employed under him, to discharge his duty with common justice, either to the state, or to the people, unless he shall be conversant in the language, manners, and usages of the country; and in the general principles of the law, as administered in the several courts of justice. In addition to the ordinary judicial and executive functions of the Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors, the Judges and Magistrates occasionally act in the capacity of Governors of their respective districts, employing the military, and exercising other extensive powers. The Judges, Magistrates, and Collectors are also respectively required by law to propose, from time to time, to the Governor-General in Council, such amendments of the existing laws, or such new laws as may appear to them to be necessary for the welfare and good government of their respective districts. In this view the civil servants employed in the departments of Judicature and Revenue, constitute a species of subordinate legislative council to the Governor-General in Council, and also form a channel of communication, by which the Government

ought to be enabled, at all times, to ascertain the wants and wishes of the people. The remarks applied to these two main branches of the civil service, namely, those of Judicature and Revenue, are at least equally forcible in their application to those branches which may be described under the general terms of the Political and Financial Department, comprehending the offices of Chief Secretary, the various stations in the Secretary's office, in the Treasury, in the office of Accountant-General, together with all the public officers employed in conducting the current business at the seat of Government. To these must be added the Diplomatic branch, including the Secretary in the political department, and the several residencies at the Courts of our dependent and tributary Princes, or of other native powers of India.

It is certainly desirable, that all these stations should be filled by the civil servants of the Company: it is equally evident, that qualifications are required in each of these stations, either wholly foreign to commercial habits, or far exceeding the limits of a commercial education.

Even that department of this empire, which is denominated exclusively commercial, requires knowledge and habits different, in a considerable degree, from those which form the mercantile character in Europe; nor can the Company's investment ever be conducted with the greatest possible advantage and honour to themselves, or with adequate justice to their subjects, unless their commercial agents shall possess many of the qualifications of statesmen, enumerated in the preceding observations. The manufacturers, and other industrious classes, whose productive labour is the source of the investment, bear so great a proportion to the total population of the Company's dominions, that the general happiness and prosperity of the country must essentially depend on the conduct of the commercial servants employed in providing the investment: their conduct cannot be answerable to such a charge, unless they shall be conversant in the native languages, and in the customs and manners of the people, as well as in the laws by which the country is governed. The peace, order, and welfare of whole provinces may be materially affected by the malversations, or even by the ignorance and errors of a commercial resident, whose management touches the dearest and most valuable interests, and enters into the domestic concerns of numerous bodies of people, active and acute from habitual industry, and jealous of any act of power injurious to their proprietors, or contrary to their prejudices and customs.

The Civil Servants of the English East India Company, therefore, can no longer be considered as the agents of a commercial concern. They are, in fact, the ministers and officers of a powerful sovereign; they must now be viewed in that capacity, with reference, not to their nominal, but to their real occupations. They are required to discharge the functions of Magistrates, Judges, Ambassadors, and Governors of provinces, in all the complicated and extensive relations of those sacred trusts and exalted stations, and under peculiar circumstances, which greatly enhance the solemnity of every public obligation, and aggravate the difficulty of every public charge. Their duties are those of statesmen in every other part of the world, with no other characteristic differences than the obstacles opposed by an unfavourable climate, by foreign language, by the peculiar usages and laws of India, and by the manners of its inhabitants. Their studies, the discipline of their education, their habits of life, their manners and morals should, therefore, be so ordered and regulated as to establish a just conformity between their personal consideration, and the dignity and importance of their public stations, and to maintain a sufficient correspondence between their qualifications and their duties. Their education should be founded in a general

knowledge of those branches of literature and science which form the basis of the education of persons destined to similar occupations in Europe. To this foundation should be added an intimate acquaintance with the history, languages, customs and manners of the people of India, with the Mahommedan and Hindu codes of law and religion, and with the political and commercial interests and relations of Great Britain in Asia. They should be regularly instructed in the principles and system which constitute the foundation of that wise code of regulations and laws enacted by the Governor-General in Council for the purpose of securing to the people of this empire the benefit of the ancient and accustomed laws of the country, administered in the spirit of the British constitution. They should be well informed of the true and sound principles of the British constitution, and sufficiently grounded in the general principles of ethics, civil jurisprudence, the law of nations, and general history, in order that they may be enabled to discriminate the characteristic difference of the several codes of law administered within the British Empire in India, and practically to combine the spirit of each in the dispensation of justice, and the maintenance of order and good government. Finally, their early habits should be so formed, as to establish in their minds such solid foundations of industry, prudence, integrity, and religion, as should effectually guard them against those temptations and corruptions with which the nature of this climate, and the peculiar depravity of the people of India, will surround and assail them in every station, especially upon their first arrival in India. The early discipline of the service should be calculated to counteract the defects of the climate and vices of the people, and to form a natural barrier against habitual indolence, dissipation, and licentious indulgence; the spirit of emulation, in honourable and useful pursuits, should be kindled and kept alive by the continual prospect of distinction and reward, of profit and honour; nor should any precaution be relaxed in India, which is deemed necessary in England, to furnish a sufficient supply of men qualified to fill the high offices of the State with credit to themselves and with advantage to the public. Without such a constant succession of men in the several branches and departments of this Government, the wisdom and benevolence of the law must prove vain and inefficient. Whatever course and system of discipline and study may be deemed requisite in England to secure an abundant and pure source for the efficient supply of the public service, the peculiar nature of our establishments in the East (so far from admitting any relaxation of those wise and salutary rules and restraints,) demands that they should be enforced with a degree of additional vigilance and care, proportioned to the aggravated difficulties of the civil service, and to the numerous hazards surrounding the entrance of public life in India.

It is unnecessary to enter into any examination of facts to prove, that no system of education, study, or discipline, now exists, either in Europe or in India, founded on the principles, or directed to the objects described in the preceding pages."

The Marquis next proceeds at great length to review "the course through which the junior civil servants of the East India Company then entered upon the important duties of their respective stations, and to examine whether the great body of the civil servants of the East India Company, at any of the presidencies, could at that time be deemed competent to discharge their arduous and comprehensive trusts in a manner correspondent to the interests and honour of the British name in

India, or to the prosperity and happiness of our native subjects."

From this lengthened review, the noble Marquis' conclusion is as follows:—

"From the preceding discussion, it appears, that the actual state of the Company's civil service in India is far removed from perfection or efficiency, and that the cause of this defect is to be found principally, if not exclusively, in the defective education of the junior civil servants, and in the insufficient discipline of the early stages of the service. The facts, which have been reviewed in the course of this discussion, furnish the main principles on which an improved system of education and discipline may be founded with a view to secure the important ends of such an institution.

The defects of the present condition of the civil service may be comprised under the following heads:

First, An erroneous system of education in Europe confined to commercial and mercantile studies.

Secondly, The premature interruption of a course of study judiciously commenced in Europe.

Thirdly, The exposed and destitute condition of young men on their first arrival in India, and the want of a systematic guidance and established authority to regulate and control other moral and religious conduct in the early stages of the service.

Fourthly, The want of a similar system and authority to prescribe and enforce a regular course of study, under which the young men upon their arrival in India might be enabled to correct the errors, or to pursue and confirm the advantages of their European education, and to attain a knowledge of the languages, laws, usages and customs of India, together with such other branches of knowledge, as are requisite to qualify them for their several stations.

Fifthly, The want of such regulations as shall establish a necessary and inviolable connection between promotion in the civil service, and the possession of those qualifications requisite for the due discharge of the several civil stations.

It is obvious, that an education exclusively European, or Indian, would not afford an adequate remedy for such of these defects, as relate to the morals and studies of the East India Company's servants, and would not qualify them for the discharge of duties of a mixed and complicated nature, involving the combined principles of Asiatic and European policy and government. Their education must therefore be of a mixed nature, its foundation must be judiciously laid in England, and the superstructure systematically completed in India."

The Marquis next discusses the question with respect to the proportion of time to be employed in that part of the education of the junior civil servants which should be appropriated to England, and completed previously to their departure in India. He then concludes his elaborate Minute as follows:—

"Under all these circumstances, the most deliberate and assiduous examination of all the important questions considered in this paper, determined the Governor-General to found a Collegiate Institution at Fort William, by the annexed regulation.

This regulation comprises all the fundamental principles of the Institution. The detailed statues for the internal discipline and good government of the College will be framed gradually as circumstances may require.

A common table and apartments are to be provided in the College, for all the civil servants who may be attached to the establishment.

The benefits of the establisment are extended to the junior civil servants of Fort St. George and Bombay, who will be directed to proceed to Fort William as soon as the accommodations requisite for their reception shall have been provided.

This arrangement appeared in every respect preferable to the establishment of Colleges at both, or either of those Presidencies. Independently of the considerations of expense and other objections and impediments to the foundation of such Institutions at Fort St. George and Bombay, it is of essential importance, that the education of all the civil servants of the Company should be uniform, and should be conducted under the immediate superintendence of that authority, which is primarily responsible for the government of the whole of the British possessions of India; and which must consequently be most competent to judge of the nature and principles of the education which may be more expedient for the public interests.

It may be expected, that the operation of this part of the new institution will ultimately extinguish all local jealousies and prejudices among the several Presidencies; the political, moral, and religious principles of all the British Establishments in India, will then be derived directly from one common source; the civil service of Bengal is unquestionably further advanced in every useful acquisition, and in every respect more regular and correct, than that of either of the subordinate Presidencies; no more speedy or efficacious mode can be devised of diffusing throughout India, the laudable spirit of the service of Bengal, and of extending the benefit of improvements, which, under the new institution, may be expected to make a rapid progress at the seat of the Supreme Government, than by rendering Fort William the centre of the education and discipline of the junior civil servants in India.

Provision is made for admitting to the benefits of the Institution civil servants of a longer standing than three years (on their making application for that purpose) under such regulations as may be deemed advisable. The Institution may prove highly beneficial to many servants of this description; as many of them will be received on the establishment, as its funds and other considerations may admit.

Provision is also made for extending the benefits of the Institution to as many of the junior military servants, as it may be found practicable to admit from all the Presidencies. Essential benefits will result to the British armies in India, from the annual introduction of a number of young men, well versed in the languages with which every officer, but particularly those belonging to the native corps, ought to be acquainted. It is also of most essential importance to the army in India, that it should be composed of officers attached by regular instruction, and disciplined habits, to the principles of morality, good order, and subordination.

Further regulations are in the contemplation of the Governor-General, for the education of the cadets destined for the army in India, which will be connected intimately with the present foundation.

It cannot be denied that, during the convulsions with which the doctrines of the French Revolution have agitated the Continent of Europe, erroneous principles of the same dangerous tendency had reached the minds of some individuals in the civil and military service of the Company in India; and the state, as well of political, as of religious opinions, had been in some

degree unsettled. The progress of this mischief would at all times be aided by the defective and irregular education of the writers and cadets; an Institution tending to fix and establish sound and correct principles of religion and government in their minds at an early period of life, is the best security which can be provided for the stability of the British power in India. The letter of the Court of Directors, under date the 25th of May, 1798, has been constantly present to the Governor-General's mind; it is satisfactory to know, after the fullest consideration, that many apprehensions stated in that letter, appear to have been conceived with *more force than is* required by the actual state of any of the settlements in India.

But among other important advantages of the new Institution, it will provide the most effectual and permanent remedy against the evils, (as far as they existed) which it was the object of the orders of the Honourable Court of the 25th of May, 1798, to correct.

The situation of the junior servants on their early arrival in India, has been fully described in this paper. Under the new Institution, they will be immediately received by the provost, (a clergyman of the church of England;) they will be provided with apartments in the College, and with a common table; consequently they will be removed from the danger of profusion, extravagance and excess. Every part of their private conduct, their expenses, their connections, their manners and morals will be subject to the notice of the provost, and principal officers of the College, and (through the collegiate authorities) of the government itself.

While attached to the Institution, the junior servants will have the most ample means afforded to them of completing the European branch of their education, or of correcting its defects; of acquiring whatever local knowledge may be necessary for that department of the service, in which, (after mature reflection on their own inclinations, acquisitions and talents) they may determine to engage; of forming their manners and of fixing their principles on the solid foundations of virtue and religion.

The acquirements, abilities, and moral character of every civil servant may be ascertained before he can be eligible to a public station; and every selection of persons for high and important offices may be made under a moral certainty, that the public expectation cannot be disappointed.

The twenty-fourth clause of the Regulation will afford the foundation of a law which may at all times secure the civil service against the effects of the possible partiality or ignorance of any government.

It is intended that the allowance of every civil servant of less than three years standing, being a student in the College, should be brought to one standard of 300 rupees per month, without any allowance for a Munshi.

As a table and apartments will be provided for the students, this allowance will place them in a better situation than any writer of the same standing now enjoys. With these advantages, under the control of the official authorities of the College, and with the benefit of their advice and admonition, aided by statues for the prevention of extravagance and debt, it may be hoped that many young men will adopt early habits of economy, and will lay the foundations of honest independence at a much earlier period than is now practicable. This advantage will be considerable in every view, in no one more than as it will tend to contract the period of each servant's residence in India, to give a nearer prospect to return to England, and to keep that desirable object more constantly in view.

The discipline of the College will be as moderate as may be consistent with the ends of the institution. It will impose no harsh or humiliating restraint, and will be formed on principles combining the discipline of the

Universities in England with that of the Royal Military Academies of France and of other European monarchies.

It may be expected that the great majority of young men on their arrival in India, will eagerly embrace the opportunities afforded to them by this institution of laying foundations of private character, of public reputation, and of early independence. It cannot be supposed that many will be so insensible to their own honour and interests, and so destitute of every liberal feeling and sentiment as not to prefer the proposed course of studies in the College to the menial labour imposed upon them of transcribing papers in an office where in the nature of their duty, they are levelled with the native and Portuguese clerks, although infinitely inferior in the execution.

Those young men who may not at the first view discover all the advantages to be derived from the institution, will soon improve by the example and communications of others. If any individuals should continue insensible to the calls of public duty, and of private reputation, (and it is of importance that persons of this description should be known before an opportunity has been afforded to them of injuring the public interests, by their vices and defects,) the public good will demand that they should be punished by neglect and exclusion from employment. Considering the liberal manner in which the servants of the Company are rewarded for their services, the public may justly insist on submission to whatever regulations may be prescribed by this Institution.

The incitements to exertion being as powerful as the consequences of contrary habits will be ruinous, instances of gross neglect or contumacy will rarely occur. In this respect the institution possesses peculiar advantages, and it will become a powerful instrument in the hands of the Government in India, which will be enabled thereby to bring the general character of the servants of the Company to such a standard of perfection as the public interests require. To every other inducement, which any Collegiate Institution in the world can supply for the encouragement of diligence, will be added the immediate view of official promotion, increase of fortune, and distinction in the public service.

If it be asked whether it be proper that the whole time of the junior servants, for the first three years of their residence in India, should be devoted to study in the College, and that the Company should lose the benefit of their services during that period, while the junior servants receive a salary?

It may be enquired, on the other hand, what is now the occupation of the civil servants for the first three years after their arrival in India, what benefit the Company now derives from the services of the junior servants during that period, and what, in general, are now the characters and qualifications of those servants at the expiration of that period?

To all these questions sufficient answers have been given in the preceding pages.

Further details respecting the nature of the Institution will be forwarded officially to the Court of Directors at an early period.

The reasons which induced the Governor-General to found the College without any previous reference to England were these;—His conviction of the great immediate benefit to be derived from the early commencement even of the partial operation of the plan.

His experience of the great advantage which had been already derived by many of the young men from their attendance on Mr. Gilchrist, in consequence of the first experiment made on a contracted scale with a view to a more extended institution.

His anxiety to impart to the very promising young men arrived from

Europe within the last three years, a share of the advantages described in this paper, and his solicitude to superintend the foundation of the Institution, and to accelerate and witness its first effects.

This Institution will be best appreciated by every affectionate parent in the hour of separation from his child, destined to the public service in India. Let any parent (especially if he has himself passed through the Company's service in India) declare whether the prospect of this Institution has aggravated or mitigated the solicitude of that painful hour—whether it has raised additional doubts and fears, or inspired a more lively hope of the honourable and prosperous service, of the early and fortunate return of his child?

With regard to the funds for defraying the expense of the Institution, the *Governor-General does not intend, without* sanction of the Honourable Court of Directors, to subject the Company to any expense on account of the Institution, beyond that which has already received their sanction independently of the Institution.

The Honourable Court have authorized this Government to purchase the Writers' Buildings, if they can be obtained on advantageous terms. These buildings cannot be obtained on such terms; nor can they be advantageously converted to the final purposes of the Institution. A sum equal to the just value of the buildings, or to the rent now paid for them, will be applied towards the purchase of a proper spot of ground, and to the buildings requisite for the College.

The ground proposed to be employed is situated on the Garden Reach, where three or four of the present gardens will be laid together, a new road formed, and a large space of ground cleared and drained. This arrangement will improve the general health of the neighbourhood of Calcutta, as well as afford ample room for every accommodation required for the use of the College, or for the health of the students.

The expenses of the institution will be defrayed by a small contribution from all the civil servants in India to be deducted from their salaries. This resource will probably be sufficient for all present purposes, with the addition of the fund now applied to the Munshi's allowance, and of the profits to be derived from a new arrangement of the Government printing-press.

The Governor-General has not deemed it proper, in the first instance, to subject the Company to any additional expense on account of the Institution. The Honourable Court of Directors, will, however, reflect, that the Institution is calculated to extend the blessings of good government to the many millions of people whom Providence has subjected to our dominion, to perpetuate the immense advantages now derived by the Company from their possessions in India, and to establish the British Empire in India on the solid foundations of ability, integrity, virtue, and religion. The approved liberality of the Honourable Court will therefore certainly be manifested towards this institution to an extent commensurate with its importance.

It would produce a most salutary impression in India if the Court, immediately on receiving this Regulation, were to order the Governor-General in Council to endow the College with an annual rent-charge on the revenues of Bengal, and issue a similar order to the Governor in Council at Fort St. George with respect to the revenue of Mysore; leaving the amount of the endowment, on each fund, to the Governor-General in Council.

All those who feel any concern in the support of the British Interests in India, and especially those whose fortunes have been acquired in the service of the Company, or whose connections may now or hereafter look to this service for advancement, will undoubtedly contribute to the support of this institution. Under the auspices of the Court, it is hoped that a large sum might be raised by subscription in Europe. The Governor-General considered the College at Fort William to be the most becoming public monument which the East India Company could raise to commemorate the conquest of Mysore. He has accordingly dated the law for the foundation of the College on the 4th of May, 1800, the first anniversary of the reduction of Seringapatam.

The early attention of the Governor-General will be directed to the Mahommedan College founded at Calcutta, and to the Hindu College established at Benares. In the disorders which preceded the fall of the Mogul Empire and the British conquests in India, all the public institutions calculated to promote education and good morals were neglected, and at length entirely discontinued. The institutions at Calcutta and Benares may be made the means of aiding the study of the laws and languages in the College of Fort William, as well as of correcting the defective moral principles too generally prevalent among the natives of India.

An establishment of Munshis and native teachers of the languages under the control of the collegiate officers at Fort William will be attached to the new College, and the young men will be supplied from this establishment, instead of being left (as at present) to exercise their own discretion in hiring such Munshis as they can find in Calcutta or in the provinces.

These arrangements respecting the native Colleges, while they contribute to the happiness of our native subjects, will qualify them to form a more just estimate of the mild and benevolent spirit of the British Government.

In selecting the Garden Reach for the site of the building for the New College, two objects were in the contemplation of the Governor-General; first, that the ordinary residence of the students should be so near that of the Governor-General as that he may have the constant means of superintending the whole system and discipline of the Institution. The distance of fifteen or sixteen miles, in this climate, would often embarrass the communication.

Secondly. That the College should be removed to some distance from the Town of Calcutta. The principle of this object is sufficiently intelligible without further explanation; it is, however, desirable that the College should not be so remote from Calcutta as to preclude the young men from all intercourse with the society of that city. Advantages may be derived from a regulated intercourse with the higher classes of that society. The Garden Reach combines these advantages, with many others of space and accommodation. The situation of the Writers' buildings is objectionable on account of their being placed in the centre of the town. Nor would it have been practicable in that situation (even if the Writers' buildings could have been purchased on reasonable terms) to have obtained an area of ground sufficiently spacious for the new building.

As it will require a considerable time before the new buildings in Garden Reach can be completed, it is intended in the meanwhile to continue to occupy the Writer's buildings, and to hire such additional buildings in the neighbourhood as may be required for the temporary accommodation of the students and officers of the College, for the library, the dining-hall, the lecture-rooms, and other purposes. It will be necessary to make some considerable purchases of books for the foundation of the library. The Governor-General will effect whatever purchases can be made with economy and advantage in India. Lists of books will be transmitted to England by an early opportunity, with a view to such purchases as it may be necessary to make in Europe; and the Governor-General entertains no doubt that the Court of Directors will contribute liberally towards such purchases. That part of the library of the late Tippoo Sultaun, which was presented by the

army to the Court of Directors, is lately arrived in Bengal. The Governor-General strongly recommends that the Oriental manuscripts composing this collection should be deposited in the library of the College at Fort William; and it is his intention to retain the manuscripts accordingly, until he shall receive the orders of the Court upon the subject. He will transmit lists of the collection by the first opportunity.

It is obvious that these manuscripts may be rendered highly useful to the purposes of the new Institution, and that much more public advantage can be derived from them in the library of the College at Fort William, than can possibly be expected from depositing them in London.

Such of the manuscripts as may appear to be merely valuable as curiosities may be transmitted to England by an early opportunity.

It is the intention of the Governor-General that the first term of the College should be opened in the course of the month of November; and the lectures on several of the languages, it is hoped, be commenced in the course of the ensuing winter.

With the aid of such temporary arrangements as may be immediately made, it is expected that many other branches of the Institution may be brought into immediate operation, particularly those which relate to the expenses, morals, and general studies of the young men. Fortunately for the objects of the Institution, the Governor-General has found, at Calcutta, two Clergymen of the Church of England, eminently qualified to discharge the duties of Provost and Vice-Provost. To the former office he has appointed Mr. Brown, the Company's first Chaplain; and to the latter Mr. Buchanan. Mr. Brown's character must be well known in England, and particularly so to some Members of the Court of Directors; it is in every respect, such as to satisfy the Governor-General that his views in this nomination will not be disappointed. He has also formed the highest expectations from the abilities, learning, temper, and morals of Mr. Buchanan, whose character is well known in England, particularly to Dr. Porteus, Bishop of London, and to Dr. Milner, Master of Queen's College, in the University of Cambridge.

With respect to the Professorships, those which relate to the languages will be best filled in India; and the Governor-General entertains little doubt, that he shall soon be able to fill them permanently, in an efficient manner. In the mean-while, the most laudable zeal has been manifested by such persons in the civil and military service, as are competent to assist the Governor-General in making a temporary provision for the discharge of the duties of these Professorships. The persons properly qualified to fill certain of the other Professorships must be sought in Europe. The Institution will be so framed as to offer strong inducements to such persons, and the Governor-General will endeavour, at the earliest possible period, to secure the assistance of talents, learning, and morals from Europe, adapted to the great purposes of this institution. It may be useful to observe, in this place, that the Professors and native Munshis or teachers will be prohibited from instructing any other persons than the students of the College. The object of this regulation is to prevent European parents, resident in India, from attempting to commence or to complete, by means of the new institution, the regular education of their children in India. It is an obviously necessary principle of policy to encourage the present practice of sending children, born in India of European parents, at an early age, to Europe for education.

The Governor-General means to recommend that the Court of Directors should hereafter nominate all persons destined for the civil service, at any of the presidencies in India, to be students of the College at Fort William. To each studentship (as has already been observed) will be annexed a

monthly salary of 300 rupees, together with apartments and a common table. It will be for the Honorable Court to decide whether the ultimate destination of the student to the Civil Establishment of Bengal, Fort St. George, or Bombay, shall be specified in the original appointment to the studentship at the College of Fort William. It would certainly be more advantageous to the public service, that no such appointment should be made in England, and that the ultimate destination of each student should be determined in India under the authority of the Government on the spot, according to the inclinations and acquirements of the students respectively. The improved state of the Civil Service at Fort St. George, and the indispensable necessity of introducing the same improvements into the service at Bombay, will speedily render the Civil Service at each of those Presidencies no less advantageous and respectable than that of Bengal.

The Governor-General highly applauds the wisdom of the late order of the Court regulating the rank of the cadets for the artillery according to the period of time when they may be respectively reported to be qualified for commissions under the institutions of the Academy at Woolwich. It would be a most beneficial regulation to declare that the rank of all students appointed to the College of Fort William, in the same season, should be regulated according to their respective progress in the prescribed studies of the College, and to the public testimonials of their respective merit, established according to the discipline and institutions of the College.

If the Court of Directors should approve the principles and objects of this Institution, and should accordingly order the Governor-General to endow it with a rent-charge upon the land revenue of Bengal and Mysore, it would be a gracious act to relieve the Civil Service in India from the tax which the Governor-General intends to impose on the public salaries for the support of the College. The tax will indeed be very light, but the Court of Directors may probably be of opinion that such an Institution as the present ought to be supported, rather by the munificence of the Sovereign of the country than by any diminution, however inconsiderable, of the established allowances of the public officers."

Many of our readers may be aware that the project, so vast and yet so well-defined, did not meet with the approbation of the Court, and in August 1802, the Governor-General received an order for its immediate abolition. The design was indeed one well calculated to startle minds of an inferior calibre. Numerous Professorships were liberally endowed for every language important either from its own literature, or as being the medium of communication with a large portion of the inhabitants of our empire. Ethics and the law of nations, English and Hindu jurisprudence, Manu and Blackstone were cared for with equal solicitude. History met with every possible encouragement. Chemistry and Botany were patronized by a fostering hand. The naturalist was to enlarge or to classify the list of our Eastern animals: the antiquary to pursue his researches amidst relique and ruin, conscious of support and secure of his reward: the astronomer to explore the heavens and to note all the remarkable meteoric phenomena unknown to the dwellers in the cold and chilling West. Even the mighty spirits of Roman

and Grecian literature were to find an habitation near their brethren of Eastern song; and the same mind which in the closing eve of life could linger with fondness round Eton's hallowed shade, and solicit her, in elegiacs pure as when his first triumphs were gained,* to receive his lifeless remains, here set apart ample rewards for proficiency in the great authors of Greece and Latium. It matters not now to analyze the system which the Marquis would fain have established: to enquire whether too many subjects were broached; or to discuss the probability of young men domesticated at Garden Reach, remaining intact from the temptations of the *fumum et opes* of our Eastern Rome. It is enough for our purpose that the scheme was disapproved of, and the College, on the grand scale of its noble founder, was soon forgotten. The Governor-General, whose feelings, to judge by his letter, were never more deeply wounded (not even when he thought of summarily throwing up the reins of Government,) remonstrated in language at once respectful and firm.† But the remonstrance fell on ears deaf to the charmer's voice, and a middle course was adopted by the Court of Directors. The College, to which the Honorable Court would have affixed the degrading appellation of "Mr. Gilchrist's seminary," was allowed to remain on its original footing as the nursery of the Civil Service; but the large building to be erected at Garden Reach—the sum to be expended on a Library—the manuscripts to be collated—the

* We quote the lines of the noble author: no sixth form boy at any public school but might be proud to own them:—

Fortune, terrarumque vagi exercitus undis
In gremium redeo serus, Etona, tuum.
Magna sequi, et summas mirari culmina famæ,
Et puerum antiquos ludis adire jubas.
Auspice te didici puer, atque in limine vitæ
Ingenuas vere laudis amare vias.
Si quæ meum vitæ decurso gloria nomen
Auxerit, aut si quis nobilitârit honos;
Maneris, alme, tui est; altrix da terra sepulcro
Supremam lacrymam da, memoremque mei.

We need hardly remind Etonians that his request was complied with.

† The words of the noble Marquis are worth quoting on this point:—"But although the first view of my duty might have suggested the propriety of such reference (as a further remonstrance against the order being carried into execution) the peculiar character and spirit of the Court's commands on this unhappy occasion and the nature of the institution (intimately blended with the general subordination of the service) seemed to me to require that I should proceed immediately to the public abolition of the institution *as an act of necessary submission to the controling authority of the Court of Directors, and as a testimony of the obedience due to the superior power placed by law in the Government at Home.*" This, let it be remembered, was the language of one of the ablest and most talented men ever seen in India, we will not seek out an invidious parallel.

——— O! si sic,
Omnia dixissent!

Professors with their handsome salaries and their retiring pensions—the rent charge to be levied on Bengal or Mysore, or, in default, *the cutting of all the civilian's salaries* for the support of the institution,—vanished away like a day dream.

But whatever has been the fate of the Marquis' favourite scheme, his minute on the occasion is worthy of every attention. The remarks of which we have selected a portion are to be praised, perhaps not so much for their depth as for their soundness. Viewing India, almost in the very words of Thucydides as a κτημα ἐς ἀει, he gave utterance in clear and vigorous language to thoughts which may have suggested themselves to many, but which all must be glad to see expressed by the pen of so ready a writer:—"That the Civil or Military service of the "East India Company has supplied persons calculated to meet "all the wonderful revolutions of affairs in India, is a circum"stance not to be attributed to the original or peculiar institu"tion of either service at any period of time. That constitu"tion has undergone repeated alterations at the suggestion and "under the direction of the great characters which it has "produced: and it has still been found answerable to every "new crisis of an extraordinary nature. But it must never be "forgotten that the successive efforts of those eminent [illegible] "nages, and the final result of various revolutions and wars, have "imposed on the East India Company the arduous and sacred "trust of governing an extensive and populous empire. It "is true that this empire must be maintained in some of its "relations by the same spirit of enterprise and boldness which "acquired it. But duty, policy, and honour, require that it "should not be administered as a temporary and precarious "acquisition: as an empire conquered by prosperous adventure "and extended by fortunate accident, of which the tenure is "as uncertain as the original conquest and successive extension "were extraordinary. It must be considered as a sacred trust "and a permanent possession. In this view its internal Govern"ment demands a constant, steady, and regular supply of "qualifications in no degree similar to those which distinguished "the early periods of our establishment in India, and laid the "foundations of our empire. The stability of that empire, whose "magnitude is the accumulated result of former enterprise, "activity, and resolution, must be secured by the durable prin"ciples of internal order: by a pure, upright, and uniform "administration of justice: by a prudent and temperate system "of revenue: by the encouragement and protection of industry, "agriculture, manufacture and commerce: by a careful and "judicious management of every branch of financial resource

" and by the maintenance of a just, firm, and moderate policy " towards the native powers of India. To maintain and hold " such a system in all its parts, we shall require a succession " of able magistrates, wise and honest judges, and skilful states- " men properly qualified to conduct the ordinary movements of " the great machine of Government. The military establish- " ments of this empire form no part of the present enquiry. " In the Civil Service we must now seek not the instruments " by which kingdoms are overthrown, revolutions accomplished, " or wars conducted, but an inexhaustible supply of useful " knowledge, cultivated talents and well ordered and disciplined " morals. These are the necessary instruments of a wise and " well regulated Government: these are the genuine and un- " failing means of cultivating and improving the arts of peace, " of diffusing affluence and happiness, willing obedience and " grateful attachment, over every region and district of the vast " empire, and dispensing to every class and description of our " subjects the permanent benefits of secure property, protected " life, undisturbed order and inviolate religion. It is not the " nature of these inestimable blessings to spring from a turbid " source, or to flow in a contracted and irregular channel."

Whenever the elements of society have been mixed up and reduced to disorder, a spirit invariably arises from the midst of the chaotic mass: a *fatalis dux* has never been wanting when the crisis was at hand: a Camillus and a Clive never fail to appear when boldness and defiance of established rules seem to promise success. But the Marquis, while surveying the series of events by which India had been won, was equally alive to the process by which it must be governed. The calm and unprejudiced judgment to be sought for, not in one solitary instance, but amongst a considerable body of officers, the "regular supply of qualifications," not so much of a brilliant as of a sterling character, was an object well worthy the consideration of one fitted to shine in the troublous times on which he looked back, as in the comparatively smooth course which he saw spread out before him. A link between the glories of the sword and of the pen: great as a statesman at the head of affairs, or as the patron of a learned institution: when he extended a large empire or when he founded a college.

In spite of the condemnation which the Court of Directors cast on the project submitted, the college did at times almost fulfil the great expectations of its noble founder. Let us look at the names connected with its internal administration, whether as members of the council or as actual lecturers on the subjects taught. There, in a short space of years, we see the learning

and piety of Buchanan and Brown: the time-honoured name of Colebrooke: the indefatigable energy of Gilchrist: the jurisprudence and legal knowledge of Harington: the oriental scholarship of Gladwin: the varied talents of Edmonstone, Carey, Malcolm, and Lumsden. We are thrown into communion with men whose names have passed into proverbs and examples, and seem to be holding converse with a generation of illustrious dead. But in addition to the above there was one whose ardent and indomitable disposition seemed to carry him at once through a series of obstacles sufficient to damp the courage of the most determined; who surmounted in a few short months the labour of years, and qualified himself for the medical profession in a shorter period than could be expected to give an insight into its first principles; whose early youth had been devoted to the worship of his national muse, and who left a beloved country to fall a victim to the fatal influence of an eastern clime. But then his "Lamp of learned lore" was "unquenched;" his "tuneful strains" had not been hushed into silence, nor the "light of his song" buried in darkness; his "cold remains" were still unpossessed by the "deadly shore," and the annals of the college of Fort William within six years of its foundation could point with pride to the now well remembered name of Leyden. It is pleasing to go back some forty years and see the estimation in which the above lamented character was held, and before his untimely fate had been worthily lamented in the undying strains of a mightier brother minstrel, we pause to read with delight a fitting tribute to the memory of Leyden in one of the college addresses delivered by Lord Minto.

As pleasing a task it is to enumerate many of the men who first signalized themselves in the college examinations, and whose after career amply responded to the high hopes entertained by their superiors regarding them. Several of those who attained the highest posts in the empire, and many, who, if they did not reach such a proud eminence, yet departed with the esteem of the high and the confidence of the lowly—laid the foundations of future success within the precincts of the college. The well-known names of Macnaghten, Bayley, Jenkins, Haughton, Prinsep, and others, are sufficient to prove the justness of the observation; and one Indian statesman after a period of thirty-five years could refer with pleasure to the time when he was a student in the college of Fort William, and thank the good fortune which had led him to commence a glorious career under the noble auspices of its founder. It is the peculiar privilege of the truly great to see with joy others following in their

footsteps, and the name of Wellesley may be proud to receive a tribute of praise from that of Metcalfe.

When we refer to the studies in which the young civilians engaged at the beginning of this century, we are struck with their depth and the difficulty of the themes which they embraced. It does indeed seem as if there were giants in the land in those days, who accomplished feats and lifted weights such as those of the present day could no more handle, than the degenerate sons of Homer's time could brandish the weapon of Telamonian Ajax. Not contented with degrees of honour in three, and even four languages, and declamations in Persian and Urdu and even in Sanskrit and Arabic, the enthusiastic students invaded the stores of English literature and transformed them, as a daily relaxation, to an oriental dress. The powers of Bengali were taxed to convey an adequate representation of the uncouthness of Caliban, the humour of Trinculo, and the sportive tricks of Ariel; and Æneas was heard to relate, in the same language, his wanderings over land and sea, while Dido listened in admiration, and inwardly cherished the wound which knew no healing. A translation of the Tempest and of the four first books of the Æneid into the Vernacular of Bengal was certainly a work well calculated to test the powers of the translator and of the language he employed. Had we any specimens of this work before us—one pronounced to be excellent by competent judges at the time—we might perhaps be able to decide whether the genius of Shakespeare could reasonably be expected to accommodate itself to the scenes of the east, and whether an European masterpiece could be comprehended and perhaps imitated by an Asiatic workman. But in the absence of such relics we are thrown on the mere themes to which the students devoted themselves: and when we look over those chosen for college declamations at a time when the civilization of India was hardly yet begun, we are forced to admit that many were selected with great judgment and foresight; some, perhaps, would be looked on as truisms in the present day, but now and then we have a good deal which indicates deep thought and a clear perception of the bearings of great questions. Amongst the former we might class declamations to uphold the facts that the Sanskrit is the Parent language of India, or that the division of the Hindus into castes retards their improvement, or that the suicide of Hindu widows is a practice repugnant to the natural feelings and inconsistent with moral duty. But positions laid down that an accurate knowledge of the manners and genius of the Hindus is to be acquired by an attentive examination of their written compositions; that

the Sanskrit is elegant and precise as a medium of composition; that the over-attention paid to it has caused the Bengali—the finest of its derivatives—to be neglected; that Persian literature has been less cultivated in its own country than in India; that for critical skill in the Urdu it is requisite that a knowledge of more languages should be combined than are necessary for a similar acquaintance with any other language, ancient or modern; that its satirical poetry equals that of any other oriental tongue; that Bengali is better suited to historical than to poetical composition; that it is easier to diffuse the literature and science of the western nations among the Natives of India by translating European books into their own tongue, than by instructing them in the European languages;—these and several others prove considerable sagacity not only in selection but also in judgment. For though the declamations were always of an Amebæan character—between two opponents selected from the students—yet we may infer from the presence of a moderator, who was usually one of the professors, that the victory was always adjudged to the student *who sustained the proposition laid down.* Here and there we regret that the judgment was blinded by prejudice or by an over admiration for the Eastern writers recently unlocked, and we accordingly see such propositions as the following gravely set down: that the difficulties of translation between the English and the Persian languages are *far greater* than between the former and any of the other languages of Europe: that the Mahratta dialect, though belonging to Bombay, is no unprofitable acquisition in some departments of the public service under the government of Bengal: and that the translations of the best works extant in the Sanskrit into the popular languages of India would promote the *extension of science and civilization!**

It is however cavilling and almost injustice to the founders and supporters, to expect that all these questions—some of which are as yet unsettled and may find their defenders and opponents—should at that early period have been thoroughly weighed and digested. We will rather turn again to the old annals of the college, and see what we can glean regarding its annual exhibitions.

* With regard to the first of these three propositions we have the opinion of two highly accomplished Persian scholars that the idiom of the English language falls into that of the Persian with exceeding facility. Some however may still be inclined to doubt this, and we therefore leave the question open. With regard to the second it is difficult to imagine of what earthly use Mahratta could be to a Bengal civilian. For all political purposes, should his vocation send him to that side of India, Persian would be sufficient. The third is an example of that blind admiration of orientalism which characterized the beginning of this century. Imagine science promoted by the adaptation of the Hindu cosmogony and chronology, not to mention its geography with the seven seas and mount Meru in the distance!!!

The first thing which strikes us is the large amount of praise always lavished on the fortunate votaries of Eastern lore at the periodical visitations of the Governor-General. In fact the whole scene, the presence of the council and of all the highest Ladies in "the settlement" must have rendered the display rather formidable even to the most ambitious and successful;* and the publicity of the college report, with the place of every individual in each department accurately marked down, while it gave out the pleasing announcement of degrees of honour, medals and rupees to the amount of a thousand or fifteen hundred, attached to the names of the Sotheby's and Haughton's, would also raise Mr. such-a-one to the unenviable eminence of being *thirty-seventh* in Persian, or *forty-sixth* in Urdu. But setting aside the above, we find a good deal to approve of in parts of the system pursued. It was necessary to encourage the venturous wayfarer on the untrodden paths of eastern literature by the application of praise louder than might be with safety bestowed on the present day; and in the speeches of each succeeding visitor of the college we find much sound and judicious advice towards the young men about to enter on the public service. We must regret, however, that the repeated threats launched against collegians involved in debt, seem to have been unproductive of the slightest effect. It does not appear that the dread of being passed over on the scale of preferment induced a single individual to contract his expenses, or to refrain from grasping at the proffered loan of fifty, seventy thousand, or a lakh of Rupees. Even at the present day the millstone hangs about the neck of several members of the service, and the money squandered on racers, or even follies of a worse kind, has tied them down to a life time of labour in the east. We would however drop the curtain over the worse half of the picture, and suffer debts and expensive dinners and the *noctes cœnæque* of Writer's Buildings, where the same set who had kept Haileybury in a ferment once more congregated together, to pass quietly into oblivion. But it is gratifying to observe that from the earliest period of the establishment of Haileybury College, its utility had been almost annually recognised by the authorities at Calcutta; and the small stock of orientals which the majority brought out with them, was rightly deemed a means of smoothing the way for the desired consummation to be attained only at the fountain itself. The absence at Hertford of advantages incidental to

* At one of these exhibitions we remark as present *General the Honorable Arthur Wellesley.*

the local situation of the College in Bengal must unavoidably, it was said, at all times and in all circumstances give the latter a decided superiority in Oriental pursuits; and the judicious end seemed to be that the English institution, while it gave the finishing stroke to the European branches, should at the same time afford a reasonable facility for surmounting the drudgery of the rudiments in two or three Oriental tongues. And here, taking this just observation as a starting point, we may be pardoned for digressing on the opportunity afforded for perfecting studies in the very place where they had birth originally. It was not without reason that the youth of Ancient Rome were sent to seek for truth amid the groves of Academus, and that "kind Athens" consented to give the finishing polish to education;—and in the same manner we might expect that the studies enthusiastically begun at Haileybury might be capable of the highest finish in the plains of Bengal. Unchanged by a series of more than two thousand years, the seasons and their vicissitudes still run on their appointed course, the sun blazes as fiercely, and the dried jungle crackles under the fire caught from his rays with the same wide-spreading influence as it did in the days of Kalidasa: the peacock's cry still salutes the gathering mass of cloud and the thunders of heaven's artillery: the season of rains periodically advances like "a warrior king on horseback;" the verdure is as luxuriant, the grateful dew as heavy, the foliage as exuberant and unfading as ever. The Asoca's bloom has not paled in one shade of its richness, nor the notes of the kokil lost one jot of their melody since Valmiki first named it as the herald of his song. On every tank blooms the lotus: in every grove the bamboo tapers, and in every woodland shade at mid-day the silence is broken only by the melting notes of the dove. If we lament under the cold climate of England that we cannot be sensible of the warmth of the Orientalist: that his similes fall dim and unheeded on the ear, and his pictures call up no living appearance to the eye, such excuse fails us on the spot where we can compare nature and art. Even when we quit natural objects and draw near to the spirit of man, it does at first seem as if the east would not suffer from comparison with the west. Valmiki and Vyasa, Ferdusi and Mir* Hussein have been thought to tread, though at a respectful distance, in the same path as Homer and Virgil: the manly complaints of the Yaksha, when severed from his wife, must take rank before the puling strains of Ovid when banished from his Rome.

* Not the Urdu poet of that name but a Persian bard.

The dirge of Sophocles for the maiden who quits her mother's shelter, like a forlorn heifer, to become the bride of the best man in the tourney* may justly be deemed unequal in pathos to the tender strains of Sakantála when about to part from the companions of her youth, to become the spouse of India's King. The churning of the ocean for the production of the Amrita, and the rise of the deadly poison which threatened destruction to the assembled divinities, is not one whit more extravagant than some of the Homeric battles of the residents of Olympus on behalf of a favoured votary. Nala, like Ulysses, may regain his kingdom only after a long series of wanderings, and the Hymn of Callimachus to Jupiter may find no unlawful parallel in the powerful address of Kalidasa to the Hindu deity in his triple form. Horace, when he can withdraw his attention from the rich Falernian of Mæcenas, is faithful to Lalage and her sweet smiles in the snows of Zembla or the heats of the torrid zone; Hafiz, when his lyre ceases to sparkle at the praise of wine, the opener of the heart, can acknowledge no mistress but Leila with the stature of the cypress and the cheek of the rose!

Where the topics touched on are apparently similar, and the springs of action the same, it might be expected that any enthusiasm which burned to reach the untrodden shores of Eastern literature, would be rewarded to the fullest expectation. Allowance might even be conceded to any excess of ardour in endeavours to plant the standard of conquest and take perpetual possession of a territory newly discovered; but a closer inspection shows us that such license is not needed by those who weigh Orientalism in the balance of an impartial judgment. We had thought, it is true, on finding some evidences of a congenial spirit, that the fire was again about to be lighted at an altar as pure as that of our earliest worship, and that vestiges of the old flame were at length legally recognised. Perhaps the fond thought might be heightened by a lingering remembrance of the *opera interrupta* of classics, and a regret at having prematurely abandoned the studies of our youth, mingled with joy at again finding them where least expected. But the pleasing vision was soon cleared away. Eastern authors can never be as the friends and companions of our daily life, about our path and our bed, our rising up and our lying down: they may never hope to assume the character of comforters in melancholy, or companions in solitude: they are at no time endowed with that attractiveness which

* Vide Trachiniæ, line 500 κ. τ. λ.

never surfeits on a frequent recurrence—is proof against neglect, contumely, and banishment—and is only rivetted by a daily connexion in a still firmer and closer friendship. We stand at the grave of Virgil and can "bless the shade and bid the verdure bloom," but we have no tears for the tomb of Kalidasa: we admire the Phidian ivory and the breathing marble which starts into life beneath the sculptor's hand, but we have no look of fondness for the misshapen and grotesque forms of an Eastern superstition. Venus, rising up from the azure depths, commands our attention as a bright and pure creation of genius, but no sympathy is awakened for Saraswati, or Durga with her ten arms. We can still, with the enthusiastic author of "Eothen," feel a thrill of delight, whilst on passing by the bank of the Simois, the snowy heights of Olympus burst in all their majesty on our sight; but no eye, however ardent, cares to strain itself for the untrodden peaks of Mount Meru,—no patriotism will be reanimated by the despotism of the Brahman,—no piety grow warmer at the three streams of Prayag.* There is a thrilling sensation caused by the soil of Attica under our feet, and its pure sky above our heads, but no corresponding chord is awakened by the brazen firmament of the east. We will grant their inviolate dignity to the hoar antiquity of the Himalayas and the minarets of Nandi Devi. We raise the accents of praise in favour of the natural wonders of Hindustan and her no less wonderful relics of art, but we shall look in vain for that particle of the purer breath which should preside over the spirit of man, and render it divine. We will however put out of the question the terse sentences of Tacitus, pregnant with instruction to the statesman, the comprehensive mind of Thucydides, and the maxims of Aristotle "to be chewed and digested;" with spirits like these oriental literature cannot hope to vie. We will banish the reflection on eastern poetry which suggests so much that is impure in society, degraded in morals, and unhallowed in religion: we will make no allowance for the purer philosophy of the Athenian or the unbending virtue of Cato and Fabricius; nor hail with fondness those fitful flashings of a higher kind, the transient visions from regions beyond the tomb, which at uncertain intervals gladdened the eyes of the Grecian sages. But take the authors whose lines, diverging so widely at other times, on certain points seem to approximate to union, and then the superiority is manifest beyond a doubt. Strip Horace of his satirical sneer, and his tergiversation from Aristippus to Epicurus, and

* Allahabad, where the Saraswati which geographically loses itself in the sands of Rajputána, is said to meet underground with the Ganges and the Jumna.

we seek in vain amidst the crowd of eastern writers for the artist who so skilfully sweeps the lyre of song, or in the language of one of his devoted admirers:

> "Plays lightly round and round the peccant part,
> And wins, unfelt, an entrance to the heart."

And we gladly exchange all the barbaric pomp of the east, the spicy gales of Arabia, and the musk-scented breezes of Hindustan, for one cold clear breath from the unclouded heaven of Italy!

We have digressed further than we originally intended, but it must not be inferred that in thus giving the literature of the east its proper value, we wish to depreciate its study on the part of those connected with the Indian services. Such was never the intention of the wise men who presided over the institution, and its advantages were usually thrown open for the benefit of Civil and Military alike. Many well known names in our Indian army first distinguished themselves by attainments in the languages when attached as supernumeraries to the college; and on looking down the whole period of the records from the year 1800 to 1818, we have few examinations at which some distinguished student did not swell the roll of those already "quoted and signed;" and what is perhaps better still, we have several epochs, marked not so much by an extraordinary proficiency of one or two individuals, as by a steady and progressive spirit on the part of the whole body. Examples of repeated idleness do indeed occur, but insufficient to disprove the fact that the main objects of the institution were attained, and the views of the Marquis of Wellesley carried out in part, although not to that fulness which he had originally designed.

It is not uninteresting to watch the fluctuations of the different languages studied: Persian at one time in the ascendant and Sanskrit in corresponding degradation: then Sanskrit rising to the surface and Bengali following in its train as a matter of necessity: and then the Urdu first assuming its proper station in the scale of the dialects of India. In the early part of this century Persian and Arabic, with Urdu as an occasional satellite, had it all their own way, and the visitor would lament that no one would throw down the gauntlet to Sanskrit. This was only a natural consequence of the exclusive use of Persian in our courts, and the non-cultivation of Bengali then formed a just subject of regret; nor was it until the year 1807 that the visitor could make any small proficiency in the latter language a matter of congratulation. We shall touch on the proportion which the *learned* and the vernacular of the eastern tongues ought to bear

to each other, when we review the present rules of the college; but here we may be excused for lingering a little longer in the company of names now almost entirely removed from us. The annals of the college fortunately give us each year the additional oriental works published, with the names of their editors, compilers or translators, and we recur with delight to the labours of many distinguished men to whom the cause of eastern literature owes a lasting debt. There we see Lumsden working at his Persian grammar, and Roebuck deep in his dictionary: Colebrooke engaged in the Amara Kosha, and Wilson first giving to the world an evidence of his powers as a translator in the poetical version of the Meghaduta, since then reprinted and revised: crouds of Munshis and Pandits striving against each other under the careful supervision of the unwearied Gilchrist, and the jointly honoured name of Carey and Marshman extending their literary travels *usque ad Seres et Indos*, the Sanskrit, the Mahratta, the Bengali and the Chinese!

We now come to the present rules and regulations of the college, and the system therein pursued as forwarding the views with which the college of Haileybury was established. The really judicious aim seems to be, as before remarked, that the latter institution should smooth the early path during the two years of collegiate life,—that all the primary drudgery of a strange orthography and a stranger grammar should be surmounted previous to landing in India,—and that the amount of knowledge, be it ever so small, should be allowed the space of two years, and the test of from four to six examinations, to settle down and take root firmly in the mind. It is astonishing even where the stock of oriental lore is slender, how advatageous it is to have some hold on a new study, not to be totally adrift on a strange and inhospitable sea; and although carelessness and the almost unavoidable break on the reading occasioned by the voyage out, must loosen the slight tenure, yet the random recollections are soon revived; and the subsequent progress, when the start is commenced with a vantage, generally turns out uniform and smooth. Beginning *to study* with a moderate previous knowledge of a language, and beginning with none whatever, is exactly the same as clearing away land once under cultivation, but again overrun by jungle, and commencing work upon a piece of ground which the axe of the settler has never before disturbed.

It may here not be improper to test the real importance of a thorough knowledge of the vernacular dialects to a public servant, especially to those employed in the civil departments. The propriety of becoming master of one or even two is inculcated on

all sides without a dissentient voice. It is the last piece of advice which rings in the ears of the young civilian when quitting Southampton or Portsmouth, and almost the first which salutes him after his arrival at Chandpal Ghat. To pass his college examination, if it be not exactly the subject of his waking and sleeping hours, is at least one of which he never entirely loses sight; and the necessity of becoming acquainted with the speaking language of the cultivator is one which he hears so repeatedly inculcated that he never dreams for a moment of being sceptical as to its truth. We may be pardoned for digressing a little further yet.—Now good linguists seem to us to be divided into two kinds, both of them excellent in their peculiar line. The one we will call the pen and paper, the other—however tantologous it may seem—the speaking linguist. The first class comprehends men who, as far as a language is confined to books, seem to overcome every obstacle as fast as it presents itself: who detect almost at a glance the peculiarities of a new tongue, and instead of finding them strange and uncongenial, make them aids and helps in gaining the mastery: who identify themselves for the time being with the author they take in hand, but who are yet debarred from that quickness of ear and pliancy of voice by which some are enabled in the space of three months, to understand all that is said around them, and in that of six months, or a little more, to take part, without stumbling, in every conversation carried on. The second class consists of men who find a considerable difficulty in attaining a correct grammatical knowledge of a language: who are puzzled if requested to translate with accuracy a plain piece of English prose into Persian, Urdu, or Bengali, but whose ear finds an unaccountable sympathy with the thread of words issuing forth from a native's mouth in unbroken line, and whose speech, almost as soon as they attempt the new tongue, is understood by the generality of hearers except the most obtuse. At the head of the first class of these we should place Sir William Jones,* and the name of George Borrow will rightly head the second. It were of course highly desirable that the qualifications of both classes should be united as often as possible in one and the same individual: that the basis should be a tolerable acquaintance with the written records of a nation, and the superstructure a power of holding converse with both high and low. But as such a consummation is not often to be looked for, we have no hesitation when commanded to choose between the two. For all practical purposes, for the creation of that confidence between judge and appellant so much to be desired, let us have the man whose ear and tongue are formed to understand and return the accents of a strange dialect, and not the one buried in his Dictionary and Grammar. The gift of tongues is beyond doubt an accomplishment to be wished for: we mean that peculiar facility which constitutes a man a linguist in the fair and general acceptation of the term. We do not think, however, that such powers generally evince a powerful cast of mind. We are sure that they are *rarely* found in one fitted to grapple with inductive truths, in a mind, in short, of a hard-reasoning and mathematical turn. But we are quite certain that a good linguist is generally a man of quickness and penetration: of considerable tact and readiness: that his memory is of itself a retentive one, and that it has been well exercised by practice. And if personal qualifications be allowed to have any connection with the mental, we have a theory that *a good musical ear* and a facility in acquiring foreign tongues are generally found united in one and the same individual. It would of course not be difficult to point out exceptions, but we think that on the whole the above distinctions will be found correct.

* The great orientalist, strange as it may appear, was never intelligible to any of the natives, nor could he ever dispense with *the aid of an interpreter* in his judicial duties.

Now the consideration of the above points leads us by no unnatural transition to the present test demanded in the college of Fort William. Its name indeed survives, but its objects and the career of the collegian are widely different from what they were thirty years ago. The student himself is still seen in all his various aspects of sportsman, reading man, and gentleman of the world: as one whose highest ambition it is to gain "first spears" in the boar hunt, or to level the tiger with a bullet, as he whose brains are ready to be stuffed with the Regulations of Governments, and he who only lives for the salons of Chowringhi. But to whichever of the above species he may belong, the condition of the collegian is entirely changed, and the same knot which had kept the Haileybury authorities on the *qui vive* for a year and a half, are no longer suffered to renew in Writer's Buildings the extravagancies of the East India College with additional temptation and corresponding facility. The civilian lives with a relation or friend, or with some of his college acquaintance whose tastes and feelings have been cast in the same mould. He may still get into debt, it is true, but then the amount is five thousand and not a lakh of rupees. He may be somewhat extravagant in his pursuits—his horses and jewellery—but then a limit is set by his curtailed residence in Calcutta. A year and a half is the impassable barrier

beyond which he may not linger or stray. Many are emancipated in less than one half that time, and the later age at which they come out is amply compensated by the fact that their services after arrival are much sooner rendered available to the Company. Meanwhile his study and his reward have also undergone a change, and we seldom hear of overflowing donations of rupees, and prizes for Nagari writing, or of degrees of honour and diplomas on hot-pressed vellum. On arrival at his presidency the civilian undergoes an initiatory examination in the languages which he has read, or is supposed to have read, at Haileybury: and the amount of his knowledge varies in nine cases out of ten from a fair and reasonable proficiency in at least two out of three to that *minimum* which is well described as conversancy with the character. He then selects the division of the Bengal Presidency which shall be the scene of his future labours: whether the dry embrowned plains of Upper India, or the sheets of rice and the cocoanut groves of Bengal. Should the former be his choice, he is expected to qualify himself for the public service by passing in the Persian and the Hindi tongues within eighteen months. A fair knowledge of the former is indispensable to that ready acquirement of the terms of business—especially those of revenue—which are nothing more or less than the alphabet of public life; and the latter with its objectionable Nagari character, at times running back into the oldest and roughest form, and here again descending nearly to the level of the polished Urdu—may be termed the speaking tongue of the inhabitants of the villages in the North-west. Should Bengal however prove the more attractive, his choice of weapons lies between Persian and Bengali, and Bengali and Urdu. Putting aside the acknowledged claims of Persian, the two latter seem best fitted to give a legal qualification for service in the Lower Provinces, and with a fair knowledge of Urdu and Bengali the civilian from Saugor to Mussouri will be understood by every one of the better class of inhabitants and most of the lower. Several collegians who do not acquiesce in an utter abandonment of that staple commodity, Persian, first obtain a discharge from college, and then remain to study the Urdu as a work of supererogation. Such a practice cannot be too much encouraged, nor the number of those who adopt it too many. But we must now enquire what the examination is, whose successful encounter, at once qualifies the student for a corner in the next *Calcutta Government Gazette*. The examination is both on paper and viva voce. A book or books, are fixed as the criteria, and the first paper generally consists of an extract from one of them to

be translated into English.* The second paper is a plain piece of narrative in the English language which must be translated into Persian, Urdu or Bengali, as the case may be with the student; and the third, generally supposed the most difficult, is composed of a series of short sentences, involving peculiarities of idiom and grammatical construction, and sometimes bearing directly on the legal terms and phrases of daily recurrence in our courts. It may sometimes happen that, as the same papers are given for translation in all three languages—the genius of one particular tongue may be more fitted for the translation than the others. A student turning it into Bengali finds the Persian phrases rising to his lips: another striving to recall the best style of Urdu, can remember nothing but the pure Sanskrit derivatives. But generally speaking the selected passage is so pure and simple that no great difficulty need be experienced in expressing it in any one of the three. A viva voce translation from the appointed books is next demanded, and after the above test is undergone in the two dialects, the last debt has been paid, and the quittance is handed over. Now as a standard—whose object it is neither to be too lax nor too severe, neither so narrow as to exclude all but the most determined, nor so wide as to receive the multitude without even an effort—the above has certainly been chosen with judgment. The books appointed are, in Persian, the Anvari Suhaili, an expanded version of the fables of Pilpai, and the Gulistan by Sadi, the best moral poet of the east: in Hindi, the Prem Sagar, which has nought to recommend it but its idiom, as the subject matter is a wearisome and endless repetition of the amours of Krishna: in Bengali, the well known Hitopadesha, whose style however from an over-mixture of Sanskrit idiom, is not the most pure or genuine: and in Urdu, the inimitable Bagh-o-bahar and the Skhwani Us Sufa, to both of which, as regards style or contents, we have no one single reproach to offer. He must be no very active workman who cannot muster sufficient to pass the above test in six months, allowing three for each language,—a decidedly sluggish one who is unable to finish his task within the year,—and a most hopeless bargain to the company who cannot clear himself before the latest day prescribed by the forbearance of Government. Accordingly, in spite of natural disadvantages as linguists, of protracted idleness and putting off the evil day, and of the incidental interruptions caused by serious

* In Persian the first paper is almost invariably from the Anvari, and in Urdu from the Bagh-o-bahar, but in Bengali and Hindi, the first paper is some distinct passage which the student has never seen.

illness,* languor and inability to work in a hot climate, we do not find that the stern law is ever put in force which returns the civilian unpassed after fifteen months, to his native land with blighted hopes and an empty pocket. By the help of an additional engine in the shape of a second Munshi, the train moves on—a systematic plan is pursued very different from cramming and its puerile results, and within a year of landing, in most cases, the civilian is pronounced fit for the discharge of public duties.

The above is the examination which forms the utmost limit of proficiency in the greater number. We are not now going to discuss the toils of the aspirant for deep eastern lore, but it is to be wished that every civilian knew *something of at least one of the learned* languages of India. By this we understand either the Sanskrit or the Arabic as forming the chief of the great Indo-Germanic, and the Semitic tongues respectively. The former may be considered the chief of those read from *left to right*, the parent of more than half our Indian dialects, and claiming a share if not in the actual formation, at least in the modification and embellishment of every single one. The latter is on the other hand the leading language amongst those read from *right to left:* the direct key to an accurate and extensive knowledge of the Persian and the Urdu: the repository of the faith of Islamism, and of the laws and civil regulations of the Mohammedan conquerors of India. It might perhaps be wished that some knowledge of both these giant stocks should be acquired previous to entering on an investigation of their various offshoots,† but as the union of the two from their own intrinsic difficulty, is hardly to be looked for, we will limit our claims to a fair knowledge of one or the other. Which may give the greatest insight into the manners and customs of our empire, and render its possessor more fitted to acquire information of a literary and a practical kind: whether Manu or the Hidayah, the years of the Hegira or those of the Samsat, the Amara Kosah, or the Muntakhab-al-laghat, be of the greater importance in the training for the Civil Service, we shall not now stay to inquire. It is sufficient for our purpose that the utility of both be equally recognised, and the student who surmounts the difficulties of *either* language, and acquires a capital

* We may mention however that serious and protracted illness—for two or three months—always gives a man a claim for a corresponding extra period, should he require it.

† Some Reformers in England have advocated Arabic and Sanskrit *alone*, at Haileybury. The great objection of course is, that many may become good Urdu and Bengali scholars, who have not energy sufficient to conquer the great originals.

sufficient to set himself up in business, will find spread open before him, besides the languages themselves, on the one hand the laws, the religious ordinances and the whole disposition of Hindu society, and on the other the hopes of the moslem for this life and the next, and his round of duties from the five occasions of prayer and the *la haul billata* to the forty days of mourning over the grave of a deceased relation.

But we will suppose the student fairly launched in the public service, and anxious to test the value of the knowledge acquired in Orientals. Now it is very conceivable that the talents of many individuals may be perfectly available to Government and to their fellow-men without the slightest interposition of any one Asiatic language. A Secretary to Government needs no interpreter for the composition of his minutes or his English letters. A Commissioner of Revenue, versed in the fiscal regulations and in that practical detail of land tenures only to be acquired by long experience, carries on most of his correspondence with his subordinates without the aid of either Persian or Bengali: a collector locks up his treasure, attends to the Government sales at certain recurring periods of the year, and transacts all his miscellaneous business without any very great evidence of proficiency as a linguist. Even a Sessions Judge when versed by long practice in the phraseology of courts and the peculiar idiom of legal documents, does not seem so much to need the assistance of languages as that desirable faculty—one in which the modest Sir Samuel Romilly thought himself deficient—that of concentrating his powers of mind fixedly and unswervingly on the contemplation of the one single object before him. We do not deny the utility of the languages to any one of the above: we only assert that they are not the great and primary qualifications. But we defy a magistrate or a settlement officer to be confidently *au fait* at his works or to penetrate the hidden motives of a long-winded tale, without a full and precise acquaintance with *the speaking dialect* of his district. We defy a magistrate to banish mistrust and inspire confidence, to probe truth to its secret places, and to take up at once, and without any go-between, the complaint of the Ryot, or to assign their due weight to the numerous stories of oppression, venality, plunder and assault, which make up the great bulk of the Foujdari department. It is of course only one item in the great account, but it is the very alphabet of such an officer that he should be wholly independent—*in se teres atque rotundus*—capable without doubt or hesitation to hear and reply to the tale rapidly poured forth by the cultivator groaning under poverty, loss of crops, or the *zabardasti* (we

know now no English word so expressive) of a powerful Zemindar. Now it is obvious that the present standard of college examination will not effect this, nor indeed can any criterion drawn from the same method, even though the test be higher, ever give adequate security. The true and legitimate object of all such examinations in vernacular tongues, can be no other than the sealing a fair portion of that knowledge which will afterwards, when increased and modified, come into daily play. On a proper examination, the rude and commoner forms of speech are of course discarded for the correct and orthodox standard of Grammar and Dictionary: the student writes, or endeavours to write, in a style pure and finished, and his performance, however intelligible to an educated native, would be a serious puzzle to most of the inhabitants of the village. However respectable, and even meritorious, may be the college translations, it is the subsequent intercourse with high and low which produces the *speaking linguist;* and to prove that such are the qualifications of all magistrates can only be effected by a *subsequent oral examination** when the young civilian has been brought into daily and hourly contact with natives of every class, and has lost some of the rule-and-line accuracy of collegiate discipline to gain a little of the familiar, we would say, the low forms of speech which roll out in the full round palatal accents of the Bengali, or in the livelier and more ringing tones of the native of Hindustan.

In spite, however, of all examinations and endeavours to secure for the public service a regular succession of linguists, the power of speaking two or three foreign dialects, especially those of an Oriental birth, will in six cases out of eight be either attained naturally and without any great difficulty, or will never be reached in any period of service. We believe that facility in the colloquial is generally attained on the first two or three years or never. After that time the field is either lost or won, and in the case of success the additional years of service or intercourse only supply a few incidental expressions and phrases, which must be considered as the stray gleanings when the harvest has been gathered in. In the first three years the garners are either tolerably well stored, or are destined to remain hopelessly empty for ever. Still, whilst wishing that all officers destined for the judicial line, were

* Interpreters of regiments, we understand, are examined *viva voce*, and so are the new class of Deputy Magistrates. Why should the Covenanted Civilian be exempt? At Bombay, after passing in Urdu, the young Civilian is allowed to *proceed to duty* [illegible] in Mahratta or Gujarati a year or so after; but we do not know whether [illegible] at the other presidencies.

endowed with some of the extraordinary facility attributed to Mithridates, we must confess that our opinion seems at times to incline towards the pedantry of Moliere's Pancrace, who had one ear for strange and scientific tongues, and the other reserved for the "vulgar and the maternal;" or to subdivide the worthy Doctor's classification a little further, there does really seem to be a certain compartment in phrenology assigned for the dialects of our Indian empire, into which the more congenial tongues of the Western Hemisphere may not find an entrance. Experience has proved, almost beyond a doubt, that many a man to whom French, Italian, or German, have come with the ready familiarity of a second mother tongue, has found—either from sheer inability or from a natural distaste—that the dialects of the east were to him as dissonant and Barbaric as they seemed to St. Jerome fourteen hundred years ago.

But we will now quit this somewhat prolix digression on the peculiar studies of the college, and turn to a more extended view in the landscape—that of the general education of the future civilian. Now it will hardly be disputed that the great aim of education for such a service must be two-fold—the general and the professional. We are not now going to indulge in high flown aspirations or extravagant hopes: we wish soberly and calmly to see what should be the best course of intellectual training for those whose opportunities of acquiring knowledge, when fairly started on their profession, must inevitably be short and interrupted. We wish therefore that the civilian should at first be educated *exactly as if destined to enter on any one of the liberal professions at home:* that his bias for classics or mathematics should be brought out to the furthest extent possible before the age of twenty. Joined to those pursuits, which from their vigorous discipline and intrinsic excellence, are rightly deemed the best preparation for any one particular branch—we are advocates for a considerable share of Historical reading and an enlarged view of the first principles of law. We are not now going to discuss the probability of the Company's institution at Hertford being done away, or the possibility of some other training ground being discovered. Whether educated at the university or under private tuition, at home or abroad, the aim should be one and the same. The various lines, from whatever barrier they have started, must converge in the end to one and the same point of sight. We would not so much wish for crack verse makers and embryo Porsons, but we would bargain for a certain and unfailing supply of sound practical men, who have lived in the past so as not to be forgetful of

the present, and in whom a knowledge drawn from the colder medium of books, harmonises with a clear, philanthropic, and practised judgment, and a matured view of Eastern Society and its component links. Such men would readily turn their attention to the mastering any one particular branch; and the general education, if not exactly complete, yet systematically conducted, might then with advantage be exchanged for the purely professional. History, especially that of India, would of course be comprehended in the general view, and all those books which treat of constitutional changes and the formation of social rights—which show up society in its various phases—which analyse its elements and explain its incidental dangers,—may be conned over with advantage from the politics of Aristotle to the commentaries of Blackstone. If men are systematically trained, we will willingly run the chance of a little pedantry or extravagance. For one visionary lost in utopian aspirations we should have a dozen good and able workmen, and for an ounce of intellectual dreaminess a far counterbalancing weight of disciplined and practical energy.

We will then suppose the European course to comprehend all the means and appliances of a liberal English education, and the claims of orientals must then be heard at length. We have ere this gone at some length into this debateable question, and still see no reason to reserve the eastern languages intact for their native soil. Whatever be the Government of India, some distinct qualification must always be demanded from the aspirant to the public service: and to render such a qualification of easy attainment, but at the same time to ensure a decent amount of knowledge, seems to be the just and laudable end of the eastern branch of education. With one of the learned and perhaps two of the vernacular languages commenced in England, we could ensure, in almost every instance, a satisfatory result at Bombay, Madras and Calcutta. The drudgery of the rudiments once surmounted, three hours a day without interruption, devoted to one of the vernacular tongues, would give in less than six months the amount required both by common sense and by statute:* and supposing the civilian to leave England at the age of twenty, he would be legally qualified soon after twenty-one, and all the defects of an over early arrival in the country, and of the incomplete state of his intellectual and physical training, would be at once and for ever removed.

This is not the place to speculate on the changes which may

* By this of course we mean as far as regards an examination on paper. Speaking a dialect, we must confess, seems a natural gift.

occur in our Indian policy at the expiration of the present charter. Whether the royal dynasty of Leadenhall-street shall continue to hold the reins, or shall resign them to a mightier power; whether appointments to the Civil Service shall be ministerial or directorial—some one general plan of education must be kept in view. The great dangers to be shunned are, an arrival in the country, when the faculties both of mind and body are still in the process of change, and a tedious delay at the Presidency after arrival. We care not whether Haileybury shall be made a fitting preparation for the Fort William College, or whether an examination at the India house shall only precede one before a Calcutta Committee. In either case the grand object must be one and the same. Nobody would think of allowing a clergyman the care of a parish, a surgeon that of a hospital, a barrister that of a client, or a midshipman that of a brig of war, before they had satisfied respectively their boards of examiners.* Yet the Civil Service of India is one which requires qualifications as distinct and as severely weighed as any of the above. We are almost afraid that we may seem to be fighting about established axioms when we attempt to show that for such a responsibility as the Civil Service, some one certain method must be pursued, congruent in all its stages, and conclusive in its aim. But as the inefficiency of the present system in bringing about anything like a general and comprehensive result, seems allowed, we have endeavoured to show what to us appears the only true plan of education for India,—one which, we are bound to state, might be easily attained with but a moderate reform, in the combined institutions of Haileybury and Fort William. In fact what we have been labouring to establish may be summed up as the education of an English gentleman with some little help from the learning of the Pandit and the Maulaví. We are no enemies to those extraneous accomplishments which tend to diversify the sameness of official routine. Let the antiquarian gather coins of the Mogul Emperors with the rust of a hundred years upon them; let the artist sketch Indian monuments and landscapes, and the naturalist classify every variety of bird from the pheasant of the hills to the common machranga of the tank. Let every opportunity be conceded to those healthy pursuits which the Englishman carries with him to every colony he founds. But whatever be the civilian's natural bias, we implore him to remember that he is placed, as indeed are all other Indian residents, in a situation where

* In three of the above there is a regular and searching examination. That of barristers has been said to consist in eating a certain number of dinners, but then no one gives them a brief until satisfied of their competency.

he may offend or aid, in an incalculable degree, the consciences of hundreds. Though his peculiar position may bar his speaking to the heathen in the language of one eager to win over proselytes, yet he may set before them an example more powerful than all pleading. If his tongue is withheld from the direct appeal to the half doubting native who rejects his own false creed for a heedless scepticism, he may still speak in the mute but convincing eloquence of a pure and blameless life. He can pour forth the accents, not perhaps of impassioned preaching, but of truth and justice, of benevolence and mercy, of genuine unostentatious liberality of heart. He can make an altar of his hearth, a pure domestic shrine of his household, and his Indian home the centering point of all his true English and Christian feelings.*

* In a passage which appears in a previous extract, page 94, allusion is made by the Governor-General to a public letter from the Court of Directors to Bengal, dated 25th May, 1793. In that letter the Directors stated their apprehensions respecting the existence of certain evils for which they were anxious to provide an effectual remedy. As the subject, in its spirit, accords with the strain of remark to which we were led in the text, and the statement of what *was*,—half a century ago,—may serve to furnish a favourable and pleasing contrast to what *is* now, we are tempted to furnish the following extracts from the Court's Public Letter:—

"Conceiving it a duty incumbent upon us to afford our civil and military servants, and all Christians living under our protection, professing the Protestant religion, the means of attending Divine service, in which we trust, those in superior stations will set the example, we most cheerfully acquiesce in your proposal for erecting chapels in the progressive manner pointed out in the 63d paragraph of the letter to which we are now replying, such edifices to be as plain and simple as possible, that all unnecessary expense may be avoided.

Having thus, as far as depends upon us, provided for the due observance of public worship on the sabbath-day, we cannot avoid mentioning the information we have received, that at the military stations it is no uncommon thing for the solemnity of the day to be broke in upon by horse-racing, whilst Divine worship, (for which the sabbath is especially enjoined to be set apart) is never performed at any of those stations, though chaplains are allotted to them. And we have now before us a printed horse-racing account, by which it appears that not less than eight matches were run at Chinsurah in one day, and that on a Sunday. We are astonished and shocked at this wide deviation from one of the most distinguishing and universal institutions of Christianity. We must suppose it to have been so gradual, that transitions from one step to another have been little observed; but the stage at which it is now arrived, if our information be true, must appear to every reasonable man, highly discreditable to our government, and totally incompatible with the religion we profess.

To preserve the ascendancy which our national character has acquired over the minds of the natives of India, must ever be of importance to the maintenance of the political power we possess in the East, and we are well persuaded that this end is not to be served either by a disregard of the external observances of religion, or by any assimilation to Eastern manners and opinions, but rather by retaining all the distinctions of our national principles, character and usages. The events which have recently passed in Europe, point out that the present is least of all the time in which irreligion should be promoted or encouraged; for with an attachment to the religion which we profess, is found to be intimately connected an attachment to our laws and constitution; besides which, it is calculated to produce the most beneficial effects in society; to maintain in it the peace, the subordination, and all the principles and practices on which its stability and happiness depend.

We therefore enjoin that all such profanations of the sabbath, as have been mentioned, be forbidden and prevented; and that Divine service be regularly performed, as in England every Sunday, at all the military stations; and all European officers and soldiers, unless hindered by sickness or actual duty, are to be required punctually to attend, for which such an hour is to be fixed as shall be most suitable to the climate. The chaplains are to be positively ordered to be regular and correct in the performance of their duty, and if any one of them neglect it, or by his conduct bring discredit on his profession, we direct that he be dismissed from our service.

It is on the qualities of our servants that the safety of the British possessions in India essentially depends; on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance and public spirit. We have seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples, and therefore cannot contemplate without alarm, the excessive growth of fashionable amusement and shew, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind, and impair its nobler qualities, to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, to confound the different orders in society, and to beget an aversion to serious occupations."

We feel that our province—that of the primary training of the civilian—must here find its legitimate boundary. We have brought him, and we hope in some safety, through the temptations of Haileybury and the trials which await him in his early residence in the land of his adoption. He has now obtained his *mokshа* from the thraldom of College, and must put in practice, in a wider and nobler sphere than England can boast, the maxims learnt and pondered over in the society of her wise men. But, in the spirit of true obedience to the laws of Manu the student no sooner quits the interior of his college than he hastens to assume the responsibilities of an householder: the vocation of the Brahmachari is rapidly exchanged for that of the Grihastha; and the young man of three and twenty hastens to set up his household gods and to become in his turn, the founder of a family. We shall not now stop to inquire how far the cultivation of the domestic affections is likely to increase or to ripen the utility of the public officer. It was one of the qualifications required from the members of the Areopagus that they should be fathers of families: that, while they sat in judgment over the delinquent against society, they should not be insensible to the influence of those kindly feelings which are only to be experienced in all their fulness around the circle of the family hearth. Neither shall we discuss the liabilities of the civilian in his high position, either as the father or the husband, or as the Christian judge over a population of heathen. But we firmly believe that no ties formed at the altar of domestic happiness will be found, if rightly used, to weaken or mar the energy of the servant of Government, or that the rule exercised in the confined circle of a household, need necessarily clash with the more enlarged jurisdiction of the magistrate. It might even be argued with show of reason that he who best understands the management of a house, would also best infuse into his jurisdiction over thousands that judicious amount of rigour and kindness, of severity and relaxation, which seems well adapted to the present condition of the cultivator of Indian soil. But with this argument or with the future prospects of the civilian we have now nothing to do: we have brought him to the field of his operations, and we there leave him with the confidence that an honorable career and a certain reward must attend on his steady and continued exertions.

ART. III.—1. *A few notes on the Terai of Rohilkund, by T. H. Batten, Esq.*

2. *Documents relating to the Rohilkund Canal. Allahabad Presbyterian Mission Press.*

THE agricultural population of our Upper Provinces is but yet recovering, from the effects of the famine of 1838. The miseries of that sad year are still fresh in the recollection of those who had opportunities of witnessing them; and it is gratifying to know, that in those of our provinces most adapted to artificial irrigation, such remedial measures are being adopted as will in the course of time, as far as human measures can avail, prevent the repetition of such calamities.

To those who have turned their attention to the subject, the gigantic hydraulic works now progressing in the Doab, must afford great interest. The Ganges, perilous of navigation, useless in irrigation, and dear to the Hindu as much from mythological association as its intrinsic utility, is about to undergo a mighty revolution; and the hard toiling peasant, when he sees its fertilizing water-courses rippling over lands hitherto all but barren, will bless the power under whose guidance such beneficent changes have been effected. Disastrous and costly wars for a time diverted the resources of the country from their legitimate end,—the improvement of the country itself. But, with the cessation of those mournful gazettes, which tell us of victory only to plunge us into sorrow, we may confidently hope for brighter days, for improvement in civilization, for increase of the comfort and happiness of those whose comfort and happiness are in so great a measure entrusted to us.

It has been said, somewhat erroneously, that were we to leave the country to-morrow, we should leave no work of public utility behind us, that could entitle us to the name of a great nation. Surely the Delhi and Doab Canals will bear an advantageous comparison with the great works of Firoze Shah and "his hundred* aqueducts and reservoirs." When the operations now in progress, however, shall have been carried out, not a shadow of a stigma can remain, and we shall be as renowned as benefactors to the country, as we are now famed as its conquerors.

Whilst maturing the schemes for the irrigation of the Doab, the attention of the Government has been frequently attracted

* Mill's History, B. III. C. III.

to Rohilkund; and a volume of Reports on the subject has been lately published by the Revenue Board. It will be well indeed, if we can even at this late hour, in some measure expiate our share in the tragedy of 1774, and with the great means at our disposal, carry out some plan of irrigation, which shall suffice for the wants of the present inhabitants, even though it may fail in raising the country to its former state.

The Garden of India, as it was harmoniously termed by Burke in his celebrated oration, is indeed singularly adapted to artificial irrigation; and a cursory glance at the map would at once lead one to the conclusion, that a country so intersected with streams must afford uncommon advantages to its cultivators. Were it not for the over-whelming power of the torrents that descend from the Himalaya during the rainy season, this would indeed be the case. So sudden, however, is their appearance, so great their volume, and so irresistible their force, that the inventive genius of this simple people is quite unable to cope with them. Each fresh, or Raas, or flood, violently sweeps away the clumsy works so vainly opposed to it; and the cessation of the rains sees the peasantry patiently restoring their ruined dams, and clearing out their choked up water-courses, to be again ruined, and again choked up, by the first flood that shall descend from the mountains above.

The effect of these annual disruptions of pent up waters, added to that of the mountain floods, has been so great, that broad tortuous and very deep channels have gradually taken the place (in the upper part of the district where the slope of the country is great) of moderately sized river beds; whilst lower down, where the slope of the country is less, we find very broad ill defined sandy beds, constantly shifting in position and direction, over which the floods wander unrestrained,—ruining the cultivation, disfiguring the country, and requiring not a little science, as well as capital, to render them at all useful.

Under these circumstances we must be prepared to find such parts of the country as are entirely dependent on artificial irrigation, gradually diminishing in prosperity. Many tracts are, it is true, still very fertile; but the dams become annually more difficult to construct; unserviceable and ruined water-courses constantly cross the traveller's path; and where large estates, or even single villages have fallen into waste, the neighbouring inhabitants can distinctly trace their ruin, either to the river from which they derived their water having become too wide and difficult for them to embank, or from some swamp having been formed by their ignorance or want of means, harbouring such numerous wild beasts, and causing such mortality

by disease, as to compel the wretched inhabitants to seek some more favored spot.

The rivers of Rohilkund may be divided into four classes. First, the Ganges, and Saardah, Kali or Gogra, whose sources lie amidst the eternal snows of the Himalaya. The Ganges bounds the province to the South and West, and the Saardah, skirting it for a short distance on the East, passes through Oude in a South Easterly direction, and falls into the Ganges, 35 miles above the town of Dinapore,—encreasing its already vast volume by some 4000 feet per second. Even the Affghan energy failed in rendering the Saardah useful in irrigation. To bind the Ganges to the will of man, was reserved for European genius and skill.

Secondly, we have those rivers that have their origin in the hills, but are not swelled by the melting of the snows in April and May. Such are the Ramgunga and Kosilla,—the latter again a tributary to the former, and joining it some 20 miles from Moradabad. Where the Ramgunga issues from the hills at Kalagurh, are yet extant the ruins of an old water-course, which is reported to have been constructed by the Affghans, in the latter part of last century, probably whilst sheltering themselves at the foot of the hills, after some of their reverses. It has long fallen into disuse. It was apparently 15 or 20 feet broad, and as far as we are enabled to form an opinion, the water was raised by a wear of stones and grass or wood. This wear must have been carried away whenever it rained heavily in the hills above, and the necessary repairs were doubtless very troublesome.

The Kosilla has been long, and is now, though in a very unsatisfactory way, made available for irrigation at the point where it devouches from the hills near Chilkía. The bed of the river there is immensely broad, as is indeed generally the case in this part of the country; though, except during floods, or in the rains, the actual channel rarely exceeds 100 feet in breadth. Across this, between the months of October and June, a simple wear of stakes and grass is thrown. A great part of the water escapes through and over this wide fabric: out of some 300 feet a second, however, 80 remain behind, and are employed in irrigating a few villages belonging to some wretched Búksas.

The third class of rivers consists of such as rise in the lower mountains, and contain a supply of from 100 to 250 feet discharge per second, on leaving them. The shingly bed, however, over which they have to travel, entirely absorbs them, before they have proceeded on their way above three miles; and,

for a distance varying from 10 to 15 miles, their bed remains perfectly dry except during the rainy season. At the termination of this distance, springs are seen oozing from the surface; a rivulet is gradually formed, and with the assistance of tributary nullahs and abundant springs, they soon re-acquire their original volume. These were originally one great source of the prosperity of the country. The Koh, the Kitcha, the Dewa, and Kylas all bear marks of having been, for many years, more or less extensively used in irrigation. Time, however, and the frequent breaking of the dams, have so increased the dimensions of the work necessary to raise the water, that they have been in great measure given up. The consequences to the prosperity of the country have been such as were naturally to be expected.

The fourth class of rivers, and the last to be mentioned, consists of the streams or rivulets, which find their origin in the plain, where, as before mentioned, springs are seen oozing from the clay in the forest; they are very numerous, and are at present almost the only source of artificial irrigation: but although not subject to the impetuosity of the mountain floods, heavy rain and the great slope of the country prove frequently too powerful for the simple earthen dams, and they have generally to be rebuilt at the end of the rains. These frequent accidents, moreover, have so deepened their channels, and enlarged their beds, that it is not uncommon to find four or five hundred Rupees annually expended on a work, that, fifty years ago, would not have required one-tenth of the expense.

That artificial irrigation attracted the attention of the rulers of India at a very early period, we have sufficient proof both in the code of Manu and the institutes of Timur. In the former we find "the breaker of a dam to secure a pool, let the king punish by long immersion under water. Chapter IX. 279." There can be no doubt but that, if persevered in long enough, this mode of punishment must have been effectual. The conqueror appears in a more amiable light: "and I ordained whoever undertook the cultivation of waste lands, or built an aqueduct, or made a canal, or planted a grove, or restored to culture a deserted district, that in the first year nothing should be taken from him, and that in the second year whatever the subject voluntarily offered should be received, and that in the third year the duties should be collected according to the regulations." It were vain to hope to find among the few musty records, spared from the many scenes of destruction they have been exposed to, or the legendary lore and oral tradition of the country, any thing approaching to succint detail. Some

fragments, however, are to be found here and there; and from them we shall select a few, which, coming as they do from a trust-worthy source, call up visions of ancient prosperity and magnificence, which, with all our riches and science and philanthropy, we can never hope to arrive at.

Mr. Batten, Senior Assistant to the Commissioner of Kumaon, has been at some pains to collect data regarding the condition of the Terai, whilst under the Kumaon Rajahs. His position afforded him great facilities for carrying out such a task; and he has turned them to account by drawing up "a few notes on the subject of the Rohilkund Terai," which only leave room for regret that the author has not been able to proceed further in his interesting and cleverly detailed researches.

If we are to believe the Puharís, their dominions extended in olden days, no less far than the Jumna;—but we prefer quoting our author, "The dynasty, called Kuttúra, is the earliest known to have reigned in Kumaon. The Rajahs of its line are said to have been of the Súruj Bunsí origin, and they have been clothed by the imagination of the Puharís with almost divine attributes, while the extension of their authority to Delhi and Kanouj in the plains, and from Mundí to Sikkim in the Hills, is confidently assumed as a matter of fact; the whole race appears to have become utterly extinct, but at what time and in what manner no one can tell, and in fact the whole history is lost in the greatest obscurity. * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"From the account above given, it will at once be seen that the dynasty of which we are now speaking was of lowland origin, and that no signs of an aboriginal extraction are visible in its remains. As before the Mahommedan conquest of India, the rulers of a region so illustrious in the Shastras as the Himalaya mountains, being also by their position masters of the sacred sites at the various sources of the Ganges, may be supposed to have held rank equal with, if not superior to, the Rajahs of *Kuttair*, a country between the mountains and the Ganges now called Rohilkund: and as, after the establishment of the Mahommedan empire in Hindustan, the Kumaon Rajahs were found in hereditary possession of the Terai by a tenure quite independent of any grant from lowland potentates, I see no reason for doubting that the Terai, through its whole extent, formed an integral part of the Kuthúra Kumaon Raj. That it also formed an important point may be assumed from the almost absolute necessity still existing, that a large portion of plain country should, if not attached to the hills, be at least available for the annual resort of the Puharís and their cattle, an occupancy

which under native rulers could hardly be maintained without an actual right of property in the soil, and actual separate possession thereof by the Hill powers, and from analogies drawn from the late and existing feeling in Nepal in regard to the tract at its base. Beyond this all is conjecture." * * *

Shadowy forms of heaven-born chieftainship, with might and magnificence beyond all telling, rise up here before the would-be Historian of the past; and when he endeavours to compare the ruins of the past with the poverty of the present, and to seek for some cause for so apparent an incongruity in the natural succession of events, the hopelessness of the task must soon force itself on him, nor will he long endeavour to connect a chain of which so many links are wanting.

The Kuttúras were succeeded by the Kussia Raj, a state of anarchy which endured for some 13 or 14 generations. Numerous petty chiefs raised themselves to independence, and fought and conquered, and were in their turn overcome as our Barons of old. This must have gone far to devastate the country. But the history of the times is buried in profound obscurity.

We next come to the Chund dynasty, in the person of Sam Chund, said to have come from the village of Júsi in Allahabad in or about 1178. Passing however over the few first generations of this race, we arrive at last at the fact, that—

"Rúder Chund, son and successor of Rajah Kullean Chund, who removed the capital from Chumpanut to Almorah, and built that city in 1563, was a contemporary of the Emperor Akbar, and in the course of his reign of 28 years made frequent visitations to the Terai, and not to leave himself without record in the land, became the founder of Rúderpúr." By this time the extensive lowland dominions of the Kumaon Rajahs, had become wofully circumscribed. We have it however on undoubted authority, that Rúder Chund found himself in undisturbed possession of the following Muhals:

1	Suhujgor,	now called	Tuspúr.
2	Kashipúra,	„	Kashípúr.
3	Múndia,	„	Bazpúr.
4	Guddurpúra,	„	Guddurpúr.
5 & 6	Búksas,	„	Rúderpúr. / Kilpúri.
7	Buheshu,	„	Narukmuttah.
8 & 9	Chinki,	„	Bilheru. / Surbna.

"This whole tract, which is exclusive of the upper Bhabur near the hills, of which I shall have to speak hereafter, was called

Chourassi Mal and *Nou bakia Mal*; Mal being then as now the Hill term for the Low country. The former name was derived from the size of the territory, which was reckoned 84 coss in length, the latter name from the mal or nominal revenue of the country, viz. nine lakhs. * * * * * * * * * * * * * * *

"Fourth in descent from Rúderchund, we find Tremulchund, Rajah of Kumaon between the years 1125 and 1138 A. D. During part of this period, the Terai is stated to have attained a high degree of prosperity, and to have actually yielded nine lakhs of Rupees from various sources of revenue to the Hill treasury."

Baz Bahadúr Chund was even more successful than his predecessors. By the aid of the Nawab Russum Khan, he expelled from his territories the Kuttair Chiefs, who during the reign of Tremulchund, committed constant depredations. It is said that "every Bigah of ground was cultivated, and that the construction and repairs of bridges, bunds and water courses, was diligently cared for by the officers of Government."

Thus then it would appear that the term *garden of India* was not so totally missapplied even to this part of the district, and the excellent sources of information, which have been open to the compiler of the above "notes," justify us in inferring from them, that during the 17th century the Terai enjoyed a high state of prosperity, and that it was not in those days subject to the malaria which at present depopulates it.

We would fain follow our author closely in his interesting researches, but the necessary limits to a paper such as we are now writing forbid us. Passing over then some fifty years, the accompanying table gives us a tolerable idea of the state of affairs in the Terai in the year 1744.

Table of Revenue statistics in the Munis Purgunnahs of Kumaon, for the year 1744 A. D.

Name of Pergunnahs.	Rubi Harvest.	Khurrif Harvest.	Kurch Purbi (Holidays.)	Raccha.	Saer miscellaneous.	Gaming Tax.	Tika Nuzerana.	Fruit Tax.	Total annual Jumma.
Kashípúr, ..	100,000	100,000	5,500	474	20,000	713	500	1,001	228,189
Rúderpúr, ..	30,000	60,000	2,750	303	10,000	352	251	700	124,356
Bilheru and Surbna...	25,000	20,000	1,675	208	25,000	172	150	500	72,706
Total,	175,000	180,000	9,925	985	55,000	1,237	901	2,201	425,251

We see here, it is true, but four pergunnahs instead of the nine enumerated some pages back, and a revenue of above four lakhs, in lieu of the boasted *nine*. The present rent-roll, however, under our enlightened rule, makes but a sorry figure in comparison with it.

Table of the Jummas for the above mentioned Pergunnahs according to the last settlement:—

Kashipur,	.....	47,936
Ruderpur,	.....	22,550
Bilheru,	.....	7,000
Surbna,	.....	67,000

Pergunnah Surbna alone has held its own, and the circumstances under which it has done so, are worthy of notice.

The atrocities of the freebooter Bujha Sing, form the subject of many an evening's tale in this part of the country. He flourished, if we may so term it, about 1820-25, and by his exactions and cruelty, literally depopulated the pergunnah. Regular troops were on many occasions sent in pursuit of him, but his intelligence always enabled him to evade them; a contingent was kept up for the purpose of checking his depredations, but it is hinted that he bribed the chiefs into connivance. Treachery, however, at last prevailed, and one of his two attendant Brahmans betrayed him.

"Leave this unlucky spot," said the faithful one, "I have seen drops of blood fall from the Heaven."

"True," said the traitor, "but the danger is in moving, let us rather remain." He did so; from three different directions the troops were closing upon him; and in a few hours Bujha Singh was no more.

The Pergunnah, in the mean time, reduced to the lowest state, had been given over to 5 or 6 respectable men, on a very small but increasing Jumma, subject to no condition, but that of keeping an armed force in readiness, to oppose Bujha Sing and similar depredators. From the moment of his death, affairs took a prosperous turn, and it is now a well cultivated, thriving, and healthy pergunnah; whereas, as stories go, "the big feathers dropped from the very birds as they flew over it," previous to this happy change.

Now it is necessary to remark here, that Pergunnah Surbna and the Eastern part of the Terai, which not only has held its own, but has greatly thriven under our rule, differ instrinsically from those parts which have within the last 60 years shewn a rapid deterioration. In the former there is little or no artificial irrigation: there are in fact no rivers available

for it, and we are, in consequence, led to the conclusion that the absence of the evils caused by the primitive and inefficient system of irrigation employed in the ruined Pergunnahs, has materially influenced its prosperity.

From the date of the last table but one, namely 1744, all obscurity in a great measure ceases. We have it on the most clear and undoubted authority, that Rohilkund presented at that time a rare picture amongst eastern nations—that of a well-governed country, enjoying a high degree of agricultural prosperity, and undisturbed by intestine commotions. It was not long to remain so.

The Subadar of Oude cast a greedy eye on the fruitful possessions of his neighbours, and from that moment they knew no peace. It is a matter of history, how gallantly the Rohillas resisted their enemies, how the Mahrattas poured their swarms of predatory horse over the devoted country, and lastly, how a British force was called in to give the death blow to a nation, the very "head and front of whose offending" was that they would be free. During this period the Terai rather prospered than otherwise. The terrified cultivators left that part of the country, which lay exposed to the frequent inroads of their persecutors and fled to the comparative security of the Terai. Even the Rohilla chiefs, during that long and bloody struggle, not unfrequently sought a temporary shelter at the foot of the hills, where they were generally hospitably received by the Kumaonis. We find, accordingly, in the present almost uninhabitable parts of the Terai, old brick kilns, mango groves, tombs, and other works of civilization, ruins of considerable water-courses, and traces of old dams, said to have been constructed at that time; whilst the oral tradition of the country tells us that about that period the Terai was by no means an undesirable residence, either owing to malaria, or any other cause.

Mr. Batten dates the severance of the Terai from Kumaon at about 1764.

It was in the year 1774 that Nundram, the Agent of the Kumaon Govt. in the Terai surrendered his charge to the Nuwab Ozaph Ud Dowlah, on the condition of his being allowed to remain as viceroy. His nephew Sib Lall was found in power there, on our taking possession of the country in 1801.

Traitor though he was, Nundram appears to have been a wise and beneficent Governor; and it is certain that his name is yet mentioned in the Terai, with respect and affection. He took great interest in the irrigation of the country, and works of his are yet extant. The axe, however, had been for

some time at the root of the prosperity of this part of the country, and a Utopian Government alone could have saved it. The destruction of the Rohilla power, and the anarchy and confusion that at this period universally prevailed, led to the formation of numerous banditti; and the forests of the Bhabur and glens of the lower Himalaya offering them such secure refuge, as to enable them to bafile all pursuit, the black mail system was adopted, and carried to such an extent, as to ruin in a great measure the minor cultivators.

The battle of Futtehgunge (1774) annihilated the Rohilla power; and with the death of Hafiz Rehmut Khan, who fell gallantly heading his troops, the whole country fell into the hands of the Nuwab Vizier. The consequent cessation of Mahratta inroads, as well as of that constant warfare that had for so many years desolated the country, soon brought back to their early homes those who had been driven to emigrate to the edge of the forest. Combining this circumstance with the constantly increasing difficulty of damming up the rivers, we are no longer at a loss to account for some falling off in the population and revenue.

From 1801, the commencement of the British rule in Rohilkund, till 1805, little notice appears to have been taken of the Terai Pergunnahs. Sib Lall, Nundram's nephew, was at that time turned out of the management for non-payment of revenue, and a settlement was made with individuals. It would exceed our limits to draw up a statement of the several settlements in each purgunnah. We shall select, however, Ruderpur and Gudderpur, as having been brought most prominently forward in the printed reports, and give a slight sketch of their gradual decline.

In 1805, Ruderpur and Gudderpur were settled with individuals at 37,000 and 10,700 Rupees respectively—in 1816, the nominal Jummas had risen to 60,800 and 32,200. It was nevertheless considered advisable to farm them to Rajah Lal Sing for 40,200 and 21,200 Rupees. Two years subsequently a new settlement was made with Mokuddums, and in 1822, the Jummas had risen to 42,200 and to 25,600. A break-down then took place, and Mr. Boulderson made a settlement with individuals, reducing the Jummas from 47,200 to 33,000 and from 25,600 to 14,000. In 1824, Mr. Boulderson revised this settlement, raising it a trifle, and this held good till 1830. By that time the greater part of the villages had reverted into Government hands, and a new settlement was effected, partly with Kam Tehsillu, and partly with individuals, in which the Jummas were reduced to 28,000 and 8,700. Even this would not

answer, however, and in 1834, Mr. Conolly made the greater part of these pergunnahs over to Rajah Guman Sing of Kashipur for 22,100 and 5,900.

The settlement now awaiting the sanction of the Board of Revenue, is for 22,550 and 5,096, of which 12,973 is paid by Rajah Suraj Sing, and the remainder by some Patan families, who, despite of the unhealthiness of the climate, have brought their villages into a very fair state of cultivation, and would willingly take up more land, could they procure it free of dependence on the Rajah Suraj Sing, to whose authority, or rather to whose Karindas, insolence and extortions, they cannot make up their mind to submit.

This sketch of the affairs of the Terai, however disjointed and brief, is we think sufficient to shew, that in olden times this part of the country was tolerably well cultivated, whilst the following extract from Mr. Batten's notes, tends no less to prove, that it could not have been a very unhealthy, or undesirable residence.

"Purtaub Sing indeed informs me, that even until so late a period as 1815, when the march of the British troops to the hills, combined with other visitations, more especially banditti, harassed the inhabitants by requisitions and losses of all kinds, that place could boast of 1,200 Brinjarris with their equipage, 200 hackeries and their owners, 200 weavers, and 700 families of Chamars, Kumars, Lohars, etc., in addition to a large agricultural population, and the numerous occasional followers of his father, and uncle, with other exiles from the hills."

In juxtaposition with this, let us place the following extract from Bishop Heber's Journal, vol. ii, page 157.

"He (Mr. Boulderson) answered, that not the monkeys only but every thing which had the breath of life, instinctively deserts them (the forest and Terai) from the beginning of April to October. The tigers go up into the hills, the antelopes and wild hogs make incursions into the cultivated plains; and those persons, such as dawk bearers, or Military officers, who are obliged to traverse the forest in the intervening months, agree that not so much as a bird can be heard or seen, in that frightful solitude."

Ruderpur is itself at present a heap of ruins; the emaciated and squalid appearance of its few inhabitants is painful to behold—and the mortality amongst the Police establishment, which it is unfortunately necessary to keep there, exceeds all belief. Mr. Batten attributes the ruin of this place, partly to the erection of a market at Hulduani, near the foot of the hills, whither all the hill trade of that part of the country has

been removed—Hulduanibeing more conveniently situated for the Puharis,—and partly to a dam, some 18 feet high, that the Nuwab of Rampore built across the river Bhyúl twenty-five years ago, at a point about three miles below Ruderpur. The result of this dam has been, an immense reservoir, and a great deal of swamp,—the natural line of drainage of the country being thus entirely closed: and it is universally allowed by all the old inhabitants of this part, that the unhealthiness of Ruderpur commenced immediately after the construction of the said dam.

