

Rampoorā; but unfortunately despising his enemy too much, had his supplies of provisions cut off, and was obliged to make a retreat, in which he was pursued by Holcar, and lost a great number of men, and all his ammunition and cannon. It is probably in some respects fortunate that Holcar has been thus drawn to the northward, where he can make no impression against General Lake's army, as he might otherwise have plundered the plains of Guzerat, and done incalculable mischief to the Guikwar, an evil that is now prevented by the success of Colonel Wallace.

The original Mahratta system of warfare had been greatly changed by Scindiah: instead of vast bodies of cavalry, which by forced marches would attack an unsuspecting province, and retire with their booty before a sufficient force could be assembled to resist them, he attempted to establish an army of infantry, disciplined after the European system, and commanded by European officers. As these increased in numbers, he diminished the other, but fortunately was seduced by his vanity into a war with the British, before his plans had been matured. Warned by his fate, Holcar has, in a great degree, depended on his cavalry, of which he has eighteen thousand, independent of twelve thousand Pindanis, or undisciplined free booters, while his infantry does not amount to above ten thousand men. Such a force as this can make little resistance to the army opposed to him, when under General Wellesley, whose appearance will give confidence to all. As he will undoubtedly have the same powers from the Governor-General of negotiating, as well as fighting, no delay need intervene in restoring tranquillity to the country. This is one great advantage in employing an officer, in whom the Supreme Government can place

unlimited confidence. Much may be done at the moment of victory, which would be impracticable were an application necessary to the seat of Government; more particularly in a war with a Mahratta power, whose whole system of policy is delay. Had not General Wellesley been authorised to treat after the battle of Assaye, without referring to Calcutta, the enemy would have had time to recover their panic, recruit their forces, and prepare for another war.

CHAPTER IV.

Departure from Poonah. — Arrival at Chinchoor. — Visit to a supposed Incarnation of Gunputty. — History of the Founder of his Family. — Visit to the Rajah of Tillegam. — Account of the excavated Pagodas at Carli. — Visit to the Hill Fort of Low Ghur. — Visit to the Widow of Nana Furnese. — Return to Bombay. — Observations on Bombay. — Fortifications — Town — Dock-yards. — Marine. — Trade. — Insalubrity of Climate. — Country Residences in the vicinity. — Manner of living. — Establishment of the Bombay Literary Society. — Evils attendant on the cheapness of spirits. — Character of the Persees. — Embassies to Persia. — Visit to the Pagodas at Salsette and Elephanta.

CHAPTER IV.

OCTOBER 22.—At sunrise I departed from the hospitable mansion of Colonel Close, where I had spent ten most pleasant days, under a salute from the lines. Soon afterwards the village of Ound was pointed out to me, as a remarkable instance of the manner in which the possessions of the different Chieftains of the Mahratta empire were separated from each other. This little district, though surrounded on every side by the territories of the Paishwa, is the property of Scindiah, while, at the other extremity of the empire, Culpee belongs to his Highness. In the same manner Waufgorn, though only twenty-four miles north of Poonah, gave birth to the family of Holcar, to whom also belongs Kooch, on the banks of the Jumna. This intermixture of estates was formerly considered beneficial, as preventing a separation of interests ; but now that the union of these independent Princes is at an end, it has been proposed to exchange such detached possessions, and consolidate the territories of each.

My palanquin bearers were very lazy, so that I did not reach the encampment at Chinchoor till nine o'clock. I found assembled there Colonel Chalmers and my other friends, who had kindly attended me thus far, that we might together visit the extraordinary personage, described by Captain Edward Moore, in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, and who is believed, by a large

proportion of the Mahratta nation, to be an incarnation of their favourite deity Gunputty. Immediately on my arrival I sent a messenger to Chinta-mun-Deo, who is the present reigning Deity, with the usual compliments, notifying my intention of paying him a visit in the evening, and requesting that he would, in the mean time, send to me some learned Brahmins, who could give me an account of his family. A most gracious answer was returned; and with the most learned of his Brahmins came one of his own relations.

Colonel Close undertook most kindly to make every inquiry that I wished, and by his assistance, and that of Captain Frissell, I collected the following history of the Deo's ancestors.

Mooraba Gosseyn was a native of Beder, and a Mahratta or country Brahmin. In his youth he would attend to no business, but used to run up and down the country collecting flowers, and offering them to the deities. His father, finding he could make nothing of him, turned him out of doors. In passing Moraishwer, near Baramutty, he was struck with the deity Gunputty, and determined to pay him regular devotion. He however went on to Chinchoor, which had then but two houses, and no name: pleased with the spot, he took up his residence there. In the morning he regularly performed the ablutions in the river, and then set off for Moraishwer, distant twenty-five coss, where he performed his devotions to Gunputty, and at night returned to Chinchoor. The Pingli family of Mahratta Brahmins were at that time in great power at Moraishwer, and performed the Poqja. On the first grand festival of Gunnais Chout, Mooraba, having prepared his necessary offerings and flowers, conceived great hopes of his being able to perform the ceremony, which he thought would be particularly

meritorious. The Pingli Brahmins being in possession of the civil power, performed the ceremonies with great splendour. Mooraba, being poor, could not approach for the crowd of richer suppliants. At this he was severely mortified, but at length retired to the foot of a Naipite tree, which still exists there, performed his Pooja, and left his offerings. In the evening he, as usual, returned to Chinchoor. In the course of the night the offerings were transposed, Mooraba's being placed before the Deity, while the Pingli's were found at the foot of the tree. The Poojanie Brahmins, astonished and alarmed, inquired to whom the accepted offerings belonged, and learned that a Cokan Brahmin had been there the day before, had performed his devotion at the foot of the tree, and had since disappeared.

On Mooraba's appearance the following day, the event was instantly communicated to the Pingli, who ordered him to be brought before them. On their interrogating him respecting the whole business, he simply related what had passed. They then demanded where he lived; he replied "below the Gauts, but the place has no name: you may come along, and see where it is, if you please." Believing this to be impossible from the distance, unless he were a sorcerer, they immediately ordered him to be driven across the river, and forbade his return under pain of punishment.

Mooraba was now completely heart-broken. He laid himself down at the foot of a Mimosa, and humbling himself before the Deity, deprecated his wrath; and declared his willingness to give up his life to him, which he conceived necessary, as he could not eat till he had performed his devotions, and he was now completely debarred from the possibility of doing so. On looking up he perceived a Brahmin standing before him, who was, in reality,

Gunputty. He inquired the cause of his grief, and after hearing his whole story, comforted him, offered him utensils and provisions, and added that he would himself conduct him to the Deity. To this arrangement Mooraba objected, stating, that if the sacrifice were made of things not procured by himself, he should have no merit. Mooraba therefore requested that the Brahmin would advance him the money necessary to purchase the offerings, and would, as a security, keep his lota, or small vessel in which he was accustomed to dress his provisions. To this the Brahmin replied, that without his lota he could not mix up the offering; that therefore he should first procure the articles, and, after the ceremony was over, and the lota washed, it might be given as a pledge. To this proposal Mooraba assented, and, attended by the Brahmin, went into the town, nowhere meeting with any obstruction. After the devotions were over, they returned to the foot of the tree, and eat together. Mooraba then went down to the river to wash his lota, that he might give it to the Brahmin, but on his return he could nowhere see him. Mooraba now feared the shopman might have been cheated, and therefore returned to him for the purpose of lodging his lota in pledge; but, finding that the Brahmin had paid for every thing, returned to Chinchoor with his lota.

That night Gunputty appeared in a dream to the Pingli Brahmins, and other magistrates, and told them he was extremely offended at their ill usage of the poor Brahmin, who had shown so much devotion to him by his daily pilgrimages, and so much zeal by his offerings, and that therefore he was determined to be served by him, and to quit them. Mooraba arrived, as usual, in the morning at the foot of the tree, but dared not to approach any

farther without his friendly Brahmin. As soon as his arrival was notified to the Pingli, they set out to visit him, attended by the magistrates and other Brahmins. Poor Mooraba, extremely alarmed after the ill usage he had already received, retreated as they advanced. They however at length induced him to stop, by assurances that they only came to pay their respects to him. They then told him the dream they had had, and requested he would stay at Moraishwer. This he positively refused. They then demanded where he lived. He said they might send a man with him who would see. This they did, but the man could only keep up with him for ten coss. He then lost him, and returned to the Pingli. Mooraba himself returned in the morning to his devotions. The Pingli againsent a person with him, who again returned, having got only ten coss, as before.

This continued for some time; at length Gunputty appeared in a dream to Mooraba, still preserving the form of the friendly Brahmin, and told him that he had too much trouble to go every day to Moraishwer to perform his devotions; that, the next morning he, Gunputty, would visit him at his own habitation, and take up his abode with him. The morning ablutions of Mooraba were performed up to his middle in the river: he, as usual, dipped his hands, joined together, and his head at the same time, under the water; when he raised them up again, he was equally surprised and delighted, to discover in his hands the image of Gunputty, as worshipped at Moraishwer. On recognising this, he took it home, smeared it with red paint, prepared a shrine for it, and ever afterwards performed his pooja to it, without thinking it necessary to visit Moraishwer. The fame of the Deity's taking up his residence

at Chinchoor brought thither a great number of Brahmins, and one of great respectability offered his daughter to Mooraba. They were married, and after a certain time the God appeared in a dream to Mooraba, and told him his wife was with child, that he would have one son only, and that that son would be himself, "woh humara avatar howega." He therefore directed him to call his name "Chintau-mun-Deo," which was one of the titles of Gunputty.

