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JOURNAL

OF

A TOUR IN UPPER INDIA;

PERFORMED DURING THE YEARS 1838-39,

WITH THE CAMP OF THE

RIGHT HON'BLE

THE EARL OF AUCKLAND, G.C.B.,

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

BY

C. J. FRENCH.

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WITH THE KIND PERMISSION

OF

HIS EXCELLENCY;

THE FOLLOWING PAGES ARE

RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

TO

THE RIGHT HONORABLE

LORD NORTHBROOK, G.M.S.I.,

VICEROY

AND

GOVERNOR GENERAL OF INDIA.

PREFACE.

SOMETIME about the year 1836 A. D. while the late Sir Charles Theophilus Metcalfe was Governor of the North Western Provinces of Hindoostan, he became—by the retirement of Lord William Bentinck from office and as Senior Member of Council,—Provisional Governor General of India, pending the appointment of a successor.

In this position, though of transient duration, Sir Charles availed himself of the opportunity, to carry out a long cherished, enlightened and liberal public measure. He accordingly emancipated the Press of India from the thraldom of censorship to which it was up to that time subject, and by one stroke of his powerful pen, severed the shackles with which the freedom of the Press had hitherto been fettered.

Sir John Kaye rightly remarks in his life of that eminent Statesman, that: " the interregnum of the Indian Civilian had been rendered famous by an act which has, perhaps, been more discussed and with greater variance of opinion, than any single measure of any Governor General of India. He liberated the Indian Press. He desired that the free expression of thought, should be the right of all classes of the community."

Metcalfe's own words and sentiments on the subject, are still more striking and remarkable. Among other things in support of the step he had taken, he said that, " he looked 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."

It would appear however, that the Court of Directors of the East India Company " had not such sympathy with these high flown notions !" His enlightened policy was viewed with disfavour, and Metcalfe " soon heard from England that he had lost the confidence of the Company," and with it the chance of being appointed Governor General of India, for which the Court, during the " interregnum," had been con-

tending with the Ministry. Lord Auckland was ultimately nominated to succeed Lord Bentinck, and Sir Charles Metcalfe may therefore be said to have sacrificed place, position and power, for the benefit of the people of India.

In a letter addressed from Agra, whither Sir Charles had meanwhile returned to the Governorship of the North-Western Provinces, " he requested that if he had really lost the confidence of the Court, his provisional appointment of Governor General might be withdrawn, and that he might resign his office and retire from the service of the Company. The answer to this was outwardly cold and formal. It expressed the regret of the Court that Sir Charles Metcalfe should have thought it necessary to make such a communication and added that the continuance in him personally of the highest office, which the Court had it in its power to confer, ought to have satisfied him that their confidence had not been withdrawn."*

Metcalfe as a high-minded and far-seeing statesman, was not likely to be conciliated by the frigid tone of so formal an answer and one so devoid of all cordiality. He could not be reconciled to continue in the false position in which he was placed, and he accordingly tendered his resignation without any further remonstrance or hesitation on his part and prepared at once to leave India for England.

Valedictory addresses reached him from many quarters, and two of them were presented on the spot by the Civil community of Agra, Covenanted and Uncovenanted ; the writer of these pages having been a member of the Committee elected to draw out the address from the latter body and to form one of a deputation to present it in person to Sir Charles.

Metcalfe shortly after left Agra, regretted by all classes of the European and Native community. On the day of his leaving, hundreds flocked to his residence and to the road sides, to witness his departure ; while troops lined the streets to pay him the honors due to his rank and station. Many followed him to the banks of the river Jumna, to bid him a final farewell, and to see him embark on the " Flat" towed by a Steamer, that had come up the stream to take him down to Calcutta.

* " Our Indian Heroes" by Sir John Kaye.

"No man ever left India," Kaye subsequently observed, "carrying with him so many lively regrets and so many cordial good wishes from all classes of the community. The Presidency was unwontedly enlivened by Metcalfe-balls and Metcalfe-dinners, and addresses continually pouring in and deputations, both from English and Native Societies."

Almost simultaneously with Sir Charles' return to England, the Earl of Auckland had arrived in India and taken the oaths of office as Governor General. Not long after, he left Calcutta and assumed the reins of government of the North Western Provinces, in anticipation of eventually appointing a successor to Metcalfe.

His Lordship was then on a tour of Upper India, when some Assistants were summoned from Agra to join his camp at Delhi. As one of those selected to proceed up, I was but too glad of the opportunity thus afforded of visiting many parts of the country quite new to me, of witnessing many interesting scenes and novel sights and of entering into the excitement of a camp life, besides deriving the advantage of a two seasons' sojourn in that pleasant Sanitarium, Simla in the Himalayas, so attractive and agreeable owing to its amenity.

It is true, that the tracts of territory subsequently traversed by me in common with others connected with the camp, had been previously described by more competent travellers; yet, the incidents associated with a Viceregal tour, had never before, that I am aware of, been chronicled in the form of a Journal. In preserving the occurrences of each day and the chain of events throughout the tour, I take no credit to myself. It was a pleasure and a pastime. My only regret was, that by the nature of my official duties, I was tied down to the work of the desk during the greatest part of a short winter's day, which necessarily circumscribed my opportunities of observation within narrow limits, notwithstanding my efforts to the contrary.

To rise by dawn; to ride from ten to twenty miles of a morning from one stage to the other; to prepare for the day's routine of work after a hurried breakfast; left me little leisure to devote (generally speaking) more than a cursory glance at passing objects or surrounding scenes. Then, to commit my observations to paper by candlelight, after the

fatigues and interruptions of the day, rendered me more or less dependent on memory for most of my lucubrations.

Under these disadvantageous circumstances, every indulgence will, it is to be hoped, be extended by the kind and indulgent reader, for any inaccuracies or discrepancies that might have inadvertently crept into the following pages, and for that tautology which was unavoidable, in a description of a repetition of scenes and similarity of events, that were of frequent, if not of daily, occurrence.

SIMLA.

1*st November* 1872.

INTRODUCTION.

SOME seventeen years after the following pages were scribbled off under canvas, both for my own amusement and that of my companions in camp; I was induced to commit them to the Press, although they were not originally intended for publication.

Scarcely had they been out of type and a few copies disposed of, when I was transferred to Lucknow in my official capacity. My small library, with the remaining copies of this brochure, were left with the rest of my property in a house I occupied prior to my departure, in the suburbs of Agra.

Five weeks after my arrival at Lucknow, the memorable Indian mutiny broke out; I was "locked up" as one of the beleaguered garrison of the "Baillie-guard," and my property at Agra, in common with that of hundreds of others, was consigned to the flames, or otherwise destroyed by the rebels.

Just before that catastrophe and in anticipation of the eventful crisis, all the Christian residents of the place, male and female, young and old, hastened for shelter, to that haven of safety, the Fort of Agra. My family did the same, and in hurrying out of their suburban abode, put away a few small bundles of clothing, &c. in their conveyance. A copy of my Journal was by the merest accident rescued at the moment; a circumstance that enables me at this remote period, to reproduce it with some emendations and additions; which I was precluded from doing earlier, owing to the many disadvantages and discouragements that attended my after-career in life.

In this amended and modified form, I venture to place these unpretending pages before the public, confiding in the hope, that though an old book and somewhat out of date, its contents however crude in their nature, may not prove altogether stale and unpalatable to the generous and general reader, in whiling away a dull hour.

To anticipate any thing like criticism, would be attaching to these pages a degree of importance they neither deserve or aspire to. Under no apprehension therefore, of my readers

proving either critical or hyper-critical, it would be superfluous for me to say with the poetaster:

> Critics sharp, with brow severe,
> This small volume come not near;
> Authors grave, and learn'd, and wise,
> Never this way turn your eyes."

SIMLA,
1*st November* 1872.

ERRATA.

Contents.—Chapter I.—*For*, " Delhi to Agra", *read*, AGRA TO DELHI.

Page 13, para, 2, line 7. *For*, " ciceronis", *read*, cicerones.

„ 14, foot-note. *For*, " have *never* become", *read*, have *now* become,

„ 24, para, 4, line 6. *For*, " Soneput any", *read*, Soneput and

„ 24, „ 4, „ 7. add *y* to anxiet-

„ 75, „ 2, last line. *For*, " sattelites", *read*, satellites.

„ 76, last line. *For*, "Asuf Jan", *read*, Asuf Khan.

„ 77, first line. *For*, " octagon", *read*, octagonal.

„ 99, para, 2, line 6. *For*, " accidental", read occidental.

„ 99, foot-note. *Omit* "*and*", and *read*, *that* monarch. for, " the monarch."

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CHAPTER I.

AGRA TO DELHI.

Departure from Agra.—Journey to, and town of, Muttra—Mahomedan Musjid.—Bindrabun and its Ghats—Ancient temples—Ras Mundel—Nidbun—Jauts and their agricultural pursuits—Their altered condition—Mode of Irrigation.—Hodul—Approach to Delhi.—Ruins of Indraput—Glimpses of Shahjehanabad.

PREPARATIONS for our trip having been completed as expeditiously as circumstances would allow, we despatched our baggage and camp equipage on camels and carts, a day previous to our departure from Agra. On the 12th February 1838, we commenced our journey and proceeded to a place called Pingree, lying midway between Agra and Muttra. At Pingree we found our tents pitched and every thing pre-arranged by our servants, for our comfort and convenience.

On the 13th Idem, we resumed our journey to Muttra itself and encamped near the Horse Artillery Barracks where we passed a quiet day in that clean and comfortable Military Cantonment. The town itself is somewhat extensive, with narrow lanes branching off from the main street, which is broad and kept with a tolerable degree of cleanliness. Many of the houses are well and substantially built with flat roofs, those facing the streets having balconies.

Among these buildings, there is one of some antiquity which from its size and the circumstance of its being in a Hindoo place of pilgrimage, looked somewhat singular. It therefore attracts the attention of the traveller as he passes along the main street. It is a Mahomedan Musjid, and according to Hamilton's Gazetteer, was erected from the wreck of the magnificent temple of Bheer Singh Deo, which is estimated to have cost thirty-six lacs of rupees. The Musjid stands on a square platform of masonry, raised several feet above the surface of the ground, and has four minarets at the four angles commanding a wide and extensive view of the town and the surrounding country. Local tradition attaches some incredible reasons for its being here, which can hardly be relied upon, although in some rare instances such traditions are not altogether untrustworthy, notwithstanding that they may be exag-

gerated or distorted, a result that must be expected where there are no written records but simply statements handed down orally from father to son.

Muttra is revered for the same reasons as its sister town Bindrabun, and the two places are only six miles apart. An avenue of trees throws an agreeable shade over a broad and spacious road, which connects the two places together, and the Hindoos in alluding to the locality that embraces both within so short a distance of one another, indiscriminately call the two, "Muttra-Bindra," owing to their proximity as places of pilgrimage.

In the afternoon, a couple of friends and myself rode into the town of Bindrabun, taking for our guide, a Brahmin who called himself Hurbux. He conducted us first to a building on the banks of the Jumna, erected by Himmut Bahadur, a Gosaen of Ruzdan. It is a specimen of tolerable neatness, composed of niches and lattice-work enclosing a small square piece of ground, laid out in a garden, intersected by narrow but raised walks of stone, and studded with *jets d'eau*. We went next to two other buildings of a similar style of architecture, though apparently differing in design. These, our guide told me, were built at the expense of two Ranees of Bhurtpore, Gungeea and Luchmee. To each of these three buildings, is attached a Ghaut facing the river and reaching the surface of the water by flights of steps. They answer for purposes of ablution, while the idols, preserved in neat niches in the exterior of the structures, are at hand to be resorted to for devotion. We then went to view the temple, said to have been dedicated to Gobindjee by Rajah Man Singh of Jeypore, and which is reputed to be more than 300 years old. This is not only an ancient but a singular structure of red stone and is a profuse mass of niches, balconies and mythological devices and designs, which hardly admit of description, particularly when the elaborate nature of the objects to be noticed meets with little more than the glance of a casual spectator, such as I was at the time, with the "shades of evening closing over us." It was dismantled of its superstructure when Aurungzebe took the place, but it looks so exceedingly substantial that to have razed it to the ground, would have proved a work of great labor and expense, so much so that even a Mahomedan monarch, however fanatical and bigotted, would have shrunk from its total destruction, as had evidently been the case in the present instance. Desecrated in the eyes of Hindoos, the dismantled temple now boasts of little or no sanctity. Since the period that this outrage was committed on the feelings and prejudices of the Hindoos by a haughty invader, another temple, for a similar purpose and similarly dedicated, has sprung up. But it is a small plain building, withal clean and neat, an oblong and enclosed area

facing an arched hall. We saw it lighted up with several glass globes and one or two chandeliers. Opposite the idols, the priests attached to the shrine, chaunted out in a sonorous tone, portions of the Shasters and Vedas, accompanied by the gong and castanet. Their vehemence was great on the occasion, accompanied as it was with a deafening din. The Brahmins and other Hindoos, far from being displeased at our visit, or betraying symptoms of scrupulousness,—as they were wont to do in houses set aside for worship at other celebrated places of pilgrimage,—made way and seemingly invited us to advance and observe every thing more minutely. The presence of our Brahmin guide might possibly have exercised some influence.

Near Himmut Bahadur's ancient temple, is situated the Ras Mundel, a small shrine erected on a raised round platform of masonry. In and about it, a group of men, women and children travelling by, had stopped to go through a passing form of prayer. Some of the juniors of the milder sex, displayed their buoyancy of spirit, by singing and dancing, their chequered and colored garments floating gracefully in the air—

"And here in rural holidays,
The village girls shall sing,
The simple rhymes of olden times,
While dancing in a ring."

At Bindrabun as at Muttra, the monkeys, besides being held sacred by the Hindoos, have a stipend allotted to them by their indulgent patron Madhajee Sindia; and Nidbun is a spot at Bindrabun, where these creatures congregate in large numbers, to recieve their daily allowance of food. Independent of this endowment, the Brahmins contribute largely towards the support of these animals and persuade visitors to go to the expense of a rupee or two in the purchase of sweetmeats, that they may witness a scramble amongst them. My guide, however, could not prevail on me and my companions to do this as we had not time for the ludicrous sight. Birds of all kinds remain unmolested and even the fishes in the Jumna meet with consideration from the Brahmins, who, whenever they can, throw food to them. It thus happens that the "tenants of the deep" are frequently seen floating on the surface of the stream near the banks, to catch at any thing that may fall to their lot. There are some turtles too which do the same, and one of them is reputed to be very old and very much larger than the others that are seen hereabouts. Bulls, fed and fattened on Hindoo charity, may likewise be seen sauntering about the streets with all imaginable independence, making themselves at home at every stall, thrusting in their muzzles and eating the grain that is exposed for sale. In times past, the least molestation

shown to these animals under Hindoo protection, would have been seriously resented, and cases of an aggravated nature would have led to the severest persecution. We should wonder less at the religious prejudices and superstitious scrupulousness of the Brahmins, if we reflect on the rigorous measures prescribed by the Egyptian laws against the destruction of such objects as they venerated, particularly as some, if not all, of those laws were enacted in the most enlightened age of Egyptian supremacy. In Hamilton's Gazetteer, an instance is related of two young Cavalry Officers who, in the year 1808 A.D. inadvertently shot at some monkeys, when they "were immediately attacked by the priests and devotees and compelled to attempt to cross the Jumna on their elephant, in which endeavour they both perished."

Bindrabun or Vindrawand, signifying a grove of "*Toolsee*" trees, is a town situated on the right bank of the river Jumna, from which, when one is cruising about in a boat, a most picturesque view may be obtained of it, presenting a panorama of great beauty. Its clean and neat structures seem to shoot up from a silvery surface, such as is presented by the Jumna here when its placid waters are at all undisturbed. The Ghauts,* unlike those at Benares, broken and detached, are built in an almost uninterrupted line, and, combined with the general appearance of the place, form quite an architectural *bijou*, or to use an Oriental metaphor, look like gems spread on the river's bank.

The circumstance which imparts mostly to the sanctity of Bindrabun, is its having been the seat of the early revels of Krishna, the Apollo of the Hindoos; Muttra having been his birth-place. Occasionally, while an Eastern Anacreon of the Brahminical faith, dedicates metrical lays to this youth deified in Heathen mythology; minstrels and maids alike join in vocal strains in praise of his memory and of his early exploits.

Bindrabun, as well as Muttra, are, among other things, noted for the manufacture of pretty toys made of soapstone. The venders, to enhance their value, declare that they are made at, and brought from, Jeypore, where articles of this description, and marble toys especially, receive a fine finish.

From the 14th to the 19th February, we travelled six stages on our road to Delhi, and encamped at Jeyt, Chatah, Hodul, Bominy-khera, Sicri and Furidabad. Jeyt was situated in a dreary and desolate looking part of the country, and amidst the solitude

* There are twelve principal ones, known by the names of Kaleeadé Ghaut, Gopal Ghaut, Pusgundun Ghaut, Sooruj Ghaut, Joogul Ghaut, Béar Ghaut, Imla Ghaut, Singar Ghaut, Gobind Ghaut, Cheer Ghaut, Bhownra Ghaut, Késee Ghaut.

that prevailed, the rural song of the rustic at the well, watering his few and scanty fields, was all that fell on the ear. At Chatah, there was a square Serai built of stone on a slight elevation, a sinuosity of the ground. The verdure of the green and luxuriant fields in the immediate neighbourhood of our encampment, formed an agreeable contrast to the dreary waste encircling Jeyt. The mode of irrigating their lands, is carried on in a primitive fashion by the natives, who are so wedded to the old style of doing every thing, that they object to innovations, even if these are manifest improvements on their pristine habits. Notwithstanding that education is being gradually diffused among the generality of the higher classes of the native community, it will be long before the mass of the people, particularly the peasantry, are induced to use the more refined appliances of art and science, to facilitate either the culture of their fields or to promote other occupations connected with their various pursuits and professions. The Jauts, who form the bulk of the population at Chatah, are a robust and industrious race. It was pleasing to see the same arm that could wield the sword and shield with such firmness and dexterity,—as they did in the defence of the citadel at Bhurtpore, their native town,—turned with equal steadiness and energy in using the plough and ploughshare, in their present peaceful occupation of tilling the soil and promoting agriculture.

The remainder of the villages at which we encamped had nothing remarkable in their appearance ; but at a small temple at Hodul, dedicated to one of the deities in Hindoo mythology, built under some large shady trees and surrounded by an old brick wall, I was amused at a singular association of parrots, squirrels and doves. The birds alighted from the branches on which they were perched, while the squirrels ran out of their nooks and corners and down the walls, to participate without fear of one another or of their hospitable hosts, the grain thrown down for them by the devotees at this small shrine. Although a simple and trifling circumstance, yet they recalled to my mind those apposite lines which made a deep impression on my memory from the days of my boyhood :

> " Some haunt the rushy moor, the lonely woods ;
> Some bathe their silver plumage in the floods ;
> Some fly to man his shelter to implore,
> And gather round his hospitable door ;
> Wait the known call and find protection there,
> From all the lesser tyrants of the air."

On the 20th February, we intended to have gone to Delhi and thence to the Governor General's camp on the opposite side of the town. The distance, however, was twenty-eight miles, which, with bad roads and slow-going carts in our train, was

too much for the cattle, although it was otherwise feasible enough. We, therefore, divided the trip into two stages and halted near "Kishen-das-ka-talao," by which name a small village is known, situated near an old tank or cistern. Hence we caught occasional glimpses of the *Kootub Minar*, the *Jama Musjid* minarets and *Humayoon's* tomb. The ruins of Indraput, the ancient city of Delhi, now intervene between a few miles of this and Shahjehanabad the new town. We took a ramble in the afternoon, and on our way back, returned by a different track to shorten the distance. We thus passed by a temple in a secluded and retired spot, where a number of Hindoos had already congregated for their evening devotions. Curiosity led us to seek admission for the purpose of observing its internal economy, but it was said that the little deity who presided over the destinies of this isolated shrine, was undergoing his ablutions and could not be seen in consequence !

On the 21st February, I rose early in the morning, to enter Shahjehanabad or the new town of Delhi. Proceeding a short distance, I passed by the extensive ruins of Indraput, or old Delhi, lying on both sides of the road. These crumbling masses formed but doleful vestiges of its former grandeur, and contrasted strongly with the red granite with which the neat and substantial wall and gateways of the new city are built. We joined the Governor General's camp formed in front of the Cashmere gate, and as we remained here three days, it enables me to devote a distinct chapter to a brief description of Delhi and its ancient edifices.

CHAPTER II.

DELHI AND ITS ENVIRONS.

The town of Delhi and its Gateways.—The Jama Musjid.—Nizam-ood-deen Aoleea.—Chownsut Sutoon.—Humayoon's Tomb.—Sufdur Jung's Mausoleum.—King's Palace.—The Kootub Minar.—Murrowlee.—Toghluckabad.—Kalee Musjid.—Bazars.—Chandnee Chowk.—Manufactures.—St. James' Church.—Murder of Mr. W. Fraser. —His monument. —Nuwab Shums-ood-deen's trial.—His conviction and execution.

THE wall of red granite which encircles the city of Shahjehanabad, is about six miles in circumference and some feet in thickness. Battlements surround it all around, having loopholes adapted for the use of musketry, as well as towers at equal distances with embrasures suited to receive and fire ordnance of a good size. There are seven gateways built of solid masonry and stone, with substantial gates constructed of the strongest wood that it was possible to procure for the purpose, secured with stout brass knobs and iron nails. They are so situated as to take the traveller to roads leading to a few large towns and provinces in India. From these some of them derive their designations and are called accordingly, as will be seen by the subjoined note.* Draw-bridges were once attached to each, thrown over a tolerably broad ditch that encompasses three sides of the town, the fourth facing the river, being open. A great part of this enclosure is occupied by the premises and buildings of the King's palace and its several appurtenances of halls of audience, gardens, &c.

The town of Delhi is certainly one of the best that I have seen. The neatness of its main streets and their cleanliness, the good looking houses flanking either side, surpass all that the cities of Hyderabad in the Dekhan, Agra, Lahore and Umritsur can boast of. Its area is in some parts, thickly covered with clusters of houses, from which shoot up in several spots, the minarets of the various mosques that are scattered amongst them. The position that I occupied on one of the two majestic minarets of the Jama Musjid, enabled me to view these and a hundred other contours of streets and buildings that alternately attracted and arrested my attention for a considerable time.† The eye has here

* Such as the Caubul, Cashmere, Lahore, Ajmere, Delhi, Mohur and Turkoman.

† Subsequent to the mutiny and after the siege and re-capture of Delhi from the rebels and mutineers, the aspect of this city has been materially

an opportunity of dwelling on a vast variety of objects, which to a stranger have their peculiar attractions.

The Jama Musjid is the principal mosque at this place and according to Hamilton's Gazetteer, cost ten* lakhs of rupees and took six years in its construction. It was begun and completed in the reign of Shah Jehan, and is an edifice worthy of his reputation as the founder of this city. Three of the highest, the broadest and finest flights of steps in Delhi, made of stone, lead to the front and side entrances, whence the spectator comes to a large quadrangle. In the centre of this is a cistern which is intended for the performance of the *Woozoo*, or ablutions before prayer. While the three sides open inwardly with a corridor and cloisters, the west of the square platform is the cathedral itself, rising in three large domes and two of the most stately minarets within the town of Delhi. Its space admits of a vast congregation, and on the anniversary of a saint of any celebrity or on any other particular occasion, it is crowded with the Islamists of the place, who always seem very strict in their devotions and thus set a good example, as far at least as regards the outward forms of religion, to many who profess a purer faith. There is something interesting in the prayer of a Mahomedan which cannot fail to strike the observer. The repeated genuflexions and prostrations, whether accompanied with true sincerity or not, form an impressive sight. The veneration they imply can hardly be surpassed in external formula. Even the deep and sonorous tone of the *Moowuzin* has an effect of pious influence, peculiar to the sacred summons of this sect.

Nizam-ood-deen Aoleea, by which designation the place is commonly known, is the spot where visitors go to witness some excellent feats performed by a number of swimmers, who jump into a large reservoir from a dome about fifty feet above the surface of the water. On my approaching the spot, accompanied by a friend, I saw some of these men with their loins girt, ready to cast themselves into the limpid element below. I turned to two who were perched the highest, one a well set sturdy athletic person with a fine physiognomy, and on my implying a wish to see them leap, both of them ran down the curve of the dome and sprang off. There they were for a moment "high poised in air," till reaching the water with a great splash, they dived deep and were lost to sight for a few minutes, nor did they rise again before the rippling of the water had time to resume its former placidity from

altered by the demolitions it has undergone, to say nothing of the changes effected by the introduction of the railroad and the construction of the railway stations.

* This estimate of its cost seems to me to be far below the amount, judging from the bulk and solidity of the structure.

the agitation it had undergone. This feat was repeated four or five times, till a spare looking *Syud* invited my attention to something he was about to accomplish. Although the position this man occupied was about twenty feet lower than the dome, yet it was one of greater danger and difficulty, from the circumstance of his having been a few feet behind a perpendicular parapet of about four or five feet in height and over which he had to leap to arrive at the surface of the water, while this itself was still several feet below. The *Syud*, standing between two small cupolas on whose brazen spires he rested his hands, and in a measure assisted by them in propelling himself forward, took a spring after his usual ejaculation of "*Ya Allee*" and accomplished his task: He deserved greater credit than the others (who only leaped from a height) and therefore claimed a larger reward, which he received for his trouble and the risk he ran. He did not, however, venture to repeat the feat and alleged as his plea, his growing infirmities, for he seemed to be advancing in years and was slender and weak. Poor as he was and wretched in mien, he was respected by those with whom he coped in this act of agility, and so far from being envied, his merits were extolled by the rest, who acknowledged themselves as his disciples and him as their "*Oostad*" or preceptor.

The tombs of Nizam-ood-deen Aoleea and his family are few and neat, but neither grand nor lofty. The marble lattice-work is chaste and the tomb-stone over the remains of the principal person and his immediate relatives, is somewhat gorgeously covered and closed in with curtains of silk and broad-cloth.

The *Chownsut Khûmbeh* or *Chownsut Sûtoon*, as it is commonly called, is quite close to Nizam-ood-deen Aoleea and is a singular structure. As the name implies, it is composed of *sixty-four pillars*, but placed in sixteen equi-distant groups of four each, as far as I remember. They are of white marble, supporting a flat roof of the same material, which occupies a tolerably wide area. It is a building of some purity, its pale aspect of white throughout being blended with no other color. The fret-work that surrounds it is of very delicate execution and well polished. This building seems to be erected to the memory, if not actually over the remains, of a celebrated poet and historian, Ameer Khoosroo, a native of Sumurkund and a prince. He was a contemporary and friend of Sheik Nizam-ood-deen Aoleea, and not far from whose tomb, as I have said, this building is raised.

A mile or two hence is the ancient yet well preserved *Mookurbah* or tomb of Hoomayoon, a bulky looking and unattractive structure, not unlike the tombs of Golconda, similar to them in its style of architecture and much of the same age. It is upwards of 300 years

old, and all that seems to wear features of decay, is the external coating of cement. An almost direct road from this tomb, leads to a mausoleum of some celebrity, that of (Nawab Munsoor Allee Khan) Sufdur Jung, one of the Omrahs of Delhi. Before the accession of the British, he and his ancestors, it is said, held the Soobahdaree of Oude. This native nobleman's remains were either interred here or the edifice answers the purpose of a cenotaph. It is a substantial work of red stone so common in many of the buildings at Delhi. It is in many parts relieved with white marble, is surmounted by a large white marble dome, forms a structure of some magnitude and is said to be about 150 years old. The tomb-stone on the upper floor and on a line with the sarcophagus, is a chaste piece of sculpture, of white marble, and the sculptured leaves which surround its base, form an excellent and neat specimen of carving. The mausoleum is situated in the centre of a large area of enclosed ground forming a fine garden and occupies an isolated position on the main road which connects Delhi with the Kootub.

The King's palace and its appurtenances are at one end of the city, near the river side, contiguous to the ancient and dilapidated fortress of Suleemgurh. These premises are enclosed by a high wall of stone and surrounded by a ditch, with two entrances to the north and south over draw-bridges, which lead through high and substantial gateways.* The northern entrance by which I gained admission into the interior of the place, brought me into an open square not unlike a large caravansary, whence, on going to the left, I entered an almost similar square, in front of which stands the *Dewan-ê-Aam* or hall of ordinary public audience. This is an oblong place fenced in with stout wooden railings, and pillars supporting a plain roof. An elevated platform faces the interior of this enclosure and was designed, in times gone by, for the King's throne on occasion of his giving audience to the people. This large recess is the chief point of attraction in the Dewané Aam, as its walls are imbedded with variegated pieces of marble in the shape of birds, which display very superior execution, one in particular being a perfect *chef d'œuvre*. The exactness with which these birds are finished in the mosaic ornamental style, in this recess for a throne, are excellent proofs of taste in sculpture. The remainder of this hall is a dirty looking place,

* The mutiny has led to a material alteration in the features of the palace. After the prolonged and perilous siege and the re-capture of the town, as well as the transportation of the ex-king to Rangoon owing to the conspicuous part he played during the rebellion, Barracks have been built within the precincts of the palace and its premises. This was deemed a salutary and essential measure, to admit of the fortress being garrisoned by British troops, for the better protection of the town and suburbs. The railway trains also now run on a level with the ramparts, affording a fine view to the passengers.

the pavement in bad order and every thing else indicative of the absence of that grandeur which once reigned supreme here.

Hence I went to see the *Dewan-é-Khas* or hall of private audience, which is larger than (and in some respects resembles,) the Dewané Khas of Agra. In about the centre, is the peacock throne, so called from its being surmounted with one large and four or six small effigies of peacocks. It resembles a square bedstead raised rather high, with stout posts supporting a canopy, covered and hung over with silk trimmings and curtains and adorned with semi-precious stones of different hues. These supply the place of those valuable gems which, in times past, were inseparable from a higher state of royal prosperity and power, than are now known and felt within these palace walls ; or rather since the town was sacked by Nadir Shah, and its inhabitants slaughtered by his ruthless soldiery. The building is also very well decorated, and in spite of the incursions of time, the pillars and ceiling have wherewith to command admiration. A large and solid piece of alabaster, said to be the largest in India, if not in the known world, stands near a window that opens out over a garden below. In attempting to look at this garden, my eyes for a moment fell on a suite of apartments to the right. These I understood to be the seraglio, from the earnestness with which some of the King's retainers begged I would not peer in that direction.