Mr. Bird, then member of the Revenue Board, made a tour of inpection in 1838, both through the Terai and the Kumaon hills. Whilst travelling through an unfrequented part of the forest, his attention was attracted by several human skeletons bound to the trunks of trees. He enquired into the cause, and learnt that they were the remains of some hackery drivers, who after being plundered of all they possessed, had been left to starve in that situation by dacoits. A further enquiry into the state of crime in the district, elicited such tales of horror and lawlessness, as almost to exceed credibility, and he wrote a minute on the subject that ensured the adoption of immediate remedial measures. Mr. Williams, Joint Magistrate of Pillibhit, was appointed in March 1838, to organize a body of police, to check this state of things, and the system that energetic officer introduced was singularly successful.

The three principal things to be guarded against, were dacoity, cattle stealing, and highway robbery; and it was ascertained that the chief perpetrators of these crimes were not resident in the Terai. In cases of dacoity they assembled generally at Rampur, and arranged a meeting at some known spot in the forest, near to the point of their proposed attack. Immediately on succeeding in their object they retired to the depths of the forest, and from thence took their booty to Rampur, where it was divided. Cattle stealers and highway robbers, were not always quite so systematic, on account of their acting in smaller bodies. Rampur however was their place of refuge, and when once there, they were safe. It became, therefore, necessary to throw a cordon of police officers along the frontier as a primary step. This was done;—posts, varying in strength from 4 to 10 men, were placed at every three or four miles along the frontier; Chokies were established on all the principal lines of traffic; and a patroling Darogah, with four and twenty suwars, was entertained for general duties.

On the occurrence of any crime, the alarm was given, and passed along the line with great rapidity; the whole were on the alert, and it became next to impossible for any body of men

loaded with booty or encumbered with cattle, to pass the line unobserved. In case of the criminals seeking refuge in the forest, they were beat up and hunted out like game. So successful was the plan, that Dacoity was at once reduced from twenty-five cases annually to none; and cattle stealing and highway robbery were limited to a few isolated cases. It is indeed but lately, that the extreme rarity of crime in the upper Terai attracted the notice of the Board; and whatever influence the terrors of banditti may have originally had in this part of the country, they have long ceased to exist;—whilst the Rampur cattle stealers have dwindled from a daring and powerful tribe to a few miserable and half dead wretches, upon whose pilfering desires a well-founded dread of the Bareilly Jail mills, and the Almorah prison, exercise a very salutary influence.

We now turn to the volume of printed reports. Mr. Halhed, Collector of Moradabad, in the year 1824, drew the attention of Government to the artificial irrigation of his district; and Col. Colvin, of the Engineers, then Capt. Colvin, Superintendent of Canals at Delhi, received instructions to inquire into the subject. Col. Colvin limited his enquiries to the Northern division of Moradabad, (now Bijnore) and particularly to the rivers Kho and Gharghan. He suggested the present Nugginah Canal, and proposed several expedients for the irrigation of the district. This system however was only intended to be applicable to the rubbi crop, and the early sowings of the khurrif: all dams and sluices were to be open during the rainy season, and thus the rice and even sugar-cane crops were by no means ensured.

"On the approach of the rainy season, the whole of these steepers and gates are to be removed, leaving the floods to escape by the natural bed of the river, over which a good bridge will still remain, giving an uninterrupted passage over the stream in that season, which does not exist now. The entire opening of these during the rains, we look on as indispensable; but with attention on the part of the executive officer in charge, it may be so regulated as not to be done till actually on the point of being required—the last waters being given to saturate the lands intended for the khurrif crop to admit of their being ploughed, dressed and sown, in readiness for the first rains."

Now subsequent experience has taught us, that it is chiefly for the khurrif crop, that artificial irrigation is required in this part of the country; and the principal reason that the Nugginah Canal has hitherto given so small a return, is, that the Zemindars do not require water, and will not take it for the rubbi.

Capt. Anderson was appointed to carry out Col Colvin's plan, and estimates were prepared and sanctioned for the present Nugginah Canal, and the work was completed chiefly under the superintendence of Lieut. Spitta.

It is vain to attempt denying that this little watercourse has, as far as returns are concerned, been hitherto a failure; and as this fact has formed a specious argument, why no further measures should be adopted, it may be as well to investigate the causes of it.

Firstly. The great call for water in this country is, as we have before mentioned, during the rainy season generally; and as it was not originally intended to make use of the land at that time of the year, no means were taken to ensure a constant supply of water.

Secondly. The point on the river Kho near the hills, from which it was expected to draw part of the supply, proved on further examination to be impracticable (owing to a change that had taken place in the bed of the river) and moreover dry, from the middle of March.

Thirdly. The levels were in some parts erroneously laid down, and the slope of the bed was insufficient, the result of which has been that it is difficult to get a fair quantity of water down the Canal, without its overflowing its banks,—and the stream being sluggish, the bed is constantly getting choked up with aquatic weeds.

Fourthly. Whereas the work itself was estimated at 30,000 Rupees, the cost of superintendence was calculated at and amounted to 20,000 more: and owing to the officer in charge having no other works on hand amongst which his salary might be divided, the monthly bills of this insignificant little work, amounted to nearly 600 Rs. exclusive of annual repairs.

Fifthly. The officer nominally in charge, being directed to turn his whole attention towards the drawing up a project for a Canal on a more extensive scale from the river Ramgunga, the whole of the task of collection and personal superintendence fell on an overseer, who, though an honest and well intentioned man, became so unpopular from his rough and uncourteous manners, that the good intentions of Government in constructing the work were in a great measure frustrated; and the Lieut. Governor, in passing through the district in 1844-45, found it to be an endless source of complaint and vexation.

But little time was lost in remedying this state of affairs. The obnoxious overseer was removed, and the collections and general superintendence were entrusted to the revenue authorities; whilst the repairs, or such of them as involved any diffi-

culty, were made over to the Superintendent of Embankments in Rohilkund,—a new appointment made at the same time. The monthly expenses are thus reduced to less than 100 Rupees per month; the Zemindars are well pleased with the new arrangements; and there is fair reason for expecting, under these arrangements, a rapid increase in the demand for water, and a remunerating profit on the sum expended on the work.

It was apparently by no means the intention of the Government, to rest satisfied with the construction of the Nugginah Canal alone; and we find accordingly that Captain Anderson was employed during the cold weather of 1840-41, in examining the ground and taking preliminary observations, for the drawing up of projects for Canals from the Ramgunga and Kosilla rivers. The estimates were sent in during the ensuing hot weather, and both Military and Revenue Boards were not a little captivated at the golden promise held out to them. The Ramgunga Canal, with a head supply of water of 450 feet per second, was to cost two lakhs of Rupees, and yield a net revenue of above 60,000.

Captain Anderson was shortly removed to a higher class of appointments. Captain Durand, and then Lieutenent Turnbull who succeeded, remaining but a very short time, had their time fully occupied in superintending the completion of the Nugginah Canal.

Lieutenant Jones is the next in order, and his detailed project and estimate for a Canal from the Ramgunga is dated April 1842. The line, as also the starting point selected by this officer, differed a little from those proposed by Captain Anderson. Major Abbott, and Captain Cautley, however, appear to have approved of it.

Lieutenant Jones' estimate amounts to about three lakhs of Rupees, whilst an additional 26,000 for increasing the waterway of some of the principal dams is left to the decision of the Military Board. The gross returns are calculated at 75,000, and the net income at 51,600. The Military Board directed Captain Cautley to report upon the project, as far as an inspection of the plans and field books could enable him. Captain Cautley proposes several important additions, and increases the estimate to four lakhs of Rupees, and the gross returns to 87,000. The Military Board were strongly opposed to the project and to Captain Cautley's opinion.

"The expense (say they) of keeping this Canal in order will, in our opinion, more than equal the revenue derived from it." Between two so widely differing opinions, it would be difficult to decide without a very minute investigation, and an intimate

knowledge of the country. It is, moreover, hardly necessary, for Lord Ellenborough, shortly after his arrival, put a stop to all operations connected with the irrigation of Rohilkund, placed Lieutenant Jones at the disposal of the Commander-in-Chief, and thus set the question at rest.

Captain Anderson, along with his project for the Ramgunga Canal, sent in a second plan, for a Canal from the Kosilla or Kosí, which was to cost 126,000 Rupees, and yield a net return of about 35,000 Rupees. According to Lieutenant Jones' estimates the artificial falls alone would have cost 115,000, and the project was, in consequence, immediately abandoned.

The great difference between Captain Anderson's and Lieutenant Jones' estimates, may appear startling at first, but it must be remembered, that Captain Anderson's was merely a rough calculation founded on a cursory examination, and very imperfect data, whereas Lieutenant Jones had abundance of opportunity and means to obtain accurate surveys and sections of the whole tract of country in question.

All further investigations of the subject were directed by Lord Ellenborough to be discontinued from the 1st of May 1843; during the succeeding cold weather, however, Lieutenant Jones had completed a survey of the upper part of the Kosilla, under the direction of the Commissioner, Mr. Conolly, and made a tour through the principal Terai pergunnahs, for the purpose of investigating and reporting on their capabilities, and drawing out some plan for their improvement.

The result, or final report on the Canal Irrigation of Rohilkund, is dated the 29th April, 1843. Lieut. Jones gives in it a general description of the Terai, shews the defects of the present system of irrigation, and attributes to it, in part, the unhealthiness of the climate, and great increase of wild beasts, (deer and pigs.) He recommends that the whole be placed under an engineer officer, whose duties would consist in the distribution of water according to the Rukba of each Zemindar; prevention of the waste which now takes place, and putting a stop to the formation of swamps; assisting the Zemindars to improve and strengthen by piling, etc., their earthen dams, and preventing by embankments and small sluices, the annual inundations that at present occur; assisting the Zemindars in laying out watercourses in favorable lines; proposing from time to time such works, as may appear necessary, requiring a Tuqdarí from Government; and lastly adopting such measures as might be pronounced advisable, to collect and turn to account the water hitherto wasted in the upper line of swamps, by means of draining, according to Mr. Elkington's system.

The general description of the Terai is brief, and we give it in the writer's words:—

"Rohilkund may be considered to consist of three belts or zones. The Bhabur or forest, the Terai, and the Deise or plains.

The upper of these divisions, the Bhabur, extends from the foot of the hills to the termination of the forest, and varies in breadth from 10 to 20 miles. The slope of the ground varies from 50 to 17 feet per mile, diminishing rapidly after the first few miles. The cultivation is very limited, extending only to the immediate vicinity of rivers issuing from the hills. The Puharis have generally seized upon these spots, and as by frequent irrigation they can grow excellent wheat there, and they pay very little to Government, they find it very lucrative. * * * With the exception of the clearings above mentioned, the Bhabur is a dense forest, intersected frequently by the broad shingly beds of Raas, and clotted with occasional patches, free from trees, but covered with very high thick grass. No water being found at a considerable depth below the surface, and the soil consisting of from nine inches to three feet of sandy mould, over a substratum of coarse shingle, there appears but very little ground for expecting an increase of cultivation in the upper part of the Bhabur, except about the present clearings."

A large proportion of the Kumaon Puharis, at least such as are not very distant from the plains, migrate to the upper part of the Terai during the cold months, as they themselves say *dúp seekna* (to bask in the sun). They take with them their families and cattle, and they leave but one or two old women in each village, to look after the growing crops, and take care of their houses. They employ themselves either in tending cattle and making ghee, which finds an excellent market, or in cultivating those lands, which lie immediately at the foot of the hills, and in the vicinity of the second or third class rivers. The method of irrigation is well adapted to circumstances, though wasteful. A course wear of stakes and grass is thrown across the stony bed of the river, raising the water to a height of 2½ or 3 feet. From this little reservoir, narrow Canals are cut in steps, along the shingly and perpendicular banks of the river, and the slope of the ground being about 50 feet in a mile, the water finds its way without difficulty. These little Canals are subject to frequent injury, and even to destruction, by the floods. The assessment of the land however is so light, and the mustard and wheat crops are so very valuable, that the farmer would willingly undertake a total renewal of his works, rather than run the risk of leaving his right unclaimed for a day.

The quarrels and heart-burnings on the subject of water-right, in these pretty little spots are constant, and the result is, that much water is wasted, and according to Lieut. Jones' account, good management and efficient superintendence would produce an increase on the present cultivation of 100 per cent. Mr. Batten in a recent settlement has attempted to lay the foundation of a better system. The task however is by no means easy, owing to the rights that the farmers may be considered to have in their possession of the heads of rivers, and the unwillingness of Government to interfere with such rights; time and perseverance however may do much; and the next settlement (in 5 years hence) will probably effect considerable improvement.

It is beyond a doubt, that these clearings have a considerable effect in rendering the climate less dangerous, and if cultivation could be introduced on each side of the roads, from Kaludagnu and Bummonru, to the edge of the forest, the difficulty of communication between the plains and the hills in the rainy season, would be diminished. This however it would be vain to expect; Lieut. Jones, in his report, only holds out a possibility of an increase at *Huldocaru*, *i.e.* the Bummonru road, of 9,000 acres, and Kaludangu is very similarly situated.

The fact of the little revenue derived from these clearings, and the little actual benefit which they at present produce save to a few rich Puharis, has on several occasions led to an idea that it would be better to take possession of the streams, where they issue from the hills, in the name of Government,—lead them by an artificial watercourse through the forest,—and make them over to the Zemindars lower down. The abstract justice of depriving the Puharis of their ancestral possessions, however they may misuse them, seems to have been in a great measure overlooked by the advocates of this measure, and equally so the possibility of its entire failure. The lesser rivers, as we have already mentioned, sink into the shingle shortly after leaving the hills, and are entirely absorbed within two or three miles. To what extent this absorption would take place in an artificial watercourse, it may be difficult to say. Lieut. Jones calculates twenty-five per cent, in five miles in a small canal four feet broad and three feet deep; in a large and deep watercourse, it would probably be much more; and it is by no means clear, that sufficient water would reach the lower part of the district, to compensate for the mischief done and money expended. The fortunate Puharis therefore may feel tolerably secure in their little oases, although it is hoped, that in due time they will be induced either to extend their own

clearings, or to allow new settlers a small share of their superfluous water. To return to the description of the Terai in the printed report:—

"The lower edge of the forest contains occasional settlements of Búksas, a wild race that rarely leave the forest, and appear exempt from the consequences of malaria. They generally locate themselves near the lower edge of the Bhabur, where the springs rise again to the surface. They are bad cultivators and rarely remain in the same spot above two years, as by that time they generally contrive to exhaust the soil they till.

The Terai, varying in breadth from eight to twelve miles, is the belt that separates the Bhabur from the plains. It is at present an extensive province, intersected by numerous streams as well as watercourses (chiefly dry at present) constructed by Zemindars. It is sparingly dotted with villages, but shows abundant marks of former cultivation and frequent sites of deserted villages. Extensive swamps occupy a considerable portion of the land, particularly near Bojpúr, Musutpúr, Rúderpúr, and Kilpúri. In short, though possessing a fertile soil, and facilities for irrigation probably surpassed no where, few could pass through the country without being struck by its desolate appearance as well as the squalid countenances of the inhabitants.

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The population withers under the effect of Terai fever, which never fails to sweep the country between the months of May and October, apparently as far as five or six miles from the exciting cause of the poison; scarcely any one escapes; those who do not sink under it, are generally three or four months in recovering their strength. One result of this is, that particularly in the months of October and November, when the fields require ploughing for the rubbi, the cultivators have not strength to go through the necessary labor; they are obliged to content themselves with ploughing the ground once or twice lightly, instead of five or six times, and whilst the crop is in consequence very light, the soil is rapidly impoverished."

Lieut. Jones attributes the destruction of the village of Rúderpúr, principally to the malaria engendered by a dam across the river Bhygúl, already alluded to; and he proposes with the consent of the Nuwab of Rampúr, to deepen the watercourses, and thus lower the water, which is now kept up to a great height. Several projects and estimates for dams across particular rivers, and the draining of swamps, accompanied the report. It was not, however, apparently considered worth while to print them at

a time when, after Lord Ellenborough's final disposal of the design, it appeared more than doubtful, whether the subject would ever again be brought forward.

The Hon. Mr. Thomason, the present Lieutenant-Governor N. W. P., was, from the first, a most strenuous advocate for attention to the artificial irrigation of Rohilkund; and having casually seen a copy of the report, took immediate steps to enquire into the correctness of the statements put forth in it,—whether the Terai was really in as bad a state as it was represented to be, and what results might be expected from the appointment of an officer to superintend the irrigation.

After due investigation, it was resolved to give it a trial, and in November 1844, Lieut. Jones received orders to carry out, in conjunction with the civil authorities, such measures as might appear most expedient.

The reported failure of the Nugginah Canal, (we say *reported*, for we have already expressed our belief, that under the present management, it will yield a fair return) the quashing of the project for the Ramgunga Canal, in short the want of success, which has hitherto followed all attempts to improve the irrigation of the district, would naturally incline us to mistrust the promises of projectors. The grand source of error however in all estimates of returns from Rohilkund Canals, is, that the Delhi and Doab Canal data, have been considered as unalterable standards, and have been applied without any modification, for difference of soil or climate.

Now it is extremely common in this part of the country, to find beneath a superstratum of a few feet of light sandy loam, a bed of very stiff yellow and occasionally blueish black clay, which retains whatever rain may fall during the cold weather, and, as the returns of the Nugginah Canal shew, enables the Zemindars frequently, if not generally, to grow excellent wheat without the aid of Canal water.

Thus the rubbi crop of wheat, which is our great source of revenue in the Doab, cannot be calculated upon, as far as our experience goes, to yield in Rohilkund more than a comparative trifle.—Again, sugar cane has been erroneously supposed to occupy no less than 25 per cent. of the land, whereas in Nugginah on the banks of the Canal, probably the best sugar Pergunnah in the district, it has proved on enquiry, only to amount to 13 per cent. On the other hand, rice, which really does amount to 25 per cent., and in some parts to much more, is almost certain to require water, and thus the khurrif may be depended upon, as the principal source of revenue.

Sugar Cane is not grown in the Terai at present, not owing

to any unfitness of the soil for producing it, but on account of the impossibility of preventing wild pigs from totally destroying it; and the success of any operations, that may be carried on to improve irrigation, may be considered to depend in a great measure, upon what arrangements have been made, to ensure a supply of water during the rains, and to prevent the works from being injured by floods.

A simple earthen dam, such as is at present constructed, must be destroyed in ten minutes, when the water rises higher than its top; and unless the watercourses are capacious enough to carry off the floods, which can very rarely occur, it becomes absolutely necessary to construct some species of escape or outlet, to let the water off, when it rises above a certain height. In the minor streams this may be managed by walls of masonry, or perhaps by timber; but on the larger rivers, where the floods are heavy, it will require no little skill to construct a work, which shall ensure a supply of water during the rains, and shall require no further assistance from Government, than a loan of the sum required to build it, payable by instalments in three or four years. The expense attending masonry-works is so heavy, that it is scarcely probable they will be attempted at first. If however proper advantage be taken of the neighbouring Saul and Juman forests, it is not unlikely, that a work might be constructed entirely of timber and piling, which should answer the purpose required, and come within the means of the Zemindars.

Lieut. Jones states, that the swamps which occupy so large a portion of the Terai, and produce so much disease and misery, are almost entirely attributable to the present system of irrigation; and should this be the case, there can be little doubt, but that it is the duty of the Government to interfere, even should there be no hopes of direct benefit. We, however, without going to any great length, or entertaining visionary hopes, and disclaiming all pretensions, as we do, of future rivalry with the days of the *Chuurassi Mal*, or the *garden of India*, may be in all reason justified in expecting some favourable results from the lately adopted measures, as well for the governing as the governed—in looking for an arrest on the present downward progress, for a gradual though probably partial improvement in the climate, for an increase in cultivation, and a still greater one in lands available,—so that as our population increases and looks around for more food, and more land, the Terai may be regarded as a field for the enterprising and industrious, and not, as it is now, dreaded as the region of the fabled Upas tree.

ART. IV.—*The History of the British Empire in India, by Edmond Thornton, Esq., Author of 'India, its State and Prospects,' &c. &c.—Vol. VI. Allen and Co.* 1845.

INDIA is indebted to Mr. Thornton. We do not mean by this to stamp with our approval all that Mr. Thornton has written on the history, the geography, and the statistics of the British Indian Empire and the countries adjacent to it; for his information is sometimes imperfect, his opinions sometimes unsound: but we consider that every writer, who devotes himself, with honesty of purpose, with a clear intellect and with patient industry, to the good work of collecting knowledge relative to India and its affairs, and of diffusing the knowledge he has collected among all classes of his fellow countrymen, does, in spite of occasional errors of fact, occasional errors of judgment, fairly entitle himself to the gratitude of the people of India and the applause of all who are interested in its welfare.

The sixth and last volume of Mr. Thornton's "History of the British Empire" is now before us. It brings down the narrative of events to the close of the Ellenborough administration. In an "Advertisement," at the commencement of the volume, the Historian takes occasion to deny the justice of the imputation that he has taken an India House view of the historical events recorded in his work. He is not, he says, the mouthpiece of the Court of Directors—the exponent of their opinions:—

> "The author of the 'History of British India' avails himself of the opportunity afforded by the publication of the concluding volume, to express his grateful sense of the patronage extended to it, as well by the public as by the Court of Directors of the East-India Company, whom he has the honour to serve.
>
> Nothing beyond this acknowledgment would have been called for, had not representations been addressed to the Court by individuals, who considered that they had reason to complain of some animadversions contained in the work. The author, therefore, feels it incumbent on him to state, that for the views and opinions advanced, either in the present or in the preceding volumes, he, and he alone, is responsible; and he begs to add, that he could not conscientiously have entered on the preparation of an historical work, or have persevered in the labour, except in the exercise of an unfettered judgment.
>
> Those familiar with the subject discussed can scarcely require to be informed that he has written in this spirit, as the opinions expressed on some very important questions are not in accordance with those known to be entertained by the Court."

Mr. Thornton's assertions are entitled to credit. We do not doubt that the opinions expressed in his work are his own genuine opinions. But a man's opinions are often the results more

of his position, than of convictions derived from deliberate, unprejudiced investigation; and it is possible that, in some instances, Mr. Thornton's sentiments have received their tone and coloring from the adventitious circumstances which have environed him, rather than from any original source peculiar to the independent man—that, in some cases, he has viewed events rather with the eye of the India House official than with the eye of the philosophic historian, strong in his self-reliance. We say this in no invidious spirit. We are not among those who look upon the great house in Leaden Hall as a reservoir of corruption, out of which nothing honest, nothing pure, nothing of good report, can ever proceed. We are far from thinking that an India-House history of India must necessarily be written on false principles—must necessarily be a series of apologies for great crimes, full of perversion, distortion, concealment of evil things, fabrication of good—a tissue of sophistries and lies. The Court of Directors have never been a faultless body, but upon a deliberate review of their Government of India, we are compelled in justice to acknowledge, that, whilst most of what is excellent is undeniably their own, very little of that which is of a directly opposite character is fairly chargeable upon them. The darkest pages in the history of India are those which record acts committed in direct violation of the often-declared principles of the Court—frequently in disobedience of their immediate instructions. This is a subject, which we may perhaps, on some future occasion, consider in detail. In our present article, we purpose to pass in review the leading contents of the volume now before us.

After a brief, but satisfactory notice of the subject of the Oude debts, and the attempt of the English Government to compel the Court of Directors to act in a manner abhorrent both to reason and conscience—one of many striking instances of the dignity and integrity which, with scarcely an exception, the Court have manifested whenever they have come into collision with the ministers of the Crown—Mr. Thornton proceeds to narrate the circumstances attending the appointment and dismissal of Lord Heytesbury and to discuss the merits of the question at issue between the Directors and the Whig Government. In this instance, again, the Court had decidedly the best of the argument. In the first place, they had to contend against the doctrine that a personal knowledge of Indian affairs incapacitates a man from effectually administering them; and, in the second, they had to resist the efforts of the Home Government to render the Governor-General of India a placeman, dependent upon the vicissitudes of party—to be set up or

knocked down, just as in the unceasing and ever-fluctuating war of faction the interests of one side or the other may predominate. The Court of Directors had the utmost confidence in Sir Charles Metcalfe, who, upon the resignation of Lord William Bentinck, had succeeded, by virtue of his provisional appointment, to the chief seat in the Government of India. They saw in this able and conscientious public servant, one whose great talents, extensive experience and unquestionable integrity, qualified him for this exalted situation; whilst his long and valuable services gave him a claim to the preferment, which, whether we regard him as an individual or the representative of a class, it was neither just nor politic to disappoint. Mr. Canning had said, sometime before, that "the case can hardly be conceived in which it would be expedient that the highest office of the Government in India should be filled otherwise than from England"—meaning, by this somewhat vaguely worded declaration, to express his opinion, that the Governor-Generalship should always be held by a new man, with all the gloss of English ignorance and English prejudice fresh upon him—a personal knowledge of India and its affairs being fatal to the pretensions of the candidate for office. The absurdity of this doctrine has been well exposed by Mr. Thornton; but he has not quite made the most of his opportunities. He might have convicted these English statesmen, who contend thus for the exclusive rights of their own privileged class, out of their own mouths. He might have shown, from their own accounts of themselves, what admirable Governor-Generals they must make. Referring to the claims of the Oude bankers, Mr. Thornton has made several quotations from parliamentary debates. Among these is an extract from a speech delivered by Mr. Herries:—"This "letter (alluding to an important document emanating from "the Court of Directors) contains one of the most able argu- "ments I ever read in the whole of my life. If honorable "members have not read this letter—*and being connected with* "*an Indian subject, I fear that few have done so*—I would ear- "nestly recommend them to peruse it, &c. &c."—A quotation from a speech by Sir Robert Peel is given in the following page:—"In point of fact this question lies in the narrowest "compass, and I wish to address myself to those gentlemen "who are not conversant with the details of it *and who know* "*nothing of the Dosses or the Asoph-ud-doulahs, nor have ever* "*heard their names mentioned until this night.*"—And it is from these men, who, upon the testimony of members of their own body, are shown to know so much and to care so much about India that our Governors-General are to be drawn. Sir Charles

Metcalfe was considered, in every respect, competent to fill the office of Governor-General of Canada, because he had never visited the country nor been in any way connected with its affairs; but he was not competent to hold the office of Governor-General of India, because he had resided in the country during the whole of his adult life, and was intimately acquainted with its history, its Government, the temper of its people, the nature of its resources, the character of its enemies and its allies!

Of the brief administration of this able and excellent man Mr. Thornton appears to entertain no very exalted opinion.—"His administration," says the Historian, "was short, and was "distinguished by little deserving of especial record. It will "chiefly be remembered by one act, which can scarcely fail to "have a powerful effect, either for good or for evil, upon the "interests of India and of the British Government in that "country. This act was the removal of the restrictions to "which the public press in India was previously subjected." He then proceeds briefly to narrate the measures adopted by previous Governors to restrain the license of the press, and after some notice of the proceedings of the Marquis of Hastings and Mr. Adam, he continues:—"Such was the state of the press, "when Lord William Bentinck arrived in India, and his Lord-"ship, though an ostentatious upholder of liberal measures, "made no change. During his administration, indeed, little or "no interference with the press took place; either none was "needed, or Lord William Bentinck was from principle averse "to interference, *or it might be that the press was for the most* "*part laudatory of the Governor-General and his measures.* "Some attempts were made to induce him to take a more "decided course, and his Lordship answered that the subject "was under consideration. Consideration, however, was all "that it received, and it was left to Sir Charles Metcalfe "to reap the harvest of popular applause consequent upon "removing all restraint upon the publication of opinion."

There is one quality which Mr. Thornton possesses beyond all historians, with whose writings we possess the smallest acquaintance; and that is, an excessive ingenuity, as a discoverer of possible paltry motives in the conduct of eminent men. As a suggester of derogatory doubts—an imputer of unapparent littlenesses—Mr. Thornton is without a rival. We would back him against any writer of the day, as a fouler of reputations. There may be those, who excel him in vehement denunciation; who hit harder, who deal in more smashing blows, who come down more crushingly on an enemy with the heavy mailed hand

of incontrollable hatred. Mr. Thornton fights after another fashion. He does not make any noise: he does not throw himself into attitudes; he steps out very quietly, with a smile on his face, approaches his victim as though to embrace him, and then plays the part of a literary Sivaji, by calmly digging his concealed knife into the bowels of his opponent.

It is in this manner that throughout his work, he has dealt with Lord William Bentinck. He does not come boldly forward to accuse that philanthropic nobleman of great sins of omission or commission, but contents himself with taking every possible opportunity to insinuate the existence of littleness of motive, even when the act itself is one which presupposes honorable intentions. This too, is often done, with an utter disregard of ascertained fact—done in violation of broad truth—done in defiance of what we are bound to believe is Mr. Thornton's positive knowledge, or Mr. Thornton is no person to write a history of India. We are here told that Lord William Bentinck did not interfere with the Press, either because he was, on principle, averse to interference, or because "the press was for the most part laudatory of the Governor-General and his measures." Now, if Mr. Thornton is a competent person to write the history of India, in six bulky volumes, he must be perfectly well acquainted with the fact, that the Press was not for the most part laudatory of Lord William Bentinck and his measures. Lord William Bentinck was unpopular with the members of both services. Two of the principal measures of his administration, damned him irremediably in the estimation of the Army and the Civil Service of India; and it so happened that those two measures—the "Half Batta" and the "merit-fostering" orders—were more discussed in the public prints, and with a greater decree of acrimony, than any other acts of his government. No Governor-General has been more roughly handled by the Press, than Lord William Bentinck; but he was, on principle, a friend to free discussion, and had not the littleness to dislike what was excellent in itself so soon as he personally found it inconvenient. Principle was principle with him whether it hurt him or not.

As regards the great question of the liberation of the Press it is Mr. Thornton's opinion, not only that Sir Charles Metcalfe ought not to have consummated it, but that it ought not to have been consummated at all. The argument bearing upon the first branch of the object, is, that as Sir Charles Metcalfe was but a temporary occupant of the chief seat of the Indian Government he ought not to have committed his successors to an act which they could not conveniently annul. This same

argument may be applied to any other measure, which may emanate from a temporary Governor-General, and, if carried out to its fullest extent, would bring the affairs of Government to a stand-still during every interregnum. But, even if it were valid, in its general acceptation, it would have very little force when applied to the case of Sir Charles Metcalfe. That statesman had unquestionably good reason to believe that his tenure of office would not be as brief, as that of the common order of provisional Governors-General. The Court of Directors, he knew, were desirous that he should continue in office; and in office would he have remained, but for the opposition of His Majesty's Government. Mr. Adam had not regarded the brevity of his tenure of office as any impediment to a somewhat harsh interference with the liberty of the Press; and we do not perceive that such considerations should be operative only on the side of arbitrary power when exercised against the liberties of the people. Sir Charles Metcalfe could not have conceived that there was anything in his position to hinder him from doing good. He believed it to be his duty to do as much good as lay in his power, during his tenure, whether for a long or a short season, of office; he believed that, by liberating the Press, he was doing good, and, therefore, he did it. He must have strange ideas of the obligations of statesmanship, who can find anything culpable in this.

Mr. Thornton, however, has discovered the culpability of the proceeding. He thinks that nothing is easier than to determine that Sir Charles Metcalfe ought not to have liberated the Press:—He adds, "The question whether or not the press, 'in a country situated as is India, should be free is not perhaps 'so easily answered." Mr. Thornton himself does not find much difficulty in answering it. He admits, that "in England the Press should enjoy perfect liberty"—but asks whether India is "in the same situation with England?"—We are then favored with a "catalogue raisonné" of the "many peculiarities of our position in India." This part of the argument is of course very novel. India is unquestionably not England, nor are Hindus and Mahommedans Englishmen. We do not require to be told that we are "a handful of foreigners." But when Mr. Thornton, endeavoring to argue by analogy, talks about other free institutions, such as trial by jury and representative government, he betrays, we are compelled to say, very narrow acquaintance with the social condition of Hindustan. We do something more than suspect that trial by jury was not known and practised in Great Britain so very long before it was substantially known and practised in India, and that rotten

boroughs and members of Parliament are not after all so much more ancient than our Indian village communities and potails or head men.—We surely need not tell Mr. Thornton, that neither trial by jury nor representative Government is peculiar to an advanced state of civilization; traces of such liberal institutions are to be found in the very earliest pages of the social history of the world; and if the historian bases his argument against the establishment of a Free Press in India on the supposition that the people of India "have no experience of free institutions at all," he builds his house upon a heap of sand, and there is not a hope for the superstructure.

Mr. Thornton says, that "the advocates of an unrestricted 'Press in India seldom attempt to defend it by argument; 'they content themselves with declamation on the natural 'right of man to publish his thoughts, on the advantages of 'knowledge, the tyranny of restraining the free communication 'of opinion, and topics of the like description." Now there are some things so plain to the understandings of men—so self-evident, so undeniable—that the application of argument thereto is unnecessary if not absurd. We do not require argument to enforce the proposition that man is entitled, by his birth-right, to the enjoyment of the blessings of light—that he has a right to breathe the free air of heaven—to use his limbs and to exercise his faculties. The *onus probandi* rests with the opposite party—with those who would shut up men in dark places, chaining their limbs and stupefying their minds. The opponents of a Free Press may draw what distinctions they please between argument and declamation. Declamation, when it sets forth undeniable truth, is the best argument in the world. No sophistry can shake an argument based upon the eternal rights of man as vouchsafed to him by the most High. If you would prove that man has no right, in certain states of society, to disseminate his opinions, you must first show that such dissemination is destructive to the best interests of man. God has set his canon against self-slaughter. It is permitted neither to individuals nor to communities to destroy themselves, and if it can be shown that free discussion among men is suicidal, it follows that free discussion is forbidden by God; now nothing of the kind can be shown in the case of the establishment of a free press in India. The *onus probandi*, we say, rests with its opponents, and they can prove nothing. They can not make head-way against the tide of fact which sets in so strongly against them.

Ten years have now elapsed since Sir Charles Metcalfe liberated the press of India. Those years have been most

eventful ones. India and the neighbouring countries have been the scenes of mighty events—events, which centuries hence will be considered among the most important, as they are the most heart-stirring, in the history of the world. In troubled times, the press is doubly influential—doubly powerful for good or for evil. Whatever may be its intrinsic character, it ceases, at such seasons, to be obscure. It derives an extrinsic importance from the great events it is called upon to chronicle—the great questions it is called upon to discuss. An unwonted amount of public attention has recently been bestowed upon the Indian press, and it is mortifying indeed to feel that it has been brought into notice only to be invested with a bad notoriety. We speak of the character, which has been bestowed upon it out of India. In this country our journals never occupied a higher place in public estimation than at this present time: but in England it has lately been the fashion to speak of the Indian press, as though it were on a level with the worst portion of that of the United States—as though the conductors of our local journals were men destitute of honesty, destitute of decency—unscrupulous maligners of honorable men—shameless and malicious liars. Some of the most respectable English prints have reiterated these most unjust assertions—assertions, which, we believe, if they did not originate, first took shape in the House of Commons; and it is not improbable that a large proportion of those, who trouble themselves to think at all about the Indian press, entertain a conviction that it must be in a most degraded condition because Sir John Hobhouse, Lord Stanley, the *Morning Herald*, and other grave authorities have said so.

It is not very difficult to trace to its source this stream of injurious error. It is a trick of our self-love to persuade ourselves that the standard, by which our actions are measured and found wanting, is itself an imperfect test. The thief, who is sent to the tread-mill for picking a pocket, declaims against the laws, which subject him to such uncomfortable discipline for merely easing a neighbour of a superfluous yard of silk. Doubtless, he thinks them very execrable laws: and if he had the framing of a new code he would shape it after a different fashion. It is scarcely in humanity to applaud the excellence of a criterion which renders palpable our own defects. By acknowledging the accuracy of the test we acknowledge the deficiencies it exhibits. If, on the other hand, we can shew that the test is a fallible one, we may contrive to escape the odium which its disclosures, were they to be confidently relied upon, would entail. Now it so happened that, about the time when the occurrence of great events in Central Asia first turned

the eyes of the British Public on the Indian Press, certain awkward disclosures, affecting the character of men of exalted station were made in our local journals. These statements, ever made upon unquestionable authority, were forced upon the attention of men in high places at home; and as something of an enquiry became necessary, the parties inculpated being put upon their defence, resorted to the old trick of impeaching the credibility of the witnesses against them. Fortunately for them, their judges were contented with bare assertion; no proof was demanded—no evidence was examined. It was quite enough for the accused to exclaim, "How can you believe such statements as these? The Indian newspapers; indeed! what are they? the most unscrupulous prints, in the world; the conductors of them slanderous ruffians. It is their delight to malign distinguished officers—to calumniate the British army. Can you condemn a British general—can you condemn a British soldier upon such testimony as this?"—And this was ever deemed conclusive. The next time that these awkward stories were alluded to in Parliament, they were ministerially contradicted. They had been enquired into; enquiry had proved that they were utterly false. The distinguished officers referred to had been grossly calumniated. It was a way with the Indian Press to heap slanders upon the army—especially upon the leaders of the army. Honorable members were implored not to take heed of the calumnies of such ruffians as the conductors of the Indian Press.

And as honorable members knew nothing about the matter, and cared very little more, they made brief entry in the tablets of their memory, "Indian Press—Ruffians;" and from that time it became the fashion, whenever the Press of India was alluded to in Parliament or in the leading journals of the country, to speak of it, in unmeasured language, as though it were the most unscrupulous in the world. Many had a direct interest in the perpetuation of this error. It was no one's business to refute it. The Indian Press had rendered itself, by its fearless candour, obnoxious both to Whig and Tory. It had no friends. If any one knew that the charges brought against it were false, he did not take the trouble to embody his knowledge in intelligible words. It was quite safe to calumniate the Indian Press, for the conductors of it were ten thousand miles off; and they who read the calumnies had no opportunities of sifting the truth of the charges brought against a Press of which they knew—of which they could know nothing. The calumnies, therefore, were generally believed. It is true that they were of the most absurd character, and nothing but the

grossest ignorance could have prolonged their existence beyond the day, on which they were uttered. In the eyes of all even slightly acquainted with the constitution of Indian Society, they must have appeared with sentence of death written down against them in huge unmistakeable characters. They were fortunately of that class of fictions, which carry their own contradiction on their foreheads. Nothing can possibly be more obvious than the fact that so long as the reading public of British India consists mainly of military men—no journal, not resolutely bent on suicide, would ever think of maligning the army. Foolish things are sometimes done by clever people; and journalists, like other mortals, may occasionally be run away with by an impetuous Pegasus, and dragged into the commission of acts equally unbecoming and injurious—injurious we mean to their own interests. But when a man sets to work systematically to injure himself—when he utterly destroys his own prospects of professional success, after a steady, uniform, consistent fashion of his own, we are bound to give him credit for the possession of a considerable measure of honesty, however great may be the errors committed in the prosecution of his intentions. It requires no small stock of fortitude to tread under foot every prospect of worldly success. Human nature is not very prone to voluntary martyrdom; and journalists, like other mortals, have no great inclination to walk quietly up to the stake and burn for the mere fun of the thing. If they burn at all, is it not just—is it not reasonable to believe that they are sustained, throughout their sufferings, by a sense of the righteousness of the cause, in which they have sacrificed themselves—that their only reward is to be found in the consciousness of having done their duty? Now the Indian journalist who systematically maligns the class, which constitutes the largest body of newspaper readers in the country, presents no other spectacle than that of a martyr deliberately walking up to the stake, and with his own hand igniting the faggots which he himself has piled around it. What is to sustain him throughout his sufferings but holy zeal—the soothing balm of an approving conscience. This surely is no picture of ruffianism—unless Ridley and Latimer be ruffians. It is a picture, which even a Stanley or a Hobhouse might contemplate with admiration. But, unfortunately for the saintly character of the Indian press, it is one, which these distinguished legislators are not called upon to contemplate. The annals of eastern journalism do not teem with examples of this deliberate self-immolation. The Indian press, take it for all in all, is as fearless and independent in its tone as any in the world; and we feel pleasure in the conviction that there are,

at all events, some journals, which, in the cause of humanity, would consent to make very large sacrifices—which, were the interests of India arrayed on one side, and the interests of a class, however potential on the other, would unhesitatingly sound the trumpet of the former host. Nay, circumstances have actually arisen which have compelled journalists to make their election, and ere now has the election been made at the cost of a temporary loss of popularity. But this is altogether a different matter from an unceasing, unsparing hostility to a class—a constant vilification of its members. Fortunately for the reputation, fortunately for the pockets of Indian journalists, the interests of a class, and the interests of the people, are so often identical, that, although on a superficial view they may appear to be discordant, a more profound investigation of the question at issue will shew that they are in reality intricately blended the one with the other. Fortunately, too, for Indian journalists there is in our community, a sufficiently large body of intelligent and right-minded men, to appreciate honesty and consistency in public writers, to support the journals which do speak out openly, in the cause of truth and justice, even to the detriment, at times, of particular classes—who can bear to hear the truth told, even though it galls them, and who would despise the writer who should conceal it under the dread of giving offence;—fortunately, we say, there is a sufficiently large body of men to support untrammelled, independent journals, and to render it in the long run, whatever it may be for a season, the safest course even to speak the truth.

It is broadly palpable to every resident in India, that, constituted as is society—meaning, thereby, the newspaper reading society—of India, no "unscrupulous" journal could find a sufficient amount of public support, to preserve its existence for a year, unless it were an unscrupulous organ of the class constituting the largest body of newspaper-readers. We believe that there is too much honesty of feeling—too much love of truth—existing in that class to render even this speculation any other than a hazardous one; but it is obvious that if an unscrupulous journal of this description would have sentence of death written down against it from the first, no other journal of the "unscrupulous" order could possibly attain to maturity of years. This we say is so palpable to the understandings of every resident in India, that an allusion to a journal devoted systematically to the dirty work of maligning the army in India, suggests the idea of monstrosity, which never has existed—which never can exist in India, until the nature of our society has undergone an entire change. For

the knowing, we do not now write, but for the unknowing. We wish it to be well understood in England that the constitution of our society in India presents an insuperable obstacle to the existence of any thing resembling an unscrupulous Press. An unscrupulous Press cannot exist any where without an unscrupulous Public, Now there is no Public—if we may be permitted to use the word at all in so narrow an acceptation,—there is no public in the world of so select a character as the newspaper-reading public of India. It consists of a few classes of educated English gentlemen—Military officers, the Civil Servants of the Government, and gentlemen engaged in commercial pursuits. The Indian Press has no "lower orders" for whom to pander. We have no pot-house politicians—no literary dustmen—no erudite cads—no high-life below stairs—no select circles of slander-loving prostitutes and thieves. There is no great demand in this part of the world, for intellectual, whatever there may be for gastronomical, high-seasoned dishes. The most that Indian readers look for is the Duke of Norfolk's panacea, "a pinch of curry-powder." They are not very fond of strong meat and strong drink; and no journalist having any regard for his purse, would cater for his subscribers, after any other than a most orderly—a most becoming fashion,—having the utmost regard for the delicacies—the proprieties of civilized life. A few failures in this respect have ere now struck a blow at the prosperity of an Indian journal, from the effects of which it has never recovered. To stigmatise the character of the Indian Press, indeed, is to stigmatise the character of Indian Society. A "ruffianly" Indian Press presupposes a "ruffianly" Indian community. If the former be tolerated at all, it can only be by the latter. Will the Stanleys, and the Hobhouses, and the Heralds of the West, maintain that European society in India, consists mainly of "unscrupulous ruffians?"

We have gone a little out of our way to make these imperfect remarks (scarcely a tithe of what we have to say—what we desire to say on this subject) not wishing, in any way, to convey the impression that Mr. Thornton, whose work we are now reviewing, has stigmatised the Press of India, as a ruffianly unscrupulous Press—but unwilling to pass by the opportunity now afforded to us of saying a few words in vindication of a body of men, to whom we believe the country to be very largely indebted. But we have a few words to say to Mr. Thornton himself. He has arrayed himself on the side of the restrictionists—has taken up the cudgels in defence of a censorship, and if, when aiming at Sir Charles Metcalfe, he has occasionally, in the

plenitude of his clumsy enthusiasm, dealt himself a few hard blows, it has not been for want of a hearty good will to bestow them all upon the liberator. We suspect that Mr. Thornton, like many others, who say a great deal on the subject, knows very little about the Indian Press.

At page 61, after quoting largely from Sir Charles Metcalfe's well known reply* to an address from the inhabitants of Calcutta, Mr. Thornton observes:—

"The first fallacy to be noticed is, that of confounding knowledge—the

* Since many of our readers may be unacquainted with this celebrated state paper, and others may not be unwilling to have their memories refreshed by a perusal of its leading statements, we may here cite these as quoted by Mr. Thornton:—

"To all who doubt the expediency of the liberty of the press, I would say, that they have to shew that it must necessarily cause imminent peril to the public safety, such as would not exist without it, and cannot be averted by salutary laws; for otherwise there can be no doubt that freedom of public discussion, which is nothing more than the freedom of speaking aloud, is a right belonging to the people, which no government has a right to withhold. It also rests with them to shew, that the communication of knowledge is a curse, and not a benefit, and that the essence of good government is to cover the land with darkness; for otherwise, it must be admitted to be one of the most imperative duties of a government to confer the incalculable blessings of knowledge on the people; and by what means can this be done more effectually than by the unrestrained liberty of publication, and by the stimulus which it gives to the powers of the mind? If their argument be, that the spread of knowledge may eventually be fatal to our rule in India, I close with them on that point, and maintain that, whatever may be the consequence, it is our duty to communicate the benefits of knowledge. If India could only be preserved as a part of the British empire by keeping its inhabitants in a state of ignorance, our dominion would be a curse to the country, and ought to cease.

"But I see more ground for just apprehension in ignorance itself. I look to the increase of knowledge with a hope that it may strengthen our empire; that it may remove prejudices, soften asperities, and substitute a rational conviction of the benefits of our government; that it may unite the people and their rulers in sympathy; and that the differences which separate them may be gradually lessened and ultimately annihilated. Whatever, however, be the will of Almighty Providence respecting the future government of India, it is clearly our duty, as long as the charge be confined to our hands, to execute the trust to the best of our ability for the good of the people. The promotion of knowledge—of which the liberty of the press is one of the most efficient instruments—is manifestly an essential part of that duty. It cannot be, that we are permitted by divine authority to be here merely to collect the revenues of the country, pay the establishment necessary to keep possession, and get into debt to supply the deficiency. We are doubtless here for higher purposes; one of which is, to pour the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe, over the land, and thereby improve the condition of the people. Nothing, surely, is more likely to conduce to these ends than the liberty of the press.

"Those who object to it are further bound to shew, that it is not salutary for the government and its functionaries to have the check of a free press on their conduct and that the exercise of arbitrary power over a restricted press is preferable to the control of the laws over a free one—assumptions which cannot be maintained."

After diverging, to pass a lofty panegyric on Mr. Adam, by whom the severer restraints upon the press were introduced in the year 1823, and conjecturing—on what ground does not appear—that, had that gentleman been alive, and at the head of the government in 1835, he would have been the foremost to propose the abolition of his own law, Sir Charles Metcalfe thus adverted to the difficulty of legislating on the subject of the press:—

"You have alluded most justly to the difficulties that beset the framing of a law to restrain all excesses and injuries which may be committed by means of the press. On this point, I fear, legislation is set at defiance. We cannot apparently enjoy the liberty of the press without being exposed to its licentiousness. We must submit to the attendant evil for the sake of the predominant good. Although the boundary between liberty and licentiousness is perceptible enough in practice, it can hardly be defined by law without the danger of encroaching on useful liberty. The laws of England have utterly failed to prevent the licentiousness of the press, and yet, perhaps, could hardly be made more efficient without endangering its freedom. Much, therefore, necessarily depends on the good sense and good taste of those who wield the power which the press confers. The worst enemies of the press are such of its conductors as destroy its influence by prostituting its use, for the gratification of base passions. When public measures are fully and freely discussed, and censured or approved, as may be, in a spirit of candour and justice, the influences of the press must be great and beneficial. But when men find themselves the object of gross personal scurrility, without any reference to public measures, or real character and conduct, they may at first feel pain; because sensitive men, with benevolent dispositions

word being used without qualification or explanation—with political discussion, political declamation, and political invective or abuse. It was against newspapers that the restrictions on the press were mainly operative, and against them only, inasmuch as they entered into political questions in which the government might be interested. Now, that which was forbidden to be published was not knowledge but opinion, the only exception being afforded by the prohibition, during the war, of publishing nautical intelligence which might have been available to the use of the enemy. It was the publication of opinion that was in ordinary cases restricted, and that alone. Where, it may be confidently asked, are the instances of government interfering to check, in any degree, the diffusion of that which may be properly called knowledge, whether historical, physical, or abstract? The rulers of British India have done much to aid the spread of knowledge*—nothing to impede it. The warmest advocates for the diffusion of knowledge, in India, may doubt the expediency of exposing the minds of its people to the influence of political agitators, and they are not, therefore, bound to shew that the 'essence of good government is to cover the land with darkness,' though even darkness is preferable to the false and dangerous meteor which shines only to betray."

Now Mr. Thornton's "first fallacy" lies in the supposition that the Indian newspapers are devoted wholly, or principally to the diffusion of political opinions—and these opinions, too, regarding the measures of the Government of India. A very small portion of our Indian journals is occupied by articles expressive of political opinions. There are, perhaps, no newspapers in the world, which contain so large a body of miscellaneous information—no newspapers in the world from which so complete a general view of the progress of literatue and science may be derived—from which so many useful historical and statistical facts may be gleaned. Mr. Thornton will tell us that there never has been, that there never would have been any interference with the right of disseminating such information. We think that this is open to question. Government may stretch their liberality so far as to permit the publication of mere knowledge, to the diffusion of which they can possibly have no sort of objection; but it would be difficult to determine how far this indifference may extend—difficult to define the limits of

towards all their fellow-creatures, grieve to perceive that they have rancorous foes, busily employed against them, but lurking in concealment, the cause of whose enemity they know not, and whose wrath they have no power to appease. But they cannot respect the instrument of unjust virulence; they must know that such attacks proceed from personal hatred or wanton malignity; and they must learn to despise calumny, which cannot be guarded against by any goodness of measures or any correctness of conduct. The proper influence of the press is thus destroyed; and ultimately, just censure, which would otherwise be respected and dreaded, disregarded and discredited, and being confounded with the mass of indiscriminate abuse, loses its due effect."

* The East-India Company and their government have not obtained the degree of credit, in this respect, which they deserve. Their efforts to diffuse a knowledge of science, and more especially of those departments, as medicine and surgery, which are most closely connected with the well-being of mankind, have been great, though from the simple and unostentatious manner in which they have been made, they have attracted little notice.

non-interference. It might be considered a very harmless thing to diffuse a general knowledge of the important fact that two and two make four, or that the world revolves round the sun; but it might, in the opinion af some governments, be dangerous to declare the distance between Calcutta and Allahabad, to lay down the course of the river Húgly, to estimate the strength of the Indian Army, or to publish the market value of four per cent. Government paper. There is very little geographical, statistical, or financial information, which may not be turned to good account by a sagacious, an astute, enemy on the look out for available data; and if a journalist is to publish nothing, which an enemy may make use of, and nothing of which a despotic Government may desire to keep its own subjects in ignorance, he may often be compelled to issue a blank sheet. The power possessed by the Government extended to the suppression of all information, which it might be *inconvenient* to publish. If it did not extend so far, it was in reality no power at all. If the object of the existing restrictions were merely to check the free expression of the Editor's opinions, whilst he was permitted to publish the opinions, expressed with equal freedom, perhaps with greater violence of language, by partisan declaimers and writers at home, they were of so crippled, so imperfect a nature that it was utterly useless to maintain them. But the truth is that the restrictions extended to the suppression of what may emphatically be called knowledge, and that sort of knowledge to which the people of India had the best right—the knowledge of what was said and done in England regarding the measures of the Indian Government—the decisions, in short, of that Great Referee, the British Public. There was, indeed, no sort of knowledge, the diffusion of which an Indian Governor had not the power to suppress, and which a tyrannical Indian Governor would not have suppressed. It is nothing to assert that the power was not exercised by such men as Lord Hastings, Lord Amherst, Lord Wm. Bentinck, and Sir Charles Metcalfe. The power ought not to have existed. It was wielded during one unfortunate interregnum, and might, at any time, have been wielded again. Has Mr. Thornton ever perused the article in the *Calcutta Journal*, which brought down upon Mr. Buckingham the punishment of deportation and the utter ruin of his worldly fortunes. Is Mr. Thornton aware that soon after the punishment of that gentleman, the state of affairs in India, as regards the liberty of the Press, was such that "when some numbers of the *Quarterly Review* reached "India, containing among its announcements, stitched in at the

" end, the prospectus of a new work on India, entitled the *Ori-*
" *ental Herald*, the book-seller to whom they had arrived was
" so terrified lest this prospectus of a publication from England,
" about to call in question the measures of the Indian Govern-
" ment, should subject him to the penalties of Mr. Sergeant
" Spankie's act, that every one of the forbidden sheets was torn
" out before the *Quarterly Review* itself could be exposed for
" sale."—*Speech of Mr. Buckingham in House of Commons, August* 28, 1835.

"It is remarkable," says Mr. Thornton, "that Sir Charles " Metcalfe, who took advantage of his temporary occupation " of the office of Governor-General to relieve the press from " all restraint, not many years before expressed himself with " some sharpness on the inconvenience arising from the proceed- " ings of Government, finding their way into the newspapers. " This was in a minute recorded by him on the 18th October, " 1830. In less than five years afterwards he deprived the " Government of all power of preventing the evil of which he " complained."—A greater mistake could scarcely have been made. As the proceedings of Government are carried on with closed doors, nothing which they desire to conceal, can ever find its way into the public prints, save through the agency of one of their own body. To prevent such "inconvenient" revelations, it is easy (and in practise it has been found so) to pass restrictive laws, without interfering with the liberty of the press. Government may have a right to restrain their own servants from divulging—none to restrain independent journalists from publishing inconvenient truths. "The power of preventing the evil" of indiscreet publication is still possessed by the Government of India, in spite of Sir Charles Metcalfe's liberation of the press. If, in some cases, it has not been found effectual (for truth will leak out in spite of every effort to close it up), all we can say, is, that no restrictions would have been more effectual, and that the obedience of journalists is as likely to have its limits as the discretion of Government servants. Both will sometimes be found wanting at a most "inconvenient" time.

Again, Mr. Thornton, referring to the arguments of Sir Charles Metcalfe, observes:—"And never, perhaps, did there occur a more striking instance of begging the question, than in the assumption that nothing was more likely to conduce to the spread of the enlightened knowledge and civilization, the arts and sciences of Europe, over India, than *a licentious and unbridled press.*" We may, perhaps, venture to hint that Mr. Thornton himself presents us with "a more striking instance of begging the question," when he assumes that the press of India is "a licentious and unbridled press." We have shown that if the press of India is bridled after no other fashion, it is bridled by self-interest; and a pretty strong curb too is this same self-interest in the mouths of all manner of men. Public opinion is more potent than Government regulations to restrain the licentiousness of the press. If there be no safe-guard in the good feeling of journalists,* one may be found in the good-feeling of society. This is a point which Mr. Thornton seems entirely to have overlooked.

We suspect that Mr. Thornton's acquaintance with the Indian press is as limited, as his convictions of its profligacy are intense. At page 70, he remarks:—

> "In all colonial communities—or communities, which though not strictly colonial in their origin, are in the position of dependencies—the character of the press is far inferior to that of the parent, or protecting country—inferior in talent, knowledge, and high principle. Local squabbles—for it would be wrong to give to such disputes a more dignified name—furnish a large proportion of their material, and local libels supply the place of better sources of excitement. This difference of character Sir Charles Metcalfe seems to have passed over, for he could not have been ignorant of it."

That the Indian press is "far inferior" to the English press in "talent and knowledge" is highly probable, for in so limited a community, it has necessarily but a limited supply of these ingredients to draw upon. It has not, of course, the same immense stock of ability, from which to make its selections, as is enjoyed by the press of Great Britain—or, as we ought rather to say, the press of the British metropolis,—for our Indian newspapers may fairly compete with the best provincial journals in the parent country. Still, the knowledge displayed by our journalists is by no means contemptible, and it may be questioned whether they ever exhibit as profound an ignorance of the history and politics of Great Britain as the English journalists betray of the history and politics of British India. English journalists may write about the Punjab of Lahore, but it will be long before an Indian journalist will be found to speak of London of the Mansion-House, when alluding to the Lord-Mayor of London. But, however conspicuous the inferiority of the Indian press in respect of talent and knowledge, we can not admit that there is any inferiority in the more important

* We have purposely abstained from deriving any argument against the asserted unscrupulousness of the Indian press from the personal characters of its conductors and the position they occupy in society. We have sought rather to show, that if our journalists were naturally ruffians, self interest would deter them from publicly exhibiting their ruffianism. This line of argument is likely to be more effective, because much better understood by the detractors of the Indian press.

matter of high principle. What are the best evidences of high principle? Undeviating consistency; a pure moral tone; a *disinclination to inflict* an injury on any man, and a *willingness* to make reparation when an injury has been unwittingly inflicted; inaccessibility to all corrupting influences, and a freedom from unbecoming personality. We have no sort of inclination *to draw invidious comparisons*; but when they are *forced upon* us by a writer, in the grave garb of the historian, it *becomes* in some measure our duty to test the fairness with which they are made. Mr. Thornton, it is true, says, in a note—"In comparing the colonial press *with that of the mother country*, the few foul and filthy prints which exist in the latter to the disgrace alike of their conductors and their readers are of course excluded from consideration. The character assigned to the press of the United Kingdom is based upon that of the daily morning and evening papers of the metropolis, and the more respectable of the weekly papers, together with the great mass of the provincial prints, which for the most part contribute to maintain the reputation of the press by following the honorable example set by their metropolitan leaders" —and this we consider fair enough; we have no sort of objection to the proposed standard. We would measure the most respectable of our Indian journals against the most respectable portion of the press of the United Kingdom. We have in India no such disgraceful publications, as those to which Mr. Thornton alludes, and (although in an argument relating to the expediency or inexpediency of excluding the press of India from a participation in the privileges enjoyed by that of the parent country, it would not be very unfair to take a general view of the *entire* press of the two countries, taking account of good and of evil alike, and making an average of the whole) we willingly put *them* altogether out of the question. We ourselves refer only to such journals as the *Herald*, the *Times*, the *Chronicle*, the *Standard*, the *Examiner*, &c. &c. and it is with reference to these journals, that we have expressed our unwillingness to admit the inferiority, in "high principle," of the Indian press. At the very time when we are now *writing, the mails are bringing* to Calcutta files of the leading London newspapers, which contain pictures of the English journals painted by themselves of which we should be sorry indeed to see imitations in this country. One leading print (the *Times*) openly accuses its cotemporaries of taking bribes to support certain railway projects; nay, more, actually charges them with compelling projectors to bribe them—with robbery as unscrupulous as though they were to enter the railway offices with loaded pistols in

their hands. The demand, indeed, addressed to the project, if not to the projectors, is simply "your money or your life." They will destroy the scheme if the money be not forthcoming—if the scheme do not consent to pay down double the price of its advertisements and hand over a certain number of its shares. We do not say that the case is as stated. We only say, that a high-principled London journal has brought this charge against its cotemporaries. We add to this, that another high-principled London journal (perhaps, all things considered, the most respectable journal in England) accuses the *Times* of endeavouring to create a panic in the Railway share-market, for no better reason than that the numerous Railway projects, with their lengthy, well-paying advertisements, had enabled it (*the Morning Herald*) to compete with, and even outstrip its great rival, in the issue of supplementary sheets, and had greatly increased its monied resources to the necessary detriment of its antagonist. This sort of crimination and re-crimination, whether the charges be true or false, is not particularly indicative of high principle. We assert, without fear of contradiction, that our more respectable Indian journalists neither do things of *this* description nor *accuse each other* of doing them. They do not court corruption, nor are they accessible to it when it is thrust upon *them*. After an intimate acquaintance of many years with the Indian Press we can most unhesitatingly take upon us to affirm, that we know no single instance of a bribe having been taken by an Indian journalist. The ruffianism, which the *Times* asserts to be so rife among its cotemporaries, is as little known at our newspaper offices, as indigenous ice in the month of May.

That our journals are not altogether free from what Mr. Thornton calls "local squabbles" we most readily admit. What journals ever were free from them? The high principled London journals assuredly are not. If by "local squabbles" the historian means to describe those too frequent editorial disputes, *concerning small matters* of very little consequence to the general reader—disputes, which, however unedifying to the public, and however well known to be so by journalists themselves, no public writer, being merely a mortal, can keep himself from occasionally rushing into, with more or less acrimonious warmth. We perceive that the leading London journals are now complimenting each other with nick-names derived from Mr. Dickens' humorous tales; whilst the *Times*, who is the chief dealer forth of these *soubriquets*, is charged with the guilt of "atrocious fabrications," "atrocious lies," for putting forth an assertion, which, but for an unforeseen con-

juncture, would have turned out a veritable fact. Mr. Thornton quotes the *Bengal Hurkuru*, "one of the most respectable of the Indian journals," in support of his views—"We think," wrote that journal ten years ago, "the tone of the Mofussil journals towards each other is very discreditable to the press, and highly prejudicial to its own interests," &c. &c. We should esteem this as an indication rather of the high, than of the low tone of the Indian journals, as it seems to show that the conduct deprecated was in those days the exception, and not the rule—at all events it is a proof that some of the journals were scandalised by the conduct of the more unworthy portion of them. The Mofussil journals have recently undergone a most important change, and may now rank in respectability beside their metropolitan cotemporaries. But if no change had come over them, what then? The regret expressed by the *Hurkuru*, with reference to the conduct towards each other of the *Agra Ukhbar* and *Delhi Gazette*, might be expressed, *mutatis nominibus*, with equal sincerity, with reference to the conduct of the *Times* and the *Morning Herald*. It is highly probable that the *Hurkuru* considers the tone of these London prints "towards each other highly discreditable to the Press, and highly prejudicial to their own interests." We ourselves, though especially lenient in these matters,—for we well know what are the provocations, the aggravations to which the life of an editor subjects him—we well know how more than mortal the conductor of a daily paper must be, if he is not sometimes excited to aim a heavy blow at the head of an antagonist,—can scarcely bring ourselves to think it creditable to charge one's cotempararies with conduct, which, taking another though not a more criminal form, would qualify the offender to take the leading part in a tragic exhibition that sometimes comes off in the presence of a multitude not a hundred miles from the Old Bailey.

As regards "local squabbles" of another description—controversies concerning matters affecting local interests,—these ever must constitute a portion of the staple contents of every journal, whether in one hemisphere or another. Mr. Thornton himself alludes to the subject of steam communication with England, the discussion of which, he says, "not only called forth a degree of heat disproportioned to the occasion, and a display of magniloquence unsuited to any occasion, but was conducted with a spirit of personality offensive to good taste, and altogether in a manner as deficient in dignity, as were some of the questions disputed about in importance." It is probable, we think, that not only the Indian press, but the Indian public, took somewhat different views of the "importance" of steam communication between the two countries than those entertained by Mr. Thornton. It was considered, in this part of the world, we can assure Mr. Thornton, a question of vital interest—one, the magnitude of which, even in a political point of view, we should have thought Mr. Thornton's historical studies would have taught him to appreciate. That the question was debated with some warmth we admit; but the warmth of the Press was far more moderate than that of parties unconnected with the Press; and, as for the "occasion," occasions of far less magnitude call forth much more intemperance—much more personality in the House of Commons, every week during its sessions. The question of steam-communication between the two countries is at least as important as a question of a Lord-Mayor, or a question of an Assistant Poor-Law Commissioner—questions discussed, day after day, with extraordinary warmth, in the leading columns of leading journals. Personality is not one of the *peculiar* vices of the Indian Press. Our newspapers do not meddle with the private affairs of public men, nor do they delight in chronicling the adventures of fugitive young ladies who prefer Gretna Green to St. George's, and forget what are their Christian names. They do not aspire to the "good taste"—they do not aspire to the "dignity" evinced by their London contemporaries on such "occasions" as these. Nor do they, when a libellous paragraph is sent to them relative to the pecuniary embarrassments of a popular statesman, ever insert the indecent personality in a conspicuous part of their paper with the label—"From a *respected* correspondent."

Perhaps Mr. Thornton may think that we have treated this matter at a length, and with a degree of warmth, "disproportioned to the occasion." But what it is worth the while of the historian to assert, it is worth the while of the Reviewer to examine. The historian has denied the expediency of emancipating the Indian Press, and has endeavoured to support his argument by asserting that it is not worthy of the indulgence—or as we should say, the right—which has been conceded to it. Now we think that one of the best proofs of the soundness of the measure is to be found in the fact that the liberation of the Press has in no wise increased its licentiousness. The Indian Press was never more moderate than at the present time. We are aware of no recent instances of injury done to the Government of the country through the medium of the Press, save those afforded by the proclamations of a late Governor-General, the printing and publishing of which certainly had a tendency to bring the Government into disrepute, and, in some cases, to

cover it with ridicule: but such offences as these are almost without parallel in the history of the press.

We pass on now to other matters.—The administration of Lord Auckland affords Mr. Thornton an opportunity of discoursing upon some of the most important political questions which have ever been agitated in this country. The affairs of Oude have so recently engaged our attention in this journal, that we have no occasion now to refer to them. Those of the Rajah of Sattarah may probably afford matter for a future article; they open out too large a question to be cursorily discussed in the present one. The same may be said of the war in Affghanistan, which we cannot undertake to discuss in such a paper as this, though we may lay before our readers a few specimens of the manner, in which it has been discussed by Mr. Thornton. "In judging of this most important measure," says the historian, "two questions occur—was it just, and if just, was it expedient?" Very important questions truly—especially the first. Was it just?—Let us see how Mr. Thornton disposes of this question:—

"The tenure of sovereign power in the East is for the most part so fragile and insecure, that far less attention is due to hereditary right than might properly be required in Europe. Usurpation is so common, and meets such ready acquiescence, that the possession of actual sovereignty is generally regarded as a sufficient title, if the person in possession be strong enough to maintain it by the only conclusive argument—that of the sword. The family of Futteh Khan, who had usurped the sovereignty of the greater part of Affghanistan, had no very respectable title to boast; neither could their thrones be regarded as possessing any unusual degree of stability. Yet they were treated by the British Indian Government as the rulers of the country which they had appropriated; and as the English were not bound, like knights of old, to enter the lists of mortal combat in defence of all who had been deprived of their rights, they were justified in recognizing the authorities (such as they were) which were found in existence without any very nice inquiry as to their origin. They did thus recognize them, and sought to establish relations of friendship and alliance. Their overtures being rejected, there was no obligation to continue to profess respect for a very bad title, or to abstain from aiding any one who had a better in seeking to give it effect. Shújah-úl-Múlk had a better title, for he was a member of the family formerly ruling in Affghanistan, and recently expelled by a violent revolution. No one can say that he had not a right to enforce his claim; and if this be so, those who aided him could not be wrong unless they were involved in some special obligation, which precluded them from lawfully affording him assistance The English were under no such obligation, for the reigning chiefs of Kabúl and Kandahar, when the opportunity offered, had declined to bring them within the operation of any. It cannot be urged that the British government in India is precluded from interfering in disputes relating to the possession of sovereign authority in other countries, for it is certain that the governments of Europe do interfere on such subjects, and that in our own times many instances of such interference have occured. Fervently is it hoped that in all cases where interference takes place those who exercise it have due regard to the question of right; but it cannot be supposed that in any case they altogether overlook their own interest in the success of the cause which they espouse; and it is not too much to believe that a regard to this is generally the chief motive for interfering. The British government thought it for their interest to interfere in the affairs of Affghanistan for the support of Shújah-úl-Múlk; but it must not be disguised that his claim to the throne was not indisputable. Mahmúd, who like himself had been expelled, was his elder brother; he left a son, who was reigning at Herat, and as Mahmúd had been in actual possession of the throne, the title of his son Kamram was valid. As against Kamram, therefore, the title of Shújah was not unassailable; but in states which would feel it derogatory to be compared with the wild and lawless tribes of Affghanistan, such occurrences as the preference of a younger to an elder branch of the royal house occasionally take place. In France, a prince who has been thus preferred sits calmly on the throne, and is acknowledged by every state in Europe as the lawful monarch of the country over which he bears rule. In Russia, too, which pretends to be a civilized state, the ordinary rule of succession was departed from when its last emperor Alexander perished childless. The brother next in age was summarily set aside (for every thing is summary in Russia, even the deaths of its sovereigns), and a younger brother substituted. As the title of Louis Philippe was good against all but the elder branch of his house—as the title of Nicholas was good against all but Constantine, so was that of Shújah-úl-Múlk against every one but Kamram, and the British government were not called upon to support a prince who suffered his claim to slumber, and appeared to acquiesce in the diminution to which his dominions had been subjected. If character were admitted as an element of choice, that of Kamram, it may be observed, was by no means calculated to attract. But whether or not the claim of Shújah was valid against Kamram, was not the question to be settled—it was good against the adventurers who had possessed themselves of the larger part of Affghanistan, and that was enough."

"There was no injustice, then," continues Mr. Thornton, "in dispossessing the usurping rulers of Affghanistan in favor of a member of the House which they had supplanted." So, the historian evidently thinks that he has settled the question! But for this declaration, we might have doubted it. In the foregoing passage he does not seem very clearly to have made up his mind on the subject. He balances the arguments on both sides, and it appears to us that those on the side of the injustice of the war are the heavier. He tells us, that Dost Mahommed was an usurper; but then he admits, at the same time, that Shah Shújah was an usurper too. He says, that usurpation goes for nothing in those countries; and that Shah Shújah, who had dispossessed one sovereign and been dispossessed in his turn, had every right to make an effort to recover his sovereignty. All this is plain enough. But we can not follow him many steps further. "No one can say," writes Mr. Thornton, "that he (Shah Shújah) had no right to enforce his claim; and, if this be so, those who aided him, could not be wrong, unless they were involved in some special obligation, which

precluded them from lawfully affording him assistance." This is, clearly, a *non sequitur*. It does not follow that because Shah Shujah had a legitimate cause of quarrel with Dost Mahommed, the British Government had one too. If A strikes B, B may strike A in return; but it does not follow that because B has a right to return the blow, C, a looker on, has also a right to smite the smiter. "It cannot," continues Mr. Thornton, "be urged that the British Government in India is precluded from interfering in disputes relating to the possession of sovereign authority in other countries, for it is certain that the Governments of Europe do interfere on such subjects, and that in our own times many instances of such interference have occurred." If Mr. Thornton means such interference, as our interference with the sovereignty of Affghanistan, it would have been well that he should have quoted the "many instances" referred to, for they will not very readily suggest themselves to the minds of the historical student. Instances of interference with foreign Governments, regarding points of succession, may have occurred; but at the time when the question first arose, not after the right of succession had been fully acknowledged. It is one thing to refuse to acknowledge—or even to attempt to overturn a new dynasty; another to attempt to overturn it after it has existed for years, upon no better pretext than that we do not find it quite as plastic as we could desire. If Dost Mahommed was an usurper when we marched an army against him, he was an usurper when we entered into friendly negociations with him. We fully acknowledged his title to as much of sovereignty as he claimed, and until it can be shown that all the sovereigns of Central Asia only retain their right to rule, *quam diu bene se gesserint*, in the opinion of a single self-constituted judge, we can not admit that we had any right to depose a ruler, whom we had long acknowledged, for no better reason than that he was not inclined to do every thing for us, when we were refusing to do any thing for him. It is idle to talk about usurpation. The history of every state, ancient or modern, civilized or uncivilized, christian or unchristian, is a history of usurpations. One dynasty supplants another. Revolution follows Revolution. In barbarous times and places one monarch is murdered to make room for another; at more civilized epochs, he is only deposed. The contentions of the Douranís and Barukzyes have a parallel in the history of our own country; and France has no stricter notions on the score of legitimacy than Affghanistan. The grievous tyranny of Mahmúd lost the Douranís the throne; and it appears to us that the succession of Dost Mahommed, after the inhuman

murder of Futteh Khan, was an event sanctioned by the laws of eternal justice—a most meet retribution—a lesson of mighty import—not to be lost on nations or on kings. The usurpation of Dost Mahommed was the result of the crimes of the Douranís. It was indeed, a righteous usurpation. There is nothing so sacred in legitimacy that it should rise superior to every obligation human and divine. The Douranís threw away their right to rule in Affghanistan—forfeited their title to the crown even as a felon forfeits his possessions.

In 1838, Dost Mahommed had, to all intents and purposes, as clear a right to the sovereignty of Kabul, as Louis Philippe to the throne of France—or, indeed, as Victoria to the throne of England. There is no title to sovereignty equally valid with the wishes of the people. That indeed is the only real legitimacy. There is no "right divine to govern wrong;" nothing in lineal descent, which incompetency and criminality may not forfeit. Dost Mahommed had for many years been recognised as the ruler of Kabul—recognised by his own people and recognised by foreign states. If he were nothing better than a robber, during all this time of his recognition, what is to be said of those who entered into friendly intercourse with him, knowing him to be a robber. It would be monstrous for us, who, by consenting to screen the robbery and endeavoring to turn it to our own advantage, had rendered ourselves accessories after the fact, to assume the right of sitting in judgment on the very crime which we had helped to perpetuate. The advocate who resorts to the usurpation argument, places his client in a most uncomfortable dilemma. But the fact is that the argument is worth nothing. It would be equally valid were it applied to the right of England, at this present time, to drag Louis Philippe from the throne of France, and force a Bourbon again upon the reluctant people. It would be equally valid were it applied to the right of Russia to fish up an obscure descendant of the Stewarts, and prepare an overwhelming expedition for a descent upon Great Britain, there to hurl the usurping Brunswicker from the throne, and to reinstate, amidst salutes of Russian Artillery, the scion of British legitimacy in the palace of St. James.

With regard to what Mr. Thornton calls "prudential considerations," we do not now care to enquire into them. Much may, doubtless, be said on both sides of this question; and at all events one side of the question has recently had full justice done to it by a writer in this journal.* Events have shown that

* *Article*: "Sir William Macnaghten," *Calcutta Review*, No. III.

the movement was a most imprudent one: but it is right that it should be regarded not by the light which has since been thrown upon it, but by such light as had dawned upon our intelligence at the early part of 1838. The less that we say about *justice* the better. The defenders of the war would do well to base their arguments in its favor upon the alleged existence of a pressing necessity. They may do something by establishing the fact of an imminent danger threatening the security of British power in the East. If they can make nothing out of this, their case has not a leg to stand upon.

Of the operations of the British army in Affghanistan, Mr. Thornton has given a very honest, if not a very graphic, account. The historian does not appear to have any inclination to blink those less creditable circumstances, which in this campaign, as in every other, were occasionally intermixed with the more honorable transactions of the war. He writes very temperately and is naturally unwilling to believe upon insufficient testimony, such dark stories as, for example, the prisoner-massacre at Ghuzní. It is right that we should bear in mind that Mr. Thornton has only published evidence to depend upon. This evidence he sifts with sufficient impartiality, and shows that it is *conflicting*. He gives the accused, to a certain extent, the benefit of these discrepancies. To this we can offer no objection—but we must add that herein is apparent an unavoidable defect in Mr. Thornton's history. Had the historian enjoyed better opportunities of ascertaining the truth—had he possessed the advantages, which might have been afforded him by the examination of a mass of unpublished evidence, such as in India is always obtainable—evidence both oral and written—he would scarcely have been left in that state of uncertainty which is observable in his summing-up. We append Mr. Thornton's remarks on this painful subject—they are sufficiently just as far as they go:—

"The accounts are various and conflicting, they all rest ultimately on anonymous authority, and even the channels through which they reached the reporters are not named. All that can be depended upon is, that a number of persons were put to death; but whether these were a part only or the whole of those taken, whether *their number did not exceed twenty-five* or amounted to sixty or more, whether the execution was the consequence of the deliberate orders of the Shah, or of the excited passions of his adherents, acting without authority,—all these points are left in doubt. If Shah Shújah ordered or connived at the murder, a foul stain is thereby brought on his character. The man who had made an attempt on the life of the Shah's attendant might justly have been punished, but the slaughter in cold blood of the whole, or a part, of the other prisoners, cannot be regarded but with feelings of abhorrence. Shah Shújah was not in a position that could justify the infliction of the extreme penalty for treason. He had re-entered the dominions in which, since his expulsion, a new generation had grown up, and he had formally assumed the sovereignty, but he had yet much to win, or rather his British ally had much to win for him. In relation to this dark transaction, there is one ground of satisfaction to an English inquirer—there is no evidence to shew that it was countenanced by any British authority."

We wish we could feel equally well convinced that there is "no evidence," which can in any way implicate the British authorities. The question is not whether the British authorities ordered the execution; but whether they had the power to prevent it—or, in other words, were they aware that it was about to take place. We believe that very little took place in camp without the cognizance of the British authorities. The Shah was a mere pageant. The execution of three score men was not so small a matter that it could have been carried on in a corner, without the knowledge of those who pulled the strings and wires of the puppet.

Mr. Thornton scarcely does justice to the character of Dost Mahommed. Speaking of the advance of the British army on Kabul, he says:—

"On the 30th of July, the army began to move towards Kabúl. On its approach, Dost Mahommed, like his brothers at Kandahar fled, and on the 7th August, the Shah, under the protection of the British force, made his public entry into the capital."

We should have been better pleased if Mr. Thornton had stated the circumstances, under which "Dost Mahommed fled." In any contemporary narrative of the war, Mr. Thornton might have found an account of these circumstances. Dost Mahommed did not fly like his brothers. He fled only when he found that his followers would not stand by him—fled, after getting his guns into position at Urghundí and organising a resistance, which was only defeated by the treachery and the cowardice of those on whom he had relied.

Mr. Thornton, we are glad to perceive, does not attempt to sustain the pleasant fiction of Shah Shújah's popularity and the enthusiasm with which he was welcomed back, on his return to Kabul. He says, that his Majesty's reception was "of a very sober character." It was—very sober indeed.

In his account of the Kabul insurrection and the melancholy retreat of our British army, Mr. Thornton has availed himself largely—as all future historians will be equally glad to do—of the stores of information supplied by Lieut. Eyre and Lady Sale. As a continuous, and, in the main, an accurate narrative of these painfully interesting events, the present version may be read with profit by the historical enquirer; but it does not contain much which calls for extended notice from us. When

Mr. Thornton reasons on these events, he, in most cases, reasons with sufficient fairness. The following passage relative to the "plot," which cost Sir W. H. MacNaghten his life, may be accepted as an average specimen. Opinions very closely resembling these had been expressed in our journal not long before the appearance of Mr. Thornton's history:—

"Much animadversion has been passed on the conduct of Sir William Macnaghten in the business which terminated so fatally for himself. Of imprudence, it is impossible to acquit him. He, indeed, appears to have been aware that on this ground he was without justification. Being warned by one of his companions that the scheme was dangerous, and that treachery might be meditated, he at once admitted the danger, and declared that he had no confidence in the insurgent chiefs, but added—"At any rate, I would rather suffer an hundred deaths than live the last six weeks over again."* The undertaking then, was the last resource of a man who entertained little hope of its success, but saw no means of escape by any other way. Still, if he could not altogether decline the danger, some preparation might have been made for meeting it. The military authorities slumbered in cantonments; but a larger and more efficient escort than that which actually accompanied him ought to have been provided, and the envoy and his immediate attendants should not have been separated from it by so great a distance as that which was permitted to intervene. With a more adequate force, and one prepared to perform its duty,† the lives of the European functionaries might have been sacrificed in the *melée* that must have ensued upon any attempt at resistance, but a chance of escape would have been afforded them.

An excessive display of confidence may, in a few instances, have succeeded in dealing with the people of the East; but where success has followed, there is reason to believe that they have been overawed rather than flattered; and the interests of an empire are of too much importance to be risked on an idle display of feeling which can rarely be sincere.

But beyond the charge of imprudence, which is but too well sustained, there seems no ground for impugning the conduct of the British envoy on this occasion. The imputation of bad faith is ridiculous. The chiefs had agreed to certain conditions, not one of which they had ever performed, or, as it would appear, ever intended to perform. All to which the representative of the British government had in return bound himself was consequently at an end, and he was in the same position as that in which he stood before any negotiation commenced. In this state of things he received an overture from one of the chiefs, proposing, on certain conditions, to give up another, whose power of doing mischief was greatly dreaded, and he consented to discuss the proposal.

Whether or not Akbar Khan, had he been sincere, were justified in betraying his coadjutor Amín-úllah Khan, is not the question. It is no unusual

* Letter from Captain Lawrence to Major Pottinger, 10th May, 1842.

† The troops forming the envoy's small escort characteristically ran away as soon as danger became apparent, with the exception of one man, who was *immediately cut down*. Some apology for their conduct may be found in the smallness of their number. They were only sixteen, and this number was more than Sir William Macnaghten had proposed to take. But, before he left the cantonments, he seems to have become aware of the error, and the remainder of the body-guard were ordered to follow. They did follow, but had only proceeded a short distance from the gate, when, learning the state of affairs, they suddenly faced about and galloped back.

practice to employ the services of one actor in a conspiracy to circumvent the rest; and whatever might be the ties existing between Akbar Khan and the man whom he proposed to seize and make prisoner, Sir William Macnaghten cannot be regarded as at the time under any engagement to either. As a question of morality, no imputation can lie against the character of Sir William Macnaghten for accepting the insidious proposal which was meant to lure him to destruction. As a question of prudence, he cannot escape blame, unless the distracting circumstences in which he was placed may plead his excuse."*

We purpose to make one more extract from this portion of Mr. Thornton's history. Speaking of the surrender of the women and children, during the retreat, to the guardianship of Akbar Khan, and the reasons assigned by General Elphinstone for his acquiescence to the proposal of the Sirdar, the historian observes:—

"The general had not objected to the former demand of the enemy, till compelled by the determination of his officers; it need, therefore, excite no surprise that he should yield now, when the motives for yielding were so much more urgent, nor can his reasons be an object of much curiosity. As however, he left them on record, it is right to give them as stated by himself. They were two; a desire, natural and laudable, to remove the ladies and children, after the horrors they had already witnessed, from the further dangers of a camp; and a hope that, "as from the very commencement of the negotiations the Sirdar had shown the greatest anxiety to have the married people as hostages, this mark of trust might elicit a corresponding feeling in him!" Here is the fatal error by which European safety in India has been so often perilled, and sometimes wrecked. What confidence could be placed in a ruthless ruffian, whose every breath was tainted by treachery? whose hand had just before struck down the British envoy in death, while professions of friendship were yet warm on his lips, and the value of whose promises was too well understood to be regarded as any thing more than a mockery of the ear—for hope had ceased to wait upon them, and they could be listened to but as idle words, meant, indeed, to deceive, but no longer possessed of the power of deceiving? Or, again, what confidence was likely to be felt by Akbar Khan in *those whom he must know affected* to trust him only because they were without remedy, and he, too, a man so utterly faithless as to be incapable of conceiving the possibility of good faith in others; a man pre-eminent for perfidy in a country where perfidy is universal? The expectation of inspiring Akbar Khan with confidence by making a show of that feeling towards him was just as rational as would be the hope of a traveller who encounters a tiger in the jungle to disarm the hostility of the animal and change its natural character by calmly awaiting its spring instead of

* The quick perception and sound sense of Lady Sale have determined the question in a manner which may satisfy all who are not admirers of native treachery. "We must hold in mind, that although we have *performed* all promises made on our part, given up our waggons, ammunition, forts, &c., the treaty had never been signed by the chiefs, nor had they fulfilled a *single* condition which had been specified verbally, beyond giving us grain in small quantities. The *sequitur* is, that the envoy was perfectly justified, as far as keeping good faith went, in entering into any arrangement by which the condition of the troops could be ameliorated, and the honour of our country be ensured. He only erred in supposing it possible that Akbar Khan, proverbially the most treacherous of all his countrymen, could be sincere."—*Journal* p. 199.

avoiding it. Confidence and magnanimity have reigned long enough, and it is time that prudence and common sense should be admitted to offer counsel without the certainty of its rejection. To negotiate at all with the murderer of Sir William Macnaghten was discreditable—it would not be too much to say disgraceful. To talk of reposing confidence in him indicated either utter fatuity or miserable affectation. To place women in the situation in which were placed the wives of the British officers of the Kabúl force was a fearful thing. To surrender them to the power of a barbarian, alike destitute of honour and insensible to the claims of pity, was a step attended with such overwhelming responsibility that few men, it may be believed, would venture to incur it, even to avert the certain death of those who were objects of the transfer. Whether, however, it were right or wrong, with reference to all circumstances, to accept the proposal of Akbar Khan, is a question on which some difference of opinion may possibly exist; but it is beyond dispute that, of the two reasons assigned for accepting it, one is utterly worthless, and ought not for a moment to have had the slightest weight in guiding the judgment to a decision on the awful occasion."

There is a great deal of nonsense in this. It seems to have escaped the historian altogether, that if Akbar Khan merely desired to obtain possession of the persons of women and children, nothing was easier than to seize them, without negotiation of any kind without hampering himself with pledges. The entire force—men, women, and children—were at the mercy of the Affghans. It is idle to talk about surrendering the women, or anything else, as a matter in which our officers had any power to resist the will of the Affghans. This surrender was almost the only prudent thing that was done from the very commencement of the outbreak—as we doubt not the few survivors of that ill-fated force are now most willing to acknowledge.

Mr. Thornton dismisses the subject of the war in Affghanistan with the following general reflections, which, with the exception of the allusion to the justice of the original expedition, we hold to be sufficiently sound:—

"Nothing now remained but to withdraw the army to India; and this operation was effected with little annoyance—none of sufficient importance to call for notice in this work. As the British government renounced all connection with Affghanistan, there was no motive for retaining Dost Mahommed and the other Affghan prisoners in captivity. Their intended release was accordingly announced in a government notification, couched in that grandiloquent tone which seems to have been inseparably associated with our Affghan expedition.* One act, marked by singularly bad taste, was threatened, but not performed. It was publicly intimated to be the intention of the governor-general to parade the prisoners for exhibition at

* This remark is not intended to apply to the communications of the officers engaged in the war, but to the official publications of the government, from that which announced the formation of the "Army of the Indus," to the last issued in connection with the war. Some of these writings have caused much amusement, and will certainly be read with wonder, if not with incredulity, by the men of the coming age.

a grand military show to be got up at Ferozepore. The motives which led to the abandonment of the design are not known; and in the absence of authentic information, it would be worse than useless to attempt to conjecture them. It is well that our national reputation escaped the stain which would have been incurred by a renewal of one of the most barbarous practices of bygone times, in the production of an array of captive princes to grace the triumph of conquerors. The pageant, however, took place, though the actors chiefly relied on for attraction were withdrawn. Still it seems to have been a showy spectacle; and, perhaps, the stage of Drury-lane Theatre has not often presented any thing better calculated to please the "children of a larger growth," who delight in such displays. There were painted elephants, triumphal arches, waving banners, and roaring artillery. The curtain had fallen on the tragedy, and, in accordance with theatrical usage, a splendid pantomime followed. This latter performance, it is to be presumed, afforded gratification to its contrivers; and if it effected this, its object was, without doubt, answered. And thus, with masking and mummery, terminated a war more calamitous than any which Britain had previously waged in the East—a war, the termination of which, but for the noble spirit evinced by those intrusted with high military command, would have left the name of our country a by-word of reproach; would have roused every unfriendly state to active hostility, and have placed in mortal peril, not merely the supremacy, but the very existence of British power in India.

The lesson is an awful one, and it is to be hoped that it may not be lost. We commenced a war, which indeed upon the principles of justice was not to be impugned, but which it is now obvious was utterly unwarranted by prudence. The information upon which this important step was taken was altogether unworthy of trust, and indeed intelligence got up for an occasion is seldom calculated for any thing but to mislead. The natives will furnish to order any information that is wanted, and though such Europeans as the British government mostly employs as its agents will not knowingly deceive those to whom they are responsible, they are to a great degree at the mercy of native informants, and consequently their communications are often worse than useless. It is idle to suppose that the most acute and well-prepared man can, by a residence of a few weeks or a few months in a strange country, acquire such a perfect acquaintance with it as would justify any government in risking much upon his report. The men of unbounded confidence and popular and plausible talent who undertake such missions, and thereby raise themselves to eminence, are the only parties who derive any real benefit from them. The very fact of their appearing in a public character is a bar to their obtaining any information worth having. Every one who has intercourse with them is on his guard, and nothing is presented to them without being coloured for the purpose. The wily government of Russia understands the business better than it yet appears to be understood elsewhere. That government has, in every place where an object of sufficient importance is in view, agents carefully selected with a view to their qualifications, but not maintaining any public character, not recognized by the government under which they dwell, and not even known by it. Far distant the day when Britain shall imitate the aggressive and profligate policy of Russia, but we may lawfully and beneficially avail ourselves of her example to improve that much-neglected branch of our diplomatic establishments which is devoted (or should be devoted) to the collection of information. The expense would be trifling, compared with the amount of benefit; it would even be trifling in itself, for unaccredited agents require nothing for show and splendour. The advantages of such a system would

not soon be apparent; we could not venture at an early period to act upon the stock of intelligence thus acquired. But here again we should learn from Russia to wait till the proper time arrives for striking, and avoid the mischances which result from striking too soon.

The war with Affghanistan was commenced unadvisedly, and was throughout prosecuted without circumspection; hence the blame must rest upon the heads of the chief military authorities. Our army marched to Kabúl, but military students will not derive much profit from the study of the campaign that brought it there, except it be in the way of caution against the errors committed on the route. The engineering talent displayed at Ghuzní, and the heroic bearing of those who pushed to completion the success thus begun, will shew that there was no lack of either military ability or daring courage in the army sent to re-seat Shah Shújah on his throne; but the far-seeing sagacity which discerns every possible contingency, and the prudence which provides for the occurrence of each appear to have been altogether wanting. Again, no sooner was Shah Shújah acknowledged sovereign, than it was concluded that the object of the war was attained. We had enthroned that prince at Kabúl, and were satisfied. It was desirable to retrench the enormous expense to which we had been subjected, and we therefore, in spite of the most unmistakeable intimations to the contrary, deluded ourselves into the belief that what we had been told of Shah Shújah's popularity was true. Then came the fearful outbreak which seems to have paralyzed all but the envoy Sir William Macnaghten and a part of the millitary officers, unfortunately not of the highest rank, and possessing no influence save that which was derived from talents and character. The results were the destruction of the army at Kabúl, and the triumph of those who were believed to be without power. All this was gloomy enough, but a yet darker cloud hung over British prospects, when it was proposed, after the rescue of the garrison of Jelalabad, to withdraw the Anglo-Indian troops from Affghanistan without any satisfactory vindication of the national honour. The design was frustrated, and though our countrymen cannot recur to the war in Affghanistan without sorrow, they may at least look to its conclusion without shame."

From the affairs of Affghanistan Mr. Thornton proceeds to consider, in due sequence, the affairs of Sindh. The manner in which he has acquitted himself of this portion of his task is highly honorable to the historian. The case between the British Government and the Amírs of Sindh is clearly and fairly stated. Nothing is concealed; nothing is extenuated on the one side; nothing set down in malice on the other. There is no effort to screen the offences of one governor-general, but to magnify those of another. Whig frailties are not over-looked whilst Tory frailties are minutely scanned. Every incident connected with the tortuous policy, which has resulted in the annexation of another Golgotha to the British possessions in the East, is viewed by the broad light of unalterable justice, without reference to color or to creed; without any concession to national prejudices and partialities. Mr. Thornton has shown—as we have shown in this journal—that, from first to last, the Amírs of Sindh have been treated by the British Indian Government, in a manner repugnant to every sentiment of justice and

honesty—that Lord Auckland forced obnoxious treaties upon them,—that Lord Ellenborough forced obnoxious treaties upon them—that, from the hour when the famous tripartite treaty of the 20th of June, 1838, was signed, the Amírs of Sindh virtually ceased to exist as independent rulers,—that the conduct of our government towards the unhappy Talpúrs has been, from that time up to the day when they were driven in hack-carriages, a band of wretched prisoners, into the compound of Fairy Hall, at Dum-Dum, one long series of gross outrages, affixing, in Mr. Thornton's language, an "indelible brand of shame" upon all who have been concerned in such terrible injustice. Lord Auckland is not spared; Lord Ellenborough is not spared; Sir Charles Napier is not spared. Party spirit is the bane of cotemporary history. It is too often controversial in character. It assumes the form of an apology or an impeachment, regarding men and not measures, dealing in invective or in adulation, or in both, and showing clearly in every passage that the writer has either a party or a personal object in every thing that he asserts. Of this nature are, for the most part, the numerous review-articles, the thin pamphlets without covers, and the thick ones in crimson covers, with which we have been favored on the subject of the Robbery, or as some are pleased to call it, the "conquest" of Sindh. Perhaps it is too much to expect that the majority of writers should treat a question, affecting the reputations of living men, with as much coolness and impartiality as though it were an A. B. question, submitted to a clear-headed counsel, with nothing to warp his understanding—nothing to blunt the edge of his acumen. Public writers often have a great deal to say about justice. Justice is a very taking word and looks well in a book, whether a great or a small one; but it is astonishing how little we trouble ourselves about it, when a brother, a friend, or a political associate is concerned—when for our own or our party's sake we are anxious to make out a case. And it is in proportion, therefore, to the rarity of the virtue, that high praise is fairly due to the cotemporary historian who rises superior to all personal party interests, and ventures to declare the truth. Mr. Thornton has fairly entitled himself to this praise. He has discussed, in all its bearings, the subject of British connexions with Sindh, with as much candour, as much impartiality, as much truthful plain speaking, as though the events alluded to had occurred a century ago.

We need not dwell upon Mr. Thornton's arguments. They are substantially the same as those which we employed in the opening number of this journal,* and we should only repeat

* Article: "The Amírs of Sindh."—*Calcutta Review, No. I.*

what we have already advanced were we now to re-open the general question. As regards some of the details of it—those especially connected with the part taken by some of the principal actors in the great melo-drama—it is possible that circumstances will ere long induce us to offer a few further observations of our own.

With a review of recent transactions at Gwalior, Mr. Thornton brings his volume nearly to a close. This review we consider sufficiently impartial; it may be accepted as legitimate history. "On reviewing the strange course of events," he observes at the close of his narrative, "which commenced at Gwalior in "1843, and were closed by the treaty concluded at the begin- "ning of the following year, the observer, as far as the native "state is concerned, will find little to distinguish the pro- "ceedings there from the ordinary routine. A host of male "and female intriguers, intent on nothing but circumventing "each other, are the regular occupants of an oriental court; "and an ill-paid, mutinous, and threatening army, holding in "terror those whom it professes to serve, is by no means an "uncommon appendage. But the conduct of the British autho- "rities throughout these series of strange transactions may well "strike men's minds as not being distinguished by any remark- "ble unity of purpose, or any very consistent perseverance in "prosecuting the purpose entertained for the time, whatever "it might be."—How was consistency to be expected from such a quarter?

We did not expect that the completion of Mr. Thornton's work would throw any new light upon the history of Lord Ellenborough's recall; we are not therefore disappointed to find that the fact is stated in the fewest possible words. With a brief sketch of that eccentric nobleman's character the volume and the work are concluded. The portrait is sufficiently faithful:—

"Of Lord Ellenborough, as Governor-General of India, it is as yet difficult to speak with the freedom which may be used towards the statesmen of a former age. It is certain, however, that his Indian administration disappointed his friends: and if a judgment may be formed from his own declarations previously to his departure from Europe, it must have disappointed himself. He went to India the avowed champion of peace, and he was incessantly engaged in war. For the Affghan war he was not, indeed, accountable—he found it on his hands; and in the mode in which he proposed to conclude it, and in which he would have concluded it, but for the remonstrances of his military advisers, he certainly displayed no departure from the ultra-pacific policy which he had professed in England. The triumphs with which the perseverance of the generals commanding in Affghanistan graced his administration seem completely to have altered his views; and the desire of military glory thenceforward supplanted every other feeling in his breast. He would have shunned war in Affghanistan by a course which the majority of his countrymen would pronounce dishonourable. He might without dishonour have avoided war in Sindh, and possibly have averted hostilities at Gwalior, but he did not. For the internal improvement of India he did nothing. He had, indeed, little time to do any thing. War, and preparation for war, absorbed most of his hours, and in a theatrical display of childish pomp many more were consumed. With an extravagant confidence in his own judgment, even on points which he had never studied, he united no portion of steadiness or constancy. His purposes were formed and abandoned with a levity which accorded little with the offensive tone which he manifested in their defence, so long as they were entertained. His administration was not an illustration of any marked and consistent course of policy; it was an aggregation of isolated facts. It resembled an ill-constructed drama, in which no one incident is the result of that by which it was preceded, nor a just and natural preparation for that which is to follow. Every thing in it stands alone and unconnected. His influence shot across the Asiatic world like a meteor, and but for the indelible brand of shame indented in Sindh, like a meteor its memory would pass from the mind with its disappearance."

If our readers will take the trouble to turn to page 553, of the first volume of this Review, they will find much of this expressed in language so closely resembling it, as to render it altogether superfluous on our part to say that we consider Mr. Thornton's estimate of Lord Ellenborough's character, as far as it goes, a just one. Although we have sometimes found occasion to differ from the historian, our respect for his ability and integrity are such that it gives us far greater pleasure to find that his opinions are so often coincident with our own.

Before we bring this article to a close, we must call Mr. Thornton's attention to a defect in his work, which, though it may escape notice and therefore censure in England, is sure to excite the attention and call down the reprehension of readers in this country—we allude to the singular carelessness he has evinced in the spelling of the names of persons and of places. Mr. Thornton has evinced a most praise-worthy desire to celebrate, in the pages of his history, all who have distinguished themselves in recent transactions, without regard to the *rank* of the actor. His pages, therefore, are often crowded with names; but these names are so unfortunately mutilated either by the author or the printer, that the benevolent object with which they are introduced is entirely defeated. In some instances the recognition of the parties intended to be indicated demands a very intimate acquaintance with the details of our recent military operations and the individuals personally engaged in them. We may give a few samples of this inaccuracy; the volume is full of such.

At page 200, Colonel Herring, who was murdered in Affghanistan, is twice called Colonel *Henry*. Captain Innes is

elsewhere, called Captain *Ennis*—Captain Bygrave is called Captain *Bygrove*—General Lumley is abridged to General *Lumly*. Captain Lawrence every where figures as Captain *Laurence*; Dr. Brydon, as Dr. *Bryden*, &c. &c. These, it may be said, are small matters, but it is not a small matter to have

> Thrice happy he whose name has been well spelt
> In the despatch; I know a man whose loss
> Was printed *Grove* altho' his name was *Grose*.