The event of course fulfilled the prophecy of the Deity, and Chintau-mun-Deo received the adorations of the surrounding country. He, in his turn, had a son, who was called Narain Deo, and from that time they have taken this name, and that of Chintau-mun-Deo alternately; the seventh in descent being the present Deo, and who goes by the latter name. Major Moore calls him Bawa, and his father Gabajee, but these are only familiar appellatives, like Baba, Appa, Nana, so common among the Mahrattas, and so puzzling to strangers. Each Deity at his death has been burnt, and invariably a small image of Gunputty has miraculously arisen from the ashes, which is placed in a tomb and worshipped.

I asked my informers whether Chintau-mun-Deo, who was himself an avatar, performed pooja to his other self as taken out of the water; they replied, certainly, for that the statue was greatest, nor was his power diminished by the avatar. I then wished to know how it was clear that the descendants of Chintau-mun-Deo were avatars. They replied that when Gunputty first took up his residence with Mooraba Gosseyn, he was asked by him how long he would stay with him, and was assured it should be for twenty-one generations. As Captain Moore had stated that it was only for

seven generations, I repeated my inquiries, but they were positive it was for twenty-one. I suggested the possibility of a failure of the male line, which they would by no means admit, declaring that Gunputty had made the promise, and he would take care to fulfil it. I think however they have not acted with their usual prudence, for the present Deo has no son, and his wife is still a child; were any accident to happen to him before she is old enough to have children, I think the Brahmins, ingenious as they are, would have some difficulty in carrying on the imposture.

Captain Moore mentions the constant miracle of the Deo's expenses being so much greater than his income: this might easily be accounted for by the secret contributions of other Brahmins, who are essentially interested in the imposture, or by the supposition of a secret treasure having fallen into their hands, by no means a singular circumstance in a country, where perpetual danger induces every body to bury a large part of their property, without intrusting the secret to any one. Of this some conjecture may be drawn from an event, that has lately taken place at Bisnagur. A man has appeared there, who declares that he is sent by heaven to rebuild that ancient city; he has actually laid out the plan of the new town in a regular manner, with gardens to each house, and goes on building rapidly. Whenever he wants money, he goes to the top of a hill, where he declares he receives it from heaven, but probably he has discovered some secret treasure, from which he draws such ample resources.

The Deo resides on the opposite side of the river, in a very excellent house for the country, part of which was built by old Nana Furnese, and part by Hurry Punt. We went over in a boat, and

landed at the place where the former Deos were buried: they were burnt, and their ashes deposited in small stone pagodas. In each is the Gunputty that appeared on the occasion; they are of different sizes, without any merit. The temple of the first deity is the largest, and is of stone without ornaments; the walls very thick, with strong doors, and bolts on the inside. Our Brahmin friends accompanied us, and pointed out every object. We did not enter the little buildings, but approached close to the doors. When we reached the habitation of the Deo, we were seated in the verandah described by Captain Moore; the small door was open, which communicated with the room where the Deo was seated, on a small elevation; but as the room was dark, he was hardly discernible. I presented a nazur, as did the Colonel. The money was given into the hands of a Brahmin, who laid it at his feet. He looked at it attentively, and then motioned to have it taken away.

After a compliment, the people enquired if there were not a medical gentleman with us. On being informed that there was, the Brahmin said, the Deo wanted his assistance. A window had been opened, which gave us a full view of him; he was a heavy looking man, with very weak eyes; it was to relieve these that he now applied for assistance. Mr. Murray said he wished to examine them. The Deo accordingly moved forward on his seat, close to the light, and Mr. Murray was admitted into the sanctum sanctorum. His Godship was too anxious about his eyes to recollect his dignity; he explained his case himself, and answered pertinently to all questions. A film had grown completely over both eyes, so that little assistance could be afforded without constant attendance, and that, it was impossible to give. He would not permit Mr.

Murray to touch his eyes, as he said he had then performed his ablutions for the day. In the morning there would have been no such objection, as he could have been purified; but now he was only waiting for our departure to have a large party of Brahmins dine with him, and there was no time for purification. Almonds were brought to him, of which he took a handful, and emptied them into mine, which I held underneath to receive them. I entered the inner apartment, as did the other gentlemen in their turns. He took care that no one touched him. He also gave me a pan full of rice, which he said was of a very fine sort, and particularly holy.

We now took leave, and Mr. Murray told him he would send him something for his eyes. He said, if I had any enquiries to make, he would answer them. I merely asked if I should reach my home in safety. The reply of course was, that every thing prosperous would attend me. The Brahmins returned with us, but before their departure took occasion to observe, that they worshipped him, but he worshipped Gunputty. This brahminical imposture has been of great use to the country during Holcar's invasion. It was never plundered, which was probably owing to the Chief's superstition; but the Brahmins attribute it to a miracle. They told us several stories: as that, when some Patans attempted to approach the town, they saw a guard of supernatural horse drawn up to protect it; and that another party, that came even to the tope in which we were encamped, close to the river, and directly opposite the holy burial place, were seized with such violent pains in their bowels, that they were obliged to retire in dismay. On our return we were pestered with several beggars.

October 23.—At day light we took leave of our hospitable friends,

and with ease reached Tillegam to breakfast. I was met, about a mile from the town, by the Rajah's cousin, who attended me to the tents, where he and the minister paid their compliments, and delivered an invitation from the Rajah to visit him: which I promised, as I found, by enquiries at Poonah, that he was a respectable man, a Mahratta, holding under that government, on the tenure of military service only. He was formerly powerful, but at present, like many others, is much reduced. As his territories lie between Poonah, where the British subsidiary force is generally stationed, and the Presidency of Bombay, it is advisable to be on good terms with him. One anecdote does him great credit: he fed nearly the whole of his village during the late famine.

Four o'clock was the time settled for our visit, as he wished us to take a repast with him, and had sent for our table, knives, forks, and spoons: the Ministers came to attend us. The town was larger than I supposed, and seemed thriving; his own residence bore the marks of ancient splendor. He received us in a small verandah on the ground floor, covered with a piece of velvet carpeting. Several decently dressed people were around him. He was rather a young man, with a good-natured open countenance. To our enquiries after his health, he answered in English, that he was very well. His English interpreter then said, he was there to teach him that language. Mr. Frissel found that he also spoke Persian tolerably: a very remarkable proof in a Mahratta of a desire to acquire information. We adjourned to the repast up stairs, where we found some good meat curries, and a bottle of brandy, a liquor I did not expect in a Rajah's house, but to which he has the character of being considerably attached.

On returning down stairs, it was whispered to Mr. Frissel that there were more gentlemen present than he expected, and that therefore he had not prepared presents for all of them. It was settled that a distinction would be indecorous, and that he should offer them only to me. They consisted of a dress, a part of which he wished to put on, but Mr. Frissel told him it could not be permitted: he tied a small serpaish round my hat. The minister inundated me with plain water instead of rose water, which was not very pleasant. I had however the pleasure of afterwards seeing all the rest of the party undergo the same punishment. Pawn and attar were served round, and we took our leave. We had a party of Bazeegurs or Nats, who are described by Captain Richardson in the seventh volume of the Asiatic Researches, to amuse us at our tents. The women tumbled very actively, and were remarkably robust figures. Their small tents were pitched without the town, and were in size like those of our gipsies. Captain Richardson has, in the work above quoted, pointed out other circumstances of resemblance, that certainly justify, in a very great degree, his conjecture of their having a common origin. The similarity of language is almost a conclusive argument.

October 24.—In order to visit the Caves of Carli to more advantage, we had the tents pitched at the foot of the hill, which contains these interesting antiquities. It is nearly opposite to the fort of Low Ghur, distant about four miles, directly across the vale. The chain of hills here runs nearly east and west, but this protrudes from them at right angles. The chief cave fronts due west. There are also a few in a bluff point at the southern extremity, the entrances to which are visible from the bottom. The whole road was

covered with small agates, of which I collected a few. It was a long stage, and I did not reach the ground till eleven. The Killadar of Esapoor paid me a visit, and informed me that he had received orders to show me the fort of Low Ghur. In the evening, Hurry Punt Bow, deputy to Cundeh Row Rastieh, Ser Soobah of the Cokan, who was on his road to the country below the Gauts, came also to wait on me, and brought presents of fruit, &c. Cundeh Row, being supreme head of Low Ghur, Esapoor, and most other forts in the country, had sent Hurry Punt to represent him, and receive my visit. He was a fine old man, with a white beard, and smiling countenance. I gave him notice of my intention to be there on the 26th, to breakfast, and desired guides to be sent.