There is also another garden here to which visitors are permitted access, but in it there is not much to be seen, and it is far inferior to many of the kind with which Delhi abounds.

Silence seemed to prevail within this area and in lieu of the noisy pomp and splendor which history and tradition lead one to expect, here and there one sees a solitary straggler, instead of an "ocean of heads" bending prostrate at the despot's nod. In place of joy and hilarity on the countenances of its inmates, an air of indifference or of gloom, overcast the visages of those who are seen sauntering about. Such is now the condition of things in connection with the fallen fortunes of the "great Mogul !"

To the tourist and antiquarian, the *Kootub Minar* is in my opinion the greatest feature of attraction at Delhi. A column so stately in its structure and so gigantic in its dimensions, arrests the eye of the traveller from afar It towers majestically over every thing around, is a superb edifice, and indeed few there are, who visit Delhi, that would not cheerfully undertake to ride twelve miles to see it.

> "Dull would be he, who could pass by,
> A sight so touching in its majesty."

It is about 240 or 250 feet high, has 378 steps and the diameter at the base is fifty feet. Although reputed to be no less than 700 years old, it is in excellent order, scarcely a vestige of dilapidation being discernible in any part of its amazing bulk. It is true that its superstructure suffered not very long ago by an earthquake, or when struck by lightning, but the damage done has been repaired by the British government, and this emblem of antiquity now stands in just as great perfection as ever. It throws out three ranges of circular balconies at different heights, and is surmounted by a cupola that crowns its summit. It is also surrounded by a brass railing, an evidently modern improvement, made when the edifice was re-constructed under European superintendence.* This colossal piece of architecture is a polygon, fluted cylindrically as well as angularly, in alternate order, and wreaths of Arabic inscriptions entwine its massy circumference, the letters being displayed in high relief, each of about a foot or more in length. The material of the building is a kind of red granite or free-stone but a portion of the upper structure is composed of white marble. The ascent by a spiral staircase, is less perpendicular in the beginning, from the greater scope the base allows, but the steps become gradually contracted, till at length you reach the summit, with no little effort, whence a most glorious view is presented to the spectator. The winding stairs are but partially lighted by the outlets to the balconies and other openings for the admission of light, so that one is obliged occasionally to grope onwards in the dark. It is yet a point at issue whether this singular and stately column owes its origin to Hindoo or Mahomedan.† It wears a perfect semblance to the Mahomedan style of architecture, but the old dilapidated and crumbling Hindoo ruins in its immediate vicinity, raise strong doubts on the subject; added to which, there is a peculiar column of bell-metal which stands close by it, with inscriptions, in *Sanskrit* I believe, bearing the impression of a cannon ball fired at it, some say by Aurungzebe, and others by the Jauts or Mahrattas in one of their early expeditions aganst Delhi.

The "Kootub" is situated on rather low ground. This circumstance detracts somewhat from its actual height when seen from a distance. Nevertheless, it asserts pre-eminence over the scene of desolation around and seems as if it were lord paramount

* It has again been recently struck by lightning, or the cupola thrown down from the effects of an earthquake.

† Long after the above account was written, the possibility of this edifice having been erected under the auspices of one or other of the Assyrian kings, has been mooted. If this fact were established on more corroborative evidence than mere supposition, the structure must be of greater antiquity than the seven centuries usually allotted to it as its age.

of the surrounding ruins. The effect of the objects, which meet one's *coup-d'œil* on reaching the summit of the Kootub, is singularly striking and impressive, from the endless variety of tombs that occupy a wide and an extensive space of ground. They forcibly remind one of the following expressive and appropriate lines on the transitoriness of human existence:

"Like leaves on trees, the race of man is found,
Now green in youth, now withering on the ground,
Another race the following spring supplies,
They fall successive and successive rise;
So generations in their course decay,
So flourish these, when those are past away."

Not far from the Kootub, is the foundation of another pillar like the Kootub itself, but evidently intended to be of greater magnitude in every way, judging from the circumference of its base and the proportions of its plinth. Traditionists in the form of *Khadims*, (a class of beings, who earn here a precarious livelihood, by forcing themselves upon the notice of the traveller, as voluntary ciceronis) gravely maintain that this was to have formed the right arm of an immense Musjid or Mahomedan cathedral, which the founder intended to have built, but there is nothing to corroborate the truth of the assertion. Unlike the memorable Druids, from whose mental stores one might as confidently have drawn pure information as the bee extracts honey from the flower, we have here in return for the labor of research, idle information communicated by men whose knowledge of these matters derived from a mass of traditions, and handed down from one generation to another, leads you into greater obscurity the further you proceed; so that all that is obtained from this source is too vague, uncertain and undefined to be depended upon.

In a south-westerly direction from the Kootub, is the village of Murrowlee, where the King of Delhi has a kind of country residence, bedecked in parts with the gaudiest colors, and whither he resorts on the anniversaries of the death of some of his ancestors, who are interred in a handsome burial ground adjoining the retreat. These regal visits are, generally, with the view of enacting and observing the rites and rituals so abundant in the funeral obsequies and ceremonies enjoined by the Moslem creed. This little village town is agreeably situated, and many of the tombs are excellent specimens of their kind.

Glancing towards the south-east, you observe the bold outline of the bastions and battlements of Toghluckabad. This spot, about six or eight miles from the Kootub Minar, is the site of two or three forts of extraordinary size. They take their designation from Toghluck Shah, who reigned in the thirteenth century

a nd they are now in perfect ruin.* The spectator is struck with the dimensions of the blocks of black stone or dark granite with which these forts are built. Their magnitude has impressed some of the natives with a superstitious notion that they were piled up by *Deos* or demi-gods, by whose supernatural power alone they suppose it possible for blocks of such immense weight to have been brought together. Their colossal size would certainly impress the ignorant with an idea of their being of Cyclopean construction.

An interesting, talkative and shrewd Mahomedan lad who acted as my guide, borrowing the tradition and fabulous notion from his parents and others, echoed forth a string of idle tales, and vehemently affirmed, among other strange things, that lions and tigers were once the inmates of some artificial and subterraneous caves which he pointed out to me as great curiosities, more particularly as he maintained that the ferocious and savage nature of the lion and tiger were, under the power of the *Deos*, converted into the tame and tractable disposition of the common dog. That lions† and tigers might have been kept encaged, there is not a matter of surprize, for the richer classes of natives, up to this day, frequently chain or encage, tigers at least, within their premises.

The forts of Toghluckabad, if they were ever completed, must have been almost impregnable, considering the mode of warfare adopted in that age and in this part of the country. They are now a mournful instance of the overthrow of human toil and labor, devoted as they must have been, for years and years and at very considerable expense, to the erection of these extensive strongholds. This scene of massy desolation, occupied once by warriors expert in the use of the sword, the lance and the bow, is now sparingly taken up by some Goojurs, formerly a race of roving freebooters, who—exchanging the dangerous chances of robbery and crime for the better and more peaceful pursuits of agriculture and the occupation of herdsmen—are seen sauntering about grazing their flocks and herds on a spot where art has yielded to the iron hand of time and where the mild simplicity of nature now prevails. The Goojurs, driven by the rigor of our laws, the vigilance of the police and the severity of example, to seek a less precarious livelihood as agriculturists and farmers, are by no means deficient in these pursuits. There is not a little of the romantic in the wild scenery here, enlivened as it is by boys tending herds

* These forts are also asserted to be of Assyrian origin and are evidently of greater antiquity than the Kootub Minar.

† Lions were not uncommon in the Delhi District and in the Hurrianah tract of territory, less than a century ago, but they have never become quite extinct.

of kine and buffaloes, and echo repeating and vibrating the soft though rude melody of the village pipe, with which they sometimes amuse themselves. The effect is peculiarly pleasing. This simple instrument, devoid of any skill in its performance, arrests the ear and holds it in willing subjection, particularly when silence and tranquillity reign around.

The Goojurs, situated as they are, seem withal miserably poor. The families that exist in these parts, form no instances of opulent landholders. Their state is one of unenviable poverty. Two or three wretched cases, reduced by sickness, fell under my notice, and my regret for their condition was increased by my inability to afford them any medical aid. One case in particular struck me as very affecting. A poor old man, decrepid from age and almost totally blind, when he heard that I was before him, made an effort, although he could not see me, to rise on his coarse " charpoy" or bedstead, to offer me his salutations. As it was painful for him to rise to pay me a compliment which I neither wished for or expected, I bid him not trouble himself on my account. He faltered and fell back, implored help and begged that I would prescribe for his cure.

The foregoing is a proof, and one out of hundreds of others, of the necessity of itinerant Surgeons and physicians being expressly entertained by Government, to make their constant or periodical circuits within assigned limits, in order to impart relief to these helpless creatures. The establishment of a dispensary or depôt for medicines, at the largest stations, is all very well in itself, but relief of this description ought to be carried to the very doors of sufferers, for clowns and villagers can know little how or where medical assistance is to be obtained. A native, when assailed by even the most chronic disorder, is from prejudice and habit, apathetic and disinclined to stir out, even for the promotion of his own personal or physical welfare, and if he is at all prompted by inclination, his want of means is to him an insuperable barrier. Medical advice in common with charity, ought to be carried to the very doors of these wretched people, instead of their being sought by long and tedious journies to distant parts of the country. That the poor are deprived of these advantages and benefits, however unintentionally, is evident from such instances and also from complaints to that effect. Medical relief like mercy, though it " droppeth not like the gentle rain (direct) from heaven," yet it " blesseth him that gives, as well as him that takes."

Opposite the first fort of Toghluckadad, is a square enclosure

* This has been swept away since, by the periodical rains overflooding the country and undermining its foundation.

surrounded by high and substantially built walls, with an old corridor now going to ruin. A tomb, of red free-stone, with a white marble dome, occupies the centre. A long and narrow bridge of some antiquity, goes over a small tract of marshy ground and joins the entrance which is in the form of a high gateway and branches off into two flights of steps. An old Zemindar with his sons, and their families, were the inmates of this place and the quiet of a rural life seemed predominant.

In and about the city of Delhi, are many very neat and elegant mosques, palaces and gardens, covering (the latter in particular) a large area, but they are mostly in ruins. The gardens, with the exception of their being looked after for their produce, are neglected as to their general appearance. The principal are the gardens of Shalimar and Koodseah Begum, besides those appertaining to the king's palace. The mosques relieve the general monotony of the scene by their turrets overtopping the rest of the buildings, among which, as I have before observed, the Jama Masjid is the most prominent if not the most majestic.

The "Kalee Musjid," is another and a singular structure in itself. It takes its name from, I believe, its outward appearance which is perfectly black from age. It is now quite deserted and is never used as a place of prayer. It is situated in a remote part of the city little frequented, and its greatest and perhaps only attraction is that it bears the reputation of being one of the oldest buildings within the new city of Delhi. It seems to owe its origin to the early Pathan invaders and to have been exclusively devoted to their purposes of prayer, as some peculiar features of distinction in their tenets, divide them in a section from the mass of the Moslem race. The building is an odd specimen of the rude workmanship of the age and is constructed of black stone, and even the cement is now darkened by time. The architecture of this building is rude enough, but in the age in which it was built, sculpture must have made less progress, for the Arabic inscription in it forms a wide contrast with the elegant specimens of a modern date.

The bazars of Delhi are well replenished with commodities of all kinds, local manufactures forming no small bulk of the trade. Many of the streets are unusually broad for a native city, and kept with a neatness and cleanliness hardly to be equalled, certainly not to be surpassed, by those of other towns that I have seen. In some parts of the town, the bazars are divided into sections, a large gate enclosing each sub-division, a plan well suited to check robbery as well as to aid the vigilance and efficiency of the police. The main bazar is the "Chandnee Chowk," the fashionable emporium of Delhi. A broad and spacious street, intersected by a ca-

nal,* is here lined by well-built houses, many with projecting balconies overlooking the thoroughfares. In the evening, the balconies are occupied by the inmates of the houses, who seek this species of recreation after the toils of the day and idly gaze at the "*tamasha*" or fun, smoking their "hookas" and entering into conversation, perhaps according to M. De Lille, "*pour s'entretenir ensemble et s'instruire, dans une conversation agréable, par la communication, mutuelle de leurs idées et de leurs sentiments.*"

Delhi is celebrated for its manufactures of gold and ivory. The jewellers are scarcely rivalled in all India for the neatness, elegance and delicacy with which they work on these substances. Bracelets, ear-rings, necklaces, brooches, rings and a variety of other trinkets, to the amount of some thousands of rupees, are carried about by decently attired Hindoos, who may be seen going their rounds singly or with one or two attendants. The articles that these itinerant venders exhibit, vary in price from 5 to sometimes 5,000 rupees each, according to the nature of the articles and the superiority of the workmanship. They go far to imitate the Trichinopoly chains so famous in the Carnatic, and can, I think, make them equally as well. Amongst other things, is a peculiar species of ornament in the shape of ivory medallions set in gold. The drawings are elaborately finished and have a pretty effect when thus set. Drops of this description for ear-rings and necklaces are common, the drawings being principally of the Kootub Minar, the Taj Mehal and other buildings of celebrity in Upper Hindoostan. These drawings are all entirely executed at Delhi, and although they betray a degree of stiffness that is objectionable, yet the elaborateness, precision and patience, with which artists take down every point and every line, giving a generally correct effect to the *tout-ensemble*, is highly creditable and shows no small proficiency in their art and in the use of the brush. The same meed of praise is due to the portraits in miniature of natives of rank, though they are liable to the same objection. Amongst other classes of artists, are dye-sinkers, who engrave in Persian, Arabic, English or Hindee characters. They excel in the execution of vernacular letters, but for engravings in English they require patterns for imitation. Such men earn a handsome livelihood, and although the encouragement they receive now, falls short of what they received formerly, it is yet by no means insignificant. When an encampment is observed at Delhi, particularly like that of the Governor General and his train, traders are attracted from its bazars, who bring with them every species of portable commodities and beset one's tent doors,

* This canal has since been covered over with a platform or pavement, of stone and masonry.

throwing open bales of cloths and boxes of wares of all kinds for close inspection. On these occasions much is bought and sold, for Delhi from some cause can afford to carry on a brisk trade even in Europe goods, at a far cheaper rate than some of its neighbouring towns and stations.

The Protestant Church here, which is called St. James', was built at the expense of Colonel James Skinner who, on being frequently interrogated by the native chieftains why Christians did not build a place of worship, determined to supply the desideratum. The building was originally estimated to cost Rs. 60,000, but on its completion exceeded a lac. It was designed and begun in A.D. 1826 or 1827, but in consequence of unforeseen impediments, was not finished till ten years after, when the Bishop passing through Delhi consecrated it. St. James' is a neat specimen of architecture, very substantial, and has a roof in the form of a dome surmounted by a large ball of metal, but hollow, in imitation of an "imperial orb,"* with a gilt cross resting on its summit.

In front of the entrance to the Church, is the tomb of the late and much lamented Mr. Wm. Fraser, who was basely assassinated at Delhi. It was raised to his memory by his friend Colonel Skinner. On one side of the tomb, the following epitaph is inscribed in golden letters:

"The remains interred beneath this monument, were once animated by as brave and sincere a soul as was ever vouchsafed to man by his Creator. A brother in friendship has caused it to be erected, that when his own frame is dust, it may remain as a memorial for those who can participate in lamenting the sudden and melancholy death of one dear to him as life."

"WILLIAM FRASER,
Died 22nd March 1835".

The following inscription is on the reverse side of the tomb, which is built of white marble with weeping willows represented by letting in carved pieces of semi-precious stones.†

* The imperial orb is an emblem of sovereignty, said to have been derived from Imperial Rome, and to have been first adorned with the cross by Constantine, on his conversion to Christianity. This orb is a ball of gold, encompassed with a band of gems and brilliants and surmounted with a cross.

The orb and cross of St. James' Church, are to be seen in the Delhi Museum, as they were brought down by the rebels during the late memorable mutiny, the former pierced with some bullet shots.

† The tomb was destroyed during the late Indian mutiny and has been replaced by a plain one of masonry or marble, or both combined.

" Deep beneath this marble stone,
A spirit kindred to our own,
Sleeps in death's profound repose,
Free'd from human cares and woes ;
Like ours his heart, like ours his frame,
He bore on earth a gallant name,
Friendship gives to us the trust,
To guard the Hero's honored dust."

Before I proceed to enter into a few particulars about the violent death met by Mr. Fraser, I must premise that he was Commissioner of the Delhi Division and Agent to the Governor General of India. He therefore combined in himself, fiscal, judicial and political functions. He was regarded by the Government he served as one of its most efficient officers, a man of sterling worth and unexceptionable capacity.

He moreover performed some military duties, inasmuch as he was second in command of " Skinner's Horse" with the honorary title of Major. There are some curious anecdotes about his exploits in the field in a two-fold form. Courageous as he was clever, he led his men to deeds of daring when the State needed his services against the enemy, and often distinguished himself as an excellent swordsman. Added to this, he was an unerring shot and with rifle in hand, followed by a few horsemen imbued with a spirit for the chase like himself, he pursued on horse-back the tiger driven out of his lair. When the animal was brought to bay, he jumped off his steed and encountered the brute on foot. Either with his rifle or sword, he generally succeeded in killing the king of the Indian forests. The animal seldom escaped with his life and hardly ever without being wounded. On the other hand, it cannot be said that Mr. Fraser himself or his men, went " Scot-free" or without some scratches and scars from " *Stripes*," as tigers are facetiously termed in sporting phraseology.

Within the extent of his official jurisdiction, Mr. Fraser did all the good in his power, whereby he rendered himself very popular among all classes, particularly with the lower orders, whom he shielded from any attempt at wrong and oppression on the part of those placed in higher positions in life. He was reckoned and addressed in earnest, not in metaphor, as a protector of the poor, whom he often relieved out of his private resources, and yet was deemed parsimonious in all that regarded his personal comfort. This peculiarity did not deteriorate from, but rather adorned, his excellent character.

In common with his intimate friend Colonel Skinner, he had one or more Cattle Farms in the Delhi District, to which he used to pay occasional visits to see how they were progressing. In one

instance, as he arrived at the spot where his farm was situated, an old woman belonging to it or to a neighbouring village, seeing him approaching, called out to him, from a short distance, at the highest pitch of her voice : " *Urrê, Freejun, Freejun, thor Gaee beayee,*" literally, Oh ! Fraser, Fraser, thy cow has calved ! At this piece of familiarity or rather of rustic brusquerie (which I allude to *en passant,*) he could not help laughing, but gave the old creature a piece of money as a present, thanking her at the same time for the interesting and important intelligence !

This is an instance of many to show that Mr. Fraser mixed with the poorest people, consulted their comforts, and ascertained their wants in person, to satisfy himself as to how he could ameliorate their condition or improve their humble prospects in life.

For such a man to have been basely assassinated by an arrant coward who had not the courage to face Mr. Fraser boldly, knowing that he would have fully met his match in a hand-to-hand encounter, is a deplorable event in the annals of Anglo-Indian history and it may not be uninteresting here to touch upon the most prominent features connected with this painful occurrence.

Between the hours of 6 and 7 P.M. of the 22nd of March, 1835, Mr. Fraser was returning from a visit he had paid the Rajah of Kishengurh who was then at Delhi, and while he was yet about three or four hundred paces from the road leading to the entrance of his house,* he met a horseman who turned his horse as Mr. Fraser passed and deliberately shot him under the shoulder blade, with balls or slugs fired from a carbine. Mr. Fraser, who was himself on horseback, staggered and fell with a deep groan, and died almost immediately. This dastardly deed of blood was so sudden and unexpected that the "Sowar" or outrider, who acted as Mr. Fraser's orderly on the occasion, had scarcely recovered from his fright, when he descried the assassin galloping off at full speed towards the town, which he contrived to enter before he could be overtaken. An alarm was forthwith given, the city gates were at once closed, a strict search instituted, and Rs. 2,000 were offered on the part of Government for the capture of the culprit. The perpetrator of the crime could not however be traced before the lapse of a few days, when a man of the name of Kureem Khan, was apprehended under very suspicious circumstances. After due trial, his guilt was fully established and on the 26th August of that year, he underwent the extreme penalty of the law.

The capture and conviction of this individual led to further

* Mr. Fraser was at the time residing in the out-skirts of Delhi.

results. He was reputed to be an excellent marksman, was high in the confidence of Nawab Shums-ood-deen Ahmed Khan and received moreover from this personage, the consideration and regard of an ostensible friend, notwithstanding the disparity of their respective positions. There were besides other good grounds to infer that he had been hired to commit the atrocious deed. Consequently, investigations of the strictest nature were instituted by the then Magistrate, on points involving the implication of the Nawab, who was ultimately committed to stand his trial on a charge of wilful and premeditated murder, by being a chief instigator of the act.

Mr. Colvin, Judge of the then "Sudder Adawlut" or High Court of Judicature, was specially deputed from Allahabad to Delhi to institute proceedings connected with this particular case. When the Nawab was arraigned, he is said to have stood his trial with that calmness and composure which, but for the palpable character of the evidence, might have gone far to cast the mantle of innocence over him. Every point was sifted, every enquiry made, every statement of the witnesses (particularly that of Annia Meo, who being an accomplice, turned King's evidence) rendered clear by cross examinations. In short, every testimony, oral, circumstantial and documentary, combined to prove the Nawab guilty of the crime with which he was charged, and he was accordingly sentenced to suffer death, a sentence that was subsequently confirmed by the Supreme Government, Sir Charles Metcalfe, Baronet, having been Provisional Governor General at the time.

After the termination of the trial and his final condemnation, Shums-ood-deen was removed to the military cantonments of Delhi, as a temporary measure towards ensuring his safe custody. Here it was that, on his sentence being first announced, the announcement came on him like an electric shock, for, it seems, he was led away with the idea that even were he convicted, against which he entertained hopes to the last, his rank and station would shield him from capital punishment. It was perhaps under such an impression that he meditated and accomplished, with greater confidence, the atrocious act that now summoned him to the gallows and the grave.

Preliminary arrangements having been made for the Nawab's execution, the morning of the 8th October 1835 was fixed for carrying it into effect. As a preparatory step, he was brought back at midnight from cantonments under a strong guard and placed under charge of a Military Officer on duty at the Cashmere gate.

At length, the morrow dawned and when the rays of the sun began to gild the topmost battlements of the town, they exhibited to view the preparations that were made for the execution. About four hundred paces opposite the Cashmere gate, the gallows were erected, and through the admirable arrangements of the Brigadier, a quadrangle was formed, three sides of which were taken up, one by three regiments of infantry, a second by a corps of cavalry and another of infantry. The third, facing the side left open for the spectators, was planted with artillery, the guns pointed at the crowd, so that any thing like an attempt at rescue, of which there were some rumours, would have been frustrated with grape and canister. However, every thing was quiet throughout the impressive scene and not the slightest stir was manifested.

Before day-break, the Nawab awoke in his usual spirits, yet calm and composed, and expressed a wish that an earlier hour than 8 o'clock had been fixed for his death. In the meantime however, he occupied himself with his wonted prayers by the side of his priest and then attended to his toilet. Between 7 and 8 o'clock, he was borne in a palanquin strongly guarded, to the foot of the scaffold, ascending the steps of which, his arms were pinioned, and when the rope was about being adjusted round his neck, he urged his scruples to his person being polluted by the hands of a sweeper.* The remonstrance was unheeded for obvious reasons and no sooner was the noose placed round his neck, and the warrant read for his execution, a moment after the drop fell, and there hung before the public gaze, a native nobleman expiating the heinous crime of murder, thus affording a terrible example to the turbulent characters ,with whom Delhi abounds.

It may not be out of place to mention here, that after his body had been cut down and made over to his relatives for interment, the honors of martyrdom were paid to his remains on their being conveyed to the burial ground. Moreover, on each succeeding anniversary of his execution, for some years after the event, many of the citizens of Delhi used to resort to his grave, with the same ceremonies that are performed on a pilgrimage to the tomb of a saint! This significant fact goes to show that the slaughter of a Christian in cold blood, by a follower of the false prophet, is not regarded as murder in its strict and literal meaning, but as a meritorious achievement on the part of any Mahomedan.

Be this as it may, Nawab Shums-ood-deen, eldest son of Ah-

* Sweepers are usually employed on such a duty in India. Being of the lowest "caste" or without any "caste" at all, they have no objection to undertake an office which is spurned by the rest of the natives.

med Buksh Khan, was the Jageerdar of Ferozepore, the town of a large district of the same name, situated at a distance of sixty miles to the south-west of Delhi. He enjoyed a revenue variously esti mated at from 3 to 1,000,000 rupees a year. He was very prodigal in his habits, imprudent in the management of his pecuniary affairs and gave way to that spirit of extravagance not uncommon among young Mussulmans of rank and fortune. His intercourse with the European officers, both Civil and Military, rendered him some-what popular amongst them, owing to the suavity of his manners and the affable nature of his disposition. His popularity amongst his own countrymen seemed to be problematical, especially within his own jurisdiction, where he had the power of oppressing his in-feriors with impunity.

The actual cause of his animosity towards Mr. Fraser and the reasons which induced him to instigate the assassination, will per-haps ever remain a mystery. The supposition is that Mr. Fraser had, in the faithful discharge of his duty, apportioned to Ameen-ood-deen and Zeea-ood-deen, the younger brothers of the Nawab, a great part of Loharoo, an extensive estate, to which the latter con-sidered himself exclusively entitled and therefore viewed that gen-tleman's act as one of injustice. Others again think that the cause was attributable to Mr. Fraser having for some cogent reason, ex-cluded the Nawab from his public Durbars, which Mr. Fraser in his capacity of Agent to the Governor General of India, was in the habit of holding periodically ; the exclusion being looked upon by the natives, as one of great indignity.

The aggregate amount of rewards offered for the apprehension and conviction of the two criminals above indicated, amounted to upwards of 37,000 rupees. A little less than two-thirds, was con-tributed by natives, both Mahomedan and Hindoo, the remainder by Christians, Colonel Skinner having himself given 5,000 rupees.

Although Shums-ood-deen's moveable and immoveable proper-ty had escheated by law to the State, a suitable provision was, nevertheless, made for his family.

CHAPTER III.

DELHI TO SIMLA.

Departure from Delhi.—Paneeput and its ancient battle-fields.—Kurnaul and its Cantonments.—Suharunpore and its Botanical garden.—Governor General's Durbar.—Pilgrims proceeding to Hurdwar.—View of Nahun.—Naraingurh.—Ramgurh.—Munee Majra.—Pinjore.—Puttiala Rajah's garden.—Conflagration and Thunderstorm.—Arrival at Simla viâ Barh.

Early on the morning of the 25th February 1838, we left the imperial city and proceeded on our way to the next stage, which was Alleepore, at a distance of ten miles. A regiment of native infantry formed a guard of honor and a battery of artillery was drawn out to fire a salute for the Governor General on his leaving Delhi.

The Cantonments were close by and are well situated, some of the houses tenanted by the officers occupying very eligible sites and assuming an air approaching the picturesque, as well from the groves scattered around as from the hillocks in the neighborhood.

At Biroutah, distance ten miles, where we came to on the same evening, a groom attached to our camp was murdered, in endeavoring to rescue one or two brass utensils from the hands of a robber. As the murder took place in the vicinity of the camp, pursuit was immediate which the ruffian however eluded. Robbery to a minor extent was perpetrated elsewhere in camp, for two or three individuals found property to a small amount abstracted from their tents. This camp, like all large camps of its kind, is a harbor for thieves and robbers, who on various pretexts, offering themselves either as laborers or camp followers, watch every opportunity of committing thefts.

We came to Gonour on the 26th February, and on our way passed Soneput, a large village situated on high mounds detached from one another. They looked like little fortifications adapted to ages past, when refractory feuds were the order of the day and when security from plunder and rapine, was attained only within strongholds and towering walls. The inhabitants of Soneput any its vicinity were collected in several groups watching with anxiet the approach of the "Lord Sahib" and even continued their enquiries for him after he had passed. So little is plainness suited to native notions of grandeur and pomp, that they did not expect to

see the Governor General of all India, pass by in a carriage and four, with a few troopers following him. Nothing less than a splendid cortege, even on the most ordinary occasions, will do for them.

On the 27th February we travelled to Soomalka in the usual monotonous style, with no particular occurrence or any thing worth recording ; and on the 28th Idem we came to Paneeput. The roads up to this place were tolerably good, though heavy for draught cattle and wheeled conveyances. A great part of Paneeput is now in ruins. It was doubtless well fortified in its time, but by a succession of sanguinary scenes and warlike operations, followed by the destructive effects of neglect, it has reached its present state of decay. Our tents were on an open convenient spot beyond the town, and the country around, although very level, did not seem to be profusely cultivated.

Paneeput is rendered famous by two desperate battles that were fought for the empire of Hindustan. History states and traditions affirm, that Sultan Baber and Ibrahim Lodi the Pathan emperor, measured swords some 300 years ago, at the head of their respective armies, the struggle for sway terminating with fall of the latter and the total discomfiture of his martial followers. With Ibrahim Lodi ended the Pathan dynasty, and that of the Mogul commenced in the person of "Timoor-lung." The other battle was fought at a comparatively recent period, said to have been about seventy-seven years ago. The combatants on this occasion were Mahomedans and Mahrattas. The Mahratta army consisted of about 85,000 horse and foot soldiers, a great part of the former being Pindarees* to the number of 15,000 men. This force, with a train of 200 pieces of cannon, besides rocket corps and camel swivellers, was commanded by the noted Bhow Sidhasiva. The confederate Mahomedan forces aggregated about 80,000, both horse and foot, with eighty pieces of ordnance, all under the command of Ahmed Shah Abdalli. It was said that he had with him a body of Affghans of the Dooranee tribe, who were reckoned to be particularly well mounted on horses of the Turkish breed. For a little more than two months both the armies lay entrenched opposite one another, engaging in loose skirmishes, in which the Dooranees generally prevailed. The Mahratta army at length, harassed by a want of supplies, sallied out and gave battle, when a severe but equal contest was maintained from morn till noon. However, the circumstance

* A race of freebooters who swept great portions of Hindustan with their predatory excursions, until exterminated by the energetic measures which the Marquis of Hastings adopted. They were mostly, if not altogether, Mahrattas, and engaged themselves in cases of emergency as mercenary soldiers.

of the Peishwa's son, Biswas Rao, a youth seventeen years old, having received a mortal wound in the midst of the fight, paralized the courage of the Mahrattas. A panic ran through the whole force with marvellous rapidity and the men composing it fled in dismay in every direction.