"A fact," which Byron says made him exclaim "*There is fame!*"

Of other errors we may also mention a few—Bood-Kauk is every where called *Boothauk;* Kooloom is converted into *Kooloon;* Chergong, into *Cherong;* Kohistan into *Kohidaman*; Appa Sahib is called *Appa Sahid*, &c. &c. At page 245, the 38th Regiment is said to have "suffered severely," between Kabul and Jellalabad, in October 1841. The 38th was then at Kandahar. The Regiment of Native Infantry with General Sale, was the 35th.

These errors, mostly we doubt not typographical, it will be very easy to correct in a future edition of the History of India. And, although we have more than once been called upon to break a lance with Mr. Thornton, we sincerely hope that his work will reach many future editions. Perhaps, it is not presumptuous in us to express a hope that after all we have written in this journal, the historian, when revising his work for republication, will feel inclined to make a few corrections, not merely typographical. Mr. Thornton is we believe a writer of much honesty of purpose. He is not without prejudices—who is?—but we believe that it is ever his desire neither to exceed, nor to fall short of the truth, though appearances, when he is tilting at one of his "favorite aversions," are sometimes rather against him. We repeat that India is indebted to him. He is not a graphic writer; but he is a very sensible—a very temperate one. His position has opened out to him the best sources of information, and he has made good use of them. He is always pains-taking, often successful; and when he commits an error we feel assured that it is never an intentional one. His defects are chiefly those of accident; his merits are entirely his own. Had he spent a few years in the country, he would have written a much better history of India. Perhaps it is only on this account that we have to add that the History of India is yet to be written.

ART. V.—*Hints on Irregular Cavalry, its conformation, management and use in both a Military and Political point of view. By Captain Charles Farquhar Trower, Major of Brigade, H. H. the Nizam's Cavalry. Calcutta, Thacker and Co.*, 1845.

THE great increase of the Irregular Cavalry within the last three months, consequent on the sudden irruption of the Sikhs into the British territories, and the efforts which Government has been constrained to make for the defence of our North-West Frontier, give an additional and permanent interest to this branch of our military economy. We therefore embrace the opportunity thus afforded us of bringing the subject under review, and examining the orders of the Bengal Government in this department of the Service, many of which are little understood by the community, and appear to be susceptible of considerable improvement. We have selected as our text book, a little brochure recently published in Calcutta, by Captain Charles Farquhar Trower, and entitled—"Hints on Irregular Cavalry," in which the subject is discussed at large by one who has enjoyed the benefit of experience, and whose remarks are therefore likely to carry weight. But as the object to which the attention of the public authorities should now be more especially directed, is the increased efficiency of a body which forms so large and important a portion of our army, we shall venture freely to discuss the various points in which we are constrained to differ from Captain Trower.

The strength of our Irregular Cavalry Regiments is not uniform—The 1st or Skinner's, the 2d or Gardner's, the 3d or Roberts', and the 4th or Baddeley's Horse have one non-commissioned officer and ten privates more than the Corps lately raised. The 5th is a Civil Corps and the 6th has had a whole Squadron lately added to it. The rest* are uniformly as follow:†

4 Russaldars,	All Commissioned.	8 Kote Duffadars,
4 Resaidars,		64 Duffadars,
8 Naib Russaldars,		8 Nishanbúrdars,
8 Jemadars,		4 Trumpeters,
1 Wúrdi Major,		4 Nicarchis,

640 Sowars or Troopers.

Our Irregular Cavalry are now expected to do the duty of a

* Including the Cavalry of the Bundelkund legion.

† The 10th, 11th, 12th, and 13th were not ordered when this was written, they have 48 Sowars extra.

manœuvre on parade like Regulars. In the field they take almost all the harassing duties of camp, protecting Commissariat stores and cattle at graze, providing numerous rear guards and keeping up communication with the various columns. When the Regulars are comfortably housed and stabled in cantonments, the Irregulars to a great extent afford aid to the Police of the country in catching dacoits and such like occupation. One Troop is always placed under the Magistrate of Goruckpore for service on the Oude Frontier. In the Saugor Territories, the Irregulars are spread over the country in detachments, and nearly every Collector and Magistrate in the Upper Provinces has a party of them. Thus they may be said in a measure to pay their own expenses in times of peace.

The Irregular Cavalry were, in former years, a source of profit to the Commandants of corps. Some of the Regiments, if not all, were badly horsed and ill found. About one-third of the men were Bargírs* to the European and Native officers; another third were Bargírs to persons out of the service, and the remaining were bonâ fide Khúduspas, or men who rode their own horses.

These times are gone by, and Commandants are exerting themselves to have their Corps better mounted, and to abolish, as far as may be, what we cannot but consider the great abuses of the olden times. But they cannot, with safety or propriety, proceed to abolish them all, or to continue in the old course, without subjecting themselves, on the one hand, to blame for changing that which Captain Trower has pronounced admirable and which may possibly be so considered by Government, or on the other hand, without winking at a system they must object to. There are also various customs to which we shall allude, which it may be necessary, perhaps, to uphold, though they are at variance with the orders of Government.

We shall follow Captain Trower from chapter to chapter as far as we are able; but our limits necessarily oblige us to be brief. We were in hopes, from the title of this work, that its pages would have been devoted entirely to an analysis of the Irregular Cavalry Service, and that in describing the *sort* of officer required for it—which is done in the few first pages—the author would not have gone out of his way, as it were, to represent the impropriety of having uncovenanted servants in the Hyderabad portion of it, because, as he himself belongs to the covenanted branch, the world will scarcely give him credit for a disinterested and unprejudiced opinion; at all events, we think the remarks out of place in the volume.

* This term explained hereafter.

We can with safety subscribe to Captain Trower's remark, that European officers should be selected with circumspection; that the officer selected should possess a very considerable knowledge of Hindustani, and be able to converse fluently in it, instead of having only "that bastard degree of acquirement contemplated in General Orders, 20th April 1844;" that he should be well versed in the Native customs, habits and modes of thought and feeling; that he should be a man of even temper, never hasty; firm, yet patient; that he should possess strength of constitution, and active habits of mind and body; that he should be an excellent horseman; have a spirit of enterprize together with tact and good nerves; that he should observe a conciliatory demeanor towards the Native officers,—in fact that he should be a paragon;—we only doubt whether such men are to be had in these degenerate days. Captain Trower remarks, that the rock on which European officers split is, "the belief that by the introduction of new measures they can make their men approximate more nearly to the Regular Cavalry," and he very sensibly adds, that though the Irregulars are most excellent troops, yet you cannot make "*Horse Guards*" of them. But while we concede all this, it will be found, as we proceed, that, though we do not wish to see the Irregular Cavalry approximated to the Regular Cavalry, yet we differ considerably from the author in his aversion to any departure from the system which has obtained, at all events in Bengal, for some years past, and which evidently still prevails in the Nizam's Horse. Our remarks apply merely to the former.

That the dread of the system of European discipline prevents the best men of Hindustan from entering the ranks of the Regular Cavalry, is undoubted. What, therefore, will Captain Trower say, when he finds the new Articles of War made applicable to Irregular Horse, and Punchaits consequently abolished? Unless he can persuade the Government to institute a code of laws for his service, we fear a vast deal of wholesome advice will have been thrown away on his brother officers of the *Matchlock*, the *Spear* and the *Spur!*

As we write for the benefit of our subscribers and the community at large, who are for the most part ignorant of the distinctions between Irregular and other Cavalry, we would explain, in a few words, that the Irregular Cavalry Sowar, or trooper, contracts with the Government in Bengal to furnish his horse, horse appointments, stabling, attendants and forage, his arms, accoutrements, clothing, and camp equipage, but *not* his ammunition, for 20 Rupees per mensem. That the bonâ fide owner of a horse is called Silladar, or Khúduspa—that the Native

Commissioned officers are allowed from five to two extra horses according to their rank; the non-commissioned uniformly one—that *Bargírs* are enlisted as fighting men to ride these extra horses—that the owner of the horse* (or Asamy as it is called) receives two-thirds and the Bargír one-third of the 20 Rs. per mensem—the former, of course, furnishing the horse, stabling, and horse appointments, and the latter his own arms, clothing and accoutrements. The Sherrah (or pay for man and horse) in the Nizam's Service is, 40 Rupees, and in the Punah and Kurnaul Horse something between the Bengal and Hydrabad rates.

Hitherto, we believe in every part of the Hindustani Cavalry, and certainly in all the old Regiments, the Asamies (or berths) have been looked on as *property*, as much as the *Potaili* or hereditary succession to the head authority of a village. Captain Trower says, "the Asamy was not only permitted to be sold, but was bequeathed from father to son, or for the subsistence of the widow or family of the Silladar." A man can, moreover, sell the berth to any one who will give the best price, provided the substitute be considered fit for the service by the Commandant. If he dies, or is invalided, he or the family retain the Asamy,—a Bargír being enlisted to ride the horse, and the overplus, after paying expenses, being remitted to the owner.

We apprehend that Captain Trower is wrong in supposing that this system does not prevail in Bengal. We know that, till very lately, it prevailed to a great extent; that people of all descriptions, not only sons, widows, daughters, nephews and invalided soldiers, but men who had been removed to other Corps, and even some who had resigned the service, owned Asamies in three of the Regiments. The Bargírs on such horses are termed "pukka awaz," in contradistinction to "kutcha awaz," or a substitute for man on leave of absence.

Captain Trower has lauded the system of "*Ba-nokur*"† Silladars. He says in one portion of his book, that many of his remarks and propositions apply only to the Hydrabad Service, but we think he means to apply *this* to all. We are of opinion, however, that there are many serious objections to it in every service, and that they are insuperable in one where the pay of the substitute is so very small as in Bengal. But let us set forth both sides of the argument.

There can be no doubt, that the greater the *stake* a trooper

* *Always* called *Asamy* or Berth. This word is *curiously* applied to the place or berth, for Asamy would rather mean a *person* than a *place*.

† Men who do not serve in person.

has in the service, the less likely will he be to misbehave himself, and that, independent of personal bravery, this will prevent his deserting his colors. It is rare to hear of a Khúduspa doing a dirty action or being guilty of disgraceful conduct. As far as misconduct in quarters is concerned, the same result must be obvious to any one who has had any experience. The Bargírs, who have nothing at stake, are the worst men in the ranks. Is this to be wondered at? Can a man who finds his own arms, accoutrements, and clothing at a cost of 3 Rs. per month, on an average, feel much attachment to the service—can he entertain much self-esteem, on the *third* of 20 Rs.? In the Hydrabad service, where the Bargír receives nearly double pay, it may be different. We maintain however that the system is bad at Hydrabad, and worse in Bengal; that every additional Bargír is a burthen on the state, and that the more Khúduspas there may be, the greater will be the respectability of the service. We rather think that this is Capt. Trower's real opinion, because in recommending in his last Chapter that the Regulars should be converted into Silladari (i. e. Irregular) Cavalry, we observe that he proposes to make them all Khúduspas.

We are quite of opinion, as we have shewn, that the greater the stake a man has, the more he can be depended on; and that the individual who has six horses, will be a really good soldier, *on a pinch*, but what will the other five be who ride his horses? It is true that a man who feels that his family will be provided for after his death by the Asamy remaining with his heirs in perpetuity, will be good and true, and that many a worn-out soldier will take the invalids—which at present they do not as long as they can resist it—if his commanding officer permits him to retain his Asamies, and that we shall have a *young* horseman in his room; but these *young* men will be Bargírs, and there is no end to them* as we shall presently shew. Capt. Trower must be aware, that every Russaldar is by orders *entitled* to five extra Asamies. We presume our author means that when he dies, or invalids, he can in the one case bequeath them to any one he chooses, and retain them himself in the other case. The Russaldar who is promoted to the vacancy claims a like number of Asamies. How is he to obtain them? probably the first vacant place will be given him. If so, we should like to know how many Khúduspas there will be to the force in the course of twenty years under such a system.

We heard an officer declare not long ago, that there were

* What we want is not a few men of great note and the rest bad Bargírs, but a fair average respectability throughout, by having as many men as possible mounted on their own cattle.

upwards of 200 *Ba-nokur* Asamies in his Regiment; we know that there must at the same time have been 160 authorized bargírs. Doubtless there were many Bargírs *sub-rosa*, or avowedly belonging to Silladars of the Corps; we apprehend therefore that half the men were Bargírs. That there must be a great number in the Hydrabad Cavalry is evident from Capt. Trower's book, for he says, at page 73, "Every Silladar who has six horses should be excused "*dismounted sentry duty.*" So that we are not only to have the burthen of five bargírs, but the more of these pluralists there may be, the less we shall have for duty! To this we never can subscribe. We agree to promote the men of good family—if of good conduct—as quickly as possible, because by so doing we keep up the respectability of the corps. But we must conclude this portion of our subject, on which we have been more prolix than we intended, by recommending Government not to reduce the Bargírs below their present strength, because the nature of the service requires that the officers of all grades should have some extra horses either in the cheapest mode in which they can be obtained, but *by no means* to increase them.

Regarding recruiting, Capt. Trower says, it is very difficult to define the best description of persons to enlist in the ranks of the Irregular Cavalry; but we think he defines it with sufficient accuracy, when he says, "any person coming under the designation of a "Bhála Admí" or "Ashraff"—terms of respectability—being a horseman and expert in the use of his arms, with figure, strength and activity, may be admitted on the option of Commandants, whether he be a Mahommedan, Rajpút, Mahratta or Sikh; although the *last* race are by far the worst and do not make good soldiers; I have ever found them a drunken, boastful, pusillanimous set." We agree to much of this, but are rather astonished at the Sikh being included, if he be what Capt. Trower describes. We have never heard of any in the *Bengal* Irregular Cavalry.

Capt. Trower proceeds to say, that the Rajpúts are a noble race, but not generally good horsemen, with the exception of those from Shekawut and Cutch; that the Mahommedans, after all, make the best Irregular Cavalry soldiers, and of these the Patan is the first in excellence, and that those of Rampúr, Mhow, Shumshabad and Jellalabad near Shajehanpore are the best. We will venture to add the Patans of Barrah Bustí near Ghurmuktesír and the Mahommedan Rajpúts (Rangurs) principally from Kalanore and Kanhore of the Hurreana district. The former are entirely distinct from the Rohillah Patan, and the latter are a class of people found only in the Irregular

Cavalry who are bred to the trade, who come for service and devote themselves to it; seldom taking their discharge. They are the roughest and most ready men we have, but were said by Colonel Skinner not* to make very good officers.

But the subject of recruiting again involves us in the old Silladarí system, and we do not quite see how a Commandant has much choice regarding the class of men he will recruit from, for Capt. Trower says, "it should be a settled point that the selection (of Bargírs) rest with the Silladar, a right which can only be forfeited by his failing to bring a rider within a stipulated time." We have heard that there is a vast difference of opinion amongst Irregular Cavalry officers regarding the system of recruiting. Some assert that by keeping up the price of "Asamies" we obtain a more respectable class of men in the ranks; others, on the contrary, maintain that by restricting the price of Asamies to about 250 Rupees (the average value of a horse and appointments) we get the *same men less in debt.* Thinking that both opinions are more or less correct, we recommend that the vacant Asamies should be filled up as follows: That for the most part every vacancy by death or invaliding should be given to the family of the vacator, if a good and efficient soldier can be at once produced; that, as a generel rule, all other vacancies be filled up from amongst the Bargírs; the price of Asamies being fixed at a given sum, say 250 or 300 Rupees at most. This would enable many Bargírs to purchase without falling *irretrievably into debt*, and it would induce many good men, who *now* would not enter as Bargírs, to do so. There need be very few exceptions to this rule; we would except the sons of Commissioned Officers, for these cannot be expected to enter them as Bargírs; neither would we wish to see them do so.

This system has, we believe, been tried in some of the newly raised Regiments. We have heard, that with the certainty of getting Asamies in due time, the Duffadars and best men have entered their nearest relatives as Bargírs, and that it is producing a good effect; but we are desirous of ascertaining the point more fully. Of one thing we are quite certain, that no man, be he what he may, should be allowed an Asamy unless he is of respectable connexions, and that to promote Bargírs indiscriminately would be productive of the worst effects. After all, we have but small hope of raising the character of the Bargír until the Government shall grant

* We ourselves are rather inclined to prefer the small yeomen of the country villages in the Patan and Rajpút Districts, Rohilkund, Hurreana, &c. &c., because we have ever found men from large cities dissolute and unruly.

him a more liberal monthly rate of pay than Rupees 6-10-5, of which he is constrained to expend about 3 Rupees on his arms and accoutrements, leaving him only Rs. 3-10-5 for his subsistence. Captain Trower recommends that Bargírs should be allowed to sell their berths like the Khúduspas. We should like to know who would buy them at the above rate of pay?

The next division of the subject touched on by Capt. Trower is the rate of pay of all ranks. He very justly observes, that 20 Rupees per mensem is not sufficient for a man to mount himself as he ought to be mounted, nor live as he should live, and provide arms, accoutrements, clothing, stabling, camp equipage, &c. The fact is, that though it *is* done, it is not done properly, and now that Commandants are insisting on superior cattle, better fed and better found, and on good clothing, the Government will, we apprehend, gradually obtain a lower class of horsemen, unless they consent to an increase of allowance. The Irregular Cavalry now forms so large a portion of our mounted branch, and is daily becoming so important, that it must attract attention. We desire not to see the Irregular Cavalry pampered, and thereby spoilt, with all sorts of extra allowances, but we must venture to *insist* on a fair remunerative scale of pay, so that each man may be enabled to remit a small sum for the support of his family, and do justice to the contract he holds, and also that the pensions should be equal to those of the Regular Cavalry.

Capt. Trower has attempted to show by his table No. 4, that if a trooper does justice to his horse he will have only 22 Rs. to find himself for the twelve month, and to supply arms, clothing, accoutrements, hutting and camp equipage. We think this estimate of some of the necessary expenses rather high. It is as follows:

Wear and tear of horse, calculated to last 10 years, ...	20
Gram, forage, syce, shoeing, stabling, horse clothing, and heel ropes, ...	138
Saddle and Horse appointments, ...	12
Wear and tear of Tattú and gram for ditto, ...	24
19 per cent. on the price of the horse, ...	24
	218
12 months pay at 20 Rs., ...	240
Balance, ... Rs.	22

To this balance we must add Capt. Trower's last item of 24 Rs. for interest on Capital, which ought not to appear at all, and we think 12 Rs. more far too heavy an estimate. These two sums added together will about find a man in arms, accoutrements, clothing, hutting and camp equipage, and thus leave a balance of 22 Rs. a year *only* for his food and family—a sum totally insufficient for the purpose.

The consequence is that either the horse and arms, &c. &c. are not of a very superior description, or else that the horse is starved to feed the rider, probably both. That the cattle are not properly fed is so well known that we fancy no one will deny the fact. Capt. Trower's scheme for raising the pay of the men of the Irregular Cavalry is as follows:

1 Russaldar	at 300 Rs.	1 Trumpeter Major at	40 Rs.
8 Jemadars	„ 150	6 Trumpeters ..... „	30
16 Duffadars	„ 50	2 Kettle drummers „	30
64 Naib Duffadars .	„ 40	528 Troopers ..... „	30

Thus the whole cost of 626 officers and rank and file will be 20,980 per mensem, not including European officers, staff allowance for pay Duffadars, Match,* Múnshí, Stationery, Bazar entablishment, or Native Adjutant (Wúrdí Major.)

The pay of a Regiment of Irregular Cavalry on the Bengal establishment 753 strong—16 commissioned officers and 111 privates stronger than Capt. Trower's Regiment as above—is Rs. 17,081 per mensem; the cost of European officers and every expense save medicine and ammunition making it up to the grand total of 20,052.

We do not feel at all reconciled to alter all the denominations of the ranks, for we see no necessity for it. We ought never to change without a *good* reason. We think there are not at all too many officers to carry on the numerous detached duties, as the Regiments are now constructed, and we think we may get on pretty well without increasing the pay of the *higher* grades, and we also fear it would be useless to expect it. But we propose, as a matter of necessity to give each Duffadar and Standard Bearer, (Nishanburdar) 2 Rs. extra and each trooper 5 Rs. of which 3 Rs. is to go to the Bargír.

Thus the extra expense to Government will be

72 Duffadars and Nishanburdars	144
640 Sowars .... „	3,200
Total.....	3,344

We have a great objection to Captain Trower's one great Russaldar or Native Commandant on 300 Rs. per month. He

* Match for matchlocks, one and half annas per man per mensem.

is evidently not intended to be troop commander and will apparently have no specific duty. No doubt he will think much of himself, and, to use a slang phrase, "cock up his beak" on all occasions and be very useless. We had rather see an extra European officer, in order that there should be one to each Wing, independent of the Commandant and Adjutant.

We have remarked that a Wúrdí Major, or Native Adjutant, is omitted in Capt. Trower's detail. This man is most useful and necessary and should be a commissioned officer, selected for his talent, zeal, energy and tact, according to the prevailing custom in Bengal.

We would make one or two additions to the present strength of Irregular Cavalry Regiments. Each Russaldar, of which there are 4, is allowed a Nicarchí or kettle drummer, and consequently there are only 4 Trumpeters, or one per squadron. We would by no means decrease the number of kettle drummers; they are much coveted and add much to the *importance* of the Russaldar, and have been attached from time immemorial to Irregular Cavalry, but we would add 4 more Trumpeters to each corps, since the present number is quite inadequate to the duty required of them, more especially in the field. There is one more trifling addition we could wish to see made. We have said that the possession of a Nicarchí is considered to add much to the importance of the Russaldar. We therefore think that the European Commandant should likewise have a Nicarchí Major attached to him to keep up his importance, with a pair of silver kettle drums, for which a fair allowance should be given. The drums and horse should be the Commandant's own property. If a sum of 35 Rs. per mensem was appropriated by Government to this purpose we feel sure that the officer would be no gainer, but we also feel equally well assured that there is not a Commandant in the service who would not make some sacrifice to uphold his position. A Lord Mayor of London would be nothing without his *Mace*, and a Commandant who cannot beat his own *Drum*, loses half his consequence in the eyes of the Irregular soldier. Such small matters as these are, by no means, beneath the consideration of Government.

With regard to the system of *casting* and admission of horses we can suggest no improvement. The Commandant is responsible to his superior for the efficiency of his Corps, and he can *at any time* strike off any horse from the effective strength of his his Regiment which he may deem unserviceable, and admit a remount. The form of admission is generally thus: The dismounted officer, or Sowar, makes his own bargain and presents the horse first to his troop Russaldar, and subsequently to the

Commandant. The latter is generally anxious that the troop should be satisfied as well as himself and that for the following reason: There is a fund in each troop to replace casualties; every Asamy subscribes *equally* to make up a sum (in most Regiments) of 150 Rupees, and therefore it is well that the Russaldar should look after his own interest and that of the men of his troop, and enjoy the opportunity of securing good remounts. He should be encouraged to exert this power. The horse fund, or Chundah, as it is called, is an excellent institution, though it has its disadvantages.

The men of the Irregular Cavalry are proverbially improvident, and the loss of a horse, entailing as it must, the *borrowing* of 150 or 200 Rs. from the Regimental banker, at 18 per cent. interest, would involve the individual to such an extent, that he either would not or could not do justice to his horse for two years, *to the great detriment of the service;* whereas paying Rs. 1-10 for each casualty injures no one, if the mortality be at all moderate—say 10 per cent. per annum in quarters, and 20 per cent. in the field—though we *have* heard of far greater losses than this.

We will endeavor to specify the advantages and disadvantages of the Chundah, independent of the above reasoning. Each individual is likely to be less careful of his horse, but the non-commissioned officer and the trooper's own comrades will most assuredly not allow him to neglect or starve his horse if they can help it, since they have a personal interest in the matter. Many troop officers will, naturally enough, endeavour to conceal the defects of their troop horses, and resist as far as possible, with oriental eloquence, the casting of bad horses; but it is the fault of Commandants, for which they should be held responsible if bad cattle exists in the ranks, and this ought therefore to be no disadvantage to the state.

Again, suppose a very bad man, largely in debt, to starve his horse when there is no Chundah; what is a Commandant to do? If he strikes the horse off the strength of the Regiment, the Banker and Bazar shop-keepers are defrauded. But, in such a case, if a Chundah existed, he would sell the Asamy to pay the debts, and obtain a good man instead of a bad one—provided always that the Commandant has the power, which he once had, but which is not conceded by the new Articles of War. Altogether, we consider the Chundah an excellant institution for the interests of Government, and one which it would be wise to insist on, even if the men were not so anxious for it themselves, as to render any order unnecessary.

It may, however, be matter of enquiry, whether there should be one Chundah for each troop, or whether it should embrace the whole Regiment. When one particular troop may have a harassing duty on service to perform, or sustain a heavy loss in horses, it would seem hard that the Regiment at large should not contribute a share of the expense, and thus save from ruin the troop which had, perhaps, upheld the reputation of the Corps. In the Field, therefore, we recommend a general Chundah; but if this were the case in Cantonment, the supervision of each troop would be lax and consequently detrimental to the Regiment. Another great advantage of separate troop Chundahs is, that every man can understand his own account, and know that deductions are just; which it would be necessary to explain to him, if the fund was general. The Commandant is relieved, likewise, from the duty, not to call it the odium, of auditing the accounts.

The amount of the Chundah, or collection, in most Regiments is, we understand 150 Rupees per horse. At some stations a good remount can be procured for that sum, but at others a farther sum of from 10 to 50 Rs. is required from the man himself. Let Commandants be sufficiently particular in their admissions, and we can answer for it that 150 Rs. will seldom cover the expense, but we desire not to see the Chundah raised, but rather that every dismounted man should be obliged to pay something out of his own pocket in addition to the Chundah, as a salutary check on negligence. Perhaps in the field, the amount of the Chundah might be raised to prevent individuals trying to save their horses in action.

There is a Government order for a Committee to assemble annually on the horses of the Irregular Cavalry, but it has never been found useful, and when assembled has, fortunately, never acted with spirit; and we believe the order itself has long been a dead letter. The Irregular Cavalry are usually so dispersed over the country, that one-third of the horses could never come under the eye of such a Committee. At many stations it is difficult to assemble any Committee, and there are besides few officers in the army, who really know the sort of horse which is adapted for the particular service. It would, we think, be advisable to do away with the Committee altogether, and to hold Commandants responsible, for there is nothing like individual responsibility.

Capt. Trower recommends in his pamphlet several alterations, if not improvements. The only one which militates against the interests of the soldier, is, his proposal that a deduction

should be made from the compensation allowed by the State for a horse which may die, be killed, or become unserviceable in the field, at the rate of 5 per cent. after 6 years; 13 per cent. after 7 years' service; 23 after 8 years; 35 after 9 years; 50 after 10 years; 70 after 11 years, after which he is to have no registered value at all. This is the only recommendation which the Indian Government seems to have noticed, and an order for a Committee to estimate the real value of each casualty, when compensation is sought for, has been issued since the publication of Capt. Trower's book. We do not think this at all unfair, if the Government would give a fair compensation for a young horse, but when the maximum is only 125 Rs. we cannot but consider it hard on the soldier. We have no means of forming an estimate of the average number of horses for which compensation is drawn. We are aware that the 4th Regiment lost about Five Hundred horses in the first Affghan campaign. On the other hand, we know a corps that has received compensation for only one horse in four years.

Captain Trower is of opinion that officers and Non-Commissioned officers should be provided with a good sabre and a pair of pistols, and every private with a sabre and either a matchlock, carbine or lance, "as the one or the other is the most effective weapon in his hand;" that those who carry lances should have but one pistol; that each man should have in his spare holster an iron picquetting peg and a spare horse shoe; and that 24 rounds of ball cartridge for carbine or matchlock, and 12 per pistol should always be in pouch. We were about to support this opinion, imagining Capt. Trower to mean that the men should choose whether they would carry the Lance or fire arms, and that *each* individual should please his own fancy in this particular. But in the succeeding paragraph we find him assuming that "all fire arms (except the pistol) are nearly useless to the trooper when mounted, and that matchlock men, or carbineers, are only useful as skirmishers." We know that in Europe there are whole Regiments of carbineers, and fire arms of that description cannot therefore be considered quite so useless as Capt. Trower apprehends; but independent of their utility, we agree in opinion with those who maintain that the native mounted soldier should have the weapon on which he places most reliance; and this opinion has been frequently urged, more especially after occasions of failure which have occurred within our own recollection. We can appeal for confirmation of this opinion to every native officer and soldier in the army, and can mention an instance in which it was exemplified in the most decided and unequivocal manner.

When one of the lately raised Regiments was about to be formed, an officer appointed to it, in seeking for a few volunteers from three or four of the old corps, took the opportunity of consulting all the experienced men regarding the arming of the new Regiment; and we heard him declare that there was no difference of opinion regarding the absolute necessity of fire arms. On his mounting his horse to leave the station, the whole body of volunteers reminded him of their advice, adding "without the matchlock we are not all times to be depended on." This point is one of such vast importance to our Regular as well as Irregular Cavalry, that the Government should be made acquainted with both sides of the question. We are by no means singular in thinking, that one of the failures above alluded to, might have been avoided, if the soldier had been armed with fire arms.

We are quite aware of the feeling amongst British Dragoons, which we ourselves reciprocate, that there is nothing so effective as *charging* HOME *with the sabre*, but natives do not understand their power, and cannot comprehend the destruction which such a charge, made simultaneously by every man, must create. We would therefore give them arms in which they have confidence. The detachment of Skinner's Horse at Dadur, when employed against the Belúchís, who were opposed to them in vast numbers, fired a volley, slung their matchlocks, drew their swords, and, in the confusion, if not loss, caused by the volley, charged the enemy and did great havoc. Capt. Trower does not seem to know that the art of using the spear, for which the Mahrattas were so remarkable, is nearly lost in Hindústan.

On a reference made by Major Forster, the gallant and efficient Commandant of the Shikawuttí Brigade, the utility of supplying the Irregular Cavalry with made up ball cartridges and pouches, instead of allowing them to carry loose powder in a native *singrah*, has been mooted by the Commander-in-Chief. Major Forster urged the change very forcibly, maintaining, on the best possible grounds, that the wastage was great, and that the charge for the matchlock shaken from the *singrah* into the palm of the hand, varied so much at all times, but more especially on horseback, as sometimes to be totally insufficient to propel the ball twenty yards, while at other times it was so heavy as nearly to burst the gun and unseat the rider. There can be no difficulty in introducing the change if the cartridges be made up in the Regimental Magazine, and a few workmen are allowed for the purpose. It would relieve the Commandant from a great source of anxiety when on service, and enable him to estimate the supply of ammunition for a

campaign, or from time to time, which he cannot now do. The present matchlock has a very small bore, but, from its length, carries a great distance, and is very tolerably true. The usual calibre is about 35 to the pound. Including wastage, the trooper makes about 53 balls out of the pound and half of lead furnished him, and if cartridges be introduced, the pound and a half of powder, also allowed per man, will be more than sufficient for 53 rounds; and leave a portion to be carried in a *runjuk-dan*, or small powder horn, which must be carried on a belt round the trooper's waist; this belt will also steady the pouch box.

We are no advocates for the old primitive matchlock; it is apt to miss fire from the priming falling out; it takes time to light the matches, and when lighted, a sentry or vidette, at night, may always be detected by the enemy and picked off. In wet weather this weapon becomes less useful. Even the native trooper would willingly exchange it for a long detonating single barrelled fowling piece, provided it had a sufficiently long range, and we imagine the time is not far distant when the Government will see the advantage of this change, and arm the Irregular Cavalry in a proper and efficient manner.

The Uniform of the Irregular Cavalry varies considerably in the different corps. The *Alkalik*, or Tunic, made like all native dresses, opening on one side the breast, is universally worn and for the full-dress ornamented with lace. The 1st and 4th Regiments wear yellow and gold; the 2nd, green and silver; and the others, we believe, all scarlet and gold. The head-dresses vary much, and are so difficult to describe that we will merely say that some are like the Horse Artillery undress cap, others of basket work and square at the top with caplines of yellow silk and cotton, and that the 1st and 4th have a polished steel *tawah* circular at top, with a turban wound round it. This cap is so oppressive, by reflecting the rays of the sun, that the men complain of their brains being roasted. We cannot say we think any of these head-dresses perfect, but we hardly know how to suggest an improvement. We think with Capt. Trower that the turban would be more appropriate, but the Irregulars of Bengal will not have it on any consideration. We should, therefore, like to see the Turkish Tabúsh with the tassel introduced. It is made of felt; it does not easily lose its shape, and is very light and looks soldier-like, but the troopers themselves in one Regiment, where patterns were exhibited, did not think them high enough to look becoming, and the officers especially thought them not sufficiently handsome, since they

would not carry gold cap-lines and *kulgis*—a sort of feather with gold drops—which are now usually worn not only in the cap, but also on the horse's head. The Government are so positive in their orders to consult the men regarding the head-dress, that nothing can be done without their consent. The Irregular Cavalry usually wear tight pantaloons colored with Múltanní Muttí—in imitation of leather breeches—and Jack boots. Their saddle cloths are party colored, either scarlet and blue, or scarlet and yellow, with nose binds, crupper, &c. to match. They carry the great coat behind the saddle. Their saddles are—with the exception of Skinner's, which adopt what is called a *katí*—the common Hindústaní *charjamah*, which is very comfortable for the men, but apt to gall the horse most cruelly. The trooper has an idea that he could not fight so well in a *katí*, and the seat is assuredly not so firm; but Skinner's *katí* is a rude and primitive article, which might be improved, in which case it would possess a vast advantage over the *charjamah*, not galling the withers. We think the objection to the *katí* might be obviated, by a very thickly wadded saddle cloth over all.

Every man is supposed to furnish his own clothing, &c, &c., and there is a positive order that Commandants shall not make it up for them, nor make monthly deductions on this account. Captain Trower says, this is quite right, and that the officer who provides clothing for them from England or elsewhere performs a thankless task, as the Natives generally think that he has some personal interest in the matter, and that, probably, "his trade is a tailor, or dealer in patent leather." Nevertheless, we find that he recommends in his last Chapter that the Government should transform the Regulars into Irregulars and sell them the stud horses, forgetting, apparently, that, on his own shewing, the soldier might then mistake the Company for a horse dealer. It is certain, however, that the Commandant is often awkwardly situated. At many stations cloth of a proper quality, boots and other articles are not procurable, and in most, the trooper cannot make up his own clothing, &c. either so cheap or so well as by clubbing with others to do so. What is the consequence? The Troop officers petition their Commandant to make a general arrangement, to write for patterns and prices, to remit the money either to Calcutta, Cawnpore, or even to England, to allow the clothing to be made up by contract under his own eyes to insure uniformity; and lastly he is obliged to audit the accounts, lest the men should be overcharged by their own Officers or Committee, and to take care that every man knows the charge for each article. The Troop officers in

the mean time make a monthly deduction from their pay, and lodge the money in the Regimental Bank, from whence an advance is always required. To say that a Commandant does not make up the clothing to all intents and purposes, would look like a quibble. He is placed on the horns of a dilemma, for unless he did interfere, his Regiment would soon be in a ragged state, and no two men would be accoutred alike.

Captain Trower says, it is one of the peculiar advantages of Irregular Cavalry that they can move, at the shortest notice, provided with all necessaries independent of any aid from the Commissariat, and that Bazars, properly managed, not only ought to pay their own expenses, but to leave a surplus. After mentioning that the Bunneahs and Traders should give a written agreement to keep up tattús, or carriage of some sort to carry a supply of grain, and that no price current should be fixed, but every thing left to find its own level, and that fifteen days' supply should always be in store in the bazar, he proceeds to say, "the contract for the revenues of the Regimental Bazar, divided under four heads, (which include every description of tax) should each be separately sold to the highest bidder, from whom ample security should be taken."—"These heads are differently termed in various parts of India. In the Deccan they are called Karaní, Kullallí, Sendhí, and Dundiah." "The first includes the shop tax and every description of European articles, &c. The second is the Abkarí for arrack, and includes courtezans, &c. The third is peculiar to the Deccan, the Sendhi being an intoxicating drink like toddy. The fourth is in lieu of the usual fees of the Chowdry and Bazar Servants." In Bengal the Irregulars are so spread over the country in small detachments—especially at Bareilly—that it is difficult to keep up a Bazar at all. No tax for its maintenance is lawful; no grog shops are permitted—because they are all farmed by the Collector of the District; and the only profit the shopkeeper can expect is from selling to *needy* men, who have no ready money, or underselling the traders of the neighbouring towns, which, however, is always a difficult matter. Under these manifest disadvantages we fear that few Irregular corps take the Field *on a sudden* with a very large proportion of carriage cattle for the transport of grain. We conclude that Capt. Trower does not mean that there should be fifteen days supply in the Bazar, on the line of march, or in the field, although he does say "*always*;" for this would at least require 334 camels, or 668 bullocks and tattús for a Regiment of 753 men, making due allowance for camp followers. We think it well

if they carry three days' supplies on 66 camels, or 132 bullocks, by public subscription from the men, and even this does not seem easy on their present pay.

The men are expected to maintain themselves without aid from the Commissariat, and under ordinary circumstances they certainly do so; but we remember when the 4th Regiment reached Kandahar, and were forestalled by the Commissariat—who bought at little more than 2 seers per Rupee and were scantily supplied then—the men being almost all on duty and unable to seek for food, were nearly starved to death in the British Camp, and would have been starved in reality, had not the Commanding Officer appealed to Sir John Keane, and said he must throw off all responsibility. There are undoubtedly times when the Irregular Cavalry cannot find themselves, and hence their horses die by hundreds when they are most wanted. It is difficult to determine what to recommend as a general rule; we rather think every departure from the present one should be considered an exception, authorized under peculiar circumstances. It is however perfectly clear that men cannot be allowed to die for want of food on Foreign Service, or any where else.

In every Regiment there is a *Koti*, or Bank. We have already said that the men are so very improvident that without one, we doubt much whether detachments would be able to march at a short notice; and certainly they would not be able to do justice to their cattle till pay could be sent to them. The men are detached to such remote parts of the country, that there are occasionally great difficulties in remitting their pay at all from Head Quarters, and some ready money in hand is therefore indispensable. The Bank is also of essential service in providing money for the purchase of Remounts, sometimes to the extent of 50 or 60,000 Rs., and also clothing, and in making advances to men going on leave of absence for the keep of their horses whilst at home, as all their pay for the whole period of absence, is drawn in arrears on rejoining the corps. That the Bank is, in some respects, disadvantageous, there can be no doubt, inasmuch as it is a temptation for the men to run in debt. But it is of little avail to argue the question, because no Corps can be serviceable without one, and the only course left for the Commandant to pursue, is to keep a strict controul over loans made to the soldier.

We have before said that the New Articles of War are applicable to Irregular Cavalry, from which it would appear that the good old custom, authorized in a letter from the

Adjutant General, Colonel Worsley, to the address of Colonel Skinner, of holding *punchaits* is abolished. These *punchaits*, consisting of five Native officers taken by roster, were assembled to try many offences, but only such as the punishment of dismissal was calculated to meet. Crimes of greater magnitude were always tried by Courts Martial. The great use of the *punchait* was to get rid of bad characters, for it was specially provided that this Court had power to dismiss for general bad conduct. We think the Government will probably be still disposed to grant such power. The native officers desire to possess it, and are by no means reluctant to use it, and it serves to keep regiments clear of disreputable characters. We hope that a system which has worked so well, will be continued. Of course, Irregulars must also be amenable to the Articles of War, but it often happens that Regimental Courts Martial are with difficulty assembled, and when Regiments are spread in detachments over the face of the country, witnesses would have long distances to travel to the great inconvenience, if not detriment, of the public Service. Whereas the *punchait* receives examinations taken before a Magistrate on the spot, has the prisoner brought before it, and adjudicates the case at once.

There is one other power which the Government should give to Commandants for its own sake, we allude to the power of fining men to the extent of 13 Rs. per mensem—the monthly allowance for the horse—for neglecting their cattle. We have heard that some Commandants strike neglected horses off the rolls pro tempore, which in one respect answers the purpose, for the men cease to draw the allowance, but there lies this objection to the practice, that the man's horse may die, which would well nigh ruin him, and inflict a greater measure of punishment than was probably intended, or merited. A fine would have a better effect.

We cannot imagine why the Governmet should be ungenerous to the Irregular Cavalry soldier in the matter of his Pension. From the following table it will be seen, that the Invalid pay of a Sowar is little better than that of a grass-cutter, and that of every grade, save two, is less than that of the Regular Cavalry.

Regular Cavalry and Infantry.

Súbadar,...	25 Rs.
Jemadar, ...	12 ,,
Havildar and Naik, ...	7 ,,
Trooper and Sepoy, ...	4 ,,
Syce, Grasscutter, &c....	3 ,,

Irregular Cavalry.

	Russaldar, troop commander, ...	25	0
7 Rs. less.	Resaidar, troop commander, and ranking with Súbadar,...	18	0
	Naib Russaldar, ...	12	0
5 Rs. less.	Jemadar—(ranking with Jemadars of the Line,)	7	0
1 Rs. less.	Duffadar Major, or Troop Sergt. Major, ...	6	0
2 Rs. less.	Duffadars, ranking with non-Commissioned officers of the Line,...	5	0
3 Rs. less.	Nishanburdar, the same rank as the above,..	4	0
½ a R. less.	Sowars,...	3	8

All this appears very unjust. There can be no comparison between the responsibility attending a Resaidar's command of a troop, and that of a Súbadar of the Line, who has one or two European officers over him. The Native officer of the Irregular Service is a man of more importance, and should be proportionately provided for in his old age.

The Irregular Cavalry at present rank next *below* Local Infantry. This might have been unobjectionable in former times, when they were Local Cavalry, but we now hope that justice will be done them in this respect and that the Government will furnish the Regiments with proper standards. As long as they were not expected to do Regular Cavalry duty, the Russaldars were in the habit of furnishing colors after their own fancy. These men are now no longer able to afford these extra expenses, since Capt. Trower's favorite Bargír system was abolished by General Orders in September 1820, —though only now enforced—and besides, it is not proper that British Regiments should fight under colors with Mahommedan devices.

We have now touched on every part of the subject which appeared to demand examination, and have only to notice Capt. Trower's last Chapter, in which he strongly advocates the Regular being changed into Silladarí or Irregular Horse. We cannot agree with him. In the first place, India would not be able to mount them for many a year, and we should be dependent on our neighbours—some not very neighbourly—and we deem Capt. Trower's plan of selling the Stud horses to the men, absurd. The fact is that the Regular Cavalry has been somewhat depressed of late, and it has many enemies, whom one or two events have tended to strengthen. There is likewise, we are sorry to say, in many instances, a jealousy between the Horse and Foot which is much to be lamented and condemned. The

Regular Cavalry will, we are assured, and we say so without any reservation, soon prove itself as good as any other arm of the Native Army.

We are quite sure that Capt. Trower's opinions are honest and sincere, and we feel that he has a considerable knowledge of Irregular Cavalry, and handles his subject well, but at the same time we think his remarks not applicable to existing circumstances and times,—at all events, not to the presidency of Bengal. We take leave of him with every good feeling and many thanks for having afforded us an opportunity of arguing some points with him little understood. We took up the subject with the view of exciting enquiry and drawing the attention of the Government and Irregular Cavalry officers towards it.

Since the above was written, war has been declared and six corps of Irregular Cavalry have been ordered to be embodied. We hope therefore our article will not be deemed out of place at this moment. We fear there will be a scarcity of horses, unless indeed we can obtain a large proportion from the Sikhs, on the disbanding of their Regiments. The studs will be seriously injured by the admission of mares into the ranks, but there appears no alternative, and it is idle to waste regrets on the subject.

Some foolish letters have appeared in a Mofussil newspaper, one recommending the appointment of Serjeant Majors to the Irregular Cavalry. It was probably written by one of that rank, but certainly not by one who knows anything of the service. Another letter in advocating the cause of Queen's officers, says, the employment of them will prove advantageous to the Cavalry arm generally, since they have better means of observation than Company's officers. The writer farther says, that the British sabre will now have a fair chance when the native Trooper is properly instructed. He means in fact to drill our Irregular Cavalry soldier, and teach him *School lessons*, and the *Sword exercise*, not knowing that the Sowar is considered able to cope with the European Dragoon single handed. We do not pretend to advise the Government what class of officers they should select for their Irregular Cavalry, and we pass over the sneer conveyed in the passage above cited, which is not in very good taste; but this we know that if they select any but those who have a good knowledge of the native language and character, and are possessed of good temper, and are willing to forego this drilling, which Capt. Trower would call "the Horse guard" system, they will injure the Irregulars, and probably make them the worst Cavalry on the face of the earth.

ART. VI.—1. *Chapman and Hall's Monthly Series. Nos.* 1 to 12. *London*, 1845.

2. *Long Engagements; a tale of the Affghan Rebellion. (Chapman and Hall's Monthly Series. Nos.* 13-14*) London*, 1846.

NOT very long ago a comedy, said to be descriptive of the manners of the day, was acted and published in London—a comedy, in which an old Indian officer is represented as doubting the historical fact of, we believe, the battle of Hastings, because he can find no account of it in the army list. We are not quite sure that Mrs. Gore is the writer of this pleasant farce; but she *is* the writer of a novel called the *Banker's Wife*, of which one of the principal characters is an East Indian colonel, who talks about "Lon'on" and "Indy," and is constantly making the most absurd mistakes, when he finds himself in civilized society—the good man's knowledge being about on a par with his breeding. This, to use an expression of the said colonel's is "monsously kind." We are sorry to say that it is not "monsously" true. If our East Indian colonels, having for the most part entered the army at an early age, are not very highly "edicated" (again to borrow the phraseology of Mrs. Gore's nabob) they are assuredly, as a class, not in the habit of clipping the Queen's English in the manner represented by the lady-writer; and if any individuals of this class are guilty of the barbarisms imputed to them, they are not officers who, like "Colonel Hamilton," have held lucrative and important situations on the staff. Our old Indians—taking the very worst of them as specimens—have a considerably more intimate acquaintance with the affairs of the west, than has Mrs. Gore with the affairs of the east. We will undertake to say that no old Indian, though he may have spent half-a-century uninterruptedly in Hindustan, ever committed so gross a blunder, when speaking of European concerns, as that committed by the author of "Agathonia," who makes a Mahommedan revile a Jew by calling him a circumcised dog.

It is but fair, however, to observe that Mrs. Gore by no means stands alone, in her addiction to the representation of very ignorant and very presumptuous old Indians. The ignorant blundering old nabob has long been among the stock characters of a certain class of comedies and novels; and there may have been times, when such characters had their proto-types in actual life. But Mrs. Gore is a writer of the present day; one who professes to depict modern manners—to keep pace with the progress of society. The English lords and ladies progress at

railway speed, only her Indian nabobs are stationary. The old Indians of 1845 differ not from the old Indians of 1785. Her novels and comedies are not intended to illustrate life, as it was "sixty years since;" but as it is now going on before our very eyes—as we actually see and feel it around us. Why then should we not, whilst everything else is moving onwards along the road of rational improvement, receive some small credit for having outgrown our ignorance. Time was when the European resident in India, whatever may have been his tastes, whatever his aspirations, was necessarily somewhat benighted. Sources of information were not available to him. England was a far-off country from which the light of civilization seldom penetrated as far as Hindustan. The letters and journals of the most eminent residents in India, who flourished at the end of the last, or the commencement of the present century, abundantly show that society, in those days, was infinitely less refined and enlightened than at this more advanced period—that good books were not easily to be obtained—that European literature and science rarely afforded topics of conversation—that men were, in many cases, content to be ignorant,—and that, when not thus easily satisfied, their minds, craving after some better food, were directed to oriental studies, they became, to borrow a favorite expression of Sir James Mackintosh, thoroughly *Brahmanised*. At present we content ourselves with merely glancing at this subject; we may, perhaps, avail ourselves of some future opportunity to trace more elaborately the intellectual, as in one of our earlier numbers, we traced the moral improvement of the English in India.

Steam has, unquestionably, in this matter, done an immense deal for us. "We have no right in Calcutta," says one of the ideal personages in the novel, the name of which stands at the head of this article, "to be more than six or seven weeks behind 'our brothers and sisters in London. We have more leisure for 'reading than the majority of people in England, who work for 'their daily bread; we are seldom called upon to consider the 'relative advantages of a new book and a country ride. We 'are so little out of doors, that books constitute our principal 'source of recreation; and new books are as plentiful in Cal-'cutta—I speak, of course, with regard to the demands of the 'community—as they are in any town of England. Then 'there are our newspapers—why no man could possibly read 'them attentively without making a tolerable acquaintance 'with the literature and science of the western world, in all 'their rapidly progressive stages." This is true. In those times,—when we depended entirely on our sailing vessels—when

these were in no way comparable to the magnificent vessels, which now periodically enter our ports almost on the very day on which we anticipate their coming,—we were necessarily, in our acquaintance with the literature and science of Europe, considerably behind our brethren at home. New works reached us occasionally, but not in due regular sequence—it being no infrequent occurrence to receive a supply of books published in February some time before those published in January. Our very newspapers from Europe came in, without order or regularity, often leaving an inconvenient chasm in our intelligence, presenting us with effects before causes, and sometimes affording us an immensity of food for curious conjecture. Now the stream of intelligence pours in with the utmost regularity. We were often before disheartened by the failure of our endeavours to keep pace with the current of European literature —so many impediments were thrown in our way—but now no impediments exist. We may proceed, if we will, *pari passu*. Every month brings to our shores a fresh supply of European literature scarcely six weeks old. The counters of our active and enterprising booksellers are covered with all the best productions of the English, Scottish, and Irish Press. These soon find their way into circulation. People have time to read and they do read; and when they return to England they are not mortified by finding themselves much in arrears. Their relatives at home soon learn that they are not ignorant barbarians; the Indian soldier or civilian has as much to say for himself as the county squire or the knowing cit.

Steam, we say, has done much to bring about this intellectual revolution; but when we think of the benefits we have derived from the aid of this mighty agent, we must not alone consider the advantages of rapid communication with Great Britain. If the cities of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay constituted the whole of India, we need allude to nothing beyond our splendid sea-going steam-ships. But, together with improved means of communication with England, we have now improved means of internal communication; and the newest produce of English literature rapidly finds its way into the very heart of our Indian dominions. There is scarcely a remote station in India, which has not its well-supplied Book-club. Some of these are furnished, direct from London; others receive their supplies from the Booksellers at the Presidencies.* There is scarcely a regiment or detachment, whether in cantonments or on the march,

* In respect, however, of the supply of overland literature, indeed, of books generally, Calcutta is greatly in advance of the other presidencies.

which has not a good store of books available to the officers attached to it, in addition to the newspapers and periodicals with which they are regularly supplied. It would, indeed, be inexcusable if any man were to pass his life, in ignorance of the political and social condition of Great Britain, or the progress of literature and science in the European world. This intellectual darkness, we are happy to say, has passed away from the land.

Recently, indeed, everything has been in our favor: and not the least of the many favorable circumstances, which have tended towards the advancement of European literature in India, resides in the cheapness and portability of many works now issuing from the London press. Though we are now in the enjoyment of improved means of internal communication throughout the country, there are still many parts of India, in which no great facilities for the conveyance of heavy parcels exist; and such conveyance, even under most favorable circumstances, is always attended with considerable expense. The treasuries of regimental book-clubs are seldom overflowing; and there are not many private individuals, who can set aside any very large sums, for the purchase and the carriage of new books. India is, therefore, especially beholden to those enterprising publishers, who have undertaken to reduce both the price and the bulk of the works they put in circulation. There is no country, in which cheap and portable literature is more required. We are rejoiced, therefore, to see that some of the principal London publishers are now issuing works of great merit, at a price not equal to half—in many instances, a third or a fourth of the old conventional charge for similar works; and in a form too, which, whilst nothing of elegance or convenience is sacrificed, is admirably adapted for speedy and cheap circulation. Among other series of works we may especially notice Murray's "Home and Colonial Library"—the "Foreign Library" (Chapman and Hall)—and Chapman and Hall's "Monthly series." The first of these consists principally of reprints; the second is a collection of translations; the third, to which we now desire to call particular attention, is a series of original works.

This *Series* was commenced at the beginning of the past year, and has since that time embraced four or five original works of fiction and biography—all of a high order of excellence—"Mount Sorel," by the author of the "Two old men's Tales"—was the first work that appeared in the series. Then followed the "Whiteboy," by Mrs. Hall: an admirable "Life of Mozart," by Mr. Holmes, and a satirical novel of the *Headlong Hall* school, called the "Falcon Family or Young Ireland." We have now before us an Anglo-Indian novel entitled, "Long Engage-

ments; a Tale of the Affghan rebellion;"—a work, which as Calcutta Reviewers, we are, in some sort, bound to notice. We must add that these works are excellently got up, printed on a handsome page, in clear legible type, and published at less than one-half of the old conventional charge for books of a similar character.

We have spoken of the manner in which English novelists are prone to write of returned Indians. For the most part our Indian novelists have not treated us much better. It can not be said that we, sojourners in the East, are much indebted to those, who have undertaken to paint our portraits. If the "likenesses," which have hitherto been given to the world, are really likenesses at all, they are assuredly not flattering ones. The painters seem to have studied to catch the very worst expressions of which our faces are capable; they have exaggerated every blemish; slurred over every beauty; painted us, as we may happen to be when angry, or sick, or in our most unbecoming deshabilles; and thus have we been presented to our friends at home so constantly by writers of romances and of romance-like travels—of avowed fiction and most fiction-like fact—that a common impression prevails in England that we are altogether a very bad sort of people—ill-mannered, illiterate, and immoral. The author of the "tale" now before us appears to have made an effort to "write up" society in India. As to whether, in endeavouring to avoid one extreme, he has fallen into the other, there may, perhaps, be differences of opinion. Our own opinion is that the picture he has given us is a pleasant, but not an unfaithful portrait. We have our Balfours and Herbert Greys; our Dr. Winters and Dr. Christians; we have intelligent, high-principled public functionaries; we have kind-hearted, hospitable old Indians; and zealous, energetic Christian ministers amongst us. It is well, we think, that these should find a place in the pictures of Indian life, which our fiction-writers commit to the press in England—well that these pictures should not always be made up of unsightly groups of un-principled adventurers—dissolute soldiers, corrupt civilians, usurious merchants—all alike ignorant and immoral. The principal mistake made by writers on Indian society consists in the too great eagerness, which they evince to strike out, with a strong hand, points of distinction, regardless of all points of resemblance between society as it exists in this country and society as it exists in England. We often see characteristics of civilized society peculiar to no particular locality, described or commented upon, as though they were peculiar to society in India. There is in truth, when we come to look into the

matter, much less difference between the English in India and the English in England, than unthinking people are prone to suppose. The points of distinction are merely accidental. Circumstances may differ, but character undergoes no very great change. *Cœlum non animum mutant.* Indian life has its lights and shadows; so has English life—French life—German life.

Indian society is composed of good and bad elements—so is English society—French society—German society. We doubt whether we have any vices peculiar to our state of society—and, perhaps, we have not many virtues. There were times when all the environments of Indian life had a tendency to foster the growth of certain vices—such as avarice, lust, cruelty, &c. But as time has advanced, we have become more and more nearly assimilated to our brethren in the west; and our intellectual improvement has advanced cotemporaneously with our moral improvement. We are no longer isolated savages, dwelling in remote countries, where "the sound of the church-going bell" is never heard, and the light of European science and literature never dawns upon the benighted vision. India is now a part of England. We are very little out of the way; only six weeks behind our brothers and cousins in London, Exeter, or Bath.

It appears to us that the author of *Long Engagements* has endeavored, both in his own sketches of society, and in the speeches which he has put into the mouths of his more elevated characters—those to whom he has entrusted, so to speak, the doctrinal duties of his book—to establish the fact of the little real difference between society in India and society in England. He has assuredly endeavored to give a more favorable picture of the latter than any of his predecessors in the paths of Anglo-Indian fiction; and he has especially labored to show that not only is there a great amount of active philanthropy ever in operation; but that men think and read here, as at home; and are equally entitled to be considered gentlemen and scholars. There are several indications, scattered through the book, of a desire to do us justice; and it is probable that but for the narrow dimensions to which his story is confined, these efforts would have been still further extended. The following scrap of dialogue we may offer as a sample. The first speaker is a young lady; the respondent a gentleman in the Civil Service:—

"Many have said to me, that this is a country in which we must be satisfied barely to exist; and I have been recommended—ay, and by grey-haired men too, whose opinions might be supposed to carry some weight with

them... I have been recommended to make myself always as comfortable as I can in-doors, and not to trouble myself about what is going on out of doors... one gentleman told me that the prettiest view to be seen in India, is a well-furnished drawing-room, and that the people are only remarkable—only interesting—inasmuch, as that they are good cooks. Is it really true, Mr. Grey—am I really to believe that the generality of gentlemen in India, take no more interest in the country—no more interest in the people, than such speeches as these would naturally lead me to suppose?"

"I hope not," said Herbert Grey. "Some men are so little true to themselves, as to boast of their indifference to all that is going on among the myriads of people by whom they are surrounded—who openly treat a 'black fellow' only as a beast, to be driven, or otherwise employed, as seems fit to the white man, his master. There is often a good deal of cant in this; silly people imagine it to be *fine*, and say, perhaps, more than they think. Still it must be admitted that there is a vast deal of indifference, a vast deal of ignorance, for the two are always associated. But the indifference is not universal—you must not think it universal, Miss Balfour. There are in our community many earnest, as there are many able men—in all parts of the country, I say, many earnest men, many really noble fellows, true philanthropists, who would do much, who would sacrifice much for the people. These characteristics are peculiar to no class—though, as you may readily believe, there are more such men among the missionaries, in proportion to their numbers, than among any other description of Anglo Indians. The missionaries, we will admit, take the lead; but all classes have in their ranks some true philanthropists—the civil service, the military, the medical service, the commercial order, all have their representatives, and noble ones. As a missionary, a model for the devoted men who flock around the banner of the cross, there is Doctor Christian; in our own ranks—mine I mean, Miss Balfour, the civil service.—I do not mean a family compliment, I am not unduly partial, I assure you—there is your brother—"

"He deserves all, I am sure that he deserves all that you can say of him," exclaimed Mary, whilst tears of grateful enthusiasm glistened in her gentle eyes.

"Yes, there is Balfour; I assure you, that I, as one of the order, am proud to see it so well represented. We could not look for a better representative; and then the military (to speak of men whom you have met, Miss Balfour), there is Captain Palus. I think that there is something really admirable in his impetuous enthusiasm; one can never doubt, his sincerity for a moment—and it is something to see an honest man. He is overflowing with prejudices, to be sure; and he gives no quarter to our unfortunate service, when once he turns the edge of his indignant rhetoric against us. Very earnest men often are very prejudiced; and I can forgive his hatred of our order, because I really believe he loves humanity in the mass."

There is, at all events, nothing one-sided in this. We do not think that the statement in our favor is in any way overcharged. Considered with reference to our numbers, there is at least as much practical philanthropy in India, as in England; and it is of more difficult achievement. The author of the little book we are noticing is inclined to be tolerant even of the fallers-short. In answer to a question relative to the amount of good work done by European ladies in India, this same Herbert Grey says, that there are many active in well-

doing, and adds, with reference to those who do less than might be done, "and yet we must not judge them harshly; as we 'accord a higher measure of praise to the few, who do exert 'themselves as Christian women, we must—in consideration of 'the impediments, which actually do exist—the difficulties, 'which are really to be surmounted—judge more leniently 'the fallers-short." Doubtless, the wearing, prostrating climate *is* a great impediment to active philanthropy—one that ought ever to be taken into account by those, who would look too scrutinisingly into the "pile of neglected duties" lying at the doors of our country-women—ay, and our countrymen in India. It is well for those, who may, at any time of the day, snatch up their hats and sticks; or call for their bonnets and baskets; and straightway walk into the open air, on the way to the houses of the poor, to school or committee room, as they list, to upbraid us for doing so little—but let them come here and try.

Still we do not deny that something more might be done—where might something more not be done? The author of *Long Engagements* touches upon this point, with especial reference to the capabilities of the cold weather—or rather the characters of the fiction discourse on the subject; for it is not always fair to attribute to an author the opinions and sentiments which he puts into the mouths of his ideal creations. Mary Balfour asks Herbert Grey, if the cold season is not the time, at which men put into practical execution the benevolent designs they have been forming in their closets; and Herbert Grey answers:—

"I wish I could answer you, in the manner in which your enthusiasm would be best pleased by my answering you. You deserve, I am sure, a more encouraging reply than I can offer you, dear Miss Balfour, without departing from the truth. It is undeniable that we are able to do all this—if we only have the inclination. The opportunity is granted to us, if we would only rightly use it. I wish I could say that we are but seldom neglectful of these opportunities. That the cold weather is the time for action we all know, and many of us turn it to account as such. But to what account? It is the time for hunting—for hog-spearing, or as it is more elegantly called 'pig-sticking'—for snipe-shooting—for horse-racing—for cricket-matches—for pic-nics—for balls—for amusement of every description; but I cannot honestly say that there are many of us who look forward to it, as the season in which we are again competent for a little while to extend the sphere of our usefulness—to do, as well as to give—to inquire into the best means of ameliorating the condition of the multitudes by which we are surrounded, and to institute, under our own personal superintendence, proceedings, calculated to conduce to this great end."

"But there are some—there must be some," said Mary, eagerly... "if not many, there are some."

"Doubtless there are some," returned Herbert Grey, "and when I say

that there are not many, I say it not as a reproach peculiar to our state of society... In this we differ not from the rest of the world. It is not peculiar to us to seek for happiness in self-gratification—to be more eager to amuse ourselves than to do our duty to our neighbours. It is something to be able to say, that in our small community there are some, who look upon the cold season as a time to be set apart for active well-being—that, if not many, there are *so* many inclined to turn the season to good account."

"Such men as Dr Christian," said Mary.

"Yes. .. as Dr. Christian—men, at least, resembling him in kind, if not in degree—for in degree, he stands almost, if not quite alone. With intellect, that would adorn any society, he unites the most devoted zeal in the Christian profession—the profession of the Christian minister—the Christian missionary. His energy—his activity would be extraordinary in any country, in any climate; in this country, in such a climate it is most extraordinary. He never wearies of well-doing; he never slumbers, he never rests. The implements of his craft are ever in his hands—but these implements are of varied shape, meant for varied purposes; his labours are multiform, but they are all directed to the same great end. I know some excellent men, whose views being narrow and prejudices strong, contract the limits of their usefulness by confining themselves to one field of operation, in which they labour diligently, but with no very important results. They recognise but one legitimate line of action; Dr. Christian recognises many. The Pulpit, the School, the Printing Press—he sees in these so many mighty instruments by which, in due course, the enlightenment of the Heathen may be accomplished, and an nfinity of temporal good achieved, whilst this great revolution is being matured in the womb of time. Others, as I have said, recognise the Pulpit alone as the authorised Christian weapon—they think it sufficient to *preach* the gospel. I am afraid that very little can be done yet awhile by direct preaching... we must employ the School and the Printing Press, or we shall accomplish nothing."

All this we think is essentially true. We have, ere now, expressed our own opinions on this most important question; but we are glad to receive aid from any quarter, and not least from so unexpected a quarter, as the light work of a modern novelist. We are not sure indeed, that this sort of aid is not more valuable, than at first sight it may appear to be.

> "Example moves where precept fails,
> And sermons are less read than tales."

Though it is probable that had the little book now before us been no more than a work of amusement, we might not have considered it entitled to so elaborate a notice in this journal, it would be scarcely fair to the author—certainly very unfair to the publishers—if we were to allow our readers to suppose that the volume is mainly composed of such grave materials, as those which appear in the above extracts. It is not in truth a series of essays, cut up into fragments of dialogue; but a tale of real life, the lights and shadows of which the author has endeavoured to set forth in just proportions. The ostensible object of the writer appears to have been to illustrate the social evil of

"long engagements"—the dangers resulting from the protracted separation of young people "engaged to be married."

The subject is an extensive one affording great scope to the novelist; the evil of which he writes, assumes so many different forms that it might be better illustrated in a series of tales, than in a singly *novelette*. In the present instance it has been left to the author to select a particular line of illustration; and it is to the manner in which he has made the selection that we have principally to object. There is something we think faulty in design; not because it is not in itself natural, but because the example set forth in the tale is not one of so general a character as many which the author might have selected—because he has thrown the burthen, we are inclined to think, on the wrong shoulders. He has, indeed, laid himself open to the charge of *painting* the man uppermost; every one can see that the man has painted it; had the lion been the hurrier, the man would have, perhaps, occupied a different position. The author of *Long Engagements* has illustrated the social evil of which he writes, by describing the decay of love in the breast —*of the lady*. It was hardly fair to begin with such an illustration as this. Doubtless, there has been such decay ere now; but we are bound to give an unqualified verdict in favor of woman, when the question arises as to which sex exhibits the greater amount of inconstancy. Women assuredly stand the test of absence, with far greater fidelity than men. In the volume now before us, we are presented with a picture of a young lady, idly flirting in Calcutta—trifling needlessly for a time and then giving away her heart to another, whilst her betrothed is gallantly fighting the battles of his country in Kabul, and enduring the horrors of the Retreat from that ill-omened city. The scene is partly laid in Calcutta, partly in Affghanistan; and the author has thus contrived to render the example he has elaborated a double illustration, by embodying two separate and distinct forms of the social evil in the history of one betrothed couple. Accidents of mind and body are both set forth: he has shown what may arise from the alienation of affection—what from the accidents which may befal humanity. In working out this design he has presented us with some strong contrasts between the quiet of domestic life at our presidency and the wild terrors of that *fearful Retreat* through the Kabul passes. We think it more than probable that the chapters containing an account of the latter will enjoy the greater share of popularity.

We do not purpose to give, after the fashion of some reviewers, an outline of the fictitious narrative before us. Some

readers will not care to have it; and others had better betake themselves to the book itself. If there exists any curiosity to learn more of the work, it would be unfair to author and publisher, should we seek rather to satisfy than to stimulate it; but as it is probable that the present number of our journal will be in general circulation before the last volume of Chapman and Hall's excellent Series, we may devote a few pages to extracts of different kinds, which may be taken as fair samples of the work. We think that the fidelity of the following sketch of the appearance of the Calcutta *maidan*, a little before sunset, will be recognised by many of our readers: it is prefaced by a few words about the cold season, which stand at the opening of the book:—

"It was the beginning of the cold season in Calcutta—for even in Calcutta there is a "cold season"—a season when the rays of the sun are not much more scorching than in the height of our English dog-days, when to face the meridian glare, and to brave the meridian sun, is not positive destruction, and when at morning and evening-tide the outer air is more than cool—a season when physical exertion is always possible and often pleasant—when a brisk walk or a hard gallop is not necessarily productive of extreme exhaustion—when men can wear broad-cloth and women silk, and a small fire in a large room is sometimes almost bearable.

It was the beginning of the cold season in Calcutta—the early part of November; that pleasant period of abundant hope, when the great heart of European society in India begins once again to beat with renewed vigour, after months of sluggish circulation, almost of suspended life; when the frame, after a long sleep of exhaustion, begins again to show symptoms of vital energy; and hopes and wishes,

" ——— Long subdued.
Subdued and cherished long,"

again become operative in the breasts of men and gentler womankind; and some are full of thoughts of the coming voyage *home;* some from that home are looking for the return of wives too long absent, or daughters reared beneath strangers' eyes, or sons who since their earliest childhood have known their parents only by name; some are stirred by thoughts of another mould—thoughts of impending official changes—of lucrative situations and honourable posts about to be vacated and refilled—of the larger loaf or the heavier fish about to be grasped by the eager hand long stretched out in attitude of expectancy; some flutter with hopes, not less active, after their kind—hopes of a season of cold weather gaiety; balls, and concerts, and pic-nics, varying the perennial dinner-parties; and visions, floating before soft eyes, of those magnificent investments of velvets, silks, satins, and millinery multiform, about to fill the long saloons of the huge commission-houses which present to the dwellers in the City of Palaces the choicest produce of London and Paris. Many and very varied the hopes with which the heart of society is stirred at this season of transition—of going out and of coming in—of constant metempsychosis; many and varied these feelings, but to all is it a season of hope, for if there be nothing else to be looked for, there is, at all events, a mitigation, if not a cessation, of the destroying heat, which, during eight months of the year, converts life into bare existence.

It was an evening in the first week of November. The setting sun just touching the horizon had thrown into deep shadow the western bank of the Hooghly river. The evening was cool, though the day had been sultry for that season of the year, and there were signs in the chief streets of Calcutta, and on the roads which intersect the wide plain before it, that the business of the day was done. The houses of the European inhabitants had been everywhere unclosed, the heavy venetian doors and the lofty glass windows had been thrown open, and the outer blinds of the verandahs drawn up, to give admittance to the evening breeze; and from these verandahs, now become pleasant places of resort, might be seen everywhere a stream of life pouring out of that part of the great city, in which private business and public affairs are transacted during the day. Humble native writers and other underlings, with their white turbands, and dusk faces, and flowing drapery, were wending homewards on foot; fat *sircars*, or native agents and brokers, were to be seen, through the open doors of their palanquins, borne on the shoulders of four slight, nearly naked bearers; subordinate government officers and mercantile assistants were creaking on in little carriages, resembling wheeled-palanquins, drawn by a single pony, towards their homes in the outskirts of the town; whilst the well-groomed Arab, or the stylish cabriolet, or the capacious palentum, with its two bright well-harnessed Cape horses, and its three liveried attendants, bore to their mansions in wide Chowringhee, the well-paid civilian, or staff-officer, or wealthy merchant, to prepare for the evening drive. The work of the day was done. The evening had brought rest to all, enjoyment to many. Calcutta was a-stir—abroad again. Carriages of every fashion, great and small, open and shut, of great pretension and of no pretension, were streaming along all the thoroughfares, and forth from the wide balconies of Chowringhee, many a gentle dame, in shawl and bonnet, clad for her daily drive—the only exercise of the day—looked forth in expectation of the return from office of her lord and master."

Among the subordinate characters of the tale is one Rivers—an officer attached to a sepoy corps at Kabul—in whose person the author has designed to embody a secondary illustration of the evils of long engagements. As the history of this personage does not beat very closely upon the main action of the narrative, we may venture to set it forth, in his own words. The scene is laid at Kabul—Time the 23rd of November 1841. Rivers is conversing with Arthur Carrington—the hero of the tale—a subaltern in a Queen's Regiment. Referring to Carrington's "engagement," he says:—

"I don't know why I should be wretched. As I have nothing to hope, I have nothing to fear.... nothing earthly, I mean.... Now you—no words can tell how I feel for you, Arthur.... to be here, girt around with peril.... and she.."

"Don't unman me, Rivers, it will all end very well—I doubt not, very well," repeated Arthur Carrington. "Do not fear.... Are *you* in my position?"

"In your position!" then after a pause, "yes.... I am in your position ... that is I am here and my betrothed far of.... very far off—*in Heaven.*"

"In Heaven!"

"Yes.... dead—dead, and therefore in Heaven. Can I doubt it? One

so young, so pure, so innocent. She died ... a victim, Carrington, sacrificed to a long engagement. I did not see her, of course....I only heard of it—only a letter; and then ....you see what I am... you cannot wonder that the world has become utterly dark."

"Not utterly, my good fellow," said Carrington, making an attempt at cheerfulness, "if there is nothing else, there is your profession—at your age—with your prospects"....

"Prospects!" It would be difficult to conceive the world of anguish and desolation crowded into his utterance of that single word.

"And why not?"

"What prospects? Time was, Arthur—time was ... but *now!* Prospects—what are a man's prospects when success has become more painful than failure..honour almost as intolerable as disgrace... Duty survives, ... I know it. If I did not, how were it possible to live? But what are my prospects, when success is rendered grievous to me by the thought that they who would have gloried in it—that they for whose sakes I would have dared any thing—whose smiles made up the real blessings of success... that they are not here to smile approbation ... are not here to share my renown. Do not talk about prospects, Arthur—I have none. It is all over ... I do not wish—believe me, I do not wish, to communicate my sadness to your heart. Indeed, I am to the full as happy now, as I have been since ... that letter. I did not like to touch upon the subject before. These long engagements—knowing that you had one."

"Yes—yes—they wear the heart out. They are very, very bad... nothing worse," said Carrington, "I admit... Were I a parent, nothing would ever induce me to suffer these contracts, for Heaven only knows the amount of misery which they involve. Well well... wet alk sagely now; young people often do,"... he continued more cheerfully... "perhaps when we grow old, we, too, shall talk wisely about 'prudential considerations.' It is a remarkable thing, Rivers, that these prudential people should constantly be doing such very imprudent things. I know nothing more imprudent than to permit an engagement between two young people at opposite ends of the world."

"Prudence, like ambition, often 'overleaps itself, and falls on the other side,'" said Rivers. "How badly do old people calculate; they are the worst reckoners in the world... they shake their heads, and talk very solemnly about the 'ultimate happiness' of the young. The 'ultimate happiness,' those were the words which were so often in the mouth of *her* father. It was very painful, he knew—separation always is painful—but to secure our eventual—our ultimate happiness—and God knows he was right too, but not in the sense in which he desired his words to be understood. He *was* right—the very prudential old man! he was right... for he did secure the ultimate happiness of his daughter... He made her happy before her time... perfect happiness—perfect peace... among the angels in heaven."

Carrington felt that it would be idle to attempt to calm the deep passion of his friend with any common offerings of consolation. What could he say? Better he thought to give free vent to the tide of emotion...to suffer its force to expend itself. So he sat silent in his sympathy, and Rivers continued:—

"Old people, I say, are very prone to make dire mistakes. They know not—they have forgotten what youth is... and when they handle young hearts, they are utterly unconcious of the delicacy of the materials composing them. At three score we are apt to forget that the coldness of old age has grown *upon* us, not grown *with* us; and when we make laws for the young, we are oblivious of the kind of people we are legislating for. It wont do, Carrington—

it wont do. You may sever loving hearts, and tell them to be happy—talk of prudential considerations and eventual happiness... but whilst the young hearts are learning these bitter lessons, their education is cut short by death ... perhaps we might dicipline our hearts in time, but they break beneath such hard schooling ... So it was—so it was with her... she died... she was not strong enough... she was always very delicate—very sensitive ... almost morbidly sensitive—ever apprehensive of evil ... of a most excitable temperament. You could not have conceived a person less able to bear up against such trials. She said she could not bear up against them ... but prudential considerations—eventual happiness ... the solemn barbarity of threescore. It was as certain, though a less merciful immolation, than if the old man had sacrificed his daughter with a sharp knife. It was agreed at last that I should return to India ... that something should be done to increase the scanty store of my poor subaltern's pay ... a staff appointment ... or, failing in that, promotion must come sooner or later ... could not be so very far off. They say that she never smiled ... that the little, it was but very slight, bloom upon her cheek forsook it then ...and there was not even a tinge ... all so white ... until there came a little round spot ... And time passed. She wrote very long letters—was always writing letters—it was her only work ... her only consolation ... and upon this she might have lived for some time—might have been still living ... but for this accursed war. When she knew I was in Affghanistan, she ceased to hope. They did not tell me how much worse she was ... nor did she ever complain ... but still her letters revealed the truth. I could see, every month, that the handwriting was more feeble ... more tremulous ... and they were shorter, too ... those dear letters ... written with painful effort ... and in such a strain ... the letters, Arthur, of a departing saint ... And then one month, I was almost prepared for it, the letter was written by her mother ... and I knew that she had gone to Heaven ... I knew that her 'eventual happiness' had been secured—*and mine.*"

"Yours!"——

"Yes ... I hope I am not presumptuous," returned Rivers, in a more tranquil tone ... "but these things do not happen to us very often in vain. The heart of stone becomes a heart of flesh under such discipline as this ... I am very different ... I hope the change is all in my favour. Whilst every body is exclaiming, 'How you are altered!' looking only at my wasted limbs, my haggard face. I hope another change is visible to eyes which can penetrate the veil of gross flesh which hems in the heart. Even in a worldly view, Arthur, these things are not without their advantages. I doubt whether there is a man in camp, who, on his own account, is less careless of the issue of the present conflict than I am. There may be braver hearts among us; but I question whether there is one more thoroughly reckless ... more regardless of life than I am."

"Not a more gallant fellow in camp—as I was about to say before," said Arthur Carrington, glad, indeed, that such a turn had been given to this most painful conversation. "I never saw a fellow in my life so cool in the midst of danger, as you were this morning—I never saw a fellow deal about him right and left so manfully, and with such extraordinary success. Why, man, you seemed to have the strength of a giant in what you call your wasted limbs. Your wonderful pluck, Harry, seemed even to stir the hearts of the sepoys behind you; for certainly there was not a company out this morning which fought better than yours. You always were a most determined fellow ... and now you seem to think no more of the Affghan gentlemen than of the mob-ocracy, who, in old times, were condemned in our school rows to feel the weight of your stripling arms. If ever a fellow

deserved to be a C. B., you do . . . that's very certain . . . for your services this morning."

"There are many men of my standing, who deserve it," said Rivers, "but we subalterns must be contented to see our seniors carry off these honours . . . To me it matters not, as I have told you, in all sincerity; if promotion were to come—and come it will even more rapidly than I desire . . . if the performance of my duty (I have nothing more to boast of) were to be thus recognised by my sovereign . . . perhaps I should only be, if possible, a sadder man. But I could rejoice in the success of others . . . I hope I am one of those who can

> '—— a glorious consolation find
> In others' joys, when all their own are dead.'

If I could see you happy . . . if I could see some of the gallant fellows about me rewarded as they ought to be. If . . . there is poor Walsingham lying, I fear, on the bed of death . . . if I could see hope for him . . . and he so ambitious . . . so eager of distinction . . . to be cut short thus early in his career! If it had pleased God—if his fate had been reserved for me . . . for me, who have nothing to lose . . . whom no one will regret. Yet, whilst others were falling, I seemed to bear a charmed life. It is enough for me to do my duty. . . ."

The tale closes with a few chapters devoted to that most calamitous Retreat from Kabul, the horrors of which no romance writer, let him say what he will, can exaggerate. Of the descriptive portion of this part of the story, we give the following passage as a specimen, not because it is the best, but because it is the first which comes to hand—it relates to the morning of the 6th of January:—

"It was a clear, bright, crisp morning—intensely cold; serene over-head—no snow falling; but beneath them far and wide, stretched the white coverlid of the northern winter; on the hills, on the plains, over the city, over the camp, over the neighbouring villages; and deep, deep beyond in the dreary passes, everywhere around them and afar off stretched that one deep covering of clear bright snow.

And on went the advance-guard of that doomed army, slowly and mournfully on its dismal journey. On went they through the knee-deep snow; and as they went no Affghan voices sounded in their ears, no Affghan arms glittered before them; none came forth to insult, none came forth to oppose them. On went the advance-guard—it might have been an army that was pouring out of Kabul; it might have been a rabble, Heaven knows. It was a mournful sight, truly; but even there, even there in that force, doomed and disgraced, many brave hearts were beating, many truly English hearts—hearts whose noble spirit no present suffering, no threatening danger, no mighty horror could subdue.

And on they went through the knee-deep snow—slowly, steadily at first; a little while and there was some show of military bearing, a very little while they bore that martial front, for soon the stream of camp followers poured on without let or hinderance, thousands of frightened Hindústaní followers came welling on most tumultuously, a huge black stream coursing o'er the wide extent of snow, men, women, and children in terrible confusion; and where was discipline then?

And on they went through the knee-deep snow—column after column; and as the retreating force streamed out of the entrenched camp in which

they had so long vainly striven to bear up against the out-numbering host, in rushed the Affghan hordes, soldiers and citizens, and fierce ghazis, eager on plunder, eager on destruction, wreaking their vengeance on inanimate objects, and in the midst of the wildest confusion raising a din as terrible as ever ascended from the revelry of fiends.

* * * * * * *

And in that deep snow, after a weary day's march—a march of little progress—the doomed army halted for the night. Many had perished—the old and the infirm, they who had little life in their languid blood, had sunk down by the way and died. Delicate women and young children had found early graves in the dreadful snow; and mighty had been the suffering of the day. It was but a faint prelude—a slight foreshadowing of the mightier horror to come.

And what an encampment did the night look down upon! The few tents which were pitched on the encamping ground were thrown together in strange confusion; no order was preserved; the men of one regiment mingled with the men of another—as column after column came up, the confusion became more confused. It was no longer an army bivouacking. It was a rabble cast adrift in the snow. The white man and the black met together in common fellowship; all eager for warmth, clamouring for some protection against the cruel cold. Fortunate they who could obtain the scanty shelter of a soldier's pall. Many sat in the open night—no covering above them save the wintry sky—brushing away the snow as best they could, and sitting, or lying, surrounded by the white walls they had raised with benumbed hands, on the hard frozen ground beneath them. Ah! and how many, that night, stretched themselves out to sleep—how many on whom the morning's sun dawned as stiffened corpses!

And there, in the midst of that dreadful snow, were Arthur Carrington and Mark Wilton. They had struggled on manfully, like brave souls as they were—men with strong hearts and strong sinewy frames; and their example had not been thrown away upon the men whom they commanded. In no companies had better order been preserved—but how very little was the very best; and, in spite of every effort, of almost unceasing exhortation, discipline had been well nigh abandoned before they had come up to the encamping ground. They had been almost the first to arrive; but this only gave them a longer night; and the difficulties of the halt were not less grievous than the difficulties of the march."

Having introduced Rivers to our readers, perhaps we can not do better than close our extracts, with a passage, descriptive of the bearing of that officer during the retreat. He is an impersonation of the gigantic energy of despair—another of the characters of the tale—a Captain Witherington is also briefly introduced in the following:—

"Amongst these surviving officers was Rivers. He had seen the gradual destruction—the dissolution, it should be written, of the sepoy force. Hundreds, nay thousands had been massacred; they had fallen like sheep into the hands of the butchers, and died with no greater power of resistance. But the knives and the jezails of the enemy had not done all the work.

The elements of dissolution were within; the sepoy army had gradually melted away—had resolved itself into the crude materials of which it was formed, and become a rabble of men bound by no ties, owning no authority—a herd of scattered individuals, without unity of action, without common

obligations. Rivers had seen file after file die this moral death, ceasing to be soldiers, and beginning to suffer as men. He had seen them throw away their arms; he had seen them burn their accoutrements, that they might derive a moment's warmth from the flames; he had seen them turning their hands against each other, fighting for the means of present safety; and in vain he had protested—in vain he had exhorted—in vain he had offered large bribes to those who would follow him as true soldiers. Idle were all his efforts—idle the efforts of his brother officers. Mistaking the source from which flowed the only possible hope of safety, they had deserted their officers and as miserable stragglers fallen an easier prey to the savage wretches who were hovering over them hungry for the great slaughter.

Rivers himself had struggled on like a man of high courage and of iron frame. Though a broken-hearted, wretched creature; gaunt, pallid, with sunken cheeks and hollow eyes, and emaciated frame, his powers of endurance—of action—were stupendous. He was very tall, and of almost gigantic proportions; and he rode a large, bony, coal-black horse, which seemed to possess as much extraordinary mettle, as much extraordinary vigour as its rider. The animal, though it had scarcely tasted food for days, had lost but little heart—but little power. Often floundering in the snow, as solid masses of it balled in his feet, or striking his limbs against scattered baggage, or the wheels of gun-carriages, in the vast confusion of the march, the *Black Douglas*, as Rivers delighted to call him, lost none of his high courage, but quickly recovering himself, throwing back his head, and snorting in the frosty air, bounded on again, as though proud of his rider—proud of the conspicuous example of gallantry which Rivers was setting to all around him. That brave fellow had indeed been performing prodigies of valour. He had more than once been surrounded by Affghan horsemen; but he had seemed to bear a charmed life. Reckless on his own account, nay, almost courting danger, the Affghan sabres had gleamed around him, and the Affghan bullets had whizzed, past him, but he was unscathed—untouched. His long, sinewy arm had dealt destruction around; his heavy sword was indented, smeared with blood, its very handle bent on one side, so violent had been the work it had done. Often had he been seen, whilst *Black Douglas* stood still with his fore-legs thrust firmly out before him, standing up in his stirrups, raising himself to the utmost height above his saddle, and smiting down with terrific energy, cleaving and crushing through flesh and muscle, as the Affghan horsemen gathered around him, and dared to give him battle. He had truly avenged the death of more than one comrade; smiting the murderer in the very act; and once he had been seen carrying across his saddle-bow, the body of a brother officer, whom he had rescued, ere life was extinct, from the clutches of a fiend who was about to sever with his cold, bright blade, the windpipe of the wounded man. No one had done so much; no one had suffered so little. After the first day's march, he had desponded; he had grieved over the failure of his endeavours to preserve his men from destruction; but now that there was no hope; now that his regiment had melted away before him, in spite of all his efforts to preserve its integrity; now that none were relying on him, that none looked to him for succour—now that he stood alone, quite alone in the world—and that it was only left him to die, it seemed as though a new life had been granted to him—a new spirit, strong in the mighty energy of despair. The past faded away from his memory: he lived but in the wild excitement of the present. *He did not feel* the cruel cold; he did not fear the cruel enemy. He shuddered not as the death-shriek remote on his ears; he closed not his eyes as the ghastly spectacle of

murdered friends met him at every turn. On he went, powerful to avenge—making no calculations—looking never into the future—recking not of life, or of death; on the went, as one over whom a mighty Providence had cast the shield of its protection; in action more than a man—in suffering less—so reckless, and yet so safe, that many an Affghan looked at him from a distance with superstitious wonderment and awe, thinking that the Christian host had an avenging demigod in its ranks.

He had joined the little band—the remnant of the fighting men, with whom fought Arthur Carrington and Mark Wilton. Captain Witherington, too, was of that party. A few troopers, not in all amounting to the strength of a single troop, were with him. He had been gallantly mounted from the first; and being a man who had always taken the utmost interest in his stud, he had quitted Kabul with three or four led horses, one of which he had lent to Arthur Carrington, and the remainder, though not before he had taken a re-mount, had been sacrificed during the march. He was a cool, wary, intrepid officer: and had always exercised great influence over the minds of his men. The greater number of the mounted sepoys now with the remnants of his force, were men of his own troop—men who had followed because he led. They had never quitted him. Every night, when the force was halted, he had systematically mustered them by name; he had shown, in the most unmistakable manner, that he took an interest in the individual well-being of every man under his charge; and by his extreme coolness, for he was as collected, as systematic in all his proceedings, whatever danger threatened, whatever horror surrounded him, as though he had been on a regimental parade—inspired them with unbounded confidence in him, and did much to strengthen their confidence in themselves. And yet there was no man in that entire force which a few days before had left Kabul, who was moved in all that he did by a stronger desire to save himself in whom the idea of self preservation was so all-prevading—so all-absorbing. He knew that his safety, under God, depended more upon his coolness than on ought beside—that the safety of the force was only to be preserved by general collectedness, general order, and discipline—that disorganisation must be fatal to the troops—fatal to all who sought to save themselves by abandoning their comrades. This one idea never forsook him; for ever, ever before him—ever, ever as he rode on through the dying and the dead ever as fearful sounds smote upon his ears, and ghastly spectacles met his eyes, ever as he led his men to the charge against mighty odds, and he saw them falling around him—ever before him, plainly, palpably, as in actual existence, was the sweet sad face of his wife.

And near him rode Afzúl Khan, his Affghan servant, his dark eye fixed steadily on his master. He had ever from the commencement of the retreat ridden close beside the captain. He was armed; but he had used neither sword nor pistol. Both remained unhandled in his belt. Ever and anon he laid a finger upon the weapons, as though to assure himself that they remained securely in his possession; but he seemed to have no other care, no other thought, than closely to follow his master, and keep his dark eye steadily upon him."

With this extract we close our notice of the little work before us. We have not pretended to criticise it. Nor do we now purpose to add, to what we have already written, anything beyond a few remarks of a general character. We are ready to welcome every legitimate effort to diffuse a

knowledge of, and an interest in the country and the people of India, throughout the British islands; and so long as there be nothing censurable in the execution of the design, we are not very particular about the vehicle which the author is pleased to select for its embodiment. Works of fiction generally secure for themselves a large circle of readers, and are, on that account, often more efficacious than dissertations of a more elaborate character, which have cost the writer an infinity of labor—of labor not appreciated by the multitude. We wish that attempts were more frequently made to popularize India—we wish that writers would more frequently endeavour to enlist the sympathies of the British public in behalf of the millions of fellow-subjects who dwell on the vast continent of Hindustan. It is a great thing to awaken interest—a great thing to rouse the minds of men from the apathy into which they are prone to fall with regard to all that relates to India and its inhabitants. If this can be done, through the agency of works of fiction, we shall ever be glad to welcome the appearance of such works, so long as they contain nothing which can minister to vice—no prurient descriptions—no looseness of morality, levity of language, or, as is too often seen, open blasphemy. In the little work before us there is nothing which may not be read aloud in any family.

There are some social evils, which, though not peculiar to the condition of society in India, are more forcibly developed in this country, than in Europe; as many accidental circumstances exist which have a tendency to foster their growth. The author of "Long Engagements" has illustrated one of these. We should be glad to see him engaged in illustrating another. Some time has elapsed since we wrote, "Did our limits suffer us, we could produce many sad examples, not less painfully interesting than the most skillfully elaborated tales of fictitious adventure, which the ingenious novelist creates, of the misery resulting from the one great evil of enforced separation. Many a household wreck have the hills of Simla and Missourie looked down upon within these last few years; many the record of guilt and misery, which might be inscribed in the huge dark volume of the annals of separation." We should be glad to see these annals of separation written by the author of "Long Engagements."

ART. VII.—1. *Reports of a Select Committee of the House of Commons on Railways.*

2. *Railway Correspondence in the Calcutta Gazette.*

3. *Report of R. Macdonald Stephenson, Esq., upon the practicability and advantages of the Introduction of Railways in British India.*

4. *Prospectuses of the East Indian, Great Western, Northern and Eastern, and Diamond Harbour Railway Companies.*

IT was our intention to postpone the subject of Indian Railroads until the publication of the report of the Railway Commission appointed by Government, but so many projects of Railways which we never anticipated have appeared, and the public attention is so much engaged with them, that we think a notice at the present time will be useful.

We purpose not to enter upon the origin of Railroads, nor the various modes of construction adopted in earlier days and since, nor upon the inestimable benefits which other countries have derived from them; but we shall chiefly endeavor to shew the need we have of railroads in India, to describe those which have been projected for this Presidency and the Upper provinces, to assist the public in forming an opinion respecting them, and to inculcate the necessity of caution in carrying any of them into execution.

We are not sure that we know of all the Indian railroads which have been proposed here and in England. Some of the projected ones have been abandoned, and others, and in some instances better lines, substituted by their projectors in lieu of them; of the latter the Great Indian Peninsular is an example, and one or two if ever they were seriously entertained, have been so ridiculous as not to find local agents. Each Presidency has some. We can enumerate fourteen. Of those proposed for Bombay and Madras we know little: but we may observe of them, that they are not likely to be the first undertaken. Of that we can speak with confidence, not from secret information, but on grounds capable of being generally appreciated. The first lines ought, and therefore we presume will, be selected for their political as well as commercial uses. Of the former the most important is, to annihilate the space which separates from Central and Upper India the seat of the Supreme Government; hence we conclude that the first line will be the Mirzapore and grand trunk line: and the conclusion is supported by the course which

has been taken by the Government Railway Commission, on its first survey, just concluded. After a cursory view rather than survey of the lines proposed to run northward, the Commission returned to Calcutta, and thence proceeded with a large surveying staff and body of assistants from a little above Barrackpore (Phultah Ghat) west by north, within a short distance of the Grand Trunk or Benares road, up to Allahabad and subsequently on to Agra and Delhi: another season must necessarily elapse before it can report on the projects of the two subordinate Presidencies.

The earliest railroad announced in the Bengal Presidency was the "Calcutta and Mirzapore," or "East Indian." Its projector* left Calcutta, we believe, in September 1844, for the purpose of submitting it to the consideration of the Capitalists of England, having previously received all the encouragement which a Government well can give in the infancy of any undertaking, more than the Bengal Government ever gave before to any private individual, and besides, the promise of a Charter or Act of Incorporation, and an application to the Legislature for the same power to itself to take land for a Railroad, which it has to take land for "Public Works."

We may be excused for pausing here to note the remarkable correspondence between Mr. R. Macdonald Stephenson, and the Secretary of the Bengal Government.† After some introductory remarks, Mr. Stephenson states, that "no pecuniary aid will be required" from Government. It was essential to ascertain whether Government would give any sanction and what to a proposal of a railroad. We may remark that the concessions solicited in the first instance were,

1st,—That the land required for the railroad should be taken by Government. Under an existing regulation, Government has power to take land for "public objects." Mr. Secretary Halliday thinks this would not apply to a railroad, but promises an application to the Legislature—"to make the provision of that enactment applicable to such a purpose."

This we regard as a most important and equally just concession. It will not only prevent disputes with the proprietors of the land along the lines and the expense of litigation, but will give the natives a favourable impression of the Railroad Company, as a body sanctioned and supported by Government. We will confess our solicitude as friends of railroads that this concession should be carried out, in the most

* Mr. R. Macdonald Stephenson.

† Correspondence in Calcutta Gazette Extra, July 12th, 1844, July 20th, 1844.

liberal manner on the part of Government. The tenure of land and habits of the people, offer none of the difficulties which make its acquisition so expensive in England. Still it will be necessary to take precautions against extortion. The best mode, as appears to us, will be for government to make its own valuation, accept that sum of the Railway Company, and then appoint a special tribunal to distribute it among the various proprietors. On this plan, if, for half a mile, say from the Calcutta terminus, Gvernment valued the railroad site at five lakhs, in one month it might be informed who were the claimants, and its duty would be simply to make a fair and just distribution.

2ndly,—A Charter or Act of Incorporation, which was at once promised on the usual conditions: and 3rdly, that Government would appoint a proportion of the Directors. At the time this requisition was made, it was adapted, in India, to inspire confidence, as affording increased security for good management; and perhaps it was justified by the contrast between the prosperity of the Bank of Bengal, an institution partly under Government Direction, and the failure of so many merely private Joint Stock undertakings. But, on principle, generally, the interference of the executive Government in any way in the management of Banks or other joint stock commercial institutions appears to us highly objectionable; its success, in the instance alluded to, is certainly an exception, and if the causes of it were enquired into, it would probably be found to arise not from the superior virtue either of the local Government, or of the officers appointed by it, but from their responsibility to the Court of Directors, and the consequent consciousness that errors affecting the solvency, security or character of the institution, would bring themselves under their displeasure, and might become the subject of parliamentary investigation. On the other hand most of the failures alluded to, might, we believe be shewn to have arisen from extremely defective organization, the omission to take ordinary legal security, and the consequent total irresponsibility of Committee-men, Directors, Secretaries, and all other persons participating in the mismanagement. We should add, that Mr. Stephenson appears to have modified this requisition in a subsequent letter and received a satisfactory answer from Government.

Besides being armed with the important sanction contained in the correspondence just commented upon, Mr. Stephenson took with him, as appeared by subsequent publication, a considerable bulk of private correspondence, containing statistical and other preliminary information, and the opinions of merchants and other

practical persons.* Thus prepared we cannot be surprized at the favorable reception which he met with. We find him a short time after his arrival in England, associated with leading capitalists and gentlemen of distinguished talent in the City of London; and such was the impression made on the Court of Directors that they deemed the subject of sufficient importance to require the concurrent attention of the Queen's Government. This success, though only preliminary, is remarkable. The common fate of voluntary projectors in their endeavours to obtain the attention of Government is, for days, weeks, months, years, to dance attendance in the lobbies of the offices, and at last fail to obtain a hearing.

Mr. Stephenson's Company is called "The East Indian." Its original prospectus proposed to raise a capital of 4 millions for the purpose of commencing a grand trunk line, which should run to Mirzapore in the first instance, but it announced an intention to increase its capital for the purpose of a further extension.

A capital of four millions was a sufficiently bold project, while the advantages and practicability of Railroads in India rested on the opinion of private individuals. But in consequence of the countenance since given by Government, and its known desire to promote the establishment of grand trunk lines, this Company, conformably with its prospectus, has issued Shares for eight millions and has a reserve of Shares for two millions more with the intention of establishing a Railroad to Delhi. We are informed that different parts of the line will be commenced simultaneously.

The magnitude of the objects of this Company has been used as a topic of vituperation. It is, "greedy, grasping, over-reaching; it arrogates a monopoly." Accusations of this kind are premature while all the terms of contract between any company and the public or Government are unsettled. If by monopoly is meant, security for a time against competition, the accusation is a compliment. We cannot conceive any body of men so deficient in prudence, as to undertake, without it, the establishment of a railroad in India. Every company, whatever the length of its line, would regard that as an essential condition. And therefore those who so *rail*, must be regarded either as most unsafe to advise, or as having some other object than the prevention,—probably the division—

* Amongst these we find the following respected and well known names, viz.. Messrs. Colvin, Ainslie, Cowie and Co.; G. Ashburner; Gillanders, Arbuthnot and Co.; W. W. Kettlewell; Livingstone, Syers and Co.; Allan, Deffell and Co.; Cockerell and Co.; Baboo Muttylall Seal, &c. &c.

of monopoly.* Palpably, mere length or distance, or amount of capital, abstractedly and apart from other considerations, are not criteria by which to limit a Company's field of operations. If it would be a monopoly for one Company to run to Delhi, because a rival wishes it to stop at Mirzapore, it would equally be such for it to go to Mirzapore, if another rival wished it to stop at Burdwan. What every prudent Company will desire is, a remunerative employment of its capital. With reference to this as a first principle it will contract or expand its views: if a road to Burdwan which would require only about one million, would probably not answer; but a road to Mirzapore probably would, it is a good reason for not stopping at Burdwan, though to go to Mirzapore would require 4 millions; and if the probability of remuneration would be increased by going on to Delhi, this would be a good reason in the opinion of the friends of Indian Railways for its going to Delhi; and this, as we apprehend it, must be the very reason which actuates the Directors of the East Indian Railway Company. The reasoning is clear—the inference conclusive. If the average of expenditure can be extended over a distance embracing great varieties of soil, of levels, and of geological peculiarities,—and if, as is usually the case, a proportion of these varieties shall offer facilities for the construction of the works, while other parts of the country demand a much increased outlay, there can be no question of the advantage of combining in one and the same operation the lighter and more economically constructed portions with the heavier and more costly works, and thereby diminishing the mileage outlay. The financial benefit will be directly proportionate to the extent to which the principle, under reasonable regulations, is carried out. The expences of Direction, Law, Management, Engineering, &c. by being divided over a greater extent become lighter; and the uniformity of rates and charges, and of regulations for the arrival and starting of trains, &c. are important advantages. At home, confusion and inconvenience are constantly occurring where different parts of continuous lines are

* The specious pretence of preventing monopoly is adverted to in the Report of the Select Committee:—

"New Railway Companies may, as is quite conceivable, be formed, and may come before Parliament with the specious promise of combating monopoly, and of carrying at lower rates the traffic now carried at higher ones, and under these pretexts powers might be obtained in the proportion to the engagements contracted before Parliament, and it might, notwithstanding, prove, when the Acts of Incorporation had been passed, that on the one hand there were no adequate means of enforcing the engagements, and that the guarantees taken on the part of the public for their fulfilment were barren and valueless; but that, on the other hand, the powers had been improperly used as efficient instruments of extortion against the subsisting companies, to whom might be offered only the alternative of losing their traffic or of buying off opposition."

under separate and different managements; and the evils would be still greater in this country.