October 25.—Breakfast was sent up to the caves, and we went there before the sun became hot. The ascent was steep, but rendered easy by steps which had been cut in the rock. The whole brow of the hill was covered with jungle, which concealed the caves till we came to an open space of about one hundred feet, which had been levelled by the cutting away of the sloping hill, till a perpendicular surface of about fifty feet had been found in the solid rock. Here a line of caverns had been excavated, the principal of which struck me with the greatest astonishment from its size, and the peculiarity of its form. It consisted of a vestibule of an oblong square shape, divided from the temple itself, which was arched, and supported by pillars. The accompanying view will give a better idea than words can, of its internal appearance. The length of the whole is one hundred and twenty six feet, the breadth forty six feet. No figures of any deities are to be found within the pagoda, but the walls of the vestibule are covered with carvings



H. Salt Eng. Rome.

J. Landwehr Sculp.

INTERIOR OF CARLI CAVE.

in alto-relievo of elephants, of human figures of both sexes, and of Boodh, who is represented in some places as sitting cross-legged, with his hands in the posture common among the Cingalese; in others he is erect, but in all he is attended by figures in the act of adoration; and in one place two figures standing on the lotus are fanning him with chouries, while two others are suspending a rich crown over his head. I think, therefore, that it is beyond dispute that the whole was dedicated to Boodh. The detail of the different ornaments and figures, with drawings of them, I sent to the Bombay Literary Society, in whose works they will appear; it is therefore unnecessary to repeat them here. The inscriptions are numerous in different parts, and are all in the same unknown character which is found at the Seven Pagodas, and is described in the fifth, volume of the Asiatic Researches. We copied all that we could discover, and chalked over the letters for the benefit of any traveller that might come after us. There may be others concealed under the coat of chunam which still covers a great part of the wall; where it is broken off, the marks of the chissel are perfectly visible.

The ribs on the roof, which are seen in the drawing, are of wood, and are very difficult to be accounted for. They cannot be supposed to be of an equal age with the excavation, yet who would have been at the expense of replacing them? The followers of Boodh no longer worship here; the country is in possession of their great enemies, the Brahmins, and the pagoda itself is considered as haunted by evil spirits, in defiance of the vicinity of the holy goddess Bowannie; so much so, that the native draftsman who drew the cave at Ellora for Sir Charles Mallet, could not be induced to

accompany us by any persuasion of Colonel Close, declaring that if he did, the evil spirit would injure him.

Without the vestibule stands a pillar twenty-four feet high and eight feet in diameter, on which is a single line in the unknown characters. On the capital are four lions, much resembling the Chinese. Opposite to it was another pillar, but it was removed about forty years ago, to make room for the insignificant temple of Bowannie, which now occupies its place. A view of the whole front, which was too large to be introduced in this work, is given by Mr. Salt in his Indian Views.

The Paishwa has settled a revenue on Bowannie's pagoda, and there is a regular establishment of Brahmins to attend her, while the splendid abode of Boodh is completely neglected.

A line of caves extends from about one hundred and fifty yards to the north of the great one. These are all flat-roofed, of a square form, and appear to have been destined for the attendants on the pagoda. In the last is a figure of Boodh, and in another is an inscription. They evidently were never finished.

A veil at present is suspended over the relative antiquity of the Boodhists and the Brahmins, which may possibly be hereafter removed; but these hopes are lessened by the recollection, that all the learning that has yet been found in India, has been in the possession of the Brahmins, who seem to have completely triumphed over their dangerous rivals, the Boodhists, who profanely gave precedence to the Royal Cast, above the holy race of the Priesthood. Mr. Salt began to draw the front; Captain Young, with my servant, to measure and lay down the dimensions; Messrs. Frissel and Murray to copy the inscriptions; and I to take notes. By noon I

discovered that, with all the friendly assistance I was receiving, it would be impossible either to finish the drawings of the figures, or to copy the inscriptions, in the course of the day, I therefore sent a messenger to Hurry Punt to put off my visit to the 27th. We worked all day, and went down to dinner. In the evening, Captain Young received a note from a Lieutenant Ambrose of the 7th native regiment, who was on his way from Panwell to Poonah. I requested he would invite him to join our party the next morning. The weather was evidently growing cooler, for at night it was quite cold.

October 26.—Lieutenant Ambrose joined us. I was sorry to find that he had lain last night under a mango tree, in the tope where we had encamped in going up, without any thing to cover him. He was a lively pleasing, young man, who had been in the navy during the Egyptian expedition. He afforded us great assistance in copying the inscriptions. Before night I was happy to find, that we were possessed of every inscription and necessary admeasurement. Mr. Salt's work was more extensive; he therefore determined not to accompany us to Low Ghur, but again to visit the caves on the morrow, and join us at the mango tope, whither we meant to remove our encampment. To the Brahmins who attended the small pagoda, dedicated to Bowannie, and to others who lived in the great cave, we gave some rupees, as they had been civil and useful.

October 27.—Very early all the party, except Messrs. Salt and Smith, set off for Low Ghur. The road across the valley was good, but when we began to ascend, the palanquins were of little use. We saw a line of caves facing due west on our left under the hill, on the summit of which is the fort of Esapoor. My servant visited

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them by my orders, to examine if there were any thing worthy of inspection. He reported that there was a small arched temple, similar in plan to that at Carli, but that the pillars were plain, and there was not any inscription or figure of Boodh, and that smaller flat caves were on each side, but uninteresting; we did not therefore take the trouble of climbing to them. Hurry Punt had taken great pains to render our ascent easy. The bushes were cut away on both sides, and in many parts, the road had been levelled. The mount we ascended was part of Esapoor; we left the fort rather to the left, and as we came close to it, we were hailed from it. The walls were covered with men, and on the reply that it was the Lord Sahib, they sounded the trumpets, and gave a cheer.

At the top we were met by the acting Killadar of Esapoor, who conducted us to the village at the bottom of the rock, on which Low Ghur is built. Here we left the palanquins, which had only been of use the last half mile. We mounted by a very steep path that led in a zig-zag direction to the top. There are five gates with parapets and loop holes for musquetry: these were far from adding to the strength of the place, as in many parts they afford lodgements for a storming party. At every gateway was a guard. In the open space before the hall of audience, Hurry Punt was ready to receive me. He conducted me to the durbar, where a guddy was placed with one pillow. He sat down on the left of it; I seated myself in state upon it: my party on my right hand; his, beyond him on the left. After a few compliments, we adjourned to a breakfast prepared for us in a verandah, near at hand, and afterwards, in defiance of the heat, walked round the fort.

On the north side is a range of decayed cannon which were

always useless, as the height of the perpendicular rock is too great, on every side, to be stormed. Towards the west, a very extraordinary ledge extends several hundred yards in length, by about twenty wide. A wall is built along, on each side, to prevent accidents: at small distances are houses, inhabited by the guard, which we found drawn out to receive us. Though this ledge is lower than the main body of the fort, yet it is of sufficient height to prevent any attack, the rock being perfectly bare, and perpendicular. The whole in shape considerably resembles a tadpole, the fort representing the body, and this ledge the tail. From the summit the view was very extensive: the sea beyond Bombay appeared to the west; inland a chain of hills was visible in every direction, whose tops frequently rose into fortified summits, with rocky sides, as perpendicular as Low Ghur. The most extraordinary circumstance was the regularity of the strata, and the equal height of the rocky sides: were the line continued from one hill to another, it would touch the corresponding parts of similar strata. The summits were mostly green, and capable of cultivation. Low Ghur has numerous tanks, and several small streams from the springs above were falling down the rocks. Esapoor is higher, and only a musquet-shot from Low Ghur. Were the former, however, in the hands of an enemy, it could do but little harm, as this place is very extensive, and is protected from shot by rocks in almost every direction. Lieutenant Ambrose had been here before, when it was surrendered to the British arms. He told us that the quantity of ammunition and stores of all kinds was prodigious.

Dondoe Punt was the person who had been intrusted with the custody of the fort by Nana Furnese, and refused, after his death, to

give it up. Here Nana had deposited all his treasures, the plunder of the treasury at Poonah, and the savings of his administration. Here also resided his widow. Dondoe at first demanded the restoration of Nana's adherents to their offices under the state, which, of course, the Paishwa could never consent to, they having all been rebellious, both under Nana, and afterwards under Imrut Row. At length he gave up this point, and only required permission for himself and the widow to retire with their private property. He always denied that there was any of Nana's there, but the Paishwa thought otherwise, and conceived that when he had concluded the treaty with the English, they would take it for him by force. General Wellesley negotiated for him, and on Dondoe's promising to behave as a faithful subject of the Paishwa, he was permitted to hold the fort. When, however, his Highness went, as he annually does, to bathe in the Kistna the garrison of another fort, held by the same man, fired on him, and would not permit him to pass to a pagoda. This the General took up, and threatened to storm Low Ghur. At length terms were agreed upon: Dondoe gave up the place, retired with his personal property to Tanna, and the widow to Panwell. Their personal safety was guaranteed by the British, and 12,000 rupees per ann. were secured to the widow. She has also one of Nana's houses to retire to at Poonah, whenever she pleases.

The garrison seems numerous, but as the followers of Hurry Punt and the Killadar of Esapoor were there, I cannot guess the amount: to have asked, would have been useless. The buildings are miserable. The old gentleman, when I took my leave, presented a handsome pair of shawls, a piece of kincaub, and a piece of cloth. We examined the gateways as we came down, and I am quite convinced,

that the whole of the artificial works much lessen the natural strength of the place. Each high side of the way forms a sheltering place, secure against all attacks from the top, whether of musquetry, or their more usual weapons, large stones rolled down from above. The gateways and parapets have the same effect. Had the whole been scalped off, and only a strong work at the top, I believe no earthly power could have taken it. It is considered as the strongest fort in the Paishwa's possession, and an order from him was necessary to see it. The magazines are cut in the rock, but are now nearly empty; however, as the state grows richer, they will probably be replenished.