It is extraordinary how a grain sometimes destroys the equipoise of scales equally balanced. A body of men fighting with valor and ferocity at one moment and then yielding themselves to a feeling of terror, because a youth in power happens to be slain, marks not only the depressing and disastrous effects of a sudden panic but shows how ill regulated and devoid of discipline the army must have been, to have taken to flight for such a reason.

It is said that out of 500,000 men who composed the bulk of the Mahrattas present, including camp followers and their families, the greater portion were killed in the pursuit and no less than 40,000 taken prisoners ; even the peasantry not hesitating to put to death such as came in their way, probably in retribution for the excesses committed by the Pindarees. Many of the prisoners were subsequently murdered in cold blood, the Mahomedans averring that they thus propitiated the favor and secured the mediation of their prophet, on behalf of themselves, their wives and their children.

If there is any thing that can sharpen the blade for a sanguinary purpose, it is most assuredly bigotted fanaticism, such as must have roused the vengeance of the Moslem, when he slew those helpless captives of war.

Such are the occurrences which stamp Paneeput with equal fame and ignominy. There "where the green grass waves over each fertile spot" at the present day, are perhaps the sepulchres of thousands who fell under the Mahomedan sword and scimitar. The merciless sabre spared none, but acted like a scythe that mows down all in its progress, from the overburdened and ripened sheaf of corn, to the early shoot which has not yet attained maturity ; for it is supposed that of the 500,000 persons, there were women and children who followed the footsteps of those nearest and dearest to them, in the certain hope that numerical superiority on their side would ensure them victory. Victors and vanquished are alike buried in oblivion, their glory gone, their exploits like themselves buried in an unhallowed grave.

We left Paneeput for Goroundah, distance ten miles, on the 1st March. In the vicinity of our encampment was a massy piece of masonry, which forms the entrance to a square enclosure now

occupied by huts and mud houses. I obtained a good view of the camp and the country from a neighbouring hillock, but was not allowed to enjoy the sight long, from the clouds of dust that kept rising about us. We were glad on this account to retire to the cover of our tents.

We came to Kurnaul on the 2nd March after travelling twelve miles. A marked improvement was observable in the aspect of the country, both in verdure and wood. This change was by no means unaccountable, as we fell in with a canal which fertilizes this part of the district. It is called the "Shah Nuhr" and has an old fashioned but strong bridge of masonry thrown over it. Such are its fertilizing effects, that as far as the eye could follow its course, it was invariably marked by the herbage and foliage which sprang up on its sides. The refreshing verdure which was here so abundant, formed quite a contrast with the general dreariness of many portions of the country near Kurnaul.

About the most conspicuous object at Kurnaul is its Church, which is a fine building and centrically situated, being thus conducive to the convenience of officers and private soldiers, whose houses and barracks are built around at some distance. Stationed here are Cavalry, Artillery, European and Native Infantry, and the parade ground every morning presents an interesting and lively spectacle.*

We left Kurnaul on the 8th of the same month, after a stay there of six days and travelled to Lucknowtee, distance fifteen miles. The country between the two stages was very interesting and the verdure it here assumes is so very general, that it meets the eye in all directions, and this pleasantness of the prospect is heightened on all sides by groves of large trees, principally the mango. There is a considerable improvement in the state of the roads, except here and there, where they have been cut up by the rains and have not been repaired. Two canals are met with, or rather one crossing our course twice in its meanderings, spanned by small neat bridges, appended to which are sluices and dams, to divert the water into the fields by means of minor conduits and aqueducts.

Travelled to Kayrah, fourteen miles, on the 9th, through country much like what we passed before, rich and luxuriant. The fresh breeze was exhilarating and the trip was pleasant and agreeable. A journey on horseback is always preferable, as it affords one, opportunities of diverting his mind by the frequent change of scene and varied objects of observation. In a palan-

* The military cantonment at this station has long since been done away with and transferred to Umballa.

quin, these advantages are entirely lost when travelling with a large camp, which is an invariable moving barrier to the view. An elephant is still better, owing to the elevation and the distant view it commands over the surrounding country.

The farther north we proceed in this direction, the fresher and more verdant does the country appear. The extent and luxuriance of the cultivation indicate greater fertility of soil, in spite of the prevalence of drought and its concomitants, which only very recently proved a scourge to many parts of Hindoostan. The condition of the people here is much better than that observable in many places lower down to the south-east.

We came to Saharunpore on the morning of the 10th March, distance about thirteen miles. The road to Saharunpore and other roads branching off in its neighbourhood, are decidedly some of the best in India. They wind through groves of trees, amidst which are situated a few houses that thus wear a very picturesque appearance.

Saharunpore is a pretty little station and is moreover the seat of the Government Botanical garden, something on the plan of the one in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. It is very tastefully laid out, and when we arrived we found it kept very clean and in excellent condition. It then formed quite a sylvan scene. Rows of rose trees and beds of flowering shrubs, with parterres of rare plants, were seen in all directions, and the glazed hot-house was full of the most curious exotics. Over and around these and by the sides of the several serpentine walks, towered majestic forest trees casting their umbrageous branches over some acres of fertile soil. It may well be conceived that the vegetable kingdom took a prominent place and asserted no little importance, within this area. There was a diversity of objects for the spectator to admire, if not to study, and the garden was consequently the centre of attraction during our short sojourn at Saharunpore.*

At one end, a plot of ground under a shady spot and enclosed with rails, was occupied by a few elks and other specimens of the antlered race. The creatures seemed quite tame and sought food from our hands by coming up to the railng and thrusting out their muzzles. Not far from this was a strong wooden cage with two young tigers. They paced up and down their narrow prison with wild dignity, and when approached, growled with a ferocity significant of the most savage intentions, if only left at liberty to carry

* A substantial building has since been added, for a Museum to exhibit botanical products, and is now about the best thing in the garden. Many implements of husbandry on an improved plan are also to be seen in it.

the promptings of their nature into execution. Their cage was too small for them and their custody within so limited a space is likely to injure the health of these animals. However, the elks and deer were better off in this respect. They had room enough to bound and skip at pleasure. Two black bears from the neighbouring hills were chained to two trees. They seemed different from the ordinary kind and were generally lying prostrate with their snouts and heads hid in the embrace of their arms. These and an encaged porcupine, made up the number of quadrupeds that are perhaps to form the nucleus of a menagerie, that may ultimately better deserve the name.*

This very laudable institution was, it seems, originally founded by Nawab Zabita Khan, about A. D. 1779, for what purpose it was primarily designed, is not sufficiently known, whether to encourage and diffuse a taste for botany or merely to gratify a personal fancy for gardening. Any-how, the Nawab contributed towards its prosperity, by endowingit with the revenue of some villages for its support and for the payment of its establishment. He placed the general conduct and control of both under the superintendence of a respectable native of intelligence, perhaps a practical botanist. I say *practical*, for the natives have not yet reduced the science of botany to a regular theoretical system, nor have they studied to classify trees and plants as did Linneus and other celebrated botanists among the continental nations.

From its peculiar position, and the nature of the soil at Saharunpure, the garden is well adapted for experiments in botany. The Himalayas may safely pour down on its wide surface, the rich stores of Pomona, Ceres and Flora—its climate being somewhat of a medium between that of the snowy regions of the north and the warm and variable one of the plains further south. Thence, they may be gradually transferred to temperatures of a lower or higher degree, the difficulty of transplanting trees and shrubs indigenous to the Himalayas being thus considerably facilitated by the existence of this garden. The dissemination over the continent of Europe, of these rare and foreign trees (foreign when viewed in relation to Europe,) may be of incalculable benefit, particularly as the advanced state of steam communication, must render comparatively easy, an intercourse between the learned in this science. Should education and example arouse the enterprize and energy of the natives, the botanical

* The menagerie in embryo has long since been abandoned, I believe because it formed a superfluous item of expenditure and not in consonance with the object of maintaining the garden, which is exclusively intended for botanical purposes.

science of Europe may be successfully introduced throughout Hindoostan. India in this respect as in many others, labours under serious disadvantages. While European nations in an advanced state of civilization, are able to gratify their thirst for scientific pursuits with unremitting labor and perseverance ; and little is left to the botanist but to reduce to practice, the theory of which he is already master ; in India generally speaking, its theory too has been almost a nonentity. The exertions of some with a botanical turn of mind and the encouragement afforded by an enlightened and liberal government, will doubtless go far to supply the great desiderata of botanical institutions over the country. Bengal and the North West Provinces have set worthy examples in the Calcutta and Saharunpore gardens, and it is hoped that Southern and Central India will follow their footsteps.

Captain Cautley, the Superintendent of the Doab canals, has been very fortunate in making a very important and interesting discovery of fossils. He has contributed them to the British museum, and they will doubtless prove a grand accession to that repository of curiosities. Discoveries of this description, by talented individuals like the above officer, are no doubt the most acceptable boons that can be conferred on the scientific world.

The first belt of hills, known as the Sewalic or Sub-Himalayan range, is seen from hence with tolerable distinctness, while behind it,

" Piles upon piles, in wild confusion rise."

and present to the view an odd mixture of shades according to the state of the atmosphere. Even at this distance, the elevation of that vast range of mountains and the extent they occupy, impress the mind with a sense of their majesty and grandeur. The last range, which is the least distinctly seen, is occasionally enveloped in a misty vapor that makes it appear only like a white streak on the horizon.

At Saharunpore, there is a small and plain fortification which is now used for the custody of the prisoners who are confined in a jail built in the interior of it. This affords a double protection against escape. The main entrance is over a draw-bridge of a larger size than three others which also lead to it. The bastions are not mounted with pieces of cannon, nor does it appear that there is any necessity for this precaution. The possibility of untoward events, would hardly warrant any extensive preparations to secure this place from siege, for its comparative insignificance from size and structure, would at best form but a temporary defence against even an ordinary enemy.

At 3 o'clock on the afternoon of the 10th March, (the day of our arrival here,) a "*durbar*," or levee, was announced, intended exclusively for the reception of natives. The Governor General's "Durbar" tent of extensive dimensions, was spread with white cloth over country carpets, after the fashion of the east, and immediately in front of the main entrance was laid out the State carpet about ten feet square, made of crimson velvet with rich gold embroidery worked throughout in the form of the lotus flower, while the borders were taken up with figures of fishes, &c. On this was placed the State chair, the cushion and back lined with crimson velvet also, and the wood-work richly gilt, the arms supported by effigies of lions in miniature and the legs ending in paws of this noble animal. A footstool of the same materials and made to match, stood in its place. To the right and left of this State chair, chairs of the ordinary description were arranged in semi-circles. On one side of this spacious tent was another of a smaller size fitted up as an ante-room (if I may so term it) where the natives were to assemble prior to their being presented to His Lordship, and contiguous to it was the tent used as the "*Tosheh Khana*" or wardrobe. This was intended for the interchange of presents and the investiture of "*Khilluts*," or robes of honor.

Among the natives to be presented were two very respectable looking Sikhs, who were said to have come from Kythul, another of the "protected Sikh states." Some respectable looking Moosulmans also took seats according to their rank; and all had evident marks of anxiety depicted on their faces, to see the greatest man of our Indian empire.

The main street formed by the tents, was lined with bodies of Infantry and Cavalry. The Governor General's own tents being on the opposite side of the street, facing the public or State tents, he walked across to the latter, and his band struck up the national anthem, while the troops saluted him as he passed. His Lordship (in the midst of his aides-de-camp and followed by a train of other military and civil officers assembled for the occasion) proceeded to the tent of audience and took his accustomed seat. His chief Secretary and Interpreter, Mr. W. H. Macnaghten (the late Sir William) sat on his right, and the rest of the party seated themselves on the chairs which I have already described as semi-circularly arranged from the right and left of the Governor General's seat. His Lordship's servants were dressed in scarlet liveries and took their posts, some at the entrance of the durbar tent, with spears and silver maces, and others behind the chair of State, with fans and "*chowries.*"*

* In India, "Chowries" from their extreme flexibility were originally designed to keep off flies, but owing to their frequent use, have become a

The Deputy Secretary, Mr. H. W. Torrens, first introduced a Sikh chieftain who, after presenting his "*Nuzzur*" or offering, to the Governor General, was invited to sit to his right. A few minutes complimentary interchange of questions and answers took place when he was asked to retire to the *Tosheh Khana*, where he was decked out in a *Khillut* which consisted of a rich robe and turban. For this mark of distinction, he presented a second "*Nuzzur*" and resumed his seat. While a few additional questions and answers passed, one or two sets of jewels were presented to him and on the ceremony being observed, of giving him "*Pan*" and "*Atr*,"—(the betel leaf and otto of roses) as is usual on such occasions when the visitor is about retiring or is expected to retire,—he took his leave and departed. It is to be noticed that the presents and the distinction conferred on the Rajah, were in the first instance met by gifts on his part of equal or greater value, composed of trays of brocades and other rich stuffs, besides a matchlock, a bow, an elephant and two horses, which were reciprocated by articles of almost a similar description on behalf of the government.

The practice of investing with *Khilluts*, is to some extent justly deprecated and considered as even highly ridiculous in a civilized nation. That it is so, there can be no question, but the constitution of the Indian government is based so much on a strict adherence to the customs of the country and to the privileges enjoyed by the different classes of subjects it governs, that the light in which such a ceremony may be viewed, is of little importance, so long as it is congenial with the feelings of the people. Education will do much to eradicate prejudices, religious, moral and social, and until it is sufficiently diffused, the subversion of ancient customs and deeply rooted habits cannot be expected.

Other Sikh chieftains from the protected Sikh States, came in their turn and the same ceremonies were observed on their entrance and exit. One of two chiefs on this occasion, was a good looking man, with a stout well proportioned frame, a manly face and a flowing beard—he was the beau-ideal of an eastern warrior. The other seemed once to have possessed similar advantages of form and feature, and in his earlier years was perhaps as good a man as his companion.

The sudden alteration which a Khillut makes in the appearance of a person thus invested, places him in an anomalous position, and proud as he is of the honor, he is nevertheless almost ashamed to meet the gaze of the public in a character as ludicrous as it is

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sort of State appendage for all occasions, whether at Durbars or in processions.

novel. The plain attire with which he is originally clothed, is sometimes covered over with a spangled costume, which is perhaps foreign to the style of dress usually worn by such persons, and when he emerges and joins his retinue, his followers are scarcely able to restrain themselves from tittering and giggling at the rapid transition which their master has undergone, and the ironical congratulations of his friends are laughable.

Amongst others that were presented to His Lordship in the usual order of things, was a lad of about twelve years of age; the son of Rajah Khooshial Singh, and a fine well behaved boy he was. He entered the Durbar with a freedom of manner which his age hardly warranted. There was something very prepossessing in his appearance. He saluted the Governor General and the rest around, with very good grace, and then took his appointed seat after presenting the usual "*Nuzzur.*" He answered with appropriate readiness, a series of questions put to him, and the occasional smile which played on the Governor General's countenance, showed that His Lordship was well pleased with the lad and his behaviour. In fact, every one seemed so. Presents were exchanged in his case also, nor was the distinctive badge of a Khillut omitted. The Durbar closed with a few of less rank being likewise introduced, and some of them, in lieu of the Khillut, received an honorary head dress only, whilst others were dismissed with barely the *Pan* and *Atr.*

The regularity and order with which the Governor General's camp is daily pitched, conduce considerably to the comfort and convenience of those who are its occupants and contribute much to its appearance. A very broad main street is first formed occupied on both sides by the largest tents in camp, the centre of one line being taken up by the Governor General's State and dining tents, while the centre of the other line just opposite, is occupied by His Lordship's personal or private tents (five or six in number) enclosed with *khannats* or canvas walls. The two lines then branch off into minor but equally regular streets, each line being composed of tents according to their size, gradually subsiding into the smallest of the kind. The intermediate spaces are of course very frequently taken up by the servants' tents, which with the practice of accommodating horses, &c. in the immediate neighborhood of the owners, is the only irregularity that is observable, but this does not at all militate against the order of the tents, nor does it affect the main street which is invariably kept clear of all these obstructions. The camp viewed *en masse*, wears the appearance of a small canvas town and from an eminence the *coup d'œil* is very striking, particularly if the back ground is composed of hills, or a large grove or forest of

trees, which gives a beautiful effect to the picturesqueness of the scene.

The 11th of March formed a quiet halt. The day following was past in the noisy occupation of dividing the camp. While a part is to accompany the Governor General, (*i. e.*. his immediate suite and a small office establishment), to Simla viâ Dehra Doon and Mussoorie by a north-easterly route, the rest is to go with General Casement direct to Simla, following the usual north-westerly course. This is a salutary arrangement as it will materially facilitate the transport of bag and baggage, from Barh at the foot of the hills, up to Simla itself, whereas were the whole camp to go together, a much greater confusion would be the consequence, by reason of the insufficiency of porters to meet so extensive a demand for them. None but those who have been in such a camp as the one I am alluding to, can have the most distant conception of the numerous wants of this itinerant town.

Having passed the 14th of March in a halt, in order to see the Governor General's division of the camp separated from ours, we left the Civil station of Saharunpore early this morning for Chilkanah, eleven miles. The town of Suharunpore, through which we had to pass this morning, had nothing to recommend it.* A mile or more beyond, there are some vacant "bells of arms," which formed a token of some military station having existed here before but now looked like so many islets in the midst of a green ocean of waving fields in a flourishing condition. They are perhaps used as granaries at the present day or occupied by the agriculturists. The prospect of the hills was grand in the extreme, the eye was strained to follow the interminable ridges, till the view died away in a mist which seemed to overcast the horizon. In our course this morning, we met with another winding of the canal which flowed here somewhat boisterously. Our tents were to-day pitched on good ground, level and less dusty than usual, but the camp was diminished and seemed somewhat humbled by the departure of the Governor General and his suite.

On the 15th March we proceeded to Booreah, nine miles from Chilkanah. We rose earlier than usual and as the moon shone almost as bright as day, we availed ourselves of her profuse light for the morning's trip. We were apprehensive of being overtaken by rain owing to the state of the atmosphere and the cloudy as-

* Since this account was written, Suharunpore has increased in importance, owing to its now being a second class Railway station with several new buildings erected for Railway purposes. It is likewise the point from which travellers diverge *en route* to Dehra Doon, Mussoorie and Roorkee. It has a fine and commodious Dawk Bungalow and there are a couple of good Hotels at the place.

pect of the sky. As the day advanced, we observed the hills gradually becoming visible. We had to cross four or five streamlets on our way, over one of which there was a neat wooden bridge. Beyond, was an extensive bed of sand through which ran a fordable rivulet. The roads continue in a bad state but the country around is interesting and is considerably beautified by the hills to the north. Booreah is a somewhat large village with one or two good looking "Serais." A few Sikh inhabitants whom we saw, were distinguished from the rest by their peculiar cast of countenance, their martial air, their singular turbans, loose trowsers tucked up to the knees, and arms of sword and shield or the long spear.

We met this morning a small body of pilgrims travelling from Puttiala to Hurdwar, a celebrated place of pilgrimage among the Hindoos and where one of the largest annual fairs in India is held. It seems that the elements of an Indian fair exist there to an unusual extent, which even the powers of the imagination can not realize, and can only be conceived by those who have been eye-witnesses of this grand gathering of men from various parts of India. Hurdwar is about three days journey from Booreah for foot passengers.

Our tents were pitched amidst a grove of mango trees, which being in blossom, impregnated the atmosphere with a pleasant odour. The day was cloudy and made the weather less disagreeable than it otherwise might have been. The morinings are generally more or less pleasant and afford great temptations to a stroll abroad either on foot or on horseback. We saw an old building at Booreah called, I believe, the Rung Muhal, which is said to have been built during the reign of Shah Jehan. There is nothing imposing in it, and although wanting repair, it is in a better state than might have been expected. A Zemindar, in better circumstances than his neighbours, and styling himself a Rajah, occupied the place, which precluded our examining the interior. From a neighbouring hillock, a good view was obtained of the camp formed under a grove surrounded by patches of poppy plantations.

On the 16th March we travelled fifteen miles to Marwah, where our tents were conveniently located on a plain near one or two small gardens. The fort and town of Nahun appear from this distance like white specks on the hill on which they are built. The country is daily becoming more and more undulating, and the increase of sinuosities, woods, groves and copses, are evident indications of an approach to that immense barrier of mountains to the north, the mighty Himalayas. Game abounds in this place, and it is said that we are not far from the haunts of bears, leopards and even tigers.

The 17th March brought us to Naraingurh, distance fifteen miles, over roads winding through brush-wood spread about the country. A part of the dry bed of a river, afforded us an opportunity of having a pleasant canter over the sand. The rugged and craggy sides of the hills and their peaks are becoming more and more distinct. On approaching these stupendous ridges, the combined effect of woods and luxuriant fields of grain, which extend to the foot of the hills, is very picturesque. Our camp was pitched on a beautiful spot near some shady trees. The day was very dusty in consequence of a strong breeze that blew through our tents. If any thing is disagreeable on a journey, it is most assuredly dust. It pervades and covers every thing, while there is no providing against the evil. The day passed off in this unpleasant state but towards nightfall the wind began to abate a little, when I was glad to move out of my tent to breathe the fresh air. I observed two or three large fires on the summits of some of the mountains. They appeared to increase or diminish according to the density or otherwise of the atmosphere, or according to the extent of fuel that the devouring and destructive element had to consume. To clear spots for cultivation, the natives of the hills are known to set fire to portions of the pine and fir forests, and by this means obtain eligible patches of land for agricultural purposes. The combustion is rapid and considerably enhanced by the oily nature of the sap that exists in and exudes from the trunk and bark of the fir and pine, so abundant in the vicinity of the " snow-capped towers." The fires at this distance, at so amazing a height, had a singularly striking effect, appearing at times like phosphoric fluid floating in the air.

We had to go on the 18th March to Raeepore, distance eleven miles. Bad roads, varied a little from yesterday's trip by intervening sinuosities. This is no great impediment or inconvenience to those travelling on horseback or in light vehicles, but it endangers the safety of carts heavily laden. The poor bullocks with their goaded hides and twisted tails, are the most ill-used of all the animal creation in these journies, and the Hindoos who pretend to hold them sacred, are not backward in lacerating the backs of these poor creatures with their unmerciful thongs. These animals have been known to fall to the ground by their exertions and expire on the spot, while others sit down very leisurely and in spite of the blows and abuse which are liberally lavished on them by their drivers, remain almost immovable. I saw a few instances of these to-day and wondered how, with these clumsy carts and their still more clumsy wheels, they could proceed at all through occasional beds of sand. The bullocks strain every nerve to accomplish their task. Carts are very useless vehicles for any thing like rapid journies, and only answer tolerably well when

short marches of less than ten or twelve miles occur. Camels are far better and are generally very much cheaper in every way, more expeditious and perhaps safer.

Although the distance of eleven miles to Ramghur seems exceedingly short, yet the bad roads we had to go over on the 19th of March, rendered this morning's trip irksome and equal to more than twenty miles on a plain surface. The sinousities were so great and so numerous, and in many places the roads so narrow, that to gallop away and escape the volumes of dust which enveloped us, was quite out of the question, particularly as our course was invariably interrupted by carts, camels and other impediments. To-day we began to lose sight of the high chain of hills that we had in view yesterday and all that now remains before us is a low ridge of, if I mistake not, the Sewalic range. We expect to wind round a part of this and probably come again to a sudden and fine view of the Himalayas.

On the 20th March, we had only seven miles to travel to Munnee Majra, which place belongs to a Sikh Rajah named Govurdhun Singh, who in the heart of his little town, lives in a fortified place of rude and irregular construction. The Sikhs here are very civil and in point of courtesy surpass the inhabitants of many towns under the immediate jurisdiction of the British. They vied with each other in showing us whatever was worth seeing in and about the spot, and took one or two of my friends and myself to see a large tiger which was confined in a clumsy room of masonry with coarse wooden railings in front. The night before, this ferocious creature got loose, but was re-captured with some difficulty, otherwise some in camp would doubtless have had a shot at him. The beast although reared from a cub in the society of man, was not divested of his savage nature. A venerable looking old Sikh pointed out the road to the Rajah's garden, but as he was unable to be our guide, a well attired young man followed, to show us the way. Not satisfied with sauntering about the town and in the Rajah's garden, we went for a walk towards some fields, whence we had a clear view of the hills.

We saw the husbandman at work directing the course of his plough, over soil which looked moist and afforded little resistance to the ploughshare. Such seems to be the conditional bounty of Heaven, that the gifts of nature are not accorded but to those who will strive to obtain them by their labor and industry. We indulged in a confabulation with the ploughmen, whose free and easy questions and answers were amusing signs of their rusticity. One said he was a Mahomedan, but the accent and the tone of expression peculiar to his class, were entirely disguised by the

colloquial dialect that prevails here. His manner and mien bore a great similitude to those of his Hindoo or Sikh coadjutors in the field. Long association with the inhabitants of the place was a certain though slow means of assimilation, and I am only surprised that he should have called himself a Mussulman when he seemed to be wanting in all the peculiarities of one and perhaps even in a clear knowledge of the religion he professed to embrace. Indigo, he told me, was not culturable here, at all events it was not cultivated; but he praised the superiority and productiveness of the soil and averred that any thing else would grow in it. Judging from the moisture that prevailed, the irrigation of the country seemed much assisted by natural means. Rills and minor streams were seen meandering through the plains promoting fertility. There is a water-mill close by, which is used for grinding grain, the proprietor being allowed a twentieth part of the grain thus ground, for permitting the use of his mill. Our tents were this day again pitched under a grove of mango trees and the day was cloudy and pleasant. We had a little rain and no dust, a blessing to all. The night was dark and cloudy attended with thunder and lightning.

Two or three miles from Munnee Majra, a belt of low hills is met with, going over which, brought us on the 21st March to the beginning of the Pinjore Doon. Though the height of the barrier is not great, the view that was hence presented to us was very rich. One sheet of verdure, checkered with a wild crimson flower, was spread around and had a beautiful effect. Our track lay over rocky ground shaped into a road, alternately rough and even, cut up in parts by the rain, but as it lay through jungle and by the side of hillocks, every turn presented a change of view. The dry and rocky bed of a broad stream, the Ghumbur I believe, at times ran parallel with our course, the banks of which were steep and precipitous.

Near the village of Pinjore, there is a large garden belonging to the Puttialah Rajah, who in fact, owns the valley by prescriptive right. It was surrounded with high walls of stone and masonry, but the contour of the gateway is disfigured by an external addition of a cramped square with a narrow entrance.* The garden is laid out in terraces of from six to about sixteen feet higher than one another and covers a very extensive space of ground. Opposite the entrance to the garden, is an oblong artificial pool of water with a string of *jets d'eau*, headed by a large and singular urn made of stone, the design of which seems to be for it to emit a sheet of

* These have been demolished and altered since this account was written.

water in a circle. An arched building terminated the first terrace and looked over the second. Under this stood a small square reservior imbedded with niches as receptacles for lamps. When a fall of water flows over the lights, the effect is dazzling, On the second terrace, stands a small curious looking building, bedaubed with a profusion of all the colors of the rainbow, in the centre of a large square cistern. A narrow bridge of masonry leads to it and forms a pleasant retreat for rest and repose or for pastime, as the atmosphere is cooled considerably by the evaporation of the water that surrounds this little summer house. The third and fourth terraces contain nothing beyond the remains of a garden now going to ruin. Of the trees that were thriving, the mango, the plantain and a species of the apple, predominate. The tall poplar is also seen here. Originally it must have been a fine place and were its repairs always attended to, (as they are at present in consequence of the expected visit of the Governor General,) its gradual decay and eventual destruction might be prolonged if not avoided. As the produce of the garden is about equal to the expenditure and cost of the establishment, little else is now thought of but the cultivation of the area, so as to make it yield just sufficient to render it self-supporting.

On our entering the garden, we saw three culprits in the stocks, said to have been convicted of an affray and robbery. On enquiring the term of imprisonment to which each was sentenced, the simple reply was, that they were doomed to no stated periods, but would be released when they were able to pay a "*Jareemanah*" or fine, meaning perhaps a douceur or bribe. The summary mode in which native rulers or their agents condemn malefactors, is a great obstacle to the proper course of justice, and many an innocent man suffers because of rich and powerful accusers, who triumph over their poor and helpless neighbours, often making them scape-goats of their own malpractices. Whether these were instances in point it is difficult to say but they nevertheless excited much compassion by their downcast looks, occasioned either by ill-treatment, contrition, or their sense of suffering innocence. Natives in power are not particularly merciful to their prisoners, and but for the check which they here receive from the people being under the protection of the British, their excesses might be carried even beyond the rack and torture, to the system of mutilation practised by the ruler of the Punjaub. Happy is the man who can make the scales of justice preponderate in his favor with weights of silver and gold, for he alone is safe. Justice and its attributes form a beneficial trade all over the world, but many parts of India would rival, nay eclipse, most countries in their sale and purchase.

The wind was very high to-day and the tents were nigh be-

ing blown about our heads and ears. Many of us were obliged to stand out in the open air to avoid accidents. The tent of a military officer was literally levelled with the ground. Loud murmurs and some half suppressed imprecations were directed against Æolus, for his wild freaks, so annoying to us all. The dust rendered the evil tenfold greater. We were at length relieved from this unpleasant state, by some slight showers, preceded by thunder and lightning.

In the course of the afternoon, a fire broke out in the village, which caused much loss of property to the proprietors of the consumed houses and huts. One man was unfortunately burnt to death, as he could not extricate himself from the crumbling masses which suddenly fell over and smothered him. Distress and anxiety were depicted on the countenances of all around, and a young man in particular evinced great uneasiness as he was bringing a vessel of water to save his hut. When I asked him if he was one of the sufferers, with tears in his eyes he replied, "not yet, but I do not know what may happen." A few minutes after, his shed fell a prey to the flames, as from its situation to leeward it stood no chance of escape. Lamentation followed lamentation as the fire burst over successive roofs. Nothing effectual could be done to stop the conflagration, on account of the high wind that prevailed, and with the best intentions, we were compelled to be passive spectators of so painful a scene. When two elements, such as fire and air, are united to carry havoc among these wretched hamlets, they scarcely leave a vestige beyond smoking piles and dying embers, to show the extent of their devastation.