The next Company which we have to notice is the Great Western Railway Company of Bengal. The first announcement of it to the public was made in London, where, as in India, it has been generally regarded, and truly we suppose, as in opposition to the East Indian: a circumstance which would appear necessarily to involve either its dissolution or an indefinite postponement of its objects, if the Railway Commission recommends and the Government decides in favor of the Grand Trunk line in the first instance. For several lines requiring very large remittances of capital to this country to be undertaken at once we regard as most impolitic if not impracticable.

The proposed capital of this Company is four millions: its line to go to Rajmahal, with an extension or branch to the great commercial Town of Patna. Many years ago a canal from Rajmahal to Calcutta was proposed by Colonel Forbes, an eminent engineer officer, who ascertained the levels, and projected the details. The construction of it was authorized by the Court of Directors, but prevented by the Affghan War, which exclusively occupied the attention of Government and exhausted the funds set apart for the purpose. On the restoration however of peace after the Gwalior Campaign, Lord Ellenborough, as himself declared, sent to the Board of Control, a strong recommendation of the Canal, and probably it would have been commenced but the plan of the East Indian Railway Company appeared at this period. The idea of a Railroad to Rajmahal was merely an accidental transition from the previous design of a canal, and led to the formation of the Great Western Railroad Company. In justice to this Company it must be admitted that it would accomplish all the objects of the canal. On the Eastern side of the Ganges from Patna downwards and along the Bhagirathi, the country is a rich alluvial soil, the proprietors of which carry on the cultivation of Indigo and Sugar, chiefly with Capital advanced by the Banks and Merchants and Agents of Calcutta. The produce is abundant and of great value, and much or most of it is brought down by native craft on the Ganges, Jellinghi and Bhagirathi, the navigation of which rivers is at all times, from causes varying with the seasons, tedious and difficult and often dangerous.—The passage of Cargo boats takes between twenty and thirty days from Rajmahal to Calcutta. The losses are great, and the insurance as high as from England. To supersede the river navigation, or take its place, is the object of the Great Western: and as it would be eminently useful to the Capitalists of

Calcutta, it is popular with them. This point of view however is not a comprehensive one. It includes the consideration of commercial traffic alone, and has no reference to the wants of Government, nor to the principles on which Grand Trunk lines are now constructed in England. The road would have the river parallel with part of its course, and in direct competition with it. It would be the railroad versus the river: a struggle between two Giants, and the railroad might beat and the local commerce be materially benefitted: but this result would be accomplished at a sacrifice; those measures for the improvement of the navigation, which policy and interest have long ago dictated and modern engineering science is prepared to carry out, would be further postponed or finally prevented; and it would be prejudicial to the success of the grand trunk line, for which the Great Western Scheme is not adapted. Besides, the objects of this Company may in a great degree be accomplished by branches to the Grand Trunk line, if that is first constructed.

In thus stating objections to the Great Western, we are actuated by no unfriendly feelings. Our chief aim is to weigh calmly the merits of the different rival, or apparently rival schemes, in order, if possible, to determine which, on the whole, may be best calculated to promote the interests not of this or that class in particular, but the interests of India generally. The objections, as we conceive, arise chiefly by comparison. If there was no Ganges, or its navigation was not capable of improvement; if only those who are interested in the rich products of its valley needed railway communication; if a great military highway to the Upper Provinces and a good base for a system of railways were not needed by the country and Government; if no other and preferable line could be selected for these purposes,—the objections to the Great Western line would be insignificant. But there is a Ganges; it is in the power of modern art and science, which has never been applied to it, to improve its navigation; and a system of railways as a base for which it is not suited is needed, and British power can scarcely be deemed secure without improved communications with Upper India:—Such are the objections to the Great Western.

And this leads us to notice next the Northern and Eastern Railway Company, the last in the field, and a competitor for part of the Great Western line. All the objects, as appears to us, of the Northern and Eastern are, or may be, comprized in the larger views of the Great Western Company.

At a distance by land of about 150 miles from Calcutta, at or about a place called Bogwangolah, the Bhagirathi, a minor Stream,

runs from the great Ganges, and uniting, at Nuddiya, with the Jellinghi, another minor stream, constitutes the Hooghly, on the left bank of which Calcutta is situated: and this is the most direct river route for the traffic to and from the valley of the Ganges: but for 3 or 4 months in the year, owing to its shallowness, the passage is slow and difficult, and all the Steamers, and much of the other traffic, have to proceed along the Ganges nearly to its embouchure at the Sea, and thence back or up the Hooghly to Calcutta, a circuit of nearly 500 miles. Nor is this all. When these streams are full, and consequently navigable with ease downwards, the force of the currents makes it a very difficult passage upwards. Hence it appears, that the Northern and Eastern plants its railroad just at the point where the defects of the navigation are most severely felt and their consequences begin to be very aggravated.

Such is the relation which this Company bears to the general commerce of Calcutta and to its rival the Great Western. It exhibits in its office on the common map of Bengal, two lines, one by a piece of black tape, purporting to represent the East Indian or Mirzapore line, the other by red tape, its own, diverging at considerable angles from the proposed terminus of both, Calcutta. Doubtless it wishes not to appear in collision with the East Indian Railway Company. But if, as is probable, the Railway Commission recommends that the Grand Trunk line should go up the left bank of the Hooghly, the Northern and Eastern will have to undergo a modification; for Government will scarcely sanction two parallel independent and contiguous lines: and probably it will have to alter its plan as it respects its upper terminus, as the course of the river hereabouts is so uncertain that one year the Company might find itself, rails and godowns, in the bed of the river, another year some miles distant from the channel where the craft would have to unship their cargoes.

A few lines will be sufficient to devote to the Diamond Harbour Railway Company. Diamond Harbour, is a part of the river about half way between the Sandheads or Sea and Calcutta. Above it is the very dangerous shoal of the James and Mary, where many valuable ships have been stranded and injured. To enable the shipping to avoid this peril, and to stop short in a very dangerous river navigation, is the object of this Company. It is only the larger ships and more valuable and less bulky cargoes and those which take steam and go insured, which probably will use the Railroad. They will effect a saving of about half per cent. in insurance, and perhaps one day's steaming, but this is doubtful. Probably the

cost of conveyance by Railroad and the incidental charges of the merchant, will exceed this saving. A Railroad to Gravesend, without the advantage of any considerable number of passengers, and with the interests of the Catherine Dock and other Docks opposed to it, would present to our English readers a fair comparison to the Diamond Harbour Railroad.

Having suggested objections to most of the proposed lines, we will shortly state our views with regard to a system of railways. The first great want is, of a Grand Trunk line from the seat of the Supreme Government to the North-west frontier, or as near it as may be. Next in importance to this, is the establishment of a similar communication with Bombay. The second great line therefore should run from the Grand Trunk, to that presidency. With these two roads, in fewer days than it now takes months, all the resources of Government can be thrown on either extremity of British India, and on every point where our power and ascendancy can possibly be placed in difficulty. These are the roads which appear to us first to be demanded, by every consideration of prudence and policy. They would provide better than an increase of the army to almost any amount for the security of the empire. Nor are their uses merely military. One will run through the untrodden valley of the Narbudda and open the markets of Calcutta and Bombay to its mineral wealth and agricultural capabilities. Both will serve to develope the resources of Upper and Central India. As they approach completion, a vast deal of valuable experience will be gained, and science and capital may with increased confidence plan an extension, by means of main lines or branches, having reference to the wants of particular localities. We can conceive branches to the Calcutta and Mirzapore, before it reaches its upper terminus which would answer all the purposes proposed at present by two or three Companies, and quite sure we are, that such gradual extensions will effect the objects in view with much greater economy than a headlong race between half a dozen contemporary and rival Companies. We are chiefly solicitous that British capital should not be employed wastefully. Festina lente. On; but slow at first: the work will all be done, but millions may be saved, to be employed in other Indian investments, if it proceeds progressively.

These principles are in accordance with the views of the Select Committee—

"The committee entertain very strongly the opinion that in the future proceedings of parliament, Railway Schemes ought not to be regarded as merely projects of local improvement, but that each new line should be viewed as a member of a great system of communication, binding together

the various districts of the country with a closeness and intimacy and relation in many respects heretofore unknown.

So long as Railways were considered to be of problematical benefit, and were in general subject to extensive opposition on the part of the owners and occupiers of land, and of the inhabitants of the districts which they traversed, there may have been reasons for insuring a very full, and in some points of view, a disproportionately full representation to local interests, which, nevertheless must be admitted to operate with somewhat diminished force at a period when the predominant sentiment of all classes appears to have altered into one of anxiety to obtain the advantages afforded by the immediate proximity of Railways.

On the other hand, the considerations which tend to attach to Railways, a national rather than a local character, gain weight from year to year, as those undertakings are progressively consolidated among themselves, as the points of contact among them are multiplied, and as those which were at first isolated in comparison, are thus brought into relation with gradually extended ranges of space, traffic, and population."

Before we conclude this part of our notice, we will offer a few brief remarks in reference to the principles of railway management. We regard it as a principle universally applicable to all proprietory institutions, that those who supply the capital should have either the management or an effectual voice in the management; and this principle has generally been acted upon. Even Indian Companies scarcely present an exception. The affairs of the East India Company itself, when it was merely a commercial body, were exclusively managed by the Directors in England. The Oriental and Peninsular Steam Company, one of the most successful concerns connected with India, manages the Indian branch of its great business by means of an agent selected on the ground of personal confidence in him; and he is strictly governed by the orders or instructions of Directors in England. Nine-tenths of the capital of the proposed railways will at no distant period belong to persons in England. Only one company has at present allotted its shares, and we believe half those which were reserved for India are already gone to England. The high rate of interest here, and the low rate in England, make this the uniform tendency of all permanent investments. Hence, the direction or government, of these companies, should be, as we conceive, in England; and the local managers, committeemen, or by whatever name they are called, should be mere agents. Whatever powers strict or discretionary they have, should be delegated and not original; and for the exercise of them, they should be both accountable and responsible. Of course they should be paid for their services, and at a rate which would make the appointments worth having and keeping. On other premises than the above Mr. Stephenson supports the same opinions. Referring to the local experience

of Calcutta he strenuously maintains the necessity of vesting the management of Railway Companies in Directors in England. In one of the Companies* whose scheme is before us, there seems to be a departure from these principles. If we were asked our opinion beforehand, we should say that a pompous array of Presidents, vice Presidents, Chairmen, Princes and Rajahs, would inspire our distrust, as utterly alien to the principle of responsible and economical management. In the Company to which we refer, the Calcutta Board is more numerous than the London; is evidently meant to have original powers; and not to be accountable. It would be impossible to prescribe to such a list the duty of agents or servants. It consists of a singular mixture of natives, lawyers and merchants. Perhaps the variety is supposed to realize the principle of representation. We think it does not, but the principle itself is inapplicable. Nor is it such a selection as would be made by any prudent person or body of persons, having proprietory interests, and caring only for the profit to be derived from the intended operations. With the most perfect respect we say it—that Princes and Rajahs are mere cyphers in a Direction. It is no disparagement of them to say, that one good banian, who is also an honest and respectable man, would be worth dozens of them. As for the lawyers,—to be directors of banks and trading companies is not within their proper province; nor in England are they ever seen in such a situation. They have a monopoly of their own proper function: and it is of a high and honorable nature, and might well satisfy the pride and ambition of the most high-minded men. But the great objection, in a public point of view, is, that they lose their proper utility, and unfit themselves for the service which Society needs from them, by taking part in trading associations. A character,—such at least as they ought alone to value,—for skill and judgment in commerce they cannot acquire, but they may lose the noble characteristics which all over the world ought to be, and in England are their just distinction.

The subject of management includes the question, how far it should be subjected to interference on the part of Government. We have hinted, in another part of this article, our opinion that the management of trading Companies does not belong to the Executive Government. This also was the opinion of the Select Committee of the House. Its Report says:—

"† The Committee entered upon their inquiries with a strong prepossession against any general interference by the Government in the management and

* The Northern and Eastern.

† Fifth Report of Select Committee on Railways, p. vii.

working of Railways, and they have not seen cause to alter their first impressions upon that subject. But with regard to Railway legislation, they are convinced that it is alike clear from reasoning and from experience, that it should henceforward be subjected to an habitual and effective supervision on the part of the Government."

We are not aware of any circumstances which require Indian Railways to be an exception. The only rational pretence for it which we can conceive would be that it is necessary for the protection of its own or the public interests. Such a necessity appears to us not to exist, nor to be capable of being colourably proved by any argument. As to its own interest, first, we should say, let it ascertain what are its proper interests in any proposed railway: define and declare them: let such as cannot be sufficiently protected by contract, be protected by legislative enactment; make a law for their establishment, and at the same time a judicial tribunal which will protect the rights given to it by the legislature, as well as those of all other persons. This is essental. The least possible meddling, or no meddling at all, on the part of Government, may then be safely assumed as a leading principle. Government may have, without violating these principles, and it has, a special commission to assist it in railway legislation. It may appoint a police to prevent accidents, to prosecute and punish negligence: but let it not go into the railway office, as it does into the Bank parlour, to control the details of the Company's operations.

We assume that the advantages of Grand Trunk lines are such, as, on general principles, to entitle them to priority of construction, and put all others for a time comparatively into the shade. Still we may remark that great caution will be necessary on the part of the legislature and Government. In the schemes before the public we can detect haste, and all the errors usually in the train of an excited spirit of speculation. The general railway act of Parliament limits deposits until final registration to 10*s.* per cent. or 10*s.* upon a £100 share. Accordingly we find the deposit of the East Indian Railway Company 5 shillings. But in the headlong haste with which several have followed their leader, this regulation has been overlooked or disregarded: there are shares of £40 upon which 5 shillings is called for; others of £20 on which 7 shillings and 4 shillings are called for; and one is advertised to receive £2-10*s.*,—on its £50 shares. The same diversity appears in the amount of their capital. Some of them also combine other objects with the proper business of a Railway Company. One intimates an intention to have its own steamers, if those existing are insufficient to bring to it the traffic of the Ganges. This is a scheme for knocking down

railway profits, by embarking in a different kind of trade which yields no profit; for it is quite certain that the steam companies will take all the traffic which they can bring at a profit. Another would require (we should say) the erection of a new town, but certainly extensive establishments of public and private warehouses, custom-houses, and all that appertains to a landing port, before it could safely enter upon its proper business of carriers. It would have to make a new Calcutta without the advantage of a Fort and battery to protect it. It would be the largest warehouseman in the world, unless the Calcutta merchants chose to take up at its terminus this branch of business. To supply one want in an improved manner, it would create a hundred other wants, which it would leave other persons to supply, and it would produce all sorts of disturbance in existing interests. We refer to such projects as the railway to Diamond Harbour. *Per se*, perhaps, it might answer; but if it would also require new Custom-houses, oblige the merchants to have double establishments, render valueless a large amount of existing property in Calcutta, and require a large amount of capital to be embarked afresh in another locality, we should distrust the scheme, and certainly its merits ought to be considered in connection with all such circumstances.—We say then existing schemes, sanctioned even by respectable names, exhibit the strongest grounds for caution on the part of the legislature and Government both in India and England.

The cause of Indian railroads has a great advantage in the quantity of discussion which has lately taken place in England on subjects of railroad legislation. But we must add, that we have much doubt about some important principles which appear to be considered as settled: such, for example, as limiting the amount of profit or dividends. This is certainly an interference with the reward and distribution of capital. Its tendency and effect, we believe, will be to discourage railroad undertakings. Are large profits in a few cases a sufficient evil, or are they an evil at all, to require a departure from the general principle of non-interference? Their excess only accelerates the accumulations of a few individuals: but these become a fresh capital, which soon finds its way into other investments. That railroad travelling, in lines producing the highest profits, is cheaper than all other modes of travelling is proved by the vastly greater number of persons who avail themselves of it. We have heard of 10, 12½ and 15 per cent. proposed as the limit in Indian railroads. Reserving our exceptions to the principle, we will ask, by what criterion is the amount to be limited? By the English

or Indian value of money? The Bank interest at present is 10 per cent. on loans of short date, where the loan is secured in the surest manner, i. e. by deposit of Government paper. The Bazar rates are higher. This then is the market value, the fair, the true value of money: 15 per cent. would not, in our opinion, be too high with reference to this criterion, considering the charge of remittances and the great losses always arising upon investments not under the eye of the proprietor. Capt. Laws gives some curious evidence respecting the motives of the railway speculator. Capt. Laws describes him as a real capitalist, who puts his money into a railroad, to make his 10 per cent. and who sells, when he can do that, and then makes a new investment of his money. But it is obvious, his inducement will be gone, if the highest rate of profit allowed is little above the ordinary value of money. We must observe, however, that the limitation of profits in English railroads appears to have reference to another principle, which can hardly be applied to India, viz., that Government shall have an option to purchase, at the end of a certain term of years, all future railroads. Keeping down the profits, appears to be an arbitrary mode of keeping down the value of the commodity for the sake of the intended purchaser, because the price is to be fixed with reference to a certain average of profits. Moreover, these transfers to Government, or purchases by Government, have the further object in view of opening railroads to the public at rates which shall yield no profit. This may be England, but it is not India. If the Indian Government acquires railroads on its own account, it will only regard them as a valuable mode of occupying land, and as a source of revenue. Which then will be best on the very principles of the recent English policy?—for the public to be served by a Government whose object is revenue? or by a company of capitalists, whose object is to increase their business and make fair interest for their money?

Another principle, as we have intimated, which has had the high sanction of a select committee of the House of Commons, is, that future Railways should be permitted only on terms for transferring them by purchase eventually to Government. The period proposed for this transfer to take place is, 10 or 15 years from the time of completion. The committee referred to came to the following resolution on this principle:—

"That if, at the end of a term of years to be fixed, the annual divisible profits upon the paid up share capital of any such line of railway shall be equal to a per centage to be fixed, or so soon after the expiration of the said term as the said per centage shall have been reached, it shall be in the option of the Government either, first, to purchase the line at the rate of a number of years' purchase to be fixed, of such divisible profits; or, secondly, to revise the fares and charges on the line, in such manner as shall, in the judgment of the Government, be calculated to reduce the said divisible profits, assuming always the same quantity and kinds of annual traffic to continue, to the said per centage; but with a guarantee, on the part of the Government, to subsist, while such scale of fares and charges shall be in force, to make up the divisible profits to the said per centage;"

"The term of years to be fifteen, to date from the next following 1st of January after the passing of the Act for the construction of the railway."

No railway, that we are aware of, has yet been subjected to this condition for a purchase. We think it has not yet undergone sufficient consideration or discussion. It is asserted that it is a popular condition. We doubt it. It certainly has the sanction of persons of great experience in the management of railways, apparently because the railways with which they have been connected have been managed in an illiberal manner as it respects the public. Its object in one point of view is certainly beneficent;—to minimize the expense of railway-travelling, by charging, as under the new Post Office system, rates merely sufficient to defray cost of carriage and expences of establishments. In the same way, it would be very beneficent to make alms-houses of noblemen's mansions. But then with such a policy should we have had either alms-houses or mansions? Should we have had those accumulations of capital which have brought to the poor man of the present day security and comforts unknown to the rich man of former days? Be this as it may, where is the application of the principle to stop? If a railroad, why should not also turnpike roads and canals, bridges and ferries be transferred to Government. There are other ways besides purchase, by which at all events the essential object may be attained, though not in so short a time, and without a transfer to Government, as, for example, by creation of a sinking fund, by the gradual distribution of which, the railway capital might be returned to the proprietors, until at last the Company became mere managers and Trustees for such uses and on such terms as might eventually be declared by the wisdom of Parliament. If the principle laid down by the Committee had been established when the Liverpool and Manchester line was constructed, Government would have some hundred millions now to raise for the purchase of railroads. But,—and this shews the narrowness and injustice of the policy commented upon;—Government is to take only such as are profitable, and the private capitalist is no longer to have the

power of hedging. If such a condition had been originally established, would the public have had the advantage of one half of the existing railroads? And is it yet desirable to put such a check on their extension in England and the colonies, while foreign states are offering so many invitations to British Capital, with promises of high profits.

There is something in the past history, and present habits and constitution of our Indian government which tends to unfit it for the exercise of powers not necessary for society or for its own strength as a government. Far be it from us invidiously to contrast, especially at the present time, the Queen's and Indian Governments,—but we cannot shut our eyes to simple facts. The great distance, perhaps involuntary, at which the latter appears to lag behind, the slow pace, perhaps unavoidable, at which it proceeds when it moves at all, in the march of improvement and in adapting itself to new circumstances,—we may add the difficulty of getting a fair hearing from it,—ought not to be lost sight of, when great objects and interests are for the first time about to be intrusted to it. Who or what, it has been asked, in reference to this subject, is the Indian Government? The simple truth is, it has too much on its hands already, as may be proved in various ways: by what it does and by the manner of doing it: by what it omits to do, and by a reference to the number and magnitude of its duties, and the number of persons it is composed of. Bengal, for instance, is governed generally by a Deputy-Governor of advanced age, and by a secretary—always, we admit, a very able person,—who of necessity is selected for his qualifications in all sorts of *Indian* acquirement and for general talent. Such is the Government of Bengal, with its host of functionaries who need its supervision and control, (duties most painful and burdensome) and forty millions of people. And as for the Supreme Government,—when all its parts and powers are combined,—it only consists of five elderly gentlemen, usually selected, it must be owned, for their useful and often distinguished services, alike in the *Civil* and *Military* departments. But, from the very circumstance that their experience and habits of business are almost altogether of an *Indian* and *non-commercial* character, it can scarcely be expected that their practical knowledge and energies should prove commensurate with the vast and peculiar requisitions of such novel and gigantic undertakings as our modern Railways. We hope, therefore, never to see the Herculean charge of Railway management imposed on our already over-burdened Indian government.

We have yet to offer a few remarks on the advantages to be derived from the establishment of railroads in India. To estimate their value and importance aright, regard must be had to the peculiar state of the country. Of the difficulties of the navigation of the Ganges and minor rivers we have already spoken. Much, if not most, of the merchandise to and from the Upper Provinces is taken by water; the saving of time which the railroad would effect would multiply the merchants' capital and be a saving of money. Where it takes three months now, it will take only as many days, to bring distant consignments to market, and the same capital, consequently, which, at present, can be returned only three or four times a year, may be returned probably twenty. A railroad will operate in the same manner in encreasing the effective strength of the army by saving the time employed in marches. In the annual relief, infantry regiments are often moved from one end of India to the other, at an averge number of ten miles and a half per day, halting six days in the month, so that it takes about six weeks to move from this Presidency to Benares. Hence arises the necessity of the concentration at all times of a large force in the neighbourhood of an enemy. There are not the means existing of concentrating troops on a sudden emergency. This was strikingly exemplified in various ways on occasion of the recent war on the north-west frontier. When it broke out, all officers, whose regiments were in the field, were ordered to join the army. About one hundred, we believe, in the different services,—Engineers, Artillery, Infantry and Medical, required to go from this Presidency. They were sent at the public expence, and with the greatest despatch. How many do our readers suppose the Post Master General was able to send daily? Three!—and as the journey took sixteen days travelling night and day, few arrived before the war was over. Even this could not have been accomplished at any other period of the year.

Under the order, now countermanded, for the establishment of depots, the Regiments stationed in the presidency division were ordered to supply about 600 men to the depôt, intended to be formed at Benares. The utmost despatch was desired by Government; bullock hackeries, the only kind of carriage ever available here, were put in requisition in the usual manner: but the garríwâns had taken alarm at the rumour, industriously and perhaps maliciously circulated, that they were to go to the seat of war. They were consequently obtained with difficulty. Many ran away, and from these causes several days were lost

before the march could commence, and a halt of some days more became necessary at the end of the first day's journey. Is this a predicament proper for the Government to be placed in, within a few miles of a great political and commercial capital? Is it just to the great interests involved in the stability of British power, that the movement of troops should depend on native opinion, or on the caprice of the drivers or owners of bullock hackeries?

The chief magazine for the supply of military stores for the forces employed in the Lower and Upper provinces is and must be at Fort William for a century to come. No where else can the vast munitions of war required on occasion of hostilities be safely deposited. Their safety is itself a cause of strength, in the impression which the knowledge of it makes on the natives of India. But their use depends on their transport, which though more easily accomplished by water, than the transport of troops, could be effected with incomparably superior advantages by a railroad. The magazines of Allahabad, Cawnpore, Agra, and Delhi, from which a great part of the Bengal army is supplied, receive all their stores from Calcutta: those of Ajmír, Ferozepore, and Saugor, are also chiefly supplied from this presidency.

Not only is transport by railroad the quickest, but if the saving of time is taken into account, it is the cheapest mode of conveying troops.

Sir James Willoughby Gordon, Quarter-Master-General, was examined on this point, and gave his evidence as follows:—

"1994.—Then in consequence of the saving of time which is effected, the total cost of the transport of troops is actually less to Government than their expenses upon the road, when they go on foot. Exactly; perhaps the better way would be to state one case, which is as good as a thousand. We will take the distance from London to Birmingham; the expense in marching for one man, being nine marches and one halt, is 10*s.* 10*d.*; by railroad, he would cost 10*s.* 7*d.*; therefore, in that distance, there is a saving of 3*d.* for each man.

"1995.—*Lord G. Somerset.* You are now speaking of cavalry? No, infantry; cavalry I have moved by railroad under particular circumstances, which, if necessary, I will state; but, so far as regards expense, the horse marching costs nothing; he eats the same as he does in the barrack stable; but when a soldier marches, he costs the public in addition 1*s.* 1*d.* a day, of which 10*d.* goes to the publican and 3*d.* to himself. Then, I should say, that this mode of railway conveyance has enabled the army (comparatively to the demands made upon it, a very small one,) to do the work of a very large one; you send a battalion of 1,000 men from London to Manchester in nine hours; that same battalion marching, would take 17 days, and they arrive at the end of nine hours just as fresh, or nearly so, as when they started. By moving the troops to and fro by that mode of conveyance, you do most important service to the public, so much so that without that conveyance, you could not have done one-tenth part of the work that it was required of the troops to do, and necessarily to do, in the year 1842.

"1996.—In the case you have mentioned, for the sake of example, of the conveyance of so many soldiers from London to Birmingham, it is obvious, is it not, that besides the small difference between 10*s.* 10*d.* and 10*s* 7*d.* the soldier was available for nine day's service in the case which he spent in travelling in the other? Yes.

"1997.—And over and above that, there is the power of concentration at particular points, the importance of which can hardly be estimated? Yes; it facilitates military operations to an extent beyond my power to describe to the Committee."

The advantages here pointed out would equally result from the establishment of a grand trunk Railroad in India, but their importance would be vastly greater.

Railroad travelling is also the safest in comparison with all other modes of travelling. The same witness said on this part of the subject—

"For the last two years, ending December 31st, I have moved by railroad 130,174 persons, and of those persons a very large number were women and children, and they were moved without any reported accident whatever, which is a degree of security I do not think attached to any other mode of conveyance that has come under my observation, neither by canal, nor by sea, nor by waggon, nor by coach. Perhaps the committee might like to have that in detail, it is a very short paper, and I have therefore brought it.—The witness delivered in the same, which is as follows:—

SUMMARY of the officers, men, women, and children, conveyed by railway in Great Britain, in the years ending the 31st December 1842 and 31st December 1843, respectively."

Period.	Officers.	Men.	Women.	Children.	Horses.
June 30, 1842.....	785	28,329	1,884	2,073	..
Dec. 31, „	966	33,683	1,327	1,300	113
Total for 1842....	1,751	62,012	3,211	3,373	113
June 30, 1843	597	22,869	1,178	1,450	..
Dec. 31, „	905	30,042	1,316	1,470	..
Total for 1843....	1,502	52,911	2,494	2,920	..
General Total 1842 & 1843	3,253	114,923	5,705	6,293	113

Total Individuals, 1,30,174.

Horse Guards, 27th Feby., 1844.

The military uses are not the only advantages which Government would directly derive from the establishment of railroads. Their immediate effect will be to connect the most distant parts with the seats of capital and the emporiums of commerce. In parts where the permanent settlement has been established the revenue will be more easily collected; in other parts, the land will be at an improved rent as it will necessarily be improved in value. A railroad in this point of view will be a more valuable acquisition than Sindh or the ceded Sikh provinces. We believe it impossible to form too high an estimate of the manner in which it would develope the agricultural capabilities of the country.

In the Report on the Ganges Canal, which was intended to run from Hardwar to Allahabad, we find a contrast drawn between the evils which the canal would mitigate or prevent,—such as famine,—and the malaria which it produced, occasioning sickness and disease in the contiguous population. No malaria attends a railroad: it pretends not indeed to prevent a failure of crops, but it does better, facilitates commerce, multiplies the power of capital, and pours a supply wherever there is a demand, and enables charity to perform its objects and mission.

Besides these advantages, others of an occasional kind and of great importance would follow the establishment of the grand trunk railways which we have suggested. For instance, it would become practicable for Government to communicate officially with any of its absent members, either at the Hills or on the frontier. The Electric Telegraph, we observe, is promised in the prospectus of the East Indian Railway Company. By means of this the Governor-General will be able to resort to the Council for advice in the exercise of the monocracy with which he is usually invested when he leaves the presidency. Political or military intelligence, coming from the frontier, would, during the S. W. monsoon, reach England one whole month sooner. Members of Council will not necessarily have their functions totally suspended when they are unavoidably absent from the proper scene of their duties. We touch these points as hints which, on a future and more convenient occasion, we may amplify. They will we hope serve the railway cause, and aid in procuring from Government an immediate sanction to the grand trunk lines already projected, as well as its sanction successively to all other lines which may hold out a reasonable prospect of remuneration to the capitalist

and of benefit to the public. And let us say, in parting, that, for the service which they will render, Government ought to pay liberally. The capitalist seeks and ought to have liberal interest for his money, and the Government, which has refused a guarantee of interest, should make up its mind to be a liberal and good customer.

Here, for the present, we must pause. Our remarks may be regarded as altogether of a preliminary character. Our great object being the general good of India, we have endeavoured to express ourselves with fairness and impartiality towards all the parties concerned. Happy shall we be if our suggestions or pleadings shall serve to accelerate and ultimately realize the execution of a well-regulated system of Railways. In such a consummation, individuals and public bodies—the representatives of the most diverse views, objects, and interests—are deeply concerned. Philanthropists of every name are concerned in it.—Its tendency would be to save the time and strength of devoted labourers in visiting different and widely distant spheres of usefulness—more speedily and economically to concentrate the material means and instrumentalities of improvement in favourable localities—and more rapidly and successfully to multiply those radiating points whence the light of Science and Art and true Religion may emanate all around. The Government of India is concerned in it.—The facilities which it would present for the quick transmission of official notifications, living agencies and the varied appliances alike of seasonable encourgement and salutary restraint, would bring every city and province within the almost immediate superintendence and control of the Supreme authorities—confer on every district the benefits of a virtually united and ubiquitous council—crush plots and conspiracies in the very first threatenings of insurrectionary out-break—and secure all the advantages without any of the expense of an additional standing army, double or treble the amount of the present. The natives of India are concerned in it.—The undoubted effect would be, in a constantly augmenting ratio, to unfold the unknown mineral resources of their world-famed land—vastly to enhance in value the products of its prolific soil—widely and cheaply to diffuse the objects of personal comfort and refined social enjoyment—and annually to save the lives of thousands that must otherwise perish from the hazards, the fatigues, and the exposures of the present rude and semi-barbarous modes of travelling. The merchants of England, and of every realm within the empire of civilization, are concerned in it.—

The mighty impulse which it would impart to the developement of the exhaustless treasures of so highly favoured a region and to the awakening energies of so multitudinous a people, could not fail to make itself felt on the shores of the Baltic and Mediterranean, in the mines of Cornwall and the Backwoods of America, in the dockyards and harbours alike of the Atlantic and Pacific, and in every seat of manufacturing industry throughout the commercial world. The honour, the dignity and the glory of Imperial Britain are concerned in it.—The complete permeation of these "climes of the Sun" by a magnificent system of Railway communication would present a series of public monuments vastly surpassing, in real grandeur, the aqueducts of Rome, the pyramids of Egypt, the great wall of China, the temples, palaces and mausoleums of the great Moguls—monuments, not merely of intelligence and power but of utility and beneficence, which would for ever wipe away the fiercely indignant reproach, that, "were we to be driven out of India this day, nothing would remain to tell that it had been possessed, during the inglorious period of our dominion, by any thing better than the ourang-outang or the tiger."

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Faria Y. Sousa, Asia Portuguese,* 3 *vols.* 12*mo.*

2. *Historical account of Discoveries and Travels in Asia, by H. Murray,* 3 *vols.* 1820.

3. *Os Lusiadas, poema epico de Luis de Camoens, Paris,* 1823.

4. *India Orientalis Christiana, auctore Paulino Bartholomæo Romæ,* 1794.

5. *Histoire Generale de Voyages per T. de Houdt,* 25 *tomes,* 1753.

6. *The History of Christianity in India, by the Rev. J. Hough,* 4 *vols.* 1846.

7. *Lettres edifiantes et curieuses, ecrites des Missions Etrangeres,* 26 *tomes, Paris,* 1780.

8. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages and Discoveries of the English Nation, by R. Hakluyt,* 1598, 4 *vols. fol.*

9. *History of Bengal, by C. Stewart,* 1813.

10. *Di Barros, Decadas,* 15 *tomes,* 12*mo. Lesboa,* 1777.

11. *Description Historique et Geographique de l'Inde par M. Bernouilli, Berlin,* 1786, 3 *tomes.*

12. *Buchanan Rev. C. Christian Researches in Asia,* 1811.

13. *Histoire des Decouvertes et Conquestes des Portuguais, par J. Lafitau, Paris,* 1733.

14. *Maffæi Historiarum Indicarum Libri,* 1593.

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

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

The Phenicians and other nations carried on trade at an early period with the Western Coasts of India; Sesostris marched an army to the banks of the Ganges; the Persians under Darius maintained commercial intercourse with the Panjab; but it is to the era of Alexander we are to look for the connection which sprung up between Europe and Asia. *Alexander* has long been too much regarded in the light of a mere warrior:—he aimed at rendering his conquests subservient to the advancement of science. Hence for our earliest accurate geographical information concerning India we are indebted to the officers and engineers who accompanied his army; their itineraries have afforded the materials for the great geographical work of Eratosthenes; had the life of Alexander been prolonged, the Cape route would probably have been discovered many centuries before the time of Vasco di Gama. As one of Alexander's great objects was to unite his Asiatic and European subjects "he encouraged the Persian nobles to imitate the manners of the Macedonians, to learn the Greek language, and to acquire a relish for the beauties of the elegant writers in that tongue: he resolved to marry one of the daughters of Darius, and chose wives for a hundred of his principal officers in the most illustrious Persian families; in imitation of them, above ten thousand Macedonians, of inferior rank, married Persian women." He designed to have made Alexandria the centre of commerce, Babylon the seat of government, and Greece the reservoir of arts and sciences; above all he was a friend to *colonization*, that "by reciprocal marriages and intermixtures, peace and concord might be established between the two great continents of the world"—and yet this valuable system of colonization, which was acted on so successfully by Alexander 2000 years ago, was

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

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

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

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

But the day of India's *isolation* from the great European community was drawing to a close. When Vasco Di Gama seized the helm from the hands of his dastardly crew, and steered his ship safely round the Cape of Storms, the death knell of the non-intercourse system was sounded, and from that time forward India was to be increasingly open to European light and influence. Singular that the three nations which held most territorial possession in India, had little territory themselves in Europe! England, which now occupies the throne of Timur, was in the 15th century, "a remote island in the northern Ocean." The *Dutch*, amid their marshes and mud banks, resisted for forty years the power of Charles the 5th and Philip the 2d, two of the mightiest monarchs in Europe, the chivalry of Spain, and the exterminating fury of the Inquisition aided by the Duke of Alva, who boasted that he had put 18000 heretics to death by the hands of the common executioner during his administration in the Netherlands: as Voltaire remarks, "The Dutch became powerful without possessing much land, rich without having the means to support the twentieth part of their own people, and great in Europe, by labours at the extremity of Asia." The history of no country in the world displays a nobler exhibition of moral courage in defence of national independance, than does that of the Dutch as detailed by Watson in his Life of Philip the 2d—men who at the siege of Leyden, when asked to surrender by the Spaniards, replied that, rather than do so, they would feed on their left arm and fight with their right,—they let in the sea, flooded the country, and lived on soup made from the hides of animals.

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

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

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

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

BENGAL, styled by Aurungzeb, "the paradise of nations," attracted at an early period the attention of the Portuguese. Don Carreri writes in 1695, "Bengal is accounted the most fertile Kingdom the Mogul has by reason of its rivers; it has a great trade in silk, calico and other stuffs." John Sylveira was the first Portuguese who came to Bengal; he arrived in 1518, and remained there a long time "learning the commodities of the country and the manners of the people." In 1534, the Viceroy of Goa sent a fleet of nine ships to assist the reigning Nawab against the invader Sher Khan. The Portuguese never established a regular government in Bengal as in other parts of India; numbers of *adventurers* hired themselves out as soldiers to native powers near the Ganges or turned pirates; "they lived without law and with much superstition." In 1538, a large body of Portuguese entered Bengal as military adventurers in the service of the King of Gaur—37 years before Gaur, the glory of Bengal, "the seat of a hundred Kings," the abode of pomp and power and splendour for 2000 years, had yielded to the effects of plague and was reduced to a desert—a second Palmyra. Bernier, who travelled in India in 1655, and has given one of the most faithful accounts of the country, writes, "Bengal is the place of good comfits, specially in those places where the Portuguese are, who are dexterous in making them and drive a great trade with them. In Bengal there is such a store

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

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

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

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

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

When Job Charnock settled in CALCUTTA 1689, a number

of Portuguese accompanied him from Húgli; he gave them a piece of ground of ten bigahs to erect a Church on; the Augustinian Friars built a Chapel of mats and straw on it, but the congregation having increased in wealth and numbers, a Mrs. Tench had a brick building erected at her own expense in 1700, instead of the straw one which was pulled down; in 1720, a Mrs. Shaw enlarged it under the direction of the vicar, the Rev. Francisco de Assumpcao; in 1756 the Chapel was pillaged and the records were destroyed. In 1796 at a public meeting of the Roman Catholics of Calcutta it was resolved to pull it down and to build a larger one. Two rich brothers from Bombay, the Barettos, came forward with liberal subscriptions; the building cost 90,000 Rs. 60,000 of which was raised by subscription. In 1714 the Rev. Mr Briercliffe, Chaplain of Fort William, Calcutta, wrote to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, who took a deep interest in India measures; referring to the state of Missions in Bengal he remarks, "the Portuguese have not carried on their religion by means of schools; but chiefly by bringing up their slaves and servants when young, in their own faith." In 1723 Barbier, a Jesuit, visited Calcutta and mentions there was a Romish Church there of which an Augustinian was minister. "The King of Portugal has committed to the Augustinians the care of their Christian people in India: *the Pope having granted to the King, as grand master of the order of Christ, the nomination to all the benefices in India.*" Hough's work on Christianity in India gives some information respecting the Portuguese in Calcutta in connection with the labours of Kiernander, the *first Protestant* missionary to Bengal, who settled in Calcutta 1758, 35 *years before Carey came to India.* He was greatly opposed by the Portuguese, who wished to deprive him of the school he had established, in which several Portuguese scholars had become Protestants, being neglected by their own priests; Kiernander used to preach to the Portuguese twice every Sunday in the Old Church and the services were well attended; "he was indefatigable in distributing among the Portuguese tracts in their own language, which the Church Missionaries had sent from Tranquebar." Da Costa, a Dominican Friar, who had been Inquisitor at Diu, joined the Anglican Church in Calcutta and proved a useful labourer, as did Sylvester in 1768; he was an Augustinian of Goa, a missionary of fifteen years' standing; several other Portuguese priests followed his example. The Rev. D. Brown, Chaplain of the Mission Church, also laboured among the Portuguese: he supported at his own expense a converted priest to labour among the Portuguese congregation. In 1806 he writes to a friend, "you will be happy to hear the Portuguese congregation is taking root; there are many thousands of this class of people of every description in Calcutta, *in a dreadful state of ignorance and neglect.*"

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

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

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

Bishop Heber remarks, "The Portuguese have during a three hundred years' residence in India become as *black* as Kaffres; surely this goes far to disprove the assertion which is some times made that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European." It is rather strange that Bishop Heber did not recollect there are few Portuguese of *pure blood* in India: though there are over 5000 Portuguese in Calcutta, there may not perhaps be ten of them *genuine* Portuguese; we know the case of one Portuguese of highly respectable connections, who having no children, adopted Hindu slave boys, who bear his name, the father of another was a khansama. The great majority of the Portuguese in North India, are merely natives baptised and rigged out in a European hat, shoes, trowsers and coat: the rest are chiefly *Half-Castes*. It was part of the Portuguese policy to promote marriages between the Portuguese and Indian women. Albuquerque, having won Goa by hard fighting, wished to make it a Portuguese colony and therefore he married his followers, who wished to reside there, to the daughters of Mussalmans and Hindus whom he took prisoners. He was present at many of those marriages; he states his object to be "that the Indians might be united to his nation by affinity, and that there might be no need of bringing fresh supplies still out of Portugal to the depopulating the kingdom." Carreri, who visited Goa 1695, remarks there were few Portuguese there then, as "the Indian women preferred marrying poor Portuguese soldiers." A writer of 1583 states, "the Portuguese in India are many of them married with natural born women of the country, and the children proceeding from them are called Mesticos: those Mesticos are commonly of a yellowish colour; the posterity of the Portuguese being in the third degree, do seem to be *natural Indians both in colour and fashion.*" The people of Cambay have women among

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

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

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

Baranagar, near Calcutta, was once a Portuguese settlement: *Chandernagar* had formerly Portuguese priests; Paulino mentions that, in 1795, "Chandernagar had formerly a Church under the Jesuits but now under *schismatic* priests;" the schismatic priests were probably Portuguese ones. *Dum Dum* was supplied up to 1823 by a Portuguese Padri, who did not understand English and only read mass. Mr. Baretto, a liberal Portuguese of Calcutta, raised subscriptions towards erecting the present chapel of St. Patricks. The Baretto family built the Church of Madri de Deos, *Serampore*, in 1783: it cost 14,000 rupees, to which Colonel Bie, Governor of Serampore, contributed 600 rupees. Baretto is a famous name. Captain Baretto came to India A. D. 1505: Francis Baretto died Governor of Goa 1558: he was the 19th Governor of Portuguese India, and his remains were received at Lisbon with extraordinary honour by King Sebastian. Andrew Baretto was the twenty-sixth Governor of India.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Chittagong. Briton, a traveller of 1650, writes, "In Chittagong the Portuguese set up a kind of sovereignty, and associating with pirates and banditti of all nations, owned no subjection to their own prince or the prince of the country, but committed daily robberies by sea and land, and so interrupted commerce that the late Mogul found it necessary to send an army and extirpate them." The King of Chittagong caused a Jesuit to rehearse the decalogue, and when the Jesuit reproved the Hindus for polytheism, they said they only worshipped the images as the Jesuits worshipped the saints. Manrique an Augustinian friar with three others was sent in 1612 to supply the Bengal missions: he proceeded to ARRAKAN, "the seat of a great Asiatic monarchy, and where the Catholics had established a mission." The King of Arrakan ravaged the Sunderbund districts of Bengal 1616. In 1609 the Portuguese were driven from Arrakan and took refuge in the island of Sundip, which they conquered, putting the Mogul garrison to the sword, and elected Gonzales, a common sailor, for their chief, who established a government there, having 1,000 Portuguese soldiers, 2,000 native troops and eighty vessels well supplied with cannon; but in 1616 he was abandoned by his followers, in consequence of his tyranny, and was defeated by the King of Arrakan. In Gonzales' time Sundip was a great resort of merchants. The King of Arrakan sent 1,000 vessels against the Portuguese at Sundip; the Portuguese had only sixteen, yet they defeated the others, at which the King was so vexed that he dressed many of his Captains in women's clothes. Metthold, an old traveller, writes, "The King of Arrakan married his own sister, thus following the example of the children of the first man." In 1615 the Viceroy of Goa was desirous of conquering Arrakan and sent Don Menezes with a fleet, which Gonzales joined, but they were repelled at the mouth of the Arrakan river. In 1518, Correa, a Portuguese navigator, arrived at Martaban and formed an alliance with the King of Pegu, then very powerful. Martaban was besieged in 1644 by the Nawab of Bengal: 700 Portuguese were at the siege, 60,000 people were killed, and 2000 temples destroyed. In 1545 four Portuguese vessels captured many ships on the Tenasserim coast, the maritime towns complained to the King of Siam, who sent a Turkish fleet to punish them. Some may wonder how a *Turkish* fleet was sent—but Fredericke, a Venetian traveller of 1586, mentions Sundip as one of the most fertile places in the country densely populated, and well cultivated and that so plentiful were the materials for ship building there that the *Sultan of*

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

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

The Mussalmans entered Bengal from the Northern frontier; but the Portuguese, Dutch and English from the Bay of Bengal. The Portuguese had *no inland possessions in India*; their strength lay as a *maritime* power and almost entirely in towns on the Malabar Coast, in Ceylon and Malacca. Húgli was their chief possession in Bengal, but had little political weight: though Michel Rodrigues the governor of it in 1633 had 7000 musqueteers and a corps of European artillery men; the Portuguese officers in Bengal were dependant on the government of Ceylon. The Portuguese in Bengal were regarded by their own government as a kind of military adventurers, or in the phraseology of the East India Company, as interlopers: they carried on however a considerable *trade* at one period in Bengal. Macpherson, the historian of European commerce with India, writes, "the India trade of Portugal was conducted without any knowledge of the principles of commerce, for the sole account of the sovereign, in subserviency to a sanguinary system of conquest, rapine and persecution, and liable to be deranged by the caprices of a rapid succession of ignorant, arbitrary and avaricious viceroys". Trade was a monopoly in the hands of the King, owing to the King having at first to fit out expeditions at his own expense—the cost to be defrayed by captures; but the servants of Government became so corrupt that in less than twenty years after the return of the first cargo from India, the whole profits of the trade and

revenue were absorbed by the profusion of the government servants. In 1587 abuses became so great that Philip the 2nd, made over the trade to a Portuguese company, which was soon superseded by the Dutch, whose hostility was provoked by the bigotry of Philip the 2nd, who prohibited the Dutch trading with Lisbon for India goods. The Dutch in 1595 sent ships round by the Cape, *which sealed the fate of the Portuguese trade;* though at one time the produce and manufactures of China, Japan, Siam, the whole Malabar Coast, Persia, Arabia, Melinda, Sofala were transported to the banks of the Tagus. Every vessel that passed the Persian gulph paid the Portuguese toll at Ormus; Malacca gave them the command of the straits; at Muscat vessels from Africa and the Red Sea paid them a toll of four per cent. Portuguese soldiers after nine years service in India were permitted to engage in trade. De Sousa writes that, between 1579-94, twenty-two Portuguese ships were lost between Portugal and India, owing to the overloading and making them too big—"both faults proceeding from covetousness; the excessive covetousness of the Portuguese keeping the price of spices so high, moved our European enemies to seek them at a cheaper route to India."

Tavernier remarks, that if the Dutch had not come to India, people could not have found a piece of iron in the greater number of the Portuguese factories, all would have been gold or silver, for the Portuguese had only to make two or three voyages to Japan, the Philippine isles, the Moluccas or China, to enrich themselves and to gain on their return as much as 1000 per cent. on the articles; the very soldiers as well as the captains and governors amassed great wealth in India; the governors of Mozambique, who resided three or four years there, used to bring away 400,000 or 500,000 crowns as profit from their trade with the Kaffres. Carelli mentions that in 1695 only captains or governors decided law suits in India, as Portuguese lawyers would not come to India on account of the little profit to be gained by their profession; the Portuguese merchants then must have somewhat resembled the senior merchants of the East India Company, carrying on trade and practising law at the same time. But Portuguese commerce rapidly declined on the arrival of the Dutch—sturdy republicans—and on the union of Spain and Portugal, when the interests of Portugal were systematically neglected by the *Spanish* Cabinet. In Bengal the trade of the Portuguese must have been considerable; for on Húgli fort being taken 1632 by the Moguls, the Portuguese offered to pay an annual

tribute of four lakhs, on condition of being allowed to trade in Bengal with their former terms and privileges. The Portuguese were very tyrannical in trading with the natives: they fixed the price of provisions and made the Hindus provide them before others; no stranger was to receive a cargo before the Portuguese. De Sousa observes on this, "it is remarkable, that among all the persons who have gone to the Indies, whether as governors, captains, or merchants, of which sort most of them were in truth, there has not been one that *has raised a family of any consideration*, out of the goods they have got in those parts, either there or in Portugal, though there have been several of them that have got there one, two, three, or four millions: they have for the most part, pursued the ends of a sacrilegious covetousness, committing many acts of injustice to fill their coffers, instead of having any regard to religion: the most of those riches were gained by the unjust means of tyrannies, robberies, and all sorts of insolence." A native remarked respecting them, "let them alone, for they will quickly come to lose that, as covetous merchants, which they have gained as admirable soldiers; they now conquer Asia, but it will not be long before Asia will conquer them." In 1610 the English factors at Surat communicated to the East India Company that "hitherto they had not found it practicable to open a trade in the countries bordering on the Ganges, the Portuguese being in the exclusive possession of the commerce in this part of the Peninsula". Sir T. Roe also pointed out to the E. I. C., that it was unwise to trade direct with the natives of Bengal, the Portuguese having a monopoly in it. In 1633 the English obtained permission from the Mogul to trade, but not on the Ganges, owing to the Portuguese establishment at Húgli: however, in 1681, a sergeant and twenty men were appointed as a guard to the English factory at Húgli. The Portuguese monarchs encouraged trade as the chief object of government, towards which they directed all the power of the Kingdom, and roused their subjects to such exertions in the prosecution of it, as occasioned the astonishing rapidity of their progress. But as Voltaire observes, "commerce and the inquisition are incompatible:" the Portuguese introduced the Inquisition into Goa 1560; when Philip the 2nd wished to establish the inquisition in Flanders, its interruption to trade was one of the principal causes of the revolution.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

for the destruction of Lusitanian power in India. *No Mussalman or Jew was allowed to exercise the rites of his religion publicly in any Portuguese settlement in India under pain of death.* In Goa in 1583 the Hindus were forbidden to burn their dead. In Ceylon they pulled down the temples of the Budhists and built chapels with the materials. At Salsette Portuguese Missionaries persuaded the government to send troops and demolish 1200 Hindu temples with their images; afterwards another expedition was sent through their influence which burnt all the villages. Padri Berno followed the troops, wielding a club with which he beat down the idols. Salsette was turned into a smoking desert. *John the Third, King of Portugal, allowed the Portuguese to plunder the pagodas.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Akbar's first favorable disposition towards Christianity was caused by observing the Christian conduct of Antoni Criminal the Portuguese ambassador from Goa to his court: "he became persuaded that such perfect integrity could only be inspired by the true religion; on the recommendation of this ambassador he sent for Jesuit missionaries to Bengal, and in order that he might converse with them very freely he applied himself to the study of the Portuguese language, in which he succeeded with a facility that was surprising." The Jesuits at Akbar's court were indefatigable, and, in their way, pious men. Aquaviva's life was often in danger from the courtiers, who envied him his influence over Akbar. Akbar at last offered him a guard for his protection: the father gave a reply which was well worthy of a better man, "an apostolic character is sufficiently defended by the confidence which it is his duty to repose in God, he ought rather to lay down his life than reject his trust;" this father though residing at the court of Akbar at Futtipúr, yet slept on a mat on the ground, his food was rice boiled in water. Akbar made a noble remark "that it was by shedding their own blood Christians propagated their faith, but by shedding the blood of others Mussalmanism has prevailed in the east." When asked to become a Christian he made the remark "What! change the religion of my fathers! how dangerous for an emperor, how difficult for a man bred up in the ease and liberty of the Koran." Akbar appointed Monserrat a Jesuit tutor to his son Pahari: one day he began his lesson before Akbar with the name of Almighty God added, "my son," said Akbar, "and of Jesus Christ the true prophet." Akbar at one time dismissed all the women of his seraglio, adored the image of the Virgin and commanded his soldiers to do the same. He adopted the opinion of the *Súfis*, a Persian sect, which borrowed much of their faith and practice from the Hindus. Jehangír, his son one day remonstrated with him for his liberality of sentiment; Akbar showed him that persons not Mussalmans were numerous and useful in art and science.

The Jesuits possessed great influence at the Mogul court. When Sir J. Hawkins arrived in 1609 as ambassador of England to the Mogul, letters were delivered to an old Jesuit to interpret who opposed the English very much; the Jesuits at Agra corresponded with those of Goa to thwart the interest of the English. The Jesuits had apartments in the palace of Akbar, where they erected an altar and set up a cross; some of the royal family became converts. They did not seem however to have been very successful among the natives: they confined their attention to the Europeans in Akbar's service as "they knew too well the difficulty of converting the proud and sensual Mahomedans, even with the advantage of Akbar's countenance, to look for any success among them when that favour was withdrawn." Sir T. Roe remarks, "I cannot find by good search that there is one Christian really and truly converted, nor makes a profession, except some few that have been baptized for money and are maintained by the Jesuits:" this shews the nature of Jesuit conversions. In 1606 Maidenhall, a merchant, sent by Queen Elizabeth, arrived at Agra, was favorably received by the Mogul and was about to conclude a commercial treaty between the Mogul and the Queen of England: "the King sent to two Jesuits being then in great honor, and credit, seeking their opinion, they were in an exceeding great rage and told the King the English were all thieves and did it merely to take the country: that the Jesuits had served the King nearly twelve years and told him the truth." After waiting nearly twelve months Maidenhall was about to return home, frustrated in his plans, as the King and his councillors had turned against him—the Jesuits having given each of the King's chief councillors 6000 Rs. to oppose him: they even induced his interpreter, an Armenian, to forsake him. Maidenhall then applied himself to Persian for six months to qualify himself for conversing in the vernacular: he had an

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ART. II.—1. *Tracts on Mathematical and Philosophical subjects; comprising among numerous important articles, the theory of bridges, &c. &c., by Charles Hutton, L. L. D. and F. R. S. &c. (Tract I. On the principles of Bridges, Tract XI. The history of Iron Bridges.) London* 1812.

2. *Outlines of a Series of Lectures on Iron Suspension Bridges, delivered at the Calcutta Mechanics' Institution in* 1841. *By Captain A. H. E. Boileau, of the Corps of Engineers, &c. &c. Calcutta,* 1842.

A FEW months ago, we had occasion to undertake a landward journey along the banks of the river. We were assured on starting that a tolerable road would conduct us all the way to our place of destination; and providing ourselves with a map of the country to be traversed, and taking advantage of the full moon, we set off with the intention of travelling a stage each morning and evening, and spending the day and night in the house of a hospitable acquaintance, or in our buggy under the shade of a tree, according as the chapter of accidents might direct. On the evening succeeding that on which we left Calcutta, we were wending our way within sight of the river, enjoying the soft stillness of the air, broken occasionally by the unmelodious, but not uncheerful, song of the fishermen, whose tiny skiffs were flitting to and fro on the glittering surface of the stream;—now thinking of the days of other years, and the first bounding steps of "life's morning march,"—now exchanging a hearty salám with the villagers returning to their homes or clustering under their banyan trees,—now thinking of our *next number*, rejoicing the while in the fragrance of that weed which Cowper anathematizes, (because, as we suppose, it made him sick),—now putting a question as to the distance traversed, and the space to be traversed still, and scarcely listening to our faithful sais's responsive assurance that if *we* did not know, it was altogether beyond the range of possibility that he *could* know. After repeatedly receiving this complimentary, but withal rather unsatisfactory assurance, we bethought us of the map which hitherto we had forgotten. Recalling to mind the villages we had passed, and comparing them with those indicated in the map, we found the progress made to have been very satisfactory; but within a couple of miles of the place where we supposed ourselves to be, we found that our path was crossed by a very formidable-looking nullah. Now our readers need hardly be told that a buggy, however good and

useful for its own special purpose, which is, as we take it, that of travelling on a good pucka road, is not quite the equipage in which a man would choose to enjoy what Rowland and Son's advertisements call an 'aquatic excursion.' We were well aware that at that time of the evening it would be very difficult, or probably impossible, to prevail upon Bengali boatmen to unmoor a boat of sufficient burthen to take us across. Although we confess to having spent some portion of our life benorth the Tweed, yet we had, at that particular time, no special *penchant* for going "back again"; so we resolved that the best thing we could do was to go forward, and, having seen the worst, to do as occasion might serve. Onwards was therefore the word; and it was as expressively uttered by a sharp impatient crack of the whip, and an accelerated inhalation of the Manilla fume, as if it had been shouted from the lungs of a regiment of Stentors. "Crack went the whip," as we have said, and by a natural sequence, "round went the wheels"; and a few minutes brought us sure enough in view of the object of our apprehension. A little to our right lay a large fleet of boats, indicating the mouth of the creek, and to our left it stretched its long sluggish muddy length far across the plain; but a winding of the road suddenly disclosed a sight as beautiful as unexpected—

> Behold the place, where, if a poet,
> Shone in description, he might shew it;

Like a lunar iris hung a light airy arch; in the clear pale moon-light it glinted like the long gossamer threads that stretch from bough to bough in the dewy morning; and, but for the deep shadow that it cast below, it might have been deemed as unsubstantial as they. Every one has heard of the cast-away sailors to whom the sight of a gibbet conveyed the gratifying assurance that they were near the abode of civilized men. How much more unequivocal a token was to us this more graceful, and withal more pleasing, application of the suspension principle! If the occasions of any of our readers should lead them to pass up or down the Húgli in the moon-light, let them open the creek at Nyaya Serai. We can promise them that the bridge in question will delight their sense of beauty as it delighted ours, although they may not have so fair an opportunity as we had of estimating its utility.

We suspect that at this time of day the enquiry as to who built the first bridge would be altogether fruitless. We remember to have made some remarks, in an early number of this *Review*, as to the difficulty of tracing the mathematical sciences to their origin, from the mere fact that they have no origin.

Now the case is very much the same with respect to the mechanical arts in general, and the "art pontifical" in particular. As no man was ever ignorant of the proposition that *one* and *one* are *two*, and as no one who knows this can be said to be wholly ignorant of mathematics, so we can scarcely conceive a man in such a state of barbarism as that he should not think of laying a plank across a brook which was too broad for him to leap across. But he who does this does virtually and actually build a bridge. Such must have been the first bridges; such must have been constructed in the infancy of our race, as they are often still in the boyhood of the individual members of it. Had it not been so,—could we conceive a man at once shooting an arch over a broad river, we might well be filled with admiration, and exclaim in language like that of the poet—

> Illi robur, et æs triplex,
> Circa pectus erat, qui fragilem truci
> Commisit pelago ratem
> Primus.

But it was not, it could not be so. Such rudimentary bridges as we have alluded to, consisting of a single plank laid across a stream, must have existed from the very earliest period. A single step, and not a long one, would doubtless lead to the driving of a post into the middle of a stream too broad for a single plank to span, and so resting the ends of two planks upon it. Of the amount of skill necessary to erect such structures as these we cannot suppose any of our species ever to have been destitute; but more than this we have no reason to suppose that they possessed for a long time. The introduction of the arch must be regarded as the first great step in advance; and it was probably first introduced in a very rudimentary form. When, or by whom, it was introduced, it is probably impossible to discover. In the most ancient authentic history, that contained in the Old Testament Scriptures, we do not think there is a single allusion to a bridge, or a single passage that would indicate the existence of such a thing. In fact the Hebrew language does not seem to contain any word to denote a bridge; at all events no such word is given in Buxtorf's Lexicon, nor is there any allusion to bridges in Calmet's Dictionary, or in Harmer's Observations. Again in Homer we are not aware that there is any allusion to a bridge. The word Γεφυρα, which in later writers always means a bridge, does indeed occur more than once in the Iliad, but always, as we believe, signifying the space between two ranks of an army. This leads us to suppose that *a bridge* is not the original, but a derivative or secondary

meaning of the word, and that the various derivations conjecturally given by Scapula, (all of which proceed upon the assumption that the proper and original signification of the word is *a bridge,*) are erroneous. The whole subject of early art requires yet to be treated far more systematically than it has yet been. We have plenty scattered allusions in books of travels, and in notes on the Classics, but we want a critical and philosophical work on the progress of the mechanical arts, as full and systematic as is Winkelman's history of ancient sculpture. As an instance of the small attention that has been paid to this subject, we may state that, in the hopes of getting some references to incidental notices in classical authors, we turned to a book that has scarcely ever disappointed us, Potter's Grecian Antiquities. But although the worthy Archbishop devotes page after page, to the number of about 120, and plate after plate, to the description of every minute particular regarding the accoutrement of soldiers and the evolutions of armies, and a large number of pages more to an account of the harlots of Athens and Corinth, he has not a single word to say regarding so interesting and important a subject as that before us. We may notice in passing that this seems to us a fair index of the utterly disproportionate share of attention that, in our ordinary classical education is engrossed by military and erotic affairs. If this remark should happen to fall under the eye of the celebrated Scottish Professor, Dunbar, the editor and improver of Potter's Antiquities, we hope the hint will be taken in good part, and produce its fruit in a future edition.

One point seems thoroughly established in the history of bridges, viz., that it was not nursed in that general cradle of the arts, Egypt. All the best writers seem to be agreed that the arch was unknown to the Egyptians.* There are found indeed in some of their temples lintels consisting of solid single stones hewn so as to resemble an arch in form: but these cannot with any propriety be called arches, as they possess neither of the properties which render the use of arches advantageous; they are neither stronger nor stretch farther than straight lintels.

The Greeks certainly knew the principles of the arch from a comparatively early period: but they never did much in the way of its application to bridges. Long did "Ilissus roll his whispering stream" unbridged; in the days of Pericles

* We are not ignorant that Sir J. G. Wilkinson supposes that he has found the arch in Egypt; but we do not regard the point as ascertained.

there was no bridge over the Cephisus. We can understand why the Egyptians, even if they had been acquainted with the principles of the arch, should not have cared about throwing a bridge or bridges over the Nile; the annual floodings of the richest and best part of the country rendered bridges comparatively valueless, and internal navigation indispensable; but that the Greeks, able to construct domes of large span, *should not have been* induced either by the great utility, or exceeding beauty of the arch, to overspan their rivers with bridges, is certainly a remarkable fact in the history of ancient art.

The Romans certainly bear the palm in the "art pontifical." From a very early period in the existence of the imperial city,—certainly long before the commencement of its authentic and credible history, bridges stretched across the Tiber. It is said that the Romans learned the art from the Etruscans, but on what authority the statement rests we have not ascertained. We may however well suppose that the people who executed those exquisitely moulded vases that form such choice ornaments to all our museums, had an instinctive perception of beauty and gracefulness of form that might lead them very early to the invention and application of the arch. Those magnificent arches that, whether in the form of bridges or aqueducts, were at far later periods of *their history, built not only* at Rome, but all over the empire, are probably destined to be the last legible records of the majesty of the Old Queen.

The Chinese seem to have long been acquainted with the arch, and long to have applied it to the purposes of crossing rivers. In Marco Polo's travels we read in almost every page of 500 bridges at this town, and 600 at that, and the structures of this kind throughout the empire must be "in number numberless." The size of some of them is also very great;—greater, if we might apply the rule to Chinese travellers of believing one-half of what they tell us, than that of any bridges that European skill has yet been able to construct. But we are not sure that this rule is not rather too liberal to be applied to many of our authorities on Chinese affairs. As to the great antiquity however of the arch among the Chinese, and as to the fact that there exists among that singular people a vast number of bridges, and many of great size, we cannot entertain a doubt: though we may ask for a confirmation of the statement at the mouth of two or three witnesses, before we can "swallow" an arch of 600 feet span, and only twenty feet spring!

In Kaempfer's History of Japan we find a statement as to the

existence of very numerous and very long bridges in that country; but whether there be any arches in these we are left to conjecture. Our readers may judge for themselves:—

"Strong broad bridges are laid over all other rivers which do not run with so much rapidity, nor alter their beds. These bridges are built of cedar wood, and very curiously kept in constant repair, so that they look at all times as if they had been but lately finished. They are railed on both sides. The perpendicular rails stand at about a fathom's distance from each other, and there are two upon every arch, if they be not of a larger size for the commodious passage of boats and ships under the bridge. As one may travel all over Japan without paying any taxes or customs, so likewise they know nothing of any money to be paid by way of a toll for the repair of highways and bridges. Only in some places the custom is in winter time, to give the bridge keeper, who is to look after the bridge, a *Senni* or farthing for his trouble.

The most famous bridges in Japan, and the most remarkable for their structure and largeness are, 1. *Setanofas*, is the bridge over the river *Jedogawa*, when it comes out of a large fresh water lake, in the province *Oomi*. This bridge is supported in the middle by a small island, and consequently consists of two parts, the first whereof hath 36 *kins* or fathoms in length, and the second 96. This river, which runs through *Osacca*, and then looses itself into the sea, hath several other bridges laid over it, some whereof are still larger. There is one for instance near the small town of *Udsi* two near *Fusimi*, two near *Jodo*, and seven in the city of *Osacca*, not to mention some smaller ones, which are laid over its arms. This river is also navigable for small boats, but they do not come up higher than *Udsi*. 2. *Jafagibas*, near the city *Okasacki*, in the province *Mikawa*, is 208 fathoms long. This river is also navigable for small boats, which from the sea side come up so far as this bridge, 3. *Josinadobus*, near the city *Josida*, in the same province, is 120 *Kins* or fathoms long. In high water even large barges can come up this river as far as this city. 4. *Rokugonofas*, in the province *Umsasi*, was 109 *Kins* long. This bridge was, by the impetuosity of the river, much swelled by great rains, washed away in 1687, and in all likelihood will never be rebuilt, because the river being very near the residence of the emperor, its security seems to require that there be no bridge over it. 5. *Niponbas*, that is, the *Bridge of Japan*, so called by way of pre-eminence. It is just opposite to the imperial palace, in the middle of the capital city of *Jedo*, and is particularly famous, because the leagues, which all the highways in Japan are divided into, begin to be computed from thence, and are continued to the very extremities of this mighty and powerful empire. All the bridges are laid over the banks of the river at least two fathoms on each side, and open with their rails like two wings. For this reason four *kins*, or fathoms must be added to the lengths above mentioned."

All this seems to indicate that the Japanese had nothing to boast of in the way of bridge-making. Kaempfer's translator uses the term *arch* in the above passage; but we suppose the passage itself shews that there was no arch, in the proper sense of the term, employed in the bridges described. The "perpendicular rails," that is, the uprights that support the rails, stand a fathom apart, and in general, there are two upon each arch. In other words, the arches in general are of two

fathoms or 12 feet span. Of course then, since they are made of cedar wood, we conclude at once that they are not arches *in the proper sense*. It is true it is stated that some of the arches are wider, and that expressly for the purposes of navigation; but we have no reason to believe from our author's narration that the Japanese had any river craft of larger beam than the length of a cedar plank.

As to the Hindus, for whom some would claim the credit of having possessed a knowledge of all arts and sciences from an unlimited antiquity, we believe their records, which we agree with Bentley in considering as not very ancient, extend to a period preceding the birth of engineering amongst them. Let our readers judge for themselves. Every one has heard of the famous bridge built between India and Ceylon or Lanká by the monkeys, auxiliaries of the God Ráma. The following is a *literal translation from the Rámayan* of the account of the construction of this celebrated bridge:—

"After the departure of Ságar (the king of the Ocean) from his presence, Ráma ordered Nala (one of the chiefs of monkeys) to appear before him. Nala with great reverence approached Rama, when the latter addressed him as follows.—"Why should we despair, oh Nala, whilst thou art in our camp? Thou art a great hero, and wilt, I am sure, be expeditious in throwing a bridge across the waters. Go and do the work speedily." To this Nala answered, "My Lord, I am but a humble person in your highness' army; there are monkey chiefs with thee who excel me both in skill and in execution; how can I then undertake the construction of the bridge, to the supersession of these more experienced captains? However I shall tell thee a remarkable incident that occurred while I was in the house of Janaka. Brahma used to frequent the banks of the Mansarbara with his sacred pots every day. After performing his ablutions, and laying the pots in a safe place, he retired. Unperceived by Brahma, I always cast the pots into the water, which caused him to create fresh pots every day. At length having found me out, Brahma, admiring my courage, endowed me with the extraordinary power of causing stones, trees, and rocks to float on the waters, at my touch. In virtue of this uncommon gift, oh Ráma, I shall be able to bind the ocean, and I solemnly declare in thy presence that I shall accomplish the work in the space of a month. Let the monkeys only supply me with trees and rocks."

Sugrina (the king of the monkeys,) was highly delighted with Nala's tendering his services to Ráma. The cries of 'Victory to Ráma! Victory to Ráma!' resounded throughout the encampments of the monkeys. After adoring Ráma with the deepest reverence and solemnity, Nala addressed himself to the noble work and sat on the sea-shore. He first caused one of the huge forests which grew along the shore to be transplanted and placed upon the waters. Upon this bedding of trees he placed several strata of rocks. The breadth of the bridge he made 80 miles. The first day he threw this wide bridge to a length of 8 miles, beginning from the north, and proceeding southward. While the bridge was being built the deafening noises produced by the mallets, and the incessant cries of 'Victory to Ráma!' rent the air. All the monkeys were busily engaged in supplying Nala with trees and rocks. But Hanamán, the son of Pabuna (the God of the air) especially

distinguished himself in this part of the work. Two parapets of pure gold were built on the eastern and western sides of the bridge, and the middle was paved with resplendent silver. A series of splendid lodges for the refreshment of Ráma were placed at suitable distances along the bridge.

The mountains which Hanamán bears on his head, Nala takes with his left hand. Highly incensed at this conduct of Nala, and wishing to punish him for his high-flown insolence, Hanamán goes towards the north, where lies the range of Gandha Mádan. Ascending the peak of the mountain, he, by one kick, breaks it into a thousand pieces. These pieces he attaches to as many of the hairs that grow on his body. Attaching one mountain to his tail, taking one in each hand, and placing several on his head, he marches with amazing rapidity through the dark void. Seeing Hanamán from a distance, Nala quakes with fear, and flying to Ráma, with folded hands and tearful eyes addresses him thus, 'Oh Lord paramount of the forces, deliver me from the hand of Hanamán, who desires to kill me, because he supposes that I have offered him an indignity by following the usual custom of masons and builders, in taking up the materials in my left hand.' Touched with compassion at the sight of Nala, Ráma interposed himself between the heroes. Hanamán, who was floating in the air, now lights on the ground, (for it would have been an act of irreverence to fly over the head of Ráma) and approaches him. Then Ráma asks, 'Why art thou, oh heroic Hanamán, incensed with Nala?' To which Hanamán with folded hands, thus answers; 'Hear, oh lotus-eyed, hear me! With great difficulty, and at my life's hazard, I bring to him mountains from distant places; but he behaves in the most insolent manner, by taking them off my head with his left hand; hence I have brought these mountains that I may bury him under them at once.' 'Forbear, oh Hanamán, my child (cries Ráma,) forbear. It is the custom of builders to take materials in their left hands. Be still; thou art not at all insulted in this matter. To your work, my child, to your work.' So saying, he took the hand of Nala, and said 'I commend thee to Hanamán.' Then the two warriors embraced each other with gladness of heart, and repaired afresh to the work of their common master.

When the bridge extended to 160 miles in length, multitudes of squirrels came to the sea-shore to assist in the construction of the bridge. On the shore they rolled their bodies among heaps of dust, then going up to the bridge, they scraped off the dust from their bodies; and thus effectually stopped up the minute crevices that were to be seen here and there along the bridge. Hanamán, not appreciating the services of these little creatures, flung them in numbers into the sea. With tearful eyes they come to Ráma and say, "O Lord, we are grievously annoyed by Hanamán." Summoning Hanamán into his presence, Ráma thus addresses him:—"Why dost thou dishonor the squirrels? Let every one contribute to the work according to his ability!" Hanamán blushed; the benevolent and merciful Ráma stroked the squirrels on their backs. On the twentieth day the bridge extended 500 miles, when Hanamán entered Lanká, broke down the lofty battlements of the finest of the public edifices, and brought their materials to Nala. When the bridge extended 720 miles, vast multitudes of monkeys entered into Lanká. Thus did Nala in the space of a month construct a bridge extending 800 miles in length and eighty in breadth.

When the work was completely finished, the monkeys cried out, 'Victory to Ráma, Victory to Ráma. !!'"

Perhaps we ought to apologize for the length of this extract; but foolish and absurd as it is, we think it may furnish a

basis, or to speak professionally, an abutment for an argument, to the effect that Valmíki knew nothing whatever of the arch, and consequently that it was unknown to the Hindus in his days. Every one has heard that the army of Ráma joined Ceylon to Hindústán by a bridge, but we think the above extract clearly shews that it was not a bridge in the proper sense, but at the best a floating bridge. If it were possible that this could be doubted by any intelligent reader, we think his doubts would be removed by a comparison of this narrative with our own poet's description of the construction of another bridge:—

Then both from out hell gates into the waste
Wide anarchy of chaos damp and dark
Flew diverse, and with power, (their power was great)—
Hovering upon the waters, what they met
Solid or slimy as in raging sea.
Tost up and down, together crowded drove
From each side shoaling to'rds the mouth of hell.
As when two polar winds, blowing adverse
Upon the Cronian sea, together drive
Mountains of ice, that stop the imagined way
Beyond Petsora eastward to the rich
Cathaian coast. The aggregated soil
Death with his mace petrific, cold and dry,
As with a trident smote, and fixed as firm
As Delos floating once. The rest his look
Bound with Gorgonian rigor not to move;
And with asphaltic slime, broad as the gate
Deep to the roots of Hell the gathered beach
They fastened, and the mole immense wrought on
Over the foaming deep high-arched, a bridge
Of length prodigious, joining to the wall
Immoveable of this now fenceless world,
Forfeit to death; from hence a passage broad
Smooth, easy, inoffensive down to hell.
* * * * *
Now had they brought the work by wondrous art
Pontifical, a ridge of pendent rocks
Over the vexed abyss; * * * * * *
* * * * * * With pins of adamant
And chains they made all fast; too fast they made
And durable.

Is it not impossible to "look upon this picture and on that," without feeling a conviction that the latter picture was drawn by one who lived in an age and a country in which arches were common, whereas the former was delineated by one into whose mind the very idea of an arch had not penetrated, and who could form no conception of any method of crossing a broad strip of water save by substances floating on the surface? If Valmíki then were wholly ignorant of the arch,

we must conclude that it was unknown in this country at his era—and his era, we may be constrained to agree with Mr. Bentley, in fixing at the end of the third century.*

We are not aware that it can be shewn that the art of bridge-building was known to the Hindus before the period of the Mahommedan invasion. Any one going through our streets and looking at the temples and other edifices would probably suppose at first sight that nothing is more familiar to the Hindu builders than the arch; and in ordinary conversation we are constantly accustomed to hear of the arched roofs of the temples. That there may be arched roofs in India we are not prepared to deny; but many of those roofs that are commonly described as arched are not arched at all. They are in no respect different, save in a slight bulging of the rafters, from the most ordinary sloping roofs of English cottages. For ourselves then, we see no reason to believe that the arch was known to the Hindus before the era of the Mahommedan invasion. If any building can be shewn us in which the arch is introduced, and if it can be clearly shewn that the building is older than the period in question, we shall be very glad to acknowledge our error. If the cave temples be quoted against us, then, while we acknowledge that their roofs may be somewhat in the form of an arch, we must deny the propriety of applying that term to a curve cut out of the solid rock. Such a curve has no advantage whatever over a flat roof, unless it may be in the appearance; in fact it is only a flat roof hollowed out in the middle. We have examples in Egypt also of lintels hollowed out in the middle, and hewn into an arch-like form, yet we never hesitate on this account to deny the existence of the arch in ancient Egyptian architecture.

We seem then to be reduced to the conclusion that the Romans are the great bridge-builders, who have taught the art to all Europe, and indirectly to all Asia; for there is no nation of Asia that certainly knows the art, that might not have learned it from those who learned it from the Romans. Whether they applied it in the form of aqueducts or of viaducts, whether as an engine of war or an ensign of triumph, the arch was the noblest of their architectural achievements, and remains to this hour, in all those various forms, the grandest monument of their power at once and their refinement.

* The whole subject of Hindu chronology we hope to be able ere long to discuss at length; but however the bridge of Hanamán might be completed in a month, and the other bridge referred to in the text, for aught that appears, in a still shorter time, yet we have the authority of universal consent for believing that 'Rome was not built in a day;' and that is to us, as it has been to thousands of others, reason or apology sufficient for not doing every thing at once.

Upon the bridges of the Romans no improvement was made after the decline of their power. What *was* improved during the ages of universal darkness? It must be acknowledged indeed that of all the arts and sciences, architecture was the one that degenerated least during these ages of stagnation and winter; of this the introduction of the Gothic style is a sufficient proof. It was not however till the twelfth, or at all events the eleventh century, that bridge-building was thought of, and to the thirteenth century belong some of the finest existing structures of this kind in Europe. It is said that an impulse was given to the art, by the creation of an order of religious, or semi-religious for this special purpose:—

"It was about the commencement of the 12th century, that one Benezet, a cow-herd, appeared in the cathedral of Avignon, and announced to the multitude a special mission from heaven for the erection of a bridge over the Rhone at that city. By efforts little less than miraculous, this singular enthusiast contrived, in the course of a few years, to erect a bridge, which whether we consider it in reference to its enormous dimensions, or the local difficulties to be overcome in its construction, claims to be ranked among the most remarkable monuments that have ever been raised by the skill and ingenuity of man. Unfortunately a flood of the Rhone carried it away. The labors of Benezet did not, however, altogether disappear with his bridge: he obtained a place among the saints of the Roman calendar, and became the founder of a religious order called the *Brethren of the Bridge*, by whom some of the finest bridges in Europe have been erected. Of these that of Saint Esprit, on the Rhine, is not far short of a mile in length, and that called La Vieille Brioude, over the Allier, is a single semi-circular arch of 180 feet in span, and until the erection of the Chester bridge, which is 200 feet in span, the largest arch."—*(Moseley's Mechanics applied to the arts.)*

Rapid as this sketch must of necessity be, it were unpardonable that it should not contain the name at least of the Rialto of Venice, so much and so justly extolled in prose and verse. This bridge, as all the world knows, was designed by Michael Angelo. It is of about 100 feet span, and rises no more than 23 feet above the water. Three streets run along it, divided by two rows of shops, the exterior of which, as of the bridge itself, is wholly of polished marble. There is no thoroughfare over it for carriages, the ascent to it at each end being by a flight of steps. This splendid structure was built in three years, from 1588 to 1591.

Towards the end of last century considerable hopes were entertained of improvements in bridges from the introduction of iron as the material of their structure. These hopes appear to have been to a considerable extent realized; so much so that the Southwark bridge over the Thames, made entirely of cast iron, has, as we believe, the largest arch in the world, its span being 240 feet with 24 feet rise; besides this middle arch, it

consists of two others, of 210 feet span each. Dr. Hutton's Tract, whose title we have placed at the head of this article, contains an interesting history of all the iron bridges erected from the period of their first introduction down to 1805. The great difficulty to be encountered in the construction of these arches is the elasticity of the iron, and its change of dimensions under variations of temperature. This must of course require a strengthening of the piers, and probably would require to be guarded against in various other ways.

But the necessity, which might have been the mother of an invention for this purpose was taken away by the introduction and general adoption of suspension bridges, which possess all the advantages of iron arches, and innumerable other advantages besides. Of such bridges we are just about to speak, but first we must enumerate a few of the arches erected within late years in India.

The first of these is the Caramnassa Bridge, of which an account is given in the *Gleanings in Science* for October 1831. The Caramnassa is a tributary of the Ganges, into which it falls between Gházipúr and Buxar. Its waters are exceedingly impure, according to Hindu notions, so much so that by the mere touch of the river all merit is supposed to be washed away, as effectually as all demerit is supposed to be washed off by the waters of the Ganges. It seems to have been chiefly the desire to deliver their countrymen from such pollution that induced various Hindus to attempt to erect a bridge over the unholy stream:—

"Upwards of a century ago (says the writer in the *Gleanings*) in the reign of Alimgír, the Subadar of the Benares district attempted to erect a bridge one mile to the south of the present structure, but failed. Some of the materials are still to be seen in that part of the river. About sixty years ago, Rai Bhámá Mal, the dewan of Fíthat Behádúr, commenced a similar work near to the present site, but with equally bad success. In 1780, Abila Bai, the celebrated Marhatta princess, deputed agents to erect a bridge upon the spot: but probably they were engaged upon her numerous embellishments of the ghats at Benares until her death in 1795, as nothing seems to have been done here. Again, during the residency of Mr. Duncan, Nána Farnaviz, minister of the Púna state, set to work in earnest upon the construction of a bridge; after laboring at it for 10 years, and expending (according to current report 14 lakhs, but in reality) between 2 and 3 lakhs, his death put a sudden stop to its prosecution."

After this the Government erected a rope suspension bridge for foot passengers, and in 1829, Rai Patni Mal engaged to complete the bridge, begun by Náva Farnaviz, on certain conditions which he proposed to the Government. The operations were begun in that year, and in the month of July 1831,

a handsome bridge was opened, consisting of three arches of 53 feet span each, erected at a cost of a lakh of rupees.

In the same year, we learn from the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, was completed a bridge over the Mussi at Hyderabad, consisting of 8 semi-elliptical arches, each of 56 feet span. It is built of granite, and cost the Nizam's Government the almost incredibly small sum of Rs. 95,000.

Bridges are now along our great roads. "plenty as blackberries;" but we are not aware of any on a very large scale. In these days of wars and victories, we hope the Roman idea of triumphal arches will be revived, and imported into India with the utilitarian spirit of the age engrafted upon it. A triumphal arch might be a triumphal arch not the less because men should walk and ride over it, instead of walking and riding under it,; and we cannot conceive a grander national monument than a magnificent bridge.

Suspension Bridges are probably as ancient as arches. They too must have sprung by a slow and gradual process from small beginnings. Probably, the first form in which they would be constructed would be that of a rope attached to a post on either side of a ravine. This would be grasped by the hands, and the passenger would convey himself across, alternately sustaining the weight of his body on either arm. This is a feat that we may have all accomplished as school-boys. Such a bridge would be a suspension bridge in a double sense, the passenger being suspended from the bridge, as well as the bridge suspended from the abutments! A single step would lead men to extend the breadth of the road-way by stretching several ropes parallel to each other, and warping them with osiers or overlaying them with turf. Bridges of both these kinds actually exist to this hour, monuments of the progress of art. In the Himalayas there are many instances of a rope stretched across a ravine, to which the passenger attaches himself by means of a hook, which slides along the rope, and then with his hands he pulls himself across.* If we are not mistaken, a modification of this plan has been recently adopted on the road from Bombay to Calcutta. A basket is hung so as to slide along the rope; in the basket is a windlass with a rope coiled round it, and with one end attached to each bank. The passenger deposits himself in the basket, and by turning the windlass in the proper direction coils up the rope towards the end to which he wishes to proceed, and uncoils it towards

*. Of one of these there is a spirited sketch, if we recollect aright, in Lieut. Whyte's views in the Himalayas; a work which we may take this opportunity of recommending to those who wish to form an idea of the mountain scenery of India.

the other end, and thus ferries himself across. Suspension bridges in the second grade of advancement occur in various parts of India, and also in South America. Mr. Shakespear, formerly Post-Master General of Bengal, built vast numbers of these bridges in Northern India, composing them of rattan, of hempen ropes, and of coir ropes.

When the first iron suspension bridge was erected in England we have not been able to ascertain; but the first of any consequence was erected over the river Tees in 1741. We suppose that various unsuccessful attempts threw the principle into discredit, for it was not till the present century was well begun that suspension bridges were commonly erected. The most magnificent conception, take it for all in all, ever thoroughly realized in this department, is the suspension bridge over the Menai Straits, which owes its existence to the genius of the late Mr. Telford. The erection of this bridge may be considered as an era in the history of the art, and is a proof that no project can properly be deemed chimerical, when British genius and British capital are united for its execution. This mighty structure consists of a single suspension arch of 579 feet span. This sustains a road-way 100 feet above the level of the water, so that a frigate can sail freely under the bridge without the necessity of striking its royal masts. The estimated expense of the bridge was £70,000. The foundation stone was laid on the 10th August 1819, and the bridge was opened on the 25th February 1825.

When the late Sir William Herschell made his large Slough telescope, he is said to have expressed his conviction that on the same principle nothing superior to it would ever be made. Yet have we a telescope now which is as a triton to Sir William's minnow! If Mr. Telford had made a similar observation in regard to his Menai bridge, it would probably have gained credit with all that portion of the community who assume to themselves the credit of being prudent and wise and sound-thinking; while any who might have ventured to hint of onward progress would have been regarded as the rash and the presumptuous. Yet scarcely had the strokes of the hammers ceased to awaken the echoes of the Welsh mountains, when an undertaking on a far grander scale was projected, and in an incredibly short space of time brought to a successful issue. The bridge of Freybourg in Switzerland has a span of 870 feet! It is supported, not by chains like the Menai bridge, but by ropes of iron wire. The wire is a twelfth part of an inch in diameter, eighty such wires are collected into a bundle; fifteen bundles are formed into a cable, by four of which the bridge

is supported. Thus the whole weight of the bridge is sustained by 4800 wires.* This bridge was begun in the spring of 1832, and finished in the autumn of 1834. Although a considerable portion of the materials was brought from England, the whole outlay did not exceed £25,000 sterling.

The first suspension bridge erected in India, if we understand Capt. Boileau (or his reporter) aright, was that at Kali Ghat in the suburbs of Calcutta. "It was built in 1823 by Capt. Schalch, agent for iron bridges." It has a span of 141 feet; but its road way is only 8 feet broad, not being intended for carriages, but only for foot passengers and loaded bullocks.

One of the most interesting of all the bridges erected in India is at Sagur. It is important as being the first that was made from native resources; the whole of the materials of which it is composed being the produce of the district. It was erected at the suggestion of Mr. Maddock, commissioner of the Sagur and Nerbudda territories (now Sir T. H. Maddock, Deputy Governor of Bengal), and was built under the direction of Major Presgrave. An account of the work is contained in the *Asiatic Society's Journal* for October 1833, to which we refer such as take pleasure in the contemplation of difficulties successfully encountered. "The iron of which it is constructed is entirely the produce of the Sagur district. When the bridge was projected, it was still in the state of ore in the mines, whence it was extracted, smelted and made into irregular small lumps, in the common native fashion. The working of those crude impure masses into good bars of the requisite dimensions was a matter of very great labor and difficulty." "The foundation was laid in April 1828, and the road-way opened to the public in June 1830." "The platform measures 200 feet in length by 12 feet broad, and is calculated to weigh, with the chains, 52¾ tons. Supposing the bridge crowded with men, at 69 lbs. per superficial foot all over the platform, the whole weight would be 120 tons, whence it is calculated that the tension to be sustained at each point of suspension would be 85.632 tons." "The suspending chains are 12 in number, arranged in pairs, three pairs

* Such is the vast difference between the strength of iron wires and iron bars. 4800 wires of a twelfth of an inch in diameter will give an aggregate section of about 26.9 (or say 27) inches, ($\frac{1}{12} \times \frac{1}{12} \times .7854 \times 4800$). This for a bridge 870 feet span, whereas the bridge on the road between Calcutta and Dum-Dum, with a span of 100 feet, is supported by chains with a section of 32 inches. The section of the chains of the Menai bridge is 260 inches, nearly 10 times greater than that of Freybourg; according to Capt. Boileau's rule (p 87,) the section of the latter ought to be 191.4 inches; yet being made of wire instead of bars, it is found to have sufficient strength.

on either side, two feet above one another." The twelve main chains are of round bar iron, 1½ inches diameter. Their aggregate section is thus 21.2058 inches. According to Captain Boileau's rule the section ought to be 24 inches: but sixteen years' proof may be considered sufficient to shew that they are strong enough. "The Sagur bridge may indeed be called an experiment to try the resources of the country;— to see whether the iron could be manufactured into bars of a quality fit for bridges;—and whether these bridges could be made by native workmen who had never wrought, or even seen, iron of the dimensions required. The question has been satisfactorily answered; and even in point of economy, notwithstanding the numberless extra expenses incident to a first undertaking, and the distance, (eleven miles) of the work from the yard at Sagur, the bridge has been pronounced cheaper than those in Calcutta, made with English materials; while of its design and execution no higher encomium can be given than the assurance of the visiting engineer, Major Irvine, that he had seen nothing superior to it in Europe. The Governor-General is stated to have expressed, equal satisfaction after inspection, and only to have regretted that so noble a bridge should be wasted upon so remote a locality."

The largest and finest bridge yet erected in India is the Hastings' bridge, which crosses Tolly's nullah a little below the Fort at Calcutta. It was built in 1833 by Captains Fitzgerald and Thomson. It has "an entire space of 352 feet, having an entire curve of 176 feet, and two half curves of 88 feet each, with a roadway 24 feet wide." The entire section of its chains is 48 square inches.

We stated before that the simplest form of a suspension bridge is that of a rope stretched across the stream, from which a man may suspend himself and pull himself across. This form would scarcely suit the nerves of men, and still less those of women, in these days of ours. The next step we supposed to be the stretching of several ropes or chains across, and laying a roadway over them. This method however would be also exceedingly inconvenient. It can be proved by the strictest mathematical demonstration that it is impossible to stretch a rope, by tension applied at its ends, so that it shall hang perfectly straight. If we had a line as light as a spider's thread, and as strong as the cable of a first-rate ship, it would still be impossible; and the reason is obvious. If the line had no weight at all, it could but be made a straight line; but as every line has some weight, it is evident that this weight

must act as a third force, counteracting, in however small a degree, some portion of the effect of the forces applied to stretch the lines. In actual practice, however, we should not have to do with such imperceptible quantities as we are now supposing. The ropes or chains that are to be strong enough to bear a roadway, must have such a weight as will produce a very sensible deflexion. Accordingly the bridges made on this plan droop very much in the centre, and can never be made sufficiently straight for carriage transit. As an instance of this we may borrow from our author the following quotation:—

"The Maypo is a torrent which rushes from a gorge of the Andes. The only bridge over it is made of what may be called hide-cables. It is about 250 feet long, and just wide enough to admit a carriage. It is upon the principle of suspension, and constructed where the banks of the river are so bold as to furnish natural piers. The figure of the bridge is nearly that of an inverted arch. Formed of elastic materials, it rocks a good deal when passengers go over it. The infantry, however, passed upon the present occasion without the smallest difficulty. The cavalry also passed without any accident, by going a few at a time, and each man leading his horse. When the Artillery came up, doubts were entertained of the possibility of getting it over. The General had placed himself on an eminence to see his Army file to the opposite side of the river. A consultation was held upon the practicability of passing the guns. Captain Miller volunteered to conduct the first gun. The limber was taken off, and drag-ropes were fastened to the washers, to prevent the gun from descending too rapidly. The trail carried foremost was held by two gunners; but, notwithstanding every precaution, the bridge swung from side to side, and the carriage acquired so much velocity, that the gunners who held up the trail, assisted by Captain Miller, lost their equilibrium, and the gun upset. The carriage, becoming entangled in the thong balustrade, was prevented from falling into the river; but the platform of the bridge acquired an inclination almost perpendicular, and all upon it were obliged to cling to whatever they could catch hold of, to save themselves from being precipitated into the current, which rolled and foamed sixty feet below. For some little time none dared go to the relief of the party thus suspended, because it was supposed that the bridge would snap asunder, and it was expected that in a few moments all would drop into the abyss beneath. As nothing material gave way, the alarm on shore subsided, and two or three men ventured on the bridge to give assistance. The gun was dismounted with great difficulty, the carriage dismantled, and conveyed piecemeal to the opposite shore. The rest of the Artillery then made a détour, and crossed at a ford four or five leagues lower down the river."—*(General Miller's Memoirs, quoted by Capt. Boileau.)*

The plan of simple or direct tension is therefore never employed in our bridges. The chains or wires in them are always hung slack, and the roadway is suspended from them by drop bars. A chain of uniform materials suspended freely by its two extremities would hang in a curve called a catenary.

This curve has some interesting properties, to which, as bearing directly upon our subject, we may be permitted with all brevity to advert. The geometrical definition of the catenary is this; *a curve such, that the length of the curve, intercepted between the vertex and any point, is proportional to the tangent of the angle of inclination of two tangents, one at the vertex and the other at that point.* As in the case in question the tangent at the vertex is evidently horizontal, the definition may be simplified thus; *a curve such that the arc intercepted between the vertex and any point is proportional to the tangent of the angle of inclination of the curve (that is, the tangent to the curve) at that point to the horizon, or the co-tangent of its inclination to the vertical.* This curve was first brought to the notice of Mathematicians by Galileo; it is said that he confounded it with the parabola, from which it does not much differ. We have heard Galileo vindicated from this charge by one who was well able to judge; but for ourselves, having no opportunity of referring to the writings of the old Tuscan, we can give no opinion on the subject. The charge is positively stated by Dr. Lardner in his work on Algebraic geometry. "The catenary (he says) was first solved by James Bernouilli. Long before this, Galileo had directed his attention to the curve into which a perfectly flexible string forms itself; and very inconsiderately, and without any good reasons, concluded it to be a parabola. A German geometer, Joachim Jungius, shewed by experiment the error of Galileo, and proved that it was neither a parabola nor a hyperbola. He however did not make any attempt at the true solution of the question. Four great geometers share the honor of its solution; the two Bernouillis, James and John, Leibnitz and Huyghens." This charge is certainly definite enough, and we are perhaps scarcely entitled to contradict it without more accurate knowledge than we possess; but yet we think it is but fair to state that the matter is capable of dispute. The chief physical property of the catenary is, that of all the curves of equal length joining two points, the centre of gravity is lowest in the catenary. This being clearly the curve of equilibration, it would be the most proper curve for an arch in which the pressure should always be equally distributed. But then in building arches, it is always desirable to have the roadway as near a straight line as possible. In order to effect this a mass of masonry is erected on the ends of the arch, and consequently the weight imposed at the ends is much greater than that imposed on the centre. Catenarian arches are therefore seldom erected.

Neither is the curve in which the sustaining chain of a

suspension bridge hangs, strictly a catenary, and just for the same reason. The drop bars being attached to the chain at equal horizontal distances, the distance *of chain* between them is not equal. Towards the centre, where the chain is nearly horizontal, the distance along the chain between two drop-bars, is little more than the horizontal distance, whereas toward the ends, where the chain is much inclined to the horizon, the chain forms the hypothenuse of a right angled triangle, of which the horizontal distance between the bars is the base. In this case, which is the case that always occurs in practice, the curve becomes a parabola, or rather a polygon approximating to that curve.

Capt. Boileau divides suspension bridges into four classes according to the way in which the roadway is attached to the chain. These methods he calls *simple tension, diagonal tension, bow and string suspension, and compound catenary tension.*

Simple tension is that which we have spoken of as the simplest form of a suspension bridge, in which the rope or chain is strained as tight as possible, and the roadway hung from it or laid upon it. *Diagonal tension* has not been extensively used; perhaps not so extensively as it deserves. It consists of separate rods or chains radiating from the top of the piers, and attached to points all along the roadway. This plan seems to us to have this considerable advantage, that if one supporting chain should give way, the bridge might still stand until the damage were repaired, whereas if one of the chains of the ordinary bridges break, the whole fabric will most probably be irretrievably injured. In the *Philosophical Magazine* for 1823, we find a Mr. Seaward proposing a bridge of this kind, and urging its adoption. He attempts to prove, that "a suspension bridge may be built on this plan with the same quantity of materials, that shall possess double the strength of one formed on the common plan." Whether he fully succeeds in establishing this point we shall not say. One advantage, in addition to that we have mentioned, we think such a bridge would possess, of no small importance, that of greater steadiness or less vibration. It appears however that Mr. Seaward was not the first projector of such a bridge. We learn from Capt. Boileau that "a foot-bridge, five feet wide and 261 feet in span, built entirely on the principle of diagonal suspension, was erected in 1817 by Messrs. John and Thomas Smith for the Earl of Buchan. It was constructed of rod irons from half an inch to one inch thick, the back chains being 1½ inches in diameter; the standards were of wood, and the ground-links were secured with masonry. This

bridge was erected over the Tweed near Dryburgh Abbey, at a cost of £550, but was blown down a few months after its erection, owing to a failure in the method of joining the links, (by hooks and eyes,) and it was re-constructed during the same year upon a different principle."

The *bow and string suspension* is very felicitously designated, so much so that its name almost describes it. A cast iron arc is thrown over the river on each side of the roadway, these arcs form the bow; the roadway is hung by drop bars from these arcs and forms the string. We wonder that neither Capt. Boileau nor the authority from whom he quotes, points out the resemblance between this bridge and several erected towards the end of last century, and described and figured in Dr. Hutton's tract. These were erected before the invention of the suspension bridge, or rather before its introduction into Europe. Still the principle of suspension was partially introduced, and in fact they differ very little from that described by Captain Boileau. The difference was just this, that in the one case the roadway was an ordinary cast-iron arch, only strengthened by being suspended in its middle part from cast-iron arcs precisely similar to those described by Capt. Boileau, whereas in the other case the roadway is a flat platform supported wholly by suspension from these arcs. The bridge described by Capt. Boileau is one over the Aire at Leeds, and seems to have been erected about 1832. We should suppose that this method might succeed very well for bridges of small spans; but it must be quite inapplicable to large structures.

"The fourth principle is that of *compound catenary tension*, as used in all common iron suspension bridges." In these bridges the supporting chains are carried across the river, and a horizontal roadway is hung from them by drop-bars. If the chain hung alone, as we have said above, it would arrange itself in the form of a catenary; but as the roadway presses inequally on equal lengths of the chain, the curve is converted into a parabola. The chains are continued over the piers, and then built into masonry or otherwise fixed immoveably.