October 28.—We set off for the top of the Gaut. Candalla had presented too melancholy a spectacle for us to wish to stay there again; we therefore went on to the point, about a mile beyond. The scene was magnificent. The small plain which served for our encampment was on the extremity of a tongue of the table land. On one side the sea was visible; on the other Low Ghur, and the other hills: close to us, between these objects, was a woody glen, with impassable rocky sides, the depth of the whole gaut, at one extremity of which a cascade fell two or three hundred feet. In the rainy season it must be tremendous. Mr. Salt took a view of it as it was, but the scale reduced the stream to insignificance. Captain Young is Commissary for the supplying of the British subsidiary force with rice; and by contracting on moderate terms, and to be paid only for what he actually delivered, put an end to one of the most enormous abuses that existed. We here met several of his bullocks loaded with rice, which he stopped, and humanely gave two seer to each person who came to us from the village. It is an

almost incredible circumstance, but which strongly marks the patient forbearance, the resignation of the Hindoo, that during the whole of the late dreadful famine, grain has passed up to Poonah through villages, where the inhabitants were perishing themselves, and, what is still more dreadful, seeing their nearest relatives perishing for want, without a single tumult having taken place, or a single convoy having been intercepted !

October 29.—As we walked down the Gauts, the change in the climate was very evident. The heat was most oppressive, with not a breath of air. We encamped at Colapore, which we had left on the right as we went up, where we found in the Choultry an old woman dead, a lad nearly so, and a young woman much reduced. We first gave some congee to the boy, which his stomach bore, and afterwards some rice, so that I hope the poor wretch will survive. The old woman was buried, and the young one went off gaily with a sufficient sum to keep her till provisions shall be again in plenty. We had fowls and eggs from the Patale of the village. Our people were all better, though some were still obliged to be carried.

October 30.—We encamped eight miles from Panwell. Colonel Close's kindness still followed us; a basket of fruit, vegetables, and butter, reaching us this morning. The night was cold.

October 31.—Before day-light I was in my palanquin. By eight I reached Panwell. I received the compliment of sweet cakes from Nana's widow, and learned that her brother Purseram Punt had arrived four days before from Poonah to assist in receiving me. He had been confined by the Paishwa, together with the other connections of the Nana, till the British interest obtained his release, when he became a constant visitor to the Residency. He is a modest, well-

behaved young man, and in great favour with the Colonel. When presented to me, I expressed a wish to see his sister on my return, and asked whether it was against the Mahraita custom, that no purdah should be between us? He allowed that, by their own principles, there would be no impropriety in my seeing her, but that they had adopted from the Mussulmauns, since they had been so powerful in India, the custom of keeping their women concealed. He, however, promised to do his best for me, if I would visit her on my return to Panwell; to which I consented. He did not appear in the morning, nor Dondoe Punt, the late Governor of Low Ghur, who had come down on a visit to the widow, probably also to assist in receiving the visit. As I suspected that their absence was meant as a mark of dignity, in stealing the compliment of the first visit, Mr. Frissel sent to them to say, that he expected they would come here. The answer was, they were coming immediately, which they did.

Dondoe is a laughing old man, and talks a great deal. He soon began with Mr. Frissel about his own merits in giving up the fort to us, and his claims to compensation. To this but little was replied. We asked him respecting some steps down into the rock at the narrow end of the fort. He said it was intended by one of the Sattera Rajahs, who visited the fort, to have made another outlet at that end, but it had never been completed. He allowed he had only three months provisions when he capitulated. The garrison, in his time, varied from one to three thousand men, according to circumstances. He had lived there thirty years without ever descending, and complained that the climate below did not agree with him, but supposed he should soon get accustomed to it. He said that

several hundred horses, which he had brought down with him, had all perished. Captain Young said in English, it was a great blessing to Panwell, where most of them were kept, for his followers had plundered the whole country to maintain them. We did not, after this observation, express much pity for his loss. Four o'clock was the hour fixed for visiting the lady. He said he heard I meant to visit Salsette, and he should be happy to entertain me. If I did not go to Tannah, where he lived, he would meet me at the caves; to which proposal I assented.

At four the whole party set off with my suwarry. The little widow's house is not large, and most of the people in it are Brahmins. We were introduced into a small court, and seated on carpets covered with a white cloth, in a verandah, at the end of which was a door with a purdah of rushes, through which it would have been easy to distinguish any object, had not the room beyond been darkened. As I took no notice of the widow not being visible, the attendants began the subject by repeating the observations her brother had made at Poonah about the Mussulmaun women. It was evident they meant me to see her, from their having fixed up a linen curtain to conceal her from the people in the court of the house, I therefore wished to hasten them on, and replied, that it was very well, they might do as they pleased, and that I was satisfied. They knew I was not, and wished me to go nearer the purdah, which I refused. The brother then began to observe that, as I was going to England, he hoped, now that I knew his sister, I would be a friend to her there. I told him that I knew nothing of his sister; I only knew a purdah that was hung before her, and to that only I could be a friend. He laughed, and went again to speak

to his sister. I and Mr. Frissel approached close to the purdah, and he spoke directly to her, and she replied.

After innumerable difficulties we were gratified with a sight of her: she was really a very pretty girl, fair, round faced, with beautiful eyes, and apparently about seventeen years of age. By the customs of India she can never marry. She is considered as the representative of the family of Nana, and as such is much looked up to by all his numerous dependants. She wishes to adopt a son, who would in that case succeed to the claims of the old man. These were too many, and too important, for the Paishwa to wish to see them revived; she will consequently never obtain her wish. She made several requests to us: first, that she might obtain some of her personal jewels, which the Paishwa had in his possession; and secondly, a garden-house near Poonah, which belonged to Nana. These requests Mr. Frissel assured her Colonel Close would employ his interest to procure for her. She will probably succeed. After some more conversation I received a dress, and Purseram Punt tied a serpaish on my hat. It was with difficulty I saved my coat from having the attar rubbed down the sleeves, but I begged to waive the honour, and, with Mr. Frissel's assistance, succeeded. No presents were made to the rest of the party. We returned home to dinner.

November 1.—The tide served at ten, when we embarked in the balloon, and reached Bombay about four. I was received, as usual, with a salute of thirteen guns. One of our poor fellows died as he was passing in the boat from Panwell; the rest were all recovered. Four of our escort had deserted, which made up the list of casualties. Bombay, as a place of consequence, owes its origin entirely to the Portuguese; for in 1530, when it was ceded to them,

it was merely a dependence on the chief residing at Tannah, in the island of Salsette. Its favourable position at the entrance of the finest harbour on the western shore of India, soon excited the attention of its new masters, and a fort was erected by them to defend the anchorage. Nevertheless, the vicinity to Goa, the capital of all the eastern possessions of the Portuguese, prevented it from becoming a place of any great importance during the time it continued in their hands; but, on being ceded to the English in 1662, as part of the portion of Queen Catharine of Portugal, it rapidly rose into consequence, and ultimately became the great naval arsenal of that nation, and an independent Presidency, though certainly only the third in rank.

The fortifications of Bombay have been improved as it has increased in trade and importance; and lately a very considerable addition was made to their strength by including Dungaree Hill within the fort. This place previously commanded the town; it is however doubtful whether it would not have been more advisable to level the hill, as the lines of defence were before too extensive, requiring a garrison of several thousand men to defend them, while there were rarely as many hundreds in the place. Towards the sea Bombay is extremely strong, and battery above battery completely commands the harbour: to the land side it by no means offers the same resistance; but this is of little consequence, as, at present, were an enemy once landed, and capable of making regular approaches, the town must surrender. The houses, which are lofty and combustible, approach so close to the walls, that were they once in flames, it would be impossible for any troops to stand on the ramparts. A bombardment would lay the whole town in ashes in

a few hours, and even the magazines themselves would probably share the same fate.

If Bombay, and the valuable arsenals and naval stores which it contains, are to be rendered secure against an enemy, a large proportion of the town ought to be destroyed, and the fortifications ought to be brought nearer to the dock-yard, and within a much narrower compass. Accident has rendered this a much easier and cheaper work than it formerly would have been; for a most dreadful fire has reduced one third of the town to ashes, in the very division which would, were the above plan adopted, be thrown without the walls. It was with the utmost difficulty that the rest of the town was saved from destruction by the exertions of the Governor and the military. The old Government-house, which is within the old fort, was frequently on fire by the flakes that were carried towards it: had they been unable to extinguish it, the magazine must have shared the same fate, from its being close to it, and the unfortunate town would have been carried to all the points of the compass by the explosion of several thousand barrels of gunpowder.

To complete the plan of reducing the size of the fort, many houses must still be purchased, and pulled down; and the destroying of the old fortifications, and the erection of new, would carry the expense to a great height. It is hardly reasonable to expect, that this should be defrayed by the East India Company, who can only be considered as tenants under a short lease; but that it should be done by some arrangement with the Supreme Government at home, cannot for a moment be doubted, when it is considered, that our most implacable enemy has all his attention turned towards

our Indian possessions, and that in no place are we so vulnerable as at Bombay, from the smallness of the surrounding territory, and the distance from which all supplies must be drawn. If any hostile spirit does remain in the breasts of the Mahratta chieftains, and of which I fear there can be no doubt, Bombay affords to the French the only means of communication; and a brilliant success in an attack on that place would give spirits to every secret enemy, and induce them at once to throw off the mask. Of the ultimate result I should still have no fear; but the mischief of such a war would be incalculable, and the expense would be greater far than the alteration of the fort of Bombay, which the Governor seems to have some hopes will take place, for he has, for the present, refused permission to the inhabitants to rebuild their houses, which were consumed by the fire.