If we had such cause of complaint yesterday, we had much more on the night succeeding it and on the morning of the 22nd March. Tempestuous weather in every shape. Thunder, lightning, wind and rain, all combined to assail us. It was with the utmost difficulty that our tents were kept from being blown away. This state of things continued from midnight till dawn of day, when as if the elements had had ample sport, we were gradually allowed to dismiss our fears. At 8 A.M., the storm ceased altogether and afforded us an opportunity of travelling to Barh at the foot of the hills, under a cloudy sky, with an occasional sprinkling of rain. The road was rough and stony but the prospect improved in a variety of forms. While the horizon was bounded by belts and ridges of hills, the intermediate space was taken up by small valleys, precipices in miniature and abundant jungle. We at length reached Barh and then proceeded on to Simla, where we arrived by the end of March, just in time to escape the sultriness of summer in the plains.*

* For an account of our two seasons' stay in the Hills, *vide* my "Sketch of Simla, past and present."

CHAPTER IV.

SIMLA TO FEROZEPORE.

Descent from Simla viâ Buddee.—Nallagurh.—Roopur.—Loodianah.—Illumination.—Cashmerian emigrants.—Shah Shoojah's son.—Ferozepore.—Rajah Khurruck Singh's visit.—Governor General's first interview with Maharajah Runjeet Singh.—Presents.—The Sikhs.—Rajah Dhian Sing and his son Heera Singh.—Review of the Army of the Indus.—Sikh cavalcade.—Entertainment on the part of Runjeet Singh..

After descending from Simla we encamped at Buddee, and on the 10th November moved on to Nallagurh—travelling over a fine road running parallel with the low range of hills facing the plains. This part of the country comes within the "protected Sikh states," virtually under British protection but it remains nevertheless under the jurisdiction of the native chiefs. The encroachments and rapacity of Runjeet Singh had long ago rendered such an arrangement a salutary step for the people on the eastern side of the Sutlej, and it is another proof that they depend more on British faith and probity, than on those of their own countrymen.* The soil here is good and many parts are under tillage. Cultivation thrives by the aid of streams, which, flowing from the hills, force a passage through these tracts and intersect the country. Two or three droves of good looking cattle were kept within fences from straying, and their condition evinced that the pasturage at the base of the mountains was exuberant enough. No villages were discernible in the plains at the foot of these mountains. I ascertained that they were generally perched on elevations and on eligible sites, amidst the lower range of hills, a recourse which under the former state of the government was expedient and essential for security against predatory excursions. Within three or four miles of Nallagurh, I found the roads in a bad state; some parts very stony. The sun was fast sinking beneath the horizon: to relieve my horse a little, I dismounted and walked, but could not do so for more than a quarter of an hour, as I found my course interrupted by small pools formed by the neighbouring

* "The efforts of the king of Lahore to add to his dominions the territories of the independent Sikh chieftains between the Sutlej and the Jumna, brought him into hostile collision with the British Government. Runjeet, however, was unwilling to risk a war; he agreed to limit his dominions on the east by the boundary of the Sutlej and he ever afterwards cautiously avoided every thing which could give offence to the Company or its Officers."—*Taylor's History of British India.*

streamlets and the recent showers of rain. Not long after, I was benighted and every thing around was perfectly still. I was at a loss at times to decide, whether I should go on, stop or return. I however took my chance and proceeded. At length, after a trial of my patience, I met a solitary individual who consoled me by saying that the track I was pursuing was the right one to Nallagurh. A little further a string of camels laden with tents convinced me that the man was right. I ultimately reached the spot and found, long after my arrival, that my baggage camels were just coming in, owing to many accidents on the way. As soon as my tent was pitched, I turned into bed to dream away the evening's mishaps and found the next morning that I was not the only one to complain. We halted at Nallagurh for a day, and I availed myself of the opportunity to examine the town and the fort, which are situated on an elevation. On entering the Rajah's court-yard, I was met by a decent looking Sikh, who very courteously showed me the *Dewan-é-Khas*, a substantial and not an unattractive building. The ante-room and hall were well carpeted and a few chairs were arranged for the purpose of receiving the Governor General and suite, who were expected to pay the Rajah—Ram Singh—a visit the same evening, as well as to see the place. From the back of the Dewan-é-Khas, a good view is obtained of the town, which however was little better than a group of mud huts, interspersed with a few ordinary looking houses. To the left of the Dewan-é-Khas, is the small Gurhee or fortress, which was once so gallantly defended by the Goorkhas against Sir David Ochterlony and his force.* The fortifications are few, but their main strength depended on the nature of the country and their being situated on an eminence. Whatever difficulties might have presented themselves, a powerful park of artillery and a well directed fire, reduced the place to submission, and one of the walls, to this day, bears evident marks of a destructive cannonade. The attentions of the Sikh (who first met me and who looked something like the Rajah's *homme d'affaires*,) and of others whom I met afterwards, were gratifying, especially as I was nobody and had gone all alone. Among sundry preparations for the reception of Lord Auckland, there was an old gun and a few ill-clad and ill-accoutred artillerymen, drawn up to fire a salute on His Lordship's arrival. This soon took place, as I met the cortége midway on my return to camp.

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* "General Ochterlony, resolving to put nothing to hazard, made a road with great labor, and sat himself down with his heavy guns, before Nallagurh, on the 1st November—(1814). Having breached the wall, the garrison surrendered on the 5th, capitulating also for the stockade on the same ridge, called Taragurh."—*Prinsep's History of Transactions in India.*

From the camp, on a clear day, may be seen the forts of Belaspore and Ramghur, perched on the summits of two high hills, the former in a north-westerly direction and the latter about north-easterly. The Belaspore fort looks like a small white square of masonry looming in the distance, but Ramghur is less distinct and seems lost to view among trees and sinuosities of ground, while below it are seen little white specks, which I was told marked the place of interment of the British officers who fell in taking the Ramghur fort.

The 11th November being Sunday, we halted, and on Monday morning the 12th, proceeded to Roopur,—distance ten miles. The weather having been cloudy the previous evening and one or two smart showers having already fallen, we entertained some hopes of enjoying a pleasant day, as the dust was thus settled and the atmosphere cooled; but to the mortification of all, scarcely did we reach our new encamping ground, when dark clouds disgorged their liquid stores with unbounded profusion. It rained unremittingly for about two hours, which reduced the soil to mire and mud, a circumstance that was highly disagreeable to the servants and a great impediment to the pitching of tents.

After leaving Nallagurh and advancing a mile, a substantially constructed fortification is met with. The roads were in a sorry plight owing to the recent rain, some parts being intersected by little streams that disembogued themselves into the Sutlej, which was not very far off. Roopur itself is a small town with a fort. It was once eminent for the superiority of its linen as well as for its commercial population, but is not so now. Roopur* has of late become a little noted in this part of the country, from its having been fixed upon as the place of rendezvous, for a meeting between Lord William Bentinck and Maharajah Runjeet Singh, in 1831.

We left Roopur on the morning of the 13th November and proceeded to Chumkour, distance ten miles. The roads were in a dreadful state, and horses and riders wet to the skin. Some camels were already on their haunches, while carts in numbers were immoveably rivetted as it were, to spots, in spite of the exertions of the draught cattle. Dyal Sing, a petty Rajah, resides at Chumkour within a fortification constructed of mud walls with loop-holes and four small towers at the angles.

* "At Roopur, also, is the very Ghaut or ferry, at which Nadir Shah made the passage of the Sutlej, when he invaded India about a century ago: circumstances which bestow on it a somewhat classic charm in the minds of those acquainted with the history of the country."—*Lieut. G. F. White's "Views in India."*

On the 14th November, we travelled about eleven miles to Muchwara, a small village-town with a petty fortification, and on the 15th, thirteen miles more to Dhunasoo. About midway we met a few Sikh horsemen, waiting to pay their devoirs to the Governor General, who on approaching them, stopped and held a brief dialogue with the chief. He was the *Killadar* of a fort and was distinguished by being clothed in a crimson costume, while the rest wore yellow dresses. They all seemed to be well mounted, particularly the Killadar, who bestrode a powerful horse of the Punjab breed.

We were glad to come to Loodiana on the 16th November. After travelling ten miles we reached the place as early as 7 A. M., for we were fortunate enough to have good roads all the way,—a boon for which the public is indebted, in a great measure, to Major Wade, the Political Agent of the Cis-Sutlej States.

Loodiana is a neat and clean town, the streets regularly laid out and the conservancy department well attended to. The main street, in particular, is very broad and contains some well built shops and houses. There was a grand illumination in the town in honor of the Governor General, on the very night of our arrival, and at the further extremity, a pyrotechnic display awaited His Lordship, for the amusement of himself, his party and the people in general. Loodiana seems to be sparsely populated and instead of crowded streets, as I was led to expect, I saw them thinly sprinkled with inhabitants. They attribute this to Shah Shoojah's recent departure for Cabul with a long train of about ten thousand men. This number ought hardly to affect an extensive population.

Cashmerian emigrants, driven from their native haunts by the rapacity of Runjeet Sing and his Sirdars, resort to this place to seek a livelihood at the loom and with the needle. Their work in embroidery is excellent but they themselves are a filthy-looking race, as well from habit as from necessity.* With swarthy complexions, deep-sunk eyes and care-worn features, they look wretched in their tattered, half Mogul, half Indian, costume. Besides other manufactures, Loodiana is becoming a little noted for its workmanship in wood and ivory. Some snuff boxes, wafer presses and other little articles made of these materials, would in a great measure rival those of European manufacture.

* The condition of these men has been materially improved of late, from the protection they and the results of their industry, enjoy under the British Government.

The fort of Loodiana is a small one, with about a company of Sepoys composing its garrison. The Military Cantonments accommodate a couple regiments or more of native infantry. It forms a frontier station of some political importance, but the Caubul war and the movements towards the Indus and across it, have drained the place of some its troops.* On the confines of the cantonments, lies Shah Shoojah's residence, known among the natives as the Shah's *Tukeeah*, which means a Fakeer's abode or beggar's resting place, so styled, I am told, by the Shah himself, dependent as he was until now on the bounty of the British Government.†

Our camp was pitched on the parade ground, a fine open spot, and here it was that, on the 17th November, Timoor (Shah Shoojah's eldest son,) had an interview with His Lordship, attended with all the honors due to his rank and station. He is a portly person, with a manly face and a long black beard. He was plainly dressed and was seated in his "Howdah" or elephant litter, with two of his young nephews or cousins by his side. His retinue was composed of a curious rabble, who appeared to greater disadvantage owing to the great contrast occasioned by their being in close proximity to the British troops.

The 17th and 18th November having been passed in a halt, we broke ground on the 19th, for Ghouspore, distance ten miles. The morning was delightful and we had a pleasant ride. We were encamped near a small ill-populated village, surrounded by country studded with groves of trees and land under tillage. On the 20th November we reached Bundri, after traversing only eight or nine miles. Bundri is an insignificant village situated on a vast plain of untilled ground. The soil is here very sandy and unproductive but for inferior sorts of grain. With the exception of a few patches, crowned with the vestiges of a recent harvest, the rest was a barren waste.

On the 21st November we rode to Tahara, distance ten miles. The roads were dusty and disagreeable but the country around was tolerably well cultivated and studded with an occasional good looking village, especially one which was about midway and

* Loodiana is now only a small Civil station, being no longer on the frontier, owing to the annexation of the Punjab.

† "A revolution in Affghanistan compelled the dethroned monarch, Shah Sujah, to seek shelter in Lahore. Runjeet made the unfortunate exile a prisoner, and compelled him to surrender all his jewels, including the celebrated "*Koh-i-nur*" or "mountain of light;" Shah Sujah would indeed have been stripped of all his property, had he not found means to escape into the British territories, where he and his blinded brother, Shah Zeman, were long supported by pensions from the East India Company."—*Taylor's British India.*

almost hidden amid groves of trees. Tahara itself is a village that has nothing particular to recommend it. Groups of the inhabitants were perched on the walls, or stood in the streets, to witness the sight of our camp in motion and looked out for the "Lât Sahib" with eagerness. They were perhaps disappointed when they saw him, for I overheard a native, when Lord Auckland passed by, say, "*Urrê! suffeid topee paina*," (Hollo! he has on a white hat!) evidently surprised that the ruler of all India should have such a simple head-dress, one which is left optional with any one to wear. I suspect that His Lordship's plain frock coat was also another cause of disappointment. Native-like, they doubtless expected to see him in a glittering uniform splendidly decorated with gold lace and trimmings. Certainly, in India, where a person is respected according to his appearance and the display he can make, it is not surprising that wonder should be expressed at such matters. Pomp and pageantry are essential for the admiration of the ignorant and vulgar, and the embellishments of the mind for the enlightened and refined. The Marquis of Hastings is to this day spoken of in the highest terms, by almost all classes of natives that have even heard of him by name, and the reason is, because he not only studied to put the above rule into practice but his career was marked by energy of mind, firmness of character, and above all, kindness of heart, supported as these were with munificent liberality and oriental ostentation. Knowledge and refinement alone are not appreciated among the generality of the people, except in the higher and better educated circles of society.

We travelled ten miles on the 22nd November and came to Dhurumkote, a village little better than the last, with a small "Gurhee" and two circular buildings like towers, probably intended for granaries. As I rode in company with a few friends, we met some Sikh horsemen, who seemed to enjoy a little fun amongst themselves at the formation of our saddles and our practice of docking horses' tails. Like the Turks, they think the former very well adapted for breaking the riders' necks and like the Turks also, they doubtless consider the latter a barbarous custom. While they object to the system of docking, as divesting the horse of one of its natural ornaments, shaving is equally objectionable with them as not being intended by nature. The Sikhs so far have the argument in their favor, for they do not shave, whereas the Turks frequently, if not always, shave the hair of the head.

For the first time, since my joining the Governor General's camp, did I witness a band of musicians on elephants. The men were rehearsing the part they were soon to take in the scenes to be enacted at Ferozepore at the meeting of Lord Auckland with Runjeet Singh.

Came to-day, the 23rd November, to Tulwundee, distance eleven miles. This is an insignificant village, nothing more than a concourse of crowded huts, but on our way we met one or two far better looking places. Tulwundee is singularly insignificant for the birth-place of Gooroo Nanuk, the founder of the Sikh religion,* who is said to have been born here in 1469 A. D. and died at Kirthpore Dehra, on the banks of the Ravee. I say singularly insignificant, for the Sikhs, like all Asiatics, respect and revere the natal soil of any celebrated member of their priesthood. Were it a village dismembered from the Sikh rule, I should not have been surprised. I am almost inclined to think that this cannot be the identical locality, although the opposite seems to be maintained. If it be not an error, I hardly know to what cause to attribute its being neglected by the Sikhs. An instance to the contrary, occurs in the case of the priest-militant, Gooroo Govind, who died in 1708 A. D. and was buried at Nandeir in the Dekhan, and considerable regard is paid to his memory by the Sikh ruler at Lahore, notwithstanding the great distance that divides the two countries. Money is annually remitted by him, to keep the tomb of Gooroo Govind in repair and to give in charity to the professional and other mendicants who resort to the spot for eleemozynary aid. This duty is entrusted to Rajah Chundoo Lall, the Prime Minister at Hyderabad, who, though not a Sikh, places great faith in the Sikh character, and retains in his service five thousand Sikh soldiers as his household troops in general and his body-guard in particular.

On the 24th November we were to have gone to a place called Mair Singh-walla, a village so designated from the name (I believe) of the Sirdar who established it; but in consequence of an insufficiency of water for the wants of such a large camp, it was removed to Allipore, a place composed of dismantled huts. A jungle lay in our neighbourhood and report was on wing that even tigers were found in its lurking places. The Nimrods of our camp soon formed a large party and proceeded in search, but their efforts proved unsuccessful and they returned quite disappointed.

The Rajah of Mair Singh-walla was received in open "durbar," with all the honors due to his rank. Among the presents that he brought, besides the usual admixture of swords, matchlocks, shawls, brocades, &c. were about a hundred earthen vessels of sweetmeats, carried on the heads of some dirty looking, ill

* Originally the Sikhs formed "a fraternity of mendicants founded by Gooroo Nanuk, who gave them a code of morals, which is pure deism, and permitted the reception of converts from all classes of society. They soon increased their number and desolated the province of Lahore, which has since become the seat of their power."—*Taylor's British India.*

clad villagers. This seemed in bad taste and formed an odd amalgamation of trash with treasure.

The 26th November having been Sunday, we halted, and resumed our journey the next morning to a place called Shullee, distance about twelve miles. It is an inconsiderable village and the country we passed was over-run with coarse high grass, used as dry fodder for cattle.

Travelled ten miles to Ferozepore on the 27th November and proceeded amid volumes of dust, raised by the Governor General's escort, and a long string of camels which preceded us, carrying the camp equipage of a Native Infantry regiment that was expected to arrive here in the forenoon. As Ferozepore now formed the scene of several encampments, it took us a little time to find out the Governor General's. This, we afterwards found, was pitched about three miles to the south-east of the Sutlej. On reaching it, we observed the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Henry Fane (who arrived here two days ago), with a host of staff and other Military Officers, attended by Sir Willoughby Cotton, waiting to receive His Lordship.

On the evening of our arrival, the usual preparations for receiving a grandee, were made for the visit which Lord Auckland expected from Rajah Khurruck Singh, the eldest son of Runjeet Singh. This preliminary meeting took place in the afternoon. Khurruck Singh was not particularly well attended, and indeed very few horse and foot formed his retinue. It was said that this implied the great confidence the Maharajah placed in the British, in sending the heir-apparent among them with little or no protection. During the interview, the conversation was kept up with spirit. Fukeer Azeez-ood-deen acted as spokesman on the part of the Rajah, and the Deputy Secretary interpreted the sentiments of the Governor General. His Lordship expressed gratification at the opportunity which was thus afforded him, of the early expected interview with Maharajah Runjeet Singh. The witty Fukeer said in reply, "The lustre of one sun (meaning Runjeet) has long shone with splendour over our horizon, but when two suns (the Governor General and the Maharajah) come together, the refulgence will be overpowering!" A smile stole over the countenances of all around, nor could Lord Auckland refrain from smiling at the far-fetched and extravagant metaphor. When, however, the Fukeer was asked, what the nature and strength of the forces that accompanied Runjeet Singh was, he seemed to waver for a reply and was not so ready in answering. He looked a little perplexed, but was soon relieved of his embarrassment by being told that as His Lordship had seen some of the Maharajah's Sepoys at

Simla, go through their evolutions, he hoped to see a review on a larger scale on the banks of the Sutlej, and a still grander one at Amritsur and Lahore. "*Insha Allah*" (God willing) was the Fakir's brief rejoinder.

Khurruck Singh spoke very little. He is a man of about five feet eight inches in height, with a stoop, and his frame of body and mind are apparently worn out with early and excessive dissipation. He has an idiotic expression of countenance, with nothing of intellect or intelligence beaming in his eyes, which look dull. He is said to be a man of no energy whatever and ill-qualified to assume the reins of the Punjab Government, which in the course of events, after his father's death, are likely to fall into his hands. Runjeet Singh's camp was now on the right bank of the Sutlej, and the interview with him was fixed for the 29th November.

A levee was held by the Governor General on the 28th Instant. It was attended by the Commander-in-Chief and the numerous Officers attached to the various encampments now at Ferozepore. This circumstance imparted some degree of animation to the otherwise silent scene, and after our late sojourn in the hills, the rumbling and rolling of wheeled conveyances formed a change.

As pre-arranged, the interview between the Governor General and the monocular lion of the Punjab took place on the 29th Idem. At daybreak, the movement of troops towards the Durbar tent foreboded the coming event. By 7 o'clock a long street was formed, flanked on both sides, with the 16th European Lancers, Horse artillery, Colonel Pew's Camel battery, a European and two Native Infantry regiments, the 4th Native Lancers and the Governor General's body-guard. Two bands were stationed near the tent-doors—while about a dozen elephants richly caparisoned, bearing on their backs their ponderous litters, waited for Lord Auckland and his party to acquit themselves of the "*Rusm-é-Istikbal*," an eastern ceremony of some importance, which is performed by the host advancing a short distance to receive his guest or visitor.

Runjeet Singh did not make his appearance till an hour after the appointed time. A distant cloud of dust announced his approach, which was a signal for Lord Auckland, Sir Henry Fane, the political and other officers, to mount the elephants in waiting and they thus proceeded about a furlong or two. When the cortéges met, the Governor General received the Maharajah on his elephant and after embracing him, gave him the seat to his right. Returning under a royal salute, the party alighted at the entrance of the Durbar tent, when one of the bands struck up the national

anthem and the guard of honor presented arms. Lord Auckland and Sir Henry Fane handed the Maharajah down and led him into the first tent that answered the purpose of a "drawing-room." Here he was introduced to the Hon'ble Misses Eden and other ladies who graced the occasion with their presence; the veteran chief behaving with uncommon affability and remaining in their company for some time. The tent had now become crowded to suffocation by a concourse of British Officers (some three hundred of all ranks, off duty from their respective regiments) and several Sikh Sirdars, insomuch that a hat could not be held in one's hand without every chance of its being jammed, so that almost all were obliged to keep on their head-dresses. The clattering of swords and clinking of spurs added to the bustle and confusion, and the dust which prevailed was stifling and darkened the interior of the tent.

Shortly after, Runjeet Singh led by Lord Auckland, proceeded to an adjoining tent and sat down side by side on two chairs of State. On the right of the former were Rajah Khurruk Singh and Mr. Macnaghten; to the left of the latter, Sir Henry Fane, Heerah Singh, his father Dhian Singh and some others. As Lord Auckland was obliged to express himself through his interpreter, so did Runjeet Singh (to preserve a sort of State equality, when not addressed direct) convey his sentiments through Fukeer Azeez-ood-deen, and so well did this person understand his master, that a word or a sign, produced an unbounded flow of language suited to the purpose and to the occasion. Not a question or an answer was out of place and the strings of flowery effusions abounding in oriental metaphor, which flowed from the lips of this mendicant minister, were appropriate and choice. For instance, when a hope was expressed—consequent on the late famine which scourged some parts of the British territories in Upper Hindoostan—that the Punjab was free from the evil, the reply was, "The garden of friendship is for ever green." In the course of this strain of conversation, assurances of everlasting amity were not omitted and hopes were entertained that such interviews would often take place in manifestation of the friendly relations which existed between the two governments.

Owing to the crowd, I was not near enough to follow up the entire dialogue and the noise and clamour outside prevented my hearing all that was said on the occasion: I am therefore indebted to the pages of the "*United Service Journal*," *for the following* extract of the principal portion of a desultory conversation that passed between host and guest:—

"*Lord A.* All the letters I receive from the English Government, make anxious enquiries after your health and prosperity.

Runjeet. I am a friend to the English, and indeed esteem all their distinguished officers around me as friends.

Lord A. Sir Henry Fane expresses his pleasure at meeting you.

Runjeet. I am glad to see the Commander-in-Chief, who is not only a warm friend, but a gallant soldier.

Sir Henry. I feel grateful for the compliment.

Lord A. I am now about to present you with a picture of our young and beautiful Queen ; who is as famed for her virtue as her greatness.

(On this Major General Cotton advanced with the picture).*

Runjeet. I consider this the greatest gift I could receive, and a proof of the friendship existing between the two Governments, and when I return, I will fire a salute of 101 guns, to celebrate the happy event.

Runjeet. Do the English still occupy that *Tapoo* (Island) near Persia (meaning Karrak) and with what force ?

Lord A. Yes, with one European Regiment, but there are two more to embark for it.

Sir Henry. The island is very strong, and Maharajah (with a smile) the whole army of Persia could not take it.

Lord A. In a few days there will be a man-of-war of 74 guns besides smaller vessels at Karrak.

Runjeet. That is good ! 74 guns in one ship !

Lord A. I regret much, Maharajah, that I cannot do myself the pleasure of showing you a steam-vessel on the Sutledge at present, but I hope, ere many months are past, to gratify you with the sight of several on the Indus.

Runjeet. Have you heard of General Ventura lately ?

Lord A. Yes, he was in England by last accounts, and will be out, I think, immediately when he hears you require his services.

Runjeet. How was he received in London ?

Lord A. I gave him letters to the different Ministers ; he was received kindly by them ; and they all speak in high terms of him ; they have offered him every assistance in purchasing the newest arms, &c., for you.

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* A full length portrait, painted by the Hon'ble Miss Eden for the occasion, and " encompassed by a fitting frame of solid gold and jewelled cornices."

Runjeet. Whether do you consider, Ventura or Allard the better General?

Lord A. I am no judge; they are both brave and good Generals; they were brought up in the school of Napoleon, one of the greatest heroes and bravest men who ever lived; second to none, unless it be Wellington, to whom our country owes so much of her glory.

Runjeet. I am fond of music. Is that the same band I heard at Umritsur?

Lord A. Yes; the same: but we have such a band to each regiment.

Runjeet. I like music; it pleases the *soul*, and inspires the soldier in the hour of battle—I have gone to much expense and trouble to create bands in my army."

Subsequent to the termination of this colloquy on the part of the two great personages, through their respective interpreters, Maharajah Runjeet Singh and his party, were introduced into the tent which contained the presents from the British Government. They consisted of two brass nine-pounders,* a pretty organ, swords, rifles, fowling-pieces, pistols, jewels, and rich silks and other stuffs. The howitzers, for such they were, were the most prominent and the most admired. The Maharajah and the Sikhs scrutinized them minutely, and well they might, for they were elegantly finished. They were decorated with flowers in high relief, with the "Star of the Punjab" (one of Runjeet Singh's orders) and a couplet or two in Persian, complimentary of Runjeet Singh, while the touch-hole was in the form of a sea-shell.

On entering the tent containing the presents, Runjeet Singh, nearly fell on his knees by stumbling over a pile of cannon-balls, given with the two guns to complete the gift; but he was immediately assisted up by Lord Auckland and the Commander-in-Chief. This little accident was construed by the Sikhs, as somewhat ominous of evil, but attributable of course to Runjeet's growing infirmities and general debility, consequent on his advanced age.

After inspecting the presents,—which were subsequently appropriated by some of his Sirdars and conveyed to his encampment across the river,—Runjeet Singh took leave of his exalted host apparently well pleased with all that transpired and with his cordial reception. Runjeet Singh's retinue was compa-

* These two guns were a few years after turned against the British, in their encounter with the Sikhs, either at Moodkee or Ferozshuhur. I identified them at Agra, when the magnificent trophy of captured ordnance arrived there.

ratively small in this instance. He had in his train, some elephants ordinarily caparisoned, a hundred or two hundred horsemen and as many foot, which fell far short of the expectation I was led to form, of his being magnificently attended on even ordinary occasions. The Sikhs, particularly the mounted soldiers, were clad in all the colors of the rainbow, which with the gold and silver spangles and flowers embroidered on their coats and trowsers, ill became "knights of the lance and the bow." As a piece of novelty, their peculiar costume of silk and brocades, though fantastic, had a picturesque effect. A few there were, who wore mail over quilted coats. These were in better taste and appeared more martial:—They were, in fact, far better reconciled to the flowing beard, the manly brow and the prancing steed. There is one point in the Sikh mien, which is a redeeming feature, *i. e.*, their dresses fit their persons well—at least far better than the loose dresses which most Asiatics love to indulge in for ease and comfort. Such a circumstance tends to set off their figures, and being generally tall and well formed, they appear to great advantage, particularly on horseback.

Judging from the drawings I had seen and accounts that I had read and heard, I expected to see in Runjeet Singh, a good-looking, well-made, tall man, but he had a squat figure and an ordinary face with repulsive features. He had nothing whatever to recommend him in point of appearance. Even his dress added to his disfigurement—his turban, his robe, his waistband and the band that went under his chin and connected itself with his turban, being all of a brick-dust color. His white beard encircled a physiognomy, which but for the enquiring and expressive eye, would have proved an ill-moulded specimen of the human visage.*

The Sikhs are almost all more or less good-looking men, their features being well formed, although their whiskers, beard and mustachios, engross a great portion and leave only the most prominent to view. They are an inquisitive race, ready, nay eager, to enquire. Their curiosity often goes a great way, so far as trifles are concerned. If not checked in time, they stand on no ceremony in taking off one's hat, observing it minutely all round and then replacing it. Next, they will feel your pockets, pull out your watch and perhaps break a spring if permitted to open it. All this they do with the greatest "*sang-froid*" imaginable. They intend no offence by such behaviour. It is their fault of

* At a very early age, Runjeet Singh was attacked by the small-pox, "was badly treated by the native physicians and having narrowly escaped death, recovered with the loss of an eye and a countenance terribly disfigured."—*Taylor's "British India."*

manner, and when the motive is innocent, even its culpable rudeness may be overlooked and forgiven.

Runjeet Singh is too jealous of his power, to allow any one an actual share in it (although many are his nominal advisers) excepting Azecz-ood-deen and Rajah Dhian Singh. The former I have already adverted to. The latter is a shrewd, intelligent man, and understands his position of Dewan in Court perfectly well. In addition to talents of no ordinary description, nature has endowed him with a handsome manly face and a fine figure. He wore on the occasion of the interview, a well finished and highly burnished cuirass, with a helmet to match, both manufactured in France. This circumstance singled him out from the rest of his race who now surrounded us. His son, Heera Singh, is also handsome but effeminate in appearance: he would have been a fine youth if he had not been a spoilt child. With some prepossessing points of character, his being a favorite with Runjeet Singh, renders him exceedingly forward in matters, where a little reserve would do him more credit and would have been more becoming.

Many splendid preparations were made on the right bank of the river, by the Maharajah and his Court, to give the Governor General a grand reception on his return visit, which he paid Runjeet Singh on the 30th November; wherefore, to the 16th European Lancers and the 2nd Native Light Cavalry, was assigned the duty of forming a guard of honor and of furnishing a suitable escort. They crossed the river in the morning under the command of Colonel Arnold and took up their position beyond the bridge of boats, on both sides of the road leading to Runjeet Singh's picturesque encampment pitched some three miles beyond the Sutlej.