A very important modification has been introduced into the mode of suspending bridges. We are not acquainted with the history of the modification, but the credit of introducing it into this country is due to Capt. Goodwyn, who has recently erected the bridge over a canal at Bali, between Howrah and Serampore.

It is very evident that the tension of the supporting chain at any point is greater, the nearer that point is to the abutment,

or the further it is from the centre. It is demonstrable that this must be; and although for the purpose of the demonstration we ought to have a diagram, yet we shall venture to submit a proof in as simple a form as we can. Our mathematical readers can easily supply a diagram for themselves, and those who are not mathematicians can pass it over altogether. Suppose then a portion of the curve A B formed by the chain after the roadway is suspended from it. It may be considered as kept at rest by the action of three forces, viz. (1.) the tension at A, acting in the direction of a tangent to the curve at that point, (2), the tension at B acting in the direction of a tangent at that point, and (3) the weight of the portion of the chain A B and the part of the roadway suspended from it. Let these forces be called respectively a, b, and s; and let the angles which the directions of the first two make with the horizon be α and ϵ. Then the tension at A acting in its direction towards A, may be resolved into two forces, a horizontal and a vertical tension; these will be respectively $a \cos \alpha$, and $a \sin \alpha$. In like manner the tension at B can be resolved into $b \cos \epsilon$, and $b \sin \epsilon$. Now the horizontal constituents of these tensions must just balance each other; and the vertical constituent of the tension at A must be balanced by the vertical constituent of that at B together with the weight of the arch and roadway acting vertically downward at their centre of gravity.

That is to say,

$$a \cos \alpha - b \cos \epsilon = 0$$
$$a \sin \alpha - b \sin \epsilon - s = 0$$

Hence $a : b = \cos \epsilon : \cos \alpha$

Let now the point B be the middle point of the curve; the tangent at that point is horizontal, or $\epsilon = 0$; $\cos \epsilon = 1$, $\sin \epsilon = 0$. The equations now become.

$$a \cos \alpha = b$$
$$a \sin \alpha \quad s$$

From which we get,

$a^2 = b^2 + s^2$, or $b^2 = a^2 - s^2$, and $b = \sqrt{a^2 - s^2}$

Thus we see that the tension at the vertex is demonstrably less in this proportion than the tension at the abutment. In large bridges, of course, s is very large, and consequently the difference of tension is very great. It is evident then that the chain towards the abutment is subjected to a greater tension than towards the centre, and consequently at the latter point it needs not be so strong as it must be at the former. But

if it *need* not be so strong, then it *ought* not to be so strong; for any unnecessary weight of chain is not merely useless; it is, and must be, hurtful. Now the method under consideration provides for this by permitting the chain to taper from each end of the bridge to the centre. It is matter of regret that an untoward accident which occurred at the Bali Khal bridge had a tendency to bring the method into disrepute, and to deprive Captain Goodwyn of some portion of the credit that was due to him for introducing this beautiful improvement into our Indian bridge-architecture. We have even heard that the Court of Directors have expressed their disapproval of the principle, and directed that none of their bridges be hereafter built on this plan. If this be so, we must regard it as a matter of regret. Captain Goodwyn may have made his chains too weak, or made them taper too much; but the principle itself is sound; so much so that it is certain that a bridge made with chains tapering at the proper rate would be actually stronger than one built with chains of uniform thickness throughout. No order of the Right Honorable Court can alter the demonstrable principles of physics. It must be understood however that we speak from hearsay, and we would hope that the Court have not really adopted a course which could not but tend to damp the zeal of their officers, and stereotype things in India at their present stage of improvement.

Our article is already longer then we intended at the outset; but we cannot resist the temptation of calling attention to what we cannot but regard as a great improvement, not only in this department, but in all other departments of the sidero-plastic art. It is the substitution of steel for iron; and as a mean to this end, the making of steel as cheap as iron, or even cheaper. We make no apology for taking the following extract from the *Report of the British Association* for 1832. It is a communication from Mr. James J. Hawkins, who seems to be a practical engineer:—

"Experiments on the comparative strength of iron and steel in resisting tension have been from time to time made and published,—establishing, upon unquestionable authority, that it requires more than double the force to break a bar of steel by tension, than one of iron of equal dimensions; and that three times the force is necessary to stretch a bar of steel beyond the power of its elasticity to recover itself, than of an equal-sized bar of iron.

It is also established on the best chemical evidence, that the power of steel to resist corrosion from the operation of air and moisture, is very far above that of iron.

But it does not appear that advantage has been taken of these very valuable properties of steel in bridge-building, until about three or four years

since, when the Austrian Engineeer, the Chevalier Ignace Edlin von Mitis, built a steel suspension-bridge, of 230 feet span, at Vienna.

Having attentively examined this bridge during the progress of building,—having conversed with M. von Mitis on the subject,—and being strongly impressed with the opinion that the employment of steel as a material for bridge suspension is of very great advantage, and forms a most important epoch in bridge-building,—I am very desirous of calling the attention of the scientific world, and particularly of civil engineers, to the serious consideration of the question,—How far ought iron to be hereafter used for suspension-bridges, since it is ascertained that a steel bridge can be built of equal strength, and superior durability, with one-third or one-fourth of the weight of an iron one, and at a much less expense, provided steel can be manufactured in this country upon the same principles as that made in Styria.

The only doubt of this being practicable on the large scale, arises from the circumstance, that in this country iron is made with mineral coal, but in Styria with charcoal of wood.

It is well known that steel is made by decarbonizing cast iron, which is a compound of iron and carbon, down to the state of iron, (in which state it is wrought into bars); and recarbonizing these bars up to the state of steel, in which state the iron is combined with a less proportion of carbon than was contained in it in the state of cast iron.

Now the Austrian improvement consists in decarbonizing the cast iron down to the point at which the proportion of carbon left in the iron is exactly sufficient to constitute steel, in which condition it is wrought into bars, which are found to be of a tougher quality than steel made in the ordinary way.

It would appear that the carbon remains more uniformly combined with the iron, when the surplus quantity is removed, than when the new dose is given to it.

Thus the expense is saved of the extra decarbonization and the whole of the recarbonization, and consequently the steel is produced at a much less cost than could be effected by the common process.

But whether or not this simple operation will be equally successful upon the large scale, with the mineral coal, as with the charcoal of wood, is a problem which I would most earnestly call upon the iron-masters of the United Kingdom to lose no time in endeavouring to solve;—a problem of immense consequence to a large range of the manufactures of the country, and therefore a high national object. The hope that this will be accomplished is strengthened by the fact, that many small articles are now made of east iron, and afterwards reduced down to steel.

The price of bar iron in Vienna, when I left it, (about a year since,) was 6*l.* a ton; that of bar steel, formed from the decarbonized cast iron, 8*l.* 16*s.*

By the means of the Styrian steel, suspension bridges may be built for less than half the cost at which they could be formed of iron; and a span double the extent that would be practicable in iron, may safely be ventured on in steel. I have calculated that upwards of 1000 feet span may with confidence be depended on."

We are not aware what amount of attention has been paid to this subject in England. It is not likely that so important a matter would be allowed to drop: and as we have seen no more recent notice of the subject, we may suppose that the method of manufacturing steel was found inapplicable to English iron.

But it might very probably fail in England, from the cause stated by Mr. Hawkins, and yet it might as probably succeed here. We would therefore call the attention of our Indian engineers to the subject, if they have not already had it brought under their notice.

We have no experience in the practice of engineering; but we cannot doubt that, if a bridge suspended by chains of steel rods or bars might be safely made with 1,000 feet span, one suspended with cables of steel wires might as safely be made with a span of 1,500 feet, and then we might safely add a good round number for the tapering principle, so that we should not look upon a man as necessarily bereft of reason who should propose to erect a bridge consisting of a single suspension arch of 2,000 feet span! If we had any influence with men in power, we should say to them, "Give Captain Goodwyn an order forthwith to erect a bridge suspended on tapering steel-wire-cables, across the Húgli at Nimtollah Ghat. Say to him as Ráma said to Nála, 'Go, my child, gird yourself for the undertaking, and let the work be done speedily.'" This, we think, were fitting language for our honorable rulers to employ. If *We* had their power concentrated in our person, we should have a bridge which, in comparison with all existing bridges, might not unaptly realize the spirit and substance of the celebrated contrast between "the mast of some great ammiral" and "a wand." But as this consummation is not likely to be achieved, we shall think it no small matter as a beginning, if the Honorable Company will forthwith order the construction of the bridge that is so much needed, to connect the Cis-Húgletic with the Trans-Húgletic department of Calcutta.

We are not of those who expect India to be converted into a Utopia by means of roads, (common or rail) and bridges; we believe that the progress of time and the spread of knowledge, and especially the diffusion of Christianity, are necessary in order to even an approach towards such a consummation. Yet we reckon every step of onward progress a step in the right direction. It is only the sound of the gospel trumpet that will effectually rouse the people of India from their lethargy; but still the clank of the hammer is a healthful sound, and good in its own place and for its own purposes.

ART. III.—*L'Inde Anglaise, en* 1843-44, *per le Comte Edouarde de Warren, ancien officier de S. M. Britannique dans L'Inde (Presidence de Madras.) Deuxieme Edition considerablement augmentée. Paris* 1845.

WE have read this book with more pleasure than we expected to derive from its perusal. Some years have elapsed since Victor Jacquemont published his nauseous letters;* but many more must pass away before we can forget the uncommon disgust they excited within us—before we can cease to feel a retrospective loathing, and even a slight anticipatory internal revolt, whenever we see the name of a French-man upon the title page of a book about India. There may be something very illiberal in this confession; but seriously we can not help ourselves. A dose of Jacquemont is a thing not easily to be got over. We may forgive the man; but we can not forget the horrible flavor of the vile compound of vanity and impertinence, which he condemned us to swallow. One such dose is nausea for a score of years; and we turn sick at the sight of any thing nearly resembling it.

But Edward de Warren, it must honestly be admitted, is a much better fellow than Victor Jacquemont. We made his acquaintance, greatly prejudiced against him. Firstly, because, as we have just admitted, he is a countryman of the Jacquemont; secondly, because we had heard no very flattering account of his book; and, thirdly, because he made his bow to us in a most preposterous preface to the second edition of his work. We were prepared, indeed, to find in De Warren many of the characteristics of the redoubtable Victor; but except that he is a little prone to exaggerate, he but slightly resembles the latter writer. He is more modest—more sensible. He has less to say about his own manifold attractions; he makes fewer faces, commits fewer blunders; is more of a gentleman and less of a conceited fop.

We do not mean to say that Comte Edouarde de Warren has not some weaknesses of his own. He has rather an overweening idea of the importance of his book. "Quelle impression cet ouvrage produira-t-il en Russie?" he says in the pre-

* This earlier work of Jacquemont must not be confounded with the more recent work, published under the patronage of Monsieur Guizot, Minister of Public Instruction, Paris, 1841, in six volumes quarto. The latter, chiefly devoted to geological and other scientific objects, is, in many respects, a highly valuable production. And such being its leading character, we did not hesitate in the exercise of a scrupulous impartiality, to bestow upon it a general recommendation in one of our miscellaneous notices.

face to his second edition, "Quelle impression produira-t-il en Russie? Telle etait la question que mes amis m'addressaient avec inquiétude au moment ou je livrais au public pour la première fois, mon *Inde Anglaise* en 1843"—and then after a while he proceeds to answer these important questions, informing us that "A la première apparition de l'ouvrage en Angleterre, quand les premiers exemplaires en arriverent dans l'Inde, *il y eut comme un choc electrique.*"

We can assure Monsieur le Comte that he need not distress himself on that score. Very few people in India were even aware of the existence of his book. It would never have been our good fortune to have alighted upon it, but for a visit to the city in which it was published. We purchased the book in Paris. In India we never saw a copy of it; and we are decidedly of opinion that if it had created a sensation, "comme un choc electrique," the shock would somehow or other have reached us, who were in Calcutta at the date specified by M. de Warren. We are not very easily electrified in India. M. de Warren adds,—"Un cri d'indignation s'eleva de toutes les bouches et de *toute la presse, dans la métropole comme dans la colonie.*" Something of this we think he must have dreamt. The cry of indignation raised by "the whole press" of India, is purely imaginary. We do not assert that his work was not noticed by any portion of the Indian press; it may have been so noticed. But the attention bestowed upon the work was not such as to warrant an allusion to "toute la presse." If the entire press be put for the greater part of it, the entire press was absolutely silent.

These small exaggerations we willingly forgive. A little self-complacency, when it hurts no one, is always pardonable. M. de Warren's book deserves more attention than it has received. It is a book such as we are not very likely to see again—a book written by a French gentleman; but a British officer—Ensign Count de Warren of H. M.'s 55th.

If the truth can be looked for from any quarter, we think it may reasonably be expected to emanate from so hybrid a character, as this French-English officer-author. We are not the best possible judges of ourselves; and our neighbours are often little better. Whilst the former are too indulgent, the latter are too malignant. Prejudices and predilections must have sway. It is fortunate when they counteract each other. The French have never looked with a very benignant eye on our colonies. Unable themselves to colonise they are glad to find some pretext for asserting that our colonies are failures. But the Count-Ensign, though a French gentleman, resided in India

as a British officer; and the prejudices of the former are, therefore, somewhat neutralised by the predilections of the latter. We may reasonably expect to find a writer, who occupied so unusual a position, whilst amongst us, blinded neither by national prejudice nor national self-complacency, a clear-sighted observer, not ill-disposed to describe things, as he actually found them; and to deduce just inferences from the facts, which he records. How far Count de Warren has satisfied or disappointed these reasonable expectations we purpose presently to shew.

Edward de Warren is the son of an old officer, who, on the breaking out of the French Revolution, at which time he was attached to Dillon's Brigade, emigrated to England, to seek service there; but being naturally anxious not to meet the French eagles, and having, we presume, certain qualifications as a man of science, he went out to India, as an assistant in the Great Trigonometrical Survey; or to use the more dignified language of his son, as "le compagnon de Major Lambton, le collaborateur du bureau des longitudes, le correspondant et l'ami de Laplace et de Legendre." In the course of his travels, he visited Pondicherry, then in the hands of the English, where "touché des graces d'une jeune Francaise," he married her, and in due course the author of "L'Inde Anglaise" was born at Madras.

On the restoration of the Bourbons, Colonel de Warren returned to France, but circumstances soon compelled him to revisit India, and he left the young Edward at Nancy, under the guardianship of two aunts. But ever did his thoughts turn towards the East. His eyes longed for oriental sights; his ears for oriental sounds. He pined after "la douce psalmodie indienne ou le murmure fontain des vagues."

At the period of the revolution of 1830, young de Warren applied, a second time, for admission to the Polytechnic; but a second time he was disappointed. He then determined to seek his fortune in India. A friend introduced him to Dupuys—the ci-devant French Governor in India—who received the young adventurer with much kindness, asked him to dinner, and gave him every encouragement to proceed in the career, which he had marked out for himself; but recommended him by all means to serve the English Government and not the French. "Do not think," he said, "of a scientific mission from the French Government. You will be wretchedly paid; you will be laid up, in some obscure corner, with the cholera, or liver-complaint, and when you have escaped these horrors, you will have seen nothing at all"—nothing could have been more

sensible than the drift of the old gentleman's advice. He added that the English "paient bien," and as the older de Warren had served the English, he did not doubt that these good paymasters would find employment for their old servant's son. "The plan," says Edward de Warren, "appeared practi-
' cable. Mon père avait effectivement servi les Anglais; le
' duc de Wellington avait été son Colonal durant la guerre
' contre Tippoo Sahib; ils s'etaient retrouvés à Paris en 1815;
' le duc lui avait fait une reception des plus gracieuse, l'avait
' invité à sà table, et apprenant de lui qúil laissait en France
' un jeune fils qúil voulait y faire enléver, l'avait blâmé de
' cette resolution, et s'etait engagé, síl voulait faire de moi un
' Anglais, à m'accorder un jour sa protection et à me procurer
' plus tard une sons-lieutenancie." Such a promise as this he considered a fortune in prospect, and accordingly, without hesitation, he set out for London, contrary to the advice of his friends, with fifteen Napoleons in his pocket. His stock of experience was no greater than his stock of money; and he soon found to his cost that he had miscalculated his resources. In London he met with nothing but disappointment; his slender finances were soon exhausted; and after two wretched months spent in the metropolis of England, "the two horrible months of November and December, every where so gloomy, in London so dolorous," he obtained a situation on board a merchantman, the *Aurora*, bound for Madras and Calcutta, in the capacity of that amphibious animal "demi-officier, demi-matelot," a midshipman.

The midshipman's berth Count Edward de Warren did not find a perfect paradise. He says that it was six feet in length and only five in height, and that five of them were condemned to live in it; here they ate their meals, kept their kits, and swung their hammocks. They were worse fed, the Count assures us than the common sailors, and received on all sides more kicks than half-pence. His lot was more pitiable than that of his mess-mates, for being a Frenchman, he was jeered and insulted; and for two months and a half, he informs us, subject to every torture physical and moral which mind and body were capable of enduring. In this lamentable extremity he derived no little consolation from the two large eyes of a Newfoundland dog—"two large eyes full of love." The dog couched at his feet and made him quite happy.

But, in spite of these consolations, the young heart of nineteen was not proof against the trials to which it was subjected, and De Warren was seized with a brain fever, which, for a time, caused him to forget all his troubles. When he

recovered he found that a new and unlooked-for change had come over his position on board. "A woman," he exclaims, "was the principal instrument employed to save me—and what act of charity is there that we may not receive from the hand of a woman?" An English lady had marked his sufferings, and with tears in her eyes pleaded his cause before the Captain. "The heart of old Samuel Owen was that of a brave and good sailor. It was touched with pity and regret;" and from that time, the young Frenchman became the favorite of the Captain and quite comfortable on board, leading a tolerably happy, but an astonishingly prosaic life—a life neither of action, nor of study, one which drives human beings into the enormity of 'plunging into gluttony as a last resource, that by the length of their meals and the brutalisation of their digestions, they might kill the detestable time."

After touching at the Cape, the *Aurora* proceeded to Madras, opposite which place she cast anchor on the 1st of May 1831. The Captain, with much kindness, took the young stranger to the residence of the well-known house of Arbuthnot and Co.; here he learnt to his surprise that the Arbuthnots were his guardians, and that the debris of his paternal fortune was lodged in their hands. From these gentlemen he received the utmost kindness and attention—and here his Indian experiences begin. Mr. Edward Arbuthnot drove the Comte to his Garden House; and the Comte was delighted with every thing he saw—especially with the "Villa Arbuthnot."

After a brief sojourn at Madras, De Warren set out by dawk to join his family at Pondicherry. The palanquin enchanted him—he describes it as "la plus volupteuse de toutes les voitures;" but he met with no adventures by the way. Arrived at Pondicherry, which, he says, with truth, "stands alone among Indian cities, for its happy union of the characteristies of Europe and Asia," he had the happiness of embracing his sister, and then, surrounded by countrymen and friends, he spent a sufficiently pleasant time. But he panted for employment, and was soon on his way back to Madras, having prepared a memorial to the British Government, setting forth the services of his father, during twenty-five years. This document he was anxious to despatch, accompanied by a letter to the Duke of Wellington; and, having fortunately whilst at the hospitable mansion of Mr. Edward Gordon, who received him on his second visit to Madras, made the acquaintance of two officers of Her Majesty's 55th, he learnt that there was likely soon to be a vacant Ensigncy in that corps, as one of the lieutenants was about to sell out. His application, therefore, as-

sumed a specific form; and the memorial was duly despatched. It is easier, however, to send in an application than to elicit a reply; and month after month passed away, each one leaving the expectant as full of torturing anxiety, as its predecessor. During this interval of suspense, De Warren accepted an invitation from another sister who was married to a French officer—a Captain in the Nizam's service, and paymaster of one of the divisions of the force. On the journey to Hyderabad he had the advantage of a fellow-traveller in the person of one "Capitaine Thomas Towns-hend-Pears," whom he describes as a "bon et aimable *garçon*;" and who obviously treated the young Frenchman with great kindness and hospitality. His reception at Hyderabad was all that he could wish; and there he remained for several months, sighing all the while for a reply to his memorial—a reply which came at length in a most acceptable form. In April 1832, le Comte Edouarde de Warren received from the Horseguards, the gift of an Ensigncy in Her Britannic Majesty's 55th Regiment; and immediately he made preparations for his departure to join his corps, which was then posted at Bellary.

And now behold the French Count converted into an English officer—Here we break off from our biographical notice of the author of the book before us to give some account of the book itself. We thought it best to say this much of the man De Warren, that our readers might have a clear understanding of the writer's position in society before he is presented with the writer's opinions. Comte de Warren says what he thinks of other people; he will not be surprised, therefore, if other people say what they think of him. As for ourselves, we hope that we shall be a little more charitable than the Count. It is never wise to impute bad motives—it is worse than unwise to impute them, when good ones may easily be found. De Warren sometimes errs in this direction. We do not intend to follow his example.

To tell the truth, we rather like De Warren. We shall quarrel with him sometimes, but in an amiable sort of way—and we have no doubt, part from him with a friendly shake of the hand. His opinions of Indian Society, though sometimes illiberal in detail are not unfair in the gross. He says that he likes us, beyond all compare, better than our countrymen at home. He does justice to our hospitality, our openness, our warmth—so different, he says, from the frozen reserve of English society. "I shall speak anon"—he says, in his first chapter, "that I may render due homage to it—of Anglo-Indian Society, so different as it is, from society in England;

for it is a singular phenomenon, but one which is common to every individual of their race, that Englishmen require some sort of displacement—the contact of foreigners, the friction of travel or of military fellowship, to draw out the diamond which may often be found concealed beneath so ungracious an exterior. The English are never less amiable than in their own country; it is under the sun of the tropics and under the uniform of the soldier that their good qualities develope themselves to the greatest advantage." We send these sentences on in advance, at the head of the column—as they will do something to conciliate, at the very outset, a large number of readers.

Perhaps, indeed, something of the kind is necessary, for we find that the next extract, which we have marked, has but little liberality in it. De Warren says that in 1831, when he arrived in India, there was an immense deal of hospitality at Madras—hospitality on a gigantic scale—princely, royal—but he has lived to see it become a mere tradition. And then he adds:—

"This at least is certain, that, on my last return to Madras in 1840, I was greatly distressed at the change which had taken place in the social relations of the European inhabitants). The *saints*, as they are called in this country, have spread themselves like a leprosy, over the face of society—Methodism—that is, a gloomy fanaticism, excusable only when it is sincere, disgusting when it is the mask of avarice or ambition, has invaded everything. The merchants, the high civil and military functionaries, who wish to hoard up the whole of their immense incomes seize eagerly on this pretext to withdraw themselves from the obligation to contribute aught to the pleasures of the community, and to abandon a ruinous course of hospitality, which was formerly almost compulsory upon them. In place of dinners and balls, which cost them much, they now give sermons, which cost them nothing. Young men, who wish to rise, wear the same mask, which is even more unbecoming in them, in as much as it is only assumed to please the big-wigs and help them to obtain preferment. Such, indeed, is the state of affairs at this moment, at Madras, that if one is not on one's guard, an invitation to dinner, or even to a *soirée* turns out a veritable ambuscade. Immediately after the repast or even before the refreshments are brought in, the master of the house calls upon you to purchase or to expiate any pleasure you may derive from his hospitality, by doing penance on your knees for at least an hour, whilst he delivers a sermon, in the form of a prayer, with a nasal twang in the style of the Puritans. When I last visited Madras I found occasion to complain of the silence of the English; but like the father of the mute in the *medecin malgré lui* I confess that I liked their former silence better than their present rhapsodies, and I would willingly find them again as dumb as they were before."

All this is very flippant—very impertinent, and not at all to be tolerated even in a Frenchman. In the first place, it is not true. Hospitality is not extinct at Madras; and if it were, neither avarice nor ambition could be set down as the causes of its extinction. That there is not now as much profusion—as

much of that "gigantic hospitality," which so astonished the French Count on his arrival in India—as there was in the year 1831, is a fact which will be readily assumed by every one conversant with the social history of British India, during the last fifteen years; for it would be a miracle if no such decadence had been observable. Since M. De Warren arrived in India, many large fortunes have been lost—few, if any, have been made. People are not so extravagant as they were, because they are not so rich. And if whilst wealth has declined, something of much greater value has increased among the leading members of society at Madras, all that we can say upon the subject is that we are extremely glad to hear it. The fact, indeed, is a most encouraging, as it is a most unquestionable fact. We believe that in this city we are very much in the same situation—a little poorer, and much better than we were. The most profuse hospitality is not always the best. It is very easy to be lavish with other people's money—and it is very easy to call a man a hypocrite, because he does not keep open house and does have family prayers. *Hypocrisy* is the name, which the bad ever give to the conduct of the good; few men can apply it to the behaviour of their neighbours, without condemning themselves. Our own experiences assuredly have not taught us that the "Saints" are the least hospitable members of society. In genuine hospitality they are not surpassed—if they are equalled—by men after Count De Warren's own heart. But religion, as we have before said, is the universal scape-goat. If massacres are perpetrated, or the season is dull, religion is always at the bottom of it! That which men hate most, they are always most ready to saddle with blame.

Count de Warren's experience is so great, that he is entitled to be heard, on this subject, if on no other. He spent *three days* in Madras, when he first set foot on the shores of India: and you may be sure that he made the most of them. "I commenced my observations," he says, "on the same evening at the dinner-table. It is the hour in which the English are most sociable and appear to the greatest advantage. The glass supplies them with a momentary *bon-hommie* quite foreign to their nature." De Warren has rather singular notions on the score of favorable appearances; for after telling us that the English never appear to so great advantage as at the dinner table, he gravely enters in his book the following atrocious libel:—

"If you are a Frenchman, you will be thunder-struck at the enormous quantity of beer and wine absorbed by these young English ladies in appearance so pale and delicate. I could scarcely recover from my astonishment at seeing my fair neighbor quietly dispose of a bottle and a half of very strong beer, eked out with a fair allowance of claret, and wind up with five or six glasses of light, but spirited champaign, taken with her dessert. The only effect it seemed to produce upon her was visible in the diminished languor of her manner and the increased brilliancy of her eyes. I hoped at first that she was an exception; but I was very soon convinced that she but exemplified the general rule. It is in this manner that the majority of English ladies combat the lassitude of mind and body induced by the climate; but, the time soon comes, when such a regimen as this destroys their health. They are then compelled to leave their husbands and return with their children to Europe. But the fatal habit is contracted; the voyage home only tends to strengthen it. As time advances, it becomes more deeply rooted, and too often the brandy-bottle is the miserable finale of the sweet creatures, who left their mother's arms and their father's roof, all bright in purity and beauty."

Count Edward De Warren—Count Edward De Warren! You tell this melancholy story, and yet you say that the English never appear to so great advantage as at the dinner table—never appear to so great advantage as when they are drinking themselves into their graves. All this, in India, is matter to be laughed at: but it may be advisable to inform our European readers that it is pure fiction. The quantity of beer and wine, which De Warren says is consumed by the generality of ladies at the dinner-table, far exceeds the quantity consumed by the generality of *gentlemen* in the society to which we have been accustomed. We have dined a few times in India—in the Madras as well as in the Bengal presidency—but we have never seen one lady swallow down the atrocious mixture of beer, claret, and champaign, which De Warren deliberately enters in his book as the common portion of the generality of English ladies. In India, almost every dinner party is composed of a very great majority of gentlemen. As the old fashioned custom of asking one's friends to take wine still obtains, and we suppose will long obtain among us, the chances are that every lady at the dinner table receives a large number of these invitations. The glass of the lady of the house is probably in part replenished twelve or fifteen times—perhaps even more frequently—but it would be monstrous to assert that, therefore, she drinks twelve or fifteen glasses of wine. However, we willingly acquit Count Edward Warren of any wilful intention to mislead his readers. It is probable, that having been accustomed to society, in which people empty their glasses as soon as they are filled, he has fallen into the mistake of supposing that every time a lady's glass is formally replenished, it is incontinently drained to the dregs. We have seen something of this sort of feminine expertness, at *tables-d'hôte* and at *restaurateurs*, in France; but we can assure our European readers, that our Indian experiences have not made us acquainted with anything of the kind.

After dinner, says De Warren, the English in India drink their coffee and set bedwards at ten o'clock. As they rise again at five or six, perhaps earlier, one would think that there is nothing extraordinary in this. De Warren, however, takes occasion to complain that the English only talk when they have got something to say, adding "La conversation est un fruit eminemment francais." We believe that it was the elder Pitt, who, when an upstart member, having been called upon by the minister for an explanation of some impertinence, stammered out that he meant nothing, calmly expressed a hope that the next time the honorable member *meant* nothing, he would be pleased to *say* nothing. We should imagine that if men, whether English or French, talk whenever they have something to say, they run no risk of talking too little. To say a great deal, and mean nothing may be "eminemment francais"; we are very glad that it is not eminently English. When people have nothing to say, the best thing that they can do is to say nothing.

Count Edward De Warren having shewn in the last passage, which we have quoted, that the English appear to the greatest advantage, at the dinner-table, when they are making rather free with the wine, proceeds to inform his readers, in a subsequent chapter, that they reserve their best qualities "pour leur *home*, leur interieur."—He tells us, that when resident at Hyderabad he received numerous invitations to dinner, soirée and ball; but that these invitations had but little attraction for him; and then he adds:—

"The English never expand in society; they seem to reserve all their spirits, and all their good qualities for *home*—for 'in-doors.' It requires all the genial warmth of the domestic fireside to dissolve the crust of ice, which envelopes them, when abroad in the world. In their own little coteries, you will often find them good and agreeable; and in the closet, the pen in their hands, they are often brilliant, often full of pathos or of humor. But they do not know how to talk. They are never at ease in the presence of a stranger; except, perhaps, when the bottle has been freely passed at the dinner-table: but these are generally shallow-pated fellows, from whom nothing is to be learnt. You see them always hampered by that bane of English life, *la mode*—the fear of being out of fashion—the thraldom of the coteries. When conversing with an Englishman you often read in his face that he thinks more than he says, that he has ideas which he will not express. It is generally the best, the most profound, the most intellectual part of himself, which he reserves for his intimate friend, for his wife, or for his mistress; but he rarely pays this homage to society. The respect, the flattering distinction which in France is shown to personal merit, prove the value which is attached to it. In an English *salon*, on the other hand, the sallies of wit are looked upon as pure impertinence, or at least as presumption which ought not to receive any encouragement.

We have no doubt that in the circles, which Count Edward De Warren graced, there were some sallies of wit, which were regarded as very great impertinence.* The readers of *L'Inde Anglaise* need not be told what they were.

Hear De Warren on European female society in India:—

"As for the women with whom one has to dine and to talk, nothing can be more silly or more scandalous than the conversation to which one is condemned. It is not that they want mind or capacity, they are generally better educated than our own women—but it is that detestable fashion, which compels you always to view them through an odious medium. An English lady, showing her ability to converse on serious subjects with a man of merit, incurs the risk of being taunted as a *savante*, a blue-stocking—the greatest injury that can be inflicted upon her. It is becoming in her to appear offended if you talk rather seriously about politics or literature; but she will call forth all her eloquence, and never halt, whilst she favors you with all the details of the nursing, the weaning and the physicking of her children; or, better still, pulls to pieces the reputations of her neighbors. The position of the young married women is still more deplorable. They have to choose between two evils—an affectation of ignorance, on the one side, impossible after all they have read, from their very infancy in unmutilated *(non châtiées)* editions of the Bible, or an abandonment of the most enticing, the most "romping" description. The one class appear to be astonished at everything, ever returning for answer the everlasting words, *oh! dear me;* the other, throwing themselves at the heads of all the men with a prodigal display of loud talking and loud laughing in the worst possible taste. Two extremes which ought especially to be avoided; the prudery of the one is insipid, and the impudence of the other, makes you afraid that you will be caught in spite of yourself, without having had time to think well what you are doing ..... The career of a young English woman in India is a tragi-comic sort of history. She grows up in England, without portion, without connexions, without beauty and consequently without a chance of marriage;* fortunately, an aunt or cousin or old friend of the family who will take temporary charge of her, is discovered at Calcutta, or Madras; and she sets sail towards the asylum, which is offered her, full of health, of hope, and of gaiety, on a voyage of discovery in search of a husband. Assuredly, she will not have any difficulty in finding one; she will only be embarrassed by the number she may choose from, old and young, civil and military, patrician and plebeian, from the old general with his periodical bilious attacks and his parchment visage, which has not perspired for the last ten years, for the sun has sucked out all the moisture, to the young red-and-white ensign who makes eyes at them whilst he wipes off the large drops that roll down his forehead. She is scarcely landed, before, in the very first fortnight, she is overwhelmed with offers of marriage. The poor young creature is so stunned with the flatteries which buzz in her ears, that at length her poor little head, never one of the strongest, is completely turned. She begins to think that she really possesses all the perfections which are attributed to her; and she is told so often that she is an angel, that she knows not how to limit her pretensions in the great matter of the *etablissement*. The aunt preaches to her, morning and night, against lowering herself by condescending to dance with any one under the rank of a first class civilian, or an officer of high

* Literally, "hope of an *establishment*."

standing, in the enjoyment of a fat appointment, who can bestow on his bride thrice indispensable things, and which in India are considered necessary for the happiness of conjugal life; namely, a silver tea-pot, a palanquin, with a set of bearers, for visits by day and a buggy for the evening drive. For some months, moved by an inordinate ambition, she will refuse really advantageous offers, such as in England would never have been made to them, whilst she dances until she is out of breath and her hair is out of curl, that she may draw into her net some spindle-shanked old nabob, who has not a spark of warmth in all his wizened frame, and whose mind has not for the last twenty years conceived an idea unconnected with rupees. This wild-goose-chase after a withered heart, sometimes repeated two or three times—lasts a year or eighteen months. Then comes one of these two things—either she succeeds in making a conquest and marries—to repent at leisure and wind up with a lover and a bill of divorce; or she finds out that the old stock-fish is satisfied with playing with the bait without wishing to swallow the hook. However the charming Matilda becomes every day more yellow, more bilious, more invalided, and her friends becoming uneasy about her health, recommend a change of air, to be found in the interior—at Hyderabad for instance—a change the real motive to which is to be found in the desire to try a new market where purchasers again may be found. The English have a trifling proverb—but one full of significance and truth, to the effect that 'spinsters will not keep, and that not to be carried off at once is tantamount to total failure. And then as *bons partis* are rare, out of the presidency—all the officers of rank that one meets in the Mofussil being generally married—the young Miss is driven at ast to try her batteries again upon some captain—but even captains are not always to be caught; it is soon seen that the poor thing has lost all her freshness; and in a moment of despair, she is driven to bring matters to a crisis, by accepting a poor subaltern, unlucky in his promotion, a lieutenant; perhaps, of twenty years' standing, overwhelmed with debt, and shattered in health, who, seeing no hope of returning home, endeavors to snatch a few moments of happiness by taking to himself a wife. But he soon finds that he has got nothing but an encumbrance, and they both discover that the speculation is a bad one. The wife is not, as with us, an active and prudent manager, who will help her husband to pay off his debts and patiently to establish the basis of a small fortune. Here again, fashion is the evil genius, which interferes to mar their prospects of domestic happiness. It is not decent, it is not proper, they say, that a young European lady should personally superintend the details of the establishment or keep the accounts of the house. It is her business, she thinks, to swaddle her infants and to receive visitors; so that her husband is obliged to entertain a superfluous attendant in the shape of a native *Khansamah* (maitre d'hôtel) who robs him like a very brigand. The wife following the example of her female friends; or the coquettish instincts of her nature, plunges her husband more inextricably than ever into the sea of debt, and when at length the long-deferred day of promotion arrives, he can not benefit by the change; his creditors swallow up every thing and he remains broken down by the burden of his sorrows.... However, if all were wise and would consent to enfranchise themselves from the odious tyranny of fashion—and if there were none of that English coldness and prosiness, which are so destructive of all that is amusing and original—this Life in India, military and civil, would be agreeable and practical enough. The English incessantly boast of their comforts *(leur confortable)* but the comforts, which we enjoy as a luxury, here become to them a necessity; they make themselves the slaves of habit. No concession is made to circumstances or to places. Even

when travelling the ladies will not abate one ribband from their toilet. Change of climate—change of fortune—nothing will induce an Englishman to descend from his first style of living. He will live as he has lived; and when he is ruined, he will run into debt rather than submit to be poor and live like a poor man." [*Tome* 1. *Chapitre* xi.]

Now if there be any truth in this long extract, it is contained in the concluding portion of it. It is true that people in India, like people in other parts of the world, are not very fond of retrenching. We admit that they sometimes live beyond their incomes, but we have yet to learn that this is a characteristic peculiar to Indian society. We question whether there is more systematic extravagance in this hemisphere, than in the other. Men often marry earlier than they do in England; and it is not to be denied that these early marriages are frequently productive of a good deal of discomfort and privation, during the first years of married life; but there are few who do not profit by the bitter lessons of experience while they are condemned to learn, and it not seldom happens that these early trials are productive of permanent benefit to the characters of both husband and wife—that the pains and penalties of wedlock are the parents of its choicest blessings. Our own belief is that no man, who is taught, early in life, to feel the full wretchedness of pecuniary embarrassment will be found, at a more advanced stage of his existence, hopelessly, inextricably involved. One of the most instructive things that can happen to a man is, that when still young, he should feel, in all its intensity of bitterness, the misery of debts—should experience all its corroding anxieties, all its petty humiliations—be reduced to those paltry shifts, which, until the sensibilities of his nature be wholly blunted, make every man think meanly of himself—that he should see, in all its naked deformity, the degradation to which debt subjects him. These lessons, we repeat, are very painful; but the earlier in life that they are learnt, the better. When we see the autumn of a man's days thus clouded; our conviction generally is that, in early life, his debts have sat easily upon him—that he has not felt the degradation of his position; until it is "too late a work" to emerge from the thicket in which he is entangled. Men, who are in the enjoyment of good incomes—whose prospects are better still than their present circumstances—may incur debt, to a considerable amount, scarcely sensible, scarcely conscious of the annoyances, which surround it; and, they may go on, from year's end to year's end, those debts increasing in volume like a snow ball, and, all this time, they may suffer little, because money is easily procurable—because where much may be

gained, something will always be risked, and a well-paid civilian, or staff officer is worth plucking. So much the worse for them. The day of reckoning will surely come—and it will come too late. But the poor subaltern, with his scanty pittance, which will barely cover the necessary expences of board, lodging, and servant's wages, soon experiences all the aggravated horrors of debt. His creditors are not inclined to risk even a little, for from him they know that they cannot obtain much. He is not worth humoring; but he is worth dunning. Duns besiege his doors, till their patience is exhausted, and then they betake themselves to the Brigade-Major or Station-Staff. An exposure of the poor fellow's circumstances before a Court of Requests fills the cup of humiliation to the brim—and then come retrenchments from his pay and allowances; he must leave the Regimental Mess, or, if he be a married man, he must stint his wife and family, perhaps put down his buggy, withdraw his subscriptions to the band and the book-club, and feel acutely, throughout all these trials, the mortification of being driven to meanness, that he may meet the demands of his absurd extravagance. This state of things may last for a while. It is possible that one lesson may not be enough. Experience is not gained in a day; nor are habits of extravagance lost in an equally narrow space of time. But an iron yoke like this cannot gall us long to no purpose. It must do its work upon us—it must subject our errant propensities. No man, not utterly lost to all honorable feeling, can thus incur, for any length of time, the loss of his own self-respect, without a serious determination—a determination strenuously adhered to when the time of action arrives—to exercise that forbearance, that self-denial, by which alone he can be spared a recurrence of the pains and penalties, which he is so anxious to escape. None feel the wretchedness of debt so acutely as regimental officers in the inferior grades; and it is mainly on this account, that we find in their case, the incubus so rarely an enduring one. It is so distressing, that they vigorously exert themselves and successfully at last—to cast it off. We could point to numberless instances of regimental subalterns, who, having been involved before marriage, have after a few years of wedded life extricated themselves, by prudence and good management, from their encumbrances, and yet all the time kept up a much more respectable appearance than others who have been carelessly frittering away much larger sums.

For, whatever Count Edward De Warren may say on the subject, the man who marries a wife in India does not necessarily saddle himself with a "fardeau." All the trash, in the

above extract, about young ladies angling for spindle-shanked old Nabobs, is nothing better than an ante-diluvian libel. Young ladies have less ambition and more taste. There may have been a period—long before De Warren's time and ours—when this sort of fishing in muddy waters was carried on by adventurous damsels—there may have been such a period we say, but it is now nothing more than tradition. If there be now any one peculiarity more characteristic than others of Indian marriages, it resides in the extreme youth of both the contracting parties. If they, who write so much about the sacrifices made by the young at the altar of Mammon, were to ascertain the ages of some fifty bridegrooms and brides, at so many consecutive marriages in India, and were then to make a similar table illustrative of a like number of marriages contracted in England, he would find that there is much less dissimilarity, in respect of age, between the two sexes in the east, than in the west; and that in the former the average age is far below what will be found in the latter. The fact is that young ladies in this country very rarely—we might almost say, never—marry spindle-shanked old bachelor nabobs. We know at least one reason for this—and one too, which will be generally considered so good, that we may afford to dispense with any other; namely, that spindle-shanked old bachelor nabobs are nowhere to be found. In India, as in other parts of the world, ill-assorted couples are to be be met with; but the discrepancy is to be found in temper, temperament, taste, opinion, &c.—very rarely in age. This exploded stuff about damsels-errant angling for yellow, parchment-faced old Nabobs ought not to find a place in a book, purporting to give a picture of "L'Inde Anglaise en 1843-1844."

The age of damsel-errantry is past.—The greater number of young ladies, who embark for India on board our splendid passenger-ships, turn their faces towards the east, because their *home* is there. Their legitimate protectors reside in India, and they are but returning to the parental roof, from which the circumstances of their position have temporarily banished them. They do not often arrive in the country with very extravagant notions of the splendid establishments in store for them—or, indeed, with any very absorbing thoughts of the great matter of matrimony at all. Once settled here, they differ very little, in character and conduct, from young ladies, in Europe, of the same rank of life. Every year indeed, diminishes the breadth of the distinctions, which were once apparent. There is more domesticity in Indian life, than formerly characterised our social relations. Our young ladies are, for the most

part, to be seen at home—happy, contented, amiable. They are daughters and sisters; not mere husband-hunting spinsters. They have, generally, been educated, though, perhaps, not quite so carefully, in some important points, as though their education had been conducted under the maternal eye; and their conversation is, in no respect, inferior to that of young ladies of the same age and rank in the mother country. Count Edward De Warren says, that nothing could be more silly than the female conversation to which *he* was condemned to listen. We know some ladies, who make a point of adapting their conversation to the capacities, real or supposed, of their hearers. Perhaps, this may serve, in some measure, to explain the remarkable fact which the Count has recorded in his erudite volumes. De Warren's fair friends appear to have taken his measure pretty correctly.

As for marriage, the happy day comes in due season—or perhaps, it does not come at all. It rarely comes very expeditiously. The age of those *Veni—Vidi—Vici* conquests, of which we used to hear so much, has long ago passed away. Offers are not made, nor accepted, in a hurry. De Warren's coarse joke about spinsters not keeping, has no sort of pertinency in it. It is altogether an impertinence. Young ladies, now-a-days, are for the most part content to spend a reasonable time beneath their guardian's roofs; and young gentlemen do not think any the worse of them for having learnt one class of domestic duties before they address themselves to the study of another. A woman does not make a worse wife for having approved herself a good daughter. It is true that residence in India does not improve the outward aspect of young ladies in the eyes of those who consider that beauty consists in rosy cheeks and plump proportions; but we are inclined to think that our Indian tastes do not set very strongly in that direction—and if they do, why it is assuredly much better, as the roses must fade and the plumpness dwindle, that this distressing change should take place before, and not *after*, marriage.

As regards the happiness of domestic life in India, we do not hesitate to express an opinion to the effect, that in no community, with whose social characteristics, we are acquainted, is there more married happiness than among the English in the east. This is a well-considered opinion—one most deliberately, but most unhesitatingly recorded. The very unpleasant pictures of *Marriage à la mode*, which this coarse French dauber, has painted for the amusement of his friends at home, have no sort of *vraisemblance* about them. They have not even that sort of exaggerated likeness, which may be found, in

well-managed caricatures. We do not say that there are no such examples of married life to be seen in India, as elsewhere; there are dwarfs and monstrosities of all sorts in the world, horses with eight legs and cows with two heads; but what should we say of the limner who should draw an animal of such proportions, as a specimen of the *genus*, or of the naturalist who should describe a man as a biped two feet high? There are many circumstances, peculiar to India, favorable to the development of married happiness; none which are unfavorable to it, in the aspects represented by our author. Husbands and wives are more dependent on each other in this country, than, at home. Necessitated during the greater part of the day to remain within doors; the married officer seldom fails to derive comfort and consolation from the companionship of his wife; he has a better-ordered house; a better-regulated establishment—and what a difference when sickness is there!—There is no place in the world, where a man stands more in need of such companionship; and if imprudent marriages are sometimes perpetrated, there is everything to excuse them. In a worldly sense, doubtless poverty is a great evil; domestic privations, whether in one hemisphere or another are not very pleasant to bear; but in India, poverty has rarely that very humiliating aspect which it so frequently wears at home. The poorest ensign can afford to entertain a retinue of servants, such as in England could be hired only by a man of considerable income. He can keep a horse; he can enter into society (for he has at all events a fixed position) and he can, at a very small cost, enjoy excellent fare. Poverty, we repeat, does not *rub* against us so painfully, as it does in England; it is not so palpable; its evils are not so omnipresent. Neither the physical, nor the moral evils are so keenly felt; for there is no want; and where debt has not come to humble us, there is no degradation. Look at the struggles of poor people in England. We do not speak of poor people, but of poor rich people. How painful their efforts to appear respectable—to conceal the deprivations which they endure! Poverty in this country is not an unforgiveable offence. Here a man may have a very small income and a very large circle of friends. At home, this phenomenon may sometimes be seen in the person of a clever and agreeable bachelor—but let him marry and the scene is changed. Here poor married people are not, as such, cut off from society; they are not regarded as people to be avoided; they are not taught by their richer neighbors to feel what it is to be poor. Neither is the name of Poverty inseparably associated with ideas of

maids-of-all-work, hashed mutton, soap-suds, and tallow-candle-ends.

We now come to regard Count Edward De Warren in a more favourable point of view. We see him no longer as a French adventurer—but as an English officer. He improves upon acquaintance. The fact appears to be that he could not help improving under the influence of such improved circumstances. A man cannot be, nine years, a member of a military mess, without having his manliness, if he have any, in his nature, elicited and fully developed. De Warren seems to have been sensible of the change, which came over him, at this important epoch of his career. "Cést maintenant," he says, "l'officier de l'armée anglaise qui va parler, avec im-'partialite sans doute, mais j'espère avec respect, avec attache-'ment, avec reconnaissance pour la noble bannière qui l'a si 'long temps protégé de son ombre, qui a servi de voile á son 'esquif pendant neuf années l'aventures et de bonheur, et qu' lui a enfin octroyé une modest indépendance. Salut, mon 'vieux drapeau! mon front s'inclinera toujours en te voyant 'passer, et ce n'est point un enfant adoptif qui elevera contre 'toi une main parricide." All this is right enough; but what follows about "les frelons de Leaden-hall-street," is in pitiably bad taste. Fortunately there is not much of it. De Warren is soon himself again. He joins his regiment; and comes out a decently good fellow.

There is something, which may interest many of our readers in De Warren's account of his first dinner at the mess of his Regiment, the 55th, with which he opens the second volume of his work:—

"The day, upon which I joined my regiment, happened to be a Wednesday. It was the "public day;" that is to say, the day of the week especially devoted to hospitality. A considerable number of strangers, both civil and military, appeared as our mess-guests. Among them were the collector and the judge of the district, the young assistants of these functionaries, the chaplain, and several officers belonging to the different corps in the garrison. The table was laid for sixty. I felt a little awkward at first, on finding myself in the midst of so large and so novel a company; all eyes were naturally turned upon me as a new-comer, and a stranger. I heard in the crowd a whisper of the terrible words "foreigner," "Frenchman," which seemed to enlarge the circle around me and to encompass me with a wall of ice. I ought, however, to do justice to the officers of the 55th—this coldness was more remarkable in the guests than in them. Some of them, indeed, even exposed themselves to the *sneers** of the majority, by welcoming and encouraging the poor exile. The youngest and most chivalrous of the party, whose image is the first to present itself to my remembrance, Henry Baily, an Ensign like myself, was the first to have the storm by extending to me the hand of friendship, by seating himself beside me, and supporting me throughout this day of difficulty. Having at length succeeded in overcoming my bashfulness, I was dazzled by the scene which presented itself to my sight. It was a spectacle of truly royal magnificence;—a dinner-service, and plate, massive and of exquisite workmanship, which was changed every minute—glittering crystal—candelabra and lamps of the greatest richness, which shed or reflected a bright light. Antique urns in gold, or silver, or silver-gilt—race cups—vases, worthy of Benvenuto Celleni, filled with flowers, ornamented with devices, models of horses, or embossed crests, decorated the table from one end to the other. What with the brilliancy of the lights, the prodigious number of attendants, and the splendour of the uniforms, one might have fancied one's self at the table of an ambassador or a sovereign. The atmosphere and the conversation were those of the salon—of a well-appointed English salon; there was nothing that recalled the canteen or the guard-room (?!); the subjects discussed were the politics of the day, hunting, horses, and some little scandal. They compelled me to take part in the conversation and to give some particulars relating to the station of Hyderabad, which I had just quitted, and the Nizam's government—particulars to which they appeared to listen with more attention than indulgence.... After the pudding (*apres le pudding*) the damask table-cloth was taken off, and I saw stretching out before me, between two long lines of guests, a table of massive mahogany forty feet long, smooth as a mirror, which one might suppose to be made of a single piece of wood. On this brilliant surface presently appeared all the fruits of the season, vases of gold, crystal glasses, and all the wines of Madeira, Spain and France. Then there was a moment of silence and general attention. Conversation was suddenly arrested whilst every one waited in expectation for the accustomed announcement from the chair. As soon as everything had been symmetrically arranged, according to rule, the president rose, filled his glass, and addressing the party, pronounced in a solemn voice the words, "*The King.*" On this, the bottle was passed rapidly from hand to hand, and when all the glasses sparkled with amber or rubies, every voice in concert with the President's was raised to repeat in chorus, "*The King.*" As the word escaped from our lips and the spacious salon echoed with the prolonged sounds, the band of the regiment, stationed in an adjoining room, struck up, with a grand burst of military music, the national air, *God save the King!*—It would be impossible to conceive anything more noble, more touching, more solemn than this enthusiastic and simultaneous movement, this libation, at once so calm, so holy and so energetic, coming from men elsewhere so cold, but here so profoundly moved whilst invoking the blessings of Heaven on the head of him, who, in their eyes represented liberty, order, government, *country*. It is the patriotism of the English people which renders them the first in the world, which so eminently entitles them to our admiration and our homage, which is as vast as their ambition and their genius."

* *De Warren employing the* English word explains it as "expression amère d'un rire q'non re recontre que chez les Anglais, rire de persiflage, de cruauté et de *mépris.*"

There is something inexpressibly Johnny-Newcomeish in all this; but the naiveté of the Count is at least amusing; and as his admiration sets in the right direction there is nothing to be said against it. The observation that at the mess of the 55th, on a public night, there was nothing smacking of the canteen and the guard-room, raises a smile at the expense of

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the Count and the French Army; whilst his account of the profound emotion of the party, engendered by the formula of the after-dinner toast of the *King*, given out at all royal messes, on the removal of the cloth, is one, which being accompanied with so pleasant a tribute to the patriotism of the British nation, we willingly allow to pass muster.

De Warren was as much charmed with his brother-officers, as with the mess. Some two or three he singles out for especial laudation. There is the adjutant, "pauvre Heriot, le plus beau, le plus brave, le plus genereux des hommes;" and there is Ensign Henry Baily, "mon compagnon, mon ami, mon frere:"—

"I found," writes De Warren, "in these two men a type essentially English; and at the same time a degree of perfection to which it is never possible for a Frenchman to attain. It will be seen that I am not disposed to regard with a too indulgent eye the defects of English society; I do not compare it for an instant with our own, in respect of those attractive qualities, urbanity, benevolence, simplicity—all those agremens, which make up the happiness of life, such as grace, affability, charming manners; but even as we find the diamond not in the gold and silver mines, but among strata of friese-stone and coarse sand, so the most perfect type of man is found hidden among the rude elements of our neighbors—the perfect English gentleman is the phœnix of the human race. A French-man wants nothing more than to attain to a more elevated and more profound opinion of his personal dignity—a more religious respect for that spark of the god-head which the all-wise has accorded to man. It seldom, I should say, it never happens among us that a man is a hero to his own valet or his own intimate friend. Let a Frenchman be ever so good in society, before strangers or before ladies, his goodness declines as soon as ever he is alone with his bosom-friend, his fellow-student, the confidant or the accomplice of his youthful follies. It is, they say, the excess of two good qualities, our absence of affectation and our characteristic gaiety of temperament: but we generally possess also the bad parts of these qualities, a penchant for devil-may-care jolly fellows—the abandonment and buffoonery, which one is surprised to meet every moment even in the gravest men and the best regulated minds. The perfect English gentleman never forgets and never demeans him; he carries even into the minutest details of life a conscious sense of his own dignity. His natural character will never betray him; for it is of the same temper as his outward man; his house might be made of glass, for his every act will bear the light and defy the critic."

This is all so pleasant—so flattering to our national vanity, that it is a pity to see it weakened by any after qualifications. Still it must be acknowledged, that when De Warren adds the following to his picture, he does not much diminish the fidelity of his portraits; the passage in italics is charmingly characteristic:—

"After all, the individual whom we are now describing is not a purely indigenous product; he must undergo several transplantations, *and breathe the air of the continent, especially that of France* (!) to arrive at full maturity, and to eradicate certain bad qualities peculiar to their natal soil, pride, prejudice, &c. But when education, circumstance and foreign travel have been favourable to this development, we may say of him, above all his fellows, that he is the very king of the creation."

Nor is De Warren wanting in due appreciation of the quality of our British army: of the infantry he says:—

"If we compare the English foot-soldier under arms, with that of any other country, we shall be compelled to acknowlege his immense physical superiority. He is the best fed, the best tended, the best armed, and the best drilled; compared with the French soldier, his average stature is far superior, his limbs are stouter and stronger, his weight greater by a third, his strength is gigantic and in proportion to his weight... Take at a venture, the first French and first English sentinel that you meet on a line of posts; suppose that both have enjoyed the same advantages, and ten to one that you will find the following results:—the Frenchman will be full of fire and vivacity, his countenance will sparkle with vivacity, you will admire his supple and dégagée figure, his eminently martial air, set off in all probability by a thick beard and moustache. The other will be the finest animal in the world (*le plus bel animal dans ta creation,*) he will want nothing but the Promethean fire to illumine his superb figure, and a little more hair to take off from the insipidity of the white skin; his limbs are those of a giant; if he were to happen to seize his agile adversary, he will subject him to the fate of Antœus, and suffocate him in his nervous arms. I should prefer the former for the assault of a breach, or for hill-warfare, everywhere that rapid movements are required; but in a struggle on equal ground, at the point of the bayonet, I think that I would back the English infantry, especially at the outset of a campaign."

This difference De Warren attributes to a difference in the rations served out to the English and the French soldiers. No one can deny the gallantry of the French nation—their intrepidity in the assault of fortified places, under a heavy fire—but our English soldiers will be into a breach quite as rapidly as they, and make just as little of the raking fire of the enemy's guns. Our infantry, in a forlorn hope, can at least vie with any soldiers in the world.

We must briefly notice De Warren's observations on the sepoy-army of the East India Company. He describes the different system of promotion in the Queen's and the Company's Service, shows what is the organisation of a Native Infantry Regiment; and then offers some remarks on the "morgue," with which our officers are wont to treat their native companions in arms. The Count talks about Soubadars coming to make their reports to young subaltern officers—first taking off their shoes, then advancing to the head of their men, giving the word to halt, then stepping forward, coming to the salute and standing "raide comme un pieu," whilst he makes his report. "The young gentlemen," says De Warren, "do not rise, or offer him a chair, but content themselves by returning

the salute with a slight movement of the hand." We suspect that the Count is a little abroad, in this matter. Native officers, at the head of their men, do not take off their shoes, when they make reports to European officers. When they enter officers' houses they take off their shoes, and the European officer is bound to offer the native a chair. Whatever his "morgue" may be, it is his duty—a duty which he can not escape the performance of, to receive the Soubadar or Jemadar with all courtesy. De Warren seems to have jumbled together two very different things—and he has not explained to his European readers that in the east to take off one's shoes is tantamount to the western ceremony of taking off one's hat. They who bare their feet do not uncover their heads.

Of the value of the sepoy-army, on active service, De Warren does not seem to entertain any very high opinion. He says:—

"I have had occasion to see the sepoys on the field of battle. They appeared to me to feel towards their European officers as the sheep feel towards the bell-wether of the flock—a dread of being in the rear rather than a desire to be in the van. They follow their officer into the thick of the fight, but with a sort of vague indefinite idea that he will defend them, that he will fight for them, that he will put the enemy to flight and extricate them from danger. And since upon an Indian field of battle, the result is generally determined, at a distance, by the artillery, the sepoy is not called upon to act—not called upon to charge the enemy until they are cut up by the grape-shot, in flight and in disorder: he is then in his element, brave enough against those who are panic-struck; but whenever he meets an enemy disposed to attack him with vigour, he invariably fails."

A most pernicious libel this; but we will not interrupt the speaker, who proceeds, in the following passages, to substantiate this grievous charge. Whether it is the sepoy, or De Warren, who fails most lamentably, we will have it to our readers to decide:—

"Look at the war in Affghanistan!—In the late actions, which immediately preceded the general insurrection, the Company's native troops (it is not I, but the Bombay Journalists who make this assertion) were beaten sixteen times out of twenty-three—that is to say, they were generally beaten whenever they were not headed by European soldiers to bear the brunt of the affray. When a Bombay brigade was sent to relieve Major Brown at Kahun—when in January 1842, Colonel Wilde, with two Bengal brigades endeavoured to force the Khyber Pass and relieve General Sale,—in both cases, we see an undisciplined enemy attacking the sepoys' sword in hand, and the sepoys disgracefully flying and leaving their European officers to die in the van, whilst striving to cover the colours of their Regiment, with their bodies living or dead. And lastly, in the famous retreat from Kabul, in January 1843, if we are to believe the evidence of Captain Souter, of the 44th, almost the only officer in the Queen's service, who escaped the massacre, after the force had been three days on the march, the sepoys did not fire more than a hundred shots. The artillery, and the little band of Europeans alone sustained those terrible conflicts which were renewed at every barrier; and the sepoys followed like a flock of sheep, or laid themselves down to die by the way-side. . . . If confidence had been reposed in the sepoys, why were not these disasters immediately followed up by a new forward movement to remove the stain upon the honor of the British, and to re-assert their superiority in the field? Instead of making a second trial of their strength, what see we?—In the first case the immediate result is a capitulation. Major Brown, obtained from a generous enemy permission to retire, and the invaders withdrew from an unconquered country, producing nothing but rocks and robbers.' After the check which Col. Wilde received, he was obliged to remain idle for two months and a half, from the 24th of January to the 6th of April, under the burthen of humiliation which had descended upon him; he waited for the arrival of a reinforcement of eight thousand men—of three European Regiments, of which one was cavalry, with a strong and splendid force of artillery, to give a little courage to the sepoys, not only to those, who had been measured against the enemy, but to the new arrivals to whom the panic had been communicated. It required, during three months, most systematic treatment on the part of General Pollock to restore the *morale* of the sepoy force, and to enable him to risk a final movement in advance. This effort, though deferred, was one which proved how successfully personal influence had been exerted to such an extent, that Sir Robert Peel, in a speech delivered in the House of Commons, on the 20th of February, 1843, thought fit to propose a vote of thanks to General Pollock, for having accomplished it. And always, when it was at length determined to attack the enemy, it was never these beaten regiments which they placed in the van, but uniformly the European corps; and these terrible enemies, engaged with whom the sepoys had lost six hundred men and gained nothing but the disgrace of defeat, were overthrown, dispersed, and swept away with a loss of ten English killed and a few wounded. I might, besides, instance in support of my opinion all the circumstances of the two great battles fought this year on the banks of the Indus, the details of which are known. It will suffice however to refer to the battle of Meeanee, which was won on the 17th February 1843, by General Sir Charles Napier. He himself acknowledged in his official report, that the sepoys yielded and recoiled three times.

And how did their officers perish?—we find an explanation in the same report. It was Major Jackson, commanding the 12th regiment of Bombay native infantry, who advanced against the enemy at the head of his battalion, and who being supported only by two brave havildars, was cut to pieces in sight of his men, who did not advance to succour him. It was Major Teesdale commanding the 25th Native Infantry, who rode forward at the head of his regiment, and passed unsupported the high bank, behind which the enemy were posted, to be cut to pieces without having a single sepoy at his side. For all this the 12th and 25th regiments were not blinded; their indicision surprised no one; and notwithstanding, the terrible enemy to whom they were opposed and who did not number less than twenty thousand men, were overthrown and routed by a weak European battalion, not more than five hundred men of the 22nd Queen's. What can be said, after this, of an Indian army, disciplined or undisciplined?—People often cite, to the credit of the sepoys in the first days of European conquest, the heroic defence of Arcot by the famous Clive, at the head of a small band of Europeans and natives; they are in ecstacies, above all at this truly admirable trait;—when, reduced to the last extremity, the little garrison had nothing but a few measures of rice left to support

its physical and mental energies in the unequal strife, then raging, the sepoys proposed to Clive to give up all the rice (that is to say all their substantial food) and to content themselves with the water, in which it had been *boiled*. This offer was accepted, and the sacrifice consummated. A sublime instance certainly of devotion and resignation—but it proves more than any arguments we can employ the profound conviction entertained by the sepoys that their only hope was in the Europeans. It was as though they said "you are our champions; our right arm of defence. Your strength is our strength; your courage our courage. In sepoys, in Indians be there the patience and resignation of women, in suffering and in hunger; in Europeans, the energy of men armed for the battle."

We attribute all this to nothing worse than the profound ignorance of the writer. As vicious libels as these have been perpetrated upon the sepoy army, by English officers. Such libels scarcely require, in this country, to be gravely contradicted; but as we may have readers where local experiences may not enable them to supply a refutation to De Warren's very erroneous statements, we may briefly mention a few historical facts.

From the time when in 1783, at the battle of Cuddalore a sepoy regiment crossed bayonets, with the French troops and defeated them—leaving 350 of the enemy dead upon the field; and that too, not following in the wake of Europeans, but advancing boldly to the charge, when the Europeans had recoiled;—from the battle of Cuddalore to the battle of Bameean, where the Amír Dost Mahommed was finally defeated and no European troops were in the field, the sepoys have year after year evinced their independent gallantry in action—year after year proved, in the most unmistakeable manner, that they do not require the example of European troops in advance of them to stimulate them to do their duty against an enemy in the field. With sepoy troops Major Popham took Gwalior by escalade: with sepoy troops Colonel White captured Agra; with sepoy troops General Don took Rampúra. It was by sepoys that Delhi was so nobly defended in Ochterlony's time; it was by sepoys, that, at the first siege of Bhurtpore, the only British standard was planted on the ramparts of the fortress; it was with sepoys that Ochterlony, in the Nepal war, reduced the stockades of Jhýtuk, Nalagurh, and Ramgurh, and gained the victory of Maloun; it was with sepoys that Colonel Scott fought the memorable battle of Sítabuldi against a force of more than ten-fold numbers; it was with sepoys that Captain Staunton fought that splendid action at Corygaum—a little band of 800 men holding its own nobly against the whole army of the Peishwa. It was with sepoys that Colonel Adams, routed the Peishwa's army; it was by sepoys that Chandah was

taken. These examples, a few out of many which we might have adduced, show what our sepoys have done ever since we have had a sepoy army; and to these we purpose only to add a few instances derived from the history of that very man in Affghanistan, to which De Warren refers so triumphantly for his proofs of the incapacity of our sepoy regiments.

With regard to those particular engagements, of which the Count professes to give the details, we may make a few remarks, before we proceed any further. That a detachment of Bombay troops under Major Clibborne met with a reverse at Nufúsk, when proceeding to the relief of Kahun, is an historical fact as far beyond the reach of cavil as the defeat of the French Army at Waterloo. But if M. De Warren has read any detailed account of this disaster he must be perfectly well aware that the difficulties of the country, the extraordinary severity of the climate, and the destroying effects of thirst under a parching sun, not the superior valour of the enemy caused the failure of this expedition. We would ask De Warren, if the French Army have not occasionally met with a small reverse in Algeria; and whether he would consider it particularly candid in an English writer to cite these reverses in proofs of the inefficiency of the French Army. It is equally true that Col. Wilde's Brigade were repulsed in the Khybur Pass. Has De Warren any clear notion of the difficulties of this same Khybur? We can assure him that it does not in the least resemble the *Champ de Mars*. There may be such places in Algeria; but this we think very doubtful. Col. Wilde set out, without artillery and without local experience. The kind of opposition, which our troops were to encounter in this tremendous defile, was little understood by their commander. The heights were not crowned and the enemy had all the advantage of position—the bravest and best-disciplined troops in the world have ere now been worsted in this sort of Guerilla warfare. The French know what it is—none better. The best troops of France have been beaten by farmers' boys.

And then De Warren points to the retreat from Kabul. Has he ever heard of a certain retreat from Moscow? Were European troops ever beaten by snow and frost? European troops are accustomed to snow and frost. Think then what cruel foes these natural enemies must have been to troops transplanted from the torrid plains of Hindustan. Think too, of those *stupendous passes* between Kabul and Jullalabad, swarming with a hostile, infuriated armed popula-

tion! We are not wont to speak scorn of Napoleon's army, because it was a rabble ere it was far from Moscow.

De Warren speaks of the war in Sindh. He says that at Meeanee, the 25th and 12th Bombay Native Infantry refused to follow their officers into action—that their conduct was so infamous that they ought to have been branded. Where did he learn this?—not from Sir Charles Napier. Sir Charles say—"The 22nd (Queen's) regiment forced the bank; the 25th and 12th did the same, the latter regiment capturing several guns and the victory was decided." Where did he learn this? Assuredly not from the officers attached to those regiments. Their testimony is equally strong in favor of the sepoys. The officer commanding the 25th N. I., when called upon for a nominal roll of those, who had especially distinguished themselves in the action replied, "the whole of the sepoys behaved so well, that I consider it would be invidious to make any distinction." And the rolls sent in from the 12th show how little they deserved to be branded. The gallant charges of the 9th native cavalry determined the issue of the battle.

We do not accuse De Warren of wilful misrepresentation, but it is really too bad that such a bungler should in the plenitude of his ignorance of the English language, blunder away the characters of brave men. Sir Charles Napier wrote "Major Teesdale, while animating his sepoys, dashed on horseback over the bank amidst the enemy, and was instantly shot and sabred, dying like a glorious soldier. Major Jackson, in like manner, rushed forward; two brave havildars followed him: *too far advanced before their men,* they fell under the sabres of the enemy." The French writer must understand that when an English general speaks of officers being too far in advance of their men, he does not mean that the men were too far in the rear of their officers.

De Warren says—and he vaguely refers to the Bombay Journals in support of his assertion—that when the native troops were opposed to the Affghans, they were almost invariably beaten—that is, that they were beaten in sixteen out of twenty three engagements. It would have been well if he had been a little more specific. We should like to know what were the seventeen engagements, in which our native troops were beaten. We remember that when Captain W. Anderson, of the Artillery, with a party of native troops met a far superior force at Tazí, in April, 1840, he gave them a very sound beating, and that too at the bayonet's point. We remember that when

Colonel Wymer, with a party of native troops, in May 1841, met a large Ghiljí force, near Assiai-Ilmí, he beat them soundly after a well-fought action, in which the gallantry of both sides was conspicuous. We remember, that, a little later in the same year, Captain Woodburn—and Colonel Chambers—and Captain Griffin, each with a party of native troops, routed the Ghiljís, in three actions,—all of which exhibited an immense disparity of numbers, in favor of the enemy. We remember that in March, 1842, Colonel Wymer, with a party of native troops, was engaged on the banks of the Urghandab, with a large Affghan force and completely defeated them. We remember that in the following May, the garrison of Khilat-i-Ghiljí, consisting, with the exception of a small handful of European artillerymen, entirely of natives, repulsed a large force, sent to storm the place, took five of their standards and sent back the discomfited beseigers with a loss of more than a hundred men. And who can forget that, in September 1840, Colonel Dennie, with a small force consisting entirely of natives, routed, near Bameean, the combined armies of Dost Mahommed and the Wullí of Kúlúm, amounting, it was supposed, to ten thousand men, and thus brought to a termination the conflict with the deposed Amír, who shortly afterwards surrendered himself to the British envoy at Kabul.

We shall content ourselves with a few more specimens of M. De Warren's accuracy. As there is scarcely any subject on which our author does not touch we cannot attempt within the compass of an article, to give a detailed review of the contents of his three volumes. We must, therefore, take, at hazard, a few samples of the whole. From military we turn to commercial affairs. De Warren says, that both the imports and exports of British India have fallen off greatly within the last twenty or thirty years. Where he learnt this it would be very difficult to conjecture. It is true that he quotes Montgomery Martin, but we do not believe it possible that Mr. Martin has made any such assertion. The Frenchman must have misunderstood him. De Warren speaks of "les importations de toutes especes et de tous pays dans l'Inde"—during two periods of ten years, and says that from 1816 to 1825, the imports amounted to 916,220,850 rupees; and from 1826 to 1835 to no more than 798,072,892 rupees—that is to say, a diminution on the ten years, of 118,147,958. We should like to know from what data these calculations were drawn and who made the calculations. We know that in Calcutta, there has been a progressive increase both of imports and exports, and therefore

of the tonnage of the port. From tables drawn up by Messrs Bell and Wilkinson (in the *Commercial Annual*, an extremely valuable publication, which is still conducted by the latter gentleman, with great care and eminent success)—tables of which McCulloch has, with great justice, observed that "they contain a greater fund of information combined with sound remarks, than is to be met with respecting the trade of any emporium, with which we are acquainted"—it is shown that the imports of this port have gone on steadily increasing,* in the manner exhibited below. In the annexed, the yearly imports are given exclusive of *treasure*:—

In the year	1814-15	= £ St.	1,165,750
„	1819-20	„	1,752,197
„	1827-28	„	2,799,756
„	1834-35	„	2,141,523
„	1839-40	„	3,611,065

Thus, it will be seen, that at the principal commercial emporium of India, the amount of imports within the last thirty years has been considerably more than trebled.

At the same time, our exports have been nearly doubled—probably, more than doubled, for the tables now before us (writing as we do without immediate facility of reference) only extend to 1840. In the year 1814-15, we find them set down, on the authority of Messrs. Bell and Wilkinson, at £4,086,272 and in the year 1839-40 at £7,095,336. The only fluctuation visible during this time was in the year 1834; which no commercial man will forget. M. De Warren with an apparent want of candour (for in all probability he was not sufficiently well acquainted with the subject to have acted, in this manner, with any malicious design) has stopped short at the year 1835—before our commerce had had time to recover from the temporary shock it had just received.

We can not now do more than touch upon so large a question as this. To furnish, in such an article, any complete statistical information relative to the state of trade, throughout India, during the last thirty years is clearly out of the question—but we may mention that, as regards *tonnage*, we have now some tables before us, showing that in 1831, the tonnage cleared outwards, from the United Kingdom, to India and Ceylon, amounted to 59,721 tons; and that in 1842, it reached 202,101.

* That is to say, with only a fluctuation exhibited on the amount of one year's imports—owing to causes, which will readily suggest themselves to the reader.

It appears to us that M. De Warren must have mis-comprehended some statements put forth by Montgomery Martin. We can not believe that the latter has been descanting on the general decrease of trade.

It must be admitted however that there is some truth in De Warren's remarks on the injustice with which India is treated in respect of the restrictive duties on her produce. He says:—

"No branch of Revenue in India in the hands of a wise, a liberal, or even a commonly clear-sighted Government ought to be more fruitful (than the customs). The degree of expansion which it might almost immediately attain is incalculable, and yet nevertheless it languishes and declines more and more from day to day. We may find the reason of this, in the perseverING iniquity, the monstrous egotism of England, whose Parliament, to satisfy the cupidity of the manufacturing interests, pass laws, which compel their Indian subjects to receive into their ports, the produce of England at an almost nominal duty of two or three per cent., whilst the articles manufactured by these same subjects are only admitted into the ports of Great Britain on paying a duty of *from thirty to a thousand per cent.*"

Another French writer, having stated in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* that the natives of India, under the British rule, "enjoy more independence, more repose, more ease, and more happiness" than under any previous sovereignty, M. De Warren undertakes to supply "une refutation consciencieuse et sans replique de cette assertion singuliérement légère et hasardée," and then asks triumphantly, "What is the happiness of a country, in which mothers are often compelled to sell their daughters to prostitution, to procure a morsel of bread?"* That such things, during seasons of famine, have happened is undeniable; but such things have happened in Europe, not during seasons of famine. Some elaborate works on prostitution have been published in the French language; can M. De Warren find nothing in these about parents selling their daughters for purposes of prostitution? We have recently been reading the melancholy statistics of prostitution in one of the most highly favoured of lands, and we find that, one very considerable class is described as "children who have been urged by their mothers to become prostitutes for a livelihood."

M. De Warren takes some pains to inform his readers that the English in India do nothing at all to ameliorate the physical condition of the natives of the country, and quotes with

* After asking this question De Warren tells us how he was once tempted by an offer of a young maid "digne d'un Sultan," for a hundred rupees. We have seldom read a book about India which has not a story of the same kind. De Warren says, he paid the money, but suffered the girl to return with her mother, adding very characteristically "*Avouerai-je avec Caton que la vertu coûte quelquefois un regret!*"

approbation, the assertion of a writer in the *Revue des Deux-Mondes*, that we have not a single civil hospital or a single charitable institution in the country—"ou chercherait en vain un seul hospital civil, un seul bureau de bienfaisance."—We know no class of people who give away more in charity than the British inhabitants of India; and, judging by the tribes of beggars of all ages—from four to fourscore—who besiege the carriages of English travellers in France, none who pour less into that channel, than the gentry of the great nation which owns Count Edward De Warren.

Like many wiser men, De Warren has taken the measure of the Sikh army very badly. He says:—

"If this question were put to me; 'In case England should wish to add the Punjab to its dominions would the Sikh army be capable of defending its territories?' I should answer 'Decidedly not.' Firstly, because it is an Indian army. Secondly, because this army has but a very few European officers, and they would immediately go over to the English. Thirdly and lastly, because this semblance of French discipline, instead of being an advantage to them would only tend to deliver up at once in a narrow compass all the military resources of the country to the numerical superiority of the conquerors.* From the moment that the Punjab is attacked by the English, it is lost; a single battle of less than an hour's duration would terminate its existence."

So thought many, who knew more about the matter than Count Edward De Warren. The history of this great delusion has been written in enduring characters of blood.

We have quarrelled somewhat more with De Warren than we intended when we commenced this article—but we would wish to part from him in a decently good humor. There are many better passages in his book than those which we have quoted—but these better passages are, for the most part, so little original that our readers would not thank us for transferring them to our columns. The review, for example, of Lord Ellenborough's adminstration, and of those most inequitable transactions, which resulted in the robbery of the Sindh territory and the political death of the Amírs, are recommended by the justice, if not by the novelty of the strictures they contain. They are in fact little more than translations of articles, which have appeared in our local journals. If De Warren's entire book were made up of such articles it would be much more valuable than it is. His principal authorities appear to be Victor Jacquemont and Montgomery Martin.

* Loin d'être un avantage, ne ferait que livrer en un moment sur un petit espace toutes les resources militaires du pays à la superiorité numérique des conquerans.

There is nothing better in De Warren's book than the three last pages. With these we may, not unfitly, close our notice of *L'Inde Anglaise*:—

"It is of importance that we should understand the political system of the new administration called to govern this vast empire. Judging by its first acts, everything seems to promise a new æra for British India. Sir Henry Hardinge is an old soldier, who under Sir John Moore, Marshal Beresford, and the Duke of Wellington, has gained too many laurels in our gigantic wars on all the battle-fields of Europe, to be dazzled by the pitiful ambition of conquering every petty semi-barbarous State incapable of resisting the omnipotence of Great Britain. All his recollections, all the instincts of his nature will teach him to avoid that shoal on which Lord Ellenborough was shipwrecked by his vanity. Under his government we shall not have to speak of unjust wars, of military expeditions undertaken with a pretext of restoring order to neighbouring states. He has already announced his firm intention not to interfere in the intestine strifes of the Punjab. There is no thought of an army of exercise such as his predecessor organized with the evident intention of converting it into an army of Invasion. Surrounded by his council, he is at present absorbed in the study of domestic affairs. His first thought is directed towards the moral and intellectual improvement of the natives of the country. We hope that his second will be devoted to the amelioration of their physical and material condition. We hope that the treasure, which will no longer be squandered on the indefinite extension of empire will not be drawn by another current towards the metropolis to satisfy an insatiable cupidity*; but that a portion at least will be applied to fertilise the soil; to afford to the wretched cultivator the means of irrigation, which shall prevent those periodical famines, that now decimate the population; to dig canals; to open roads which will give an impetus to commerce, and after commerce to civilization which always follows in its track. Such are our views for the country whose fine climate we often look back to with regret; such is now our hope—a hope which we had not when first we sketched our picture of *L'Inde Anglaise*."

Alas!—alas! What hope have we now—Sir Henry Hardinge has become a *conqueror in spite of himself*.

* What metropolis—and whose cupidity?

ART. IV.—1. *Murray's Life of Runjit Singh.*

2. *Malcolm's Sketch of the Sikhs.*

3. *Anglo Indian Treaties.*

4. *Political Relations N. W. F.*

5. *Life of George Thomas.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But to return to the history of these countries:—Although the army of the Peishwah was entirely defeated, and with incredible slaughter at the battle of Paniput, the power of the Mahrattas was in no degree diminished: it seemed to have received new vigour from the blow, and to possess a hydra-headed vivacity. The power of the Peishwah himself was broken, but under the guidance of Holkar, the Bhúnslah, and Scindia, the Mahratta arms still continued paramount in India, and the regular battalions of the latter under DeBoigne, Perron, and Louis Bourquet were in possession of Delhi, and the country up to the Jumna: nor did their arms cease there. Every chief of note south of the Sutlej, was a tributary to the Mahratta, and we find the youthful Runjit Singh at the commencement of this century, while his power was still scarcely superior to that of a petty Sirdar, entering into a treaty with General Perron, the substance of which was the assistance of a force of regular battalions to establish the power of Runjit in the country, and the payment of a ten-anna share, to the Mahratta, of the provinces, brought into subjection by such means. This was indeed never acted upon, but the empire of the Mahrattas was acknowledged by Runjit, and indisputable up to the Sutlej,—though the puzzled antiquary will scarcely recognize in "Louis Saheb," the name under which Louis Bourquet is familiarly known among the Sikh states, the formidable Lieutenant of Scindia, the gallant opponent of the English arms at the battle of Delhi. Still more puzzled would the antiquary be, if he heard mention made of the victories of "Jehazi Saheb," of the chief, whom he set up, and the heavy fines which he exacted. If an Englishman, the antiquary, would scarcely recognize his own countryman, George Thomas,—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

of the Russians to extend British influence to the confines of Persia. Since that policy was decided upon the countries between the Sutlej and the Jumna have been traversed in every direction by large armies, and the force stationed there has been yearly increased, till during the last twelve month, the flower of the Bengal Army may be said to have been cantoned within its limits. The year 1838, saw the Army of the Indus proceed across these plains to penetrate new regions, and plant the British standard on the walls o Ghuzni. The year 1841 saw another gallant force hurr onward to redeem our national character, and avenge ou slaughtered countrymen: the close of that same year behe the magnificent pageantry and show, with which the Army Reserve welcomed their gallant companions on their triumph return. Since then the whole country between the two riv has been held, and, as it were, in military occupation. And events which have crowded one upon another during the l few months,—the four bloody battles, which have been fo actually within our frontier,—the villages which have b plundered, and left desolate,—the fields which have been ro of their green honours, ere yet ready for the sickle,—the op sions of various forms and incalculable number, which hav spite of the precaution of our rulers taken place,—may no have caused the old grey-beards, who remembered in t childhood the invasion of the Abdali, and the struggle o Sikh people for liberty, to curse their ill-fate that they had to see the evil days of plunder and confusion, of war and roads return to their devoted fields.

We write, perhaps, too near the events to judge with im tiality; but if the rulers of this country have ever engaged just war,—then this one, into which we were hurried against wishes, and against what are justly to be pronounced our interests, may and must be considered such a war. Still, it can be said to have come upon us without many a long and loud n of preparation. For the last two years a feverish excitem had prevailed throughout the country, and the anticipatio war had become so general, that it was openly discuss and private arrangements had been made confessedly connection with it: it had been wished for and prayed in every military circle in the North of India. Vari statements of a somewhat provocative and inflammatory t dency had also appeared, from time to time, in differe journals both at home and abroad. And when it is co sidered that many of these statements find their way

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

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

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

ART. V.—1. *Report of the Committee appointed by the Right Hon'ble the Governor of Bengal for the Establishment of a Fever Hospital and for inquiring into Local Management and Taxation in Calcutta, with its Appendices. Calcutta* 1839.

2. *The Revd. Dr. Duff's Sermon for the proposed Fever Hospital, preached at the Free Church of Scotland, Calcutta. Ostell and Lepage,* 1844.

3. *Speech of the Marquess of Normanby in the House of Lords on Friday, the 26th of July,* 1844. *London* 1845.

No one can have contemplated the progress of British legislation, without admiring its benevolent character. For many years numerous successive Acts of Parliament have been passed, of which the design and the tendency are generally acknowledged to be, the benefit of the people. The names of Wilberforce, Romilly, and of many others, remind us of almost countless measures, which the principles of freedom, justice, and mercy demanded, and of which experience has proved the wisdom. Abroad and at home,—in relation to the rich and the poor, these measures have extended their operation; and their influence promises to be as permanent, as it has been great. They have had the excellent effect of encouraging legislators to legislate still more boldly and benevolently,—and thus they afford us ground to hope, that many more measures will ere long be adopted, in which sound principles of political and christian wisdom, will be practically developed; the sacred rights of toleration be further ratified; the blessings of *all* the liberty which is consistent with the necessary control of government, be fully secured; and all the impediments to public improvement, be entirely overthrown. Certainly the ensuing half century, nay, we may rather say the next coming ten years, are pregnant with most important events, and he who looks to them without either hope or fear, can feel little interest in the welfare of his country or his kind, and can very little understand his real position in the history of the world. We are not living now, in days in which the great point to be debated and settled simply is, whether the Pelham administration shall be maintained, or not, or whether there shall be a war with Spain about the Falkland islands, or not; or whether Brooke's or White's Club shall be filled from the ministerial benches: no, but it is our lot, and if we estimate it rightly, it is our privilege, to be living in times, when the destinies of some hundreds of millions in China and India, and in other quarters

of the globe, are affected directly by British literature, legislation, and enterprize, and the minds of many men of great natural power, are employed in devising schemes for the amelioration of the condition of their fellow-creatures.

Not the least remarkable feature in recent British legislation, is the homely and practical character of a considerable portion of it. Of this we have an illustration in a bill now before us, which was brought into the House of Commons last year by the Earl of Lincoln and Sir James Graham, for the improvement of the sanatory condition of large towns. Before next year closes, that bill, we hope, will be made law. It is founded on the Reports of a Commission to inquire into the state of large towns and populous districts. The members were the Duke of Buccleugh, the Earl of Lincoln, Mr. R. A. Slaney, Major Graham, Sir H. De la Beche, Mr. Playfair, Dr. Reid Dr. Martin (late of Calcutta) Mr. Stephenson, the engineer Mr. Cubitt, an eminent builder, and others. One of its reports now before us, is a masterly document, and indicates great zeal intelligence, and industry. Of the importance of the subject matter of its inquiries, some idea may be formed from the fact that Mr. Chadwick's statement, that 50,000 persons annually die in England from diseases which might be prevented by proper sanatory regulations, has since been shown to have been the reverse of an exaggeration.

We cannot here enter into the very interesting facts which crowd on our attention in glancing at the Reports of this Commission, but some few remarks on the subject may be allowed, the better to prepare our readers to enter, with cordial sympathy into the consideration of our statements relative to Calcutta.

In the speech of the Marquis of Normanby in the House of Lords on the 28th July, 1844, on moving an address to the Crown on the sanatory condition of the people,—a speech which does him very great honor—we find some statements of facts, of which he had obtained personal cognizance by accompanying the medical and relieving officers of Spitalfields, Whitechapel, and Bethnal Green, to some of the abodes of the poor. In single apartments, he found whole families without a regular supply of water, and supplied, in so far as they obtained any, with impure water, or obtaining it by payment or labour, from a distance,—and all around filth, and open sewers, or none. From this mode of life, fever, scrofula, consumption, and other diseases were found commonly to ensue: then disease interfered with labor; the want of employment and wages led to destitution; and destitution to worse diseases

and to crime. In some of the accounts of the poor lodging houses, facts are stated by lord Normanby on the authority of the Commission, which if not verified by unquestionable testimony would be almost incredible. In Preston in Lancashire, for instance, it appears, that eighty-four instances were found, in which four persons slept in one bed, thirty-five in which five so slept, three in which seven, and one in which eight slept in the same bed. From the evidence of Dr. Southwood Smith regarding his experience at the London Fever Hospital, Lord Normanby quoted as follows:—

"From No. 24, Crown-place, Soho, nine persons have been received into the hospital; that is, two, three, and four, from as many different families residing in this filthy den The following remarkable fact may be mentioned in connexion with this house:—About five or six weeks before the admission of the nine individuals just mentioned, three persons had been sent to the hospital from this same house labouring under fever. For want of room in the hospital no more could be admitted at that time, although it was stated that several others were ill of the disease. Of these some were sent to the St. Giles's workhouse, and others it is believed to the Middlesex Hospital. The house was then shut up. After the house had remained shut up for about a fortnight, the landlord, without adopting any cleansing or purifying measures whatever, let the house to some other tenants; among whom were the unfortunate creatures (nine) received into the hospital on this second occasion of the breaking out of fever in this pest-house. It was now again shut up, but this time the parish officers, whose attention was directed to the matter, thoroughly cleansed, lime-whited, and purified the house, as well as the adjoining tenements: since which no case of fever, it is believed, has occurred in this place; at all events, there has been no application for the admission of any patient into the fever hospital.

"In Friday-street, Cheapside, there is a small court called Starcourt, three houses forming the court. From the house No. 2, no less than ten cases of fever, were one after another admitted into the hospital; in fact, every inmate of this house was attacked with fever, and some of the inhabitants of the two adjoining houses were also seized with this malady. All the sick were removed, and the houses, court, &c. were thoroughly cleansed and the walls lime-whited. No cases of fever occurred for some time afterwards. At length, however, the disease again broke out in a very severe form, and the sick, as before, were immediately removed. The court generally, and the houses in particular, underwent a careful inspection; both appeared tolerably clean; yet there was always, but more especially after a shower of rain, a most intolerable stench in the court, the source of which could not for some time be detected. At last, however, through the perseverance of the parish-officers, it was discovered that the contents of a filthy privy belonging to one of the neighbouring houses were constantly escaping, and that they had infiltrated into the stratum of earth immediately under the pavement. This privy was thoroughly repaired, and the pavement of the court was relaid; this change excepted, all the other circumstances of this locality, such as the number of inhabitants to each house, and the inhabitants being of the same class, remain as before; yet, since this change, no case of fever has occurred."—"These cases are given not as extraordinary occurrences, but as examples of what is taking place every day; and as long as the places in question remain unchanged, such cases will as surely occur daily as the sun will rise."

To other facts of a similar kind Lord Normanby called attention, and very many more might be quoted from the Reports of the Commission, but we must remember that Calcutta is our main subject, and forbear from giving any others, but we may quote one paragraph from this excellent speech, relating to the principles on which remedies may be applied, which we shall find useful in our subsequent consideration of our local wants. "The whole question of sanatory regulation," said His Lordship, "seems to turn upon the treatment of those two elements, air and water; both equally necessary to the healthful course of human existence—both equally necessary in their external influence on our frame; and, in their internal use, one the primary ingredient in all human nutriment, the other the life-spring of our lungs. And yet, to apply them in perfection to their several purposes, they require precisely opposite treatment. Leave to the air its free and unrestrained course—put no artificial impediment upon its buoyant natural action; but, on the other hand, guide and direct on scientific principles, and by mechanical aid, the course of water. And by such means and in such proportion will you mitigate those 'ills which flesh is heir to.'"

The sanatory condition and wants of Calcutta attracted the attention of Lord Wellesley, when he held the office of Governor General with such distinguished honor to himself and such great advantage to the empire. In looking back to that remarkable career of that eminent statesman in this land, and then considering his subsequent and greatly diminished exertions in his country's service, a feeling of astonishment is excited at the vast energies which at one time were so successfully exerted, and at a future period were so greatly repressed. There is even something melancholy in the reflection, that he, who had displayed extraordinary abilities and indomitable courage, in a crisis of unsurpassed difficulties, and while occupying a post of the highest importance, should have sunk afterwards, into a state of comparative inaction, and have been content in 1830, when Lord Grey's government succeeded the Duke of Wellington, to follow rather than to lead the opposition into office, and take no other part than that of chamberlain to the king. Such indifference in old age is not uncommon in men of the greatest mental power and the most ardent natural zeal. Even Warren Hastings could live quietly for twenty years in the country without directly or indirectly taking part in public affairs, and in former days Charles the 5th could descend from his imperial throne and enter a monastery. And indeed, retirement, from a sense of impaired ability and

vigor, is honorable, and often necessary to the preservation of former fame, and present usefulness; but it is painful to see men of noble talents which have once been exerted in the public service, wasting them, or withdrawing the use of them from the public service before old age has been felt, as Lord Wellesley, we fear for the most part wasted or withdrew his, (with a very few short intervals,) from the period of his return to England in 1804, to his death in 1843.

But to return from this digression: in one of the appendices before us, we find a minute by the Marquess Wellesley, dated 16th June, 1803, which commences as follows:—

"The increasing extent and population of Calcutta, the Capital of the British empire in India, and the seat of Supreme Authority, require the serious attention of Government. It is now become absolutely necessary to provide permanent means of promoting the health, the comfort, and the convenience of the numerous inhabitants of this great town.

"The construction of the Public Drains and Water-courses of the town is extremely defective. The Drains and Water-courses, in their present state, neither answer the purpose of cleansing the town, nor of discharging the annual accummulation occasioned by the rise of the river, and by the excessive fall of rain during the south-west monsoon. During the last week, a great part of the town has remained under water, and the drains have been so offensive, that unless early measures be adopted for the purpose of improving their construction, the health of the inhabitants of Calcutta, both European and Native, must be seriously affected.

"The defects of the climate of Calcutta during the latter part of the rainy season may indeed be ascribed in a great measure to the state of the Drains and Water-courses, and to the stagnate water remaining in the town and its vicinity.

"The health of the town would certainly be considerably improved by an improvement of the mode of draining the streets, roads, and Esplanade. An opinion is generally entertained, that an original error has been committed in draining the town towards the River Hoogly. And it is believed that the level of the country inclines towards the salt water lake, and consequently, that the principal channels of the Public Drains and Water-Courses ought to be conducted in that direction."

His Lordship then proceeds to notice the necessity for regulations of the public markets, burial places, and slaughter-houses of cattle, and the evil of the formation of streets in the native part of the town, without reference to the health, convenience, or safety of the inhabitants, and he emphatically

declares it to be a primary duty of Government to attend to these subjects. He then nominates a Committee to consider them and report to him. To this body he issued the following instructions:—

1. To take the level of Calcutta and the adjacent country, and ascertain and report what alteration may be necessary in the direction of the Public Drains and Water-courses.

2. To examine the relative level of the river during the rainy season, compared with the level of the Drains and Water-courses.

3. To suggest what description of Drains and Water-courses may be best calculated—1st, to prevent the stagnation of rain in Calcutta and the vicinity thereof—and 2dly, to cleanse the town.

4. To consider and report what establishment may be necessary for cleansing the Drains and Water-courses, and for keeping them in constant repair.

5. To take into consideration the present state of all places of interment in the vicinity of Calcutta, and to propose an arrangement for the future regulation of those places, in such manner as shall appear to be best calculated for the preservation of the health of the inhabitants of Calcutta and its vicinity.

6. To examine the present state and condition of the bazars and markets for meat, and of the slaughter-houses of Calcutta, and to propose such rules and orders as shall appear to the Committee to be proper for the regulation of those already established—for the removal of such, as may have actually become nuisances—and for the establishment of new markets and slaughter-houses hereafter.

7. To enquire into all existing nuisances in the town and vicinity of Calcutta, and to propose the means of removing them.

8. To examine and report for the consideration of Government, the situations best calculated for opening new streets and roads, leading from east to west from the new Circular Road to Chowringhee and to the River, and from north to south in a direction nearly parallel with the new road.

9. To suggest such other plans and regulations as shall appear to the Committee to be calculated to promote the health, convenience, and comfort, of the inhabitants of Calcutta, and to improve the appearance of the town and its vicinity.

10. To form and submit to the Governor General in Council, an estimate of the expense required to complete all such improvements as may be proposed by the Committee.

Of this Committee, we may mention, that Mr. St. George Tucker, the present very able and active Deputy Chairman of the Court of Directors, was a member.

It is unnecessary for us to enter into a detailed account of the measures adopted by this Committee, or by the Government, to give effect to Lord Wellesley's views. No doubt much good was done by both, and by the Lottery Committee, which for several years served as the agent of Government in effecting improvements in Calcutta; but as the sanatory state of the town in 1839 was such as we shall presently have to mention, it would be useless to enumerate any irregular and ineffectual efforts which have been made to cure the evils which attracted the attention of Lord Wellesley. No bold and comprehensive plan was carried out, or even settled, but here and there, and from time to time, public improvements were made in the streets and roads of Calcutta, and it is due to the Lottery Committee to say that these added considerably to the salubrity of some particular neighbourhoods, to the general appearance of the town, and to the facility of the passage of carriages and foot-travellers, through many parts of it.

In 1835, Dr. Martin,—whom we must take the liberty, according to India's customs, of calling so, although we believe he was a surgeon and not a doctor of medicine,—a gentleman of high reputation, and benevolent character, addressed a letter to the governors of the Native Hospital in Calcutta, pointing out the necessity of establishing a Fever Hospital for the town. The considerations to which he then called their attention, were of so interesting and important a nature, that the governors very promptly took up the subject, and submitted some resolutions on it to Lord (then Sir Charles) Metcalfe, the acting Governor General of India. Public meetings followed, through which contributions to the amount of nearly 50,000 rupees were obtained for the object contemplated by Dr. Martin. In 1836, Lord Auckland, then being Governor General, recommended a Committee to be formed, and this was accordingly done by the authority of the Government. The objects contemplated were, the establishment of an Hospital for the treatment of *medical* cases—the Native Hospital being designed principally for surgical cases—and to this Hospital Lord Auckland suggested that dispensaries should be attached; secondly, to consider the sanatory state of Calcutta, to suggest local improvements for the purpose of producing and maintaining greater salubrity;—and the framing a plan of local management, and taxation. Of this Committee the following were the acting members:—Sir E. Ryan, Sir J. P. Grant,

Christopher Webb Smith, Esq., Baboo Ramcomul Sen, the late Dewan of the Bank of Bengal, S. Nicolson, Esq., J. R. Martin, Esq., Dr. A. R. Jackson, Rustomjee Cowasjee, Esq., Baboo Dwarkanath Tagore, Baboo Russomoy Dutt, R. H. Cockerell, Esq., and Alexander Rogers, Esq.,—but several alterations in its constitution followed, so that when the report was presented in January 1840, the members were Sir J. P. Grant, Chairman, Mr. C. W. Smith, Colonel Young, Dr. Martin, Prosonocoomar Tagore, Mr. R. Scott Thomson, Dwarkanath Tagore, Russomoy Dutt, Rustomjee Cowasjee, and Dr. Nicolson, whose long experience and great sagacity must have been particularly useful, but who, at that time, was unable, from illness, to sign the report. To those around us in Calcutta, it is needless to say, that the Committee could scarcely have been composed of more efficient members; but the zeal of Dr. Martin, and the characteristic energy, firmness, and ability of Sir J. P. Grant, rendered them its two most conspicuous members; and to them pre-eminently, among all the colleagues, the honor will belong, of rendering the climate of Calcutta salubrious, of relieving the sufferings of thousands of its inhabitants annually, and of promoting by these means most effectually, its prosperity, and through it, the prosperity of this whole presidency—if the Government of Bengal at length carry out the plans of this Committee, or adopt any other in the benevolent and zealous spirit which the Report of the Committee is calculated to stimulate or to produce.

The Report which we have just mentioned is a compilation of great care and labour, replete with valuable observations and affording a very complete synopsis of the evidence given to the Committee. It is a standing memorial of the earnestness and patience which were displayed throughout. But being, necessarily, somewhat voluminous, an abstract of it has been since drawn up with great skill, and has been printed separately. Connected with the Report are several Appendices, containing minutes of evidences, copies of correspondence, documents, &c. To all of these treasuries of information we must refer, as we proceed now to notice the sanatory state of Calcutta, as exhibited by the Committee; the causes which produced the effects they lament; and the remedies they have suggested or noticed.

In the Report allusion is made to some Notes on the Medical Topography of Calcutta, which Dr. Martin handed in when he was examined. This is a document of great research and ability. In Appendix D. the following interesting abstract of it is given:—

"By the report presented by Mr. J. R. Martin, and printed by order of Government, on the Medical Topography of Calcutta; it appears, that the following are the chief causes assigned by that gentleman for the unhealthiness among the native inhabitants of the Town and Suburbs—

1. The overcrowded population; the crowded and ill-ventilated state of the houses; the great number of decayed habitations.

2. Their ill-construction, and being built on the ground instead of being raised off it, as habitations ought always to be in countries subject to inundation, like Bengal.

3. The close, narrow, and ill ventilated state of the streets, their want of water-courses and pavements; their dustiness and general want of cleanliness, their want of proper direction, in reference to prevailing winds.

4. The imperfection of drainage and sewerage; this is a great source of unhealthiness.

5. The deficiency of good tanks, and the general want of a supply of good water; the number of decayed and half-filled tanks, affording unwholesome water, and yielding noxious exhalations.