Many other alterations seem necessary to render Bombay as secure from a surprise as it is from an open attack. The public landing place is, at present, in the dock-yard, and a free access is allowed to this important spot during the whole of the day. At night centinels prohibit the approach; but the guard in the harbour is hardly sufficient to prevent boats from reaching it, without exciting suspicion; and so large is the bay, that an enemy might enter it at night, without being discovered by the solitary guard-ship, which is frequently its only protection. The expense that would attend the necessary precautions against this danger would be trifling, and cannot therefore be an impediment; but there seems to be a want of active zeal in those to whom the superintendence of the dock-yard is committed, that leaves it thus open to inspection, and, possibly, to eventual injury.

It is in the light of a marine arsenal that Bombay appears of the greatest importance, and its value has been hitherto little diminished by the conquest of Trincomalée, which, at present, affords only a scanty and precarious supply of fresh provisions for a fleet. Here are established docks for the repair of the King's ships, as well as of the vessels belonging to the East India Company's marine, an establishment that seems, at present, of little use, and of which the expense is incalculable. Most of the situations in it seem to have sunk into sinecure employments, and its very existence must have been doubted by its former enemies, the Pirates. If the East India Company are really in embarrassed circumstances, it appears to me that in no part of their establishment can they more easily economise than in the marine of Bombay; even if they do not think it advisable to abolish it at once. Were a new system adopted, and a reform carried into the higher and the lower orders, I believe the marine might become a respectable and useful establishment. As far as the exertions of an individual can go to the completion of this, I have no doubt that success will attend on Captain Money, the present Superintendent of the marine; but it will require the power and the perseverance of a Hercules to cleanse this Augean stable.

Some of the present arrangements of the marine seem to have been ingeniously formed for the sole purpose of acting contrary to the system of the King's navy. Instead of an officer who is appointed to a vessel, continuing for a length of time in her, till he is acquainted with the characters of those under him, it is a very unusual circumstance for an officer to command the same vessel for two successive voyages; and if, by accident, he should do so, it is

probable that he may lose every officer under him. I have known a Lieutenant to be appointed to three different vessels in four days; and the Panther cruizer had three different commanders in one week. This system of perpetual change, annihilates that pride which a Captain in the King's navy feels in the neatness and good condition of his ship, and leaves to the Bombay marine commander no motive for exerting himself to bring his vessel to the highest possible state of improvement. It has indeed no one advantage, and can only enable the Superintendent to provide whenever he pleases for a new favourite, and to keep in implicit obedience to his caprice the officers, who must be conscious that if they offend him, they can instantly be removed to the most disagreeable situations.

If the East India Company determine to make their marine a respectable body, this evil must be rectified as well as many others; they must increase the number of their officers, which, at present, bears so little proportion to the size and number of their vessels, that the Mornington of twenty-four guns, and the Ternate of sixteen, when they sailed from the Persian Gulf, had each only one Midshipman. They must enforce the proper regulations in their vessels, and make the officers amenable to a strict judicature; and, above all things, they must avoid exercising that most mischievous of all privileges, the reinstating such officers as have been dismissed by a court of inquiry. They must also arrange with his Majesty's Government the real situation of their marine officers, who, at present, claim, under their directions, a relative rank with the officers of the King's navy which is not recognised by them, owing to which disputes often occur, and more serious.

consequences have frequently been expected to follow. The respectable officers of the marine would rejoice in every reformation, and would be fully repaid by the benefit which would accrue to the service for any losses that they themselves might sustain. That there are some men of high honour and unimpeached bravery in the marine, I can vouch from my own knowledge, and I cannot have the least doubt that there exist many others, whom it was not my good fortune to meet during my short stay at Bombay.

The establishment of the dock-yard is almost entirely composed of Persees, a people of whom I shall have much to say hereafter. It has been attempted to appoint an European master-builder, but the new comer has seldom long survived his arrival, and the only builders are now Persees. They are certainly fully equal to the business; but the absolute monopoly they possess has given rise to many abuses. The person who contracts to supply the timber, and the person who examines it on its receipt, are both Persees; consequently the articles are frequently of inferior quality. The master-builder has only people of his own persuasion under him; no complaint therefore is ever made of neglect of work on the one part, or of overcharges on the other. A still greater evil arises from the local circumstances of the dock-yard, which is a perfect thoroughfare, nay more, a fashionable lounging place for all the idlers of the town. The consequence is, that instead of working the whole day, many of the artificers only make their appearance to answer to their name at the hour of calling the roll, and if they please, depart immediately afterwards, without any possibility of their being convicted of the neglect of work; for the dock-yard is open to the town, and they may pass and repass as often as they

choose. The frauds which must arise from the same cause are incalculable, and call aloud for reform; than which nothing could be more easy, by the shutting up of the yard from all but the workmen and officers, and the introduction of the regulations of his Majesty's docks at Portsmouth, Plymouth, and Chatham. The Bombay Government have, to a certain degree, felt themselves obliged to submit to these abuses, from the dread of the Persees, as a body, giving up the ship-building business, of which they are the only possessors. I cannot myself believe that such would be the result from an attempt to reform abuses, though it might take place, if they conceived their monopoly was in danger, as they are a rich and independent people. With caution, every necessary arrangement might be formed, and the workmen be retained in a situation, for which, by their talents and experience, they are now so well adapted,

The Presidency of Bombay has sunk into political insignificance, since the supreme authority of Calcutta has undertaken all the arrangements with the Mahratta empire and its other neighbours; but in the late war, and indeed at this moment, it has a load thrown on it which it finds very difficult to bear; the supplying of the armies on this side India with provisions and money: in consequence of which, the outgoings per month are above fifteen lac of rupees, independent of the civil establishment; although its whole revenue, including the ceded districts in Guzerat, does not amount to above forty lac. The deficiency is provided for by bills on Bengal, and it shows a very favourable state of trade at Bombay, that so large a sum is procurable at no very high premium.

The trade of Bombay is at present, however, very inferior to what it was in former times, which is chiefly owing to the indulgences

given to the Arabs, particularly to the Imaum of Muscat, whose flag being recognised as neutral, his vessels sail to and from the Isle of France, carrying there provisions, and taking back prize goods, which they purchase at half their prime cost. The navigation-act with respect to them seems to be totally suspended in India: they enter their vessels at Bombay as English, and navigate from one part of the Peninsula to the other without having an European in the ship, or one rupee of the property in them belonging to a British subject. They have frequently a French protection also: so that they enjoy every privilege, and are French or English, as it suits their convenience. No wonder that their navy is rapidly increasing, while the English builders can hardly find sufficient employment to keep their gangs together.

Bombay has been said to receive its name from the Portuguese words *bon bain*, or good bay; but this, I believe, is a mistake, as it was the original name of the island before the Portuguese possessed it, and was probably called after a goddess Bomba, who is, as I am informed by Mr. Duncan, at present worshipped there. The town within the walls was commenced by the Portuguese, and even those that have been since built, are of a similar construction; with wooden pillars supporting wooden verandahs. The consequence is, that Bombay bears no external resemblance to either of the other Presidencies. The Government-house is a handsome building, with several good apartments, but it has the great inconvenience of the largest apartment on both floors being a passage room to the others. Mr. Duncan, from system, avoids all parade; and even admitting that the general principle were right, which, I have before observed, I believe not to be the case, it is here certainly carried to too great

an extreme, for a more ragged, dirty set of beings than the Government peons, I never beheld.

The view from the fort is extremely beautiful towards the bay, whose smooth expanse is here and there broken by the islands that are, many of them, covered with wood, while the lofty and whimsically shaped hills of the table land form a striking back ground to the landscape. The sea is on three sides of it, and on the fourth an esplanade, at the extremity of which is the black town, embosomed in a grove of cocoa-nut trees. The situation ought to be healthy, but unfortunately experience proves that it is not so. The fever is at present making most alarming ravages, and the liver complaint is more frequent and more fatal here, than in any part of India. Mr. Duncan and Dr. Scott assure me, that this season is more than usually unhealthy; but they both admit the general insalubrity of the place, and particularly, that exposure to the land breeze, which sets in every evening, is generally followed by a fever, and frequently by a loss of the use of all the limbs. This breeze is chillingly cold at present, and its deleterious effects may probably be attributed not only to this, but to the noxious vapours that it brings with it from passing over the rank vegetation which springs up in the marshy boundaries of the bay immediately after the rains are over. The Island of Salsette is still more unhealthy than Bombay, the jungle being closer, and the valleys more closed in. The young cadets that came out this year were sent to the new establishment at Varsova, when the fever immediately attacked them. They were instantly removed to Bombay, but many fell victims to the violence of the disease. Moderate living, cautiously avoiding opposite extremes, is found most conducive to health. Here, as in

other parts of India, gentlemen are to be met with, who have enjoyed their health in defiance of intemperance, or with great abstemiousness, and both recommend their own example; yet, in my mind, both are exceptions to a general rule: hundreds certainly perish from intemperance; and the abstemious life of the native by no means shelters him from fevers, and their result with him is more frequently fatal, from the impossibility of lowering his temperament when attacked.