Lord Auckland dressed in his Windsor uniform of blue broadcloth and gold embroidery, left his tents betimes and attended by a brilliant Staff of Officers, Civil, Military and Political, commenced the journey in State, followed immediately by his body guard. Among the principal persons who were present with the cortége, were the Chief Foreign Secretary Mr. W. H. Macnaghten, (the Ambassador elect to the Court of Caubul) and his Under-Secretary Mr. W. H. Torrens; likewise Mr. J. R. Colvin, Private Secretary to the Governor General; Sir William Casement and Sir Willoughby Cotton, both Divisional Commanders of the "Army of the Indus;" Major Wade, Political Agent and Superintendent of the Cis-Sutlej States; besides some Brigadiers, and Colonels Commanding Corps of Cavalry and Infantry.

Mounted on richly caparisoned elephants they crossed the river "in single file," to avoid accidents by too great a pressure be-

ing placed on the bridge of boats, which shook and undulated beneath the weight of the huge beasts of burden. On the right bank of the Sutlej they were joined by Sir Henry Fane, Commander-in-Chief of H. M.'s Forces, accompanied by Generals Churchill and Torrens, and attended by the whole of His Excellency's Staff and some other military officers high in the three branches of the British service.

A deputation from Runjeet Singh, consisting of his second son, Shere Singh, and his Dewan, Rajah Dhian Singh, escorted by four or five hundred men, mounted and on foot, met the Governor General's procession about mid-way between the British and Sikh camps, now lying on either side of the river. They thus proceeded and soon fell in with a vast multitude, forming an immense avenue of more than a mile in length and densely packed on both sides of the road, up to the very doors of Runjeet Singh's magnificent tents.

The first line facing the road, was composed entirely of "serried ranks" of foot soldiers, regular and irregular; behind them were large bodies of Cavalry, and Camel-men armed with swords and swivels. Further on were planted parks and batteries of Artillery, and at all the intervening spaces, or wherever there was standing room available, the inhabitants of villages within a radius of some miles, had collected in crowds, as silent spectators of a sight, such as had never been seen on that spot within the memory of the generation to which they belonged. Twenty thousand troops were said to have been present, and an equal number of non-combatants.

As Lord Auckland and his well-timed and well-regulated procession advanced under a royal salute, and approached a given spot to within a couple of furlongs of Runjeet Singh's camp, the monocular monarch of the Punjab emerged from his encampment, amid a gay and glittering throng of Rajahs and Sirdars, all bedecked with jewels and glowing with gems of various kinds, in which "pearls of great price" vied with diamonds, emeralds and rubies. The hoary chieftain, plainly clad in a vermilion colored dress, without any other ornament, save that of his favorite and far-famed "Koh-é-Noor,"—mounted his elephant and sat in his "Umbaree"* to perform the "*Rusm-é-Istikbal*," an oriental ceremony of some consequence, to which I have already adverted as essential when a State visit in the east is paid by one potentate to another.

* An Umbaree is a native Howdah or elephant litter, crowned with a canopy in the shape of an oblong umbrella supported by four posts, all of which generally form a fixture, but if so constructed to order (as must have been the case in this instance) may be removed or kept on at pleasure. The Umbaree is used only by Eastern kings and the greatest of native nobles. It was a privilege exclusively enjoyed by royalty, or confined to the nobility of the highest rank in Native States.

On the cortéges meeting, the two principal personages exchanged salutations; their elephants were made to kneel side by side, when the Maharajah embraced and received his exalted visitor into his own Howdah. Thus seated, the whole of them turned towards the tents composing the extensive Sikh encampment. The two processions thus combined, formed a commingled host and for grandeur and gorgeous splendour, outshone and eclipsed every thing that had preceded it at Ferozepore, as far as outward pomp and pageantry were concerned. It baffled any thing like a precise description. For brilliancy of effect, it could hardly be equalled, certainly was not to be surpassed, by aught that the imagination could conceive or picture to itself of oriental magnificence and ostentation. It was no wonder then that an ardent admirer of the magnificent display, which to him was quite a novelty, should in the height of his ecstacy, have likened it to the "field of the cloth of gold:" with this difference in the analogy, I should suppose, that the ancient field bore a refined and civilized character, with the romance and spirit of chivalry to add to its sparkling effect. Whereas this, the modern field, partook more of the splendour of "barbaric gold," scattered about profusely, to the exclusion of the peculiar charm that characterised its assumed prototype.

As the moving mass of elephants,—packed in close proximity to one another and bearing on their lofty backs, the august personages of the day,—went along with slow and measured pace to avoid any chance of accident in a crowd so dense, all who witnessed the procession must have been sensibly struck with the magnificence of the superb sight. The lord-paramount of the five* streams, evidently put out his whole available strength and strove by many preparations elaborately made, to create a dazzling effect of his wealth and power, and he signally succeeded. It was as it were, a day-dream of one of the most enchanting scenes depicted in the Arabian Nights' entertainments and now realized in a purely Indian garb.

At length the two cortéges reached the encampment and alighted at about the centre of it, distinguished as this portion was from the rest, by a group of small shawl and scarlet tents supported by silken cords entwining silver or plated pegs. This was the old king's temporary abode and was enclosed in by a canvas wall of crimson-colour. His Durbar tent of gigantic dimensions fronted the comparatively diminutive ones, but was constructed of a different and less costly material of cotton-cloth colored.

* It must be known to most persons in India and to all orientalists, that the term "*Punjab*," is a compound of the two Persian words "*Punj*," five, and "*Aub*," water or stream. Hence the name of the Province; so recently a principality.

Into it, the Maharajah surrounded by his sons and Sirdars, led Lord Auckland and all the British officers who accompanied him. Seats were assigned to one and all according to their respective ranks. The highest in rank sat on the so-called gold and gilt chairs, those that came next on silver and plated ones, and the rest were accommodated with chairs of the ordinary description : a distinction without a difference as to comfort and convenience, and which went far to exemplify the vanity of human hopes and aspirations.

However, the utmost decorum and good will prevailed, to outward appearance at least. Formal introductions were gone through by a master of ceremonies "improvised" for the occasion ; the Political Agent having I believe acted on behalf of the British Officers and the Dewan on that of the Sikh Court. Strangers speedily became friends, and a conversation characterised by much mutual courtesy and good feeling was maintained, to say nothing of the flowers of rhetoric which were strewn about lavishly ; some of the Sikh Courtiers excelling in an exuberant use of eastern metaphor.

Whether the dialogue eventually began to flag or whether it was to vary the monotony of the scene ; it was deemed expedient after a short time, to introduce dancing women (imported from Cashmere) who advanced from a side entrance of the tent, gaily clad and glittering with gewgaws. They glided from one side to another, with measured steps and outstretched arms, and danced the "dance of the east," to native music that proved not a little discordant to European ears.

This part of the entertainment being soon concluded, the customary presents were brought in and displayed before the assembly. Trays containing strings of pearls and other jewels, shawls and brocades of various textures and value, were succeeded by highly finished swords and shields, bows and arrows, matchlocks and other articles of Lahore manufacture. At the entrance stood horses with rich housings and trappings, and an elephant or two richly caparisoned, as additional gifts on the part of the Sikh Chief. All these adjuncts to eastern diplomacy, were duly appropriated by the subordinates entrusted with their care and in due course deposited in the Government "Toshah Khana" for future use. "Pàn and Atr," was now introduced according to eastern etiquette, which formed the signal for a formal separation of guests from hosts. As this part of the ceremony terminated the day's rejoicings, such as they were, the Governor General and Commander-in-Chief took leave of Runjeet Singh and his two sons, Khurruck Singh and Shere Singh, as well as the rest of the Rajahs, and returned to their own encampment across the Sutlej, much in the same order that they came.

We halted on both the 1st and 2nd December, the latter day on account of its being the Sabbath. Every Sunday, service is performed and a sermon preached by the Governor General's Chaplain in one of the two Durbar or dining tents, either of which is large enough to accommodate the Christian congregation in camp.

A review of the "Army of the Indus" took place on the 3rd December expressly for Runjeet Sing's gratification. He came over by sunrise with a large but select retinue of his foremost men, and was met on arrival by Lord Auckland and Sir Henry Fane with their respective staffs. It was a very dusty morning, the evil being enhanced by the volumes of dust which the movements of the troops raised to the great obstruction of the view, and it was impossible to follow with the eye, the several evolutions executed on the occasion, till the regiments all began to march past in review order before the saluting flag. Here the principal personages took up their position. The 16th European and 4th Native Lancers, as also the 2nd Light Cavalry, took the lead, followed by four corps of European and eight or ten of native infantry. After these came the Horse Artillery (European and native), the Camel battery and a body of "Skinner's horse" in their yellow uniform. The music which each successive band played, the regularity and steadiness with which the troops marched, and the *tout ensemble* of the scene (diversified as it was with a host of Runjeet Singh's gay and gallant followers—horse and foot), were imposing in the extreme. Runjeet Singh's eye seemed as if it were rivetted on each regiment as it passed, and in manifesting his high approbation in favor of all, I understand he yielded the palm to the 16th Lancers. Fond as he is of horsemen and horses, he could not do otherwise than lavish the highest encomia on that excellent cavalry corps.

Runjeet Singh retired for a while from the heat of the sun into some tents, where breakfast was provided and of which it seems he partook, Sikh prejudices notwithstanding. Thence he returned to his own camp amid his motley crowd of attendants, for his retinue to-day outnumbered by far that which accompanied him on his first visit. Some of the Sikhs had good horses and seemed very superior horsemen. They careered about in fine style, wielding their swords and whirling their long lances with great dexterity.

Early in the evening of the 4th December, an entertainment was given to Runjeet Singh by the Governor General and his sister, the Hon'ble Miss Eden. The principal feature of this entertainment consisted in a pyrotechnic display within a large quadrangle, screened off with "khunnauts" or canvas walls, on one side of which was a large and commodious tent, as well as a wide "Shameeana" or canopy, that answered to shelter the hosts and guests, and where refreshments were provided and the place bril-

liantly illuminated with candelabra and table-shades of various sizes and shapes. The fire-works were generally of an ordinary description, for better could not be procured "for love or money," at, or about the vicinity of, Ferozepore. On the whole, it enabled the host and hostess to please their guests; the ruler of the Punjab having brought with him his sons and the chief members of his Court to witness the sight and to share Lord Auckland's hospitality on the occasion. They returned to their tents across the river lighted on their way by a blaze of torches, quite delighted with their reception and the polite attentions shown to all of them by the principal British officers who were present at the entertainment.

CHAPTER V.

FEROZEPORE TO LAHORE.

Crossing the Sutlej—Runjeet Singh's hospitality—Display of Sikh Troops—Review of Sikh Regiments—Runjeet Singh and the Sikhs—Town and temple of Umritsur—Akalees—Manufactures—Astrology and the oracle—Fort of Govindgurh—Entertainment in the Shalimar Garden—Christmas at Lahore—The Shadurra—Noor Mahal's tomb—Review of Governor General's escort—Retrogade movement.

A short distance of six miles to Futwawala, was purposely fixed for our journey on the 6th December, as we had to go over a broad belt of sand before and after crossing the Sutlej, the stream itself being reduced within narrow limits in this part of the year. The crowd was immense and the passage over the bridge of boats was slow and tedious. Elephant-keepers, camel-drivers, cartmen, all collected together on the left bank, were exchanging abusive epithets to secure precedence. There was a good deal of dangerous hustling and jarring, which I thought would have produced more serious results than proved to be the case. Having this morning risen at a later hour than usual, encouraged to do so by the short distance we had to traverse, it was my disagreeable lot to encounter this rabble. With great difficulty and at some risk, I penetrated it on horseback and went across.

The road was exceedingly bad, which one is obliged to trace as best he may. This was not an encouraging feature in travelling in the Punjab, at least if I am to judge of the future by the present. In fact nothing better could have been expected, for, from time immemorial, native governments have been proverbial for the bad roads in their territories: they do not consider good roads essential as arteries of commerce, but allow those in existence to continue without undergoing any repair, to the great obstruction of trade and intercommunication in general.

Rose at 6 o'clock on the morning of the 7th December, and in my ride found myself at a loss which course to pursue, different parties following different tracks. I followed a body of cavalry till we came to a broad unmetalled road, where several narrow paths from opposite directions seemed to meet. Some portions of the country were well cultivated, interspersed here and there with the tall palmyra. There were also some good looking villages with small mud fortresses, that answer for the amusement of refractory Zemindars, or land-holders, when they choose to vary the monotony of

their pastoral lives by refusing to pay the government revenue, till forced to do so by the master-mind which rules the destinies of these dominions. Near Khemkurn (our stage for the day) there is a fine small town which lies to the north-east of our encampment. It contains some neat and clean looking houses, peeping through a clump of trees which surrounded the spot and gave it an air of the picturesque.

On the 8th December we travelled to Mukee Kulsee. Roads in a deteriorated state, were often lost amidst the brushwood which abounds between the above and our last stage. As Runjeet Singh keeps about half a stage ahead of us, it is nothing unusual to see parties of horse or foot belonging to his camp, lagging behind and proceeding leisurely to join their chief on his encamping ground. This morning, I saw for the first time, a couple of his brass six-pounders, mounted in the usual style of ordnance and drawn by eight horses each. There were good looking villages and village-towns on our way, with some plantations of grain and groves of orange and other trees. Our camp was pitched on a spot about four miles to the east of a large town and fort, which presented a fine contour on the dark horizon.

Since our crossing the Sutlej, we were all, from the first to the last, entertained as Runjeet Singh's guests. Our wants were supplied gratis and strict injunctions were issued by the chief to his Sirdars and commissariat officers, that not an article of consumption was to be sold to us but given free of cost. Even carpenters and other workmen would do any work assigned them, and walk away when their labor was finished, apparently well contented. However much our servants and the camp-followers gloried in this course of entertainment, the rest disliked the arrangement, from the inconvenience it occasioned. Our domestics were obliged to wait on the native officers who acted as our caterers, for hours before they could come away with what was required, and their return was generally foretold by the bleating of sheep and lambs which were dragged in for our consumption.

The average daily expense which Runjeet Singh incurred by this magnanimity on his part, was estimated to be 25,000 Rupees, which multiplied by the thirty days we are to remain within his territories, shows a result of 750,000, equal to about 75,000 pounds sterling; but how low would such magnanimity fall, if what is generally asserted be true, that we are literally a tax on the country, feeding on the produce of the land, at the expense of the villages we have to pass by or tarry near. This circumstance, (founded on the allegations of those who deem themselves competent to offer an opinion in the matter,) is one which is probable

enough and still more possible, when such a mode of exaction is by no means uncommon in native States ; nor is it unusual here, even in our absence, for Runjeet Singh's own followers and others to claim a privilege which is now forced upon us much against our will. I say much against our will, because many in camp were anxious to propose that the usual state and competition of the market should be left open to us, by first obtaining Runjeet Singh's permission. It was however over-ruled, because of the certainty that such a request would be looked upon as a slight or be regarded as an insult to the old chief, who according to local custom, claims it as his right to feed his guests, whether as travellers through his country or as visitors at his Court.

It is true that in former times, Runjeet Singh was personally very liberal in all such matters and possessed a generous heart, but it is now, in his old age, contracted by avarice, of which parsimony, forms the ruling feature. He therefore waives his generosity or rather shrinks from the manifestation of it himself, and adopts the plan of causing his subjects to pay for his niggardliness, for the purpose of making a display of hospitality. The 75,000 pounds sterling alluded to, would have hardly affected his exchequer at Umritsur for the fort of Govindgurh contains a hoard of riches, which has been accumulating during the latter years of his life. It was evident that the articles procured for our use had been exacted from the people, from the fact of their being very inferior. While the quality of some preserved the average of staple commodities, the greatest part fell far short of the standard, and were not even considered tolerable.

At this place, I was made acquainted with an instance of that shocking practice which prevails in the Punjab. I refer to the practice of mutilating, as a punishment. The instance I allude to is that of a poor Sikh, who in his foolish impertinence, caused perhaps by his ignorance, insulted a gentleman of the Civil service, by laughing at and saying something rude to him, while he was present at the Ferozepore review. The gentleman, knowing the consequences of a representation to the Maharajah, very humanely and generously refrained from making it a matter of complaint. A Sikh Sirdar who witnessed the act, was however not so considerate and brought the circumstance to Runjeet Singh's notice, who immediately ordered that the offender's hands and nose should be cut off, a punishment barbarous in the extreme and ill suited to the offence. But for the intercession of the insulted gentleman,*

* This was the Hon'ble J. R. Colvin, late Lieutenant Governor of the N.W.P. who died during the mutiny in the Fort of Agra. He was at the time I am writing about, Private Secretary to Lord Auckland.

the sentence would asuredly have been carried into execution. Whatever the man's fault might have been in the present case, such a proceeding could not but be viewed with horror, for a heinous crime could hardly have been dealt with, with greater severity. To deprive a man of his hands is to deprive him of the means of sustenance, and in the absence of the latter, life must be an intolerable burden. Even if charity lavished her stores on him, it would prove a poor recompense in such a case, which no compensation, pecuniary or otherwise, can repair. The practice of passing such sentences, for even the most trivial offences, is common, and while petty larceny is punished with mutilation, more serious crimes I suppose meet with severer modes of torture. Without Courts of Judicature and Codes of law, to remedy these grave defects in administration, it is not surprising that summary steps are taken and arbitrary measures adopted, without much, and sometimes without any, preliminary investigation or formal trial.

The 9th December having been Sunday, our halt was a quiet one, with the usual Divine service performed in camp. On the 10th we resumed our journey through a fine open country, varied by its woody nature and large patches of cultivation. We passed some well populated villages in which were substantial houses of masonry. The distance we had to traverse was not more than eight miles. It formed an agreeable ride, for the ground we crossed was level and even, and free from all impediments. Our camp was pitched at Maloowal, on a spot covered over with stumps of the "*Jooár*" newly reaped, that needed the use of the spade over the area comprised within our tents. The day was a tolerably pleasant one, and quietness would have prevailed had not Shere Singh's encampment been in our neighbourhood, whence at various intervals, our camp used to be saluted with a few blank charges fired from cannon. Judging from the specimen in question, the Sikh artillerymen work their guns remarkably well and with great rapidity, for the firing was very brisk. A little more attention devoted to their uniforms and the condition of their horses and harness, would render the Sikh artillery, in point of equipment, equal to the best of the British troops in this branch of the service.

We went to Booroo distance nine miles, on the 11th December, over abominable roads and thrcugh a wild looking country, scattered over with occasional patches of cultivation and plantations of the sugarcane. In our trip, we had to creep through part of a village in ruins, and the narrowness of the passage was a great obstruction to the artillery, ammunition-waggons and carriage in general.

Some grand preparations were said to be on the tapis to greet

the Governor General's entrance into Umritsur on the 12th December, and not to lose sight of any of them, I purposely left ground by day-light. Rajah Khurruck Singh, well attended by horse and foot, came to our last encampment on deputation from his father, to accompany His Lordship and party. A little beyond were posted Now Nihal Singh's regiment of infantry and a body of cavalry and artillery, which answered the purpose of an advance guard of honor. On our approaching the town and going to the west of it, we came in view of the Govindgurh fort and an immense multitude of Sikhs drawn out in a dense mass, some mounted on camels, others on horseback, while the greatest part were on foot. They were arranged in distinct bodies. The camel-men wore red dresses and were armed with swords and swivels. The horsemen were variously clothed and armed, and so were those on foot. The variety of their costumes produced a striking effect, as they were all dressed in their best, a great many of them in rich silk and shawl stuffs and brocades. All these troops composed Runjeet Singh's irregulars; and as the serried ranks thus covered a space of more than a mile, we had a fine opportunity of observing them with more minuteness than if they had been grouped together indiscriminately. Among the rest, was a small body of Akalees, distinguished by their sombre dark-colored dresses. They behaved well considering that they are a turbulent race, but Runjeet Singh's presence and his nose and ear-cutting system, form great checks on their conduct, though they are said not to care for him on all occasions, excepting on one like the present. The scene in many of its features resembled the display on the right bank of the Sutlej, described above, when Lord Auckland paid his return visit to Runjeet Singh amid as much of a similar style of pomp and pageantry as he could set forth on the occasion.

At this point, we met Runjeet Singh moving on leisurely in his State palanquin, glazed all round, (to screen him from the dust) and comfortably cushioned within with silk and velvet. Very richly caparisoned elephants and horses, and well dressed followers mounted and on foot, preceded and followed his litter, which was being taken towards the direction whence we came, to meet the Governor General and usher him into Umritsur, or rather into the camp that was lying in its vicinity.

Proceeding onwards, we found the termination of the line of irregulars taken up by another body of swivellers, so that these supported the two ends. Scarcely did we leave them, when the eye alighted on a long line of Runjeet Singh's regular troops composed of infantry, cavalry and artillery. The line was formed at a distance from our encampment and extended as far as the eye could reach. Thirty regiments were said to be present on the

occasion, batteries of Artillery being planted between the infantry regiments and protected by corps of cavalry. On Lord Auckland arriving in company with Runjeet Singh, (seated as they now were on the Maharajah's elephant, side by side, according to Eastern etiquette) a general salute was fired and kept up for about half an hour, all the guns firing simultaneously or at intervals and the infantry pouring forth volleys of musketry. What with the smoke that floated high above and twirled in the air in silvery wreaths, the glistening of arms under the rising sun, and the grand concourse that followed in the Governor General's and the Maharajah's trains, besides the array of irregulars that I have already alluded to, the effect was indescribable. The Sikh chieftain evidently studied to make an impression by a display of his resources and power here, as he did on his encamping ground near Ferozepore, and he was equally successful in both places. For one whole hour and more, did we gloat on a moving diorama as it were, of the gaudiest colors and the gayest costumes, worn by the Sikhs from the highest to the lowest, superadded to which were the glittering housings of their horses and the rich trappings of the elephants. The effect was peculiarly oriental and the display gorgeous in the extreme.

"In gaudy objects, I indulge my sight,
And turn, where Eastern pomp gives gay delight;
See the vast train in various habits drest,
By the bright scimitar and sable vest."

The Maharajah after a hundred hyperbolical compliments and many manifestations of civility, left our encampment to proceed to his own in the neighbourhood, leaving behind two squadrons of his regular cavalry at the Governor General's disposal, to do duty as escorts to those who visited the interior of the town of Umritsur, lest some of the towns-people, and more especially the Akalees, should prove rude or insulting, if nothing worse.

The 13th December would have been passed in a quiet halt, had not our vicinity to the town drawn out its inhabitants in groups, to pace up and down the sides of our tents, in order to gratify their curiosity. At 4 o'clock in the afternoon, in company with about half a dozen friends, and attended by a body of twenty-five of Runjeet Singh's cavalry, I visited the interior of the town, which lay about two miles to the south of our camp. We passed by some pretty villas and gardens before we entered it. The entrance was under a massy gateway of masonry, mounted with light pieces of ordnance. Most of the streets were narrow, with a drain running through the centre, which received all the filth and rubbish of the place. Men, women and children, posted themselves on the terraces and balconies of the different houses, to

have a view of the Governor General and his party, who were expected here this very evening. The houses are, generally speaking, tolerably clean and neatly built. The streets were obstructed at different places by elephants, horsemen and foot passengers. These obstacles were great drawbacks to our scrutinizing particular localities, although we had with an effort, gone over many parts of the town and its principal thoroughfares.

Among the many striking objects around, were the Cashmerian women, who for their regularity of features and general beauty, surpass the females in Hindoostan, at least such as are usually to be seen. Some of them are very pretty, with large and bright eyes beaming beneath their arched eyebrows which nature has pencilled on their foreheads in crescents of black. Their jet-black hair makes their complexion appear fairer by the strong contrast. They were gaudily dressed in crimson, purple, and other colored silks and linen, bedecked with gold and silver lace and tinsel. They however detract from the effect of their features by applying something like gold dust or gold leaf below their eyelids.

On the morning of the 14th December, a review took place of Runjeet Singh's troops, such as were at Umritsur and the same that were drawn out yesterday to receive His Lordship as he entered the camp. There were about thirty thousand men, and I was told that the reason of his fixing upon so early a day immediately after our arrival, for the review, was to order them off to Lahore, to make another display there. The men were all sheltered in a long row of small tents like our "Sepoy palls," and when I arrived on the ground, they were leaving them to form a long line as they did yesterday.

On the arrival of Runjeet Singh and the Governor General, the first battery of artillery fired a salute and continued doing so till the cortége passed the leading Infantry regiment, when the next battery took up the firing and the other ceased. Thus they went on, while each regiment of infantry alternately presented arms. The cavalry and infantry were clothed alike. Of the former, each man carried a sword, a carbine and a pair of pistols. There were four or five French officers present. Besides these, all the rest of the officers were Sikhs. Their uniforms were oddly irregular. Each wore a pair of trowsers of fanciful colors and texture. Their coats were rarely embroidered alike; epaulets of all sizes and shapes were discernible, and they had nothing like a regulation sword. Some of the infantry officers on foot (a few being mounted) had, one a sabre, another a Persian blade, and a third something like a rapier, dangling by their sides. Had the same regularity been enforced with them as with the men, and both improved upon, they would approach in appearance the Sepoys and their native commissioned

officers in British pay, more so than they do now. Indeed, I am not a little surprised that a master-mind like Runjeet Singh's did not think of establishing a regular military school on a large scale, with proper European teachers, for the instruction of his countrymen. He has at his command all the elements and materials for such an institution. It would have been of incalculable benefit to his soldiery and would have advanced them considerably more in the art of war, than the half a dozen or so of French officers, who (scattered amidst his troops and not averaging even one to a Brigade, much less to a regiment,) are ill able to introduce any thing like strict discipline. A considerable degree of petty jealousy exists among the Sikh officers, who look upon European employés as interlopers, while they forget that their own advancement in a military point of view is owing in a great measure to those whom they seem to envy. In fact it is a reprehensible feeling and might tend to foment disagreements and lead to mutiny, on emergencies when order and combination would be required to render them effective. Had Runjeet Singh been more regular in his payments and placed means at the command of the European officers in his employ, he would have secured to himself and to his country, troops that would have rivalled some of the best in India. Taking into consideration the many disadvantages they have been labouring under, they have progressed in no small degree in the art of warfare, for notwithstanding his avarice and a degree of niggardliness, counterbalancing many of Runjeet Singh's intentions towards retrieving the Sikh nation from a state of military semi-barbarism, the progress is commensurate with the means put into operation. Had these means been more liberally bestowed and stringent measures adopted, I have not a doubt that the attainment of the contemplated ends, would have been far greater. Moreover, Runjeet Singh had applied himself almost alone to a gigantic undertaking, that of bringing into the order of nationality, a vast fraternity of freebooters who were once scattered over the Punjab and were divided into distinct clans under different chiefs. While he consolidated his power by uniting them together; he ameliorated their condition, in a military point of view at least, by teaching them to be expert warriors and by reducing their mode of warfare, to something of a system, more so at all events, than they had been previously accustomed to. Although an illiterate man, without the ability to read or write, he nevertheless possesses abundant shrewdness and no little natural talent.* He had the sagacity to discern that the tactics

* "In his twelfth year, he lost his father; his mother acted as regent, and preserved the minor's inheritance from the rapacity of his neighbours, but she designedly neglected the boy's education to prevent him from becoming the rival of her power. He was *never taught to read or write.*"—*Taylor's "History of British India."*

of Europe formed the best, and had the resolution to introduce the same among the Sikhs, in spite of the great obstacle which the prejudice of his followers offered towards any innovation of the kind. Perseverance and the peculiar power he had of swaying those under him, soon enabled him to surmount such impediments as fell in his way. Had his measures kept pace with his intentions and had they not been cramped by a want of method in the civil and fiscal departments, the Sikh nation would by this time have been twice as formidable as it is now. Independent of his then being able to maintain a large body of regular soldiers, exclusively adapted for military service, he could have also instituted a kind of a national guard among them, by encouraging every Sikh, whether peasant or farmer, to keep himself equipped as a militia-man, by sacrificing in behalf of each a small portion of the revenues of the State. Such a plan would have succeeded with them admirably well, for every Sikh considers himself a soldier by birth and almost every proselyte is taught to consider himself so by profession. Even without this advantage, they have already acquired a military organization of no mean pretensions; for the Sikhs at the present moment, can muster a redoubtable array of fighting men, and a standard once set up, would form the rallying point of myriads who would flock to defend it.*

The review being over, the host invited his distinguished guest to witness the artillery practice of his men. A park of guns of different calibre, and a few howitzers and mortars, were already in position, and at a distance of from five to eight hundred yards, there were sundry curtains erected and mounds raised to test the effect of ball, grape and shrapnell. The scene opened with some small shells being discharged perpendicularly in the air, where they exploded and scattered around quantities of a composition of gold-dust that descended, much to the surprise and amusement of the spectators, like golden showers in glittering streaks. Then succeeded the regular firing. The guns were ably served, the curtains being riddled all through, while the shells burst over the spot for which they were destined. But I observed that the Sikh artillerymen, although very expert in firing blank charges with great rapidity, were very slow here, when they had to go through the whole and proper process of loading shot and shell.

While I was returning to my tents after witnessing this parade, about a dozen respectable looking Sikhs, some of them Infantry and Artillery officers of the force here, interrogated me

* Runjeet Singh's efforts were now directed to forming the Sikhs into a united body, ready to assert their independence, and while under his guidance, they readily acquired a national organization."—*Taylor's "History of British India."*

(a non-professional) very minutely as to the merits of the morning's display, and were ambitious to compare their own troops with those of the British. I told them plainly what I thought, that they were a good imitation but required many improvements to render them, in efficiency and in equipment, equal to our soldiers. When I pointed out to them as a specimen, a small body of our horse-artillerymen, (who came to witness the sight,) their frivolous objection was that they had no beards! On however pourtraying to them their courage and bravery in spite of their beardless faces and youthful appearance, one giving his mustachios a sagacious twist, demurely said to his companions with a significant look: • "**Chunga, Chunga, Furrungee log burrê ukulwund hein*"—(Well, well, the English people—literally the Franks—are very wise). Notwithstanding that I urged some plain and blunt truths with regard to themselves, they nevertheless bore up with my remarks very good-naturedly, nor did they hesitate to retaliate whenever they had an opportunity. They offered to come and see me in my tent, and wanted to know if I had any brandy to treat them with, such a predilection have they for spirits. I said that as I was one of their Maharajah's guests, living on "the fat of the land," I did not feel myself warranted in entertaining them in the manner they wished. Moreover, that I did not indulge in strong drinks. "What," (said they), "not drink! Drinking is a fine "thing. You should taste our Punjab liquor. It is excellent. If you write to the Maharajah he'll send you some." These men, when they are once encouraged, render themselves very troublesome. With nothing to do during the day, they will enter one's tent at all times, and if they fancy any small article they see, they will not scruple to take it away without ceremony. The lower order of Sikhs, particularly the Sikh Sepoys, regard empty bottles as acceptable gifts and were glad to get as many as they could. They would of course have considered them still more acceptable with the contents.