6. Crowded, filthy, ill-ventilated and unpaved state of public markets.

7. Neglected and ill-arranged condition of public tatties.

8. Bad state of the native burying grounds, and their vicinity to the town.

9. The very neglected state of all surrounding suburbs. The number of salines and marshes.

10. The construction of canals, and the heaping of their banks, so as to prevent the drainage eastward, along the natural inclination of the soil.

11. The vicinity of rice cultivation.

12. The quantity of low jungle tree, obstructing ventilation, and the great extent of irregularity of ground, admitting of the lodgment of impure waters, &c. giving off natural exhalation. These are chiefly to be found in the suburbs.

13. Great immorality of the natives—Polygamy.

14. "The institution of caste, is of itself an enormous injury to public health, because prejudicial to public happiness."

15. The sedentary and indolent habits of the natives—their irregular hours of rest; their long fasts; their improvidence and common practice of borrowing; their exposure and irregularities at fairs and festivals of religion.

16. Their defective diet, clothing, bedding, and fuel.

17. The knavery and ignorance of the native practitioners in medicine and surgery.

18. The misuse of the cold bath under circumstances of impaired health, and especially during the cold season.

19. Neglect of vaccination.

20. The want of hospitals.

21. Defective education and physical management of children."

It is convenient to put this abstract thus in the front of our details, relative to the state of Calcutta, as noticed by the Committee, as it presents to view a remarkable complication of prejudicial influences, and must prepare the reader for almost anything that may follow. A greater and more appalling array of fatal causes, both moral and physical, could not be found probably in any other town in the world, no, not in Africa, or in Turkey. Let us examine some of the details connected with this abstract, and begin with that very important point—the Town's *drainage*.

We find from the evidence of most intelligent engineers and other witnesses, who had endured the task of examining into the subject, that in the native part of the town, none of the large open drains are paved; that there are inequalities in their bottoms in which the water lodges; that there are some in which the bottoms are two feet below the outlets, so that the contents are never entirely cleared out, and cannot be except by evaporation; that there is no such flow of water through the drains, of such a fall in them as to keep them even in a tolerable state of cleanliness; that the common mode of endeavouring to empty them, (by means of coolies dragging ropes and straw through them,) is quite ineffectual; and that all the worst kinds of filth are deposited in the drains *ad libitum*. One witness, Mr. John Phipps, after a residence of forty years in the town, spoke thus: "the drains, many of them, are merely irregular furrows in the soil, without brickwork, and are continually left in a most filthy uncleaned state, emitting the most noxious effluvia, doubtless highly pernicious to the health of the inhabitants dwelling in such situations." Some of these drains are very justly styled "kennels," in the statement afforded by Sir John Grant, and Mr. Rustomjee Cowasjee, after a personal inspection of them in the most populous part of the native portion of the town. Dr. W. Graham said, that it was "impossible for the drains to be in a worse state than they are at present; rudely constructed, without any knowledge of the principles of draining the centre of the conduit being in many places below the level of the extremities;" that they are "poisonous," and are "the hotbeds of disease."

To bad drains must be added the effluvia of bad tanks. Dr. Graham deposed, that as early in the season as the 28th of February, they were putrid and dry. Such filthy pools abound. When the rains set in, they are filled;—when the hot weather is trying the health of the inhabitants most severely, they send forth from their parched crust intolerable odours. They are depositaries of all kinds of decomposed animal and vegetable matter,—rank and foul with putrescence, and sources of fatal pestilence.

To bad drains and bad tanks, must be further added, poisonous water for drinking and culinary purposes. To a considerable extent the Natives drink the Ganges water at all periods of the year indiscriminately, and there can be no doubt whatever, that for some months it is most deleterious. In some cases, the richer classes bring it from places higher up the River, as Hoogly and Culna, but this expedient cannot be adopted by the poor. *Their* great supply of water, therefore is from the public tanks, or the river which flows by the town. Of these tanks, most are in an "impure and neglected condition from the annual accumulations of the vegetation going on at the bottom, so as to render them progressively shallow, until at length they become half dried, the green and slimy puddles which so contaminate every portion of the native town." In several districts of the town the inhabitants have no pure water near them, and are compelled to send to some distant tank of comparatively good formation. But such tanks are few in number, and the Europeans, as well as the natives, feel the consequences. Government has provided in a measure for some parts of the town by means of aqueducts, but these are not protected; the natives are constantly bathing themselves, and their clothes in them, or horses by the side of them; all kinds of disgusting matter are freely cast into them; and at all hours of the day, men and children, nearly naked, may be seen enjoying their liberty of recreating themselves in these channels of water for domestic purposes. On this part of the subject, the abstract of the report speaks comprehensively as follows: "Your Committee think that it is established, that pure and wholesome water for drinking and preparing food, is extremely scarce in Calcutta,—that the river water is unwholesome during about three months of the year, being impregnated with salt, and turbid and unfit for drinking, unless artificially purified for three months more,—so that it is wholesome and fit for use

only during half the year, while at its best it is defiled by the quantity of nastiness, of which it is the receptacle, and the number of dead bodies which are floated down it, rendering its purification before use, necessary to health and comfort,—that except one in Nobin Sing's garden, there is no wholesome tank in the native part of the town and no public tank of any sort in the neighbourhood of the Circular Roads, and that in the part of the town which is chiefly inhabited by the British, and in Chowinghee, the only tanks containing wholesome water are Lall Dighi, in Tank Square, and one or two of the tanks on the Esplanade—that, in the whole of Calcutta and Chowringhee, there is not one well which produces wholesome water, that the length of the native town to the northward of the part chiefly inhabited by Europeans, and consequently to the northward of Tank Square, in which is the nearest wholesome tank, is one mile and a quarter upon an average, in the whole of which space, most thickly inhabited, there is not one tank or well which affords wholesome water,—that wholesome water, consequently, is procured by the rich with considerable trouble and cost, and is denied to the poor, the Europeans catching rain-water and preserving it for use at some expense, and the richer natives paying for bringing it from a distance—that the cost in Calcutta, of a quantity of wholesome water, equal to the smallest quantity of water allowed in calculating the necessary supply of water as the average for a head, *per diem* in England, where much less water is necessary than here—(amounting only to two-fifths of the supply of London, and to less than one-fourth of the quantity allotted in Rome and Constantinople,) is a quarter of an anna, in a country where the wages of an ordinary labourer do not exceed two annas per day,—that the great majority of the inhabitants are therefore driven to the use of unwholesome water for drinking and preparing their food, and that this is one great cause of the frightful amount of disease which pervades the town,—that for the other purposes to which water is necessary, (the preserving personal and domestic cleanliness, and the cleansing and watering the streets,—all matters essential to the health of the inhabitants, and for extinguishing occasional fires, which is essential to their safety)—the supply of water is lamentably deficient."

We cannot proceed through all the points enumerated in the abstract of Dr. Martin's observations, but must confine ourselves to one more only,—the want of ventilation. The streets in the native, (which is by far the most populous)

part of the town, are formed without any regard whatever to the free circulation of air. The atmosphere is locally poisoned by noxious exhalations, and the pure breezes from the plain to the south of Calcutta, are shut out by thickly-built dwellings. On the ground floors of these wretched abodes multitudes transact business and sleep,—sleep within a few feet of the drains or kennels, which run by the sides of the streets. "Whoever," said Dr. Martin, "has visited the native part of the town before sun-rise, with its narrow lanes and 'rankest compounds of villainous smells that ever offended nostril,' will require no argument in favor of widening the streets, so as to effect the two greatest improvements of all as respects the salubrity of the city—free exposure to the sun to rarify and elevate the vapours, and to the winds to dilute and dissipate them." Ruined houses choked with weeds,—the asylums of dying animals, and the sepulchres of dead ones,—are to be seen packed in between crowded dwellings full of little, low rooms, without any apertures but such as open upon confined petty quadrangles. The inhabitants of these habitations are too much accustomed to bad smells, to hasten the removal from their premises, of any matter that is in a state of decomposition. Ground is too valuable to be spared for gardens, and therefore almost every inch which is available, is built upon. The streets and lanes are narrow and crooked. The surface of the roads is covered with filth, dust, mud, or offal; and periodically coolies come round as scavengers and stir up, rather than remove, the accumulated mess in the kennels, and so send up into the surrounding houses, fresh loaded pestiferous air, to be pent up there, in so many dungeons.

Thus we have bad drains, tainted tanks, impure water, and the want of ventilation, combining to affect a population, whose habits predispose them to almost every ailment by which the human species is commonly afflicted. Thus disease is engendered; vice and bad diet, and the general local causes we have just mentioned, tend to give it strength; and then, empirics, of every kind, from heathen priests with their charms, to medical quacks with their nostrums, inflame it. Let a very intelligent witness, himself a native medical practitioner, but one of character and education, tell the result. Múdúsudan Gúpto Kobúruttan, after a medical experience of twelve years among his countrymen in Calcutta says, that there are very few inflammatory diseases, but that dysentery, diarrhœa, dyspepsia, rheumatism, and fevers, are prevalent; that the effects of these are extensive and lamentable; that nearly two-

thirds of the native population in the town have dyspepsia; that rheumatism often arrives to such height among the poor as to prevent them labouring for their bread; that he does not see any native children in the town, who are in perfect health; that there is much opthalmia in the hot season from the dust; that the state of the town tends to produce cholera; that between the months of August and to November upwards of 18,000 persons among the natives of Calcutta (properly so called, of which the population is not 300,000),—suffer under intermittent, remittent, and bilious fevers, dysentery, and cholera. Dr. Martin concurred in the evidence of this witness, but believed he had *underrated* the prevalence of fever, and its sequelæ spleen and diarrhœa, which carry off more natives than any other diseases.

It is difficult to read and consider such statements, without feeling the difficulty of giving them their full legitimate effect in the mind. They overpower the imagination. The aggregate of misery here indicated is inconceivable. The awful reality even of one month's accumulated sufferings, baffles all human power of description; and we feel ourselves quite unable to touch on it at all. But we may be excused, if we borrow from the Sermon preached by Dr. Duff and prefixed to this article, a passage, in which some of the general, and some of the particular features of the case, are painted in glowing colours, but with power, which, great and eminent as it is, nevertheless here falls short of disclosing to view, the *whole* of the appalling reality:—

"Think of the unparalleled extent of general sickness, or rather sickliness or unhealthiness, that prevails!—when, on credible evidence, it is declared that no native children are to be found in perfect health—and that nearly two-thirds of the adult population are afflicted with one variety of disease alone, Dyspepsia, with its clustering retinue of ordinary concomitants, weakness, langour, and debility,—which invariably prepare and predispose the constitution for the attacks of more rapidly fatal maladies, and therefore, positively court and invite such violent aggressions! Think of the unparalleled extent of the prevalence of such rapidly fatal maladies;—when, in addition to the worst of those which swell the catalogue of the great Christian Poet and replenish his imaginary lazar-house, we find others abounding of still more exasperated virulence, which it had never entered his imagination to conceive;—when, during the four unhealthy months, between July and October inclusive, out of a fixed population of 200,000 or a floating population of 300,000, it is declared on credible evidence, that not fewer than 18,000 persons are attacked with different kinds of dangerous fevers and other acute diseases—that, of this enormous aggregate not less than one-fifth or 20 per cent. die before December—and that, as regards the remainder, a large proportion of their complaints run on into the following months and eventually terminate fatally! Nor is this all. Think of the

melancholy fact that, during the eight remaining months, the number of acute cases far exceeds that stated as occurring during the rains—that the supposed superior healthiness of one season, as compared with that of another, arises, not from any perceptible diminution of the amount of general disease, but merely from a diminution of disease in those more severe forms, which immediately prostrate the strength and exhaust the vital energies—that each successive season has its own peculiar maladies which, if not medically treated, are sure, humanly speaking, to terminate fatally with greater or less rapidity—that the cooler and more healthy months, besides their own proper progeny of distempers, are burdened with the resulting effects or residuary consequences of "the imperfect cures of the severe diseases of the preceding season," which "have been left without resistance to do their work of immediate slaughter upon the great majority of those whom they have attacked, and to implant in the rest the seeds of certain and not distant dissolution"—and that, as the result of the whole, the amount of constant dangerous disease, throughout every revolving period of the year, is nearly uniform, or very much the same; in other words, that "the poorer classes suffer in nearly the same numbers at all seasons,—the only important difference consisting in the greater intensity of the diseases of one season as compared to those of another."

But,—however appalling the whole of this statement, considered abstractly by itself, as a mere summation of human suffering, within the bounds of this great metropolis, and therefore, at our very doors,—it is rendered vastly more so, by the peculiarly aggravating circumstances in which multitudes of the diseased are placed. Acute disease is distressing enough to bear, even under every imaginable palliative or alleviation which affection can minister, wealth can purchase, or professional skill can supply. But, what, if there be a total absence of all palliatives and alleviations? Or what, still more, if there be the positive presence of all manner of provocatives to envenom and exulcerate the original malady? Now this is precisely the fell and fatal predicament of numbers of the suffering poor around us. They come to this city from all parts of the country in quest of employment, or to beg for charity. They take up their abode with individuals nearly as destitute as themselves; or they hire a wretched hut, or as wretched an apartment in some old building, for a few annas per month. They are attacked and laid prostrate by disease. Who can depict, who can adequately conceive the loneliness, the desertedness, the imploring helplessness of their forlorn condition? Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, with scarcely any clothing to cover their nakedness by night or by day—unprovided with any sort of couch, on which to repose their aching limbs,—lying down on bare mats, or coarse grass spread on the damp ground in their narrow cheerless cells. Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, exposed at different seasons to pinching cold or scorching heat, or drenching rain, or stifling dust, or steamy vapour, or suffocating smoke. Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, panting for breath—immured in closely built, ill-ventilated dens—begirt with masses of old walls and tumbling ruins, with belts of jungle and patches of underwood and rank vegetation, that prevent all free exposure to the sun, which might rarify or elevate the noisesome vapours, and debarred all access to the winds of heaven that might dilute or dissipate them. Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, surrounded by accummulated deposits of filth and rubbish, intermingled with heaps of decomposed animal and vegetable matters, which, simultaneously with the tainted pools and the putrid drains, constantly evolve and disengage all manner of noxious exhalations—sulphuretted hydrogen and other poisonous gases—together with the

whole nameles and countless brood of miasmata and malaria and other concentrated sources or germinating essences of plague and pestilence. Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, not merely without the means of personal or domestic cleanliness, but often parched with thirst, without a drop of water to cool their burning tongues;—or, if some portion of that needful element be scantily, and at wide intervals, supplied by some casual hand, it is supplied, either directly from the river, which, at one season, is unwholesome from the quantity of its unfiltered mud, and at another, equally so, from a copious infusion of ingredients that render it brackish and saline; or from stagnant tanks, whose waters are impure and deleterious from the annual vegetable growth going on from beneath and all around—rendering them progressively more and more shallow, and eventually converting them into green and slimy nuisances that contaminate the surrounding atmosphere. Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, craving for some cordial to soothe, or assuage, or mitigate inward agonizing pain, and if ought be granted to the petition of the rueful piteous look, that little is sure to consist of some raw, crude, indigestible substances that cannot fail to aggravate the fatal symptoms of the disease. Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, with cries and tears imploring the kindly offices of medical aid; and if a farthing's worth of the commonest and cheapest native remedy be grudgingly doled out, it is only to accelerate their fate,—since the rude compound or preparation thus furnished is "efficacious to enkindle the feeble flames of constitutional power, only to sink the more rapidly in death." Think of them, in hundreds and thousands, when, however prematurely, all hope of recovery has been abandoned, and the dread of the disgrace, the reproach, the infamy, the pollution to be incurred or contracted by the presence of a dead body in their vicinity, has aroused and alarmed the hitherto unconcerned and apathetic neighbours,—think of them, unceremoniously handed over to the heartless officers of death, who convey them roughly, without one look of sympathy or tear of commiseration, to the ghats and banks of the river, where, pitilessly exposed to all the inclemencies of the weather, they expire in a few hours, or, before they cease to breathe, are ferociously attacked by horrid vultures and beasts of prey. Aye, and what is most affecting of all,—think of them, in hundreds and thousands; enduring these countless and untold sufferings in the present life, without any support or consolation drawn from the anticipated glories of the future."

If, after these statements there be still a doubt, on the minds of any, that common humanity, (not to mention a higher and far more powerful motive), calls for earnest efforts to ameliorate the condition of the inhabitants of Calcutta, as well as efforts to raise them morally and intellectually, so that the sanatory state of the town may be improved, and that the people may co-operate with a benevolent Government in the work of providing for their own comfort, and security,—we have no more arguments to use, and can say no more. To us, certainly, it seems very evident, that John Howard when he visited the Lazarettos, had not a more forcible demand on his sympathies, than we have now before us in the city in which we dwell, and that it would be very far from creditable to the British Government, to spare labour or money, to remedy the remarkable evils in the state of Calcutta. It is not saying too much, to denominate Calcutta, the chief town, if not the very capital,—the *heart*, of Asia. It is the seat of the most powerful Government, and of the greatest commerce known in this vast continent. It is the focus of British intelligence in this quarter of the globe, the great scene of enterprise, the great source of capital, the great school of knowledge. But such is its sanatory condition, that Ispahan, we believe, is a more healthy dwelling place, and Bokhara as safe a home. Its burial grounds are crowded with graves and monuments; its most hopeful citizens are constantly being cut down in the midst of usefulness, and in the prime if not the dawn of active life; its river is notorious for its exhibitions of floating carcases, and gorging birds of preys; some of its streets are impassable, save at the hazard of immediate sickness;—and all this has been known for more than forty years, but the city is still such as Lord Wellesley described it in all the chief features of his picture. It is still, as of old, the most unhealthy "City of Palaces" in the world.

We are willing to admit, and it is due to the Government to acknowledge, that very considerable difficulties present themselves to view, when the object of thoroughly providing for all the sanatory wants of Calcutta, is contemplated. There must be an entirely new drainage of the whole town and suburbs; and for this purpose levels must be carefully made, and very great expense must be incurred. It would be necessary to determine with very great care, the direction in which the drains and sewers should run. On this point it would be found, that, while there appear to be great advantages in draining off the refuse of the town into the Salt-water Lake, there may be some danger of that, shallow as it is, becoming itself noxious and pestilential to the whole surrounding and very populous neighbourhood. In England and Scotland, the contents of the drains are valuable as manure, and in fact a considerable part of the filth of Edinburgh and Aberdeen, is removed from these towns by their respective Town Councils, and sold for considerable sums of money (in Aberdeen at a profit) for the use of the adjacent farms. But here, this manure is not required, (or in a comparatively small degree,) and if it were required, it would find no purchasers. Then, as to the expense: we have seen no estimate, we confess, which is satisfactory to our mind. We certainly fear that for a complete system of drainage alone, very much more than the sum

of Co,'s Rs. 9,41,560, mentioned in the Report, would be required.

To the expense of draining, must be added the expense of providing water for domestic purposes. This object might be effected by a plan similar to that adopted in English towns, by large pipes under ground carrying water under high pressure, and service pipes proceeding from them,—which might be carried to the houses of which the proprietors were willing to pay a separate special charge, and otherwise branching off to small reservoirs, pumps, fountains, and tanks. Or it might be effected by the plan of opening some large open spaces in the native town, similar to Tank-Square, which might be filled with wholesome water, and might be made capacious enough to hold a body of water which would retain its purity throughout the year. These might be made in the most crowded parts of the native town, and free open spaces for the purposes of public ventilation and private recreation, would be thus obtained. But it is evident from the quantity of land required, and the high price which the Government would be compelled to pay as compensation to all the owners of tenements and lands with whom it would have to deal, that the expense of these tanks would be very great indeed. It is next to be remembered, that in order to secure good water it must be brought from a distance,—from Hoogly or some place, and still higher, and considerable additional expense would be thus incurred; and afterwards it would be needful to calculate on a large original outlay in the construction of new and wide streets, although probably this object might be so effected, as to be profitable in the end, for the rents of the houses in the new streets would be high. Lastly, there must be an extensive conservancy department, on a new footing; the streets and roads must be well watered; and nuisances must be abated. *All* these improvements must be made, if the work is to be done effectually. But the entire sum required for them at the outset, and the annual charge of maintaining the public works when constructed; would be very great.

Other difficulties presents themselves to view, in the form of legal rights and liabilities, and the want of an existing municipal corporation to work in co-operation. If power is to be given for such purpose as the effecting purchases of land, carrying drains into and under houses, entering private dwellings to inspect ntuisances, and levying rates to pay the greatly increased conservancy expenditure of the town, very ample and distinct legal authority and protection must be provided by legislative enactment. Actions of trespass without number, besides refusals to

pay rates and to sell land that might be required for public purposes, would otherwise rapidly accumulate in number. If land is to be purchased when required, (as for instance as sites for new streets, or reservoirs,) such powers must be given to the public purchasers, as Railway and other Public Companies possess at home. There must be a mode of estimating the amount of compensation, and of compelling owners to convey their property or of supplying the lack of their formal conveyances;—and, in fact, (not to enter into all the detailed arrangements and provisions which are so familiar to all Railway Committees in England,) there must be introduced into Calcutta somewhat of all the extensive and complicated machinery, which is required in England for the purpose of effecting great public improvements. Here then, two considerations arise,—how would such machinery work in a town which is not accustomed to local self-government, as English corporate towns are; and secondly, who are to work it? The public will expect to be at least represented by the Board, or the Trustees, or Commissioners, or by whoever else may have the power of levying considerable local rates and making great local alterations; and if this expectation be recognized as entirely just, it remains to be seen, how such a body as the Calcutta public, ever can or will be represented. The system of electing representatives would be entirely new, and might entirely fail or be neglected. The mere nomination by the Government would not be deemed to confer sufficiently, the representative character. And even if elections or some other mode of obtaining public representation, were fixed upon with general consent,—who is to be elected? We have no idle, retired gentlemen, who pride themselves on great zeal for "the parish," or on notable decisions at "quarter sessions;" there is little public spirit, and little time, which can be placed at public disposal. In British towns it is thought by a large class, and that, not a class deficient in intelligence or character, to be a considerable thing to be a churchwarden, and an object of high ambition to be an alderman or baillie, and still more so, to be Provost or Mayor; but here, the main thought is, how one's time can be so spent as to prepare most rapidly for a return to Great Britain; and most men seem to think, that if they personally can escape the infection of Calcutta, it is enough, and that the general health of the population, and the state of Calcutta, after they have got safely out of it, need not be a matter of any interest to them. Would, indeed, that we could say, that this indifference does not extend to higher things, and that the Europeans in India, do not, for the most part, appa-

rently regard spiritual and physical debasement as equally beyond the pale of their sympathy, and the mitigation and gradual cure of them, as matters entirely unconnected with their duty.

And yet further, we must notice another difficulty. Let it be supposed that provision has been made by the Government for the receipt by the agents of its schemes of public improvement, of a large income, from various rates, tolls, and taxes. It would be necessary to meet the immediate exigency of the commencement of the work, by raising a large sum of money to pay for the primary outlay of a complete drainage of the town, and other extensive but necessary undertakings. In England this would present no obstacle. Many very substantial ladies and gentlemen would be found mourning over the small return their capital yielded them while hidden under "the solid security of the three per cents.," and who would be very thankful to any respectable public company, which would take their money from them, mortgage ample rates and tolls for its security, and pay them five cent. per annum. But here, where Government's five per cents. are scarcely at a premium; where ten and twelve per cent. are common private rates of interest; and where not mere vague rumours but orderly legal reports occasionally inform us of Native gentlemen,—"all honorable men,"—who have found means to obtain seventeen, twenty, and even seventy per cent. for their beloved rupees, how shall untried Commissioners or Trustees, with no other property than fluctuating uncertain tolls, rates, and taxes, find willing lenders of three or four scores of lakhs, at moderate interest? We apprehend that it will be found that the Government must either advance the money, and make arrangements for its gradual repayment by annual instalments with just interest; or, must add its security to the floating security of the Commissioners' income. For the former course it has sufficient precedents at home, where money has been frequently advanced on the security of public works and the produce of them, and has been repaid punctually. Not to mention other cases, we may name, in passing, one instance: that of the new London Bridge and its approaches, for which magnificent undertaking, (certainly one of the greatest ever completed by a Municipal Corporation,) the Duke of Wellington's Government in 1829, consented to advance very large sums of money, all of which, were, we believe, repaid some time ago.

In adverting to these difficulties, we have purposely stated them without any mitigation. They are great, and unless

Government be in earnest in this matter, they will be regarded as insuperable, and the whole of the labours and suggestions of those who have so ably and so perseveringly exerted themselves in this cause of mercy, will consequently end in producing some patchwork in the *drainage*, as it now exists irremedially and hopelessly bad. But if a comprehensive view be taken of the whole subject,—of the importance of Calcutta; of the duty of Government to its people; of the examples and encouragements afforded by History, of the principles of eminent statesmen;—it will, we think, be found, that the work of rendering the great and rising capital of India salubrious, is a work to which it is fitting that early regard should be paid, by our rulers; and for which sacrifices may be safely made; and in which no contemptible fame may be acquired. It was one of the highest tributes paid to one of the most honorable and prosperous of the Roman Emperors, that he left a city figuratively speaking of marble. The arts of peace, we may be assured, will not be cultivated in vain, for their effects, generally speaking, are far more permanent than the triumphs and conquests of war. In looking back to the line of ancient rulers, the eye, (most naturally) is attracted far more by those who have elevated their country by just laws, and beneficent measures, than by those who have earned earthly glory by enterprize and warlike ambition. Among the wisest and best of monarchs it is easy to see that one great general principle was generally recognized, namely that the state of the capital, in knowledge, in regard to the administration of justice, and as developing marks of the wealth, power, and public sympathies of the Government, might be expected to produce very beneficial and extensive effects on the whole nation. The capital of most countries is its model of public taste, and controls its public opinion. It is visited by all classes, it stimulates the energies of all enterprizing men, and if it be well governed, it may be, without citadels or walls, the great seat of the ruler's power. If, therefore, in the case now before us, the wants of this great city be neglected, we shall fear that very narrow views have been taken of public policy and public duty. But we hope for better things, and we believe that the present heads of the Government of this presidency and of India, have fully felt the obligations incumbent on them, and are more than desirous,—are determined, to endeavour adequately to discharge them. In no way could they, in present circumstances, better exhibit their solicitude for the public welfare. An act, it is understood, is now before them, and to

the consideration of this, we have reason to believe, they have brought willing minds. Should their deliberations result in a comprehensive, satisfactory, and bold measure, "the blessing of many ready to perish" will be theirs; they will alleviate unspeakable misery, and instrumentally will annually save many thousands of valuable lives. As Calcutta rises in commercial and political importance, the importance of their public services will be more and more appreciated, and their memories will be increasingly honored; and in themselves, they will have the satisfactory assurance, that they have used their power for benevolent and salutary public ends, and have left in the enduring public works of their seat of Government, substantial proofs of their enlightened principles, of their sympathy with the afflicted, and of their peaceful but effectual zeal.

If however the works to which we have thus imperfectly directed attention, be accomplished, we must not forget the tribute that will be due to the Committee of Enquiry, from whose labours, and whose suggestions, so much will have arisen. Dr. Martin, and Dr. Nicolson, Mr. C. W. Smith, and some other members of it will have established a lasting claim to public gratitude; but we say no more than all persons who have examined the subject and traced its history, will acknowledge, when we add, that Sir John Grant, above all, will be regarded as the leading and most effective agent of the benevolent design, and to his determination of character, and his steady and long continued personal labours, success will be primarily attributable. We hope that the measures he has advocated so ably and so firmly, will be adopted before he leaves this country; and that he may live to hear that they are fully accomplished; that they are in most satisfactory operation; and that Calcutta is in a highly sanatory state, very different to that, in which he found it, when he first began to devote so large a portion of his leisure and his energies, to its improvement.

We have not dwelt, in the preceding article, on the subject of the Fever Hospital, the establishment of which, in the first instance, was Dr. Martin's primary object,—for we hope, that nothing more is now required to be said in reference to it. Private subscriptions, and a gift of a piece of land, have, apparently, placed the Council of Education in a position to commence this important work, and Government has consented to support it, in connection with the Medical College. Thus, a very important object is likely to be obtained very speedily, and one result of the Municipal Committee's labours is secured. This is a boon of great importance to the native population, and

as education advances and prejudices against hospitals diminish, we may expect to see its usefulness further developed. It will enlarge the town's already large school of medicine, and will afford relief in the only satisfactory manner to fever patients. Dr. Nicolson's letter on that point, as printed in one of the appendices to the Committee's report, appears to us decisive, and we are very glad therefore, that a Hospital (instead of a number of Dispensaries) is now to be erected. But after all, let our readers recur to the abstract of Dr. Martin's notes, as quoted by us, in a former page, and they will see, that even the most extensive and liberal sanatory improvements in Calcutta, will not by themselves meet all the wants of the population. There are moral as well as physical evils to be cured, and it may well be doubted which are the most destructive. Happily very vigorous efforts are now being made to remedy the moral disorders of the country,—efforts which once were ignorantly condemned and wickedly opposed, but which now are acknowledged almost universally, to be the means of incalculable value. It remains that these should be augmented, and that the physical wants of the people should be as sincerely and zealously supplied. By leading onward the march of enlightened philanthropy, and by stimulating private benevolence through the exhibition of its own benevolence, the British Government will write its history in permanent monuments, and will obtain a witness in the happiness, and in the hearts, of the people, to its superiority and its wisdom. Not, certainly, for light and unimportant objects, was the British power rendered triumphant in India; nor will it adequately discharge its responsibility, if very great results do not follow from its sway. Much it has done, but very much more remains for it to do. If great earnestness be not displayed, the present Charter will be ended, and another opportunity will be lost. In reference, therefore, to all the great and pressing claims of juctice and benevolence on the attention of the Government, and in reference particularly, to the matter now before us, we must conclude with an exhortation and entreaty, that there may be *no unnecessary delay*.

ART. VI.—1. *Reports of the Central School Commission for the Instruction of the Population of Ceylon, Nos.* 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. *For the years* 1841-42-43-44-45.

2. *Ordinance enacted by the Governor of Ceylon, with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, July,* 1844.

3. *Ordinance enacted by the Governor of Ceylon with the advice and consent of the Legislative Council thereof, Dec.* 1845.

THERE are many points of view in which Ceylon may be regarded at the present moment as deeply interesting, while in reference to them all it is certainly not a little strange and unsatisfactory that we, though so near that Island, should be so ignorant as we generally are. Ceylon is interesting as a beautiful Island, forming the agreeable limit of a short voyage for health on the route for Europe, where the invalid, according to his taste or the demands of his constitution, may either sojourn for a time on the Sea Coast, fanned and regaled during eight months of the year (and our hot season) by a delicious sea breeze, which never intermits, or after three days' journey in a coach may reach an elevation where ice forms occasionally, and the weather is always as cold as most invalids can bear it. Ceylon is also interesting as the Malta of the Indian Ocean—a standing point of view no doubt—yet one which increases in interest as the importance of the territories which bound the Indian Ocean increases; and one which appears to form the theme of discussion at the present moment both in the Island itself and in the Cabinet of England; inasmuch as we see the Legislative Council of Ceylon, on the speech of the Governor, voting large sums of money for the repair of the fortifications. Ceylon is, moreover, interesting as a promising field for the investment of capital in commercial and agricultural enterprize—nay, in railway speculation. And what with the prospects of coffee growing, and sugar making, and the hope of the duty being taken off the peculiar spice of the Island, many there are in the Cinnamon Isle who are working as hard as if they were at home. What the result upon the whole will be remains to be seen. It is not easy to conceive a country whose soil and climate could be more congenial for the growth at least, if not the curing of coffee, than the mountain Zone of Ceylon; and, though it is, perhaps, beyond any man's means to say with certainty, or even with probability, whether this Island could compete in the markets of the West, with other coffee countries where the inland carriage and voyage home are much shorter,

if the duty on foreign and colonial coffee were equalized, yet, as matters stand, with a protecting duty of 2*d.* per pound on the Colonial berry, there is no doubt that Ceylon offers to those who will consent to go and reside there, and look after their own concerns, a very fair field for the investment of capital in the cultivation of coffee. The case of sugar is more doubtful. But even in this culture the prospect is better than it was a year ago,—more suitable soils having of late been discovered. But Ceylon is additionally interesting as being, in the opinion of many, an experimental field on which the Queen's Government is now commencing a series of political experiments for the regulation of the public service and the government of Asiatic Society, to be applied, if successful, to the continent of India at the expiration of the present charter, eight years hence. A point of view this, which, were there any truth in it, would be far more interesting to us than any of the others, and yielding, in this respect, only to what we shall mention last—namely, that which regards Ceylon as the theatre of sundry experiments in the way of Education and Christian teaching, through the instrumentality alike of scholastic and ecclesiastic endowments.

It is to the latter topics that we purpose at present to draw the attention of our readers—as these involve certain peculiarities which remarkably distinguish the doings of the Tabrobantes from those of their neighbours on the continent of India. We have been long wont to be startled by the occasional Reports of strange proceedings on the part of the Governments of the Mauritius, the Cape, Australia, Canada, and other distant Crown Colonies. But many amongst us have little thought that, in the island of Ceylon,—which, though not politically is geographically an appendage of India, and consequently at our very door,—proceedings have of late years been occurring of a character alike strange and startling. Some of these it is difficult to touch upon without trenching on ground that is extremely delicate, and which we wish as much as possible to avoid. And yet the leading facts are of such a nature that all who are interested in the progress of experimental ameliorative measures amongst us ought to be acquainted with them. It will, therefore, be our endeavour to refer to them *historically as facts* rather than controversially as the shibboleths of contending partizanships. We begin with education.

In March 1841, the Right Hon'ble the Governor recorded the following Minute:—

"Under Instructions from the Right Hon'ble the Secretary of state for the Colonies, the Governor is pleased to declare that the School Commission

constituted by the Minute of the 19th May 1834 is dissolved, and a new Commission substituted under the following Regulations :

"The new commission shall be denominated "The Central School Commission for the Instruction of the population of Ceylon," and shall consist of, not exceeding, nine Members, three of whom when practicable shall be, a Clergyman of the Church of England, a Presbyterian Minister and a Roman Catholic Priest or Layman ; to this Commission will be attached a paid Officer who shall act as Secretary to the Commission and Inspector of Schools under their orders.

A diary shall be kept of the proceedings of the Commission which shall be submitted to the Governor monthly for his information.

A half yearly report shall be printed and published in the months of January and July of each year, and laid on the table of the Legislative Council at the first meeting of that body after the report becoming due, and shall be brought under their consideration before the annual grant for the support of Schools is voted.

In execution of the above instructions, the Governor has the sanction of the Secretary of State to declare that the Commission shall be composed as follows :

1. The Hon'ble P. ANSTRUTHER, Esq., to be President of the Commission.
2. A Colonial Chaplain.
3. The Rev. Mr. MACVICAR,
4. A Roman Catholic Member.
5. P. E. WODEHOUSE, Esq., Acting Government Agent for the Western Province.
6. A non-official Member of the Legislative Council.
7. A Member of one of the Missions in Ceylon.

Two additional members may be nominated by the Governor and submitted to the other Members for their approval. If by a majority they reject the members named by the Governor, they must lay before him for the appointment the names of two other members who shall have been selected by not less than 5-7ths of the members.

G. LEE, Esq., to be Secretary and Inspector of Schools, on a salary of £200 per annum and his travelling expences.

The Secretary to the School Commission hereby dissolved will be pleased to hand over all the documents in his charge to Mr. LEE, and the Central Commission will enter upon its duties forthwith.

By His Excellency's Command,

Colonial Secretary's Office, P. ANSTRUTHER,
Colombo, 27th March, 1841. *Col. Secretary.*"

In pursuance of these instructions, the members of the new central School Commission met, and with the utmost promptitude proceeded to the discharge of the important duties devolved on them by Government. Amongst the records of the former commission were found very voluminous quarterly returns by the Government school masters throughout the island—very beautifully written after a prescribed model—and each consisting of *eleven* vertical columns, for recording the numbers, the names of the pupils in their respective classes, the date of their admission, the person at whose request admitted, the present age, the religion, the number of days in attendance during the quarter, the general conduct and proficiency of each pupil, the books used in the respective classes, the progress of each class during the quarter in each branch of study, and general remarks. These returns the Commission thought worthy of being continued with certain additions calculated to bring to light some of the points which it is of the very first importance to know. "Nothing, for instance," say they, "is more instructive about a school than the amount of the *actual attendance of pupils compared with the number on the admission book*—between which two things we regret to say, that in most schools we have visited there is a very marked difference." The remarkable discrepancy between the *actual average attendance* and the *merely nominal attendance* as exhibited by the admission book, is not a phenomenon peculiar to Ceylon. There is perhaps no place in which it *sometimes* more strikingly manifests itself than in the metropolis of British India. Fifteen or sixteen hundred may be reported and boasted of as registered in the admission book, when the actual attendance may not in reality much exceed six hundred! All such reports are utterly fallacious ; all such boastings must be absolutely vain.

As to the number of Government schools in the whole island the Commission found, that it amounted only to 37, while the Missionary schools exceeded 280. In the Colombo District there were also not fewer than 64 private schools. The number of pupils in nominal attendance at all the Government schools appeared to be nearly 2,200—being an average of about 60 pupils to each school. Those attending the Missionary schools appeared to be upwards of 11,000—giving an average of about forty to each school. At the 64 private schools in Colombo there appeared to be, in all, between thirteen and fourteen hundred pupils, or about 21 to each school. Taking the entire population of Ceylon at 1,368,838, it appeared that, "instead of one in five, as in the best conditioned parishes in Scotland, or one in six as in the kingdom of Prussia, not one in a hundred in the Colony was receiving instruction at school in any thing that was worth the knowing." Moreover, as already stated, the *actual* attendance of pupils was found vastly below the nominal. Among the causes of this carelessness as to attendance, the weather held such a prominent place, that the Commission found, "in the forenoon of a morning which had been rainy, in one country school only eight boys instead of thirty, which was the number in the admission book, and in another nominally more numerous they found *none at all*,—and that though several of them resided so near the

school house, that being sent for on their arrival they were in school in a quarter of an hour!"

Of those who attended the Colombo Government schools, nearly the half appeared to be "Burgher children, probably about one in eight of the whole Burgher population." The others were composed of Singalese and Tamulians in nearly equal proportions—being probably not much more than "one in 200 of the Singalese population, and one in twenty of the Tamulian." Of the private schools in the same district twenty seven appeared to be Singalese and fourteen Tamul. With regard to "the Moor children (Mussalman) there was not *a score* at *all* the Government schools taken together." This, considering that there are probably ten thousand of this active race resident within the Colombo district alone, was a fact well calculated to excite surprize. It was supposed that it might be, in part at least, the result of misapprehensions, which a few enquires and explanations might rectify. And "this suspicion," the members of the Commission were "the more disposed to entertain, since the Moors appeared to have thirteen schools of their own, in which more than 300 children received instruction in the Koran, of whom it was not a little remarkable that upwards of forty were girls."

Fees were exacted in all the *superior* Government Schools; and the standing order in every school was, that the pupils should bring "three pence monthly to supply stationary." Some parents seemed very anxious to give education to their children, who, "from some cause or other, grudged very much even the three pence a month." Other parents, however, were prepared te give even "an exorbitant fee!" Thus, "in the upper classes of the Colombo Academy, named the High School, the pupils paid at the rate of £7,4*s*. per annum, and in the lower classes they paid half this sum."

In no instance did the Commission find a Government School assembled in what "may properly be called a school-house." The Government scholars generally received their instruction in private houses used as schools, for which a monthly rent was paid by Government, and that generally a high one, "in consequence (as was perhaps justly alleged by the proprietors) of the rough usage which boys give the premises where they are taught." Except at the Colombo Academy there were no play grounds for the scholars. This was a circumstance which the commission very justly regretted. "For when," say they, "it is called to mind, what admirable use is now made of the play ground (or uncovered school as it is called) in Europe, for the physical and moral training of the boys, there is

reason to hope that if the native children of this country were taught to amuse themselves in active sports when out of school (but still under the eye of the master) as English boys are, this part of their education might appear afterwards in disinclining them to those sedentary habits and that general indolence which is the ruin of so many of them. Not but that an objection would have to be overcome. The parents often like all people that have been badly taught themselves, are jealous of play, and think that the longer a boy is in school, just so much greater the progress he makes." The fittings on the floor of all the school rooms were found to be awkward and unsuitable. As to teaching apparatus of an improved kind,—such as black boards, maps, objects or object lessons, or large alphabets for beginners—there seemed to be none.

The system of teaching, too, as might be anticipated, was found very defective—being described in general terms as that "which is followed in the *unimproved* schools in Britain." Such a system, however well taught, is much better calculated to enable the pupils to read and write than to understand what they are reading, or to answer intelligibly when they are spoken to in the language taught. In point of fact, it appeared to be but "a small proportion of those who could read English, that knew the meaning of the words which they pronounced." Nor was it easy to see how a child "should know the meaning of English words, according to the method often pursued in these schools—neither the objects corresponding to the words he is uttering being presented to him, nor their equivalents given him in a language which he understands."

The branches taught were the same as in the ordinary schools in Britain, viz., English reading and spelling, writing and arithmetic in all; to which add the elements of algebra and of geometry in several, of Latin in a few, and of Greek also in the academy. These branches however were "seldom presented to the pupils in their most practical and useful forms." In almost all the schools, was discovered a great want of books, calculated to give useful information at the same time that the pupils learnt to read in them. Some schools were nearly destitute in this respect, and even in the same class it was rare to see every boy with a book in his hand.

The qualifications of the teachers were found to be very various: "the few being highly qualified, the many indifferently; and some wholly incompetent." According to the system pursued, each teacher professed to teach all the branches which the pupils under him learnt. In other words,

there was no wise or proper division of labour. But, where one master professes every thing, as indeed he is obliged to do, more or less, under such a system, there is "always ground for apprehending that he is not well versed in any one branch." Again, the under master was commonly very inferior in point of qualifications to the head master; hence it followed that the children were exposed to be comparatively badly taught at the commencement of their schooling, when it were easily shewn that it is desirable above all other things that, at the outset, a good method of teaching be pursued and good habits formed, especially when the acquisition of a language and of morals different from what they have at home are the principal objects. Amongst the causes operating against the qualifications of the Government school-masters, the commission distinctly pointed to the inadequacy of their incomes. "Until the Government Schools," say they, "shall be on such a footing that young men will consider them as well worth aiming at as the Government Offices, we cannot expect a first rate class of teachers. It were far better to have fewer schools with a higher order of teachers than those which now exist with teachers such as they are. We apprehend that not a fourth part of the pupils who now attend the Government schools leave them, even after several years' attendance, with education sufficient to enable them either to read, or write the English Language with any tolerable degree either of case or accuracy."

From the foregoing epitome of the contents of the first Report of the Government School Commission, it must be obvious that the Commissioners had no sinecure task assigned to them. Nor were they disposed to treat it in this light. On the contrary the Reports before us abundantly prove that they have throughout prosecuted their philanthropic undertaking with unwearied diligence and unabated vigour. Of the nature of their manifold efforts and the degree of success which has attended them, we may hereafter furnish a detailed account. We can only at present point to one or two of the results.

In their first Report the School Commissioners stated it as their conviction, that "a class of good teachers could not be expected in the Island without being trained in some well-conducted Educational Institution in which the art of teaching itself might be taught by practice." They can now point to *three* such *Normal* Schools,—one having been established in each of the principal towns, Colombo, Galle, and Kandy, under the superintendence of Masters specially selected and sent out from Great Britain for the purpose. The teachers trained in these are designed for the English Schools. Nor is this all, they

have now a *Native Normal* Seminary besides, where *forty* young men and *ten* young women receive an adequate education in the *vernaculars*, and are trained to the art of teaching in vernacular schools. The whole history of the transactions which issued in the establishment of such a seminary is so interesting and instructive that we feel tempted to quote it entire:—

"On the 18th of January last the Central Commision had under consideration a letter from the Colonial Secretary, submitting papers received from the Revd. Mr. GOGERLY, earnestly pressing on Government the necessity of undertaking the education of the people of this island through the medium of their own languages. It is to be borne in mind that the Governor's Minute of 20th May 1841, informs the Commission that "it is their duty, by every means in their power, to promote the *education in the English language* of their fellow-subjects of all religious opinions in the Colony"—and the grant for Education made by Her Majesty's Government and the yearly subsidiary vote of the Legislative Council provide only for that object. But, except in large towns or their immediate vicinity, there is very little desire to acquire the English language, and taking the population of the Western and Southern Provinces as the basis of calculation, it may be estimated that of a rural population of 700,000, of which 3-5ths are within the age of instruction, only 1,000 attend the Government schools—about 5,000 those of the several Missions—and 10,000 are instructed in private schools; leaving thus about 19-20ths of the native children devoid of all culture whatever.

The Mission Societies cannot extend their educational labours: for they publicly state that they have no means of increasing the funds for the support of school establishments, but that the number of those schools ought to be reduced, in order that they may be able to employ more qualified masters, and thus increase the efficiency of instruction, although it be afforded to a smaller number.

The Buddhist priests teach nothing valuable except reading and writing, having neither science nor genuine history to communicate to their pupils.

"Under these circumstances," says Mr. GOGERLY, in answer to the enquiry of the Colonial Secretary, "the School Commission must conclude that *it is important that the Government should undertake education in the native languages;*" and in this expression the Revd. Gentleman is supported by an unanimity of opinion among the members of the Central Commission and by the consentient voices of the many gentleman in this Colony, who are now interesting themselves in the work of religious education, whose opinions have been solicited, and who in returning their answers have readily proffered all the co-operation in their power.

It is singular that at the very time when this all-important matter was made the subject of consideration in Ceylon, the Government of Bengal had taken up the same subject, no doubt having it pressed on their attention by the very same conviction that, however well directed the promotion of education in English, and among the population of large towns, might be, yet the mass of the native inhabitants remained neglected, and scientific instruction conveyed only through the medium of a foreign language could be but imperfectly acquired, and was communicated by the most unsatisfactory method. The Governor General in council decided that 101 schools should be immediately established in the districts subject to Bengal, without waiting for a series of school-books, the compilation of which would be

hastened by the want of them—that schools should be established in two or three of the principal towns of each district where the inhabitants will provide the building and keep it in repair—that all the boys should pay a sum however small and the full value of books—that Government should only pay the schoolmasters—and the expence is reckoned at 22,380 Rupees (£2,288) a year,

The following extract from the proceedings of the Central School Commission will shew the nature of the measures adopted here as initiatory steps:

(February 28th 1845.)—"Read a letter from the Colonial Secretary, transmitting a communication from Mr. GOGERLY relative to the opening of a Normal School for the training of masters for education in the Native languages; and stating, that if the Commission are of opinion that such a Normal School should at once be opened, His Excellency will authorize the necessary arrangements being made immediately.

"Resolved—that the Commission are of opinion that the establishment of such a Normal School is of the greatest importance, and that it needs not depend upon the decision whether Government should take up education in the native languages generally—as the opening of such an Institution and the preparation of books and maps must be initiatory measures, which will be of the greatest advantage, even though native education still remains in the hands of Missionary bodies or of private individuals. That a letter therefore be written to the Colonial Secretary, stating that the Commission are of opinion that £600 per annum should be appropriated to the Normal School, of which the apportionment should be as follows:

Subsistence money to 30 scholars at £6 each per annum	180
Salary to Mr. KESSEN, as Rector	250
Do. to JOHN PERERA, as Elementary Master of a School for 40 boys to be attached to the Normal School	48
Rent, Furniture, and other requisites	122
	£600

"That, in order that no time may be lost, the Commission from the funds they have in hand will commence the outlay required, and trust that His Excellency will authorize an application being made to the Legislative Council to make a grant for this purpose and to reimburse the sum which will have been expended.

"Resolved that £400 be asked for from Government for the preparation of the necessary works, and that the Committee for the selection of those works and for the examination of them before printing be composed of Dr. MACVICAR, Mr. GOGERLY and Mr. LEE.

"That £100 be also requested to have maps lithographed in the Native Languages."

At a subsequent meeting of the Commission it was resolved to increase the number of male Normal Students to 40, as it was evident to the Members present that there would be sufficient employment in the way of native education to entirely absorb that number of efficient teachers. This increase of numbers rendering necessary greater accommodation in the school-house, an allowance of £54 for house-rent was granted to the Rector, to enable him to vacate the rooms he occupied on the premises.

The Central Commission, in urging upon the Legislative Council the necessity of the grant of £1,200 to meet the expence of maintaining the

Normal Institution, and the preparation of books for schools and home-reading and maps, can by no means allow it to be understood that they abandon the ultimate measure for which these steps are preparatory: but allowing that one twelvemonth may be necessary to carry out, in the first instance, what has already been decided on, they defer, for the present, asking a grant for the diffusion of instruction throughout the Island in the indigenous languages. They calculate that whenever the time may arrive to commence this important operation, the cost of education in villages in the Western, Central, and Southern Provinces will average for each pupil 12s. and in the Northern and Eastern Provinces 8s. a-year, and whether that expense shall be supported by the Government and be partially recovered by school-fees, or whether it shall be defrayed, as in Prussia, by a compulsory contribution to be assessed by municipal authorities, is for the consideration of the Government. The first step towards this latter arrangement appears to have been taken during the past year in certain parts of the Western Province, where the police-authorities have been chosen by the election of the people. To men competent to elect, and to those worthy to be chosen, the advantages of education will soon become manifest, and the tax of even one penny for each child between the ages of 5 and 15, per month, will go far to reduce the outlay required from Government. How far this expenditure may further be diminished by the reduction of the charges necessary to keep up prisons and to conduct criminal processes is a consideration which should not escape the attention of the Legislative Council. Whenever the time arrives when Government will undertake native education, the Central Commission will be prepared to submit plans for carrying it out in the most efficient manner.

In the meantime the Native Normal Institution, under the direction of the Rev. Mr. KESSEN, will be occupied with the task of carefully training the masters and mistresses who are to be employed in the village schools. The number of the female students is ten, and it is perhaps an entirely novel feature in education in India that respectable young females have been allowed by their friends to assemble daily for the purpose of learning how to teach, and the importance of this concession will be duly estimated by those who know how great the prejudice is, in this part of the world, against all female education whatever."

From the Reports of the Commission, it would appear that the Colombo Academy has given them no small amount of vexation and trouble. This Seminary was originally established as a school of a higher order, or even "as a species of sub-College." It is the principal Academic Institution of Ceylon. It has, however, all along proved a slow, ponderous and unwieldy affair—loudly calling for improvement, and exhibiting a huge aggregation of the *vis inertiæ*, in the face of every attempt to lay upon it the Reforming hand. Some of the serious impediments to education of a higher order in Ceylon are thus pointed out in the last report by the Principal:—

"There are three circumstances which in my opinion render the communication of an education more extended than what I have proposed, unattainable at present. These are, 1st. The comparatively short period during which it is possible to retain pupils at School, which does not exceed, as far as I can judge, even in the most favorable cases, from eight to ten years, in which space must be given all the instruction that is to be given,

commencing with the Alphabet. In time this advantage may perhaps be remedied, and a corresponding extension of the course may then be practicable. 2ndly. The want of intellectual habits and of information in the families of the pupils and in the circles with which they associate. This is a disadvantage of the most serious character and places an educational establishment in this country in a very different position from one in Europe. It may indeed not be too much to say that those who are educated in Europe, at least those who move in the more cultivated circles, owe quite as much of the improvement of their minds, and even of the actual information they possess, to the society with which they mix, as to the School or College at which they may have been brought up. This disadvantage also may in process of time be lessened, and perhaps it may not be too much to expect that the Colombo Academy will itself be a principal instrument in removing it. 3rdly. The want of energy both mental and bodily in the pupils. My experience leads me to think that it is *impossible* to induce the natives of this Country, whether of Eastern or European descent, to apply themselves to study with that enthusiastic devotion of which instances are always to be found in every one of our Colleges at home; and, further, that great care is necessary to avoid urging students here to exert to the utmost even that degree of application of which they are capable; as I have found in more instances than one that any thing of close application to study is more certainly attended with bad consequences to the health, and to a greater extent than in Europe."

The same subject has been treated of in somewhat similar terms by Mr. Knighton of the Colombo Central School:—

"The greatest obstacle which opposes itself here as elsewhere to the carrying out of an extensive course of education is the early age at which the pupils are removed from their studies, but in general I have had no reason to regret the care and attention I may have bestowed on individuals. In none of the various classes attending the Central School is there to be found a decided deficiency of intellect or application, but in the great majority of instances it will be found, I imagine, that some peculiar studies are best suited to the genius of the race. Amongst the Singalese there seems to be a natural bent towards Mathematics, which I have invariably found they can master with more ease than most other studies, whilst the Portuguese descendants, being of a more lively, energetic disposition, seem more disposed to the study of languages and the principles of art. With the Tamul branch of the population my connection has been slight, but I may remark that those of them who have come under my observation, would do honor to any European seminary.

It may afford some idea of the fluctuation of the classes in the Central School, to mention, that, of the forty originally admitted, as before stated, in August 1843, but fifteen are now in attendance, the rest having left during that period either to enter upon business, or to attend other schools.

Irregularity of attendance is another of the difficulties with which the Educator in Ceylon has to contend, and it is an evil of much greater magnitude than could be imagined by those not practically acquainted with education. The liability of the pupils to sickness, especially at particular seasons of the year, presents a difficulty of the greatest magnitude, in securing a regular attendance, and besides this cause, domestic affairs and the religious observances of the Roman Catholic portion of the population are constantly detaining the pupils from their studies. Difficulties of this kind are of course to be met with everywhere, but I believe there are few places where these difficulties are so prevalent as in Ceylon, or at least in Colombo. This irregularity might in part be eradicated, perhaps by the offering of a premium by the School Commission, to the most regular attendant in each Government school. The principle of emulation is as strong here as elsewhere and I have no doubt that the encouragement of the regular attendants, and the occasional expulsion of one of the most irregular, would have a powerful effect in remedying the inconvenience."

On deficiencies, however, we need not enlarge, as there may be other hindrances to improvement with which we are not acquainted. As two graduates, one of Queen's College and the other of Sydney Sussex College, Cambridge, arrived in Ceylon, last year, to take charge of the Colombo Academy, great expectations have been entertained which we should be rejoiced to find even approximately realized. But the very circumstance that one of these graduates, should, within a month or two of his arrival, communicate his wish to quit his Academic employment, "in the idea that the profession of the Law offered higher advantages," does not augur so well for the future prospects of the Institution as its friends might have reasonably anticipated. Meanwhile we pass on cursorily to note some of the *peculiarities* to which at the outset we alluded.

With regard to religious instruction the school Commission of Ceylon seem to have adopted a very decided line of conduct and to have been very successful in it. It must indeed be granted, that, in this department, they have not the same difficulties to contend with which are believed to exist in this country; not only because the Dutch, our predecessors in Ceylon, had insisted on a Christian Education for all who were to be qualified either to hold offices under Government or landed property, but because there does not exist in Ceylon, the same religious earnestness in favor of the native systems as exists on the continent of India. Compared with most systems of heathenism, Buddhism, which is the dominant religion of Lanka, is a very liberal faith—if faith that can be called, which, as held in Ceylon, practically consists almost entirely in negations. The disciple of Gautama is not contaminated by intercourse of any sort with the Christian. Nay the Buddhist priest desires in a certain way to fraternize with the Christian minister. The truth is that the gentlemen of the yellow robe are perfectly aware that all women and children and all devout men must have a religion of a more positive character than the institute of the Tatagata, and therefore they are far from being displeased when they see another temple rearing its head beside their own Dagoba, whether that of yirgin or of demon worship. The singular thing is, that these women and children and devout men, notwithstanding their attendance, whether on the Roman

Catholic priest or the Kapnarale, and the enjoyment of their nocturnal rites, processions and dances, still continue Buddhists at heart. It is even no uncommon thing for Singalese to return themselves as protestants, nay to present themselves for confirmation, who all the while know themselves, and within a few days after their confirmation perhaps prove themselves to be idolators of Buddha. As to the initiatory rite of Christianity the whole population is anxious to have their children baptized. Viewing the sacrament merely as the most regular way of procuring the insertion of the name of a child who has, or may have heritage in the Thombos or registers of the island. And it is truly melancholy to think of the extent to which this most unholy system was winked at by the ecclesiastical authorities as well as the Government, till the occasion of the last visitation of the Bishop of Calcutta, when, on his being made aware of what was going on, the fervent old man gave no sleep to his eyelids till he had received an assurance that the whole system would expire with the year then current. But this explains, in so far at least as the Singalese population is concerned, the facility with which the school Commission could emit, at starting, and we believe act up to such a rule as the following, which we find in the first report, viz. "That the first hour daily in every Government School be devoted to religious instruction,"—the masters, however, being at the same time enjoined not to require the attendance of those boys, whose parents object to their being present when Christian instruction is going on. By such a limitation the claims of conscience are respected, while yet, in the practical working of the system, very few, either Mahommedans or Hindus or Buddhists, think it necessary, or are at the pains to keep their children at home. On the contrary, considering, to all appearance, that for their children's schooling they must pay as much per month, as those who take lessons during all the hours, they generally send their children, like others, as soon as the school opens—their conscientious feelings being thus justly entitled to the name of *scruples*, since the balance against them, which carries the child to school, amounts only to one hour out of five in the day, or one-fifth of a month's schooling, which is only two annas, and must therefore be of some value less than three-fifths of a penny!

With regard to the religious instruction imparted, it appears to be drawn almost exclusively from the direct reading of the Bible itself, which is universally a school book, and which the children are, we believe, generally found as willing to purchase as other school books, that are never disposed of otherwise, but by sale: a plan, which, though at first thought to be impracticable,

has been found to answer admirably. The books are sold at the London prices, and out of that 5 per cent. is allowed to the teachers for their trouble in collecting the money,—a system which covers the entire cost, as from 10 to 20 per cent. on all books is allowed by the London bookseller, from whom they are ordered. The teachers send to the office of the school Commission in Colombo requisitions for the books they require, countersigned by the superintendent of the school, on which the books are dispatched by bangy or otherwise, and the money realized by their sale paid into the cutcherry of the province, where the school is situate, and the cutcherry receipt remitted to the office of the school Commission.

Besides the Bible, the school Commission has frequently touched upon the subject of a catechism, but without success. Various catechisms have been proposed, but none authoritatively adopted. Nor is this an easy matter to arrange in any case. The church catechism, not to speak of other peculiarities, is of course quite unsuited to those who have no god-fathers, nor god-mothers, which but a small number of the children in the Government schools of Ceylon have. It is besides a church and not a school catechism: and although, if the opening on baptism were omitted, and the catechism began at the question, "Rehearse the articles of thy belief," it would be generally applicable and admirable so far as it goes, yet it contains too little doctrinal matter to suffice as a text-book of Christian instruction. Besides this, several other catechisms have been proposed to the school Commission of Ceylon, of which three are now on our table. Of these, one is by an Episcopalian Clergyman, another by a Presbyterian, and a third by a Wesleyan Missionary. The first (by the Rev. E. Elouis of Madras) was said to be recommended by the Bishop of that presidency, at that time the Diocesan of Ceylon. The second (by Dr. Macvicar, Scotch Col. Chaplain in Colombo, and now Secretary to the Commission) is of the same nature with that of Mr. Elouis. They are both scripture catechisms, and consist of texts orderly arranged and obtained from the pupil in the form of answers. In his preface, Dr. Macvicar states, that it was the difficulty experienced in the school Commission respecting a catechism which led him to compose it. But it does not appear that he ever laid it before the Commission, and certainly he was right in saving himself the trouble. There is no chance, we should say, of a composite body of nine members, representing Protestant Episcopacy, Presbytery, Methodism and Romanism, adopting a catechism proposed by any one of themselves. For this reason the third catechism, [illegible]

have got the go-by in the Commission. It is anonymous, but is understood to be the composition of the Rev. D. J. Gogerly, chairman of the Wesleyan Mission, and is a very felicitous digest of the Church, Westminster, and Conference catechisms, very extensively used, we believe, in the native language in Ceylon. But though the Commission has not adopted any catechism, it does not forbid any. It leaves the matter with the superintendent of the school; for it is part of the system that every school (except the Colombo Academy and the three Central and Normal schools in Colombo, Galle, and Kandy, which remain under the immediate superintendence of the Commission), besides its teachers, and the inspector of schools who periodically visits it, has one or more superintendents. These are gentlemen, as often as possible residing in the neighbourhood, to whom the school is always open, and through whom all the school accounts and requisitions are transmitted to the sub-committee of education of the province, to which the out-station where the school is situate, belongs, or to the central Commission, as the case may be. The consequence is, that, in some schools, the church catechism is used; in others, Dr. Macvicar's; in others, Mr. Gogerly's,—while Dr. Watt's little catechism is in somewhat general use, among the youngest children in them all. This is certainly to some extent an unsatisfactory state of things; but it is not easy to see how we can reasonably expect a better. It would indeed be a striking result were the clerical members of the Commission, or even a majority of them to *agree* to submit any one catechism to the Commission; provided it were composed in harmony with one of the first principles on which the present school Commission of Ceylon stands, namely, the entire exclusion from the Government schools, of principles *merely* denominational. But such a result we dare scarcely hope for. It is however very interesting to mark the position which the Bishop of Colombo has assumed: and we conceive it to be no mean homage to the moderation and catholic character of the school Commission, that, on an unanimous desire of that body, expressed to the Governor, to the effect that the co-operation of the Bishop might be secured, that prelate has accepted the presidency, vacant since the return of Mr. Anstruther to England. It also holds out a promise of liberality on the part of the Bishop of Colombo, on which we cannot but congratulate the Tabrobantes, and from which we may augur the best results, if the Bishop really be, as we are bound to presume, a man of good faith. We hold it to be a spectacle truly Christian and Catholic to see an Episcopalian Bishop sup-

ported by two of his Clergy, a Presbyterian minister and a Wesleyan Missionary, sitting in Council together, as to the best means for advancing the glory of God and the good of men,—and receiving the assistance in their deliberations of the Chief Justice, a member of the Legislative Council, and the principal agent or representative of Government. And such is now the actual composition of the school Commission of Ceylon. During the five years of its past existence, discussion has, we believe, proceeded so harmoniously in it, that it is but seldom a vote is taken,—and that, too, although at the outset it had to withstand the violent opposition of almost all the Episcopal clergy, as was indeed most natural, when it is considered that the present Commission was appointed to supersede one of their own, which had fallen to pieces, and become useless through internal discord.

But this gives us opportunity of remarking, that, in consequence of such a state of things, the school Commission of Ceylon soon after its creation, omitted two branches, named chaplain's schools and minister's schools,—the former designed expressly to meet the conscientious scruples of the high church episcopalian clergy who refused at first to have any thing to do with the Commission, and the latter designed to render the Government funds for education available to the missionaries for educational purposes in the English language, or rather to enable the Commission to avail itself of the educational assistance of the missionaries. These two systems of schools do not indeed stand on a footing of equality with the Government schools in point of support. For in the Government schools the entire expense is borne by Government, (except the trifle which returns in the form of school fees,) while in chaplain's schools one-fourth of the entire expense is required to be raised by the chaplain in his congregation, or from school fees, or as he may choose. As an equivalent for this support he has the appointment and dismissal of the teachers, and indeed the entire management of the school both in secular and religious education, subject merely to the visits of the commission inspector, who reports merely to the Commission,—that body retaining no power but that of withdrawing their grant of three-fourths of the cost of the school, if they judge the money to be misapplied. We confess that we expected that the Bishop of Colombo would have placed himself at the head of this system of schools, in which case he could have had everything as canonical as possible, and might have uniformly depended on that deference to his opinion, in every case in which we should deem it essential to consult Episcopal feelings. No doubt also, in such a case, he

might have had any additional sum of money he wanted in a separate grant from the legislative Council, while the school Commission might have held on the even tenour of its way, presided over by Sir J. Emerson Tennant, the successor of the former president. Perhaps, however, matters may go on harmoniously on their new footing. But, in all ordinary circumstances, it must be rather anomalous for a Bishop to be mixed up in a Commission, which is not only lay as well as clerical, but designed to be representative of the whole community and of all the sects in it. The original minute of the Governor for its establishment, ordained, among other things of a similar nature, that three of the members, when practicable, shall be a clergyman of the Church of England, a Presbyterian minister, and a Roman Catholic member. The last is indeed a very awkward feature for all the others, and most of all for the Romanist himself, if he is to hold true to his principles; for it calls upon him to sit in council with heretics,—those who are under anathema. Still, it must be granted that it could not be permanently omitted without an abandonment of the representative principle, since there are said to be 1,00,000 worshippers of the Romish communion in Ceylon, while there are not 2,000 of the communion of England. Practically, however, the Roman Catholic member has done nothing, proposed nothing, opposed nothing. On being appointed Bishop of Usula, indeed, he discontinued his attendance, and lastly resigned. His place has not been yet filled up. Nor is the appointment destitute of religious interest, for the Roman Catholics of Ceylon are now in a state of considerable excitement; and though the merits of the controversy are not well understood beyond their own circle, yet it is certain that they are divided into various sects, some of them much more enlightened than others. Of these more especially one, headed by an ecclesiastic, whom his followers stile Vicar General of Ceylon, has not only made notable progress in shaking off the spurious mass of rites borrowed from Indian Heathenism, which abound in the other Roman Catholic Churches, but even reached the confines of the Reformation. But how long they may be able to withstand the charge of heresy and schism, and consequently the curse which has been hurled against them from the Cathedral of St. Lucia remains to be seen.

And here we may remind our readers that, since the creation of the school Commission, five years ago, when Lord John Russel was in the colonial office, the Tabrobantes have been vigorously pursuing the same course in the department of Christian churches as well as the Government schools, and under as explicit

instructions from Lord Stanley, to avoid all exclusive favor, as ever Lord John Russel issued. Of this we have ample evidence in the ordinances, which are prefixed to this article. The former, though of a nature quite general, took its rise in the request of a number of Scotchmen in the central province, who applied to Government to grant a Scotch minister to Kandy, which, on being forwarded to Lord Stanley, was accompanied on the part of the Government of Ceylon, with a request for general instructions, on which to grant aid from the colonial treasury from whatever denomination the application should come. Lord Stanley's dispatch, in answer, instructed the Governor to frame a general ordinance on the model of that of N. S. Wales, which he stated had been elaborated to the utmost by Lord Glenelg and General Bourke. On this, Arthur Buller (brother of the member for Liskeard) and Queen's council in Ceylon, who possesses not a little of his brother's genius, supported by Philip Anstruther, then colonial secretary, prepared the draft of an ordinance designed to embrace all denominations equally, and supersede all subordinate church laws. This was executed somewhat after the model of Sir J. Franklin's ordinance for Van Diemen's Land—a grand idea, viewed abstractly, and one eminently desirable in a heathen country, where the divisions among Christians form a principal barrier to the spread of the Gospel. But the Queen's advocate failed to carry it through the legislative Council, chiefly through the talents of Mr. Wodehouse, agent for the Western Province, son of the member for Norfolk, whose feelings as a Churchman, Buller's ordinance violated. Thereupon a compromise was entered into, to the effect that the principle of the bill, viz., the granting of Government aid to all Christian denominations, in proportion to the number of their adherents, should pass; but that the Church of England and each religious community besides which desired to build churches and obtain stipends for the ministers from the Colonial Treasury, should have each of them, or at all events the Church of England, an ordinance of its own. Such is the actual state of matters, and most unsatisfactory it is. For when the Church of England has got its ordinance for its advantage, how can the Government refuse the Church of Rome an ordinance for its advantage, or even discuss it, when perhaps the only change the Catholics will suggest may be the insertion of the name of the Bishop of Usula for that of the Bishop of Colombo? And yet what a deplorable result,—endowing such a Church as the Church of Rome, and such a Church of Rome as that in Ceylon, administered by Portuguese priests from Goa, ignorant, we believe, to the last degree!

It may indeed be thought that the Church of Rome would have been equally entitled to endowment under Buller's original ordinance, because it was intended to embrace all denominations. But that does not follow: for by a properly constructed Christian ordinance or State-Church-law, Roman Catholics on the one hand, and Unitarians on the other, might well be excluded. There lies in the systems of both these denominations, a principle of self-exclusion. Thus a properly constructed State-Church-law for the endowment of a Christian Church ought to insist on a system of scrutiny into the money affairs of that church. The State, as the steward of the public purse, is bound to see to this. But such a scrutiny is quite incompatable with the system of Popery. Popery could not avail itself of it without self-abandonment. Again, a properly constructed Christian Church-law ought, after the analogy of other laws, to define its leading term, if it be of ambiguous or of doubtful import. But this is the case with the term Christian. A State-Church-law ought, therefore, to recite some short creed or symbol of Christianity, as an exponent of its leading term; and if so, how could the creed, commonly called the Apostle's, be passed by? and if it, or any other acknowledged creed, were introduced, the Unitarian is excluded—self-excluded, as well as the Popish, though from a different fact. It may not follow as a matter of political justice, that all who pay taxes and claim equal political rights have equal right to religious endowment. To constitute a right to State endowment, even on the most lax principle of endowment, the principles of the religious body seeking endowment must not be inconsistent with the principles of a more general nature on which every statesman, as such, ought constantly to proceed. And one of these is to insist on the scrutiny referred to; in other words, to demand a system of Trusteeship responsible not to the ecclesiastical body, but to the State; and another principle is, to define the terms it uses, and so to anticipate abuse from the natural vagueness of language. Thus from a right State-church-law, both Popery and Unitarianism would seem to fall away of themselves or remain on the outside. We do not mean to insinuate that these ideas are in accordance with the dispatch of Lord Stanley, or the intentions of Anstruther and Buller in Ceylon. Far from it. But we know, that the view which we have now briefly expounded, was advocated in Colombo at the time; and really considering the almost insurmountable difficulty of the problem of religious endowments; we see nothing better for it.

The ordinance, in the form in which it was passed, required, as we have said, subordinate ordinances, almost for every denomination—a great evil any where, and especially in a country of

heathens ready to avail themselves of everything like disagreement among Christians. The first of these subordinate ordinances, is now before us. It is designed for the Scotch Church in Kandy, which, as we have mentioned, originally gave rise to the whole movement. And here again we observe the recurrence of the same spirit as originated the whole movement. The only limitation as to the future minister is, that he be a Presbyterian adhering to the Westminster standards, appointed in conformity with the rules of the denomination he belongs to, and his appointment sanctioned by the Secretary of State. On such terms the Government consents to double the sum for building a church and minister's house, which is raised by private subscription, and to grant to the minister a stipend proportional to the number of his hearers, amounting to £400, if they amount to the same number, and £250 if they be 200; £150 if 100. The most awkward thing, ecclesiastically considered, is a reference to the Governor and Executive Council, where there ought to have been a reference to the Presbytery. But since there does not as yet exist a Presbytery in Ceylon, some such reference might be unavoidable. Perhaps there may be no great practical danger in it even though a Presbytry should be created before this ordinance were altered; for colonial Governors seem always so anxious to devolve as much responsibility as possible on others, that no doubt were there an ecclesiastical body to whom reference could be made, the Governor for the time being would seldom fail to hand over all matters of reference to it rather than decide any of them himself. Still, it would be desirable to see the present state of things, as soon as possible, altered or modified in this repect.

It is certain, however, that it is not either Presbyterianism or Independency, if is Episcopacy, which usually thrives best under the patronage and support of States. It is also a form of church polity peculiarly well adapted to make its way in colonies and new countries if only its head be an intelligent and a devoted man; and it seems to us, as if already the whole of Ceylon lay at the feet of the Bishop of Colombo. Should he, indeed, prove to be a Puseyite or very high churchman, he will make little or no progress; for colonists, who are generally persons of very free opinions, cannot away with such nonsense. But, if he be a truly pious, conscientious Bishop, abounding in good works, and advocating a moderate episcopacy, which is the least that any reasonable person would like to see a Bishop do, the Wesleyans, who form the bulk of the professing Christians in Ceylon, will flee to him like doves to their

windows, and the Dutch Presbyterians will naturally fall in when all their own ministers die, out of whom now only the last survives,—while the Romanists will never doubt but all is right if they are following a bishop, and especially a bishop who is not only Rt. Revd. like their own, but "My Lord" to boot, and walks so near the Governor.

As to Scotch Presbyterianism it is hard to say what it may yet do, or may not do. The Establishment have had this Church in Kandy in their offer now for several years, and yet have failed to fill it. But plainly it is now open to the Free Church also. The present, however, seems the moment, when, in the religious history of Ceylon, which 50 years ago was wholly Presbyterian, in so far as it was Christian,—Episcopacy, is destined to rise upon its ruins or rather upon its neglected grave; so that if the more democratic form of Church Government resume its ancient sway again, it will be out of the abuse of the Episcopacy of future days, or perhaps out of that necessity for a change, of which humanity is the never-failing witness.

A perusal of the documents on which the preceding statements of fact are founded, has tended powerfully to impress us with a sense of the disastrous nature and tendency of existing differences among professing Christians—has tended to awaken a vivid apprehension of the manner in which these operate so as to obstruct and retard the improvement of man in all his higher and holier relationships. The subject is one of an essentially practical character; it is one which meets us at every turn, like a circumambient atmosphere; it is one which, on this very account, is constantly mooted if not coolly and candidly discussed even by the most secular of our journals. It cannot, therefore, be reasonably taken amiss, if, before concluding the present article, we seize the opportunity for dropping a few healing thoughts and suggestions on a subject so momentous in itself, and so influential in its bearings on the welfare of society.

It cannot be doubted that the law of mutual love and good will is that which is peremptorily inculcated in the sacred oracles of truth. And yet it is a law whose spirit and bearing seem to be the least understood or regarded in the internal working and ramifications of human society. The want of consideration as to its real compass and bearing leads even the best of men at times to show off our common Christianity in its most unamiable features. Nay, we wrong that term. Our

common Christianity has no *un*-amiable features, yet she is many times "wounded in the house of her friends," and made to appear with most unamiable features.

There can be no doubt that He, who inculcated the "new commandment of love," with a solicitude for the integrity and purity of his Church, which no man ever felt, intended that this cardinal rule should embrace in its comprehensive application the whole circle of his disciples in every age. Yet the too common practice of a large part of that brotherhood moves forward as independent of it as though it were one of the very few precepts which He uttered that could have application only to the first generation of those called disciples. From the very structure of human society the Church on earth will be divided into sections and different branches. The immensely wide field of vision, together with the narrow compass of the human mind—the inherent difficulties which twine themselves around the combined and commingling operations of divine and human agency—the obscurity which gathers around certain expressions recorded in very ancient documents, from the attendant circumstances being but half explained, as well as from the inevitable mutations in human language—the mistiness which gathers around them from being viewed in the distance—and the different points from which these difficulties are contemplated,—all combine to render it impossible but that divisions and differences will come. And so long as that "Charity," which is the distinguishing characteristic of the Gospel, as well as "the bond of perfectness," is allowed to maintain her place, the evils of these divisions are comparatively harmless. The disciple strives to keep his heart and his arms open wide enough to embrace all whom he believes his Master would embrace. But when that charity is allowed to melt away into a cold and distant feeling, which leads each one to regard his own immediate brotherhood as *Israel*, and all beyond it as *Ishmael*, whose hand is to be against him, and his against him in return, then the evil ceases to be harmless. So long as the members of sister churches or communions can consent to respect each other's Ministry and Ordinances, and cherish a kindly feeling towards them, there may be essential unity and cordiality and co-operation in all that pertains to the great essentials of Christianity.

It is perfectly natural and perfectly proper that each should feel a strong attachment to, and preference for his own system of Church Government and polity. There is a kind of *home* feeling in this which has all of nature in it, and much that grace even will not need to eradicate, but merely refine. *Preference* for our own, so long as it does not amount to a dis-

honouring of the ordinances of others whom we must admit to be standing and working with us on the firm, broad platform of Christianity, is admissible and entitled to respect. But when the members of any one sister denomination begin to feel at liberty publicly to dishonour, and virtually to neutralize the ordinances administered by the authorized Ministry of other sister denominations, and practically unchurch them, on whatever plea it is based, that party has begun to take liberties with the Master's Keys which He never granted. That party has already taken a step towards Rome, for Rome claims exclusive right to hold and abuse the Master's Keys.

The points on which sister Protestant communions differ, when *fairly interpreted*, are infinitely less important than those in which they are bound together. And the points on which they differ are generally the very ones on which the Bible seems to inculcate peculiar modesty and caution. They are usually subjects in which the point at issue has not been distinctly stated, but left so as to be based on inferences drawn from other incidental statements; or points, which, in one position in the Bible, are made, from attendant circumstances, to wear an aspect which at first sight appears contrary to other statements more clearly made in other parts of the Bible. And the acerbity of differences (differences be it remembered within the circle of sister Protestant communions) should be greatly modified by the recollection that the party most stoutly objecting to any peculiarity is usually nearly half in fault for the existence, at least the *extreme position*, of the peculiarity to which it objects. In illustration of this, it is possible that Calvin would not have taken quite so high views, or given such prominence to the doctrines of Predestination, &c., if Rome had not trampled on all the discriminating doctrines of the Gospel, and if he had not been goaded by others into a more frequent recurrence to their defence than he would otherwise have chosen. Thus Rome and other opposing parties were more than half in fault, for what is thought by some too rigid and severe in what is called "Calvinism." Again, if Calvin's doctrines had not been pushed much farther than he intended them, it is not likely that Arminius would have felt constrained to oppose and set up an opposite system. And if Arminius in turn had not been violently opposed and goaded on, he would not probably have set his system in nearly so strong array against Calvinism. Thus Calvinism, as it then existed, was more than half in fault for the extreme positions of Arminianism. Again, in more modern times, Episcopacy is partly chargeable with the production of those very features of dissent which are the most hostile to

itself. For if Episcopacy had not assumed high and repulsive ground, dissent would never have assumed its most hostile attitude. And if dissent had not, on the other hand, assumed extreme positions, Episcopacy would not have made near all of its highest and most repulsive assumptions. It is like two persons seated on the opposite ends of a balance, the farther one of them throws himself out from the centre, the other almost instinctively throws himself back to keep from being thrown up. Thus, if every one, in animadverting on the supposed errors of an opposing party, could distinctly trace the influence which his own favourite party had in the production of those errors, it would frequently soften and greatly modify the tone of those animadversions.

In glancing back along the channel which the church has made for itself, it will be seen that it was generally at a period of excitement, when the elements of society had been deeply stirred, that an exposé of doctrine and discipline—the preparation of a *standard* was felt to be necessary.

Such a time is doubtless favourable to deep and thorough research. But it is not the time most favorable to calm, deliberate, unbiassed judgment. Thus the standards which have been formed at different times, and which give tangible existence to the different spiritual communities of Christendom, will be found clustered on different sides and at different distances from the Church's main channel; whilst the Bible, the pure river of the water of life proceeding from the throne of God, flows down through the midst of them, watering and refreshing each in proportion to its nearness to the main channel, and its openness and accessibility to the refreshing, life-giving stream.

Now it is not suggested that any radical, sudden, or violent innovation be made in any of the existing standards of Protestant communions. For such is the sluggish bearing of the human mind, when bound together in large masses, that it cannot be stirred up to an effort of such magnitude except at a period of high excitement; and then, it is frequently problematical, whether alterations made will be on the whole for the better or the worse. It is merely suggested that each person, while he adheres conscientiously to his own, should take care that if he err at all it be on that side of his own, which lies nearest the common centre; and that he strive to win rather than repel those whom he thinks in error. The highest ground that can fairly be taken in favor of any existing standard is, that it is a human composition aiming to give the embodied sense or drift of the Divine Original,—that in its composition it has a measure of clay—the clay of human composition—mixed up with the pure gold of

the inspired volume,—and that, in choosing among those in existence, it is right to choose that one in whose composition appears the smallest measure of clay, mixed up with the largest measure of gold.

A high authority has said, "There must be also heresies (sects) among you, that they which are approved may be made manifest among you." He does not mean merely that they who are wilfully and grossly heretical should be proved and cast out; but also that they who are sound in the main, yet differing from each other in various opinions, may be approved also by their forbearance and kindly bearing towards each other. For this requires a far higher effort of Christian principle, and is a far higher exhibition of Christian character, than merely cutting off a party that is clearly and grossly schismatical.

What is a *Sister Church?* And what her functions in this world of sin? She is a ministering Angel mixed up with a portion of human infirmity,—a *spiritual* existence designed "to minister to them who shall be heirs of salvation,"—having to do with human passions merely as the physician has to do with diseases, i. e. to mitigate, and modify, and manage them. The physician is himself compassed with infirmities, and sometimes errs in his judgment and his practice. Yet his influence, if wisely exerted, is for the advancement of human comfort and happiness. A *Sister Church* is also compassed with infirmities, and sometimes errs in judgment and practice. Yet her aim is to train up in the midst of human passions and infirmities, and gradually draw out from the sphere of their influence, a people who shall be trained to follow and prepared to dwell in the presence of Him who is "holy, harmless, and separate from sinners." And he who would lightly thwart or interfere with her efforts assumes a high responsibility.

The relative position of Sister Churches is beautifully set forth by the position of the twelve Sister Tribes of Israel. They were separate, yet bound together. Under different standards, they yet respected each other's standard, and marched *together*. If the tribes which settled there had set up a rival altar on the other side of the Jordan, as their brethren at one time feared they would, then they would have had strifes, and divisions, and heart-burnings, as Sister Churches have, where a mere "Shibboleth" is allowed to set them in opposition to each other. If they had set up *rival* altars for their separate tribes, they would have had divisions and strifes which would have made them the sport of the heathen around, and prepared the way for the Assyrian and the Babylonian to come centuries before they did, and despoil them of all that was the

glory of Israel. That *one* altar bound the twelve tribes together. The *Bible* is the altar which binds the tribes of Protestantism together. The *one* altar around which they all should rally, and on which their cheerful offerings should be laid. The erection of that *rival* altar on the other side of Jordan, if it had been really intended, would have been the prototype of a single denomination preparing a Bible for itself. The harmony of Israel would have been destroyed—the glory of Israel would have been rent. The Bible is the *one* altar of Protestants, and all their sacrifices ought to be offered on it. If there be any of us who have something to offer, which we cannot offer on it, we have got an offering which God is not likely to accept. If a tribe, or fractions of tribes, have shown a disposition to set up a separate altar for themselves, it is due to them, and to the sacred cause, that, before going to war with them about it, a deputation of the wisest and best and most influential men of the remaining tribes be sent over to ascertain what are their real intentions, and what the object and bearing of the proposed measure. Perhaps it may be found that they have a stronger attachment to that which binds the brotherhood of tribes together than it was thought they had. Perhaps they may be willing to regard their separate actions as a mere remembrancer of the peculiarity of their situation, and return with warmer hearts to the common altar of all the tribes, and shew that they meant no utter separation.

Sister communities of Christians are, in one respect, like wax. Take half a dozen balls of wax, and whilst they remain cold and hard they will rattle against each other, and if brought into close contact, they will present a rough and crumbling surface to each other, and mutually waste each other away in the friction. But warm them a little, and they immediately show the most kindly tendencies towards each other, and even mingle together with the greatest ease. So, of as many sister churches. Raise the spiritual temperature so high that that "charity which is the bond of perfectness," can flow freely through them, and they will show the same kindly tendencies towards each other. But let them grow cold and draw the lines clear and deep between themselves, and withdraw from all kindly commingling together, and they will present to each other a hard, rough, crumbling surface; and the unsuitable frictions of this world will compel them to fritter and waste each other away, and deprive them of that by which "all men" should know that they are disciples of a common Master.

Or they are like the wheels of a watch, all of which are required to move on common ground, and work together for the

accomplishment of a common and important purpose. While each wheel occupies its proper place, plays around its own centre, yet touches the surrounding wheels at the proper distance, and in the proper direction, all goes on harmoniously; the wisdom and skill of the contriver is illustrated, and his purpose is served. But if one of the wheels should project itself into long corners, and touch the others in a wrong position, or stretch itself over the other wheels so as to impede their movements and attempt to do all their work, the effect of the whole is injured, and the wisdom and skill of the framer is brought into question or disrepute.

Taking the *living* watch, of which sister churches are the wheels, we would say to each,—"keep your own centre, and while you move freely around it, be careful to touch your neighbour's wheels only at the point and in the direction that will help them forward in the right direction; and remember that a *combined effect is to be produced by the whole.*"

To the sincere Episcopalian who will perhaps ask with surprize, "would you have me give up my Liturgy, that pure and venerated document, which gave expression, and expansion too to all the pure and pious feelings of my fathers—and the patriarchal form of Government, which has been the pillar of the Church in ages past?"—we would say, "no; we would not have you violently disturb your platform, either of doctrine or of polity, only be careful what you build upon it. Enjoy all the richness and beautiful simplicity of your Liturgy which you have found, both by education and experience, to be "unto edification" for *you*. Enjoy all the advantages which belong to your nicely graded, patriarchal hierarchy, to which all your education and habits and experience have gone to fit you, and to adapt it for your edification and comfort. But remember, while you enjoy all these that you have an innumerable company of *Brethren*, whose education and habits and experience have led them to a somewhat different conclusion as to the relative advantages of these. The Liturgy is like a *hand organ* which makes rich, sweet music, and gives forth the same sweet tones whatever hand may play it. But it has only a small compass and always plays the same circle of tunes. You have many, many brethren, whose preferences lead to a different kind of instrument—one which has a greater compass, and which may give richer music if skilfully played; but which will give forth jargon and very inferior music in the hands of an unskilful player. Perhaps the average performance of the two kinds of instruments may be much more equal than either party has been accustomed to suppose. Remember

also that while your Episcopal polity has in it much of a natural fitness to give stability to the throne of an earthly potentate, and to work in with the machinery of a monarchical Government, still its very adaptation to this has a tendency practically to secularize its ministry, especially its dignitaries, and thus hasten society forward to a state in which no earthly power or policy short of political revolution can correct its errors or work out its purity; and in which no earthly power can prevent the deep elements of society from heaving with a swell and power which will upturn and prostrate all that is high. The history of the past has no page in which this fact is not written, that *power is corrupting*; and that, when *secular* and *spiritual* power are for a length of time vested in the same hands, the *secular* will inevitably preponderate—will *secularize* the spiritual—and that spiritual power when secularized becomes a very demon. Look at the awful lesson which Rome has been reading to the world these many centuries. *There*, the *secular* and *spiritual* power have been long held in the *same* hands. True, in *her* case, the spiritual has gained upon the *secular* and got possession of the helm. But then the secular has leavened, and saturated, and *secularized* it; and the secular, having thus clothed itself in the panoply of the spiritual which partakes of both worlds, has become a Dragon, whose tail has swept over nations, and whose frown can even now throw prostrate realms into the terrors of death, and which will yet shed much human blood before it can be either tamed or disrobed of its strength.

Then guard against the development of that in Episcopacy which has a tendency to direct the current of human things into that channel. And still hold kindly by the hand those of your brethren who are more apprehensive of these evils, and more alive to these tendencies than yourself.

Guard also against all that in your system which has a tendency so to exalt the *office* of the *ministry* as to make it a shelter for the man who may be an unworthy occupant of it. It is right and proper that mankind should have a high regard for the office of the Gospel ministry—too high an esteem for it to tolerate an unworthy occupant in it. Yet that society cannot be either in a safe or healthy state, where veneration for such an office runs so high as to shield a manifestly unworthy occupant, merely because he fills the office.

Again, whilst you are strongly and honestly convinced of the Apostolical character of your polity and inclined to make much of the measure of 'Apostolical succession,' supposed to be traceable in your system, remember that in the days of the Apostles themselves, it was the dignitaries of the Church

then enjoying the patronage of the State, who especially trod hard upon the Apostles themselves, and made their lives bitter; whilst the Apostles themselves wore, to the eye of the great world, a very unpretending appearance, and were far from enjoying any of the dignities of the then dominant Church. Let those, therefore, who enjoy or maintain the dignities and power of the Church, enjoying State favor, be guarded, lest they inadvertently miss the true mark of 'Apostolical succession,' and step into the position of the dignitaries who trod upon the Apostles as 'the offscouring of the earth.'"

To the sincere *Presbyterian* we would say, "while you stand upon a platform which is broad and firm, be careful not to overestimate the breadth and firmness of it. Your fathers, in the Assembly at Westminster, *revived*, as you believe, the true primitive and Apostolic pratice, and thus laid a foundation deep and firm, and erected a superstructure on it, which will go down to future generations as an incontestible proof of the piety and strength which were stirred up and brought into action by the agitations of the times. They erected an ecclesiastical polity which will, in all fair circumstances, produce a strong and solid ministry and an intelligent laity—a polity, which, while even tolerably guarded and carried out, cannot be drawn aside and formed into a gigantic Ecclesiastico-civil despotism like that of Rome. Still it needs to be guarded with equal care against all admixture with corrupting elements,—especially against that pride and that exclusive spirit which is so prone to be generated by a fond and overweening contemplation of that which appears to the beholder peculiarly strong and well proportioned in his own favourite system. Guard against all tendency to see and find the whole 'remnant of Israel' within thine own fold, and hold out thine hand cheerfully to all who bear thy Master's image, and do thy Master's work in other folds, and thou, too, shalt prove thyself a Christian Brother."

To the sincere *Baptist, Independent,* or *Wesleyan* we would say, "guard well against all the tendencies to radicalism which may develope themselves within thy circle—against the tendency to magnify a mere inference from Scripture into a cardinal point clearly and indubitably established by inspiration—against erecting that into a separating wall which God has designedly left in such a position that somewhat different grounds may be taken in different circumstances without doing violence to either the words on the sense of Inspiration. This has reference especially to the minutiæ of forms of Government and polity, and the mode and subjects of Baptism, &c. which it seems, as though the Holy Spirit, in dictating the New Testa-

ment, had purposely set forth with such a measure of indefiniteness as would allow of adaptation to the peculiarities of taste and circumstance and situation; and to prevent any party in such circumstances from assuming with undue confidence that *we* are right, and *all* others wrong. Draw carefully the lines of distinction between that which is plainly and strongly taught in Scripture as cardinal, fundamental doctrine, and that which is merely based on inference from passages, the drift and circumstances of which may be not very fully understood. Open thine arms so wide as to embrace all whom thou believest *thy Master would embrace,* were he now, as once, personally on earth; and thou too shalt prove thyself a Christian Brother."

Here, perhaps, the sincere Romanist who, like ourselves, is toiling out the years of his pilgrimage away from his home, and in the midst of heathenism, may ask with surprize and vexation, "dost thou then refuse to take me also by the hand and acknowledge me as a Christian?" We would say, "your system is one thing; your own personal individual sentiments *may be* another. Your system we cannot but pronounce to be altogether Anti-Christian; to pronounce a condemnatory judgment on yourself, is not our province. However strongly upheld by you in theory, it is possible that, in practice, the system may not exert a predominant influence over your mind and affections. It is possible, that, from some rare and happy conjuncture of influences in your individual case, you may prefer the Lord Jesus Christ to the Pope, and have more regard for the teaching of Paul and Peter than for the dogmas of priests—that you have a relish for the 'pure milk of the word,' and can take it in preference to all the rubbish which ages of darkness and of twilight have gathered around it. All this is within the range of possibility. And if so, it is possible that, without compromise of essential and eternal verities, we may be led to regard you as a Christian Brother."

In such a supposed case, however, it is clear that the Roman Catholic is only such in name. In heart and sentiment such a one is in reality an evangelical Protestant. And our great business ought to be, in meekness and in love, to lay bare to the eye of his own consciousness a realizing view of the inconsistency between his genuine convictions and avowed religious profession.

As regards other Romanists generally, our great object ought to be, to urge them, in the spirit of kindness and love, to "*search the Scriptures*"—to strive to imbibe their pure spirit and import apart from the glosses of a shadowy tradition, the perversions of a speculative subtlety, and

the mis-interpretations of a "cunning craftiness." Such a process would gradually bring elements into action which would reduce his "falsely so called" "Holiness" to the level of a plain Bishop of Rome—break the chord which binds the Jesuit body together, and enables it to drag the car of spiritual despotism over the necks of prostrate millions in every quarter of the globe—release the departed "Saints" who are *Saints* indeed, from the odium of playing puppet for Popes, and Priests, and Nuns, and raise the prostrate millions who crouch beneath the incubus from that twilight and thraldom in which they have groaned, to the light of open day and to the "liberty with which the Son maketh his people free."

To accomplish this, or to put this influence into action, we need to meet the honest Romanist with affection and candour and cordiality. We need to show him that while the Bible permits us not to wink at the assumptions of the Roman See, nor to shrink from the labor of exposing and opposing the wiles of Jesuitism by which it lies in wait at every corner to deceive, and by all fair means expose the corruptions of that system which has withered and blighted the fairest portions of God's earth, yet it has also taught us to *feel kindly* towards those who are, as we think, unfortunately the subjects of it: and to meet them with a warmth of interest and affection which *only the Bible can produce*, even though their religious polity is mixed up with much that we know to be worse than exceptionable. It is hard, very hard, for flesh and blood; constituted as they now are, to observe the Bible direction in this matter, and continue trying to draw the person *kindly* "out of the fire," whilst we "hate even the garments spotted by the flesh." It is so much easier to treat person and garment, and all, with a severity which will drive them all, the faster and farther into the fire. Yet it is *mild* and *winning* faithfulness which must recover the sincere but deluded subjects of Rome, and bring them out from the thraldom in which they are bound.

In Northern climes what is the influence, which, at the approach of spring, recovers regions which have lain buried under chilling depths of snow, and restores the ice-bound streams to their wonted liberty and fulness? It is not severity alone. It is not that the sun-beams come armed with horns to push with violence the snow and ice away into the Northern ocean. It is that they come with a mild, gentle, glowing influence, which imperceptibly warms and melts away the snow and ice, and causes the full tide to flow joyously along, and clothes the whole aspect of nature with brightness and beauty.

Thus among the cold, chilling piles of human passions and prejudices, which are accumulated by time, and ignorance, and absence of social habits and personal intercourse, it is a warm and kindly influence born from above which can most successfully penetrate the forbidding mass, and melt, and dissipate, and carry off that which is extraneous, and prepare the way for that which belongs to nature to spring up into life and beauty and verdure.

The master mind at Waterloo displayed his capacity and earned his glory by so arranging and directing the energies of *all* his regiments that they contributed to *one* combined, concentrated effect. If the separate regiments had felt at liberty to attend each to its own immediate affairs or seeming interests, and turn their arms at times, and waste half their ammunition against their neighbours instead of their enemies, where would now have been the glory of Wellington, or of Waterloo?

The "Captain of our salvation" in looking down from the heights of Calvary over all the "regiments" of his disciples, knowing and understanding full well all the differences and divisions that would afterward obtain amongst them, made the principle of general good will and mutual co-operation the mark of discipleship by which *chiefly* the *world* should know that they *were his disciples*. In this country, where Christianity herself is a *stranger*, where the members of her respective "regiments" are few, and ever in the presence of the enemy, the reasons of commingling and keeping up a kindly feeling towards each other, are greatly multiplied, and the facilities for doing so are greatly increased. Then, so far as we neglect these reasons and overlook these facilities, how *can* the world know that we are *his* disciples?

Long continued action of each fraction of *the Church* of *Christ* around its own centre alone has a natural and inevitable tendency to increase the *centrifugal* force to an unsafe degree, and creates a necessity for something to act as the great law of gravitation to correct undue centrifugal tendencies, and bind the whole together in harmonious action. The Bible alone supplies that want, and suggests that corrective. It sets forth the great Law of Love which it calls "Charity," as that which alone can bind the whole together, and *show to the world who are indeed the disciples of Him who is at once the exemplar and the fountain of love*—and who is the alone unerring and ever-present Spectator of all the positions taken by any who claim to be his disciples.

ART. VII.—1. *Journal of the disasters in Affghanistan*, 1841-2, *by Lady Sale. London*, 1843.

2. *Journal of Imprisonment in Affghanistan (continued and concluded) by Lieut. Vincent Eyre, Bengal Artillery. London*, 1843.

3. *Journals kept by Mr. Gully and Captain Denham, during a Captivity in China, in the year* 1842. *Edited by a Barrister. London*, 1844.

4. *The Bokhara Victims; by Capt. Grover, F. R. S. London*, 1845.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

There is no description of literary work more interesting—none which is read with greater avidity, and which takes a firmer hold of the reader's mind—than those personal memoirs, which embrace a narrative of sufferings experienced during a season of imprisonment. It would require a larger stock of obduracy and indifference, than falls to the share of most Christian men, to peruse such narratives without many a heart-throb of sympathy and many a spasm of indignation. The simple naked truth, with the homely minuteness of details with which these memoirs abound, is more touching than the highly-wrought effectiveness of the most artistic fictitious history. The pathos of reality goes straight to the heart. We suffer with the sufferer. We sit beside him on his bed of straw, and share the solitude of his dreary prison-house. Whether we read of the victims of political intolerance—of religious persecution—of personal animosity—or of national contentions; of poets and philosophers, condemned to expiate the offences of free thought in a land of slavery—of patriots, suspected of a hatred of tyranny—of warriors, taken by the insolent foe, and sentenced to a life of pining misery in chains;—whether we commence with Tasso in the dungeons of Ferrara, a poet guilty of too much sublimity of thought and too much fervour of feeling—too passionate in his poetry and his love; or think of Galileo, under the ban of Papal tyranny, paying the penalty of that audacity, which disperses error and proclaims to the world demonstrable truth; of Cervantes, striving to brighten up the gloom of his prison-house, by creating, with the magic wand of the Romancer, ideal shapes of beauty and of mirth, to share his solitude; of our Eliot, philosophising in his Tower-cell, the first to suffer in the cause of that liberty, which ere long was too mighty to be put down by the hand of a prerogative king; of Prynne, the victim of a semi-papal hierarchy, scratching "comfortable cordials" on the sides of that damp wall—his Jersey prison-house;—or whether, entering upon later times, we dwell upon the sufferings of Toussaint L'Ouverture, the high-souled negro leader, starving with cold and hunger, in his ever-dripping, plashy-cell, on the bleak wilds of Burgundy, sacrificed by painful inches at the altar of Napoleon's despotic ambition; or Silvio Pellico, one of the many victims of Austrian tyranny, scratching fine thoughts on his prison-table, and, lacking other companionship, entering into fellowship with a spider; or Niemcuvitz, suffering for his poor country, unhappy Poland, pacing his dungeon-floor like a wild beast, until he had worn a sunken road across the hard pavement;—whether we dwell on these, or others like them, such as our own Raleigh with the long years of imprisonment spent by him in grave studies, writing world-histories, when suffered not to look, with fleshly eye, beyond the narrow limits of his dungeon—or Boetius, discoursing on the consolations of Philosophy, which every prisoner needs so much—or Bonnivard, the Genevese patriot, chained to a pillar in the dreary dungeons of Chillon;—of these and other great men and great sufferers—and the catalogue might be swelled to any length—we can not think without taking an interest in their hard fate, far beyond that which any ideal sufferings, whatever be the pathos with which the romancer describes it, can ever excite;—we can not but grieve for the oppressed, burn with hatred of the oppressor, and carry with us, long after we have laid down the volume, deeply engraven on our hearts, vivid remembrances of many minute picture-like details of prison-life, which the memory will not willingly let die. The effect of all these narratives is eminently painful. They teach us what imprisonment really is; they teach us that the mild punishment, in which Christian legislators delight, is one which often converts life into so grievous a curse, that death is looked forward to as a deliverance—one indeed, which kills slowly, by inches, destroying body and mind, and bringing with it daily terrors, beside which the gibbet is but a holiday spectacle.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* A topi-wallah is a hat-wearer—in eastern eyes, the distinguishing mark of an European.