The rage for country houses prevails at Bombay as generally as at Madras, and the same inconveniences attend it; for as all business is carried on in the fort, every person is obliged to come in the morning, and return at night. The Governor is almost singular in living constantly in town, having lent his country house at Perelle to Sir James Mackintosh. This place was the property of the Jesuits, and is the handsomest in the island. The apartments and verandahs are extremely handsome, and the former chapel on the ground floor is now a magnificent and lofty dining-room. It has, however, the inconvenience of not being open to the sea breeze, and appears to be far from healthy, for Sir James and Lady Mackintosh, with a great proportion of their family, have been attacked by an intermittent fever. The generality of the country houses are comfortable and elegant; and if they have not the splendid Grecian porticos of Calcutta and Madras, they are probably better adapted to the climate, and have most unquestionably the advantage of beautiful views; for even the Island of Bombay itself is broken by several beautiful hills, either covered with cocoa-nut tree groves, or villas of the inhabitants.

It cannot be expected that the third Presidency in point of rank,

should vie with the others in splendor or expense. The society is less numerous, and the salaries are smaller; economy is consequently more attended to by a kind of tacit compact; the style of living is however frequently elegant, and always comfortable and abundant. I confess, that having so lately quitted my native country, I preferred it to the splendid profusion of Calcutta. The necessities of life are here dearer than in the other parts of India; the wages of servants are consequently much higher. Rice, the chief food of the lower orders, is imported from Bengal even in favourable years; at present the famine has raised it to an alarming price. Grateful, however, must the inhabitants be to Providence, for having, at such an eventful period, placed them under the British protection, and relieved them from those sufferings which afflict the nations around them. The subscriptions, which were entered into to extend this benefit beyond the limits of their territory, do honour to the gentlemen of the settlement. Hospitals were opened for the gradual administering of relief to such as were too much exhausted to feed themselves, and hircarrahs were placed on the confines to bring in those whose strength had failed them before they could reach the fostering aid that was held out to them by the hands of British benevolence. The preservation of several hundreds of thousands on the Malabar coast may be attributed to the overflowing supplies which Bengal was able to pour out for their support, in consequence of the fifty years tranquillity which she has enjoyed under her present masters. India, under one supreme controul, can never expect to feel the effects of famine; for a season which causes a scarcity in one part, generally produces an increase of produce in another; and the devastations of hostile armies will be at an end, which can

alone counteract this beneficent arrangement of Providence. For the sake of the population of sixty millions, as well as for our own sake, we may therefore wish that the British influence in India may remain unshaken by external force, or internal dissatisfaction.

A Society has been established at Bombay on a plan somewhat similar to the Bengal Asiatic Society, but it intends to limit itself to the present state of manners among the inhabitants, rather than to launch into ancient mythology, or the history of the country. Much I think may be expected from the active superintendence of Sir James Mackintosh, whose talents would throw a lustre on any society, and whose discourse on the first day of their meeting would have been heard with satisfaction by the father of Asiatic literature, by Sir William Jones himself. Sir James is ably supported by Mr. Duncan, who is, I believe, as learned as any European in the wild fancies of the Hindoo mythology, and was the writer of those papers, on the singular Hindoo customs at Benares, and the two fakeers that resided there, which were communicated by Sir John Shore to the Asiatic Society, but without stating from whom he had received the intelligence. To these are added the names of many other gentlemen, whose long residence in India, and known acquirements, may fairly justify an expectation in the public, that without rivalling their prototype at Calcutta, they may communicate much interesting information respecting that part of India which has come under their immediate observation.

One of the greatest evils in India is the cheapness of spirituous liquors, which leads to a dreadful mortality among the European soldiers, particularly on their first arrival. The quantity allowed by Government is too great, if not totally useless. In the field, it is

a gallon for every twenty men, or two drams each : at other times only half the quantity. This might probably do no harm, were it not that the soldier is able, at his own expense, to procure as much as he pleases, in addition, from the camp followers, who are licensed by Government, and pay a duty on all they sell. This plan has been adopted in preference to allowing the profits to be received by the commanding officers, which had led to the greatest abuses. To deprive the soldier of an injurious quantity of spirits is impossible in a country, where an execrable kind is sold at a low rate in every village ; it has been therefore considered as more advantageous, to secure him a supply of a less deleterious kind. Could the quantity allowed by the Government be reduced one half, a diminution would no doubt take place in the deaths ; and every exertion ought unquestionably to be made, to preserve the lives of persons, so valuable to their country, as the soldiers employed in India.

The greater proportion of the inhabitants of Bombay are Persees, descendants of the ancient Persians, who fled from the persecution of Shah Abbas, who in the sixteenth century destroyed the temples which had till then remained in the mountain Albend, and drove the worshippers of fire to seek an asylum in other countries. Bombay they have almost entirely made their own, for hardly a house or a foot of land in the island belongs to any other. They form a body of people totally dissimilar to any other in India, and seem to have perfectly domesticated themselves in their new abode, where they receive a protection, for which they are very grateful. I asked a very respectable Persee why they built such splendid habitations, and purchased land at a price that yielded only four

percent, when they could so easily make eight or twelve. His answer, I believe, conveyed the real sentiments of his nation. "This is our native country, where we are also to die: we have now no other home to look to, and therefore like to have some certain property for our children to inherit: you English are only here for a short time, and therefore wish to make as much of your money as possible, that you may return to your country, where I suppose you act, as we do here." They are a very rich, active, and loyal body of men, greatly increasing the prosperity of the settlement by their residence in it. There is not an European house of trade in which one of them has not a share, and generally indeed it is the Persee that produces the largest part of the capital. Their influence is consequently very great, and the kind of brotherly connection that subsists among them, enables them to act with the force of an united family. The conduct of the Government towards them has been indulgent and wise. They openly avow their obligations, and express their conviction, that in no other part of the East could they obtain the same advantages. I consider them as a most valuable body of subjects, and am convinced that, unless from mismanagement, they will ever continue so, and form an important barrier against the more powerful casts of India.

From the length of time which Bombay has been under the control of Europeans, the Persees, since their arrival there, have adopted little of the Asiatic manners. They indeed wear the dress, which they informed me had been adopted on their arrival, but they eat and drink like the English. Ardiscer Dady, one of their richest members, gave me a most magnificent entertainment. The table for the Europeans was chiefly covered with English

cookery, but they sent me from their own several dishes, which were very highly seasoned, and good. The wines were excellent; but when I adjourned to their table, I was not a little astonished to find liqueurs placed opposite each Persee, which they drank in glasses as freely as wine, and which, though they sat late, seemed to have no effect on them. Their houses are furnished with a profusion of English looking-glasses, prints, and paintings. They always light them up remarkably well; but on this occasion the whole gardens were illuminated with torches and lamps, which had a most brilliant effect. The band playing in the verandah, and the crowd of differently dressed people had the semblance of an English masquerade. We had a very good set of nautch-girls, which much pleased Sir James Mackintosh, who had not before seen this Asiatic amusement. Coffee and tea, pawn and attar, lavender water, and other perfumes, completed the melange of this Anglo-Asiatic entertainment, from which we departed about midnight.

To the credit of the Persee humanity, they provide for all their poor; and to the credit of their private morals, there is not a single prostitute, or mistress to a gentleman, of their cast, in the settlement. They are generous and splendid in the higher orders; and in the lower, active and intelligent, far surpassing as servants the Mussulmauns or Hindoos. They mostly speak English with propriety. In their persons they are a handsome race, fairer than the natives, though not possessing the clear skin of the Europeans. In their manners they are uniformly conciliatory and mild. I confess that I infinitely prefer them to any race of people in the East subject to the British control. They have numerous temples to Fire, but their priests seem to have no authority in temporal concerns,

nor much spiritual control. Their religion is tolerant, and, as far as it throws no impediment in the way of the public service, must be considered politically as a good one. Sir William Jones petulantly attacked the authenticity of their sacred code, the Zend Avesta, as translated by Monsieur Anquetil de Perron; but he himself, before his death, was convinced of his error. Sir James Mackintosh is studying the language, and will probably favour the world with some additional information on the subject; but from the accounts that I have received, I have no doubt of the authenticity of the original, or of the fidelity of Monsieur Anquetil de Perron's translation.

The beauty of the esplanade, every morning and evening, is greatly heightened by the votaries of the Sun, who crowd there in their white flowing garments, and coloured turbans, to hail his rising, or pay respect, by their humble prostration, to his parting rays. On this occasion the females do not appear, but they still go to the wells for water, as did the wives of the ancient patriarchs. Many of those in a higher line of life retire from the city to their country residences early in the evening, in which case they assemble in their one-horse chaises at a beautiful spot called the Breach, where a former Governor built a noble causeway at an expense of 10,000 rupees, thereby saving a considerable tract of country from the gradual incroachments of the sea, which had nearly made its way across the island. It is a work of great merit, and has stood firm against all the violence of the S. W. monsoon. The India Company were however offended at the expense, and the poor Governor lost his place. The tract that was recovered has hitherto been marshy and useless, but some gentlemen have undertaken to drain it, and, apparently, are likely to succeed.