Many in camp complained of the insolence of the Sikhs. I am aware that such was the case towards some, but I did not myself experience any thing like rudeness, although I rode among them recklessly and all alone and always spoke to them freely: at times with more frankness than was perhaps quite agreeable. On the contrary, I always met with civility. Our habit of shaving our beards and mustachios is repugnant to their taste and they view it with disdain. They will sometimes indulge in a loud laugh at a gentleman's face, if it be not profusely or par-

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* "*Chunga*" in the Punjab is synonymous to "*Ucha*" in the N. W. Provinces and implies good, well, &c.

tially covered with hair, and twit him about it.* Perhaps the insolence complained of might have been owing, in some or most instances, to this cause, a cause against which I had provided myself a month or two before I entered the Punjab, by dispensing with the services of my barber.

Between 3 and 4 P.M. of the 15th December, half a dozen of us proceeded to the city, to see the so-styled "pool of immortality" and the "golden temple." After winding through several streets, we, were brought to a small square enclosure surrounded with houses in front of which stood the porch, where my companions and I were obliged to take off our shoes previous to advancing further. This compliance with the customs of the place, we were made to understand before leaving camp, nor did we hesitate to conform to them, else our curiosity would not have been gratified, nor we permitted to advance further into this sacred retreat. We descended a few steps which brought us to a broad pavement constructed of burnt bricks and surrounding a basin of water, which is about 125 or 130 paces square. In the centre of this cistern, stood the temple dedicated to Vishnu. It glistened under the rays of the setting sun and appeared like one mass of gold, although many parts of it were made of brass and some of gilt plates of copper. In front of the bridge that leads to the chief temple, a large flag of gold and silver cloth flaunted loosely at the top of a staff. By its side is a small temple, before which sat an old sage with a venerable beard, leading a choir of singers who chaunted in a plaintive strain, and kept time with the eastern castanet that some of the men played upon. This, I understood, was the spot where proselytes to the Sikh faith undergo some sort of probation, preparatory to their being admitted to the privileges of the larger or inner temple. Apostates are said to be tolerably numerous, most of them embracing the new faith, as much from motives of gain and convenience as from a preference to the Sikh religion. A few Mahomedans, from the ill-treatment they experience when they continue as such, renounce their prophet and the Koran, to pay implicit obedience to the Grunth or Sikh code of religious laws. Some Hindoos likewise prostrate themselves before this shrine from many similar causes. Both have to digress more or less from previous habits of life or compliances of caste and prejudice. The Moslem renegade is obliged to eat of the animal held unclean among them, and the Hindoo to partake of all animal food except beef, which he perhaps construes into an advantage, when he sees one of his prejudices respected, while all appertaining to the Mussulman are apparently violated.

* This they did with a hot-headed young friend of mine, who happened to be in their way on one occasion. He was consequently very indignant and swore at them, without their knowing what he said.

The square platform on which stands the temple, is of substantial masonry and is erected in the centre of the pool. As we entered the temple itself, we found the floor covered with white linen, over which was raised a small canopy of gold-cloth studded with brilliants of different hues, supported by four slender staves. Underneath, was a pile of shells, pice and rupees, offered by the several visitors who come here on pilgrimage or out of curiosity; the Governor General having, I am told, only yesterday bestowed 11,000 Rupees on it, doubtless as a compliment and out of courtesy to Runjeet Singh. These and such like gifts revert to the *Akalees* or priests, as their perquisites. At the further end, reposed the Granth or code of moral laws, on a rich cushion placed under a small arch that suspended a string of bells arranged round a golden or brazen ball. The book of laws was carefully fanned with a bushy tail of the Yàk or Tibet cow, set in a fine silver handle, that served to keep off the flies and obviate their disagreeable obtrusiveness. The Akalee* who performed this office seemed to be the high priest, or one of the body who compose the higher section of the Sikh priesthood. This venerable old man was at the same time, engaged in delivering occasional lectures to a small congregation that surrounded him, while some went to wash away their sins by drinking out of the "immortal pool," to which a flight of steps descended from the back of the temple. This building is not very lofty and evinces little architectural taste and beauty. It however assumes a degree of magnificence, from its dazzling splendour under the rays of the sun, at a sudden and cursory view, but is denuded of much of this attraction when the eye attempts a closer scrutiny. Its interior has a few attractive features, in the form of flowers in high relief which are carved out of blocks of marble, something after the style adopted in the Taj Mehal at Agra, but not even remotely approaching the elegance displayed in that costly and superb edifice.

Umritsur takes its name from this cistern, which in Sanskrit is said to denote "the fountain of nectar," from the words "*Umrita*" and "*Saras.*" The temple was, I believe, founded by Gooroo Govind Singh and is of some antiquity in the Sikh calendar. The cloisters surrounding the pool and overlooking it, are principally occupied by the Akalees, who lay claim to some questionable

* The origin of this word is not clear. It may possibly be taken from "*Ukul*" (wisdom) and rendered applicable to the Sikh priesthood, as wise men, if not of the East, at least of the Punjaub. By a strange coincidence the Druses of Lebanon, style their ecclesiastics, *Akals*, while "the secular part of the community is called *Djahels*," i. e., *the wise and the ignorant.* Though the modern Druses, profess Islamism, "they *eat pork* (in private") and *abstain from smoking*, both these customs being precisely those of the Sikhs. The Druses are supposed to be descendants of the Crusaders.

qualities and style themselves the "immortals" or "invincibles."* They are very insulting towards Europeans, who on visits to the place, are provided with suitable escorts to be protected from their abuse and threats. From the profound respect, nay superstitious veneration, that is paid to them, they sometimes presume to treat even Runjeet Singh himself with like insolence; but he pays little attention to what they do or say, unless they carry their freaks to an extreme, when they, in common with the rest of the population, are punished by mutilation after the fashion of the country.

The town of Umritsur is generally well built, but the houses are mostly confined and ill ventilated. In consequence of the dense population, the streets are constantly crowded and bear living evidence to the celebrity of the place as a mart for all kinds of merchandize and to its reputation (according to Hamilton) "as an "emporium of trade for the shawls and saffron of Cashmere and "a variety of other commodities from the Deccan and western "parts of India." The local manufactures are limited to coarse woollen and other stuffs, while some of fine texture are produced by the loom under the superintendence and by the manual labor of the poor Cashmerians, who driven from their mountain homes, are forced to come hither for a livelihood, such as the tolerance of the Sikhs will allow them to earn. The unbleached shawls of Cashmere are frequently brought here for the express purpose of being dyedand having their borders put on, the work of embroidery being very successfully carried out in this town. Among other manufactures, there are works of carpentry and hardware, which are particularly well finished, such as Howdahs or elephant litters, palanquins, long and short spears, bows and arrows, quivers, swords, shields and matchlocks. These are all generally sold at a very cheap rate compared with that of many markets in India. Indeed, the venders are, in some instances, surprizingly moderate in their demands for articles, which one would fancy could scarcely be made for the price asked, and yet there is a reasonable profit always attached to what they sell.

The pavilions and garden houses, scattered about near Umritsur are not a few, some very pretty and tolerably extensive, particularly one that belongs to Rajah Khurruck Singh. A "Sheesh Mahal" or glazed palace, is springing up, it is said, under the auspices of Runjeet Singh.

* The fallacy of this self-assumed soubriquet was clearly proved in their subsequent encounter with the British, during the recent campaigns in the Punjab, particularly at Goojrat where the Sikhs were finally routed.

The temple and pool of Umritsur are not unfrequently resorted to by Runjeet Singh, with the object of consulting the oracle when he has any extraordinary expedition in view. The skill of the astrologer is of course brought into play, to prognosticate the probable results of terrestrial enterprises by an appeal to the celestial orbs.* Whether Runjeet Singh places actual and implicit faith in the practice here adverted to, is problematical, and it would not be surprizing if his practice proved to be contrary to his own convictions, and tolerated only with the view of encouraging his soldiery to an extra devotion to the standard of their chief, or of showing sufficient cause for withholding himself from war contrary to the expectations of his followers; especially when he has at his beck and nod, the predictions of mercenary or pretended saints, who, to earn a livelihood, may interpret the position of the stars just as they please, whether they tend to human weal or to human woe.

The fort of Govindgurh is said to be a structure of a comparatively recent date. It is more than a mile from the town of Umritsur, in a westerly direction. It seems to be substantially built, and judging from its exterior, wears a very imposing appearance. Of its internal economy and the state and nature of its fortifications, I can say little or nothing, for a general admission to explore it, was not allowed. An exception to this rule was made when the Commander-in-Chief (Sir H. Fane) visited the Maharajah a short time ago. But such an exception is considered as a mark of special favor, which an obscure individual cannot calculate on being made in his behalf, particularly to gratify his curiosity on the repository of Runjeet Singh's riches. The Governor General himself was said to have been somewhat surprised when he and a small party were invited to the place, for from what he had heard and from his own knowledge of Runjeet Singh's extreme jealousy of this spot, he was not led to expect such a concession. Sensible of his growing infirmities and of his approaching dissolution, the present ruler of these regions, doubtless sees the inutility of excluding those who may sooner or later become the owners of all that appertains to the Punjab.

We resumed our journey towards Lahore on the 17th December and halted at Bhoperah; proceeding on the 18th to Pool, a fine large village. The distance of both these stages did not ag-

* Dr. R. R. Madden, M. R. C. S., in his "Travels in Turkey, Egypt, Nubia and Palestine," mentions that, in his interview with Lady Hester

though he could not assent to many
astral influence and astrological science, he had still no reason
" to alter his opinion of her exalted talents, though it might appear they
" were unfortunately directed to very speculative studies."

gregate more than twenty miles. On the 19th December, we arrived at Shalimar and halted here on the 20th. There is an excellent garden at this spot. In form it is oblong, and is divided into two extensive terraces, one overlooking the other from a height of twelve or fifteen feet. On the upper one, is situated a substantial "Bàràduree,"* well adapted for a resting place, rendered pleasant as it is by a string of *jets d'eau* in front and some on the lower terrace, which play over a cistern crossed by narrow marble bridges in miniature. The garden is well stocked with fruit trees and flowering shrubs. Among the former, were some fine groves of the lemon laden with fruit. The branches were tastefully formed into graceful arches over the walks. The beds are well laid out, and considering that the garden is reputed to be about two hundred years old, it is certainly well preserved. It is surrounded by a high wall of brick-work, with cupolas at the angles, whence fine views of the country all around may be obtained, especially to the south-east, in which direction are situated the village of Bhugwanpore and some old ruins.

On the evening after that of our arrival here, an entertainment was given at the Shalimar garden by Runjeet Singh, to Lord Auckland and his party. The spot embracing the cistern opposite the summer-house and portions of the garden, were beautifully illuminated and the reflection of the light in the water was doubly dazzling. Within the house in question, were two small tents, one made with cloth of gold, the other of shawls, lined with silk and velvet, and supported by silken cords which entwined the pillars of the building of masonry. Golden goblets replenished with the aqua-vitæ of the Punjab, were freely passed by Runjeet Singh and his attendants, to Lord Auckland and the other gentlemen. The hosts quaffed off the fiery potations with gusto, while the guests strove strenuously to do justice to this section of Sikh hospitality, for courtesy would not admit of their refusing the "cup of kindness" that was so often handed round. Among the Sikhs, drinking is considered a merit and drinking to excess does not constitute a vice. Fruits and sweetmeats were served up in small trays. If a Sikh desired to show a mark of attention to his guest, he had only to grapple some of these and hand them in a gruff tone to him. Their rudeness of manner is, as I have elsewhere observed, excusable. They are in reality frank and free, but not polished and polite. The brusquerie of the plain blunt soldier predominates, without a particle perhaps of the soft address of the cunning and cautious courtier.

* Bàràduree is a compound of two words, the first meaning twelve, and the second, composed of doors or entrances. Hence any building with a dozen openings on one or more sides, is so called. But the term is sometimes used indiscriminately for other public buildings. The one alluded to above, is arcaded and open on all sides.

In the course of the entertainment, there were native music and dancing. The former maintained its usual characteristic of discordance and monotony. The latter was supported by dancing women from Cashmere, and they danced (as they did in Runjeet Singh's camp across the Sutlej at Ferozepore) the "dance of the east" in a style peculiar to themselves and yet resembling in many respects that which is common in other parts of Hindoostan. It consisted chiefly in movements of the body verging on the voluptuous, advancing and receding and tinkling the silver bells or ornaments with which their naked feet were decorated. It was simply gliding from one side to another with graceful and slow steps. It was hardly the "poetry of motion" even in a modified form, nor was it a faithful realisation of what is understood by:

> "Come and trip it as you go,
> On the light fantastic toe."

On the 21st December, we had to traverse a short distance of four miles to reach Lahore, which was almost invisible this morning owing to a dense mist that enveloped the town. On the 22nd there was a change for the worse in the weather. A gloomy state of the atmosphere, the sky clad in clouds and an exceedingly dusty day, were no cheering prospects to those under canvas. The 23rd December being Sunday formed a quiet halt, interrupted now and then with the booming of the Sikh Artillery. On the following day, Runjeet Singh had a review of his troops at Lahore; but as I anticipated something in the same style as the one at Umritsur, I took my morning ride towards the banks of the Ravee, where the Governor General's escort was rehearsing a review, on a small scale, that was soon to take place before the Sikh sovereign and his sattelites.

At sunrise of the 25th December, the firing of our artillery announced the auspicious day, in a land, where perhaps for ages past, its celebration had not been heard of, much less recognised or tolerated. Whether it be fear or favor, or friendship, that tolerates our presence on the banks of the Hydraotes, we have, however, an opportunity of hailing Christmas under the walls of Lahore. On such a day as this, who could look with other than pleasurable feelings on the British flag floating in calm independence over an extensive British camp, sheltering a British representative and British subjects. The novelty of the scene was one which gladdened us the more, and while the usual preparations were going on to render Christmas merry in the land of the Sikhs, every thing around seemed to wear an appearance of happiness, enhanced by the usual interchange of compliments and by the prospects of a repast peculiar to the day.

At noon, a few companions and myself crossed the river, at a

a place where there is a substantial building on the left bank, and proceeded towards the *Shadura*, which now lay about a furlong or two, on the right. The entrance to this once superb building is through a massy gateway of stone and masonry. Hence we passed into a square enclosure lined with cells like those of a "Serai," which were here intended for the mendicants and pilgrims who used to resort to the monument of Jehangeer out of duty or for devotion. The sepulchres of most, if not all celebrated Moslem sovereigns—particularly if their celebrity has been acquired by a course of sanctity, of justice, or of liberality,—are looked upon as sacred. Indeed their tombs in general are venerated as such, and their veneration for them is remarkable. Their seeming devotedness and loyalty to their monarchs even in memory, long after they have mouldered into dust, form a striking characteristic of the Mahomedan race.

From the first enclosure, we penetrated into another on a larger scale, that gave us a full view of the garden in front, which however is in a ruinous state. Over a straight and broad path through the garden, which is about 600 yards square, we came to the square platform paved with marble on which stands the mausoleum, divested of its dome, the marble of which, I was told, had been removed and used for a part of Runjeet Singh's palace. This circumstance gave the edifice quite a mutilated appearance, and but for the minarets at the four angles, it would have dwindled into insignificance. On the sides of the body of the structure, are four large arches, three of them shut in with marble fret-work, the fourth being kept open for ingress and egress. The tombstone is a fine block of marble, well carved out and shaped after the style of most Mahomedan tomb-stones, which somewhat resemble truncated pedestals. The pedestal on which it stands is covered with beautiful stones let into the sides, while the upper part is encirled with wreaths of Arabic inscriptions. It would appear that this building is not less than two hundred and ten years old. On a rough calculation, the platform on which the structure is elevated, is a square of about seventy paces, and four or five feet high from the ground. The super-structure is about fifteen feet higher. The four minarets are from sixty to seventy feet in height, each having a winding stair-case with sixty steps. Much of this monument is in a dilapidated state, reduced to its present condition less from age than from that neglect which follows foreign conquest. Indeed it was an adventure to get up to the top of any of the minarets and we chose the one that seemed the least impaired. The cupolas with which they are capped are in a tottering state, and some rents and crevices appear on the sides of their tall frames.

Opposite the mausoleum of Jehangeer, on a detached piece of ground, is the tomb of his Vizier, Asuf Jan. It is built of

brickwork, in an octagon shape, and supports a dome of the same material. The whole wears symptoms of being laid low in a few years. To the left of Asuf Jan's tomb and a little beyond it, is an ancient monument rapidly crumbling to pieces. This unpretending tomb of masonry is said to be erected over the remains of Noor Mehal and forms a sad elucidation of the transitoriness of human greatness. What a contrast between the palace and the grave, the bed of roses and the cold earth, the common grave of all. A few years hence, not a vestige may remain to tell where she lies, and what matters it then whether the rustic grazes his herds over the spot, or the peasant plants the plot with a flower garden.

A companion and myself, perched ourselves on an elephant on the 26th December, to survey the interior of the town. We fully realised the account we had heard of its filthy state. Our olfactory nerves were assailed by all that is nauseous beyond endurance. The streets are narrow, flanked with houses, many three or four stories high, but they are irregularly built and almost all devoid of taste, excepting the few old Moosulman Musjids or other structures of the kind. The cleanest parts of the town are those inhabited by the Maharajah and the higher class of Sirdars, but cleanliness and comfort do not extend far beyond their habitations and premises.

Behind the city, in about a south-westerly direction, is a substantially built old house of apparently Mahomedan construction, with modern improvements adapted to the comfort and taste of Christians. This building possesses extensive accommodation. It belongs to General Ventura, one of Runjeet Singh's principal officers. It overlooks a plateau which forms the parade ground of the Sikh soldiers under his command, and the barracks are tolerably well built. The Sikh Sepoys, however, are expected to be constantly "*en bivouac*" from their being obliged to occupy tents almost all the year round. Hence the celerity with which Runjeet Singh can move large bodies of his army, at a very short notice, particularly as his orders are peremptory and obedience is prompt, while his commisariat is ever to be found in the heart of his villages.

On the morning of the 27th December, the Governor General's escort was reviewed on the banks of the Ravee. The 17th and 21st N. I., the 4th Native Lancers and European Horse Artillery formed the troops present. Runjeet Singh was absent on the occasion, in consequence of a sudden attack of illness. The heir-apparent, Koonwur Khurruck Singh, was however there, and with him came the usual retinue attending an eastern grandee of his rank and station. The Sikhs seemed most to admire the charges made by the cavalry in line. The firing of the artillery did not please them much at first, because it was not as quick and as loud

as they wished ; while the squares were unintelligible to the uninitiated, and unmeaning to the majority of them. A Sikh of some respectability who was by my side, his face betraying symptoms of an overnight's dissipation, exclaimed, on a dash the cavalry made with impetuosity : "These are the men to fight the Afghans. Wah ! wah ! (bravo, bravo !) That is a good charge, how regular, " how well the horses keep together, they are well trained, they are fat !* The guns however do not make such a loud report as ours : but why are those two groups so inert and in one " position. They look as if they are waiting to be shot at or cut " down." " Those are living " *killahs*" (forts) I said, which cavalry " cannot penetrate." At a trifling military anecdote that I related for his amusement as well as to illustrate my meaning, the Sikh laughed heartily and said it was " *buhoot achee bath*," a favorite expression of their's implying, well said or very good, literally a " very good word" or may be a *bon-mot*. He proceeded to tell me that the British would not be able to go through the " Khyber pass" but with great difficulty ; that Runjeet Singh had had the elite of his men beaten back more than once. He candidly admitted the Afghans to be better *swordsmen* than the Sikhs (which Sikhs are not often prone to admit) " but we (added he) shoot at them " from a distance. However, when we are hand to hand, at the " length of our sabres, they are generally victorious, unless overpowered by numbers, and then no quarter is shown." " Yes, (said I) and you are very cruel towards your enemies, you spare " them no tortures." " No more do we, (quoth he) they deserve " no mercy. They treat us equally as ill when they can." " Not so with the British, they treat those that are disabled or disarm" ed, as prisoners of war and with leniency." " Then you all do " not know the Affghans," he rejoined ; and here our conversation was interrupted by an unexpected charge made by the cavalry, a troop of which would have swept us along, had we not scampered off as fast as our horses could carry us. We thus parted company, wishing each other a long farewell, after but a very short acquaintance.

From the 28th to the 30th December, we were waiting to commence making a retrograde movement, but Runjeet Singh's illness was an obstacle to the formal ceremonies of separation of host and guest taking place. We were anxious to leave the spot, as every thing around us was becoming stale, dull and dreary, circumstances that were enhanced by the gloomy state of the atmosphere. During these three days nothing occurred of an extraordinary nature or worth recording.

* I do not wonder at this remark, for the horses of the 4th Cavalry were in excellent condition which is the reverse with most of the Sikh cavalry horses.

CHAPTER VI.

LAHORE TO HANSI.

Departure from Lahore—Punjab goats and sheep—Recrossing the Sutlej—Moodkee—Robbers—Pattialah Rajah—His administration and popularity—Burnaleh—Sunam—Sudden rising of the Ghuggur river—Camp impeded—Hissar and its studs—Feroze Shah's canal—Town and fort of Hansi—Colonel Skinner—His cavalry and farm.

After a halt of full ten days at Lahore, we left the place on the 31st December, much to the satisfaction of most in camp, for we had already become tired of remaining stationary at a spot which had no particular attractions to attach us to it. The first stage we made was to Dahoree, distance eleven miles. Our progress was easterly, and we commenced our morning's trip through a long row of ruins and old buildings to the left of the town and fort. Amidst the ruins, Sikh encampments were observable here and there, taking up positions convenient for residence and for drill.

New Year's day was pleasant enough, as far as its usual concomitants and the state of the weather could render it. We travelled to the next stage, at first through copse and low jungle, but our line of march improved as we emerged from a belt of forest and proceeded through tracts of cultivation. The roads were as bad as they generally are in the Punjab, and it would be highly creditable to the Sikh government, if an improvement in the means of intercommunication were established, means which are shamefully neglected by a wealthy ruler. Facilities of this and other descriptions, would be of primary importance in a commercial point of view, for commerce may be said to be the foster-sister of agriculture, and both combined, of social prosperity and national independence. The unprotected state of the wells in the Punjab, as they are in some parts of Hindoostan proper, is a source of great risk and danger to travellers. It is therefore wonderful that more accidents do not occur. Yesterday, however, a water-carrier missed his footing and fell into one of them. Fortunately the width of the well was great, else he might have been killed by the fall, although the well was not very deep. Ropes were thrown to him and after about a quarter of an hour's exertion, he was drawn up without much injury, save a few bruises which his body had sustained.

On the 2nd January 1839 we came to Baynka, which we were told was at distance of eleven miles, but by the perambulator it was found to be about sixteen. We passed through two large villages, the latter of which I believe is called Soorsung. Both contained some good-looking houses and a tolerably large population. The "Punjab goat" is common in this and other villages here. It is very large and has long pendulous ears and shaggy hair. It strikes me that they are bred here by goats brought from Cashmere and Cabul. The peculiarities of some of the Punjab sheep are, I think, owing to some similar causes of animal amalgamation. They are large, very woolly, with brown or red ears and heads, similarly marked up to the middle of the neck. The remainder of the body is usually a dirty white. In some instances they are not unlike the Wallachian sheep we read of. The "Russud" system of granting rations gratis, brought many of these goats and sheep into our possession and they escaped the butcher's knife, as well from their being half starved and in bad condition, as from the desire of many of us to take them as presents or as curiosities, across the Sutlej.

Puttee,—or Hurree-kee-Puttun* as it is sometimes called from its proximity to a place named Hurreekee,—formed our stage on the 3rd January. In our progress hither we saw many villages scattered around, some assuming from a distance, the appearance of small castles, located amidst groves of trees. Puttee itself is a large village-town and has a "Gurhee" with four towers at the angles. The entrance to it was guarded by one of those fanatics of the Punjab, an Akalee, who strutted up and down, with a drawn sword in his hand, indulging freely in "the licensed clamors of a rude Fakeer." With all the volubility at his command and under the influence of some strong drug, he allotted to each Christian that passed by, rattling sentences of speech, which from his looks might have been easily taken for abuse but we fortunately did not understand him and passed on listlessly. "Where ignorance is bliss, 'tis folly to be wise!" The Akalees hate and abhor Christians, and if it were optional with them, they would have strenuously opposed our coming into the Punjab at all. These are the men whose pride and haughtiness must sooner or later be humbled by British arms.

A preceding day of rain, rendered our trip on the 4th Idem, less comfortable than it might have been, in spite of the bad state of the roads or rather no roads at all, for we were more or less obliged to follow wheel-tracks and other indications to reach our

* This I believe is the spot, where the Sikhs first crossed over into British territory and thus gave cause for the war, that ended in their discomfiture and the annexation of their country.

destination. We passed a large well, with a superstructure of masonry in the form of a small but substantial building. This is an unusual circumstance in the Punjab and among the Sikhs. I am not sure if the latter can lay claim to the credit of the structure, as it is too much in the Mahomedan style of architecture.

Our camp was pitched about a quarter of a mile on the west or right bank of the Sutlej, which here flows from a north-easterly to a south-westerly direction, taking a turn in its onward course. In my evening walk towards the rugged bank of the river, I had a fine view of* Rajah Shere Singh's camp, whose tents and those of his suite, were pitched on a part of the dry bed of the river. His own striped tent was distinguished by its being so much larger than the others and surrounded by a *khunat* or canvas wall, around which were to be seen the usual appendages of a native chief's retinue, from the huge and pampered elephant, down to the half starved *tattoo* or pony.

We crossed the Sutlej on the morning of the 5th January and entered into the protected Sikh States. A bridge of boats was constructed for our passage. As the Governor General had not left at the time, I got up and accompanied a few of my companions, most of the baggage-train and empty conveyances were congregated on one spot, to prevent their being in the way of His Lordship and suite. They, however, came shortly after and their departure from the Punjab was announced to all around by the thunders of the Sikh artillery. As the bridge of boats was slightly constructed, a great part of the heavy baggage and tents was brought over in boats of a larger size, but even these seemed ill adapted for the purpose. One of them sunk and carried down two of the tents. The rest sustained some damage or other from the leaky state of the craft. The elephants were of course made to swim across, a task which they readily and easily accomplished. The boats at this place were singularly constructed, with long and pointed prows tapering upwards. They are eight or nine feet in breadth, about twenty in length, draw nearly two feet of water and are well suited to the navigation of the river here. The snowy range re-appeared in a north-easterly direction ; and the " Russud" system, of supplying rations gratis, ceased to-day to our great satisfaction, but the servants and others regretted the termination of Runjeet Singh's hospitality.

We halted on the 6th January (Sunday), on the 7th proceeded

* Rajah Shere Singh, the second but repudiated son of Runjeet Singh, accompanied the Governor General to the borders of his father's territories.

to Jeerah and on the 8th reached Moodkee.* The latter village is large and the country about it very interesting. The soil is rather sandy in its immediate neighbourhood but plantations of grain thrive remarkably well all around, notwithstanding the little apparent humidity about the locality. On the 10th Instant we travelled to Boogahpooranah, distance sixteen miles. On reaching the ground it was discovered that, (in spite of the policy of making the chiefs and Zemindars responsible for robberies within their respective jurisdictions) several lost many articles of use, such as boxes of crockery-ware, silver spoons, &c. One man I believe received a sabre-cut in attempting to offer resistance. Bodies of the 4th Cavalry were sent out to patrol the road to the next stage and to protect travellers and baggage in transit. At Puttokee, distance twelve miles, an attempt was made on the 11th Idem by eighty or ninety men to plunder a small baggage train. No sooner was the alarm given, than about a dozen troopers galloped off to the spot and scared away the robbers, who fled in different directions, most of them into a village in their vicinity.

On the 12th January we went to Bhuddur, made a Sunday halt on the 13th, and on the 14th proceeded to Oogaikee arriving on the 15th at Burnaleh. Here the Puttialah Rajah, Kurrum Sing, awaited the arrival of the Governor General, a little in advance of his camp, escorted by a great number of followers. After paying his respects to His Lordship, he retired to his own encampment, which was now about half a mile ahead. He had a regiment of infantry and some artillery in his retinue, as well equipped and as good as Runjeet Singh's. In the evening, the Rajah was received in public Durbar. He came on a fine elephant, seated on a *Howdah* of massy silver plate, constructed like the body of a cab. He was received and dismissed in the usual style that I have more than once described in the preceding pages. The presents were of the choicest description. The Rajah has the reputation of being mild in his government of the tract of country over which he presides. This circumstance has rendered him a popular character, nor does he go unrequited, for his territory is generally well cultivated and his exchequer always well replenished. Independent of his finances meeting with a constant augmentation from the prudent measures he adopts, he has lately inherited considerable wealth by the demise of his mother.

On the 16th January we travelled eight miles to Dhurnawala through a dense mist. It was however quite clear the next

* This insignficant site, has since acquired some degree of celebrity by being the spot, at which the first engagement was fought between the British and the Sikhs.

morning and enabled us to have a pleasant ride to Lungawal over a similar distance, and on the 18th we went ten miles more to reach Sunam, which the Governor General fixed upon as the locality for meetings with several of the native chiefs and agents, who desirous of showing their fealty, intimated their wish of paying their respects to the representative of the crown. Among others, were the Rajah of Nahun and the *Vakeel* of the Kaithul Ranee who being a "*pûrdeh nûsheen*"* (according to the custom of native ladies who seclude themselves from public view) could not of course be present on the occasion herself. The combination of the several cortéges, brought round the spot a concourse of horsemen and foot. This " mingled host" after ushering in the Governor General, retired to their respective encampments, which were now scattered over a wide expanse, distant from one another.