† Letter from Mr. Wade.

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

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

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

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

"On the 8th of June, just as we were preparing for dinner, in rushed an officer holding a black book, with a dozen Burmans, accompanied by one, who, from his spotted face, we knew to be an executioner, and a 'son of the prisoner.' 'Where is the teacher?' was the first enquiry. Mr. Judson presented himself. 'You are called by the king,' said the officer; a form of speech always used when about to arrest a criminal. The spotted man instantly seized Mr. Judson, threw him on the floor, and produced the small cord, the instrument of torture. I caught hold of his arm; 'stay, (said I,) I will give you money.' 'Take her too;' said the officer; 'she is also a foreigner.' Mr. Judson, with an imploring look, begged they would let me remain till further orders; the scene now was shocking beyond description. The whole neighbourhood had collected,—the masons at work on the brick house threw down their tools, and ran—the little Burman children were screaming and crying. The Bengali servants stood in amazement at the indignities offered their master—and the hardened executioner, with a kind of hellish joy, drew tight the cords, bound Mr. Judson fast, and dragged him off I knew not whither. In vain I begged and entreated the spotted face to take the silver, and loosen the ropes; but he spurned my offers, and immediately departed. I gave the money, however, to Moung Jug to follow after, to make some further attempt to mitigate the torture of Mr. Judson; but instead of succeeding, when a few rods from the house, the unfeeling wretches again threw their prisoner on the ground, and drew the cords still tighter, so as almost to prevent respiration."

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

"We remained here two days and three nights, taunted and derided by all around us. On the morning of Monday, the 21st, they took the end of our chains, and bade us follow them. They put our coats and quilts into small cages, just such as we should think a proper place to confine a wild beast in; mine was scarcely a yard high, a little more than ¾ of a yard long, and a little more than half a yard broad. The door opened from the top. Into these we were lifted, the chain round our necks being locked to the cover; they put a long piece of bambu through the middle, a man took either end, and in this manner, we were jolted from city to city, to suffer insults from the rabble, the cries of whom were awful; but my God had not forsaken me, and even then, although a widow and in the hands of such bitter enemies, and expecting death at every moment, I could remember with delight, that Christ my Saviour had said, "I am the resurrection and the life, he that believeth in me, though he were dead yet shall he live," and through the blessing of the Almighty, I was enabled to sing praises to God aloud. I need not tell you, my dear and much loved friend, how much I thought of my sweet and once happy home, and my dear fatherless child, and how fervently I prayed to that God of mercy and goodness, who had so wonderfully upheld me in all my sufferings, to bless her also.

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

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

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

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

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

† Lady Sale's Journal—page 249.

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

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

The entry of the following day contains these passages:—

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

* * * * *

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

But we willingly break off from so unpleasant a digression. We are anxious, at the close of our article, rather to dwell upon the virtues of our countrymen. There is nothing more remarkable in all the narratives of captivity, which lie before us, than the unfailing patience, fortitude, and courage of English prisoners. Under every depressing circumstance we find their strong spirits unbroken to the last. Captive in body, they are never captive in soul; but often in every respect, except as to their bonds, they are the lords of their gaolers. Accustomed to supremacy in the East, they often wholly forget their relative position of captive to captor, and are, in spirit at least, as dominant in a dungeon, as when breathing the air of freedom.

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

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

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

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

An Atlas of Anatomical Plates of the Human Body, accompanied with descriptions in Hindustani. By Fred. J. Mouat, M. D., Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons of England—Assistant Surgeon, Bengal Army—Member of, and Secretary to, the Council of Education of Bengal—Professor of Materia Medica and Medical Jurisprudence in the Bengal Medical College, &c. &c. &c. Assisted by Múnshi Nussír-úd-ín Ahmud, late of the Calcutta Madrissa. The Drawings on Stone by C. Grant, Esq.—Bishop's College Press, 1846.

THIS is the first part of what we cannot help pronouncing a really great and superb work. Every thing about it is of a superior cast; and we know not which to admire most—the design or the execution.

The object or design of the work is in the highest degree commendable. It has been undertaken chiefly for the benefit of the military class attached to the Medical College. The want of class books, in their own vernacular language, for the pupils of this class, was found considerably to impair the efficiency of the department to which they belonged. This deficiency was pointed out, with his wonted watchfulness, by Dr. Mouat to the Council of Education; and the Council, with its wonted liberality, responded to the call. A version of Spilsbury's translation of the London Pharmacopœia, prepared by Dr. Mouat himself, was adopted by the Council, ordered by Government to be printed, and has recently been published. It would appear, that, —besides the translation of the London Pharmacopœia, and an *Arabic* version of Hooper's Anatomist's Vade Mecum, together with a Bengali version of a Manual of Anatomy by Mr. F. Cary,—the only vernacular works upon European medicine extant are, "the imperfect and meagre monographs of Tytler and Breton, which are out of print, and not worth the expense of republishing," as they are chiefly in the Nagri character, and exceedingly limited in the amount of information contained in them. In these circumstances Dr. Mouat reported as follows:—

"For this purpose the most concise, intelligible, and at the same time approved authorities should be selected; all scientific names and terms rendered at once into Hindustani, and no Arabic or Sanskrit synonymes employed, which are equally unintelligible at first to the pupils, quite as difficult to recollect, and much more limited in their application, whereas the terms used in European works are universally intelligible and expressive of differences and particularities, not specified in any Oriental language.

The works should comprise a manual of Anatomy and Physiology, one of Surgery, one of Practice of Medicine, including Midwifery, and one of Materia Medica, with such an outline of Chemistry as may be deemed necessary for explaining all pharmaceutical processes.

As the exact information required for each of these subjects is not contained in any single European work, it would be necessary for the editor

to borrow the deficiency from some other treatise of authority upon the subject: as for instance, the translation of such works as the "Dublin Dissector," or "Wilson's Anatomist's Vade-Mecum," both good authorities, would afford only the anatomy; whereas the physiology might be condensed from any of the approved treatises now used as class-books, omitting all theories, speculations, and voluminous details, and introducing in a simple and concise form, as much as may be required to understand the functions and uses of every organ and structure of the body.

The translations should be effected under the superintendence of one or more medical officers, sufficiently acquainted with the vernacular language to determine that they had been correctly rendered, and to assist the translators in every passage or phrase, that was difficult or impossible to render literally."

Since the foregoing plan was originally proposed, arrangements for translating the text books referred to have been completed. Dr. Sprenger, principal of the Delhi College, has undertaken the preparation of the Manuals of Medicine and Surgery. Lieut. Col. Wilcox, Superintendent of the King of Oude's Observatory at Lucknow, is now engaged in translating Dr. W. Gregory's Outlines of Chemistry. And the remaining manual, that of Anatomy and Physiology, has fallen to the share of Dr. Mouat himself.

It is as preparatory to this *last* work, that the present series of anatomical plates, of which the first part is now published, has been undertaken. It is intended that other four parts shall follow in succession, on the vascular system, the brain and nervous system, the viscera, and the organs of sense. The whole work, when completed, will consist of at least fifty plates, accompanied with descriptive letter press, a complete general index, and a glossary of the scientific terms used. Upon the completion of this Atlas of plates, the Manual itself of Anatomy and Physiology will be undertaken and carried through the press, as speedily as the numerous and incessant official calls upon the time of the author will permit.

The osteological drawings have, with one exception, been taken from the unrivalled work of Cheselden, to whom the authors of most modern illustrations of the various parts of the human skeleton have been more or less indebted. And here Dr. Mouat pays a well merited compliment to our fellow townsman, Mr Grant, whose skill as an artist was never more signally manifested than on the present occasion. "I may, perhaps," says the Doctor, "be permitted here to express my grateful sense of the excellent and highly creditable manner in which Mr. Grant has accomplished his task. The accuracy and fidelity of the drawings will be at once apparent to any person conversant with anatomy: their execution is superior to that of many anatomical works, published in Europe, and inferior to few." In the justice of this eulogium we heartily concur. And when to this we add that the paper is of a superior quality, and the typography, both as regards the Roman and Persian characters, in the very best style of Bishop's College Press, we cannot be far wrong in saying, that, in point of general execution, the work is perhaps the most beautiful which has yet issued from our local press.

The whole matter of the descriptive letter-press has been first compiled in English by Dr. Mouat himself, "chiefly from the works of Quain, Meckel, and Sir Charles Bell; as no single treatise appeared to contain the exact information required, either in nature or amount." This compilation had next to be translated for the use of the *native* students. It then became a question; into what language the translation should be made? From the recent rapid progress of sounder ideas on this subject, it may seem strange to many that the matter could admit of any question. But those who can recal to remembrance the state of things amongst us even twelve years ago, will experience no surprise. During the ascendancy and reign of learned orientalism, it was admitted that "of all the undertakings in which an oriental Scholar can in the present day engage, the most *useful*, undoubtedly, is that of making translations of standard European scientifical books into the oriental languages, to serve till the natives of the East have imbibed sufficient desire for science, to do it for themselves." But then, it was insisted on, that, for this purpose, the translations should be made, *not* into the *vernacular*, but into the *classical* languages of the East—Arabic for the Mahommedans, and Sanskrit for the Hindus. On this subject Dr. Mouat, casting aside the philological lucubrations of the learned orientalists, in a simple and straight forward manner thus enunciates the decision of plain unsophisticated common sense:—

"The experience of the past does not afford much promise of success for the future, in superseding the ignorance of the East, by transfusing the learning of the West, into the sacred and classic media of their learned tongues. It is through the vernacular language of the people, the vulgar mother-tongue of the mass, that the impression must be made, and the mists of ignorance and prejudice be dispelled. These are views, which I know are disputed by many eminent Orientalists, whose opinions are entitled to the highest respect and consideration. It must be remembered, then, that the present work is written chiefly for the pupils of the military class attached to the Medical College, none of whom are Arabic, and few Persian, scholars. They are all taught in Urdu, and are rendered familiar with the European scientific terms used in Anatomy, Chemistry, Medicine, Surgery, and Materia Medica, from the very commencement of their study. To introduce, therefore, simple or compound Arabic terms in their text-books, would at once render them unintelligible, as it pre-supposes an amount of Oriental classical information, possessed by none of them.

It would be productive likewise of the disadvantage of being perfectly incomprehensible to the medical officers under whom they are hereafter to serve; whereas, where the same terms with the same significations attached to them, are used by both, there is little chance of mistake or misunderstanding; and the duties of native corps may be efficiently carried on with a very moderate acquaintance on the part of the Surgeon in charge, with the vernacular of the seapoy and the native doctor."

As to the manner in which the work of translation was conducted, the following is Dr. Mouat's own statement:—

"In effecting this translation, the rules published by the Vernacular Translation Society of the North-Western Provinces, have been adhered to as much as possible. Where a scientific word has an equivalent in Urdu, it has been used, together with the European word; and where no equivalent

could be found in any Oriental work with which I am acquainted, or which was known to Múnshi Nussír-úd-ín Ahmud, my coadjutor, the European term has been transferred bodily into Urdu. This has doubtless rendered the text harsh, unpleasing, and repulsive to the ear of learned natives, as well as to a great extent unintelligible, since without a distinct definition of the true meaning and signification of each Greek, Latin, or English term, much must necessarily appear strange and incomprehensible. To the native doctor, educated in the Medical College, these terms are familiar; to any other native, the amount of explanation required, would double the extent of the descriptive letter press, and after all, require the assistance of a teacher to render it completely intelligible. For learned natives then, I venture to recommend that the plates should be studied in connexion with, and considered illustative of, Tytler's "Anis Ul Musharrahi'n."

None, but those who have tried it, can be aware of the difficulty of translating professional works into Hindustani, or any other vernacular dialect. Eastern modes of thinking and expression are so totally different from those of Europe, that every sentence must be viewed in every possible light, and its meaning abstracted, as it were, from the words in which it is clothed, before it can, with any hope of success, be put into eastern idiom: and in innumerable cases it will be found exceedingly difficult to decide, whether the true meaning be really conveyed."* The chief part of this labour has fallen upon my native assistant,-to whom I have been careful to explain to the best of my ability, the exact meaning of every word and sentence; their true idiomatic expression being subsequently determined by himself.

The text, after being sent to press, is read in my presence by pupils of the military class, to ascertain that no words or expressions unknown or unintelligible to them, are made use of. It is then submitted to Captain Marshall, Secretary to the College of Fort William, and when approved by him, is finally printed off."

In passing, Dr. Mouat very naturally and properly alludes to the triumph which the Medical College of Calcutta has been honoured to achieve over what was reckoned inveterate national prejudice. "The history," says he, "of the pursuit of practical Anatomy in British India, is one of the deepest interest, to every friend of humanity and civilisation. Its origin is so recent as to be within the memory of very many now living, and the first Hindu of high caste who ever wielded the scalpel, and thus at one stroke severed the deepest rooted prejudices of his race and religion, is at the present moment a distinguished ornament of the Institution, with the records of which his name must for ever be associated, as the forerunner in the career of science and honour. I allude to Pandit Madusuden Gupta, the native demonstrator of Anatomy in the Medical College, and teacher of Surgery to the military class: an able Sanskrit scholar, and equally skilled in the medical science of the western world. It is but ten short years since this great triumph was achieved under the immediate direction of Dr. Goodeve, and now there are annually at least one hundred and fifty native students of every caste and class, engaged in the dissection of the human body—the only rivalry existing between Hindu, Mahommedan, and Christian, being that of zeal and energy, in the pursuit of what has justly been termed, the foundation of all the medical and surgical science."

* Tytler.

Respecting the importance and advantage of the study of Anatomy there can be, amongst the intelligent, but one opinion. On this subject Dr. Mouat quotes from the late Dr. John Tytler the following judicious and impressive remarks:—

"Of all subjects of investigation to human creatures," says the late Dr John Tytler, "the second in interest is the structure of the animal body; and even those who pretend to be most disgusted with its details, are yet universally highly interested in their results. Of consequence there is none on which so many hypotheses have been formed in all ages and nations. The bare catalogue of erroneous physiological theories would fill a volume, and their explanations, a library. Of these, the great corrective is the study of Anatomy. This science is, therefore, from its very nature, a silent, but a perpetual and irresistible appeal from the errors of theory to the facts of nature, from falsehood to truth. No other science whatever can in this respect come into competition with it. Some are too abstract; others are dependent on such opinions, tastes, or testimonies as may always afford room for doubt or cavil; and others, which possess the same advantage as Anatomy, yet possess them in a far less eminent degree. Its truths are obvious and incontrovertible to every one who takes the trouble to examine them, but at the same time they are discoverable only by actual examination, and it is, therefore, the very best imaginable means of leading the mind from the study of words to that of things.

It may likewise be observed, as no small recommendation of Anatomy, that it has a most powerful influence in counteracting prejudices that arise from birth, station, or caste, by demonstrating that, however mankind may differ in these externals, their internal organization is the same. Before the knife of the anatomist every artificial distinction of society disappears; and if all the individuals of the human race be equal in the grave, they are still more so on the dissecting table. The prince will not be found to possess a single muscle or a single artery beyond the meanest of his subjects; and the Christian, the Mahommedan, and the Hindú, the Brahman and the Sudra, have precisely the same organs and the same faculties. Such reflections must perpetually occur to every one who has the least familiarity with this science, and irresistibly impress his mind with the conviction, that all these different denominations are the offspring of the same benevolent Being, 'who hath made of one blood all nations of men.'"

To these reflections of Dr. Tytler we would add another of a nature not less momentous. In studying the structure of the human frame, are we not constantly reminded of the expression of profoundest wisdom not less than true devotion—that we are "fearfully and wonderfully made!" Within the same bulk and compass what other material fabric exhibits the same aggregate of marvellous contrivances—the same multiplicity and harmony of adaptations for the accomplishment of special ends? And is it rational to dwell for ever amid contrivances the most exquisite and never once refer to the existence of the all-wise Contriver?—To be for ever admiring the skilfulness of adapted means, indicative of the noblest designs, and never once think of the presence or the attributes of the omniscient and omnipotent Designer? Lest, however, on such a theme we may be supposed to be either carried away by partiality or blinded by prejudice, we gladly take refuge under the authority of one, whose name, with all the cultivators of Anatomical and Physiological Science, must ever command attention and respect.

In the introduction of his treatise on Animal Mechanics in the Library of Useful Knowledge written purposely to point out the proofs of design in the animal frame, the late lamented Sir Charles Bell remarks as follows :—

"However ingenious our contrivances may be, they are not only limited, but they present a sameness which becomes tiresome. Nature, on the contrary, gives us the same objects of interest, or image of beauty, with such variety, that they lose nothing of their influence and their attraction by repetition.

If the reader has an imperfect notion of design and providence, from a too careless survey of external nature, and the consequent languor of his reflexions, we hope that the mere novelty of the instances we are about to place before him, may carry conviction to his mind ; for we are to draw from nature still, but in a field which has been left, strangely neglected, though the nearest to us of all, and of all the most fruitful.

Men proceed in a slow course of advancement in architectural, or mechanical, or optical sciences ; and when an improvement is made, it is found that there are all along examples of it in the animal body, which ought to have been marked before, and which might have suggested to us the improvement. It is surprising that this view of the subject has seldom, if ever, been taken seriously, and never pursued. Is the human body formed by an all perfect Architect, or is it not ? And, if the question be answered in the affirmative, does it not approach to something like infatuation, that possessing such perfect models as we have in the anatomy of the body, we yet have been so prone to neglect them ?

We undertake to prove, that the foundation of the Eddystone lighthouse, the perfection of human architecture and ingenuity, is not formed on principles so correct, as those which have directed the arrangement of the bones of the foot: That the most perfect pillar or kingpost is not adjusted with the accuracy of the hollow bones which support our weight ; That the insertion of a Ship's masts into the hull is a clumsy contrivance compared with the connexions of the human spine and pelvis ; And that the tendons are composed in a manner superior to the last patent cables of Huddart, or the yet more recently improved chain-cables of Bloxam."

After adducing a series of illustrations the most beautiful and conclusive, designed to illustrate the analogy between the structure of the human body and the works of human contrivance, and to shew how vastly superior the former is to the latter, Sir Charles thus proceeds :—

"In reflecting on these many proofs of design in the animal body, it must excite our surprise that Anatomy is so little cultivated by men of science. We crowd to see a piece of machinery or a new engine, but neglect to raise the covering which would display in the body the most striking proofs of design, surpassing all art in simplicity and effectiveness, and without any thing useless or superfluous.

A more important deduction from the view of the animal structure is, that our conceptions of the perfection and beauty in the design of nature, are exactly in proportion to the extent of our capacity. We are familiar with the mechanical powers, and we recognise the principles in the structure of the animal machine ; and in proportion as we understand the principles of hydrostatics and hydraulics, are able to discern the most beautiful adaptation of them in the vessels of an animal body. But when, to our further progress in anatomy, it is necessary that we should study a matter so difficult as theory of life, imperfect principles or wrong conceptions distort

and obscure the appearances, false and presumptuous theories are formed, or we are thrown back in disappointment into scepticism, as if chance only could produce that, of which we do not comprehend the perfect arrangement. But studies better directed, and prosecuted in a better spirit prove that the human body, though deprived of what gave it sense and motion, is still a plan drawn in perfect wisdom.

A man possessed of that humility which is akin to true knowledge, may be depressed by too extensive a survey of the frame of nature. The stupendous changes which the geologist surveys—the incomprehensible magnitude of the heavenly bodies moving in infinite space, bring down his thoughts to a painful sense of his own littleness ; "to him the earth with men upon it, will not "seem much other than an ant-hill, where some ants carry corn, and some "carry their young, and some go empty, and all to and fro a little heap of "dust."*

He is afraid to think himself an object of Divine care ; but when he regards the structure of his own body, he learns to consider space and magnitude as nothing to a Creator. He finds that the living being, which he was about to contemn, in comparison with the great system of the universe, exists by the continuance of a power, no less admirable than that which rules the heavenly bodies ; he sees that there is a revolution, a circle of motions no less wonderful in his own frame, in the microcosm of man's body, than in the planetary system ; that there is not a globule of blood which circulates, but possesses attraction as incomprehensible and wonderful as that which retains the planets in their orbits.

The economy of the animal body, as the economy of the universe, is sufficiently known to us to compel us to acknowledge an Almighty Power in the creation. What would be the consequence of a further insight—whether it would conduce to our peace or happiness—whether it would assist us in our duties, or divert us from the performance of them, is very uncertain."

After strongly recommending the works of Ray, Paley, Fenelon, Derham, &c. on the evidences of the existence and attributes of God, as manifested in the works of Creation, and adducing many more original illustrations of his own, Sir Charles thus concludes his masterly and inimitable treatise :—

"The grand phenomena of nature make powerful impressions on our imagination, and we acknowledge them to be under the guidance of Providence ; but it is more pleasing, more agreeable to our self-importance, it gives us more confidence in that Providence, to discover that the minutest changes in nature are equally His care, and that "all things do homage."

Although it be true that every thing in nature, being philosophically contemplated, will lead to the same conclusions, yet the occurrences around us steal so imperceptibly on our observation, all the objects of nature, or at least vegetable and animal productions, grow up by so slow a process by our side, that we do not consider them at all in the same way as we should do if they started suddenly upon our vision.

It is this familiarity with the qualities of living body, and a habit of seeing without reflection which has made it necessary to carry the reader through so long a course of observation and reasoning, to excite attention to the admirable structure of his own frame, and its adaptation to the earth we inhabit —to perceive that every thing is formed with a strict relation to the human faculties and organs, to extend our dominion and to multiply our sources

* Bacon.

of enjoyment. It is by seeing the plan of Providence in the establishment of relations between the condition of our being and the material world, that we learn to comprehend that unity of design in the creation in which we form so great a part.

This exaltation of our nature is not like the influence of pride or common ambition. We may use the words of Socrates to his scholar, who saw in the contemplation of nature only a proof of his own insignificance, and concluded "that the gods had no need of him," which drew this answer from the sage: "The greater the munificence they have shown in the care of thee, so much the more honour and service thou owest them."

To the *spirit* of these reflections of one of the greatest of Anatomists and Physiologists we have nothing farther at present to add. May the mantle, alike of his science and devoutness, fall on many a youthful graduate of the Medical College of Calcutta! Between true Science and true Religion, whether Natural or Revealed, there is no discrepancy. And he is the best friend of humanity who helps theoretically to prove, and practically to exemplify, the singular analogies and harmonies that subsist between them all—mutually strengthening each other's claims—and conspiring to rear a fabric to the glory and honour of their Divine Author.

Recent Works on the Punjab.

1. *Adventures of an officer in the service of Runjit Singh; by Major H. M. L. Lawrence, Bengal Artillery; British Resident at the Court of Nepal; late assistant to the political agent in charge of British relations with Lahore. 2 Vols. Messrs. Thacker and Co.*
2. *The Punjab; being a brief account of the country of the Sikhs; its extent, history, commerce, productions, government, manufactures, laws, religion, &c., by Lieut. Colonel Steinbach, late of the service of Maharajah Runjit Singh, and his immediate successors.* 1 *Vol. Messrs. Thacker and Co.*
3. *Travels in India, including Sindh and the Punjab, by Captain Leopold Von Orlich. Translated from the German by H. Evans Lloyd, Esq. 2 Vols. 8vo. Messrs. Thacker and Co.*

Recent stirring events have turned all eyes; with intense anxiety, towards the Punjab. Authentic information has, consequently, on all hands, been loudly called for. In the 3d No. of this Journal, in an article on the "Sikhs and their country," will be found a great mass of facts, whose intrinsic value, importance and accuracy may be better appreciated *now*, than when originally published. It had long been the custom to despise and underrate the valour and discipline of the Sikh army. In the article now referred to, it was distinctly declared that "The Sikh Regular Infantry was composed of fine men, and in all respects both Infantry and Cavalry were considered to be equal to that of any native power in India—to be in no respect inferior to the Gwalior troops that fought at Maharajpore."

Again, as regards the number and size of the Sikh guns and their manner of serving them, it was stated, that there were fifty or sixty large guns, chiefly at Lahore and Amritsir "of twelve, eighteen and twenty-four pounders"—that, "throughout the country, possibly four hundred guns might be produced, exclusive of Rajah Gulab Singh's"—that "their weight of metal usually exceeded ours, and that a four pounder was often as heavy as our light sixes"—that the Sikhs "might bring a hundred and fifty pieces of kinds into the field; and when in position the guns would be well served,—better than we could conceive possible, with such tools, &c."

How strongly recent events have tended to verify the accuracy of these and similar statements made by us a year and a half ago, the whole world now knows. Is it too much to surmise that had these faithful statements—the result of personal observation and experience—been more maturely weighed, *in time*, by the British Chiefs, the outset of the late sanguinary campaign might have been less disastrous? But it is needless to animadvert with severity on the past: the great duty is, from the past, to profit for the future. To direct the general reader to sources of authentic intelligence on the subject of the Sikhs and their country, is the sole object we at present contemplate.

In the V. No. of this Journal was noticed the work of the Baron Charles Hugel, on Kashmir and the Punjab, edited by Major Jervis, and now to be had of Messrs. Ostell and Co. To that notice, the reader is now referred; while we now proceed to draw attention to two or three other recent publications.

The first of these is by an accomplished and gallant British officer—Major Lawrence. We leave the author to explain the nature and object of his own work. The following is his preface:—

"The writer of the following pages, having passed a great part of his life in India, and witnessed many of the most stirring scenes and events of the last twenty years, the history and politics of the country have long been his favourite study and recreation—a labour of love, to which he has ever returned with fresh interest, after having been called from the pursuit by less congenial avocations. The result of these tastes and habits is the following work.

The *form* which the materials have taken—that of an imaginary autobiography—may perhaps be thought to require a few words, with a view to enabling the reader to distinguish between the facts that are placed before him, and the fiction.

In the first place, then, all the characters in the Narrative which bear the names of known persons, are offered as portraits of those persons, so far as the Author's powers and materials have enabled him to paint them. Many of the incidents in which they are made to figure are also real, though they may not have occurred exactly at the times and places assigned to them.

Many of the conversations with Runjit Singh's confidential adviser, Azízúdín, also took place.

On the other hand, Bellasis himself, and the Personal Adventures ascribed to him, are purely fictitious,—the slight story having been adopted merely as a convenient vehicle for conveying to the reader characteristic illustrations of the border country, its people, its manners, its rulers, and their modes of ruling.

It is only fair to the memory of an extraordinary, and in many respects a distinguished man to add, that what is put into the mouth of the Maharajah himself, Runjit Singh, is for the most part imaginary.

In detailing the plans and endeavours of Bellasis for the good of the people he was appointed to govern, the Author desired to sketch what he knows to have been attempted, in another quarter, for a people as wild and impracticable as those of Kot Kangra.

Finally, the character of Bellasis himself was suggested to the Author by his intercourse with some of the foreign officers in Runjit's service, though he is not intended to represent any *one* of them.

With regard to the Historical passages of the work, they are chiefly taken from Forster, Malcolm, Prinsep, and Burnes, to whom, jointly and severally, the Author gladly acknowledges how largely he is indebted. Some incidents, however, rest on native authority.

The notes were made under circumstances affording peculiar opportunity for observation."

We would fain follow the author through his enchanting narrative, which to the faithfulness of historic portraiture adds all the vividness of a dramatic representation. Every thing is so natural—so true—so painted to the life—that the reader is made as it were an eye-witness of every scene, and a partaker in the evolution of every striking incident and stirring event. His notice of the *capital* is as follows:—

"My way,* or rather the loss of my way, led me through the whole town; for, though I had inquired what entrance conducted most directly to the suburb I was bound for, no one that I asked seemed to know. Indeed, throughout the Punjab, there is this ignorance or apathy as to the route to be pursued: no one appears acquainted with the direct road, if that term be applicable to the pathways that intersect the country; and the loss of an hour in finding one's way in a single march seems a matter of no account.

The entrance of the town from the northwest is picturesque and pleasing; even at the commencement of the hot season, there was a green hue about the banks of the Ravi, contrasting strongly with the huge town in its immediate vicinity. Within the city there is little that is novel to those who have sojourned in the East; but, with all its pomp and wealth, and it has both, there is a mushroom aspect about it, bespeaking rather the entrenched camp, than the city built for duration. In fact, it is only the second halting-place of the Sikh hordes who have over-run the Punjab; Amritsir being their head-quarters. Long before their time, however, Lahore was a town of note. Thrice has it been desolated; Nadir and Ahmad Shah each in turn carried destruction through its ancient halls, its dwellings of centuries; and the merciless *Sikhs* completed the work; so that when Maharajah Runjit Singh made it the seat of his government, he had almost to found the city anew.

Out of thirty-six of the old town divisions only six now remain: they are encircled by a strong and handsome wall, enclosing also some new ground, and forming a sweep of four *kos*†—an armed enclosure not often rivalled.

* Cavalry guides are proverbially bad in India; but let no one who loves his peace and prefers his own bed to a village *charpai*, trust himself to the tender mercies of a Sikh *sowar*: a for where it is possible to go wrong, he will be sure not to go right.

a Horseman, or rather *rider*; for it is applied to a camel-rider, or "*sutar-sowar*."

† A measure, varying from a mile-and-a-half to five miles, but usually equivalent to two English miles.

The wall is, throughout the greater part of its extent, fronted by a fausse-braye, and a deep, though narrow ditch; there are twelve gates and as many wickets, each of the former having a double entrance, so that if any adversary did force the outer gate, he must pass through a flanking fire before reaching the second. The parapets of the main work could be easily knocked over, but those of the fausse-braye, having no command, could scarcely be battered, except from the crest of the glacis."

The leading characteristics of the life and manners of the late celebrated Maharajah Runjit Singh are delineated with great vivacity; and the sketches supplied of many of the principal courtiers possess, in the restrospect, a mournful interest. The brothers Dhyan Singh, Suchet Singh, and Gulab Singh, the faqir Azízúdín, and many more find a niche in the gallery of fame; and so also do the foreign officers Court and Avitabile, Allard and Ventura, &c.

Concerning the revenue and judicial department the following is a brief but intelligible notice:—

"Two-fifths is the proportion nominally taken by the *Sirkar*. At this rate, on an estimate of the average proceeds of a certain term of years, the whole country is farmed out, in larger or smaller portions. The estimate may be above or below the mark, the *raiyats* contumacious; it is all the *qismat** of the farmer; he must realize the amount, and look out for his own profits too, without collecting more than two-fifths of the produce. If he exceed this proportion, or if his profits are high, it is sure to reach the sovereign's ear and he then disallows proportionately on the accounts returned, leaving just so much as he thinks will stimulate the farmer's industry, and keep him from disgust.

Should the farmer, however, fail in realizing the sum specified by government, he is imprisoned with more or less severity, degraded, cast off, or forgiven, and allowed another chance in another quarter, with the balance written against his name, according to his interest at court, the opinion of his ability, or the cause of the defalcation.

The revenue-farmer is judge, magistrate, and often custom-master, too, within his jurisdiction.

The *Adalat*† is another rich source of revenue to the state, fine being the punishment awarded in almost every case, and being always the ready means of avoiding all other retribution. In civil cases, the gainer is mulcted one-fourth of the property at issue, and so common is it for both parties to pay for a decision, that he only is considered a bad man and an unjust judge, who takes your money without furthering your cause. Under such a system, the poor man has little chance; and though the vagabond thief, pressed perhaps by hunger, has his nose and ears cut off, and is thereby irrecoverably branded one of the profession, the wealthy robber and dexterous ruffian ride unmolested through the land.

From the customs alone, twenty-four lakhs of rupees enter the royal treasury; Amritsir yields nine lakhs. We may judge what remains to the trader, who not only has to pay this recognised levy, but to pass through the screw-press of all the subordinate officers. Rules and rates are laughed at, every ferry and every pass is guarded, and the *baipari*‡ pays according to the humour of the watchman, which in turn is regulated by a close

* *Destiny*. A word that solves all problems in human life.

† Court of justice.

‡ Trader.

calculation whether the amount taken will crush the nest-egg, and prevent the trader returning, or bring down on himself observation, and consequent squeezing.

The picture I have sketched of my new fellow-subjects and our ruler is not a very pleasant one; but it has its reliefs, and we must consider the elements Runjit had to work upon, and the time he had to consolidate his power. He found the country swarming with petty chiefs, each a legalised plunderer and murderer; the people were all ignorant, idle, listless, and brutally sensual. Persia, Affghanistan, and the adjacent parts of Hindustan were in much the same condition. Runjit has made life comparatively secure, and he must have done something for property, or we should not see the existing wealth of Lahore and Amritsir, nor would his subjects shew so little anxiety to locate themselves under the neighbouring British rule."

Respecting the nature, value, and sources of native evidence, the following notice may well be regarded as a fine example of the *multum in parvo*—embodying a vast deal of the fruits of experience:—

"Few can be so simple as not to take all native reports "cum grano;" though the manner and even matter of the report give a clue as to its probable credibility. One man systematically lies within and without reason; he is as good as a weatherguage, and is only to be read with caution, *topsy-turvy*. Another sees what you want, fishes for it, thinks he has it, and tells accordingly. A third is paid for misleading you, and a fourth thinks he may be so. Another knows nothing, but wishes to be seen talking with the *faringi*. Having considered all the engines at work, if you scribble the evidence of one on a half margin, and can manage to parallel it with that of another of different class, caste, profession, and habits, and can keep each from knowing that the other is in your employ, you may then put *some* trust in their testimony, where it agrees, testing it, however, when practicable, by further evidence. Give as little opinion of your own as possible; be merely seeking; *know* nothing, *think* nothing, or you will be made a tool in the hands of your own instruments."

The sketch of the rise and progress of the Sikhs, as a religious sect and political body, is brief, but the leading points have been seized on with great judgment. As to number, he doubts whether the whole Punjab contains *a quarter of a million* of Sikhs; the chief part of them are to be found in the *Majah* (the name of the tract between the rivers Ravi and Beyah) about Amritsir and Lahore, and among the Sirdars and Court retainers. A Sikh cultivator is rarely seen, most of that occupation being Hindus or Musalmans, the former being, perhaps, as two to one, and the Musalmans prevailing to the westward. The whole system of the Sikhs is declared to be unfavourable to the multiplication of their race. Continual feuds cut off great numbers. There probably is not a more dissolute race on the face of the earth, and though by their active habits, some do live to a good old age, yet most are childless, and a large family is never found; they all drink and eat *bangh* and opium.

In a series of graphic narratives, the author lays bare the *inner life* of the Sikhs, both domestic and social—with all the wiles, intrigues, treacheries, and lawless uncertainties which constitute the very staple not merely of Sikh existence, but of Oriental existence generally. He had sought by all means to make himself acquainted with the

manners and customs, the feelings and actuating principles of the Punjabis. On this subject he thus expresses himself:—

"I studied also the characters of my followers, and by familiar and kindly conversation sought to gain their confidence. I found the system but partially answer, and have indeed, throughout my career, found no point more difficult to attain, than to combine so much of strictness as should prevent people imposing on me, with that forbearance that should attach them to my person; which, while it convinced them I was ready to meet all their real wants, and to a certain extent their desires, should make them feel I was not to be made a tool of, and would invariably punish all attempts to impose on my indulgence; for I felt that what was *parwasti** for the time to the individual, was possibly ruin to him in the end, and certainly misery and oppression to those within his control. Consistent and firm demeanour was therefore my aim, with whatever success it was carried out. Orientals indeed are strange and fanciful creatures; the same man that would watch your sick bed untired for nights, or expose himself to destruction on your behalf, would cheat you, pilfer you, lie to you, and daily and hourly neglect your orders. The true philosophy then is to cultivate their better qualities, and make the best of their defects; treating them with what indulgence is possible, respecting their religious prejudices, but, at the same time, obliging them to respect yours, and not to treat you as if you were an unclean animal: keeping them strictly to their duty, even though it be a matter of routine, mindful that, though false alarms may deaden vigilance, dishabitude does so much more certainly, and that what men are not taught in ordinary times to do as a matter of course, they may, in time of need, look on as a hardship."

In the course of his narrative the author records his experience on many subjects; and amongst others on the much disputed one of marriage for a soldier:—

"Marriage is thought by some to incapacitate a man for the duty of a soldier,† and to deteriorate him for all active business. My own experience contradicts the opinion: an active man will be active, and a sluggard slothful, be he either benedict or bachelor; nor would any woman, worthy of the name of wife, think of interfering with what regards the credit of her husband, unless to urge him onward, to cheer him by her counsel on departure and in absence, and to brighten his home to him on his return; such is the part of that wife whose husband makes her the partner of his heart, of his cares, and his joys."

No extracts of any isolated passages can convey the remotest idea of the animation and spirit with which the personal narrative in these volumes is conducted; nor of the exciting, romantic and even tragic interest which attaches to certain portions of it. We must, therefore, leave the whole to the solitary perusal of the reader; who, we venture to say, when once fairly afloat on the stream of stirring incident,

* Special favour and indulgence.

† Bellasis charges high authorities when he advocates marriage for a soldier; among others, the highest military authority living. But the Duke advocated bullocks for artillery! So who is infallible? After all "*wife*" conveys very different ideas to different minds. Doubtless, Bellasis means a wife as she ought to be; and he may safely appeal to facts whether such a one has ever been a hinderance to her husband's success.

cannot pause till he reaches its termination. And his regret, if we greatly mistake not, will then be, that he has reached the end so soon.

The author's chief object, as distinctly avowed by himself, has been "to point out some of the springs of men's actions, and by glances at the back scenes of Punjab society, account in some measure for the peculiarities and inconsistencies of Sikh character"—to offer "*pictures* of men and manners"—to sketch "the interior scenes of life, and details that escape the casual observer rather than to chronicle occurrences already recorded in official documents." This object we consider the author to have amply and happily succeeded in attaining. At the same time his narrative has been so skilfully constructed as to convey, in an easy and unembarassed form, a vast deal of interesting and authentic intelligence, of a varied character—statistical, historical, geographical and political. The work has also another recommendation, which oriental works in general would do well to imitate. In foot notes, throughout the volumes, all descriptive names, peculiar expressions and technical terms, are clearly and distinctly explained; so that the reader pleasantly and incidentally is led on to acquire a considerable stock of useful oriental phraseology.

In conclusion, we cannot but congratulate the Government of India in having, at its command, in so mighty a crisis as the present, the services of an officer who is so consummate a master of all the intricacies of Sikh affairs as Major Lawrence—one, too, who, to unrivalled knowledge and practical experience, adds a character for intelligence, integrity, and benevolence which challenges the esteem and admiration of all who know him.

2. The *second* of the works at the head of this article is also one of considerable interest and utility. In its matter and manner, it is of the dedactic order—characterized by a plain yet perspicuous elegance of style. The motive which prompted the author in preparing it, was the extreme ignorance prevalent in England regarding a country which each succeeding overland from India appeared to invest with additional political interest in the eyes of the British Government. The Author apprises his readers—that he "might have established a claim to originality, by laying nothing before the public that was not exclusively the result of his own observations during a nine years' residence among the Sikhs; but he has preferred to give, in a concentrated form, the fullest information available to those who choose to seek for it and therefore limits his pretensions to those of the careful compiler."

This modest and unpretending design the author has executed with skill and judgment. His local experience of the Sikh country and people has given him great advantage in the selection and arrangement of his materials, as well as in the clearness of his representation of their general bearing and relative importance. The consequence has been that, within the compass of 145 pages, he has succeeded in condensing as much information relative to the Sikhs and their country as the vast majority of the British public will ever care to learn. In this point of view we highly recommend the work as a concise yet

pleasant and comprehensive Manual on the important subject of which it professes to treat.

In recounting the successive tragedies which followed the demise of Runjit Singh, the author tells us of the inveterate hostility of Rajah Nú Nehal Singh (grandson and second in succession to Runjit) towards the British Government. "Secret and even pecuniary overtures were made by him to the Courts of Nepal, Kabul, and almost every other native power, to induce them to rise against the British from all quarters simultaneously. Upon one occasion he became so excited, when speaking of the British Government, merely for some malicious representations made to him, as to draw his sword in open durbar, and proclaim his intention never to sheath it until he had measured himself with the English. This ridiculous vapouring earned for him the *soubriquet* of the Hotspur of the Sikhs." Had he lived, an early war with the Punjab and Nepal would have been inevitable. The late Maharajah Shere Singh, who succeeded him, on the other hand, upon all occasions expressed himself favourably to British interests. In justice to his memory, our author records the fact, that "it was solely owing to his constancy that general Pollock's army was allowed an undisputed passage through the Punjab to Peshawar, after the disasters of the British at Kabul,—the Sikh Sirdars being all *strongly disposed* to take advantage of this temporary *contretemps* to British affairs, by attacking him." The refusal of Shere Singh to countenance this project only served to exasperate the confederation formed against him; and the plot which was formed against his life was somewhat hastened by the supposition that he was in secret communication with the British Government with the view of seeking its protection.

Of late the question has been raised regarding the fate of the far famed Koh-i-Núr diamond, valued at a million rupees, which was originally attached to the peacock throne of the great Moguls, and which Runjit Singh had so disreputably obtained possession of from the late Shah Shujah the British-patronized King of the Affghans. Our author tells us, that in his last moments, Runjit directed that it should be given, as a behest, "to the high priests of the celebrated temple of Juggernath;" but that "the intention of the behest was not fulfilled," since, "from recent accounts, the Koh-i-Núr is still in the Lahore treasury."

Instead, however, of furnishing any more isolated statements or quotations from the work, we think, that, in present circumstances, the following sketch of the history of the British connection with Runjit Singh, and of the various compacts entered into with him, will be considered the most useful and opportune:—

"It was in 1805, that our first connection with Runjít arose, and it was in the following way:—After the Dusserah of 1805, the Sikh army was led by Runjít Singh into the Mahommedan Territory between the Chenab and the Indus, and the chief of a tract called Jungle was called upon to settle for an annual tribute of 120,000 rupees. Before, however, this negotiation could be brought to a conclusion, Runjít Singh was recalled by intelligence of the near approach of Juswant Rao Holkar and Amír Khan from the east, pursued by the British army under Lord Lake. Futteh Singh Alúwala was accordingly left to make arrangements with the chiefs of the west, and

Runjít hastening back in person to Amritsir, met there the fugitive Mahratta, with whom he had no easy part to play. Juswant Rao threatened to continue his flight westward towards the Kabul dominions. Lord Lake, however, had arrived on the Beyah or Beas, and was prepared to follow, and it was neither convenient nor wise to permit operations of the kind that must ensue to be carried on in the Punjab. On the other hand, Runjít Singh, though he would have proved an useful auxiliary to either party, was sensible of his inability to offer open resistance. In this state of things the relations he maintained with Juswant Rao Holkar were friendly, but not encouraging, and that chief being disappointed in the hope of raising the Sikh nation to a co-operation in hostility with him against the British, yielded to the difficulties by which he was surrounded, and made his terms with Lord Lake in a treaty, concluded on the 24th December, 1805. Friendly engagements were further exchanged by the British commander with Runjít Singh, and the Alúwala Sirdar; and in the course of January, 1806, the two armies which had inspired so much alarm in the Panjab, returned to Hindustan.

In 1808, the alarm of an invasion of India being meditated by the French Emperor, Napoleon Buonaparte, becoming rife, Lord Minto determined to send missions to ascertain the condition of the countries intervening, and the feeling of the rulers, chiefs, and people. The growing power of Runjít Singh, whose authority was now completely established in the Punjab, made it essential to include his court, and the collision threatened by the recent proceedings and known designs of Runjít, east of the Sutlej, formed an additional motive for deputing a British agent, to Lahore. Mr. (now Lord) Metcalfe, was the negotiator selected on this occasion, and the announcement of the intended deputation was received by Runjít Singh, while the Jhínd and Kythul chiefs were in attendance on him. To them the contents of the despatch were communicated, and the matter formed the subject of much anxious conference and deliberation. It was determined to receive Mr. Metcalfe at Kassúr, whither Runjít marched for the purpose in September, 1808. On the envoy's arrival, he was received with the usual attention, but had scarcely found the opportunity to enter on the subject proposed for discussion with the Sikh chief, when the latter suddenly broke up his camp from Kassúr, and crossed the Sutlej with his army. Furíd-Kot was immediately occupied by him, and made over to Suda Kúnwur in ejection of Gulab Singh, and Runjít then proceeded against the Mussulman possession of Muler Kotila. The Puthan family holding it was reduced to extremity, and agreed to a large money payment, giving a bond of a lakh of rupees, for which the Putíala Rajah was induced, by the deposit of some strongholds, to be security. Mr. Metcalfe accompanied Runjít Singh to Furíd-Kot, but refused to countenance any military operations east of the Sutlej. He accordingly remained near that river until his government should determine what to do in the juncture, and addressed in the interval a strong remonstrance against such aggressions, committed in the very face of his proposition to make this matter the subject of discussion and negotiation between the governments. In the mean time Runjít Singh continued his progress to Umbala, which, with its dependencies, he seized, and made over to the Naba and Kythul chiefs. He then exacted tribute from Shahabad and Thanesur, and returning by Putíala, made a brotherly exchange of Turbands with the weak Rajah Saheb Singh. After this expedition he again gave Mr. Metcalfe the meeting at Amritsir. The government at Calcutta had in October determined on its course, and the envoy was now instructed to avow that the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna was under British protection, and although that government

had no design to require the surrender of possessions occupied before its interposition, it must insist on the restoration of all that had been seized during the late expedition of Runjit Singh. To enforce this demand, and support the negotiation, a body of troops was advanced to the frontier under Colonel, afterwards Sir David, Ochterlony, and an army of reserve was formed and placed under the command of Major-General St. Leger, to be prepared for any extended operations, the activity, and supposed hostile designs of Runjit Singh might render necessary.

Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna at Búría on the 16th January, 1809, and as he approached Umbala, Runjit Singh's detachment left there retired to the Sutlej. Taking *en route* the several places visited by the Sikh army, the British commander reached Lúdiana on the Sutlej, and took up a position there on the 18th February following. His march was hailed by the people and chiefs, as affording the promise of future protection and tranquillity, and they vied with one another in the display of their gratitude and satisfaction.

Up to this period Runjit Singh had maintained in the conferences to which the envoy was admitted, that the Jumna, and not the Sutlej, was the proper boundary of the British possessions, and that in right of his supremacy over the Sikh nation, no less than as Governor of Lahore, he was warranted in asserting feudal superiority over all the chiefs of that nation between those two rivers. The existing independence of Putíala and the other principalities, had no weight in argument with a chief, whose domination was the right to plunder and usurp, according to the condition of his army, and who aimed only to secure himself this. The arrival of Colonel Ochterlony on the Sutlej, however, opened his eyes to a new fear, which was, that if he longer resisted, offers of protection that might be made to chiefs in the Punjab, which would effectually curb his ambitious views, and must involve him in collision, and, perhaps, hostility, with a power he never thought himself capable of seriously opposing in the field. His resolutions were hastened by an event that occurred in his camp. The Mohurrum, the first and sacred month of the Mahommedans, commenced in 1809, towards the end of February, and the followers of this faith, in the suite of the envoy, prepared to celebrate the deaths of Hasun and Hosein, the two sons of Ali, with the usual ceremonies. The *Akalis*, or fanatic priests of the Sikhs, took umbrage at this performance of Moslem rites in the Sikh camp, and at Amritsir; and collecting in a body, headed by Phúla Singh, a bigot of notorious turbulence, they opened a fire of matchlocks, and attacked the envoy's camp. The escort was called out, and though composed of two companies of native infantry and sixteen troopers only, this small body charged and routed their party, after which, the biers were buried with the usual forms. Runjit himself came up at the close of the fight; and immediately it was over, advanced in person to make apologies to the envoy, expressing his admiration of the discipline and order displayed by the British detachment, and promising his best exertions to prevent any repetition of such disorders. The circumstance made an impression on his mind as to the unfitness of his own troops to cope with those under European discipline, and determined him to secure peace and friendship at the sacrifices demanded.

The British Government were sensible, that having interfered to impose restraints on the ambition of Runjit Singh, it had little to expect then from his friendship in case of any necessity arising at that time to arm against invasion from the west. Had danger, indeed, from that quarter been more imminent, it would probably have been deemed political to extend our direct influence farther into the Punjab, in reduction of the power of

a chief who showed himself so unfriendly. But by the time arrangements had to be concluded, the apprehension of any necessity of preparation for such an event had worn off, and the only object that remained was, to secure our own frontier, and for the credit of our power to take redress for the offensive aggressions which the Lahore ruler had recently committed east of the Sutlej. Runjit Singh expressed a strong desire at this time to obtain a written pledge of our pacific and friendly intentions towards himself; and the restoration of the places seized during his late inroad having been obtained from him, a short treaty declaratory of mutual peace and friendship was concluded by the envoy, at Amritsir, on the 25th April, 1809. It was to the following effect:—

(After the usual preamble expressive of the desire for peace, and stating by whom the engagement was settled.)

"*Article the 1st*—Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore: the latter shall be considered with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favoured powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the river Sutlej.

"*Article 2nd.*—The Rajah will never maintain in the territory, which he occupies on the left bank of the Sutlej, more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of the territory, nor commit or suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity.

"*Article 3rd.*—In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship on the part of either State, this treaty shall be considered to be null and avoid." (The fourth and last article provides for the exchange of ratifications.)

The treaty being concluded, Mr. Metcalfe came away on the 1st May following. All further discussions with Runjit Singh were then dropped, and it became a principle in all relations with this chief to confine communications, as much as possible, to friendly letters and the exchange of presents, but the British officers on the frontier were instructed to watch the proceedings of Runjit Singh, and to require instant redress, in case of any infringement of the terms of the treaty, by interference with, or encroachment on, the rights and territories of chiefs and sirdars, east or south of the river Sutlej. The continued prosecution of this course of policy, weaned the chief from all apprehension of danger to his own authority, from the ulterior views for which he long gave us credit.

To turn to the Sikh protection states.—The declarations with which the British force, under Colonel Ochterlony, advanced to the Sutlej, were in strict conformity with the application, made by the chiefs occupying the country between the Indus and Sutlej, through the mission deputed by them to Delhi, in March 1808. Protection was promised, and no demand of tribute or of contribution of any kind made, to defray the charges incurred by the obligation to afford it. The recency of their experience of the rapacity of a Sikh army, and the conviction that there could be no security to themselves, and still less to their families, under a ruler like the chief who had then the ascendant in the Sikh nation, made all the sirdars rejoice that their prayer had been acceded to by the British Government; and the advance of its force to the Sutlej was looked upon in consequence with no jealousy, but as a measure necessary to effect the purpose contemplated.

A treaty having been concluded with Runjit Singh, it became necessary to fix, somewhat more specifically than had been hitherto done, the relations that were to subsist henceforward between the protecting power and its protected dependants. It was determined to give the desired explanation of the views of the British Government on this subject, by a general proclamation, rather

than by the entering into any separate engagement with the numerous chiefs affected by the measure. Accordingly on the 6th May 1809, an *Italanama*, or general declaration, was circulated to the sirdars, intimating to them as follows:—

First.—That the territories of Sirhind and *Malúa* (the designation assumed by the Sikhs of Putíala, Naba, Jhínd, and Kythul), had been taken under British protection, and Runjit Singh had bound himself by treaty to exercise in future no interference therein.

Second.—That it was not the intention of the British Government to demand any tribute from the chiefs and sirdars benefiting by this arrangement.

Third.—That the chiefs and sirdars would be permitted to exercise, and were for the future secured in, the rights and authorities they possessed in their respective territories prior to, and at the time of the declaration of protection by the British Government.

Fourth.—That the chiefs and sirdars should be bound to offer every facility and accommodation to British troops and detachments, employed in securing the protection guaranteed, or for purposes otherwise connected with the general interests of the state, whenever the same might be marched into, or stationed in, their respective territories.

Fifth.—In case of invasion or war, the sirdars were to join the British standard with their followers, whenever called upon.

Sixth.—Merchants conveying articles, the produce of Europe, for the use of the detachments at Lúdiana, or of any other British force or detachment, should not be subject to transit duty, but must be protected in their passage through the Sikh country.

Seventh.—In like manner horses for the cavalry, when furnished with passports from competent officers, must be exempt from all tax.

The above declaration being published and circulated, became the charter of rights, to which the chiefs have since looked, and appealed, for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government. The matters specifically provided for were those that immediately pressed. There has been much, however, of intricate dispute between rival candidates for sirdaris;—between chiefs who had divided their territory before the declaration of protection was published, and had bound themselves to their co-proprietors by mutual obligations; between chiefs and their dependants of the Sikh nation, as well as Zemindars, as to the extent of right and authority possessed at the time of the declaration of protection; and, perhaps more than all, boundary disputes and quarrels regarding participated rights. These differences, whenever they have arisen, have required adjustment and arbitration by the British officers on the spot, and have formed the subject of continual references to the Supreme Government at Calcutta. The regulation of successions was also a matter, that from the first required to be undertaken by the protecting authority, and failing heirs of any kind according to Sikh custom and law, the escheat is considered to fall to the protecting state.

Until the year 1812, the duties of protection, and the settlement of these mutual disputes, though giving constant employment to Colonel Ochterlony, the British officer appointed superintendent of Sikh affairs, produced nothing of sufficient moment to require relation. In that year, however, the disorders in Putíala consequently upon the Rajah's imbecility, produced a crisis that called for an exertion of authoritative interference. The protected territory was invaded by a public depredator for whose punishment and expulsion the Putíala Rajah was called upon to furnish a quota of horse. This chief holds territory yielding a revenue of more than thirty lakhs of rupees

yet the whole force he could furnish on the occasion consisted only of two hundred horse of the very worst description, and these arrived so late in the field as to be of no use. Colonel Ochterlony, taking with him the chiefs of Jhínd and Naba, proceeded to Putíala to remonstrate with Muha Raja Saheb Singh upon the evidence of inefficiency afforded by this state of things, and it was endeavoured to persuade him to discard the low favorites who ate up his revenues, and prevented those better disposed from carrying on any consistent system of government, and from introducing the desired improvements into the administration. The attempt to procure a change of ministers by pursuasion failed, but the Rajah made many professions of a determination to exert himself to effect the desired reforms. Being left again to himself, his conduct became so violent and irregular, as to betray symptoms of an aberration of reason, and the colonel was compelled to proceed again to his capital, in order to allow his outraged subjects and dependants to put things on a better footing, and to prevent the Rajah's removal from power from producing convulsions, or a breach of the general tranquillity. Saheb Singh was now deposed, and placed under limited restraint. Askúr Rani, his wife, in association with a shrewd Brahman minister named Nundí Rao, was appointed regent for the heir-apparent, Kurum Singh, who was then a minor, and affairs were conducted in his name. Maharajah Saheb Singh died a few months after his deposal.

To return to Lahore—Nothing materially altered our relations with the ruler of that state between 1810 and 1830.

On the 17th of July 1831, Lieutenant Burnes reached Lahore, where his arrival with a present from the King of England, and with the letter of Lord Ellenborough which accompanied it, was a source of great pride and rejoicing to Runjit Singh. The attention he paid to Lieutenant Burnes was very marked, and he invited Captain Wade over from Lúdiana, to assist at the ceremonial of reception. From Lahore, Lieutenant Burnes proceeded to Simla, to render to the Governor-General an account of his mission, and to lay before his Lordship the valuable information obtained during it.

The very favourable disposition in which the ruler of Láhore seemed to be at this juncture, encouraged Lord William Bentinck to hope, that a proposition for a personal meeting between himself and Runjit Singh would be likely to be well received. He accordingly instructed Captain Wade, when at Lahore, on the occasion above related, to sound the chief's confidential advisers on the subject. As anticipated by his Lordship, the ruler of Lahore showed great desire for the meeting, but some difficulty was at first started in respect to the etiquette of a previous return mission, Runjit Singh having paid his Lordship the compliment of sending one, similarly composed to that which waited on Lord Amherst. The mission had been received by Lord William Bentinck in April, soon after his arrival at Simla: its members were the Dewan Mútí Ram, son of Mohkum Chund, Hurí Singh Sirdar, and the secretary, Faqír Azízúdín. They had been treated by the Governor-General with much distinction, and a return mission of some of the principal officers of his Lordship's suite had been promised, or rather held out in expectation. The personal meeting between the heads of the two states would necessarily deprive Runjit Singh of this compliment; for, in the first place, the time would scarcely allow of both, seeing that an intended journey of the Governor-General to Ajmír and Rajpútana required, that, if arranged at all, the interview should take place before the end of October, and in the second, if a formal mission were sent, immediately before the meeting, it would have the appearance in the eyes of the world, of being sent to supplicate, or induce the ruler of the Sikhs to come to the interview, whereas the rank and position of the head of the British Government,

required that the honour of a personal conference with him should be sought.

With a liberality, not inconsistent with his general character, Runjit Singh, having made up his mind to the interview, gave up the point of etiquette, and preparation was made on both sides, for the meeting to take place on the Sutlej about the 20th of October, without any previous return mission: the neighbourhood of Rúpur was subsequently fixed upon as the most appropriate and convenient spot for the meeting.

On the interview taking place, several days passed in pageantry and reviews, and both parties bid each other adieu with feelings of sincere and cordial friendship.

In 1835, a treaty was concluded with Runjit, of which the following is an abstract copy:—

Article 1st.—A toll of 570 rupees to be levied on all merchandise in transit on the rivers Indus and Sutlej between the sea and Rúpur, without reference to size of boats, or to the weight or value of cargo: this toll to be divided among the different states in proportion to the extent of territory, which they possess on the banks of those rivers.

Article 2nd.—In right of territory appertaining to the Lahore chief, both on the right and left banks of those rivers, a portion of the toll,—rupees 155-4 shall be levied opposite to Mithunkote, on the former side, on boats coming from sea to Rúpur: and rupees 67-15 in the vicinity of Hurríkí on the latter side, on boats going from Rúpur towards the sea.

Article 3rd.—In order to facilitate realizing the toll due to different states, and for speedily and satisfactorily adjusting any disputes connected with the safety of the navigation and welfare of the trade, a British officer will reside opposite to Mithunkote, and a native agent on the part of the British Government, opposite Hurríkí, who will both be subject to the orders of the British agent at Lúdiana, and agents appointed by the other states interested in the navigation, (viz. Bhawulpore and Sindh, together with those of Lahore) to reside at the above mentioned places, will co-operate with them in the execution of their duties.

Article 4th.—In order to guard against imposition on the part of merchants in falsely complaining of being plundered of property which formed no part of their cargoes, they are required, on taking out their passports, to produce an invoice of their cargo, which being duly authenticated, a copy will be annexed to their passports; and whenever their boats may be brought to for the night, they are required to give immediate notice to the thanadars or officers of the place, and to request protection for themselves, at the same time showing the passports they may have received at Mithunkote or Hurríkí, as the case may be.

Article 5th.—Such parts of the 5th, 7th, 9th, and 10th articles of the Treaty of the 26th Dec., 1832, having reference to fixing a duty on the value and quantity of merchandize, and to the mode of its collection, are hereby rescinded, and the foregoing articles substituted in their place, agreeably to which, and the condition of the preamble, the toll will be levied.

In the middle of 1838 was concluded the tripartite treaty, according to which Runjit Singh was obliged to be aiding and assisting in the arrangements for restoring Shah Shujah to the Kabul throne. The treaty also settled the limits of the territories of the respective sovereigns. In the end of the year the splendid spectacle of the meeting of the Governor-General and Runjit Singh at Ferozepore, of which an account has been given in previous pages, took place. After the death of Runjit Singh, no fresh treaties were entered into with his son and successor; but some rates of duty

on boats navigating the Sutlej were agreed to with that unfortunate monarch, and they have hitherto remained undisturbed."

In concluding our notice of Col. Steinbach's work, we may add, that it is accompanied by a tolerably good map of the Punjab.

3. The *third* work at the head of this article, by Captain Leopold Von Orlich, is but in part devoted to the Punjab. The work is one of a comprehensive description, including notices of the outward voyage via Egypt to Bombay—of the town of Bombay and the surrounding localities—of Kurrachi and the voyage up the Indus to Ferozepore —of Lahore and Punjab affairs—and of all celebrated places between the Sutlej and Calcutta. These notices include all manner of miscellaneous observations on the manners, customs and institutions—whether of the Natives or of Europeans. They are in the *form* of letters addressed to the author's celebrated countrymen, the Baron Alexander Von Humboldt and Carl Ritter. This circumstance alone, as the translator very justly remarks, "would of itself be sufficient to guarantee their inherent importance; in fact, the very cordial reception which this distinguished officer met with from the various civil and military functionaries, and the marked attention with which he was honoured by Lord Ellenborough, together with his visit to the native princes of Sindh, Lahore, and Oude, have enabled him to collect ample materials, which he has wrought into a highly interesting narrative."

Well do we remember an interview which we had with the author when in Calcutta—an interview which impressed us with a deep sense of his intelligence, his extensive knowledge, and quick powers of observation. Nor does his work in any way disappoint the expectations which even a short personal acquaintance might have led one to form. It is throughout fraught with varied interest. We quite concur in the reasonable hopes of the translator that the work "cannot fail of a cordial reception from the British nation, who will be gratified by the opinion of so enlightened and unbiased an observer of the stability of the British power in India, which he believes to be very far from having attained its culminating point,—an opinion in which he is borne out by another distinguished German traveller, Baron Von Hugel."

After sketching recent political events in the Punjab, the author thus expresses himself:—"So much for this remarkable kingdom, which must soon become a question of life and death for the British power in India. Unless possessed of this, there is no security:—The Indus above Attock, with the mountain chain beyond Peshawar, and the Himalaya mountains, form the true and natural frontier of the immense dominions of the British empire in India. When once this has been attained, all her powers can be concentrated in the interior, and civilization take root and flourish."

Commending this most useful and interesting work to the earnest attention of our readers, we feel assured that the careful perusal of it will be found to contribute not less to rational enjoyment than to solid edification.

Reports of the Examination questions and answers of the Students of the Hindu College and the Free Church Institution.

One of the most remarkable phenomena in the present aspect of Hindu Society is the rapid rise and spread of a thirst—a craving thirst —for English Education. And as the acquisition of the English language and literature cannot fail, sooner or later, to revolutionize the Hindu mind, the progress and amount of such a momentous attainment must be watched with an increasingly sedulous interest and anxiety by every true friend of India. Connected with this subject various questions have arisen which necessarily call forth differences of opinion and challenge the gravest discussion. Amongst these is the primary and fundamental one of "education *with* or *without* religion." Hitherto this question has been discussed very much on abstract grounds and with a reference to abstract principles. But the time is fast approaching when it may admit of being more satisfactorily decided by an appeal to *actual visible fruits*.

Within the limits of a short notice like the present, we have not the remotest intention of entering on the discussion of so important a question. We simply allude to its existence as a matter of fact, which demands the most serious consideration. In this city, the two systems of "education *with*, and *without* religion" have been, for several years, in vigorous and extensive operation. But a generation or two must be allowed to pass before the specific workings and results of each can be fully and unmistakeably developed. In the meanwhile, it is well to know the nature and character of the leading studies which constitute the *materielle* of instruction in the Institutions that are conducted agreeably to the predominant spirit and principles of each system, as well as the amount of progress made in these respectively.

Now we cannot suppose, that it will be regarded as any injustice to other Educational Seminaries if we simply assume, what is universally conceded, that the Hindu College and the Free Church Institution are, at present, the chief models and representatives in this Metropolis of the two different systems of education with and without religion. The conductors of the latter publish annually a precise list of all the studies in which their pupils may have been exercised during the preceding year. In the Institution there is a preparatory or school department, and a superior or College department. The course of instruction pursued in the former may usually occupy five or six years, and that pursued in the latter as many. From the published statement we find, that the studies which, during last year, engaged the attention of the highest or sixth years' College class were the following:—

"*Sixth Year's Class.*—No. of Students 8. Bible, 1st and 2nd Kings, Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther; Theology, Shorter Catechism (Assembly's), Pilgrim's Progress (Bunyan's); History of Redemption (Pres. Edward's), Period 1st; Analogy of Religion (Bp. Butler's); Reasonableness of Christianity (Locke's); Veneration due to God, and Style of the Holy Scriptures (Rob. Boyle's); Evidences of Christianity (Haldane's), vol. I. chap. V.; Moral Philosophy—Estimate of the Human Mind (Davis'), vol. I.; Moral

Science (Wayland's); General Literature, Bacon's Moral and Civil Essays, and Advancement of Learning; Poetry, Pleasures of Hope, Theodoric, &c. (Campbell's); Castle of Indolence (Thomson's); Mathematics, Differential Calculus (Wallace's)—Trigonometrical Problems (Bland's); Natural Philosophy, Astronomy (Maddy's); Chapter on Refraction and Optics; Natural History, Meteorology, Hydrology and Geognosy; Student's Manual (Todd's); English Composition; Bengáli Translation; Greek, Grammar (Matthiæ's Abridged); New Testament, Acts of the Apostles, chapter XIV; Xenophon's Institutions of Cyrus, Book 1st chapter II. and Exercises on Grammar.

The young men who constitute the Monitorial or Teachers' Class have gone through most of the preceding subjects, with several others besides—such as Brown's Mental and Moral Philosophy, Lieber's Political Ethics, Taylor on the History of Civilization, Locke's Letters on Toleration, &c. &c."

If the managers of the Hindu College published a similar statement, it might then be seen at a glance, which of the courses of education was the more comprehensive and complete. From the want of such a precise statement on their part we are left very much in the dark and to the uncertainties of conjecture.

There is another way, however, by which, this year, we may be enabled to form an approximate estimate, if not of the amount, at least of the general character of the studies pursued in the two institutions. In the Hindu College a certain number of scholarships is annually awarded. The mode of adjudging these is by competition. The manner in which the competition is conducted will best appear from the following regulations:—

"1. Sets of questions on the various branches of study in the Senior and Junior Departments are prepared under the direction of the Council of Education.

2. Each member presiding at the examination is furnished with a copy of each of the sets of Scholarship Questions under a sealed cover, with a superscription specifying the subject of the contained paper, and the day on which it is to be opened in the presence of the scholarship candidates.

3. The Students are assembled in a room without books, papers, or references of any kind; are not allowed to communicate with each other during the examination, and on that account are placed at a proper distance from each other.

4. They are required to answer the questions and to write the Essays without any assistance whatever; and to ensure this, one of the members of the Council remains in the room and superintends the whole examination."

In the Free Church Institution it appears that a gold medal is annually awarded to the best *general* scholar. It is decided by competition on the leading branches of study in literature, science, philosophy, and theology. The mode in which the competition has been conducted is thus described in the published statement:—

"For several successive days the candidates were assembled in a room with no implements whatever but paper, pen and ink—not even a Grammar or a Dictionary being allowed. Written questions on the different subjects were then dictated, taken down, and answered extemporaneously in writing. The medal was awarded to the student whose answers, *on an average view of the whole*, were found to be the best."

Now the Hindu College list of studies for competitory examination, we find classified under the headings of "Literature—History—Natural Philosophy—and Mathematics," together with an English and Vernacular essay. The Free Church Institution list of studies for competitory examination we find thus enumerated:—"Theology, Christian Evidences, Bible History, Natural Theology, including Animal Mechanics, Ancient and Modern History, Logic, Rhetoric, Moral and Mental Philosophy, Geometry, Trigonometry and Algebra, Natural Philosophy, including Astronomy, Mechanics, &c. &c. Milton, Young's Night Thoughts, Campbell's Pleasures of Hope, Thomson's Castle of Indolence, Bacon's Novum Organum, Advancement of Learning and Moral Essays."

We do not find that the conductors of either institution have published the answers to the questions on Mathematics and the different branches of Natural Philosophy—probably for the same reason, viz. that these subjects are of a less popular description and less interesting to the general reader.

On all the other branches which constituted the subjects of examination, the answers of the best competitors respectively have been published in full; these we shall here transcribe that they may be seen in immediate juxtaposition:—

Hindu College Senior Scholarship Questions.

LITERATURE.

POETRY.

Shakespeare.

HAMLET.

ACT. V. SCENE II.

A hall in the Castle. Enter Hamlet *and* Horatio.

Ham. So much for this, Sir: now shall you see the other;—
You do remember all the circumstance?
Hor. Remember it, my lord?
Ham. Sir, in my heart there was a kind of fighting,
That would not let me sleep: methought, I lay
Worse than the mutines in the bilboes. Rashly,
And prais'd be rashness for it.—Let us know,
Our indiscretion sometimes serves us well,
When our deep plots do pall; and that should teach us,
There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough hew them how we will.
Hor. That is most certain.
Ham. Up from my cabin
My sea-gown scarf'd about me, in the dark
Grop'd I to find out them: had my desire;
Finger'd their packet: and, in fine, withdrew
To mine own room again: making so bold,
My fears forgetting manners, to unseal
Their grand commission; where I found Horatio,
A royal knavery; an exact command,—
Larded with many several sorts of reasons,
Importing Denmark's health, and England's too,

With, ho! Such bugs and goblins in my life,—
That on the supervise, no leisure bated,
No, not to stay the grinding of the axe,
My head should be struck off.
Hor. Is't possible?
Ham. Here's the commission, read it more at leisure.
But wilt thou hear now how I did proceed?
Hor. Ay, 'beseech you.
Ham. Being thus benetted round with villanies,
Or I could make a prologue to my brains,
They had begun the play:—I sat me down:
Devis'd a new commission: wrote it fair:
I once did hold it, as our statists do,
A baseness to write fair, and labour'd much
How to forget that learning; but, Sir, now,
It did me yeoman's service. Wilt thou know
The effect of what I wrote?
Hor. Ay, good my lord.
Ham. An earnest conjuration from the king,—
As England was his faithful tributary,
As love between them like the palm might flourish;
As peace should still her wheaten garland wear,
And stand a comma 'tween their amities;
And many such like as's of great charge,—
That on the view and knowing of these contents,
Without debatement further, more or less,
He should the bearers put to sudden death,
Not shriving time allow'd.

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1. "Rashly,
And prais'd be rashness for it, &c."
What is the action which is qualified by the adverb "Rashly?"
2. "and that should teach us," &c.?
State in your own words what it is which Hamlet, in this general reflection, points out as teaching us that "there's a divinity that shapes our ends, &c."
State also what circumstance it is, in the story Hamlet is relating, which gives rise to this general reflection.
3. Paraphrase the passage beginning—
"Where I found, Horatio,"
down to the end of the speech, substituting throughout expressions of your own for those in the text, so that it may be evident how far you understand the passage.
4. What is the meaning of "it did me yeoman's service."
5. What is the meaning of "and stand a comma 'tween their amities?"
6. What is the meaning and grammatical construction of "and many such like as's of great charge."

Milton.

7. "Brightest Seraph! tell
In which of all these shining orbs hath man
His fixed seat, or fixed seat hath none,
But all these shining orbs his choice to dwell."
Explain the grammatical construction of the last two lines.

Gray.

"Heard ye the din of battle bray,
Lance to lance, and horse to horse?
Long years of havock urge their destin'd course,
And through the kindred squadrons mow their way.
Ye towers of Julius, London's lasting shame,
With many a foul and midnight murder fed,
Revere his consort's faith, his father's fame,
And spare the meek Usurper's holy head.
Above, below the rose of snow,
Twin'd with her blushing foe, we spread:
The bristled boar in infant gore
Wallows beneath the thorny shade.
Now, brothers, bending o'er th'accursed loom,
Stamp we our vengeance deep, and ratify his doom."

8. What wars are alluded to in the four first lines?
9. Who is the meek Usurper?
10. Who is the bristled boar?
11. Who are the brothers?
Give in each case the reasons of your answer as fully as possible.

PROSE.

BACON.—"He that is only real had need have exceeding great parts of virtue; as the stone had need to be rich that is set without foil; but if a man mark it well, it is in praise and commendation of men as it is in gettings and gains: for the proverb is true, "That light gains make heavy purses," for light gains come thick, whereas great come but now and then: so it is true, that small matters win great commendation, because they are continually in ure and note: whereas the occasion of any great virtue cometh but on festivals; therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation, and is (as Queen Isabella said), like perpetual letters commendatory, to have good forms; to attain them, it almost sufficeth not to despise them; for so shall a man observe them in others; and let him trust himself with the rest; for if he labour too much to express them, he shall lose their grace, which is to be natural and unaffected. Some men's behaviour is like a verse, wherein every syllable is measured; how can a man comprehend great matters, that breaketh his mind too much to small observations."
Paraphrase the above passage from Bacon's Essay on Ceremonies and Respects, so as to shew whether you fully understand it.
In your paraphrase turn the two similes of the "stone" and the "verse" into metaphors; and turn the metaphorical expression "cometh but on festivals," into a simile, so that it may be seen whether you know the relation which a metaphor and a simile bear to each other.

HISTORY.

1. What minister of the Tudor Sovereigns was the greatest Patron of learning?
What was the principal Institution founded by him?
What learned Foreigner was invited by him to his assistance?
2. Give some account of Sir Thomas More. State upon what ground he was accused of treason, and condemned to death; explaining the tenor of the Statute referred to, and the occasion of its enactment.
3. Who was the Tutor of Queen Elizabeth—what proof did she give of

her literary attainments. What Female in the preceding reign was celebrated for her literary attainments?

4. By what title did James VI. of Scotland succeed to the crown of England? State the relation in which he stood to his immediate predecessor, and trace his descent from a common ancestor.

5. When was the Court of Star Chamber instituted, describe the composition and jurisdiction of this tribunal, particularly its criminal jurisdiction. State what was the character of its proceedings, and give illustrative instances. When and wherefore was it abolished?

6. When was the Habeas Corpus Act passed, and what gave rise to it? State the tenor of the act, and explain its efficacy in favour of liberty.

7. State the nature of the grievances which caused the rebellion against Charles I. and give instances.

The same of those which led to the Revolution.

Point out the difference.

8. Who were the founders of the Ghuznevide and Mogul Dynasties—of the Mahratta empire, and of the Sikh state?

9. Who were the principal Historians of the Mahomedan empire of India, and what Poet flourished at Ghuzni?

10. What was the date of the last battle fought at Paneput, and between whom and with what event?

11. Give some account of the battle of Plassy, explaining who were the parties engaged, and state what were the consequences of it.

12. State the principal civil and military services of the Duke of Wellington in India.

Replies by the most successful Candidate, Ishwar Chundra Mitra.

LITERATURE.

Shakespeare.

1. "Rashly" is properly connected with the sentence "Up from my cabin, &c." Hamlet was going to relate the action, which he says he did rashly when he falls to a digression, that sometimes the indiscretion and rashness of a man may bring on the circumstances which even his deep matured counsels would not produce. "Rashly," in a manner, stands alone, as the sentence is finished before the circumstance to which it relates is stated. But as the action he did out of indiscretion is mentioned in the next sentence; "rashly" is connected with the sentence "Up from my cabin, my seagown scarfed about me in the dark groped I to find out them; had my desire, fingered their packet," and qualifies it. That is, his having risen from his cabin, and groped his way in the dark and his having fingered their packet were done "rashly." In short his adventure in the dark is attributed by him to have been done out of rashness and indiscretion.

2. The circumstance which Hamlet alludes to, as showing "that there's a divinity that shapes our ends," is this. An unwarrantable action performed out of rashness and indiscretion, sometimes serves us most effectually when the deepest designs would have been ineffectual, and so he says,

> "Our indiscretion sometimes serve us well
> When our deep plots do pall."

The story is this: His uncle sent him to England with Rozencrantz and Guildenstern, who bore a commission that his head should be struck off. He broke the seal, and forged out a new commission. And so when his life was on the brink of ruin, a precipitate and even unwarrantable act saved it from destruction. He concludes generally that, since out of indiscretion

many unlooked for and beneficial consequences sometimes ensue, which no human foresight could have brought forth "there's a divinity that shapes our ends."

3. In the commission I unsealed I found a royal knavery, a deceit played upon by the king; an exact, defined command, a plain direct command without any qualification or alleviation, for which full many different and special reasons were assigned; and importing the health of Denmark and England [in terms complimentary]: and containing such circumstances relating to, and destructive of my life, that on the very perusal of the paper my head should be cut off; allowing no time for leisure, not even the time requisite to sharpen the axe with which the work of destruction would be executed.

4. "But now, Sir, it did me yeoman's service," I once held it a baseness to write a fair hand and laboured to forget that accomplishment, but now this fair writing did me the most active and effectual service. As yeomen are of sturdy and robust constitution and their service the most effectual in points where strength is concerned, so here, this fair writing did as it were the service of an yeoman, viz., saved the life of Hamlet from destruction.

5. As a comma connects sentences so the word here conveys the idea of connection "and stand a comma 'tween their amities" that is, and stand the connecting tie between the friendship and love of the two kingdoms.

> "As peace should still her wheaten garland wear,
> And stand a comma 'tween their amities."

As there may be no rupture between the kingdoms, but as peace may still connect their alliance.

6. "And many such like as's of, &c." and many such circumstances tending to shew the relation of the two kingdoms, and the reasons which would induce England to do the deed. Hamlet mentions some circumstances which may serve as reasons for England's executing the business required of her.

> "As England was his faithful tributary,
> As love between them like the palm might flourish;
> As peace should still her wheaten garland wear,
> And stand a comma 'tween their amities."

And adds, that he mentioned other circumstances *like* these which would serve to bring on the end desired. "As's" stand in the form of a substantive, as the word conveys the idea of such like "circumstances or assertions," of great charge.

Milton.

7. The grammatical construction of the sentence may be rendered in two ways, almost equally explanatory of the sense, thus—In which of these shining orbs hath man his fixed seat, or hath man no *fixed* seat, but hath all these shining orbs, at his choice to dwell upon.—Or again; In which of these shining orbs hath man his fixed seat, or hath man no fixed seat, but hath his choice to dwell upon *all* these shining orbs: The first construction is better, but the sentence in that case is more elliptical.

Gray.

8. The wars alluded to are the wars of the Roses, or the wars between the houses of Lancaster and York, which for many years committed great havoc and deluged the kingdom with blood of fathers and kinsmen engaged in opposite sides as their prejudices or inclination led them.

9. The meek usurper is Henry VI. whose consort was Margaret of Anjou; who adhered to his cause to the last, and whose counsels directed

the efforts of the Lancastrians; Henry VI. being himself a weak Prince. His father was Henry V. whose glorious arms achieved the conquest of France and made him king of France; which circumstance induced the succeeding princes to assume, in addition to their other titles, the appellation of "King of France."

Again—

"———— the *rose of snow*
Twined with her *blushing foe* we spread,"

alludes to the white rose and the red or the wars of the roses.

10. The bristled boar is Richard III., who bore upon his arms the device of a boar. "In infant gore," alludes to his having murdered the young sons of Edward the IV. in the Tower.

11. The "brothers" are the poet-brothers of the bard; who imagines that he sees their images in a neighbouring mountain, and with them he "weaves the warp, and weaves the woof" of the fate of Edward I. who murdered every bard of Wales, except him who is here represented.

Bacon.

As stones of inferior quality are set with foil in order to set them off, and as therefore rich stones are set without foil; so he who wishes to be only real, i. e., he who wishes to be only great in his own qualities without achieving any additional virtue or quality from the commendation or praise of others; must of necessity possess great and admirable virtues, so that he may shine in his own lustre without the assistance of other beauties or objects; which many tend to heighten or set off his own. But those virtues and qualities where a man wishes to gain the praise and commendation of others, are guided by the same rules as gettings and gains: for as the proverb is true, that the accumulation of small gains make heavy purses, as small profits are gained often and easily, but large profits seldom, so in the case of virtues and qualities, small matters or the exertions of small qualities gain greater commendation than great virtues; for the small virtues as they happen often are more marked; and consequently the praise a man attains by such qualities is great for the opportunities are many of his displaying those to advantage; whereas great virtue is as the magnificence of a festival day, for as such magnificence, though it exceeds all other display is but of rare occurrence, so the great virtues are seldom or rarely brought to the notice of men to win their commendation. Therefore it doth much add to a man's reputation to have good forms,—small polite qualities; which are as perpetual commendatory letters, presenting themselves frequently to the notice and commendation of men. To attain these small accomplishments it is only necessary not to despise them; so that he may observe such qualities in others, which *observation* will alone be competent to make him confident of his having acquired such qualities; and let him satisfy himself with this observation only; for if in attaining them he is solicitous to express such qualities too much, he will lose the grace of such accomplishments; for grace is natural and unaffected expression without the mixture of artificial endeavours at improving them. The behaviour of some men is in every part measured by syllables; so that they attend to every minute part of their transactions, thinking that their conduct by such means would be unexceptional in every part; but such endeavours are productive of this effect; that the mind being often brought into contact with, and exercised in, such matters of *small* import, it in a manner loses its power of comprehending other matters of greater importance."

HISTORY.

1. Cardinal Wolsey, the minister and favourite of Henry VIII. (the eighth) was a great patron of learning. He founded a College at the University of Oxford and another at Ipswich, the place of his birth. He encouraged learning in others and was equally liberal in these matters as in pompous magnificence in which he loved to live. Though sometimes rash in his counsels and of a haughty spirit, he was generous to his inferiors. He was so diligent and active that the first time he won the attention of Henry was in his being employed in an embassy of great import from Henry to Maximilian, the Emperor of Germany. He returned in three days; Henry thinking that he had loitered began to reprove him, whereupon he gratified the king that he had not only transacted the business, but had even spoke on a matter which Henry afterwards thought he had omitted. The learned foreigner was Erazmus, whom on the representation of Wolsey, Henry invited to live in his kingdom on a rich pension worthy the erudition and experience of the man. But he graciously refused the offer alleging that his years would not permit him to remove himself to a foreign land as he wished to lay his bones in his native country.

2. Sir Thomas More, a man of eminent talents, flourished in the reign of Henry VIII. and was the Chancellor of the kingdom when the great seal was taken away from Cardinal Wolsey. He executed his trust with ability and candour and when he left his office was equally happy with his condition as when he was the *first man* in the realm. It is said, that when in Church in the days of his prosperity the service was over, a retainer would say to his lady who sat in a different pew, "Lady, my Lord is gone," and when he was no longer chancellor, he went himself to his wife and said, "Lady, my Lord is gone." The ground upon which he was accused was his refusing the supremacy of the king. And as after the rupture of Henry with the Church of Rome, a statute was enacted that the king alone was the head and supporter of the Church. Sir Thomas More was thought to have been guilty of treason in adhering to the ancient faith. Though he adhered to the superstitious doctrine, yet as a man his character was unexceptionable. He was the author of the Utopia, an imaginary island, where every individual was thought to live in happiness and love. It bears nearly the same character as the Republic of Plato. The object of the enactment of the statute was to deprive the Pope of his ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in England, to crush the Catholic religion and to espouse the forms of the Reformed sect.

3. One proof of the literary attainments of Queen Elizabeth is this, that she is said to have been able to transact her business with the ambassadors of foreign nations without the assistance of interpreters. Lady Jane Grey, the grand daughter of Suffolk, who married Mary, the sister of Henry VIII., was highly celebrated for her attainments and learning; she is said to have known many languages, and to have been highly familiar with the Greek; she was raised to the throne on the demise of Edward the 6th but was superseded by Mary the daughter of Henry VIII. and afterwards executed.

4. On the demise of Queen Elizabeth, James VI. succeeded to the throne as next heir to the crown. Henry VII. had married his daughter Margaret to James the IV., of Scotland, who was killed afterwards in the battle of Flodden. She had a son, James V., who left an only daughter Mary at his death. She was married to the Dauphin of France, the son of Henry II., she was tried and executed in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, she had by her second marriage with Darnley, the son of the Earl of Lenox, a son, James, who was plainly the heir of the throne of England as by the

death of Queen Elizabeth, the line of Henry VIII. became extinct, and the succession consequently reverted to the family of Margaret, the daughter of Henry VII.

5. The Court of Star Chamber was an arbitrary tribunal. It was as unlimited in its jurisdiction in civil and criminal matters as the court of ecclesiastical commission was in matters of religion. It extended its jurisdiction over the whole kingdom, it judged of all matters; and its proceedings were not managed by any fixed maxims or regulations, but was totally guided by the prejudices of the king and the influence of the court. In criminal cases it cited any person to appear without consideration of any other obligation or duty, as that of a person being a member of the parliament; it imprisoned them at its own arbitrary will; levied undue fines, &c., in short it was a tribunal more fit to dictate its decisions to an abject people under a despotic sovereign than to diffuse justice among a people living under a monarchy limited in its powers. It was abolished in the reign of Charles I. by the influence of the popular or republican leaders of the Commons, for its imprisoning some members without any plausible cause, and also for its general arbitrary constitution, being a great support to the power of the king and a dangerous oppressor of the liberties of the people.

6. The Habeas Corpus Act was passed in the reign of *Charles* I. about the year 1741, and became a great safeguard to the liberties of the people against the arbitrary conduct of gaolers or judges. The tenor of the act was this, that no person should be imprisoned beyond the sea, that no person should be refused justice when he demands it, provided there be no reasonable cause for delay; that every gaoler should produce the body of his prisoner before the justice and state the reasons of his confinement; and that no person should remain imprisoned without being tried beyond a certain period of time; and that even in producing the criminals the liberty of the subject may not be illegally oppressed the periods were fixed within which the prisoners were to be produced. Such was the tenor of the act which contributed in a great manner to facilitate the execution of justice, for delay and undue custody were prevented.

7. The chief grievances which caused the rebellion of England in the time of Charles were the arbitrary imprisonment of persons; the levying of taxes without consent of Parliament; as the levying of ship money, benevolences, and general loans, the billeting of soldiers in the districts and provinces where they lived at free quarters ravaging the country; the people had generally imbibed presbyterian and republican principles; and they ill bore the *mercy* of the king towards the catholics, the penal laws against whom were not executed to the fullest extent. The king in several instances violated the liberties of parliament. In one instance when Hollis and Valentine, two violent members, had by their force procured a vote, they were cited by the king and imprisoned without the sanction of parliament; a short time after he liberated them. He accused five members and Lord Kembelton of high treason and sent his serjeant at arms to arrest them, but the sergeant failing, he himself went to the house and demanded their persons; but when he found that they had made their escape he dropped the prosecution in a manner. To fit out a navy the seaport towns alone were obliged to supply a certain number of ships; but Charles changed that contribution to a tax in money, and extended it over the whole kingdom. It was the levying of this ship-money that Hampden opposed. He urged forced loans and benevolences, and appointed in the counties Military Lieutenants; who obliged the inhabitants to compound for the sum demanded, or imprisoned them in case of refusal. The popular leaders once obtained a redress of their grievances by a petition of right; and their liberties and property were

in a manner secured; but the king having anew infringed them, and as the leaders obtained some advantages they began to rise in their demands, they at last came to require from the king that the militia and the magazines, in short the whole military power, should be entrusted in the hands of the parliament; leaving the king but the shadow of power. This the king refused; and thus the parties came to a rupture. The parliament which was about this time composed of independents and presbyterians had demanded also that episcopacy should be abolished; and while the feeling in England was such he had attempted to introduce the liturgy into the Church of Scotland. They agreed on a covenant to oppose popery and papacy, and discomfited the king; and when the English had drawn their swords, their alliance was sought by parliamentarians, and both nations agreed to a *solemn league* and *covenant*. To further their views, the republicans accused the king of his having fomented the late Irish Rebellion and massacre, headed by Phelim O'Neale and MacGuire; but in order to throw off the imputation he committed the management of the war to parliament, and this furnished pretence for their levying soldiers, and assuming the whole military power.

The principal cause of the Revolution of 1688, was the toleration which James II. granted the Catholics, and the advancement to offices of importance. His arbitrary form of Government also estranged their affections. He recommended a Catholic to the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Cambridge; and when the office of President of Magdalene College became vacant, he appointed one Farmer to the office, and subsequently one Parker, both men of no principles, but whose only recommendation were that they were Catholics; and when the fellows refused to receive Parker, the heads of the ecclesiastical Commission (which was revived about this time by James) with some troops of horse drove out the fellows, and placed Parker in the office, to which he was appointed. The revival of the Commission Court itself was a strength of power ill suited to a free and Protestant people. He granted an indulgence and ordered that it should be read in all the Churches; Sancroft with six other Bishops protesting against this order, was committed to the tower with his brother protesters. The people at last felt the evil and invited William III. Prince of Orange, the son-in-law of James, and effected a remarkable change.

In the rebellion of 1649, the people resented against the episcopal form of worship; in the revolution the encouragement given to Catholics fired their rage. In the rebellion the popular leaders wanted to subvert monarchy and to substitute for it equality; whereas in the revolution the men only wanted a limited monarchy, whereby the rights of men might be secured; but did not at all aim at subverting it.

8. The founder of the Ghuznivide dynasty was Mahommed, the son of Subactugeen. He made twelve expeditions into India and ransacked the treasures of Delhi and Tanesser, of Muthura and Somnauth. The founder of the Mogul dynasty in India was Baber, the grandson of Abu Syed, and descended from the great Timur. He inherited from his father a part of the dominions of Transoxiana, but was driven out by the Usbec Tartars; he seized Cabul and afterwards Candahar, and invaded India in the year 1525, while Ibrahim Sadi was the sovereign of Delhi. Timur, indeed, invaded India, but he did not establish his empire over the country. Bunga Bhonsla was the son of the Rana of Odipur, by a spurious birth. He had a son Malagu, who served a Mahrattah chief, and obtained his daughter in marriage with his son Shahjee, and the issue of this marriage was Sevajw, the founder of the Mahratta Empire. He defied for many years the power of Aurengzebe; and when he was caught, his empire however was not subdued. The founder of the Seiks was Gooroo Nannuk, who studied the books of the Mussulmans

and Hindoos and made a religion compounded of the two. He gained some proselytes, who founded among themselves a separate form of Government, and followed by others, Teig Bahadur and Gooroo Govind, who were both priests and governors of the little community. They lived by plunder and robbery, and Gooroo Govind was the first that armed them. Such was the rise of the Seik power from a small company of Fakeers to a powerful community of India.

9. One of the principal historians of the Mahommedan Empire was Ferishta. The poet Ferdúsi flourished in the Court of Mahommed of Ghizni, who was a great encourager of learning. He was the author of the celebrated Persian work the Shah Nahmah.

10. The last battle of Paneput was fought in the reign of Ahmed Shah, while the administrator of the affairs of the kingdom was Ghazee-ud-Deen Umad-ul-Ulmulk. Ahmed Shah the Abdallie had invaded India. The Mahrattas had gone to the assistance of Saadut Khan, the Nabob of Oude, against the Rohillas, they returned to repel the invasion of Abdallie, but many thousands of their horsemen were cut off. Scindiah was slain and Holkar fled, and Sudashao Row Bhow, who came to the assistance of Ghazee-ud-deen, suffered a total defeat in the plains of Paneput, memorable in the history of India both during the Mahommedan ages and the mythological era.

14. The army of the Nabob Suruju Dowlah had gradually collected itself at Plassey. Clive had seduced the loyalty of Meer Jaffier, who was once the general of the army, but at the time commanded a considerable party of horse. Meer Jaffier engaged that during the engagement he would come over to the side of the English. Clive advanced after some delay; the troops of the Nabob made little resistance, but a company of Frenchmen, commanded by Law who fled to Chandernagore, while it was besieged by Clive, made some resistance near a tank, the army of the Nabob began to rally and to present a front to the English; but when the English dislodged the little company of Frenchmen, total rout ensued. During the time that the batteries of the English were playing upon the French, a company of horsemen was seen in their flank; but when the battle was nearly done, it was perceived to be the party of Jaffier, who had thus kept himself from joining the English, unless he had made sure of their gaining the victory.—After the battle, which was fought in the year 1757, Clive and Jaffier went to Moorshedabad; and Clive placed Jaffier upon the musnud. In the meantime Suraju* Dowlah had made his escape from Moorshedabad in a disguise, with his favourite concubine with him, and a casket of jewels concealed under his vest. But he was discovered at Rajmahal by a person, who was once ill-used by him, and being committed to prison, was murdered by the order of Meeran, the son of Jaffier. Jaffier had previously made a money treaty with Clive, and he was obliged to disburse a considerable part of the sum. The military defence of the kingdom remained in the hands of the English, the British Empire was in a manner established in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa.

12. The Duke of Wellington served under General Harris, against Tippo Sultaun. He gave great instances of valour and conduct before the walls of Seringapatam. When Seringapatam was captured and taken, he was appointed Governor of the place; and when the original rajahs of Mysore, who lived in a state of poverty and obscurity while the arms of Hyder and Tipoo extended over the southern-most part of India, were reinstated in their sovereignty under the protection of the English; the wise regula-

* The whole of this Oriental orthography needs amendment: it has no guiding principle: it follows neither one system nor another.—Ed.

tions and counsels of the Duke of Wellington contributed to raise Mysore in prosperity, and to diffuse tranquillity and industry. He regulated the Mysore breed of cattle, which did very effectual service in the succeeding wars. He conducted the war or rather pursuit of Dhoondia Waugh, a marauding chief, who was finally cut off at Conaghats. He conducted the war against the Mahrattas; and defeated Scindiah in the memorable battle of Assaye, and vanquished the Rajah of Berar, another Mahratta chief, in the battle of Argaum. These two battles were fought in the year 1803.

Free Church Institution Gold Medal Competition Questions; with Replies by the most successful Candidate, Lal Behari De.

"1.—Christian Theology.

Question.—Explain briefly what is meant by justification by faith alone?

Answer.—Man at first was created in the moral likeness of God—the fount to holiness, i. e. in righteousness, truth and moral purity. But sin, the great deteriorating principle in the universe, defaced this fair image. Thus man—fallen man became subject to condemnation, to the righteous wrath and indignation of an offended God, to death itself, and to the pains of hell for ever. Adam being the representative of the whole human race, all mankind therefore fell in him and became subject to eternal death. Now there is nothing in men to make amends for this his first transgression. Granting it possible for man in his advanced years, when his faculties are fully developed, to pursue a course of action of the utmost moral rectitude by the strength of his good resolutions, yet the dead weight of past sins hangs heavy upon him. But it is not only not possible for a man in a state of nature to be holy by the effort and efficacy of his good resolutions, but every day he adds to the list of his former iniquities. While man could not merit salvation at the hand of God, God could not (with reverence be it spoken) in consistency with his immutably, unchangeably, and eternally holy character, with his infinite aversion against sin, with the rectoral holiness of his righteous Government, and with his conspicuous attribute *justice*,—God could not in consistency with all these—pass by sin without punishing it. Then the question how can God be both just and the justifier of the ungodly comes to be asked. This question is marvellously answered in the Christian Revelation. Jesus Christ, the eternal son of God steps out, as it were, from the portal of heaven and says, "In the stead of man I will both keep the whole moral law and suffer the punishment due to his transgression of it, and let man only believe in me and live." Jesus Christ came into this world, obeyed the law and magnified it, became subject to death, the death of the cross, was buried, rose up from the dead, and at last ascended up into heaven. Thus the *perfect satisfaction* given to the law and justice of God by the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ is the only procuring cause of man's justification. Man has nothing conceivable to do in this act. In virtue of the *imputation*, and not the *infusion* as the Romanists says, of the righteousness of Christ is a man justified. The medium of this imputation is faith. The efficient cause of man's justification is the love of God. Justification is an *act* and not a work, that is, it is external to man. Its effect are, a man is accepted as righteous in God's sight, and has all his sins pardoned.

2.—Christian Evidence.

Question.—Point out briefly the impossibility of imposture in the Scripture miracles?

Answer.—The impossibility of imposture in the Scripture miracles may be evinced in the following manner:

(1.) The Scripture miracles were not wrought in a *corner*, but publicly in the open face of day.

They were therefore subjects of examination; and if any imposture were in them it could be easily detected.

(2.) They were of such a nature that the *senses could take cognizance* of them. Thus in restoring sight to the blind, life to the dead, vigor to the withered arm, in unstopping the ears of the deaf, and in making the dumb to speak, &c., it could easily be ascertained infallibly, both by the *subjects* of the miracles and others, whether there was any imposture in them.

(3.) The impossibility of imposture is further manifest from the very *nature* of most of the miracles. Thus it would be utterly impossible for a man to convince four thousand hungry persons that their bellies were filled with food when in reality they were not; to convince a whole nation that they crossed dry-shod a sea which in reality they did not; to persuade a blind man that he sees whereas the truth is that he does not see, &c., &c.

(4.) the Scripture miracles, and especially those of our blessed Lord and his apostles, were not wrought before *friends* only but also before *enemies*. They were performed before the Jews, whose sole design was to detect any imposture they could find, wherewith to accuse Jesus and his apostles. Unable to deny the fact that Jesus performed miracles, the Jews attributed them to Beel-zebub, the prince of devils;—thus proving the impossibility of imposture in the Christian miracles.

(5.) The existence of monuments commemorating the performance of certain miracles proves beyond dispute the fact that they were really performed. Thus to mention *one* instance out of many, the feast of the Passover is still celebrated among the Jews, and were they questioned by any one as to the reason of the thing, they would tell him, that this feast commemorates the deliverance of the Israelites out of Egyptian bondage, and especially the miraculous deliverance of the Israelitish houses in Egypt, from the stroke of the destroying angel.

(6.) Further, the above argument receives additional weight when we consider that these monuments were established at *the very time* when the miracles were performed. Thus it can be proved by historical evidence that the feast of the passover commenced at the very time when the Israelites were delivered out of Egypt.

(7.) Moreover, the utter failure of some impostors to gain credence for pretended miracles may be brought forward as an argument to shew the *non-imposture of the Scripture miracles*, since the lapse of more than two thousand years has not overturned them. The false miracles alluded to are those, for example, of the Abbe de Paris, and others.

(8.) No Deist or Atheist, or any sort of infidel, dare attempt a like imposition by miracles, supposing the Scripture miracles to be false, which shews that it is no easy thing to impose upon men by pretended miracles.

3.—Natural Theology.

Question.—Describe briefly the structure of the eye, and point out the nature of the evidence which it affords of the being of a God.

Answer.—The outermost part or white coat of the eye is called the *sclerotic* coat. In the middle of this coat the *cornea* is attached or sewed, for the junction very much resembles a *seam*. The next coat is termed the *choroid coat*; and the innermost is called the *retina*, which is an expansion of the optic nerve. There are three humours, the *aqueous*, the *vitreous*, and the *crystalline* humour or lens; which serve the purposes of lubrication.

The middle of the black part of the eye is called the pupil, which is an aperture through which the ray of light enters, in consequence of which an image is formed on the retina, which last is essential to vision. The eyelid is admirably calculated to protect the eye from extraneous hurt. The eye is constructed on optical principles.