The strict attention that is paid in Bengal to the conduct of the Cadets on their arrival, unfortunately does not exist at Bombay, and the consequence of the neglect is melancholy. On their landing they too often are obliged to live at the tavern, not having any fixed place of abode, where they not only run in debt, frequently to the blasting of their future prospects, but by the facility of access to wine and women, sow the seeds of those complaints which afterwards carry them prematurely to the grave. Varsova had been chosen as a residence for the Cadets, but in 1804 the fever broke out there, and they were obliged to be removed to Mehum, but not before numbers had perished from the unhealthiness of the climate, and, it is said, from the want of proper regulation in the establishment, the young men having been permitted to bathe when they pleased, and expose themselves to the effect of the night air.

It was at one of the country houses in the vicinity of Bombay, that the unfortunate accident of the death of Hadjee Khaleb Khan took place in July 1802. He had arrived only a few days before as Ambassador from the Persian Court to the Government of India, when a dispute arose between some of his Excellency's followers and the sepoy who guarded the house, in consequence of one of the former's insisting on entering a part of the garden, which the Ambassador had ordered to be kept private. The sentinel, in obedience to his orders, refused to permit him, when the Persian, who was drunk, at length drew his sword, and, being joined by his countrymen, a regular battle ensued. The Ambassador, who had retired to his couch after having himself too freely indulged in the pleasures of the table, arose on hearing the tumult, and rushed out

to separate the combatants. In the confusion he was not known, and a chance shot in a moment put an end to his life. Several of his followers also perished, but they deserved their fate; for they had irritated the sepoys by the most insulting language, and the severest ridicule of their religious prejudices. The Ambassador's nephew, though severely wounded, recovered, and received the kindest attentions from the officers of the Bombay Government, who were fully exculpated in his mind from any blame respecting the untimely fate of his uncle.

The Marquis Wellesley learned, soon after his arrival in India, that attempts were making by Tippoo to form a close alliance with Zemaun Shah, Sultaun of Cabul, and to induce him to attack the British in the North, at the time when he should occupy their attention by hostilities in the Peninsula. To render the projects of Tippoo abortive, his Lordship sent a respectable native, Mindi Alli Khan, to the Court of Ispahan, to open a communication with the present sovereign, who was at that time engaged in hostilities with Zemaun Shah. He was directed to urge the King to approach the frontiers of Korasan, as soon as his enemy should move towards the Indies; and, if he should find a favourable reception, Mindi Alli Khan was to announce the Governor General's intention of sending a public embassy to arrange a commercial treaty, and cement a close alliance between the two countries. The King of Persia was fully aware of the importance of the British alliance, and complied with the request made to him. Zemaun Shah, who had advanced as far as Lahore, immediately returned back, and his brother, taking advantage of his unpopularity, deposed him, and, with the barbarity so common in Asia, put out his eyes. India

having been thus relieved from immediate alarm, Major Malcolm was, in 1799, sent to the Court of Ispahan, where he completely conciliated the sovereign and his ministers, and induced them to refuse to receive a person deputed with the most conciliatory propositions from Bonaparté in Egypt. Commercial arrangements were also entered into, and every required security was granted to the British for more freely carrying on their trade.

The unfortunate fate of the Ambassador, who was sent to repay the compliment of Major Malcolm's mission, has been before observed; but there was no reason to suppose that it would have any effect in diminishing the friendship between Persia and India; since the Governor General immediately sent off an explanation of the transaction by a Mr. Loveit, who was directed to carry the letter to Persia. Unfortunately for the East India Company, he became alarmed at Busheir, and delivered the letter to Mr. Manesty, who immediately raised himself into an Ambassador, and departed for Ispahan, determined to rival Major Malcolm in importance. He had already drawn for a lac and forty thousand rupees, which would not pay half his expenses. Lord Wellesley, at first, ordered the bill to be refused payment, but on considering that it might effect our credit in Persia, he altered his intention, but directed that Mr. Manesty should be made responsible for the amount.

The King of Persia, engaged as he was in a difficult, and rather disastrous war with Russia, rejoiced to hear that another embassy had arrived from India, and hastened to meet it at Balk, where he received the Ambassador with the highest honours. It was immediately urged by the King, that we should afford him assist-

ance against his enemy; and he was not a little mortified to find that the affair of Hadjee Khaleb Khan's death, about which he was perfectly indifferent, was the only subject on which the new ambassador could speak. Had a simple messenger, like Mr. Loveit, carried the letter, this inconvenience would have been prevented, and the Company would have saved three lac of rupees, that is, if they should please to allow Mr. Manesty his expenses, a point which will be referred to them by Lord Wellesley.

With prudent management, I think a close connection might be cemented, between the two countries, as the trade between them would be beneficial to both; and the only difficulty, the impracticability of our assisting one ally against another, might be obviated by a friendly mediation at St. Petersburg. At present our respectability is not great in the Persian Gulf, where we have submitted to have our merchant vessels plundered, and our cruizers insulted, by the piratical states on its shores. Of these the most powerful are the Johesserm Arabs, whose coast extends from Cape Mussendom to Bahrein. Their chief ports are Rosselkeim, about forty leagues S. S. W. of the Cape, and Egmaum, about twenty-four miles further on. Through the systematic forbearance of the Bombay Government they have risen to a great maritime power, and possess at least thirty-five dows of different sizes, carrying from fifty to three hundred men each. They have few guns, but, being brave and fierce, chiefly attack by boarding, with their crooked daggers stabbing every one who resists. They have taken two large vessels belonging to Mr. Manesty, and had even the impudence to attack the Mornington frigate; but were beaten off. The Honourable Company's cruizers have positive orders to treat these pirates with

civility, never to attack them, but only to act on the defensive: the consequence is, that they only look at the stronger vessels, but take every one that has not the power of resistance.

Independently of the real loss, which the native merchants suffer from the value of the captured cargoes, this mean submission ought to be ended, from the conviction of the degradation we suffer in the eye of Persia, by permitting it. A dignified independence, a visible power of supporting the honour of our flag, of protecting our friends, and punishing our enemies, are necessary for the acquirement of the confidence of an Eastern sovereign. Persia herself neither is, nor can be, a great naval power. Were we to protect her coast from the depredations of these pirates, who even extend their devastations to the villages on the sea shore, she would be gratefully attached to us, and would be bound by the strong tie of interest to protect the northern frontier of our dominion, by being prepared to enter the territories of the Abdalli, should he leave them unguarded to attack us. To ascertain the real value of a close connection with Persia is impossible; but some idea may be entertained of it, by a reference to the splendour with which the barren island of Ormus shone forth under the Portuguese, when they monopolized the trade of the Gulf, and secured it from the attack of pirates by a marine, as pre-eminent in those days, as ours is now in every part of the globe, except in the Eastern seas.

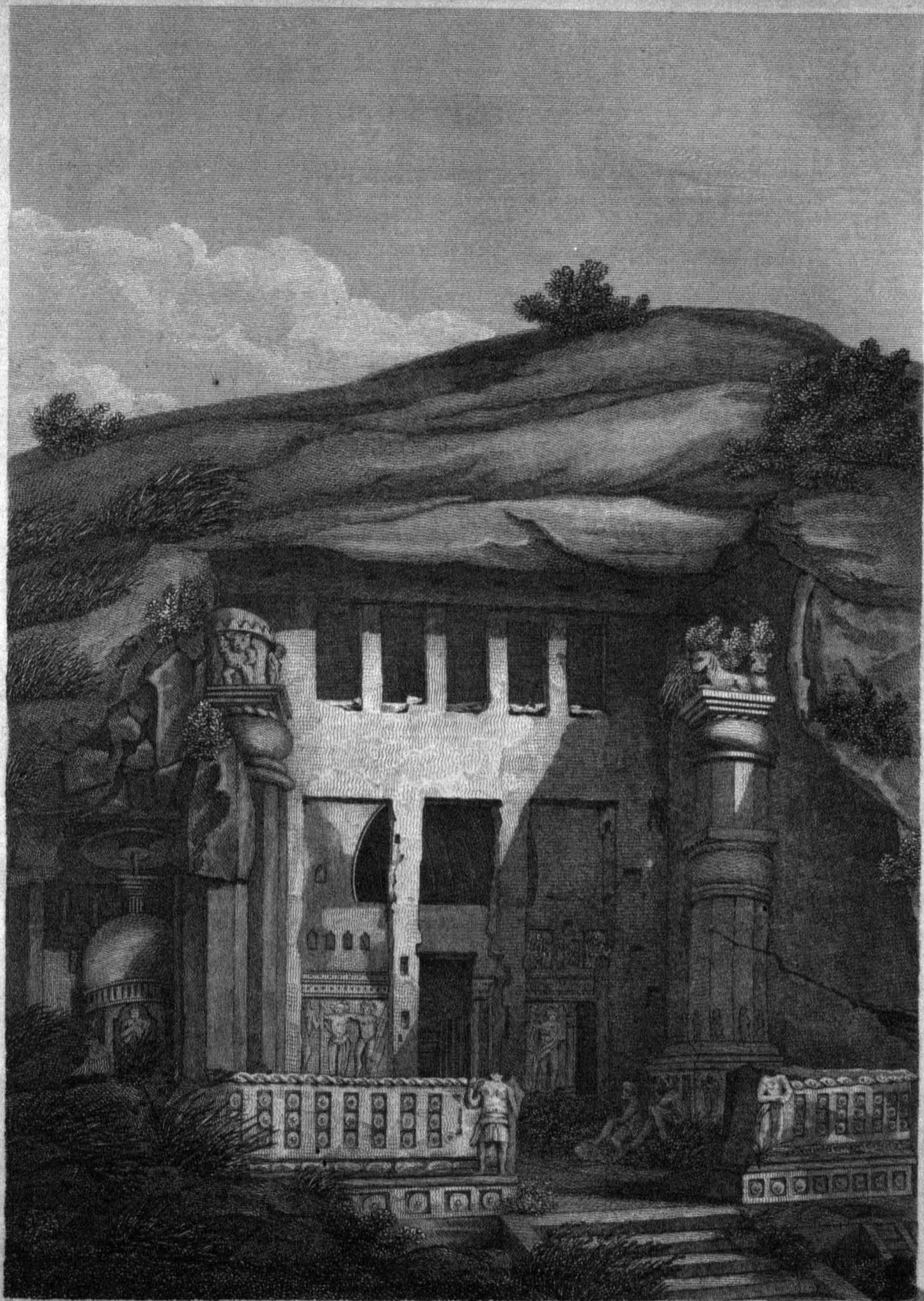
I had been so highly gratified by the pagoda at Carli, that I determined to visit others in the Island of Salsette, which, according to the accounts that I had received, were formed on a similar plan. Accordingly I set off early on the morning of the 22d of November, accompanied by Mr. Salt, and some of the Governor's family. We