We halted on both the following days at Sunam. The visits of the chiefs and the agents were disposed of in one levee or Durbar, and it was far from being an uninteresting sight. Many of the horses that were presented as " Nuzurs" or gifts on this and on previous occasions, rendered the sale of those not worth retaining or not worth their feed, particularly requisite ; for several had defects and blemishes which horse-"flesh is heir to." They were accordingly sold by auction and variously realized from 10 to 300 rupees each. It is customary, when there is too great a collection of gifts of any kind, to sell them by public outcry and the proceeds of course revert to the Government exchequer. On the 21st January, the fog was so disagreeably dense, that we could with difficulty keep clear of each other in our progress onwards in a canter or gallop. On arriving in camp, at Ghoranub, distance fourteen miles, I found to my mortification that my camels had gone off in a contrary direction. They returned by mid-day, after being harassed in search of the spot, and the servants said that they had by mistake followed some of the camels of the 4th Light Cavalry, the 21st Regiment Native Infantry and a troop of Horse Artillery, which were now detached from the Governor General's camp and were returning to Kurnaul. Their place was partly supplied by a body of Skinner's horse.

Most of our advance tents and baggage had left ground for Mundoee, on the 22nd, but the Ghuggur, a mountain stream, which flows between Ghoranub and that village, intercepted our progress. Scarcely had a portion of the camp-equipage gone across, when, by the melting of the snow in the Hills or some such sudden cause, the river rose and defied all attempts to ford it. We therefore re-

* Literally, one who sits behind a screen to avoid being observed, as all respectable women or native ladies of any rank, never appear in public.

mained stationary for the day. As the Ghuggur still continued high and unfordable, it was deemed expedient to move the camp as near the stream as possible on the 23rd, preparatory to taking steps for crossing it by the best practicable means. We accordingly encamped at a village called Doodee, about eight miles from our last stage Ghoranub, and about six from the left bank of the stream. Our encampment could not be taken much nearer, as it would have destroyed the cultivation. When the Magistrate was informed of the sudden rise of the Ghugger and the awkward predicament in which the camp was placed, he collected together the three or four boats that were immediately available. These were however inadequate to take us over with despatch, and the camp in consequence, underwent divisions and sub-divisions, to cross over by turns. It was a novel sight, unlike any thing that had occurred during the whole of our journey. Elephants, horses, camels, bullocks, carts, palanquins and vehicles of other descriptions, formed almost one heterogeneous mass near the bank. The cattle were made to swim across, the grooms doing the same by holding the tails or manes of their horses. Elephants accomplished this feat with ease, carrying their drivers on their backs or on their necks. The drivers have a habit of standing on the backs of the elephants, while these animals are swimming, and they balance themselves so well that there is no fear of their falling off. One elephant however resisted the promptings of his first driver, an old man. A young fellow, bold as he was active, took his place and goaded the ears and head, (with the *instrument they use for the purpose,) to such an extent, that he was forced to yield and enter the water. But when he was there, the elephant made an attempt to revenge himself on the driver by diving in the stream and rolling in it. This trick, the man seemed to be prepared for, and firmly fixing his legs round the beast's neck, sunk with him for a few seconds every now and then. It was amusing to see the *sang-froid* with which the driver allowed himself to be thus immersed. The monster finding his attempts to dislodge the man, of no avail, at length swam across and proceeded to his task of conveying the tents about a few hundred yards further on, where the camp was to be pitched. The camels formed a ludicrous sight. One was made to swim as an experiment, but it proved a failure. This

* It is of course well known, that elephants all over India are urged to move forward by this means ; and by a "language" peculiar to themselves, besides touching the sides of the neck with their feet, the drivers make them move on, stop, sit or turn. The "*Ankoos*," an instrument not unlike the curved end of a shepherd's crook, with a pointed goad appended to it, is what they use : the curve also answers to suspend the instrument on the ear of the elephant, when the driver is tired of holding it in his hand.

creature of the desert, which will patiently travel over miles and miles of burning sand, found itself quite out of its element, when it was required to swim or to wade through a stream, about a hundred feet wide. It stumbled and rolled about in an awkward manner and gurgled and groaned vociferously. Next, they got some with difficulty into a boat and took them over. As this was a slow process of crossing such a vast number, they made up a kind of harness for some good-natured elephants and to these were strings of camels attached. The elephants swam across and towed them along, till they reached the opposite bank. The same clumsiness attended their landing, in consequence of the sloping and slippery nature of the bank. The exertions of the day, harassed man and beast, and the sun set on us during the continued endeavors of all to get as much as they could across. None of us had an opportunity of dining before late at night, after which we retired to sleep and enjoyed our repose all the better, as our wearied limbs required some relaxation and rest.

The 24th and 25th January were occupied, similarly as the day preceding, varied only by the construction of rafts to assist in the transit of the rest of the camp, which was a little impeded by the sinking of one of the boats,—a great loss at such a time and place, when and where craft of the kind were scarce. Last of all, the Governor General and his suite came over. This formed the signal for an onward movement the day following. Accordingly on the 26th we travelled through a forest to Dhumtan, distance ten miles. This judicious step stimulated those who were prone to lag behind, to exert themselves, otherwise "procrastination the thief of time," would have detained many. Some of our sheep were quietly devoured near our tents at night, without the least indication of the evil at the time. From the foot-prints we observed in the morning, we suspected that wolves or hyenas had prowled about the spot. They might possibly have been leopards.

The 27th being Sunday, formed the usual halt. On the 28th we travelled to Dhunowdah, and on the 29th to Mudlowdah, aggregate distance 22 miles. We traversed thirteen miles more on the 30th, to reach Mussoodpore and as we were now about nine miles from Hansi and sixteen from Hissar, the former was preferred for the next day's march, so that the cattle may be saved the tedious trip over a long and sandy road to the latter. Hissar, however, contained the Company's horse, camel and bullock studs, and as I did not like to lose the present opportunity of seeing them, I therefore made my arrangements to go thither on the 31st January. Contrary however to expectation and much to the annoyance of all, some dark and dismal looking clouds appeared above the horizon. It commenced drizzling at first and afterwards poured

down in torrents. Nevertheless, by 7 A.M., I was obliged to begin my ride to Hissar, whither I had already sent my advance tent and a few of my things. To guard against the rain, I could do no more than muffle myself up in a large cloak, my hat protecting my head and face, both in their turn being shielded by an umbrella, which however was very soon saturated. Thus equipped I jogged along, for there was no prospect whatever of galloping off and cutting short the distance, the roads and the country around being overflooded. A young friend who accompanied me, was just in as sorry a plight as myself and it was fortunate that we were together, to keep each other in countenance and to enjoy a little convêrsation even in this awkward and unpleasant situation. After a tedious march, we reached our tents, quite harassed; nor did we arrive to exchange fatigue for rest. It is true we had a shelter and that was all. My tent stood like an islet in the midst of a swamp and all the precautions of erecting mounds and baling out the water, were nearly useless. Only one of my camels reached the spot, the other two were left far behind. At 3 o'clock in the afternoon the rain ceased, the sky cleared up and a couple of hours sunshine that remained, enabled us to dry our clothes and to remove our tents to a high mound just sufficiently large for the purpose and where we were free from the prevailing moisture. During this interval, our other camels also arrived and admitted of our getting an early dinner; breakfast having been already quite out of the question. After tea, we soon fell asleep; our servants, horses, camels and dogs, being as comfortably provided for as circumstances would permit.

The sky was clear on the 1st February, and enabled us to visit the studs located here. The one for horses is a fine place, and the specimens that we observed in the colts and fillies, were such as did credit to an institution, whence the Company's Cavalry is supplied with the best that the country can produce. The camel and bullock studs were good in their way, but inferior to the one designed for horses. The Hurrianah country is said to have some very nutritious properties in its dry fodder, on which cattle invariably thrive much better than they do in other parts of India to which they are sent. Since the days of Aurungzebe, it seems that Hissar, in common with many other places, had incurred its share of neglect. However, after the accession of the British, much of the injury that had been done intermediately, was partially repaired, and even in the midst of dirty lanes, the town can boast of three or four clean streets, with houses built with tolerable neatness. One street in particular, is broad and much more open than the rest. The greatest boon that the British have conferred on this part of the country, is in

reviving Feroze Shah's canal. The country hereabouts is naturally arid, and irrigation without some such means is difficult of attainment. The canal is both useful and ornamental, its banks being planted with rows of trees, while a vast deal of verdure is perceptible in its vicinity and along its serpentine course. Small but substantial and neat bridges appear at intervals.

In the afternoon, I and my companion left Hissar for Hansi, distance sixteen miles. The road ran in an easterly direction and was quite clean and hardened, doubtless by the previous day's rain and the intense sunshine acting on a sandy soil. Portions of the country around wear a dreary appearance, enhanced by the undulatory gait of untethered camels, let loose to browse about amid the prevailing brushwood. The association of these animals with the deserts of Arabia, gave the present scene an increased assimilation to a wilderness. The Hurrianah hills rise in a short ridge at a distance, with one of a conical form or rather like a colossal cone with the upper end cut off in the shape of a sugar-loaf. During the periodical rains, marshes prevail and the exhalations from them are far from being wholesome.

During my stay at Hansi on the 2nd and 3rd February, I saw the Fort built or re-constructed by that daring and extraordinary adventurer George Thomas, who raised himself from an obscure position to occupy a prominent place in Indian history. Some anecdotes are extant about his exploits, the accuracy of which cannot be relied upon, as they exist on the spot from the statements of those who acquired some knowledge of his chequered career from traditional sources. As his name is intimately associated with the locality, I attempt to give a biographical outline of his life from some authentic sources and in a synoptical form.

It would appear that George Thomas was an Irishman by birth and a sailor by profession. On his arrival in the Madras roads, in the year 1782, he was about twenty-six years of age and stood upwards of six feet in height. Mentally he was as active as he was physically strong; and the monotony of a life on board did not exactly suit him. He accordingly quitted his ship, with the determination of offering his services to one or other of the native princes. For this purpose he proceeded to Hyderabad in the Deccan and entered the Nizam's service, it is supposed as a private soldier. This is evidently an erroneous supposition, for to my certain knowledge the Nizam had no European regiment then or thereafter, and it was not likely that a man of Thomas' talents and energy would be content with such an obscure position himself, or be allowed to occupy it by his employers at a period, when the services of European adventurers of courage and capacity, were held at a high premium.

Whatever his position, Thomas for some reasons not explained, quitted the Nizam's dominions after remaining at Hyderabad for four years. He at first went towards Central India, in all probability to Holkar's territory, where meeting with no encouragement, to the extent perhaps of his expectations, he retraced his steps and wended his way to the North of Hindoostan. In 1787 he arrived at Delhi and there hearing that the successful German adventurer Sombré, commonly called Sumroo, owned a small principality at Sirdhana, he repaired thither and proffered his services. They were accepted and he received a commission as commandant of one of his regiments. Subsequent to the death of Sumroo, his widow the well known Begum, raised him in his military rank, by appointing him to a more important command. In this position he distinguished himself by rendering some signal services, which were appreciated and rewarded by his employer. But in endeavoring to introduce some salutary reforms in the interests of the Begum, by which some foreigners and natives of influence were likely to lose their sinecures, these employés, conspired against him while he was absent from the capital on an expedition against the Sikhs. They succeeded in poisoning the Begum's mind, by imposing on her fears and credulity. She readily credited their assertions, to the effect that Thomas meditated serious intentions of usurping her possessions and consigning her to a dungeon or to an ignominious death. On Thomas' return, she taunted and taxed him about the designs he had formed against her and the measures he was planning for her destruction. Feeling indignant at being thus treated by one whose interests he espoused and whose welfare he was studying, he threw up his command in disgust in 1792, and then went to Anoopshuhur, there to await the result of certain overtures he made to one or two native Princes about his employment.

After raising a body of troops of his own, both regular and irregular, he offered his military aid to some Native Chieftains, whose battles he fought, generally with success. Receiving subsidies from them for his losses in the field, he did not fail to levy contributions from his enemies for their opposition. His successes led him to conceive the ambitious idea of carving out a small principality for himself. With this object in view, so replete with hazard, he fixed upon the Hurrianah country, a wild and desolate tract of territory, sparsely populated and offering no obstacle or defence against his ambitious designs. He easily took forcible possession of it and established his capital at Hansi, where he constructed or re-constructed a fort of moderate size and dimensions.

From this fort and from his capital, he frequently sallied out with his followers and retainers, after leaving an adequate garrison in the former to repel any thing like a sudden surprise. In his expeditions beyond his own principality, his personal valor inspired his troops, and in several engagements at the head of them, he had some narrow escapes from losing his life and once or twice was severely wounded. Moreover, by deputing spies to collect correct information for him, and keeping his own movements secret by false rumours circulated by those very spies, he defeated the plans and stratagems of his antagonists and gained many advantages over them with little effort on his part.

Scindia hearing of his fame in the field, was anxious to secure the services of so able a strategist, and sent an agent to Thomas to negociate terms. Those that were offered did not suit him, inasmuch as Scindia had already General Perron as Commander-in-Chief of his forces. Thomas would not consent to serve under him as a subordinate, but was willing to enter Scindia's service if a separate and independent command of some of his troops, were assigned to him, under certain stipulations and guarantees. He was foiled by the French General's interference, for Perron was too jealous of any one else sharing his power and privileges.

At an interview that was brought about between these two adventurers, an altercation arose, which led to mutual enmity and hatred. Perron set himself to work, to ruin or destroy Thomas, by taking the field against him with an overwhelming force. He failed in his purpose, for Thomas although fighting against great odds, laid his plans so well and fought with so much valor, that Perron gained no advantage. Gold was then used to bribe the officers and men of Thomas' regiments and his many mercenaries, for he had Rohillas and Rajpoots also in his service. By creating disaffection in his camp and in his capital, treachery ultimately accomplished what force and strength could not effect. He consequently capitulated his citadel, and with a few faithful followers retired from the field with the honors of war, escorted by a body of Perron's troops for the safe conduct of himself and his wealth, to British territory. Finding that his star, which was hitherto on the ascendant, was now setting fast, Thomas abandoned all ambitious projects and made up his mind to return to his native town Tipperary, there to pass the remainder of his days in domestic tranquillity and retirement. He was however not destined to carry out his wishes and intentions. On his way to Calcutta, he was taken ill, and in the prime of life and in the 46th year of his age, he died on the 22nd August 1802 at Berhampore, where his remains lie interred in the Military Cantonments.

The fort indicated in the foregoing sketch of Thomas' career, is

not very large. There is only one entrance into it, over a drawbridge thrown across the trench which runs round the ramparts. The four angles are mounted with twelve-pounders, two of which command the town and two the open country. The town extends itself in a kind of curve from the south-eastern to the north-western extremities, and is of limited dimensions. The houses are generally built of brickwork without the outer coating of lime and mortar. Both the fort and town are on rising ground, and the internal area of the former is partly occupied by some plain buildings. The "Hurrianah Light Infantry battalion," equipped and accoutred like a rifle corps, is stationed at Hansi. Here likewise, Colonel Skinner's cavalry is usually quartered Except a small portion which now forms a part of the Governor General's escort, the rest of his horsemen are with the "Army of the Indus." Colonel Skinner has a fine dwelling-house at this place, some excellent brood mares and a small stud of horses, besides a number of "Barbary goats" which are quite uncommon in India. They look as if they are a breed between the antelope and the ordinary goat. Some of them are spotted and very prettily marked. Many of the improvements which Hansi enjoys, I understand owe their origin to Colonel Skinner, who with munificent liberality has devoted his purse and much of his time to the public weal. He is just as popular here, as he is in many other parts of India, and his name is mentioned with great respect by every native who knows any thing of him and his antecedents.

Towards the evening, I took a stroll in a retired part of Hansi, where the beauty of the spot is increased by the winding of the canal as well as by the tranquillity which reigns around. Many parts of Hansi are well adapted for such rambles, the more so as walks and roads are expressly made on either side of the bank, shaded by the trees that are planted here and which flourish very luxuriantly. The stillness of the evening was interrupted only by the rustling of leaves, the flights of doves that left their roosting places on being disturbed, and eventually by the paddling of the oars of a pretty little boat, in which a few gentlemen of the station were cruising about. The public roads at Hansi are clean and the main streets are broad and in good order. The conservancy department is here well attended to, and attention to it is the more essential, as the health of the inhabitants is, I understand, much endangered by fever which prevails periodically. With the exception of this evil, Hansi affords in other respects a fine retreat for those who are fond of a quiet and retired life.

CHAPTER VII.

HANSI TO DELHI.

Western approach to Delhi—Ramble among the tombs—Dr. Drummond—Rohtuck—Nujjufghur Jheel—Waterfowl—Mode of capturing them—Thanésur and its temples—Altered state of Delhi—Queen's garden—The Museum and Institute—The Ridge and the "Flag-Staff Tower."

We resumed our journey towards Delhi, after a halt of three days at Hansi and Hissar. Our first stage was Moondahul, fifteen miles: at about a third of the way, there is another farm-yard of Hansi cows and buffaloes, goats and sheep, belonging to Colonel Skinner. On the 5th we went nine miles to Mahoni, a small town. It has a mosque and some tolerably good-looking houses but mostly in decay. Owing to heavy rain all night and which lasted till the morning, we could not leave till 7 A.M. of the 6th instant, and then travelled ten miles towards a place called Mudina, encamping within a mile and a half of it. For want of proper accommodation, many of the natives were glad to avail themselves of any nook or corner to get shelter from the inclemencies of the weather. One man, partly from exposure and partly from a previous attack of illness, was found dead near the outer wall of a tent. Another was seen in a dying state midway to the next stage. Dr. Drummond while driving or riding by, observed the man's dangerous and helpless state and had him conveyed in his palanquin (which was following and soon came up) to the end of the journey, where he intended to prescribe for him, but the poor man died in the conveyance before he reached the place.

Dr. Drummond, the Governor General's Surgeon, is most indefatigable in his arduous duties. Nothing short of serious personal indisposition, can possibly induce him to neglect for a moment, the many calls on his time and attention. But for him, numbers would have suffered in every way, and he is justly entitled to the gratitude of all. The name of such a man deserves to be engraven in golden characters, for he, like many others of his class, is an ornament to the profession to which he belongs. Like another "man of Ross," wherever there is sickness, he readily,

"Prescribes, attends, the medicine makes and gives."

It may be further said of Dr. Drummond as was stated of Dr. Chambers, that "everything about him was pre-eminently physician-like His demeanour to patients was most winning and agreeable; and it may be added that no man ever met him in consultation without being perfectly satisfied with him. The most

entire liberality and even indifference about fees, characterised his behaviour."*

The vocation of a surgeon and physician, is particularly well adapted to win popularity, and where the heart prompts the hand to minister to human suffering, it cannot fail to impress on the sufferer a grateful recollection of such kindness. The occupation of a medical man must necessarily influence human happiness in no small degree, and he who thus has it in his power to cure disease and restore health, has the satisfaction of being, by his personal and timely aid, the prop not only of those he cures but of those who are dependent on the cured. In fact, he ranks among the foremost of the ministers of relief and consolation to the distressed and the afflicted. His agency subdues the great antagonist to the enjoyment of life and adds much to its comfort. Wherever the monster disease, appears in its various forms, there the surgeon or physician, is sure to appear with his lancet and medicine chest to repel this dire invader of the human frame.

We reached Rohtuck on the 7th February after travelling about twelve miles. Rohtuck is a small town with an adjacent fortification, now in utter ruin. It is so completely dilapidated, that nothing remains but the outer shell of the structure. Most of the houses are built of bricks, a material that seems to be as abundant here as it is at Agra, where one may dig in any part of the suburbs, and bricks will rise to view as if they were indigenous to the soil. We left Rohtuck for Samplah, distance fifteen miles, on the 8th February. Owing to the bad and muddy state of the roads, a couple of carts were upset by being overladen. The drivers and owners of the vehicles, were warming themselves by the side of a fire, which they had kindled at the expense of the nearest field, portions of the fence of which are usually pulled away for this purpose, notwithstanding the prohibitory orders which prescribe a proportionate penalty for any such undue transgression. The native cartmen, when they see the vehicles under their care, in such a predicament or literally "between the horns of a dilemma," are too inert to be of much use. They idly mope about a fire and only bestir themselves, when the owner or owners of the property pass by and urge them to exertion.

On the 9th, we travelled twelve miles to Bahadurgurh, which contains some substantial buildings in the Mahomedan style of architecture, especially the residence of Nawab Bahadur Jung, who came out with a small train to usher His Lordship into camp, under a salute fired out of two old guns somewhat the worse for wear.

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* "Lives of British Physicians."

We had here living proofs of our being in the vicinity of the "Nujjufghur Jheel," by waterfowl of various kinds and of a variety of plumage, being brought into camp for sale. I ascertained that they were from the great marsh in question, and learnt also that the method of capturing them there, accords with the practice that obtains in other parts of India. Earthen vessels, wide enough to admit a man's head into them and perforated with small holes, are allowed to float about for days on the surface of this "Jheel," until the ducks, teal, and water-fowl in general, seeing them daily, become quite accustomed to the sight and fearlessly swim around and peck at them. This preparatory step, is followed by the fowler supplying himself with a wooden float, strong enough to support him. Using it like a hobby-horse under him, he launches himself into the swamp with an earthen vessel over his head, of a similar size and kind, and similarly perforated as those indicated above. The float is dispensed with in many parts of the marsh that are shallow. The fowler likewise supplies himself with a bag of network, which is tied round his waist, and thus equipped he silently paddles himself along with his hands under water, until he gets among the earthen vessels and fairly amid the birds. He commences his task by quietly and patiently pulling them down, one by one, by their legs, and putting them into the bag, which is so well adjusted round his person that the struggles of the birds do not scare away the rest. Some use a small basket of wicker-work with a lid of the same material, which answers the purpose better. When the bag or basket is full, the fowler recedes to the spot whence he set out on his aquatic expedition, and there empties the contents into a basket large enough to contain about four or five times the number of the small one, and then begins anew. Large nets are also laid out on suitable spots, towards which the ducks &c. are driven and are thus taken in great numbers. I am not aware if the decoy bird is known among the natives here or if they adopt one as a means of entrapping others of its species. These helpless creatures of the feathered race, are sold at about thirty for a rupee, which itself is an indication of their being very numerous and numerously caught.

The Nujjuffghur Jheel is a very large marshy tract of land, varying from ten to upwards of 25,000 acres in extent. This variation depends upon the excess or otherwise of the periodical rains and the degree of evaporation the water undergoes in the dry parts of the year. The Government has gone to considerable expense in attempting its drainage, but this result has not hitherto been thoroughly attained.* The soil is represented as being exceedingly rich in

* The swamp has been entirely drained, since this account was written, and the land thus reclaimed is found to be well adapted for agricultural purposes and very productive.

such parts as are reclaimed, and from it, sugar-cane and other crops are reaped in abundance. The object in draining it is of course to reclaim the whole for purposes of cultivation, which at present is regulated according to the extent of inundation that prevails, or otherwise.

On the morning of the 11th February we came to Mudeepore, distance twelve miles, and in the afternoon I rode seven miles more to Delhi. Having already described the most prominent features of the place as they then existed, my time during this second visit would have proved monotonous, had I not here met a very talented young friend, who was proceeding from Calcutta to Lahore to have an interview with Runjeet Singh. From Lahore he intended to return to Loodiana, and thence to go viâ Bombay to Egypt, to see the pyramids. After catering to the gratification of his curiosity in all that the interior of Delhi affords, we passed three days at the Kootub Minar, occupying an old secluded building and thence sallying out morning and evening and in the course of the day, to explore the relics that surrounded us. The vast variety of tombs and their peculiar and costly style of architecture, formed objects of interest to my friend, who being a very superior Orientalist, the Arabic and Persian inscriptions were sources of attraction to him. "That distant bourne whence no traveller returns," was here silently depicted under a thousand forms, and it might well be imagined that we had subjects enough for meditation and research. (We likewise went to Togluckabad, to which I have before now alluded in the account of my last visit to the place.) Our nights were still more solitary than our days. Save the doleful cry of the jackal rendered doubly dismal by the solemn stillness of night, and the prolonged vociferations of the village watchman proclaiming his vigilance, all was profound silence, and as we were couched amidst tombs, they gave rise to feelings and thoughts of the gloomiest description—

> "'Twas as the general pulse
> Of life stood still, and Nature made a pause,
> An awful pause! prophetic of her end."

On my previously visiting Delhi, I alluded to the "*Tukht-ê Taoos*" or Peacock throne, in my account of the ex-king's palace. After the siege and capture of the city, (consequent on the great Indian rebellion) the pillage that followed, threw many curious articles of vertû, some of much value, into the hands of the British soldiers and Goorkha Sepoys, both of whom rendered themselves particularly conspicuous for deeds of daring in storming the place under a heavy running fire kept up in the streets by the retreating rebels. Among other things, the framework of the throne, after being stripped of most of its ornaments was about being consigned to the fire, as fuel for cooking the dinner of a camp-follower. It was fortunately rescued from this ill-fated and ignominious doom, by

Colonel and Mrs. R. C. Tytler, who were collecting curiosities from the wreck as it were. The throne was subsequently made over by Colonel Tytler to Sir John Lawrence, late Viceroy, by whom it was taken to England, as a gift from the Colonel to the British Museum, where it is now deposited in the donor's name. I was glad to learn this fact from Colonel Tytler himself.

When I re-visited these regions some years subsequently, I was struck with surprise to see the marked change that had come over the place since the memorable mutiny of 1857. On the sides of the fort facing the city, the space lying between the ramparts and the Jama Musjid, had been entirely cleared of clusters of houses and some small mosques, as well as several old buildings that stood there for many years, perhaps for half a century or more. Wide roads for conveyances and metalled walks for foot-passengers planned by the Municipality and local authorities, had taken the place of those structures. To European eyes, all these changes were manifest improvements, but the natives looked upon them as a needless destruction of their favorite and far-famed city, and considered it " scattered to the winds," as they emphatically expressed themselves in their own peculiar way, when enquiries were made of them, about certain old houses or familiar spots. The demolitions of the buildings in question and the general clearance round the glacis, for some hundred yards in extent, were considered essential from past experience for future safety, as well as to prevent any possible enemy hereafter coming nearer than the range of the guns placed on the ramparts of the citadel, without being observed by the sentinels. The interior of the Fort is likewise taken up by splendid new double-storied barracks, built for the accommodation of European troops that now form a garrison of sufficient strength to repel any sudden aggression till reinforcements arrived. The erection of these barracks has necessitated the dismantling of some of the old native structures in the Fort itself, and the place has now an air of neatness and comfort within its internal area, which were not apparent before. It has however gone far to alter the oriental aspect of the panoramic view that used to be obtained of many parts of the ex-king's palace and its various appurtenances of halls of audience, ladies' apartments, &c.

Then there is the line of railway running through the fort of Suleemgurh, passing on a level with the ramparts and cutting right into the town, to make way for the iron-horse to traverse a fine bridge of masonry which, in one wide arch, spans a broad street and connects the railroad with the terminus. There again, are two excellent large stations, those of the " East India" as well as the " Scinde, Punjab and Delhi," Railways, surrounded by a group or two of railway buildings intended for workshops and for occupation by the many employés entertained here on the railway works. All these on one side, and on the other the old edifices

in the eastern style, give this part of the city quite an Anglo-Indian appearance.

Within five minutes' drive of the railway and behind St. James' Church, is the "Hamilton Hotel," owned by Mr. G. E. Rogers, well known in Delhi. This Hotel is now in the house once occupied by the "*Delhi Gazette*" Press, before its removal to Agra, a step that was taken by the proprietors consequent on the destruction of the Press-property during the mutiny. The accommodation is excellent, the attendance and fare unexceptionable and the charges moderate. Visitors to this Hotel, it would seem, have no occasion to complain, as the proprietor superintends all the arrangements personally.

The "Hamilton Serai" built in commemoration of a late popular Commissioner of the Delhi Division, stands on one side of the Railway works and is another great improvement. It has ample accommodation for travellers of all creeds and classes in the rooms that surround a quadrangular space within. It is distinguished from a distance by a conical sort of steeple or minaret overtopping the buildings around, and is rendered still more conspicuous by the effigy of a peacock surmounting its summit.

Further on is the beautiful "Queen's Garden," than which there is not a more attractive spot for holiday-seekers, who resort to it for their picnics, their croquet-parties and for passing their leisure hours in lounging about its broad walks, shaded by umbrageous trees that spread their branches and impart an agreeable shelter, to shield one from the rays of the sun. Many parts of its extensive area are embellished with beds of pretty flowers and parterres of choice plants, as also smooth grass-plats bordered with hoops of iron painted white ; all combining to lend grace to the garden and to make it a pleasant retreat to the loiterer after the labours of the day ; while a canal likewise flows through the grounds rendering the atmosphere comparatively cool. On the other hand there is a large white marble bath of unwieldy size, that had been taken out of the King's palace, (after he was made a prisoner owing to his implication in the mutiny,) and placed here more as an ornament, than for any purpose of utility to the public, as it is simply lying on the surface of the ground as an object of curiosity. Throughout the garden there has been much taste displayed in the systematic arrangement of all its component parts. Here and there, is an artificial mound with flower pots, and a kiosk or so in miniature, covered with convolvuli, some creeping over its sides, others hanging in graceful festoons from the dome.

In about the centre of the garden is a Menagerie, another very attractive feature to the lovers of zoology, in which specimens of the feline tribe predominate. Two young but full grown tigers,

presented by the Rajah of Ulwur, have two comfortable apartments allotted to them, a sort of a dining and a drawing room! In the former they take their daily allowance of food and in the latter receive such visitors as choose to stand at a respectful distance out of the pale of a strong iron railing, to admire their noble form and to obtain in return a sort of "civil growl" for their pains. Between the rooms, there is a window through which they are made by their keeper to leap from one to the other, when either has to undergo the essential process of cleansing and purifying. By their side in a separate room, is a species of the ounce* always lying prostrate on the dry trunk of a tree that is made to pass diagonally from one end to the other, and seems to be invariably enjoying its repose in one particular posture. It has a sluggish and sleepy look and when roused by the wondering spectator, winks and blinks at him, now and then looking behind, as much as to say with regard to his singularly somnolent appearance, "thereby hangs a tail!" Adjoining the building containing the tigers, is another with three or four compartments occupied by four leopards, the last a full grown cub. One of the adult animals, I was told, had then been recently entrapped at the "Kootub" and brought here to grace the good company into which he had thus been accidentally thrown. He was diametrically opposite in his nature to the ounce, for he "grinned a savage grin" as I approached, crouched as if he was prepared to make a spring to pounce upon me, if only the railing did not intercept his attempts at mischief. On one side of this house again, was a wooden cage, which contained a slim-looking she-wolf, (called "Juno!") reminding one of the days of Romulus and Remus. Her frolics surprised me at first, for she jumped and skipped within her narrow prison and seemingly wished to be fondled and caressed. I afterwards learnt that she was perfectly tame and was presented by a Railway official, who had brought her up from a cub and cherished her with great care.