The substances of the lenses of the eye are not one and the same; if it were so, a confused and indistinct vision would be the results; for the rays of light possessing different degrees of refrangibility, would refract unequally and thus produce a distortion of the image. To remedy this, the lenses in the eye are made of different substances, i. e. substances of different refractive powers, which contrivance is admirably calculated to remedy the inconvenience. It may not be amiss to state that the remedying of this inconvenience had long been a desideratum in the art of making telescopes; till the celebrated Dolland remedied it by consulting how the thing was managed in the eye. This gave rise to *achromatic* telescopes. There are two other contrivances in the eye which the most ingenious of philosophical instrument-makers must pronounce to be exquisitely beautiful. They are as follows:

(1.) A certain quantity of light is sufficient to produce vision. But the eye may be and is always exposed to places where there is either an excess or a deficiency of light; now excess of light has a tendency to confuse the image and deficiency of light to make it dim and imperceptible. How is this difficulty to be overcome? It is overcome by the contraction or dilation of the pupil. When there is excess of light the pupil contracts and takes in less light; and when there is a deficiency of light, it dilates, and accumulates as much light as it can. Thus is the difficulty overcome.

(2.) But how is the eye adapted to different distances? Now we have said that an image in the retida is essential to vision. But when an object is very close to the eye, the focus of the rays emanating from it must fall beyond the retina; and on the contrary, when the object is at a great distance, the focus of the sensibly parallel rays emanating from it must fall without the retina; in both of which cases there would be no vision. How is this obstacle got over? It is got over by the following three very simple processes; (1) by the prominence and protuberance of the cornea, (2) by the pushing forward of the crystalline lens, and (3) by the elongation of the axis of vision or the depth of the eye. What an exquisite organ then is the eye? How admirably calculated to answer all the purposes which its nature and situation demand? What skill, what wisdom, what intelligence is displayed in the adaptation of its several parts! now here is an effect, and a wonderful effect it is. The soundest philosophy and our own consciousness teach us that every effect must have a cause, and a cause adequate to the effect. This is an indisputable axiom in the physical sciences. Without this axiom the physical sciences were a mockery.

This being admitted, if there be any truth in logic, the conclusion irresistably and demonstrably follows, that there must be a cause or author of the eye. And since the cause must be adequate to the effect, and since the eye exhibits design, and design indicates a designer, the cause of the eye must be a *designing cause*. And since again the eye shews intelligence and beneficence in its author, the cause of the eye must be intelligent and benevolent. The eye could not be the work of chance or of necessity. There is no efficacy in these principles or rather non-entities to produce things. No one looking at a telescope would say that chance made it, much less necessity. Why then is it said of natural things that they are made by chance? The human eye indicates more intelligence than the telescope. Therefore, much less ought it to be said of the eye that it is the work of chance.

4.—Scripture History.

Question.—Delineate briefly the leading features in the life and character of the Apostle Paul.

Answer.—The Apostle Paul was a marvellous monument of Divine grace. Born a Hebrew of the Hebrews,—a descendant of Abraham,—a Pharisee, bred up and educated at the feet of Gamaliel,—animated with the prospect of advancement before him,—profoundly versed in Jewish and Grecian lore,—practised in the observance of the mosaic rites and ceremonies,—and inflamed with the zeal of serving the God of his fathers, and of putting down all error and falsehood. Saul goes on his way to Damascus to seize and imprison any Christian whom he may find there. At mid-day on the road an over powering blaze of light shines round about him. He is struck blind. The very Lord Jesus Christ, whose disciples he had persecuted, appears before him.

He is led into the city. He converted. What a change! After several years' meditation and prayer in the wild solitudes of Arabia he comes to Judea as a preacher of Christ crucified. The Church of which he had made havoc before, he now edifies. Full of the Holy Ghost,—actuated by the highest of motives,—filled with holy energy,—captivated by the overwhelming love of Christ,—electrified with sanctified zeal,—and desirous of making known the glad tidings of salvation to the remotest corner of the earth. —Paul traverses the whole of Asia Minor, ploughs the briny deep, and preaches the gospel in Greece and Macedonia. He returns to Jerusalem, is caught hold of by a mob, is sent to Cæsarea, pleads his innocence, appeals to Cæsar, embarks on ship-board, sings to the praise of God on the mid ocean, is wrecked near the island of Malta, benefits the inhabitants of the island, arrives at Rome, preaches there Christ crucified, writes edifying and thrilling epistles to the Churches, suffers martyrdom, and ascending on high (of this there is no doubt) enjoys the beatific vision of the Lord Jesus. He was the holiest of men. His humility was remarkable, he called himself the "least of the saints" and "not worthy to be called an apostle." His zeal in the cause of Christ was marvellous, and his patience under sufferings all but exhaustless.

5.—Mental Philosophy.

Question.—What is the power of taste, is it simple or complex, if the latter analyse it?

Answer.—Taste is that peculiar power of the mind which enables its possessor to take exquisite pleasure in sublime and beautiful objects, and to ascertain the fitnesses or aptitudes of these objects to excite corresponding emotions in the mind. The older philosophers took this susceptibility of the mind, we presume, to be a distinct, primary and original faculty of the mind. But Dr. Brown has, we think, successfully analysed it into its constituents. In order to exhibit the analysis we take an example:—Suppose we stand at the base of the stupendous Himalaya. We look up and the perception of the immense height overwhelms us. We look on this side, and on that, and are overpowered. The scene is electrifying. We stand in dumb silence. The idea of sublimity fills us. While this feeling is beating high in the breast, we contemplate the fitnesses or aptitudes of the objects to excite the emotion of sublimity. We dwell with exquisite pleasure on the several scenes, this is *taste*, now let us see what is involved in all this.

In the *first* place it is indisputable that we cannot have the emotion of either the sublime or the beautiful without a sensible perception or a mental conception of a sublime or a beautiful object. But that this alone does not constitute the whole thing is evident from the fact that the horse beside me

does not feel the emotion of sublimity, although the whole scene is painted on his retina. It is evident in the *second* place that there is implied in the process a comparison of several ideas, an ascertainment of the fitness or aptitude in the object to excite the emotion of either sublimity or beauty. We confess that this process of comparison or act of the judgment or reason so coalesces with the emotion that rises after, that it is scarcely discernible, nevertheless it exists as a separate element in the whole process. And in the *third* place there is the emotion of sublimity or beauty itself.

Thus we see that taste is virtually compounded of a sensible perception or mental conception of judgment, which is the power in the mind that compares relations, and of a peculiar emotion either of sublimity or beauty. Rejecting the sensitive part as too gross and evident, Dr. Brown analyses taste into *judgment* and the *emotion* of sublimity or beauty.

6.—Moral Philosophy.

Question.—Point out and illustrate the nature and workings of the paramount principle or law in practical morals?

Answer.—The paramount principle or law in practical morals is *love* to God. This principle, like every other emotion, is more easily felt than described. It is of a very *diffusive* kind.

Whenever it takes possession of the soul, it diffuses a spiritual fragrance throughout all its faculties. It is the highest principle on which a man can act. It rises or ought to rise from the following consideration:

(1.) God is our *Creator*. This alone ought to lead us to love God,

(2.) God is the bountiful giver of all good. Love when directed to such an object is generally termed *gratitude*. It is strange that people in general, aye, even some theologians have suspected the virtuousness of this principle. They think it to be a selfish principle; because, say they, its exciting cause is a benefit. They who are of this opinion would do well to reflect that the object of true gratitude is not the *benefit* so much as the *love of kindness* in him who confers the benefit. The *morale* and not the *materiel* of benevolence is the object of gratitude.

(3.) God is morally excellent, is unchangeably and eternally holy. He who loves God in this sublime and high principle has attained the very heights of piety.

(4.) We ought to love God because he is the author of our Salvation.

This principle of love is said to be the fulfilling of the law. A man actuated by this principle would "live soberly, righteously and godly." He would hate what God hates and love what God loves.

7.—Logic.

Question.—Define and otherwise describe a syllogism, explaining its component parts, its structure, varieties and uses.

Answer.—A syllogism is an argument *fully* and *formally* expressed in words. Every syllogism has three propositions, the *major*, and *minor* premises, and the *conclusion*.

It contains three terms and three only; the *major*, the *minor*, and the *middle* terms; the major term is the *predicate* of the conclusion, and the minor term its *subject*. The middle term is that which is compared with the major term in the major promise, and with the minor in the minor premise. The foundation of every syllogism is what is called Aristotle's Dictum. "Dictum de omni et nullo," *i. e.* "Whatever is predicated affirmatively or negatively of a certain class may be predicated affirmatively or negatively of the particulars included under that class."

Every syllogism ought to observe the following laws:

(1.) Every syllogism ought to contain *three* terms and not more.

(2.) Every syllogism ought to contain three propositions.
(3.) A term which is not *distributed* in either of the premises must not be distributed in the conclusion.
(4.) From two negative premises no conclusion can be drawn.
(5.) If one of the premises be negative, the conclusion should also be negative.
(6.) If one of the premises be particular, the conclusion should also be particular.

Syllogisms are divided into two grand divisions, *Categorical* and *Hypothetical;* the former being those which are not involved under any *condition*, but are either direct affirmations or negations, and the latter those that *are* involved under a condition. The *categorical* syllogisms are subdivided into two, the *pure* and *modal;* the latter kind expresses the *mode* of the affirmation or negation, while the former does not. The hypotheticals are again divided into two great classes, the *conditional* and the *disjunctive*. The conditional are further subdivided into the *constructive* and the *destructive*, and both these again into *simple* and *complex*. The constructive is formed on the axiom, "If you admit the antecedent, the consequent may be inferred;" and the destructive on the other axiom, "If you deny the consequent, the antecedent may be denied."

There are several sorts of imperfect and disjunctive syllogisms, some of them are the following:

(1.) *Enthymeme*, that is, a syllogism in which either the major or the minor premises is suppressed.
(2.) *Sorites*, i. e., a series of syllogisms in which the predicate of the first is made the subject of the second.
(3.) *Dilemma*, both *constructive* and *destructive*.
(4.) *Epichirema*, i. e., a kind of syllogism where the proof is given.
(5.) *Induction*.

The uses of syllogisms are manifold; they exhibit the real process through which the mind goes in reasoning; they simplify reasoning (not in the sense of lessening the number of steps in the reasoning process, but of bringing it down to the level of the comprehension of the lowest capacity.) They are, moreover, of the greatest practical use in the detecting of fallacies; which is even confessed by the opponents of logic.

It is reported of the celebrated Lord Mansfield, when a pleader at the bar, that on being non-plussed by the subtle reasonings of another advocate, he got rid of the difficulty by throwing the argument into the syllogistic form.

8.—Rhetoric.

Question 1.—Describe the various kinds of *arguments*, especially arguments considered purely as such, with the great branches and subdivisions of the latter, as set forth in Whately's Rhetoric.

Answer.—The following are some of the various kinds of arguments:
(1.) *Regular* and *irregular;* (2.) *moral* or *probable* and *demonstrative* or *necessary;* (3.) *direct* and *indirect;* (4.) Arguments from *cause* to *effect*, from *effect* to *cause*, *example*, &c.

Arguments *as such*, as set forth by Archbishop Whately, are primarily of two sorts.

(1.) Those arguments which may be employed to *account for* any fact on the supposition of its truth; these he calls *a priori* arguments; and (2.) those arguments which are *not* so employed. This second class of arguments he subdivides into two, viz. *sign* and *example*. Sign is an argument, the analysis of which is that as far as any circumstance is a *condition* of the existence of a certain effect, so far may the existence of the circumstance be inferred from that of the effect. This kind of argument therefore has to do with *causation* properly so called, *probability*, *plausibility* and *testimony*. Dr. Whately enumerates several divisions of *example*, some of them are as follows:—

(1.) *Example* in a restricted sense.
(2.) Argument *from experience*.
(3.) *Analogy* or resemblance of ratios and *parity* of *reasoning*.
(4.) *Induction*.

Question 2.—What does Dr. Whately consider rhetoric to be, and what are the great branches in which he divides *the subject?*

Answer.—Unlike the extreme theorists on the subject of rhetoric who on the one hand limit its province to *persuasive speaking*, and on the other widen it indefinitely including under it *prose compositions* of every sort. Dr. Whately considers the province of rhetoric to be *argumentative composition*. He considers rhetoric to be a method of finding suitable and appropriate arguments to prove a given point. The great branches into which Whately divides his subject are; (1.) *conviction*, i. e. the finding of suitable arguments in order to produce conviction in the mind; (2.) *persuasion*, or the influencing the will; (3) *style*, its *energy*, *perspicuity*, and *elegance;* and (4.) *elocution*.

9.—History.

Question 1.—Narrate the leading events connected with British History, in all parts of the world, during the eighteenth century.

Answer.—Some of the leading events connected with British History, in all parts of the world, during the eighteenth century are as follows:—

(1.) The campaigns of the Duke of Marlborough on the continent, and the consequent battles of *Blenheim*, *Oudenard*, *Ramilies*, &c., in the beginning of the eighteenth century.
(2.) The capture of Gibraltar by the British.
(3.) The union of Scotland with England in the reign of Queen Anne, and the *Act of Security*.
(4.) *Peace of Utrecht*.
(5.) The first mention of *Whigs* and *Tories* in English History.
(6.) The rebellion of Scotland in 1745, in favor of Charles Stuart the young Pretender.
(7.) War with the French in the time of George II., and the battle of *Fontenoy*.
(8.) War in North America between the British and the French,—surrender of Quebec,—and the death of General Wolfe.
(9.) The *American War*. It originated with the mother-country's desiring to tax the colonies. Many battles were fought, and many thousands killed on both sides. General Washington commanded the Americans. At last the declaration of Independence of the United States was made in 1775.
(10.) The rise and consolidation of British power in India. Colonel Clive defeated Suraja Dowlah, the nabob of Bengal, in the plains of Plassey 1757 The battle of Buxar.
(11.) The improvement of the Steam Engine by James Watt, the researches of Sir H. Davy in Chemistry, and the establishment of manufactories of linen and woollen cloth.

Question 2.—Is there not a striking parallelism between the histories of Scipio Africanus and the Duke of Wellington? If you think so, exhibit it in all its parts, and some of its leading influences.

Answer.—There is a very striking parallelism in the history of Scipio

Africanus and that of the Duke of Wellington in some of the following particulars:

(1.) Scipio Africanus had to fight with Hannibal, the bravest general perhaps of antiquity; so had the Duke of Wellington to fight with Napoleon, the greatest warrior of modern times.

(2.) Scipio fought on a foreign shore, so did the Duke; the one in Africa, the other in Belgium.

(3.) The battle fought by Scipio proved decisive, so did that fought by the Duke.

(4.) The hero of the battle of Zama ruined the fortunes of Hannibal; the hero of the battle of Waterloo ruined the fortunes of Napoleon.

(5.) After the battle of Zama Hannibal went to banishment, so did Buonaparte after the battle of Waterloo.

(6.) The battle of Zama spoiled the cause of the Carthaginians; the battle of Waterloo spoiled that of the French and taught them not to think of founding a universal despotism throughout all Europe.

10.—Poetry.

Question 1.—Explain the following passage from the beginning of the 9th book of "Milton's Paradise lost," and clearly point out the scriptural, mythological and historical allusions:—

"No more of talk where God, or angel guest,
With man, as with his friend, familiar used
To sit indulgent, and with him partake
Rural repast; permitting him the while
Venial discourse unblamed. I now must change
These notes to tragic; foul distrust, and breach
Disloyal, on the part of man, revolt.
And disobedience; on the part of heaven,
Now alienated, distance and distaste,
Anger, and just rebuke, and judgment given,
That brought into this world—a world of woe—
Sin, and her shadow Death, and Misery
Death's harbinger. Sad task! yet argument
Not less, but more heroic than the wrath
Of stern Achilles on his foe pursued
Thrice fugitive about Troy wall; or rage
Of Turnus, for Lavinia dis-espoused;
Or Neptune's ire, or Juno's, that so long
Perplexed the Greek, and Cytherea's son."

Milton's Paradise Lost, Book IX. 1—19.

Answer.—I conceive the meaning of the above first five lines to be this; Milton treated before in the preceding books of the direct and rapturous communion which Adam in his unfallen state had with God, and especially of his long and instructive conference with Raphael the "sociable spirit." He has not now to record such conferences any more. The day for such discourse is past. He must use "tragic" notes, for he is about to describe the fall of man. The note of the music must in every case suit the nature of the song. Milton would not talk of God or angel visiting man, if he could not find scriptural authority for it. The author undoubtedly had in his mind the fact of the appearance of God in the tent of Abraham as related in the book of Genesis, and of the multitudinous appearances of the angels at sundry times and diverse places as related in the historical books of the Bible. The transition from the preceding to the succeeding part of the poem is indeed painful to the poet, for he has to record man's "dis-

obedience," "disloyal breach," "foul distrust," and "revolt" on the one hand, and God's just "anger and rebuke," &c., on the other.

The sin of man which provoked the wrath of God brought an ineffable amount of misery.

"Brought into this world a world of woe." In this sentence there is a different application of the same word "*world*." It is first used in its literal acceptation, and then in its figurative, as denoting an enormous quantity. The poet represents "Death" to be the shadow of "Sin," intimating thereby, we suppose, that death is a necessary and invariable attendant and follower of sin, inasmuch as every object casts a shadow which goes whenever it goes. Misery or affliction is represented with much beauty to be the "harbinger" or messenger of death.

The recording of such things is indeed a painful task.

But the theme is more heroic than the theme of either the Illiad and Odyssey of Homer or the Æneid of Virgil. "Turnus" was a king of Italy, whose wife was Lavinia. By "the Greek" the poet means Ulysses, who met with disasters on the ocean as he was returning home from the Trojan War. In the last two lines is exhibited a peculiarity in Milton's construction of sentences. When filled up the lines would run thus: "Neptune's ire, which so long perplexed the Greek, or Juno's ire which so long perplexed Cytherea's son."

Question 2.—Explain the following passages from Dr. Young's "Night Thoughts." Night IV.

(1.) "Fond as we are, and justly fond of faith,
Reason, we grant, demands our first regard;
The mother honoured, as the daughter dear.
Reason the root, fair faith is but the flower:
The fading flower shall die, but reason lives
Immortal, as her father in the skies!
When faith is virtue, reason makes it so."

In these lines the poet gives a true representation of faith. Reason is the "mother" of Faith. Reason is the "root," and Faith the "fair flower." Faith not grounded on reason is *enthusiasm*. "Faith," saith the Scripture, "is the substance of things hoped for, the *evidence* (which must be grounded on reason) of things not seen." The *objects* indeed of faith are invisible and future; but the truth of the revelation that discloses those objects must be investigated by "Reason." Faith has been analysed by philosophers into *judgment*, i. e. *reason, attention, and conception*. "The fading flower shall die," i. e., according to scriptural language faith shall be swallowed up in vision. When the objects of faith are within sight and visible, it is no more faith but actual vision.

"When faith is virtue, reason makes it so;" for otherwise, as we have said, faith that is not based on reason is not faith but enthusiasm.

(2.) "Talk they of morals? O thou bleeding Love!
Thou maker of new morals to mankind!
The grand morality is love of thee.
As wise as Socrates if such they were,
(Nor will they bate of that sublime renown)
As wise as Socrates might justly stand
The definition of a modern fool."

These lines are very beautiful. "Bleeding love" is the Lord Jesus Christ the Saviour of the world, who bled on the cross of Calvary for the sins of men. The poet tells us of the only true source of morality, viz. the love of Christ. Without this last (love of Christ) morality is an empty sound. Morality disjoined from the love of Christ is a non-entity. Let love to

Christ prevail, and an ethereal morality will be diffused throughout the world.

Such a revolution has Christianity produced on the face of the earth, that the phrase "as wise as Socrates" might be employed as the definition of a "modern fool;" i. e. "Socrates was, as it were, a fool compared with an enlightened Christian man:" Just as our blessed Lord said, "that the least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than John the Baptist."

Such, apart from Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, are the whole of the questions put to the candidates for senior scholarships in the Hindu College, and to the competitors for the gold medal for best general scholarship in the Free Church Institution; and such were the *unaided extemporaneous* answers furnished by the most successful candidates respectively. These questions and answers we have quoted at length, not for the purpose of pronouncing our own critical judgment on their merits, but for the purpose of enabling our readers to judge for themselves. Many, we doubt not, will be thankful to have such authentic materials supplied, on which to found a cool and dispassionate conclusion. One thing is abundantly clear, and that is, that the merits of both these performances, in a literary point of view, are of a kind more than creditable to the youthful writers. When we consider the intrinsic difficulties of the English; when we reflect on the wide disparity between its genius, structure and idiom, and those of all oriental languages; when we bear in mind the fact that the authors of the answers now recorded are both Hindus, to whom Bengali is the vernacular or mother tongue; when we strive to realize the low grovelling sentiments and associations, usages and superstitions, in the midst of which they have been cradled and nursed;—it is not easy to exaggerate the obstacles which they must have had to encounter, in acquiring that clearness of intellectual vision, that approximation to the attainment of a refined and chastened taste, that appropriate facility of expression which their productions severally indicate.

There is, however, another practical object on which these questions and answers are calculated to throw considerable light, and to which we crave the special attention of the reader. About a year and a half ago, the Governor-General promulgated his celebrated educational resolution, by which, in apportioning vacant situations in the uncovenanted public service, preference was enjoined to be given to educated over uneducated candidates, through every gradation of employment, from the highest to the lowest. All sinister favouritism and invidious partiality, as regards the alumni of Government institutions, were, at the same time, understood to be strictly prohibited. The highest scholarship being declared one of the primary tests for office, the competition was freely and indiscriminately thrown open to fitting candidates from all institutions, howsoever originated and by whomsoever supported. Such a resolution was hailed with the universal and unanimous welcome which it deserved. All, at home and abroad, cordially united in applauding its generosity and magnanimity as worthy alike of the enlightened statesman and patriotic governor.

It was, however, distinctly foreseen that, as regards the beneficial tendency and successful results of such a measure, every thing would

depend on the *practical mode* or *method* which might be adopted for carrying it into effect. No reasonable person expected, that, in the case of so novel an experiment, any mode or method, either wholly unexceptionable or even approximately perfect, could, in the first instance, be suggested. The utmost that candid and thoughtful persons anticipated, was, that some plan might be proposed, illustrative, at least, of the catholic spirit, and in some degree commensurate with the avowed design, of the Government resolution; while a readiness would be manifested to profit by the lessons, the correctives, and the monitions of a gradually maturing experience. Great, then, was the surprize and mortification of all young men, not trained in Government institutions, to find that the proposed test or criterion of scholarship was *not* a large and comprehensive one—with latitude and allowances fairly fitted to embrace all existing seminaries—but a *narrow* and *exclusive* one, adapted *only* to Government Colleges. The *books* and *subjects* of examination were those which had been *thoroughly studied in these Colleges*—and many of them studied in *these Colleges alone*. This, at once, gave the *entire monopoly and advantage* to the alumni of these institutions. To expect that the students of any other educational seminaries would compete, on such enormously disproportionate terms, was chimerical and preposterous in the highest degree. In fact, the feeling which extensively prevailed, on the promulgation of the plan and subjects of examination, was that which results from the public exhibition of a real though unintended insult and affront.

This grave error was subsequently so far rectified, by an announcement in the form of a recommendation that the students of other institutions should not enter their names as competitors during the last year! A very needless recommendation verily as regarded the students themselves; but one of some value as indicating that the Council of Education had become alive to the palpable partiality of the proposed test, and were really open to a candid re-consideration of the whole subject.

Well, the subject was apparently re-considered. And what was the result? It was that a list of the subjects and books for examination would thenceforward be published a twelve month before the time. This certainly was an immense improvement on the perfunctory plan of last year. It has about it so much of the air and aspect of seeming fairness that many may be disposed to regard it as an equitable and sufficient measure; while those who dissent from it, on the ground of its inequitableness and insufficiency, expose themselves to the charge of being unreasonable, or captious, or worse. Conscious, however, of being actuated by no motive but a desire for the good of India; and fully believing, that, amid all differences of judgment, the members of the Council of Education are actuated by motives equally disinterested and sincere, we shall simply and briefly state what occurs to us for their deliberate consideration.

Look at the examinations of last year, and let us see what are the real facts—the visible tangible phenomena—presented by them? The subjects on which the candidates were examined, naturally divide them-

selves into the four following groups, which may be distinguished as A, B, C, and D :—

A	B	C	D
Mathematics and Natural Philosophy.	English Literature and History.	Christian Theology Christian Evidence Scripture History Natural Theology.	Mental Philosophy. Moral Philosophy Logic & Rhetoric.

Now, it was only on *two* of these groups, viz. A and B, that the students of the Hindu College were examined in their competition; whereas the students of the Free Church Institution were examined on all the four, viz. A, B, C, and D. Well, does it not stand to reason and common sense, that, if examinations are to be *limited* to the first two, viz. A and B, and the studies of the young men are to be regulated accordingly, their proficiency in the subjects of the more restricted course of study ought to be vastly greater than if their attention had been proportionately directed to more than double the number?—a number, for example, including all the momentous topics ranged under C and D? And if there be students whose time and attention have been equally divided between all the subjects comprehended in the four compartments, A, B, C, and D; how can they be expected to compete with those whose time and attention have been wholly or chiefly expended on the subjects embraced by two only, viz. A and B? Why, if the exclusives of A and B, did not return fuller, more accurate, and more elaborate answers on their more limited range of topics, than the comprehensives of A, B, C, and D could do on their vastly more extended range of topics, it would be flagrantly disgraceful. Suppose the student of A and B devoted the *whole* of his strength and mental energy for ten years to the study of Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, English Literature and History: suppose the student of A, B, C, and D devoted, during these same ten years, at least the one-half of his strength and mental energy to the other grand subjects enumerated under C and D, viz. Christian Theology, Christian Evidences, Scripture History, and Natural History—Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic and Rhetoric:—would it be fair, or just or reasonable towards him, who had mastered the more comprehensive range of scholarship, to take no account whatever of all the studies which he had prosecuted under C and D—and to examine him along with the exclusive student of A and B, solely on the limited topics to which the latter had devoted the whole of his time and attention, strength and energy? Assuredly it would not. Nor is this a probable inference only, or a surmise of what is merely potential. It is, if we are not greatly misinformed, a statement of actual fact. There are now young men who have felt that, under the existing system, they are as absolutely precluded from enrolling their names as candidates, as if they were formally and peremptorily prohibited; and unless the system be greatly altered and modified, the number of such must be indefinitely increasing. And thus, the Government Resolution, which was designed to secure the best qualified scholars, must often hopelessly fail,—since the present narrow and contracted

mode of working out the measure must naturally operate so as frequently to exclude the better and secure the worse qualified instead!

To render this still more palpable, let the reader glance again at the above questions and answers. In the Hindu College examination, apart from Mathematics and Natural Philosophy, *English Literature and History* constituted the *sole materielle* for interrogation; in the Free Church Institution examination, these branches constituted only *a fraction* of the *materielle*. In the latter case, not fewer than *eight* other branches were added—all of a substantial and edifying character. Now suppose the student of the more comprehensive course were examined along with the student of the more limited course, and that too, only on the themes which constituted the latter, we might naturally anticipate that his answers would not be equal in fulness and accuracy to those of his compeer. The student of the more limited course, enjoying so prodigious an advantage, would then be pronounced the superior; whereas the other might, after all, be by far the best general scholar—his faculties greatly more invigorated, his memory more usefully stored, his sensibilities more generously exercised, his principles more solidly bottomed, and his whole mind more largely cultivated and expanded.

How, then, could the latter be expected to submit to the indignity and degradation of being rejected as inferior and unworthy, merely because of the application of a narrow and inadequate test, when in reality he might be vastly the superior and the more worthy? For, supposing his answers in English literature and History alone, were not quite so full and satisfactory, yet, if they were, on the whole, good and creditable, while his answers on all the other themes of theology and philosophy were equally good and creditable, would he not really be superior to him who could give somewhat better answers on *two* of the subjects, but *very lame answers*, or *no answers at all, on any of the rest*—amounting though these did to double, treble, or quadruple the number? In other words still;—of the two, which, we ask, is to be held the real superior—the one, who can give the best answers on English literature and History alone, but *very lame answers*, or *no answers*, on Christian Theology, Christian Evidences, Scripture History, Natural Theology, Mental and Moral Philosophy, Logic and Rhetoric—or the one, who can give really fair and satisfactory answers on the whole of these together?

But it may be said that this is driving the matter too far—that though not examined on a greater number of subjects, the Hindu College Students were ready to be examined on a greater number. Let us cheerfully admit the allegation. But, in doing so, it must also be conceded that though the Free Church Institution students were only examined on the subjects above enumerated, they were ready to be examined on a good many more. This, however, is not all. Whatever may be the actual attainments of the Hindu College Students in some of the omitted Departments of sound learning, we shall freely grant that there is nothing in the existing regulations to debar them from the study of many of these. Mental and Moral Philosophy, for example, with Logic, Rhetoric, and other useful branches may be freely open to them. Let us, then, suppose that in all of these they have made respectable progress.

Even, on this supposition, there is much that is taught in Christian Institutions from which they are wholly shut out. Christian Theology, Evidences, and History, with their endlessly varied ramifications, constituting by far the most massive and important portion of genuine English Literature, are still to them forbidden themes.

If, then, the number of collegiate years for any young man be limited; if, in one institution, a third or even fourth part of the student's time, strength and energy, must be devoted to subjects which are entirely excluded from another; and if, in a comparative trial of scholarship, these extra studies of the one go for nothing, while the extra studies pursued in the other go all to swell the aggregate of examinable acquirements;—is there not again a sad and glaring inequality? Suppose, for example, that a young man in a Christian or Government Institution has obtained a connected and accurate acquaintance with the Histories of India, Greece, Rome, England, &c. as delineated in our ordinary standard school publications. Suppose, next, that the conductors of the Government Institution should put additional elaborate Histories of India, Greece, &c. into the hands of their pupils, while the managers of Christian Seminaries preferred directing theirs to the Bible Histories, and Church Histories, and Reformation Histories, &c.—Who does not see that, in both these cases, the real *amount* of historical attainments might be equal, though the *specific nature and character* of the attainments severally are of a *totally different description*? In a limited examination on Indian, Grecian and other Histories, the Government College student ought undoubtedly to excel; in an enlarged examination which embraced Indian, Grecian and other Histories, in conjunction with Bible, and Church, and Reformation Histories, the Christian Institution student would have the same decided advantage. If then, the result of an examination were to turn, even in part, on the superior acquaintance of the candidates with Bible, Church, and Reformation Histories, would not this be denounced as a grievous act of injustice towards the Government College students—seeing that their attention had never been directed to these? And is it less an act of injustice towards Christian Institution students to make the examination hinge solely and exclusively on a superior acquaintance with the secular Histories of India, Greece, Rome, &c.—seeing that, in their case, the more profound acquaintance with such Histories may have been rendered impracticable, by having so much of their time and attention diverted to the Sacred Histories of the world, throughout all the stages of successive developement, from the dawn of creation to the consummation of all things? The same remarks are equally applicable to all other branches of secular and sacred Literature. The students of the one set of Institutions, for example, may be made to devote that portion of their time and strength to the study of Byron or Homer, which the students of the other set of Institutions are required to dedicate to the study of the rapt lyrics of David, or the sublime and soul-elevating imagery of Isaiah. While the one class of students may be called on to master the Spectator of Addison, the Rambler of Johnson, and such like;

the other class of students may be carried through the Analogy of Butler, the Living Temple of Howe, the Evidences of Paley and Chalmers, and other kindred works. Now, from all this it is clear, that, while the aggregate *amount* of attainments, in these cases severally, *may be* the same, the *nature* and *character* of the attainments themselves are, in many respects, not only different but even opposite. Yet, who will undertake to say that the supposed acquirements of the Christian Institution students are less solid, less substantial, less useful, less productive of intellectual and moral fruit, or less prolific of benefits to society, than the supposed acquirements of the Government Institution Students? According to the existing system, however, the latter have all the advantage, the former all the disadvantage.

All the acquisitions of the latter are held to be marketable, and are rated at their full *ad valorem* worth, while most of the transcendently important acquisitions of the former, are excluded from competition altogether, and practically treated as if they possessed no value at all. The natural practical *tendency* of such a system obviously is, to operate as a mighty impulse and encouragement to a purely secular or exclusively *non-Christian* education—and as a heavy blow and great if not effectual discouragement to all *mixed* or *comprehensive Christian education*, with its hallowing influences and ennobling fruits. We purposely say "natural practical tendency," because we do not for a moment insinuate, neither do we believe, that the Council of Education, as a body, could *knowingly* design and contemplate such an unhappy and disastrous result. But, however unintentional, the calamitous tendency of their measures is, beyond all question, what we have represented it. For, while the non-Christian course is, in effect, fostered, as by the application of a stimulating bounty or premium, the Christian course is practically repressed, as by the imposition of a virtually prohibitory duty. The students of the latter and better course are tantalized by an invitation which in the issue only mocks them; the students of the former and inferior course snugly and securely enjoy all the monopoly to themselves.

If the present system of examination be maintained, justice,—strict, equal, impartial justice to all—could only be done by the adoption of one or other of these three methods:—The Government might extend or enlarge its educational course, so as to embrace or comprehend the varied and important subjects taught in Christian Institutions:—this, in present circumstances, may be regarded as impracticable. Or, the Managers of Christian Institutions might contract their course, so as to bring it within the narrow secular dimensions of the Government model:—this would be to eject from their system all its peculiar and distinguishing, its most vital and fundamentally important parts—those parts on account of which alone the system itself is upheld, and to which all the rest are held to be altogether subsidiary and inferior!—and, as such an act would be plainly a suicidal one, we may safely pronounce it a moral impossibility. Or, finally, in the spirit of a wise compromise and equitable adjustment, the balance might be struck between the different sets of studies. The peculiar

studies of one Institution, of a really solid and unobjectionable character—fitted to enlarge and replenish alike the intellect and the heart, and calculated to tell on the best interests of society—might be allowed *to pass as a* virtual substitute or fair equivalent for the peculiar but confessedly useful studies of another Institution. That there would be difficulties in *the practical* settlement of the subject, according to this view of it, we very well know. Our present object, however, is not to point out a solution of the difficulties, but merely to direct more earnest and general attention *to the subject* which involves them.

There are other objections to the existing *system*, on the score of its inapplicability *even to Government* Institutions throughout the country, and its utter insufficiency in carrying out the large and comprehensive design of the Governor General's Resolution. We have simply, for the present, attempted to point out one of its most glaring and radical deficiencies—even this—that while it seemingly throws open the door of admission freely to all, it *as effectually excludes* many, and some of these it may be the very best, as if it bolted the door against them, and guarded it with a bristling array of artillery. After thus plainly stating the case, we leave it to the Council of Education to devise a suitable remedy. In its members *generally*, and more especially *in some of them, we have the* utmost confidence. The integrity of their motives and intentions we hold to be unimpeachable—and the sincerity of their desire to act *fairly and* honourably towards all, in their discharge of the responsible trust committed to them, altogether unchallengeable. But, overburdened already by the overwhelming pressure of other duties, they have had a task imposed upon them, involving complexities which it would require the wisdom of *an Œdipus* to unravel, and presenting obstacles in the way of its execution, which it would tax the strength of a Hercules successfully to overcome.

BARKER AND CONE, STH., NO. 4, TANK-SQUARE, CALCUTTA.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

The two Calcutta Editions of Bacon's Novum Organum. The one by the Rev. T. Smith of the Free Church of Scotland Mission, and the other by Mr. Kerr, Principal of the Hindu College.

It is not with the general merits of Bacon's Novum Organum that we have here to do. The discussion of these would be altogether alien to the specific objects contemplated by the *Calcutta Review*. But, when a new Edition of the "Organum" appears amongst us, bearing upon it the stamp of one of our metropolitan or of any other Indian presses, that moment the merits of such edition come fairly within the sphere of our cognizance. Just as a dissertation on the general merits of a gold coinage would be beyond our chosen province; but remarks on the characteristics of a new form of gold coinage bearing the impress of the Calcutta mint might be held as quite legitimate and appropriate.

It may be hailed as a token of awakened intellectual activity amongst us, that, within so short a period, two separate editions of the "Organum" should have issued from our local Press,—the one, an original translation with notes by Mr. Smith—the other, a republication of an old translation, "with corrections and notes, by Mr. Kerr." The former was published, under the auspices of the Christian School Book Society in 1843; the latter, under the sanction of the Government Council of Education in 1845. To Mr. Smith undoubtedly belongs the credit of having been *the first* to suggest the use of the Organum as a text book in our Colleges, and of having supplied the effectual means of so employing it, by furnishing a new translation of the Latin original. Neither can it well be doubted by any, acquainted with the facts of the case, that it was the taste created for the work among the alumni of our Colleges by this new and accessible edition of Bacon, which led to its being influentially brought to the notice of the Council of Education, and its being finally adopted by them as a class book in Government Institutions. Instead, however, of taking Mr. Smith's translation, they set about preparing a new edition for themselves, in the shape of a reprint of an old version by Dr. Peter Shaw, with "corrections and notes." The task of editing the work very naturally and appropriately devolved on the Principal of the Hindu College. And it was ushered into the world with a *recommendatory* preface or address by the Hon'ble Mr. Cameron, President of the Council of Education.

Such being the simple naked facts of the case, we would suggest, *in limine*, whether Mr. Smith's services in connection with the present vigorous endeavour to transplant the Organum into our Indian soil have been duly or adequately acknowledged. We think not. He was the pioneer—and the successful pioneer too—in this good and worthy undertaking. And it does not seem quite handsome or generous on the part of those who were simply stirred up to imitate his example, and emulate his success, to pass over his labours in total silence—to publish the *second* of the Calcutta editions, without any allusion whatever to the *existence* of the *first*. Nor is this all. In the various papers or circulars which emanate from the Council of Education, *their* edition of Bacon's Novum Organum is uniformly designated "*the* Calcutta edition"—as if it really were *the only one in existence!* As such a procedure is plainly neither courteous nor just, we sincerely hope

that it has resulted from mere inadvertence. and not from any deliberate design—and that, henceforward, they may find the means of amply atoning for the apparent, and doubtless unintentional, discourtesy and injustice.

Of the relative merits of Mr. Smith's and Mr. Kerr's editions of the Organum, we do not intend to say much. They are, or may be, in the hands of every one interested in the introduction of such works in our Indian Colleges. And such persons are quite competent to judge for themselves. In forming a preference and practically deciding a choice, every thing will depend on the diversities of literary taste as to style, and philosophic judgment, as to accuracy of rendering. Both performances have their respective excellencies and defects. It were a needless truism to say that none of them can be perfect. Indeed, there never yet has been, and from the nature of the case, there scarcely ever can be, a perfect translation of any important work from any one language into another. And a work like the Novum Organum is beset with a two-fold order of difficulties—difficulties, arising from the novelty, originality, profundity and recondite allusions in the subject-matter itself—and difficulties, arising from the amazing compression and epigrammatic terseness of the language which is made the vehicle of thought.

One of the most obvious and prominent of the faults of Dr. Shaw's version is, that, in attempting to rival in brevity the inimitable original, the translator very often renders the meaning of his author obscure, if not wholly unintelligible; and we do not find that this fault has been at all sufficiently removed by Kerr, in his new edition. One of the faults of Mr. Smith's version, on the other hand, may be, that, in striving to convey the sense of his author in all its own unmistakeable clearness and fulness, he is apt to be occasionally somewhat diffuse or paraphrastic. This, however, if it be regarded as a fault at all, is surely a fault on the safer and better side—and more especially so, when it is remembered that the work is designed chiefly for Hindu students who cannot consult the original, and to whom the language of the translation is itself a strange and foreign tongue.

We have carefully gone over a large portion of both translations—viz. Mr. Smith's new one, and Dr. Shaw's old one as amended, edited, and adopted by Mr. Kerr—comparing them with each other and with the Latin original. We have no hesitation, therefore, in saying, that, as regards *accuracy* and *intelligibleness of rendering*, Mr. Smith's is, on the whole, to be preferred to Mr. Kerr's. We do not of course find either of them nearly perfect. No reasonable person could expect this. It is rather by the comparatively greater or smaller degree of their imperfection that such works must be estimated. And the only question is, which of them least frequently or least glaringly falls short in accurately representing the sense and significancy of Bacon's weighty expressions? Tried by this plain, practical, utilitarian test, we think on the whole, that Mr. Smith has the advantage over Mr. Kerr.* The former has a few slips, the latter has many errors. The former translator has sometimes not caught up, or has not been able to express, the delicate shade of the author's meaning; the latter has, in many instances misapprehended the meaning altogether, or to all appearance has been able to form no distinct apprehension of it at all. As an instance of this we may

* It must of course be stedfastly borne in mind that we are here and elsewhere speaking of Mr. Kerr, as the editor of a translation not merely *adopted*, but professedly intended to be *improved* by him, and not as Principal of the Hindu College. With his merits and qualifications in the latter capacity we have at present nothing to do. Whatever may be his endowments, professionally and intellectually considered, all unite in testifying that he is a willing pains-taking and laborious *educator*.

quote the twentieth aphorism of the first book. "Eandem ingreditur viam (priorem scilicet) intellectus sibi permissus, quam facit ex ordine dialecticæ." This Mr. Kerr renders—"the understanding when left to itself, takes the first of these ways, and prepares it in logical order." Mr. Smith renders—"the understanding when left to itself follows the former method, as it does in the dialectic order." Now both the language and the *necessitas loci* ought to have shewn Mr. Kerr that his translation is wrong. As to the language, he ought to have known, that Bacon would not have used such a barbarism as "*facere viam*," to express the *making* or *preparing* of a road, especially as he frequently uses the correct classical expression "*munire viam*." But in fact Mr. Kerr does not seem to know at all the meaning of this latter phrase, as when it does occur, he translates it *to fortify a road*, a mistake for which we find it very difficult to devise a suitable apology. Then as to the *necessitas loci*, the purpose of the author is, as is evident from the connexion, to state that the natural tendency of the human mind is to start off at once to general principles, and to draw particular conclusions from them, just as in the syllogism, the conclusion is always less general than the major premiss. This, which is evidently the proper meaning of the passage, is clearly expressed in Mr. Smith's version. In the same aphorism also we think Mr. Kerr is not right in rendering "*post parvam moram*," by "after a short stay here;" we think the meaning is rather after a short continuance of this habit or practice. This is the meaning given by Mr. Smith, which however might have been more neatly expressed than by "after some time." The twenty-sixth aphorism is as follows—"Rationem humanam, qua utimur ad naturam, *anticipationes natura* (quia res temeraria est et præmatura) at illam rationem quæ debitis modis elicitur a rebus, *interpretationem naturæ*, docendi gratia, vocare consuevimus." This is thus rendered by Mr. Kerr,—"The natural human reasoning, we for the sake of clearness, call the anticipation of nature, as being a rash and hasty thing; and that which is duly exercised upon objects, we call the interpretation of nature." Now here again we cannot but express our astonishment that Mr. Kerr should suppose that *ratio* means *reasoning*, a sense which we may venture to say never belongs to it either in Bacon or in any classical writer. Mr. Smith's rendering of this passage is not correct either, but it is that of a scholar slightly mistaking the meaning of his author, whereas the other is not that of a scholar at all. He renders it thus "To the ordinary system which we apply to nature, we have given the name, &c." Now the proper rendering of the passage is this, "To the ordinary system or method which we naturally employ (ad naturam, in accordance with our nature, merely another mode of expressing the *intellectus sibi permissus)* we have been accustomed to apply the term, &c." Mr. Smith's version, it will be seen, gives a meaning not inconsistent with the true meaning, but yet not accurately agreeing with it.

In aphorism 38, Mr. Kerr wrongly renders "in ipsa instauratione scientiarum" by "in the rebuilding of the sciences;" Mr. Smith properly renders the expression "in the very institution of the sciences."

In aphorism 56, Mr. Kerr strangely renders the expression "alia ingenia" by "some men of genius;" Mr. Smith renders it "some minds," as every one but the merest tyro will acknowledge is the proper meaning.

A passage in aphorism 57, Mr. Kerr utterly mistakes, "Id optime cernitur in schola Leucippi et Democriti, collata cum reliquis philosophis Illa enim ita versatur in particulis rerum, ut fabricas fere negligat; reliquæ autem ita fabricas intuentur attonitæ, ut ad simplicitatem naturæ non

penetrent." Now it seems as clear as day-light that Bacon is comparing just two classes of things with each other, viz. the school of Leucippus and Democritus on the one hand, with the other philosophic schools or sects on the other. Now Mr. Kerr supposes that his author is comparing the school of Leucippus with that of Democritus,—as appears from his rendering of the passage—"as appears plainly on comparing the school of Leucippus and Democritus with the other philosophies. For the former is so taken up with the particles of things; as almost to neglect their general structure; whilst the other views the fabrication of things with such astonishment, as not to enter into the simplicity of nature." Here it seems clear that by "the former" the translator means the school of Leucippus and by "the other" that of Democritus; whereas by "the former," the author means the school of Leucippus and Democritus, while by "the others" (not the other) he means the other schools.

In aphorism 60, the expression "si alia accipias," is rendered by Mr. Kerr (as if it were "si alia excipias") "with some exceptions." This completely reverses the meaning of the passage, which is an important one, and makes Bacon say the very opposite of what he did say. It is rightly rendered by Mr. Smith.

In aphorism 64, Mr. Kerr translates the expression "Sophisticum aut rationale genus," by "either the sophistical or the rational," being strangely ignorant that Bacon is not describing *two* classes, but only *one* class, to which he has given alternative or synonymous epithets. Both the structure of the phrase and the necessary meaning ought to have prevented his falling into such an error. In fact, in aphorism 62, Bacon himself expressly uses these words as interchangeable synonymes, calling that in one paragraph, the *rationale genus*, which in the next paragraph but one he calls the *sophisticum genus*. Mr. Smith omits the "*aut rationale*" altogether, thus preserving the sense, but sacrificing the literality unnecessarily.

In aphorism 66 there is one of the most valuable passages of the Novum Organum completely deprived of its meaning, and consequently of its value, by Mr. Kerr's mistranslation of it. The passage is this,—"Sed multo adhuc majore cum malo fit, quod quiescentia rerum principia, *ex quibus*, et non moventia, per quæ res fiunt, contemplentur et inquirant." This Mr. Kerr renders, "But it is much more prejudicial that the *quiescent* principles whereof things consist, should be studied and enquired into, and not the moving principles whereby they act." This passage, we say, is one of the most valuable and important of the whole work. In it the author shews that he had a glimpse of the grand fact in philosophy that *physical causes*, the *moventia principia per quæ res fiunt*, alone form the object of philosophical investigation, while the *efficient causes*, the *quiescentia rerum principia ex quibus res fiunt*, lie altogether beyond the range of human cognizance. This is unquestionably the meaning of the passage, Mr. Kerr's reading has no intelligible meaning at all, neither is his rendering derivable in any possible way from the author's words. The passage is tersely and well rendered by Mr. Smith. "But still greater evil arises from the fact that men consider and enquire into the quiescent principles of things *from* which effects are produced, and not into the moving principles *by* which they are produced."

An important passage in Aphorism 69 is completely perverted by Mr. Kerr, and turned into nonsense, "Demonstrationes vero potentia quadam philosophiæ ipsæ sunt et scientiæ." This passage is properly and aptly rendered by Mr. Smith, "modes of proof are themselves potentially as it were systems of philosophy and sciences;" but it is, as we have said, completely perverted by Mr. Kerr, who renders it thus, "genuine demonstrations

are potentially sciences and philosophies themselves." The unwarranted introduction of the word *genuine* shews that the translator had no distinct apprehension of the author's meaning. It is perfectly clear that Bacon meant to assert that, according as the demonstrations, or methods of demonstration, are *good or bad*, so are the systems or sciences founded on them. As is the method of proof adopted, so is the system. If Mr. Kerr had only looked at the next sentence he could scarcely have fallen into so clumsy a blunder.

In another passage of the same aphorism, Mr. Kerr clearly shews that he had no proper apprehension of his author's meaning. "At destitutionibus substitutiones, fallaciis rectificationes debentur," is thus rendered, "but its failures are remedied by substitutions, and its fallacies by rectification." "The meaning is properly given by Mr. Smith;—"but when they are defective they ought to be supplied, and when they are deceptive they ought to be rectified." This is clearly the meaning of the passage, although it might have been better expressed; perhaps the author's play upon the words *destitutiones and substitutiones* could scarcely have been retained in a translation, and therefore we would just have rendered the passage; "their deficiencies ought to be supplied, and their errors corrected."

In aphorism 87, the expression "sensuum deceptiones" is erroneously rendered by Mr. Kerr, "cures for the deceptions of the senses;" clearly an error in the apprehension of the passage.

In aphorism 97, Mr. Kerr translates the expression "Ratio illa humana, quam habemus," into "that knowledge we have." Mr. Smith with much more propriety translates, "the human reason, as we now find it."

Bacon's expression in aphorism 101, "Neque adhuc experientia literata facta est," is evidently a sort of pun in the original. This could not be transferred into another language, and therefore Mr. Smith has wisely given the sense,—"experience has not yet been reduced to writing"—whereas Mr. Kerr gives a rendering which to our apprehension has no sense at all, "nor is experience yet made learned."

In aphorism 104, and elsewhere, the expression "immota veritas," does not mean, as it is rendered by Mr. Kerr, "established truth;" the sense of all the passages in which it occurs seems to require the meaning assigned to it by Mr. Smith—"unquestioned truth."

The beginning of aphorism 112 is somewhat difficult, and it seems to us that the meaning is happily given by Mr. Smith, while it is only guessed at, and not quite correctly, by Mr Kerr. "Sunt enim artium et naturæ particularia *phænomena*, manipuli instar, ad ingenii commenta, postquam ab evidentia rerum disjuncta et abstracta fuerint," Mr. Kerr renders this—"For the particular phenomena of arts and nature are few in number in comparison of the inventions of the imagination when disjoined and metaphysically separated from the evidence of things." Now the author does not mean, as his translator supposes, to deny the fact of the *multitudo particularium*, but he asserts that this fact is no cause of alarm; because the phenomena of the arts and of nature can be classed together and collected into sheaves; differing in this respect from the figments of the imagination, which are not held together by the bond of facts, and have therefore no connection with or dependence upon each other. What made Mr. Kerr introduce the word "metaphysically" into the clause we cannot divine, unless it be that he, like some other people, calls every thing metaphysical to which he can attach no meaning whatever. Certainly the "separation" of which the author speaks is no more a "metaphysical" separation than is the separation of Ceylon from the continent of India. Mr. Smith, as we have said, renders the passage accurately in regard to sense, though his

translation would have been all the better had it been still more literal. "For the particular phenomena of the arts and of nature are connected with one another like sheaves (rather a sheaf); as compared with the speculations of the mind apart from the evidence of things."

In Aph. 117, Mr. Kerr has, "nor have we any hopes of living to finish the whole of our work, which is destined, &c.." now the purpose for which the translator says the whole of the work is destined, the author expressly says is the purpose for which only one division, viz. the sixth division or part of the work is destined—Mr. Kerr does not understand the passage.

In Aph. 119. The clause "de cæteris rebus" being translated by Mr. Kerr "and thence of others" shews very clearly that he had no distinct idea of the drift or meaning of his author.

The conclusion of Aph. 127, as given by Mr. Kerr, is utterly meaningless; he could not indeed have written it so if he had had but a glimpse of what his author is writing about. Bacon's sentence is—"Atque propterea multa et diversa in doctrinâ *interpretationis* præcipimus, quæ ad subjecti, de quo inquirimus, qualitatem et conditionem, modum inveniendi nonnulla ex parte applicent." The meaning of this is, that one and the same mode of investigation is applicable to all subjects; but that the application of that method will be somewhat modified according to the qualities and conditions of the various subjects; and therefore it is a part of the author's plan to give several precepts or directions which may assist the student in adapting his method to the various subjects that fall under his investigation. This is all very plain; but what does Mr. Kerr make of it?—"And therefore shall deliver many different precepts in the doctrine of interpretation, which may in some measure relate to the method of ascertaining the quality and condition of the subject enquired into." This is clearly very wide of the author's meaning. Mr. Smith renders the passage very well; indeed he has no great credit in doing so, for any school-boy might have done it.

It would appear from the foregoing list,—too long we fear for the patience of many of our readers, but which could easily have been doubled or trebled, that Mr. Kerr appears, often at least, to have neither a competent knowledge of the language of his author, nor any clear perception of the spirit of his system, while Mr. Smith sufficiently indicates his possession of a generally clear and accurate knowledge of both. The passages we have selected are all comparatively easy ones, on the meaning of which we ourselves have no doubt. There are passages in the Novum Organum, as to the meaning of which translators may well disagree, and regarding which even Editors (who are generally deemed at least by themselves infallible) need not be ashamed to acknowledge a doubt. Regarding the rendering of such passages we have not ventured to decide, whether one translator or the other is right, or whether both are wrong. In fact there are many expressions in Bacon's works, and especially in this one, whose meaning is only to be acquired by many years of constant meditation on the peculiarities of his system, and frequent perusal of his works. We have never read the Novum Organum, and we cannot tell how often we have read it, without getting at the meaning of several passages which we had not fully apprehended before; so it will be, we presume, with every proper Baconian mind.

As Mr. Smith, if we may judge from his generally clear apprehension of his author's meaning, appears to indicate the possession of such a mind, we expect indefinite improvements in each successive edition of his translation —the *second* of which we are glad to learn is now in the press, and has in part been published. This augurs well alike for the appreciation of his work by the conductors of non-government Seminaries, and the rapid spread of a

higher education in the native community. As for Mr. Kerr, we cannot honestly say that we entertain any such lively or confident hopes. We can trace no clear signs of superior competency for the task which he has undertaken, nor any decisive promise of a growing ability to enstamp it with the impress of a superior execution. In these our prognostications, we may be mistaken; and if so, it will afford us much more pleasure to be constrained, by convicting evidence, to acknowledge the mistake, than to be doomed to find it irrevocably confirmed.

So much for the translations.—As to the notes, neither of the editions come up to the felt and clamant necessities of the case. Occasional notes are very well in their own way. But they do not suffice, in any adequate degree, to meet the demands of the native student. Short explanatory notes, with constant illustrative examples, amounting, in the aggregate, to a *perpetual running commentary*,—this, and nothing short of this, is the sort of annotation, which is loudly sought for, and on all sides imperatively required.

Mr. Kerr's edition, as already stated, enjoys the honour and privilege of being prefaced with an address by the Hon. Mr. Cameron, "President of the Council of Education, to the students under its superintendence." However grave and even numerous, the deficiencies of this address, considered as an Academic Lecture or Appeal to thousands of native youth, fast emerging from the depths of ignorance and superstition, and aspiring to at least an intellectual and social eminence, it is so excellent, as far as it goes, both in thought and expression, that we feel justified in giving it the widest circulation in a permanent form, by transferring it entire to our pages. It is as follows:—

"This translation of Bacon's Novum Organum, which has been reprinted and illustrated with notes by Mr. Kerr, the Principal of the Hindu College, comes forth under happy auspices.

For, while it was in preparation, the Resolution of Government, dated 10th October 1844. was published to the world.

It is to Sir Henry Hardinge that you owe the public and solemn announcement of the great principle that "In every possible case a preference shall be given, in the selection of candidates for public employment, to those who have been educated in the Institutions established for the instruction of the people, as well by the Government as by private Individuals and Societies, and especially to those who have distinguished themselves therein by a more than ordinary degree of merit and attainment."

Be thankful for the respect thus shewn for learning, and evince your gratitude by redoubled exertions, the rather that you are indebted to the Governor General, not only for holding out to you this incentive, but also for not holding it out to you alone, for giving you as competitors in the race, all your countrymen who have been trained to it, no matter where they have been trained: and thus saving you from the pride and the indolence which those who enjoy a monopoly can hardly escape from.

But do not imagine, that the sole or the main use of a liberal education is to fit yourselves for the public service; or, rather, do not imagine that the public can only be served by the performance of duties in the offices of Government.

I would rather see you grateful for this Resolution, as a proof of the high esteem in which learning is held by your present Ruler, than as a promise of the reward by which learning is to be requited.

The highest reward of learning, it is not in the power of any Ruler, however benevolent and however enlightened, to bestow.

The improvement of mankind, of that portion of mankind which is placed within our reach and influence; the internal peace, and happiness, and dignity, which result to those who have labored to bring about that improvement,—these are the most genuine, the most elevated, the fullest recompence of a life devoted to study.

The enviable power of contributing to the improvement of large masses of mankind, appears to me to be conferred upon such of you, as are animated by that desire, in unusually large measure by the peculiarity of your position.

Placed as you are between the learning of Europe and the mass of your countrymen,

you may make yourselves their benefactors, to an incalculable extent, by interpreting to them in your Vernacular tongue, what you have learnt in English.

In this respect your position is very analogous to that of European men of letters, at the revival of learning.

There is, however, this remarkable difference, that whereas the renovation of Europe by the communication of Greek and Roman literature and civilization did not take place till the sources had been first corrupted, then dried up, and lastly, overwhelmed and ruined as by an earthquake; the native races of this Indian Peninsula have the opportunity of possessing themselves of the literature and civilization of modern Europe, while the streams are still flowing from their fountains with undiminished fulness, and untainted purity.

The consequence of this is, that while the two careers which, at the period I speak of, were opened to the studious minds of modern Europe, soon lost their attractive power, or ceased to be fruitful; no corresponding changes can be foreseen in the two corresponding careers, which have lattly been opened to you.

The Latin was a dead language: no one, therefore, could be sure of applying it, with classical elegance and propriety, to the new subjects which were constantly arising for discussion. No one could attain that intimate familiarity with it, which we acquire by conversing with instructed men in their own mother tongue.

And as Latin was no where known to the unlearned, no one, who desired that his doctrines should sink deep into the masses of mankind, could accomplish his purpose with that instrument. There was no nation which could be addressed in Latin: whoever was not satisfied, unless he had a nation for his audience, could not be satisfied with Latin for the vehicle of his thoughts.

Bacon, though he took care that his works should not lose the advantage of a learned dress, yet wrote most of them, originally, in English.*

Sir Thomas Browne hesitated between Latin and English, but decided in favor of his own language:† and after Milton I do not recollect that there is any work of distinguished merit addressed by an Englishman to the general reader in Latin Prose.

There were no doubt other causes, but the above mentioned I conceive are the principal ones why that mode of addressing the Republic of letters, was soon abandoned, notwithstanding the advantage which Latin, from its universality, had over the modern tongues.

And again, when once the large but still limited stock of valuable knowledge which had accumulated in the Greek and Latin, had been transfused into the languages of the people, that use of the classical languages was at an end.

We Europeans continue to learn Greek and Latin, (I hope we always shall continue) for the mental discipline which the study affords, and that we may enjoy the unrivalled beauties of the classical writers.

But we no longer write Latin except as an exercise; and all that was known to antiquity may now be known through modern languages

The case is different with you and the language of England. That is a living language. No cause can now be discerned why it should ever die.

No period, therefore, can be foreseen when you will no longer be able to address in English, a public to whom it is vernacular.

The discoveries, too, which are made from day to day by the learned of all Europe are described by the English writers; so that such of you as are led by philanthropy to watch over the education of your race, have before you a journey which is endless, and in which every step promises you a pure and glorious reward.

And here, as inventive genius is not required, you may even with moderate abilities, if seconded by industry, render incalculable services to your countrymen. You may reveal to them all that was discovered or invented by Greece and Rome, and all that has since been discovered or invented, and all that may hereafter be dis-

* In the same manner (if I recollect rightly) Josephus and Philo published their works both in Greek and in the language of their countrymen. It is very interesting to observe these coincidences.

† The passage from which we learn this, is in the Preface to his "Enquiries into vulgar and common errors," and it is so curious and illustrative that I will quote it:—

"Our first intention considering the common interest of truth, resolved to propose it to the Latin Republic and equal Judges of Europe: but owing in the first place this service unto our country, and therein especially unto its ingenuous Gentry, we have declared ourself in a language best conceived. Although I confess the quality of the subject will sometimes carry us into expressions beyond mere English apprehensions; and indeed if elegancy still proceedeth, and English pens maintain that stream we have of late observed to flow from many, we shall within few years be fain to learn Latin to understand English, and a work will prove of equal facility in either."

covered or invented by that great cluster of energetic nations, which, spread over Europe from the Frozen Ocean to the Mediterranean, are for ever contesting with each other the palm of learning, of art and civilization.

Whether any still higher destiny than this is reserved for that Anglo-Indian people, which as yet exists only in its rudiments, is to me a subject of deeply interesting, but, I must acknowledge, obscure, speculation.

I think I can foresee that its language of scholarship and of public business will be English; that its scholars, speaking a variety of vernacular tongues, will communicate with each other in English; that Shakespear, Milton, and Bacon will supply it with those profound and striking maxims, by an appeal to which a long explanatory discourse is often saved, and which are to the learned what proverbs are to the vulgar, and with those energetic expressions, never forgotten when once learnt, which fill at once the mind with ideas and the heart with emotions.

All this seems to me to be now discernible in its causes. But what this Anglo-Indian nation is destined to create in English, or in its own Vernacular language, whether it will produce any thing at once new and important in Literature or Philosophy, in Jurisprudence or Social science,—these are questions which I cannot pretend to answer.

But though I cannot answer these questions, I cannot refrain from meditating upon them. While I was so engaged I met with the following passage in Dr. Arnold's admirable lectures upon History.

"This leads us to a view of modern history which cannot indeed be confidently relied on, but which still impresses the mind with an imagination, if not with a conviction of its reality. I mean that modern history appears to be not only a step in advance of ancient history, but *the* last step; it appears to bear marks of the fulness of time, as if there would be no future history beyond it. For the last eighteen hundred years, Greece has fed the human intellect; Rome taught by Greece and improving upon her teacher, has been the source of law and Government and social civilization; and what neither Greece nor Rome could furnish, the perfection of moral and spiritual truth, has been given by Christianity. The changes which have been wrought, have arisen out of the reception of these elements by new races; races endowed with such force of character, that what was old in itself, when exhibited in them, seemed to become something new. But races so gifted are, and have been from the beginning of the world, few in number; the mass of mankind have no such power, they either receive the impression of foreign elements so completely, that their own individual character is absorbed, and they take their whole being from without; or being incapable of taking in higher elements, they dwindle away when brought into the presence of a more powerful life, and become at last extinct altogether. Now, looking anxiously round the world for any new races which may receive the seed (so to speak) of our present history into a kindly yet a vigorous soil, and may produce it, the same and yet new, for a future period, we know not where such are to be found. Some appear exhausted, others incapable, and yet the surface of the whole globe is thrown open to us."

I may be mistaken, but I am impressed with the belief that the races which occupy British India are neither exhausted nor incapable.

The discoveries of the Hindus,* in pure Mathematics, sufficiently attest the aptitude of the Indian races for that kind of intellectual pursuit. The inventive powers displayed in the Hindu Epics and Dramas, may be reasonably expected to produce great works of art, when they are chastened and restrained by the fine taste and resolute abstinence from the extravagant, which as far as we know have never been possessed by any nation but the Greeks, and those who have learnt them from the Greeks. The Sanskrit language, I am told, is an instrument of thought not inferior to the Greek. The people whose thoughts required and produced such an organ to express themselves, cannot naturally hold a low place among the varieties of mankind.

Sanskrit Literature and Science, is the evidence of what Indian minds could do by the mere force of reflection, without any sustained and accurate examination of nature, and moving under the fetters imposed upon them by a blind veneration for antiquity; and from all I have heard of this Literature and Science, and from the little I have seen in translation, I should say that they give high promise of what Indian minds may perform, when filled with knowledge derived from the study of nature, and expatiating with the intellectual freedom which they cannot fail to learn from the speculations of our great English authors.

* I say nothing of Mahommedan Literature and Science, for they were not the creation of Indian races.

I know it may be objected that the Sanskrit Poets have wasted their ingenuity in endless alliterations, and in that futile and tasteless creation of all sorts of difficulties for the mere purpose of overcoming them, of which they appear so proud, and which would have been looked upon by the great writers of Greece and Rome with the deepest scorn. But no conclusive inference can be drawn from this against the capacity of the Sanskrit writers or their posterity for the highest literary achievements; for the European writers of the dark ages played just the same unworthy tricks with Latin, when it came into their hands, as the Sanskrit writers played with their own language; yet these early European writers were of the same race with the men who afterwards created the Literatures of England, France, Germany, Italy, Spain, and Portugal.

The moral qualities of the Indian races are not less remarkable. The patience, perseverance and self-denial which in Faquirs and Gosains have been wasted upon worthless and pernicious objects, may surely be expected, when well directed, to produce notable effects.

The love of established custom which is so peculiarly characteristic of the Indian people, though it stands in the way of reform, where reform is needed, would be an admirable security for the permanence of beneficent Institutions once established.

I, then, am much disposed to believe that there is, in the people who inhabit this great Peninsula, sufficient force of character, and sufficient difference from the European races to make it probable, that great changes will be wrought in the elements which the Indian subjects of Great Britain are now receiving under her instruction, and that, "what is old in itself, when exhibited in them, will seem to become something new."

These, however, are visions of remote futurity which must of necessity be dim and uncertain. I return to nearer and less obscure prospects.

Besides the public service, and the pursuit of literature and science, there are open to you the learned professions, Law, Medicine, the highly honorable profession of a Teacher, and that which has but lately become a profession, Civil Engineering.

I know it is thought by many that we neglect unwarrantably to give that special instruction, which is necessary to fit young men for the practice of a profession.

The value of professional instruction is indisputable; but I differ entirely from those who think, that such instruction should supersede the general education which is given in our colleges.

Bacon and Adam Smith, Shakespear and Milton, they say, will not make a man a Lawyer, or a Surgeon, or an Engineer, or a Merchant.

Most true. But they will make a man what it is surely essential that he should be whatever calling he may follow. They will make him a moral and intellectual being.

It is their office to preserve him from that narrowness of mind, which is apt to be caused by exclusive devotion to mere professional studies; and to arm him against those temptations to swerve from the path of rectitude, which will beset him more or less in all walks of life.

I, therefore, while I rejoice in the success of the Medical College which we owe to Lord William Bentinck and Lord Auckland, and while I look forward with anxious hope to the chairs of Jurisprudence and of Civil Engineering, whose foundation will illustrate the rule of Sir Henry Hardinge, should deeply lament to see our Mathematics, our Natural and Moral Philosophy, our Poetry, and our History, deserted for these professional studies.

I do now lament that our Medical students are not more advanced in general education before they enter the College, where their whole time must be devoted to Pharmacy and Anatomy. This may be necessary for the present objects of the College; but I shall not be satisfied till we can send out Physicians and Surgeons who shall also be, as in Europe, accomplished men of letters.

I should feel this still more strongly as regards my own profession. As much as I should rejoice to see the bar of India supplied with native gentlemen, elevated and purified by all polite learning, and trained to apply the great and beneficent principles of law and jurisprudence to the complicated affairs of a busy and improving community; as much as I should rejoice in this, so deeply should I deplore, if instead of this, we were to fill the Courts with pettifoggers, ignorant of every thing but rules and forms, acts and regulations and reports, their wits sharpened by the study of hair-splitting distinctions and captious objections, stirring up litigation to make their own fortunes out of it, or, at best, if they should think of duty at all, thinking only of their duty to their clients, and forgetting that any is owing to truth and justice.

This naturally leads me to speak of the book which has been here prepared for you, Lord Bacon's *Novum Organum*. We shall be perhaps asked, what is the use of

it, and how you are to turn to account what you may acquire from it. Certainly I cannot encourage you to hope that the knowledge you will acquire from this book, will enable you to gain a livelihood. You will not be able to turn that knowledge into rupees. I hope, however, they are under a mistake who suppose this to be the sole object, for which the natives of India desire an English education.

I cannot even assert, that Bacon's *Novum Organum* is a necessary passport to the science and philosophy of modern Europe. I must even admit, that the method of induction in its most perfect form is not the method now most essential to the progress of mankind in knowledge. It is right you should be made aware of this; and I will therefore quote from a very profound and comprehensive work, Mr. John Stuart Mill's system of Logic, a passage which I believe places the matter in its true light:

"The copiousness with which I have exemplified the discovery and explanation of special laws of phenomena, by eduction from simpler and more general ones, was prompted by a desire to characterize clearly, and place in its due position of importance, the deductive method, which in the present state of knowledge is destined irrevocably to predominate in the course of scientific investigation from this time forward."

"A revolution is peaceably and progressively effecting itself in philosophy, the reverse of that to which Bacon has attached his name. That great man changed the method of the sciences from deductive to experimental, and it is now rapidly reverting from experimental to deductive. But the deductions which Bacon abolished were from premises hastily snatched up or arbitrarily assumed. The principles were neither established by legitimate canons of experimental inquiry, nor the results tested by that indispensable elements of a rational deductive method, verification by specific experience."

"Between the primitive method of deduction and that which I have attempted to define, there is all the difference which exists between the Aristotelian physics, and the Newtonian theory of the Heavens."

"That the advances henceforth to be expected even in physical, and still more in mental and moral science, will be chiefly the result of deduction, is evident from the general considerations already adduced."

"Among subjects really accessible to our faculties, those which still remain in a state of dimness and uncertainty, (the succession of their phenomena not having yet been brought under fixed and recognizable laws) are mostly those of a very complex character, in which many agents are at work together, and their effects in a constant state of blending and intermixture. The disentangling of these crossing threads is a task attended with difficulties, which, as we have already shown, are susceptible of solution by the instrument of deduction alone. Deduction is the great scientific work of the present and of future ages. The portion henceforth reserved for specific experience in the achievements of science, is mainly that of suggesting hints to be followed up by the deductive inquirer, and of confirming or checking his conclusions."

It is right, I say, that you should be made aware of this, and that you should be forewarned not to seek in Lord Bacon's work for what is not to be found there.

But notwithstanding all this, I have encouraged Mr. Kerr to undertake this task, on which he has bestowed, and, in my judgment, successfully bestowed, very great labour and attention; and I now, with perfect confidence and with much earnestness, exhort you to make yourselves masters of the book.

Bacon's great merit and philosophy was, that he forced upon the attention of men and convinced them by his profound reasoning, and his grand and weighty eloquence, that there is no other way of acquiring the materials of science, but the interrogation of nature; and that to interrogate nature effectually, we must do so according to a scientific method.

There are no doubt defects in the scientific method sketched by himself, and he had no great success in arriving at useful practical results. But it is not too much to say, that the whole of the vast difference which exists between the natural philosophy, (including the philosophies both of mind and matter,) of the ancient and the modern European world, is to be attributed to that change in the direction of intellectual effort which was produced, not indeed by Bacon alone, but by Bacon more than any other man, and by this book more than any other book.

It was the trumpet which roused Europe, not indeed from torpid slumber, but from idle and fantastic dreams, such as Asia is still dreaming: from which she has still to be awakened.

I have heard it said, that if the Novum Organum were fit for a class-book, it

would surely have been so employed in England. Perhaps the reason it has not been so employed, is that the Latin in which it is written, is much more strongly characterized by the profound and pregnant genius of the great author, than by resemblance to the classical models of Augustan Rome.

But whatever may be the cause, there is not wanting authority of the highest order, in favour of using this as a class-book for the instruction of youth.

Professor Dugald Stewart, Mr. Hallam and Dr. Arnold have all recommended it; and I think the authority of three such men is of more weight than the opposing practice.

But even if I had not these eminent names to support me, I should not have feared to recommend the adoption of this work as a class-book in our Colleges; because I am sure that a mind which has deeply meditated and comprehended the aphorisms of the *Novum Organum*, and has imbibed their spirit is a mind prepared to undergo toil and privation in the search for truth, a mind to which no intellectual struggle, however long and arduous, can be so distasteful as acquiescence in ignorance or in error.

Calcutta, June, 1845. C. H. Cameron.

Whatever difference of opinion may have arisen respecting the propriety of certain expressions employed in this address, there can be but one opinion respecting the author himself and the credit that is due to him. From some of his favourite sentiments men may and will dissent, and some of his peculiar plans or measures men even may and will oppose; but cheerfully must all unite, in rendering due homage to the earnestness and honesty of the zeal which he has manifested in his endeavours to promote the intellectual and social improvement of the people of India.

A descriptive account of Assam; with a sketch of the local geography, and a concise history of the tea-plant of Assam; to which is added, a short account of the neighbouring tribes, exhibiting their history, manners and customs. By William Robinson, Gowhatti Government Seminary. Illustrated with four maps, drawn expressly for the work. Calcutta, Ostell and Lepage, 1841.

This, in spite of defects not inconsiderable either in number or magnitude, is a good book, and one so well fitted to be useful, that we heartily wish we had a similar account of each of those provinces that now go to make up the vast aggregate of our Indian empire. The author makes no pretensions to originality; but he is entitled to the scarcely inferior credit of being a laborious, and generally a judicious, compiler.

We may suppose two methods of giving an account of a country, which we may be permitted, without any very strained accommodation of terms, to call the *analytic* and the *synthetic* methods. The latter method would begin with the hard and indestructible skeleton of the earth, and furnish us first of all with the details of the *geology* of the country and its mineral resources. Then it would present us with sketches of the surface of the land, its rivers and valleys, the soils of the different portions of it and their natural products; the peculiarities of the rivers in regard to their magnitudes and directions, the qualities of their waters, and the changes going on, or that have taken place, in their beds. Then we should come to the meteorology of the country, and expect a detail of all that related to climate, storms, weather, temperature and so forth. All these comparatively permanent features of the country being disposed of, we should expect next to

have a detail of the vegetable products of the soil, and of the animal inhabitants of its land, its water and its atmosphere. And last of all should man be brought upon the scene, and all the changes should be detailed that he has introduced into the country, with all the influences that local causes have excited upon his physical or mental character;—the mines that he has dug; the fields that he has cultivated; the rivers that he has turned from their courses for purposes of irrigation or manufactures; the forests that he has cleared; the plants that he has cultivated, whether indigenous or introduced; the wild animals that he has extirpated or domesticated, and the tame ones that he has brought with him into the country; the effects that his improvements have produced on the climate; and the effects that the peculiarities of the soil and climate have produced upon him physiologically, mentally and morally. Then should be detailed the *history* of the country as the dwelling-place of man, with accounts of the cities he has built, the Governments that he has established, and the various changes that they have undergone, and the gradual progress of civilization and refinement amongst the people. Such would be what we may call a *synthetical* or *natural* account of a country. The other method, which we may call the *analytical* or *artificial* method of description, would be nearly the reverse of the former. It would begin with present appearances, and trace them to their causes. It would begin with man as he exists now, and trace his history backward, through all the various stages of improvement or deterioration through which he may have passed, noticing only in their relations to him, and with reference to the changes he has produced on them, and they on him, the various peculiarities of the country in regard to its geology, its soil and its climate.

Each of these methods would have its advantages and disadvantages. To adhere with perfect rigor to either would perhaps be impossible, and would probably serve no purpose except the gratification of a pedantic and finical taste for methodical order. But while it were mere pedantry to affect to adhere with unbending rigor to one or the other method exclusively, we think it will always contribute to clearness to keep one or other method generally in view; and the tact of a topographer will be shewn by the skill with which he is able to make his method subservient to his design, without permitting it to act as a trammel upon him.

In this we think our author has succeeded to a very great extent. He adopts the former method as his basis; and although we think he occasionally errs on the side of rigidity of adherence to his method, and occasionally also on the side of laxity in departing from it, yet on the whole he has succeeded very well. We shall show, by an example of each, what we mean when we say that we think he has occasionally erred by an excess of rigidity and laxity. The second chapter of the work begins thus:

"The term climate in geography comprehends 'a portion of the earth's surface contained between two circles parallel to the equator, and of such a breadth as that the longest day in the parallel nearest the pole, exceeds the longest day in that nearest the equator by some certain space of time. It also expresses the ordinary state of the atmosphere, with regard to heat and moisture, which prevail in any given portion of the globe.' For our purpose we must regard climate in the latter acceptation of the term."

We shall make a few remarks upon this short extract, which will serve to justify the statement we made in our first sentence as to the book's want of freedom from defects. It is for example very incorrect to say that "the *term* climate *comprehends* a portion of the earth's surface;" the author should have said that the term *means* so and so. This is a specimen of a looseness and inaccuracy of style that pervades the work. From whom

the author quotes the two definitions of "climate" we do not know, but they are both to a considerable extent incorrect. The former would exclude "a portion of the earth's surface contained between two circles parallel to the equator" and *equally* distant from the equator on opposite sides of it. Of course the framer of the definition might say that such a portion of the earth's surface would be *two* similar climates placed side by side: and perhaps in the book from which the quotation is taken the term may be used in such a sense as to correspond with the definition; but such is certainly not the ordinary use of the term in this sense of it. Nor can we see any propriety in a definition that would allow the zone extending from 10° N. to 10° 0′ 1″ S., and that extending from 10° N. to 9° 59′ 59″ S. to be called a climate, but would forbid the name to be applied to the zone extending from 10° N. to 10° S. Then again the second definition excludes some of the most important elements of climate, the "state of the atmosphere with regard to" winds, thunder and lightning and other electrical phenomena.

But our reason for quoting this passage was our disapproval of the introduction of it, and several pages that follow it, at all. It seems a specimen of that fault which the poetical artist condemns—*Gemino bellum Trojanum orditur ab ovo.* The author might have assumed that his readers understood what he meant by climate, and should have remembered that he had nothing to do with climate in general, but only with the climate of Assam. An instance of too great laxity in departing from his general method is furnished by the mode in which the author introduces the important chapter on the history of the cultivation of the tea-plant and the formation of the Assam Tea Company. This ought to have formed the last chapter of his history of the people, and the relations of the English towards them, instead of being introduced as a section in the general survey of the botany of the country. In that survey it would have been sufficient to have noticed the tea-plant as one of the indigenous products of the country. The whole history of its cultivation under European auspices clearly belongs to another department.

The author's statement of the law by which temperature is affected by elevation is another instance of the vagueness which is the chief fault of his work. "Cold encreases in a very rapid progression with the elevation of the land, as well as with the latitude, being at the rate of one degree to every hundred yards of altitude." On reading this sentence we were at a loss, as will our readers, to know whether the author meant to tell us that an encrease of a hundred yards of elevation produces as much diminution of temperature as an encrease of one degree of latitude, or that an encrease of a hundred yards of elevation produces a diminution of one degree of temperature; and it was only by referring to our books, and ascertaining which is nearer the truth, that we found that the latter is his meaning. The law of diminution of temperature with the encrease of latitude, as laid down by Humboldt, and simplified by Sir David Brewster, is expressed in the following elegant formula,

$$t = 81.5° \cos. l.$$

in which t represents the mean temperature of a place in latitude l. This gives the mean temperature of the equator 81½°, and that of the pole Zero. The temperature being thus as the cosine of the latitude, and the cosines not diminishing uniformly as the latitudes encrease, it is impossible to state generally any precise amount of decrease of temperature due to a given encrease of latitude. Humboldt's law for the diminution of temperature with the encrease of elevation agrees pretty nearly with our author's statement. It gives a diminution of 1° of Reaumur's scale for an ascent of 121 toises. Now as 80 degrees of Reaumur's scale are equivalent to 180 of Fahrenheit's, and as the French toise was equal to 6.4 feet nearly, this will give 344 feet of elevation to sink the thermometer a degree on Fahrenheit's scale. This distance, or 114 yards, is not very different from our author's statement; but it is always better to state numbers accurately.

It is not our purpose, in this cursory notice of a deserving work, to enter into any details as to the geography, geology, meteorology, botany, topography, or history of Assam; for all these we would rather refer our readers to the work itself. We shall content ourselves with making a few extracts, which may give some idea of the varied contents of the work.

The following description of a 'Nor Wester' is in the author's best style, though disfigured with some of the incorrect expressions, the result apparently of inattention, to which we have alluded. Such are the expressions, "*between* the passage of the sun from the vernal equinox *to* the summer solstice," and "the black cloud *is raised*."

"The sudden squalls called North-westers, usually occur during this season. They are storms of extreme violence but of short duration, rarely coming on in the open day, or twice during the absence of the sun, but usually commencing about the time of the evening twilight. They are often preceded for a day or two by the appearance each evening of a dense bank of clouds in the northern horizon, which is occasionally illuminated with faint flashes of lightning, and is dispersed during the night. These storms rage with greatest force between the passage of the sun from the vernal equinox to the summer solstice. His vertical power then loads the air with humidity, and his action diminishing as he goes down, a dense cloud advances from the edge of the horizon. The approach of one of these storms is frequently combined with circumstances of considerable grandeur. The low sharply-defined black clouds, which occupied nearly one-half of the horizon, is towards the centre gradually raised into a gloomy arch, which rapidly extends towards the zenith, its summit resembling the overhanging crest of a gigantic breaking wave; while its lower portion is sloped downwards and forwards into a plane, inclining to the surface of the earth. When the storm is about a mile distant, a dead calm prevails; as it comes nearer, partial eddies of wind catch up the dust and leaves, and whirl them aloft, and the temperature of the atmosphere rapidly sinks. The storm continues to approach with a slow and solemn motion, till it has attained a certain altitude, when a most tremendous gush of wind bursts forth at once with sudden fury, frequently tearing up trees by the roots, and carrying away before it every light substance it can take up, and filling the whole surrounding atmosphere with obscurity. A burst of loud thunder, with flashes of vivid lightning, next succeeds, which seems to clear a passage for a torrent of the heaviest rain, that descends with wonderful impetuosity. After this commotion of the elements, which seldom exceeds half an hour in duration, has subsided, a tranquil temperate season ensues. The face of nature now shines forth with renovated beauty, the green trees being brightly relieved against the deep violet of the departing clouds; the air is cooled and refreshed, and its lower strata, by dilution purified of the noxious vapours, which had there accumulated before this salutary convulsion."

The resources of Assam, as indeed of India generally, seem almost boundless; but as yet comparatively nothing has been done to make them available for commercial purposes. Gold and iron ores abound; coal is found in the bed of every stream, washed down from the mountains, where it must be plentiful and near the surface. The India rubber tree grows naturally in forests, and indeed the manufacture of Caoutchouc seems to be the only branch of industry that is conducted by the Assamese on a large scale. Silk of various kinds is produced, and might by care and industry be improved in quality and indefinitely increased in quantity. Indigo has been tried on a small scale, and has succeeded.

But of course all the world knows that it is expected to be *tea* that is to form the staple product of Assamese commerce. We remember having heard that the existence of the tea plant in this country was first suspected

from the prevalence in certain districts of a particular species of butterfly, whose caterpiller was known to feed only upon the tea-plant in China. Mr. Robinson does not mention this interesting incident; but we believe it is a fact; and a beautiful instance it is of the *connexion of physical sciences*. As our readers are probably well acquainted with the history of the tea cultivation, at least down to the period to which Mr. Robinson's narrative extends, we shall not make any extracts on this subject, but shall conclude with the author's accounts of the mode of procuring the caoutchouc:—

"The juce is procured from transverse incisions made in the larger root, which has been already mentioned as being half exposed. The incision reaches the wood, or even penetrates it, but the flow of the juice takes place in these instances from the bark alone.

Beneath the incision a hole is scoped out in the earth, sufficiently deep to hold the jars, or pans, into which the fresh gum is received. By this simple and effectual mode of extracting it, the juice is received into the vessels perfectly free from all impurities. The larger roots are preferred, in addition to their being half exposed, for yielding a richer juice. The fluid on issuing is, when good, nearly of the consistence of cream, and of a very pure white. Its excellence is known by the degree of consistence, and the quality of caoutchouc, on which this would appear to depend, is readily ascertained by rubbing up a few drops in the palm of the hand, when the caoutchouc rapidly becomes separated. By kneading this up again it soon becomes elastic.

Many incisions are made in one tree. The juice flows rapidly at first, but the rapidity diminishes after a few minutes.

It is said to flow fastest during the night; it continues during two or three days, after which it ceases, owing to the formation of a layer of caoutchouc over the wound. The hole is then covered in again, and it is said that the wound in the root soon heals, and that the tree is in no way injured by the extraction of the gum.

When an attempt is made to bleed the tree beyond what it can healthfully bear, the juice becomes so watery as to be no longer fit for the use of the manufacturers; so that the gum gatherers are obliged to give the trees a due respite, and to collect no more gum than the tree can well afford, without sustaining any injury.

The quantity obtainable from a single tree has not yet been exactly ascertained; some of the natives affirm that four or five maunds may be procured; others give only one *ghara* full, or ten seers, as the amount procurable. From the slowness with which it flows, half a maund may be considered a fair average produce of each bleeding. The operation is repeated at the expiration of eighteen or twenty days. Assuming the rate of half a maund to be nearly correct, 20,000 trees will give as the aggregate of four bleedings 12,000 maunds of caoutchouc, that is, if Dr. Roxburgh's proportion of this product to aqueous matter, viz. 15½ oz. to 50, be correct.

There are now in Assam two manufactories of caoutchouc; but the process of cleansing the gum is kept a secret, and all therefore that can be said on this point is, that when prepared it is poured out into wooden moulds about 6 feet in length, and 1½ in breadth, the lower planks being pierced through with holes to allow of the escape of all aqueous and injurious juices, that will not, or should not, coagulate with the pure gum.

If the previous purifying of the gum be properly attended to,—and in this process the whole art of manufacturing the perfectly elastic gum of commerce seems to exist.—the gum should not, by any exposure to the atmosphere, be subject to the least degree of clamminess, or viscidity; and if this important point be not fully attained, the article is of no use in the manufacture of those fine elastic threads, which constitute its chief value in the European markets.

The gum in its best prepared state, is worth from four to six shillings a pound, whilst in its worst, when it is only fit for dissolving, for the manufacture of waterproof garments and such like articles, it will not fetch more than as many pence per pound.

The art of obtaining this complete freedom from clamminess, and consequent perfect elasticity, does not appear by any means to have been reduced to a certainty: and, consequently, a far better acquaintance with the article than is yet possessed by the Assam manufacturers, seems requisite before it can be managed with constantly the same results."

Now we must stop, with a recommendation to such of our readers as take interest in the topography of the country, in which we sojourn, to procure and read the work before us. The defects that we have pointed out, not from any finical spirit, are chiefly those of style and arrangement: the excellencies are in the matter. As for the former, the author has a fully sufficient excuse in the fact, if we are not misinformed, that the English is to him in some sort virtually a foreign language. We should not omit to mention that the utility of the work is greatly enhanced by somewhat odd looking, but apparently not inaccurate maps. In these it is no easy matter to distinguish land from water; but this is the fault only of the colours.

The History of Christianity in India, from the commencement of the Christian era, by the Rev. J. Hough, 1845. *Vols. 3rd and 4th.*

Mr. Hough is not one of those Englishmen, who, though they derive their means of support from India, yet prove ungrateful to the country, which has given them their subsistence. Though now in England he does not forget India, as these volumes shew that he feels the most lively interest in the moral condition of its teeming population. While a Todd gives us a view of the antiquities and genealogies of the country, and a Malcolm and a Dow acquaint us with its political and military history, Mr. Hough takes up the subject of the propagation of Christianity. He professes himself indebted for the chief materials respecting the early Danish and English Missions to the Reports of the Christian Knowledge Society, respecting which he states, "I confess that until I had investigated the entire series of the Society's Reports, together with the original correspondence and journals of the Missionaries, I had formed no conception of the extent, the value, the importance of the Society's labours in India."

Mr. H. begins with the *Dutch Missions*. The Dutch were the *first* who began protestant missions in India: they made conversion a primary object in their conquests: they conquered Java in 1616 and divided the country into missionary districts in 1631: they established a school in every parish—but their schools fell with their political power—in Amboyna they instituted village schools and sent several natives to Holland to be educated as ministers. In Batavia they had 100,000 native converts. The Malay was the first language of the East into which the Bible was translated, and that by Dutchmen. Mr. H. gives an interesting detail of Ceylon, where the Dutch planted a school in every parish. "The Dutch resolved to introduce their own language, chiefly with the view of abolishing the Portuguese, as well as the Romish religion, from their territories. Accordingly in 1659, shortly after the expulsion of the Portuguese, the Governor issued a proclamation, ordering all the Hollanders to *compel their slaves to learn Dutch, and to keep their heads shaved until they understood it. Every slave who could speak the language was permitted to let his hair grow long, and to wear a hat.* This policy succeeded to a considerable extent. The Dutch had a superintendent over every ten schools, who visited each once a month, and reported to the clergyman who visited all once a year. Jaffna was the part where the labours of the Dutch were attended with the greatest success. In 1688, the native Christians amounted to 180,364, but a rapid decline afterwards took place, as few of the Dutch were acquainted with the vernacular. The *Danish Mission* with the labours of Ziegenbalg forms the next subject,—a man who had an audience of George the First on the subject of missions. He held a weekly conference with the native teachers. In 1730 three of the Mis-

sionaries were refused a passage in the E. I. C. ships, but succeeded eventually through the intercession of the *Queen of England*. In 1732 the arrival of a medical missionary greatly strengthened the mission. In 1733 a native convert was ordained—this gave him more respect in the eyes of the natives—stimulated the catechists to greater exertion and increased the number of converts. Mr. H. treats of the *Tanjore Mission* founded by a native of low caste, of whom he gives a most interesting account. A charity school, on the model of the Halle Orphan House, was established for 200 Christian children, a printing press was connected with it. They declined ordaining a native, because he was of low caste. The missions were carried on tho' war was often raging between the French and English.

Mr. H. notices the *Moravian Missions in the East*. The Moravians attempted to establish a mission in Ceylon in 1740, but were banished the island by the Dutch authorities, instigated by the clergy. In 1768 they attempted under the protection of the Danes to form a mission at the Nicobar islands. After 20 years' residence in a wild country exposed to numerous privations and having lost eleven of their missionaries, they left the island: they failed at Tranquebar also. In 1777 Mr. H. states, that two Moravian missionaries went to Bengal at the request of the Danish Asiatic Company, and settled near Serampore. A few years afterwards a M. Levius gave them a garden and some houses near Calcutta, where they resided for some time: they baptized a female slave from Malabar. They had a station at Patna, but were unsuccessful. In 1795 they forsook India altogether. Their system of colonizing deterred most people from approaching them, and their working at trades degraded them in the eyes of the natives.

The English Mission at Madras was not founded for a century after the English settled in Madras, who "rolled wave after wave on the shores of India, with appetites ever increasing, for food always diminishing." The early missionaries were active in conducting schools. Professor Franke took a warm interest in them. In England the annual contributions to missions about 1740 amounted to 70£! The behaviour of English sailors and the French wars proved great obstacles. In 1768 DeCoste, a Portuguese inquisitor, joined the Protestant Church. Mr. H. notices the labors of Gericke, who "saved all he could to give all he could." And the mission at Cuddalore where the language spoken by those who attended the Mission Chapel was a mixture of Portuguese, Tamul, Telegu, Dutch, English, and French: they were greatly opposed by the Romish priests who were instigated by the French, though Count Lally, with his Irish brigade, behaved very kindly to them. A history of the Trichinopoly mission in connection with the labors of Swartz is given. The Tanjore Mission and Swartz were respected even by Hyder. Swartz tried to establish schools, but the state of the native government was a great obstacle. In 1787 the Court of Directors made a grant of money for the establishment of English Provincial schools. Mr. Swartz took an active part in them, and drew up several of the reports: as a remedy for anxiety, Swartz states, "whenever I meet with any thing disagreeable, I go and catechize for an hour." The Tinnevelly and Palamcottah Missions are noticed.

The 4th vol. takes up the Bengal Missions, begun by the Anglican Church in 1758. In 1692 the English had but *one Church* in India, at Madras In 1714 the Rev. S. Briercliffe, chaplain at Calcutta, wrote to the Christian Knowledge Society, that he could not establish a school in Calcutta, and that great obstacles lay to missions from the Mahommedans, then the rulers of Bengal. The interest manifested by the Christian Knowledge Society, and the religious books they sent roused the British of Calcutta to the necessity of having a Church, which was called St. John's, through the influence of the Free Masons. The Governor, civilians and military used

to *walk* every Sunday to Church. In 1732 application was made by the Dutch for a missionary—money was available, but not men. In 1756 the Church and Calcutta records were destroyed by the Mohammedans. In 1758 Kiernander—honoured name—arrived in Calcutta as a missionary, and was cordially patronized in his mission by Lord Clive and the Members of Council. In 1759 he opened an English school for Armenians, Bengalis, English and Portuguese; in a year, it contained 135 scholars, some of whom were Brahmans, and made no objection to be taught the Christian doctrines—he also took charge of the Charity school, (the present Free School). One of his first converts was a Brahman. In 1759 he began public worship in *Portuguese* every Sunday: his Christian pupils, besides others, used to attend. He was very active in distributing the religious publications of the Christian Knowledge Society—these duties unfortunately left him no time for the study of the native languages. Mr. Vansittart, father of the present Lord Bexley, patronized his mission and charity school. In seven years he had about 60 converts from Hinduism. In 1761 he sent by request some Arabic Testaments to the Court of the Great Mogul, Shah Alum—they were well received. In 1774 he built a spacious school-room with the proceeds of his wife's jewels, but found great difficulty in procuring qualified school-masters. He did not allow "the stranger within the gate," the heathen to work for him on Sunday. In 1775 he baptized the Persian interpreter of the Supreme Court,—the Hon. Justice Chambers and his lady being sponsors. Kiernander expended over 12,000£ of *his own* money on Missionary objects. His circumstances however became embarassed. Mr. Hough attributes this to his luxury; others think that evidence sufficient can be adduced to show that this was not the cause, and that Kiernander's being reduced to poverty was not his own fault. Mr. Hough next gives an account of the Missionary labours of the Rev. D. Browne, who established a school for Hindu orphans, and forsook the lucrative appointment of Chaplain to the Military Orphan Asylum, rather than dissolve his connection with the Mission Church. In 1789 the Rev. T. Clark arrived as a Missionary, but within a year he proved a renagade, and we fear for the love of filthy lucre turned chaplain.—Messrs. Grant and Chambers proved warm friends to the mission. In 1787 the Cathedral Church was erected. Raja Nobkissen presented the ground, and C. Grant gave some highly polished masses of blue marble from Gaur for it. It cost 3,000£, with the exception of 1,200£ from the E. I. C. all was raised by voluntary subscriptions. In 1799 Kiernander died, neglected by the Members of the Church, for whom he had done so much: his work was taken up by Buchanan and Browne; the latter was absent from the Mission Church only one fortnight in 20 years. Mr. Hough then gives an account of the establishment and benefits resulting from Fort William College, the history of the Mission Church to which the Marquis of Wellesley assigned 264 Rs. monthly and the arrival of Martyn and Corrie in 1806.

Mr. H. next describes the *Baptist Mission*, and its founder Mr. Thomas, who enquired for devout Christians in Calcutta, though a Mission had been there 20 years previously: he circulated portions of the Bible in Bengali in manuscript. Next Carey came forward, whose ardent thirst for geographical knowledge, stirred up his Missionary zeal. His settlement at Mudnabatty—his excursion to Butan—he then treats of the arrival of Ward and Marshman, and their being suspected of being republican emissaries—the opposition of Brahmans—the conversion of Krishna—the publication of the Bengali Testament 1801—Sir G. Barlow's prohibition of preaching and distributing tracts in Calcutta in 1806—Chamberlain—the Burman Mission begun 1806 in consequence of the obstructions to Missions in Bengal—the founding of the Benevolent Institution 1810—the robbery at the Butan Mission house, the Chittagong Mission—Mr. F. Carey, ambassador from the

Burmese Court at Calcutta—the translations—the number of native converts,—all these and other subjects are fully treated of.

Mr. Hough gives an account of the *London Missionary Society's* first mission at Chinsura. Mr. May arrived in 1812, and formed a circle of schools, which extended ten miles above and six below Chinsura; the Marquis of Hastings granted 600 Rs. monthly to them; at first the Brahman boys would not sit down on mats with those of other castes: the one great object of Mr. May was to improve the indigenous schools of the country; in 1816, he established a normal school. In 1807 the L. M. S. established a Mission at Surat. Sir J. Mackintosh patronized it. It failed however, but was revived in 1815. The L. M. S. established a Mission in Ceylon in 1804, they found many of the Native Christians there no better than the heathen. Sir A. Johnston patronized the Mission.

The subject of the *Armenians* is taken up "who carry on commerce from Canton to Constantinople," and amount to 480 in Calcutta. They were established in Calcutta in 1686.—Mr. H. gives a history of the *Church Mission Society*, which began its labours in 1811 by employing Scripture Readers and aiding translations. In 1813 they opened an English school at Agra, and Abdul Messih acted as a reader under Mr. Corrie's superintendence. In 1814 Mr. Bowley began his career and was stationed at Chunar in 1815, where he founded schools in which the masters were paid according to the number of their scholars. In 1815 Mrs. Sherwood interested herself in the Church Mission at Mirat: she employed readers, and conducted schools: the Rev. H. Fisher also co-operated. In 1815 they opened a school of 100 boys at Kidderpur, Calcutta: in 1816 the Rev. T. Robinson, chaplain of Dum-Dum had six Christian boys brought by Mr. Corrie from Agra, under his superintendence, to train them up as teachers—the same year an estate of 7 acres was purchased at Garden Reach for a Christian Institution.

Mr. Hough takes up the different Missions by decades or periods of ten years: the one for Calcutta from 1807 to 1816, is particularly interesting. In 1807 the evangelical fund was raised for the maintenance of a minister in the Mission Church, Calcutta, separate from the Company's Chaplains—what has been done with this money? Mr. H. gives details of Browne, Martyn, Thomason, and Corrie. At Dinapur a Company's covenanted servant turned Mussalman. Some interesting quotations are given from Mrs. Sherwood's "Indian Orphans"—the labors of Corrie at Benares are given—the life of Abdul Messih—the Apostacy of Sabat—the foundation of the European Orphan Asylum and of the Hindu College.

Mr. H. gives a short notice of the labors of the London Missionary Society at Surat, selected on account of its reputation, commercial connexion, and influence on Kabul, Kashmir and Persia. He also refers to the operations of the *American* Mission at Bombay, begun in 1813, under the frown of government; the Court of Directors were about to send out a despatch to India, censuring all their civil and ecclesiastical servants, who had abetted these and other Missionaries; but an able written defence of them submitted to the Court by C. Grant, turned the scale in their favour. They opened a school for Jews in 1816 attended by 40 scholars.

This work of Mr. Hough's is a valuable contribution to the religious statistics of India—it is more full on the Madras presidency than on Bengal. The author has consulted many original books and MS. in his compilation. The subject is one that even in a literary point of view ought to interest the public. Since so much curiosity is employed in tracing the history of Paganism, Mahommedanism, Buddhism—why should the progress of Christian truth prove an exception? This work will form a valuable addition to other works, that have treated of particular parts of India, and we cordially recommend its perusal to all our readers.