breakfasted at a small village of Ambola, where we were received by the Portuguese Curé, and afterwards we turned out of our way to examine an extensive excavation, which Monsieur Anquetil du Perron has described in his introduction to the translation of the Zend Avesta, and has given a plan of it, under the name of Djegueseri. All the apartments were square, and the roof was flat, throughout; in the centre was a smaller building with a lingam; the whole was therefore probably dedicated to Mahadeo. Several groups of figures in basso relievo, adorned the walls. They were much decayed, and the whole had a very unpleasant appearance. The floor, being lower than the surrounding country, was extremely damp, and the light, admitted at the three entrances, was nothing better than darkness visible. They run north and south, passing through a small hill that, in parts, is covered with jungle. There was no appearance of attendant Brahmins, but the lingam had been newly ornamented.

We went on to dinner to Mont pesier, where our tents were pitched for us. Here are the ruins of a very handsome church and monastery, which, I understand, formerly belonged to the Jesuits: Monsieur Anquetil du Perron says, to the Franciscans; but I am inclined to consider my information as correct, from there being the remains of an observatory on a small hill in the neighbourhood, which was more probably the work of the intelligent followers of Ignatius Loyola, than of the lazy monks of St. Francis. The church was originally lined with pannel-work of wood, disposed in compartments, and richly ornamented with carving. In the centre of each was the head of a saint, tolerably executed, surrounded by wreaths of flowers, and other fanciful sculpture, in a very excellent

taste. The whole is in ruins, the roof having fallen in. The author, whom I have before mentioned, attributes this to the devastations of the Mahrattas, who, he says, carried away the wood work to Tannah; but this appears improbable. Timber is not scarce; and if they had carried away the more solid work, they would hardly have left behind them the parts that were richly ornamented. Under the church a small pagoda has been formed out of the rock; it is square, and flat roofed, with a few deities, and other figures, in basso-relievo. These the good priests had covered up with a smooth coat of plaister, and had converted the whole into a chapel. At present the original proprietors have been uncovered, and have again become objects of adoration to the ignorant native.

Early on the morning of the 23d we departed for the Caves of Kenneri, which are the most important in the island, and are formed out of a high knoll, in the middle of the range of hills which divides the island nearly into two equal parts. I soon found that, limited as I was for time, it would be impossible to investigate the whole of the caves, I therefore gave my chief attention to the great cavern, which resembles the one at Carli, in being oblong, and having a coved roof, though it is inferior to it in size, in elegance of design, and in beauty of execution. It has the same singular building at the upper end, and the vestibule is equally adorned with figures. Its peculiar ornaments are two gigantic figures of Boodh, nearly twenty feet high, each filling one side of the vestibule. They are exactly alike, and are in perfect preservation, in consequence of their having been christened and painted red by the Portuguese, who left them as an appendage to a Christian church, for such this temple of Boodh became under their transforming hands. I have



H. Salto del.

FRONT VIEW OF THE CAVE OF KENNERI.

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MADRAS

given a view of the front of the temple, and an etching of the gigantic figure of the presiding deity, whose image, in all the usual attitudes, embellishes several other parts of the vestibule; and one in particular is ornamented with the conical cap worn by the Chinese Fo. The entrance, on which there are several inscriptions in the unknown character, faces the west. It is worthy observation, that these two circumstances, and the coved roof, seem to be peculiar to the temples dedicated to Boodh; at least it is so in the two I have seen, and in the one at Ellora described by Sir Charles Mallet in the *Asiatic Researches*. In one of the large square caves which adjoin that above described, are many figures, and one that is very remarkable, as it shows Vishnou himself in the act of fanning Boodh with the chouric: a superior deity may, however, be supposed to reside in the circular temples, for within them is no image, unless the circular building called by the natives the Dhagope, can be considered as a prodigious lingam. I ought to add, that in the cave of Ellora there does appear a statue annexed to the Dhagope, which, from the manner of holding the finger of one hand between the finger and thumb of the other, is probably designed for Boodh.

The innumerable caves, which have been formed in every part of the hill, are square, and flat roofed. I cannot but consider them as meant for the habitations of the attendant Brahmins. A very curious tradition is mentioned by Monsieur Anquetil du Perron, as having been recorded by a Jesuit in a history of the West Indies, printed in Portugal; it is, that the whole of these caves were the work of a Gentoo king; some thousand years ago, to secure his only son from the attempts of another nation to gain him over to their religion. This must probably refer to some disputes between the

Brahmins and the Boodhists, and might, if it could be traced, throw some light on the relative antiquity of the two religions. The most perplexing circumstance, that the character used by the latter is now no longer understood, while that of the former is in constant use, makes it difficult to believe that the Brahmins are justified in their claim to superior antiquity. It is a subject, however, on which I cannot presume to give an opinion.

It is not only the numerous caves, that give an idea of what the population of this barren rock must once have been, but the tanks, the terraces, and the flights of steps which lead from one part to another; yet now not a human footstep is to be heard, except when the curiosity of a traveller leads him to pay a hasty visit to the ruined habitation of those, whose very name has passed away, and whose cultivated fields are become an almost impassable jungle, the haunt of tigers, and the seat of pestilence and desolation. After copying the inscriptions and taking views of the most interesting objects, we with difficulty made our way through the jungle to an open space, on the verge of the cultivated tracts, where our tents were pitched out of the way of fever and tigers.

We reached Tannah, the capital of the Island of Salsette, to breakfast, and were hospitably received by Mr. Spencer the Resident. A small fort commands the passage between the island and the Mahratta country, but is otherwise of little use. Confined as the settlement of Bombay formerly was, the acquisition of Salsette was an incalculable advantage, from the certainty which is afforded of a constant supply of fresh provision for the town and fleet. Little however has hitherto been done to increase its produce, and the greater part remains an useless jungle, instead of being converted

into fields of rice, and plantations of sugar ; even wood itself is only procured at a very high price, chiefly for want of arrangement. If no better use is to be made of the island, it might certainly supply this article at half the price that is now paid for it. Dr. Scott has set a good example of enterprise, by establishing a very valuable sugar plantation. On the 25th we returned to Bombay in the Government boat.

I was afterwards tempted by the verdant appearance of the Island of Elephanta, which rears its woody head nearly in the centre of the bay, as much as by the report of its celebrated cave, to pay it a visit. The accurate Niebuhr has given so good an account of it, that a description is unnecessary. I have only to observe, that I do not think either his drawing, or the etching in the Asiatic Researches, have given the character of the triune deity. Brahmah's countenance admirably expresses the undisturbed composure of the creator of the world ; Vishnou's, on the left, has every feature of benevolence, while the lotus which he holds in his hand seems to be expanding under the genial ray of his eye. Seva's, on the contrary, has a ghastly and dire scowl, that well accords with the objects that he holds before him, two of the most venomous of serpents, the covra copel. I was much surprised at the ingenuity of the conception, and the merit of the execution, of these figures. How superior must they have appeared when in a state of perfection !

It was pleasing to me to find, that the great cave of Elephanta, which opens to the north, and has a flat roof, had no inscription in the unknown character, nor any figure of Boodh. Of the numerous deities of the Hindoo mythology, many have been honoured with a place ; but the most curious figure, and which has been

noted by every traveller, is that of a female amazon, which, from having four arms, most probably represents some super-human personage. Did the romance of the Amazons reach Greece from India, or were there ever such personages in the Eastern world are interesting questions, but at present incapable of solution. There is no appearance of any great violence having been used to injure the figures. Had cannon been employed by the Portuguese for that purpose, the marks of the balls would have been visible, and the destruction would have been among the figures. As it is, the pillars are more rapidly decaying than any other part. The water is permitted during the rains to lodge in the cave, and the stone, being a soft one, moulders perceptibly away in the vicinity of the open air. The scene, from the little level space in front, is extremely beautiful, and a cool breeze tempers the heat in the most sultry day of summer. The beauty of the place has however been considerably diminished by a wall, which has been erected across the front, to prevent cattle from getting in, and, as I hear, to prevent curious visitors also from treacherously carrying off the legs, heads, and arms of these helpless deities.