In a pit built of masonry for the purpose, are four black bears (forming a sort of "quadruple alliance") which afford considerable amusement to visitors by climbing up and then sliding down a pole placed in the centre of their circular prison. They performed these little feats in gymnastics, in expectation of obtaining a reward in the form of bread, biscuits, fruit or a tit-bit, which it seems their admirers were in the habit of throwing to them to witness a scramble on the part of these clumsy and shaggy brutes. They oc-

* From its general appearance, it might be taken for the "Rihau Dahan," an animal of the size of a leopard, sometimes larger, found in Sumatra and on the banks of the Bencoleen river, which has a peculiar habit of lying on the branch of a tree watching for its prey, particularly deer, passing beneath its ambush among the leaves.

casionally indulged in a wrestling match to get "the lion's share," which they were not exactly entitled to by their rank and position in animal creation. In addition to these quadrupeds, there were some specimens of monkeys, among which the most prominent if not the most admired, was one with a protuberant snout, (not long enough for the proboscis-monkey, called "Kahau,") seemingly of a veritable African race, that had been brought from Abyssinia; thanks to King Theodore and the Abyssinian expedition. Also two jet-black ones of a different kind, both looking very sombre and very sorrowful in their state of captivity, and not at all addicted to apish gambols, like their brethren of the Indian woods and wilds. Besides these, there were antelopes, deer and elks, tethered to trees; cranes and storks strutting about; birds of prey perched on stands, and a variety of other birds enclosed in an aviary; as well as pelicans and spoonbills floating about on the glassy surface of an adjacent pond; while gold and silver fish were seen gliding about in their natural element contained in a glass aquarium or two.

A turn round the garden brings one in due course to a neatly constructed gateway that leads to the Museum, entering which one's mind is diverted to behold the various curiosities and specimens of oriental workmanship spread out and methodically arranged in the spacious hall of a substantial structure, with slips of side rooms equalling the length of the extensive hall itself. In them there is much to study and examine, more to see than you can well remember, and most of all for the votaries of the fine arts to admire on the walls of the wide saloon, garnished with oil paintings of Anglo-Indian celebrities, executed by celebrated artists. There are, as far as I remember, the clement Lord Canning, with his mild expression of countenance; Sir John Lawrence, with his harsh features well delineated to life; and his brother, the great and good Sir Henry, with his placid and benevolent look; he who "*tried to do his duty*" and in trying, did it unto death, to the immortal glory of his country and to that of his own imperishable memory. There was likewise the handsome face of a youthful Commissioner, (Mr. Cooper, I believe) in this good company of celebrated Anglo-Indian characters, and a few others whom I cannot think of at this remote period of time since visiting the place.

Adjacent to the Museum is the "Delhi Institute," a noble pile of buildings, that forms quite an ornament to this portion of the interior of the city situated on one side of the street of wide dimensions known as the "Chandney Chowk." Viewed externally or internally, its style of architecture as well as its plan and proportions seem unexceptionable and highly creditable to the clever architect who designed and superintended its construction. The space within, taken up as it is by a lobby, a large hall and

some smaller side rooms, are devoted to several purposes, such as a public library, literary debates, delivery of lectures, theatrical and other entertainments, exhibitions and "readings;" every thing in short that is conducive to the advancement of knowledge or to the amusement of social gatherings of the enlightened community whether European or native.

In the Chowk, right opposite the Institute and Museum, is the Clock Tower, with a quadruple dial to denote the time in a fourfold point of view. It is a tall and stately structure of red sandstone, and is both ornamental as well as useful. A little lower down the street and not far from the Institute are two other substantial buildings, one larger than the other. The smaller is a well built Chapel, and the next is the "Delhi Bank" situated on grounds neatly laid out.

Were it possible for the ghost of Shahjehan to survey the scene and to see the vast transmutation his city has undergone, the visions of the past would rise before him in new forms such as he never anticipated when he laid out the streets of the town that bears his enduring name.* Violent a change though it may be thought in an oriental sense, these accidental innovations are not without their benefits to his eastern countrymen, now that English education and erudition are leading them with rapid strides on the broad road to civilisation, and making them appreciate these modern improvements that have been engrafted with every advantage on their ancient local institutions.

Turning from the city and suburbs and proceeding from the Cashmere gate in a northerly direction on the Alipore road, we come to a pass in "the Ridge." To the left of this ridge is a small Mahomedan mosque-like place, along which runs the "Ridge-road." A short distance further on stands the "Flag-staff tower," at which during the famous siege of Delhi, was posted one of the main pickets commanding the "Metcalfe-house:" before the onslaught which necessitated the formation of a separate outpost there likewise. At the Tower, the Ridge and Flag-staff, two main and some minor roads intersect each other, one of the former terminating at the Nujufgurh Canal. At the end of the road on the bank of the canal, is the grave-yard containing the mortal remains of the officers and private soldiers who fell while the town was being besieged by the British troops, whose heroism and patient endurance of every peril in the face of an overwhelming force of the enemy, was beyond all praise and which no Christian can contemplate without thanking Providence and feeling a certain degree

* Old Delhi is in ruins. New Delhi is properly called "Shahjehanabad and owing to the city having been built by the monarch."

of pride ; for it was then a death-struggle, so to speak, of the Crescent to overthrow the Cross, in which the latter prevailed triumphantly.

From the Tower, a fine view is obtained of the site which formed the entrenched camp of the troops that beleaguered the city, ending as it did in its capture. A short distance beyond the tower, on the "Ridge-road" stands what was once "*the* Mosque," where a picket took up its position during the siege. From its isolated nature and its exposed state, it formed a post of imminent danger at the time. This mosque which has acquired some celebrity from the circumstance, is now a perfect ruin. Still further on is the Observatory, also in a state of utter dilapidation, and now tenanted only by owls and reptiles. Not far removed from it, is " Hindoo Rao's house," the site of one of the principal batteries, whence the town and citadel of Delhi were bombarded. This building has, since the siege, undergone repair and is a desirable dwelling, occupying an open spot. From its elevation, it commands an extensive view of the city in one direction and of the country and cantonments, as well as of the serpentine course of the river Jumna, in another.

At about a quarter of a mile from " Hindoo Rao's house," is a Monolith, which was brought from Meerut, where it was originally made and set up by some oriental potentate. and whence it was transferred by the British authorities to be re-erected at Delhi. It is very old, was by some accident broken into five pieces and is now patched up with masonry. A short history of it is engraved on a tablet let into a platform or pedestal on which it stands.

At the extremity of the ridge before reaching the "Subzee Mundee" road, has been erected a memorial-column to perpetuate the memory of the private soldiers and officers who fell during the siege and at the storming of the city. The names of the officers, the number of men killed and who died of wounds, the dates and other particulars connected with the principal actions fought, are all engraved on white marble tablets let into the sides, the column itself being of red sandstone, surmounnted with a white marble cross. Along the ridge too may be seen here and there, a solitary tomb erected to mark the spot where a hero was slain either in a skirmish or in making a gallant sortie by the side of his comrades in arms ; or just as probably in repelling some desperate assault made by the enemy. They look like sepulchral sentinels, guarding in silent solitude, the scene of so much glory and gallantry, yet adding by their isolated positions to the sad solemnity of the spot.

Since those memorable times, a great many houses have

sprung up on sites, which during the mutiny had been raked by shot and shell fired by besiegers and besieged, when the disputed ground was literally ploughed up by those destructive missiles. Many are excellent buildings and others are being added to the number of domiciles, by enterprising speculators.

Near the Cashmere gate and on the suburbs of the city, is a new burial place of moderate dimensions, with flower plants lining the paths, and where, on wide grass plats, may be seen neat tombs and tomb-stones in a new style, carved out of white or grey free-stone, by some clever stone-cutters and sculptors of Delhi, whose workmanship is very superior and very elaborate.

Under a fine monument in this grave-yard, lie interred the remains of the good and gallant General Nicholson, whose long military career was marked by so much distinction while living, and who fell in the hour of his country's need, crowned with a halo of glory and renown.

> " In glory's bed, his manes rest,
> In honor's breast, his name's enshrined ;
> His Christian spirit speaks him blest,
> Who join'd to faith a virtuous mind."

CHAPTER VIII.

DELHI TO BHURTPORE.

Umballa, City and Cantonments—Accidents—Expert Parrot—Sewalic range—Sham fight—Bullub Gurh Rajah—Gwalior Rajah's Vakeel—Goverdhun—Deeg—Koombheer—Hunt with the Leopard—Game Preserves—Rajah Bulwunt Singh—Town and Fort of Bhurtpore—Motee Jheel.

We again bid adieu to Delhi on the morning of the 21st February in our progress towards Kurnaul viâ Paniput. Our route lay over the same track as that pursued the last time we were here. There was not much to vary the scene from what I have already described in the preceding pages. The weather was unusually wet, but the rain is more a blessing than otherwise, notwithstanding the great inconvenience we are individually put to. The advantages resulting to cultivation are invaluable after the great drought which has destroyed the crops in many parts of Hindoostan, and it is to be fervently hoped, that the calamities of the past year will soon be relieved by plenty this season.

Having travelled to Allipore on the 22nd, on the 23rd we proceeded to Barotah and thence to Bur-kà-Chowkee, which takes its name from a watch-house being established near or under a large Banian tree, that spreads out its gigantic branches over a wide space of ground. The 24th formed a halt at that Chowkee and on the day following we came to Soomalka. The weather today was very unsettled, attended with vivid flashes of lightning and loud peals of thunder, terminating with a hail-storm, after which the atmosphere cleared up and the evening became tolerably pleasant. On the 26th we went again to Paniput and the day following to Goroundah, aggregate distance twenty-two miles. Nothing of interest transpired. We reached Kurnaul on the 28th February and halted here till the 3rd March, leaving it on the morning of the 4th for Leela Kheree, a small village of little or no consequence.

We travelled on the 5th to Thanesur, which is of some importance as a place of Hindoo pilgrimage, for pilgrims from all quarters resort to the temples that are embowered beneath the umbrageous branches of the Peepul and the banian. As an indulgence to the Hindoos in camp—who were anxious to avail themselves of the present opportunity of performing their devotions at this sacred shrine—a halt was announced on the 6th March, a day being considered ample for the purpose. Thanesur is situated in the Sirhind tract of territory which was once considered a key to the Indian empire. In ages past, Thanesur itself formed the capital of

a powerful kingdom and is now revered as much for its age as for its sanctity. The Sursuttee stream flows not far from it; and if we are to credit Hindoo legends, Thanesur was in time immemorial the seat of battles of a very problematical nature. Where the tongue of hyperbole dilates on the most extravagant tales regarding conflicts between men and monkeys, giants and apes, it is impossible to reconcile fact with fable. Fiction and the powers of imagination fail to carry you further.

The "*Phool Chudder*"* or "*Kool Chutter*" at Thanesur, as it is indiscriminately called, is an immense oblong cistern, built with brickwork, but it is now very old, much neglected and many parts of it over-run with weeds. There is a small temple in the centre of it, erected fourteen or fifteen years ago, so the priest who presided in it told me. A bridge leads to it from the side where there is a range of "Ghauts" very neatly constructed and preserved with cleanliness. They are moreover well shaded by large trees and are thus effectually shielded from the sun's rays. The temples near the Ghauts are neat, but none of them has an imposing effect, and further on may be seen others situated within basins of water. Here are generally congregated the priests of the place, and judging from their number and condition, I imagine the revenue they derive from the offerings of pilgrims and other devotees is by no means contemptible.

Travelled fourteen miles to Shahabad on the 7th March. Adjoining the town is a small fortification, many parts of which are in a state of decay. The Sikhs were loath to admit us in. Distrust, handed down to them from a course of preceding misrule, is doubtless the parent of their present jealousy of Christians, even at a time when they ought to be satisfied, that their independence and freedom from oppression, rest on the countenance of the British Government. About midway to Kotkutchwa (which we reached the day following after going eight miles), the camp might be seen moving on leisurely, in a serpentine course, over the only road available and through luxuriant fields forming, as it were, a wide ocean of verdure.

On the 9th March we came to Umballa, which is a town picturesquely situated, and the entrance to it is through a broad ave-

* Should this be the actual name of the place, it may possibly imply a sheet of flowers, or a "flower-sheet" which is the literal meaning of the two words. If this is a correct acceptation of the terms in question, the *name might have been given to the cistern, from the circumstance of there having been and there being to this day, on the surface of the water, a great number of plants, a spurious species of the lotus flower. Or it might just* as possibly have been given from the fact, that offerings of flowers are every morning made by the devotees, and they float about the place, without being altogether borne away as in a stream.

nue of large shady trees, planted amid extensive tracts of cultivation. On coming near it, one meets with a capacious cistern, newly constructed of substantial masonry. Flights of steps all round descend to the water's edge. This cistern is of great public convenience, particularly to the poorer classes of natives. Stimulated as Hindoos are to build such works of public utility in expiation of their sins or from charitable motives, it is not unusual to see tanks and wells scattered over the country, especially on the main roads. Near the cistern, are some neat houses and further on stands a massy gateway, from which mud walls run round the town. There are also a few good-looking gardens about this place. According to Hamilton, the streets of Umballa were "so narrow as scarcely to allow room for an elephant to pass." The improvements that have recently been introduced under the auspices of the local officers, are creditable to our Government. Now, not only are the streets broad, but they are level and kept very clean. They are not unlike the streets at Loodiana and have well arranged bazars. The stalls of the several shops project out into the streets, forming a range of balconies, but the native taste has ruined the uniform appearance of the place, by rough and stiff drawings covering the walls. The houses are built principally of burnt bricks. The inhabitants are chiefly Sikhs and indeed this may be said to form a small Sikh town.

Though my cursory account of the city and suburbs of Umballa, was written more than a quarter of a century ago, I may now complete my description of the locality, as far as possible, by briefly alluding to its Military Cantonment, notwithstanding that it was constructed many years after, mostly from the materials furnished or brought over from Kurnal. It lies some four miles to the south of the town and of the Civil Lines.

Taking my stand one fine morning on the terrace of the Church, a very good Gothic building in itself, I had a fine view of all around and an excellent opportunity of seeing the regularity with which the Military Lines were laid out. Nearest the Church are the Barracks of the European Cavalry and Infantry built diagonally or "*en echelon*" as it were, the better, I was told, to catch the breeze, to which otherwise the front row would have formed an obstruction to those by their side, if they ran parallel with each other. Beyond the Cavalry Lines in about a north-westerly direction, are constructed the Artillery Barracks and further on those of the Native Cavalry. These, with "Paget's Park" consisting of extensive grounds well suited for morning walks or evening drives and laid out with regularity, terminated the station on the northern extremity. To the south of the European Infantry barracks and almost parallel with a part of the Grand Trunk Road, runs the Railway Line, with its roomy

" first-class" station, goods-shed and other buildings. The Railroad now divides the Native Infantry Lines from the rest of the Cantonments. To the south of the Church and immediately beyond a Canal in that direction, is the " Sudder Bazar," or principal Cantonment market for all sorts of commodities suited to the wants of the soldiers and other residents. The streets of this Bazar intersect one another at right angles, and the main street has well built stalls in front. In the precincts of the " Sudder Bazar" there are some small bungalows and other dwellings for the poorer class of Christians. The several Officers occupy comfortable and commodious houses in the lines of their respective Regiments. The Mess houses of the European Cavalry and Infantry, as well as the Artillery, are large and well adapted for the purpose. Most of the Bungalows in this Cantonment are thatched, which renders them liable to incendiary fires, one such fire occurring occasionally to remind the rest of the risk they run with the combustible materials overhead.

Independent of the " Dawk Bungalow" or Rest House, provided by Government for the reception of travellers, there are two or three good Hotels owned and superintended by European speculators. There are also some respectable European shops in Cantonments (including a Medical Hall) well stocked with wines and all kinds of Europe goods in demand by the residents. Besides these, there are two Banks, being branches of the two principal ones at Simla, their head quarters. Though last not least, Umballa owns a well-known public journal which was once published at Meerut under the provincial title of the " *Mofussilite.*" Apart from the Press that issues this paper, there are two other Presses, besides a Regimental one or more, equal to, if not in excess of, all local requirements in the printing line.

The 10th formed the usual Sunday halt, and on the 11th we travelled fifteen miles to Bussee, which is a village of no note, but the country here is picturesque and rich in landscape. Sinuosities prevail and when the wheat fields that cover them are agitated by the breeze, they undulate and resemble waves gently rising or falling. The Sewalic and other ranges of hills, are distinctly perceptible hence, and on the highest ridge, streaks of snow may be observed forming furrows on the antiquated visage of that mighty barrier. The contour pencilled out on the sky is bold in the extreme. Two or three miles in advance of Bussee we went through a newly established village-town named Moobaruckpore, the bazar and streets of which form a fine large quadrangle and the houses are built of durable material. We came to Munee Majra, eleven miles, on the morning of the 12th March, passing through Pinjore (by the same road that we went over last year) and thence proceeded on to the hills. As I have elsewhere

given an account of my ascent to, descent from, and sojourn at, Simla,* I shall avoid a further allusion here, to that agreeable Sanitarium, and will at once return to Barh; where we halted up to the 1st of November, in order to give time for all to reach the camp, and on the 2nd resumed our journey and halted again at Pinjore. The Pinjore Doon is a very extensive valley covered with forest, and very few parts of it, if any, have been reclaimed for purposes of cultivation.

Many little accidents happened on the 4th November on our way and one or two of a serious nature. A man was killed by the upsetting of an overladen cart and the horns of one of the bullocks, were nearly wrenched out of their sockets by the shock, causing a great effusion of blood. Some young camels unaccustomed to the kind of burdens with which they were now laden, shook them off and strewed the road with the contents. I was not a little perplexed at finding a portion of my travelling apparatus on the road-side about mid-day, nor could I get back the articles till late in the afternoon. On the 5th Idem we went to Bussee without encountering many difficulties, although accidents continued to occur. At this place, I saw for the first time, a young parrot perform what I never witnessed before, although I am told that the feat is not singular or particularly rare and is executed for a trifling consideration. The owner of the little creature, commences by planting in the ground, a thin stick of about a foot in length, with a cross one of half the size horizontally, on the top, upon which the parrot is made to perch. Another stick (of about equal length to the one inserted in the ground) with either a small ball or a little lighted wick at each end, is then placed in the beak of the bird, which as soon as it attains a proper balance, wields it round and round over its back and its wings. After these gyrations are performed, the owner rewards his pet with a tit-bit of something nice. I was struck not only with the novelty of this little exhibition of training one of the feathered tribe, but with the variety of expedients to which man has recourse to earn a precarious livelihood.

During the interval of time falling between the 6th and 27th November, we passed on from Bussee to Dehli viâ Shahabad, Kurnaul and Paneeput. The incidents attending our journey hither, have been frequently described and need not be recapitulated. The monotony was however a little varied by a sham fight which took place at Delhi on the 25th Instant. The hillocks in the neighbourhood of the Cantonments, were included in the radius chosen for the display, and the eminences were very well adapted for effect, particularly as groves of trees in different directions, contrasted their verdure with the scarlet coats of the Sepoys, as these emerged from their ambush and deployed into line or formed themselves into squares. There was nothing

* See my "Sketch of Simla, past and present."

very striking in other respects, in this military parade as the number of troops was limited to the local garrison.

We were at the Kootub for a day and travelled thirteen miles on the 28th to Fureedabad, a small village-town; passing the ruins of Toghluckabad on our way and a couple of miles beyond them the Serai of Buddulpore, a large and spacious place, on the road leading to one of the Delhi gates. The road is in a bad state, rocky in some parts, sandy in others, and at times intersected by dry beds of brooklets. There is a stone bridge over a stream that fell on our way. In our journey to Sikree where we encamped the day following, we passed under an avenue of trees, which shaded a good road all the way to Bullubgurh. The Rajah, a youth by name Nar Singh, came out of his small fortress to pay his devoirs to the Governor General, and had a salute fired on his Lordship's arrival. The young chieftain lives in a large house built somewhat after the European style in external appearance and it is situated within the fortress, which is much out of repair and the ditch is now nearly choked up with rubbish.

On the 30th November, we proceeded eleven miles to a village larger than the last, with groves and plantations surrounding it. The system of sinking wells here, is peculiar to these and such parts of the country, as do not admit of their being dug in the first instance and built up afterwards, on account of the loose and sandy nature of the soil. In localities, where a site is chosen for a well, a circular piece of masonry is constructed not unlike a round tower. It is polished inside and out with fine cement and when the work is finished, the sand or loose earth round it, is gradually scooped away, till the masonry, which is from ten to twenty feet high, sinks entirely or is completely imbedded. They proceed next to scoop out the sand and earth from within, which is much sooner accomplished, and thus a spring is either reached, or very hard soil, that will admit of a little extra digging to attain water.

The 1st of December having been Sunday, we halted, and on the 20th Idem proceeded to Mitrowlee, distance nine miles. A durbar was held to give audience to the Vakeel or agent of the Gwalior Court. He was attended by a small body of Infantry, accoutred after the manner of Sepoys in British pay. In his train were some well mounted Mahratta horsemen, distinguished by the peculiarity of their dresses in general and their turbans in particular. On the 3rd we went to Hodul, on the 4th to Dumthan, on the 5th to Chamia, on the 6th to Bindrabun, and on the 7th to Muttra, again halting at the latter place for another day, after travelling about fifty miles in the aggregate. As I have, in the first chapter already alluded to these places at some length, it is needless to touch further on these particular localities.

We travelled thirteen miles on the 9th December, to Goverdhun, a small town held sacred among the Hindoos, but not to such an extent as Bindrabun. Not far from the town, amid a fine grove of trees, stands the edifice erected by Rajah Sooruj Mull, about seventy years ago, and according to native account, cost about six lakhs of rupees. It is not a very stately building nor has it much architectural beauty, but there are portions of it which are deserving of some admiration. It overlooks a large cistern, and around it are built peninsulated balconies of stone, which project out into the water and are accessible by narrow bridges. Monkeys haunt the neighboring trees, while aquatic birds are seen floating on the glassy surface below. The structure is mainly built of stone, and the pillars, arches and fret-work are well and neatly carved; but with singular bad taste, they are associated with fences of bamboo or wicker work, to protect some of the passages, instead of doors or railings. The interior, including the ceiling, is decorated with fantastic paintings after the native style, and among them, on one side, is represented the founder of this building, Sooruj Mull himself, holding a Durbar or levee; on another, he is engaged in a wild-boar hunt; on a third, proceeding on a state-visit, and on a fourth, paying his devotions at some Hindoo shrine. The most striking feature inside the building, is a marble slab about a yard square, on which are cut out in high relief, the form of two feet, having reference to some circumstance in Hindoo mythology; and around them are certain symbols, one of which seemed to have been designed for the Sun. On the right and left of this building, are minor ones forming wings and containing some idols. A parterre surrounds the spot, but it is small in proportion and forms a favorite resort for peafowl, which abound here. From Sooruj Mull's building, on the right of the road leading to the town, is a singular belt of low hillocks formed of huge boulders, and in a country that is not very rocky, it is the more remarkable. Further on, is a place built by the Rajah of Bhurtpore. It overlooks a large reservoir of water, parts of which are taken up by isolated rocks, thus forming themselves into little islets. The Hindoos have it that *Hunnooman*, their gigantic monkey-deity, brought down these rocks from the heights of the Himalayas and deposited them here. Others, with equal sagacity, affirm that they were hurled hither, in some of his early battles and contests!

There are some neat gardens about Goverdhun and the country is generally woody, although before coming to the place, an aridity and barrenness meet the eye, which are considerably relieved when it alights on a mass of verdure that succeeds the dreary view. To the left of the road from Goverdhun, on leaving it for Deeg, is another low ridge of hills, which is picturesquely blended with the woody nature of the view around. Within two or three miles of Deeg, is a small town on an elevation, composed of

clusters of houses. Here did the Rajah of Bhurtpore await the arrival of the Governor General on the 10th December, to welcome His Lordship into his territory. Our camp was supposed to be pitched, on the identical spot where Lord Lake signally defeated Juswunt Rao Holkar's army. The plain is admirably well adapted for a general action and affords a fine scope for field operations. The Deeg fort is built of high mud walls and towers, with loopholes for musketry and embrasures for cannon, but it does not wear any appearance of impregnability or even of great strength, notwithstanding that Rajah Sooruj Mull did all to improve its fortifications some eighty years ago. To the west of the fort, there is a summer house with gardens. The building is on a large scale and has one or two very spacious halls. The gardens are laid out on a large area, and the walks, intersecting one another in their course, meet in the centre round a garden house, in and about which, are artificial fountains playing over reservoirs of water, that are fed by means of conduits, brought down from sundry vats on a very elevated terrace, the vats being supplied in their turn, from wells in their immediate vicinity. The garden is very well laid out with fruit trees and flowering shrubs, and the numerous fountains must keep the place agreeably cool in summer.

Between Deeg and Koombheer, (distance eleven miles) the Governor General and his party were, on the morning of the 11th, invited to witness a "leopard hunt." It took place nearly midway, by digressing from the main road into the interior of the country. On such occasions, the keeper of the leopard, when he descries deer in herds or singly, quietly approaches as near as he can and then takes off the leather hood or bandage with which the eyes of the leopard are always previously closed. The leopard or *Cheetah*, trained to the chase, understands the signs made by the keeper and then gradually goes forward himself, crouching in the high grass. Within a certain distance, he darts forward, and in one, two or three springs, is almost sure to seize his prey. The deer, being frequently surprised and confused, perhaps fascinated, is captured the more easily, but it sometimes happens that the leopard is disappointed (which however is very rarely the case) and it is then that he becomes sulky and troublesome and will not return to his keeper for a length of time, till by calling, coaxing and caressing, he is made to yield. In alighting on his prey, the first thing he does is to set about satisfying himself on the blood of the victim. While doing this, he is humored by his keeper, who cuts the throat of the animal to satisfy the victor all the sooner. Thus compensated for his pains, he does not at the time care much for the flesh, and if he did, he would get little more than a mouthful, as one of the principal features of this hunt, is to sharpen the appetite of the leopard by making him undergo a previous course of fasting, in order that he may have an additional stimulus to

exert his activity and cunning. These *Cheetahs* are generally very sparingly fed; at least they never get as much as they can eat, lest they should become corpulent and unwieldy. They are slim, seem exceedingly nimble, and spring with amazing agility. They are carried about on light carts drawn by bullocks and attended by two or three men. It is amusing to see them quietly seated, proceeding in the midst of a crowd without offering violence to any, their eyes not being always hood-winked, but only at stated times.*

On the 12th December we came to the celebrated fortress of Bhurtpore, distance twelve miles. The Rajah with his suite, advanced about a couple of miles to usher in the Governor General. Both cortéges combined, increased the pageant. Amidst the Rajah's retinue, his household troops, although not very many in number, were the most conspicuous, distinguished by the peculiarity of their dress and general appearance. Most of these men are Jauts (the Rajah himself being one) and they claim some privileges and immunities which the rest of the Rajah's retainers do not enjoy. In fact, they seem to form something more than a body-guard or household troops, and those of higher rank are admitted as the Rajah's associates. Their appointments are generally hereditary, and many of the ancestors of these men were attached to the Court of Bhurtpore from its earliest creation. A large banner of gold cloth preceded the cavalcade and was carried on an elephant. Another smaller one, a bag in the form of a fish, followed. It seemed to be made of yellow silk with the head and fins composed of silver, and as the mouth was open, the air every now and then inflated it. It is called the "*Mah-é Mooratib*," which denotes it to

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* In the "*Field Sports of India*," the mode of coursing with the Chetah is thus described :—"They are led out in chains with blinds over their eyes and sometimes carried out in carts; and when antelopes or other deer are seen on a plain, should any of them be separated from the rest, the Chetah's head is brought to face it, the blinds are removed, and the chain taken off. He immediately crouches and creeps along with his belly almost touching the ground, until he gets within a short distance of the deer, who, although seeing him approach, appears so fascinated, that he seldom attempts to run away. The Chetah then makes a few surprising springs and seizes him by the neck. If many deer are near each other, they often escape by flight; their number, I imagine, giving them confidence, and preventing their feeling the force of that fascination, which to a single deer produces a sort of panic, and appears to divest him of the power, or even inclination to run away or make resistance. It is clear that they must always catch them by stealth, or in the manner I have described, for they are not so swift as even common deer."

Should the Chetah miss his aim, he desists from further pursuit and slinks back to his master, who replaces the hood and reserves him for another chance. When he is successful, the ferocity of his nature, at once displays itself, so that to recover the prey, the keeper is obliged to be extremely cautious, enticing him with meat carried for that purpose.—*Penny Magazine.*

be the "fish of dignity," a sort of insignia of rank and honor, "especially conferred on princes and nobles." The natives therefore attach considerable importance to the standard. Small banners were likewise carried about by horsemen. The Rajah, Bulwunt Singh, is a stout young man, of about twenty two years of age. He has, I am told, made some progress in the English language, but the dialogue between Lord Auckland and himself was maintained in the vernacular, by means of an interpreter. This is the youth who, when very young, was raised to the "Musnud" of Bhurtpore, after the siege and surrender of that fortress and the deposition of Doorjun Saul.

It would form an excellent feature in our Government, if such young men as the Rajah in question, were made to undergo a course of English education, prior to their attaining their majority and previous to their assuming the reins of their respective independent jurisdictions. It would materially conduce to their own happiness and to that of their subjects during their after administration. There is ample material for a few experiments of the sort and the example once set, so far from being lost on the native community, would, I am confident, be duly appreciated and perhaps more generally adopted by even the middle classes.*

The fame that Bhurtpore had acquired, led me to expect a town of considerable magnitude and possessing no inconsiderable architectural attractions. Streets flanked with nothing more than the common run of mud huts and a few ordinary brick-built houses are only to be seen. The traveller cannot, however, traverse them, without pondering over the scenes of blood-shed and slaughter occasioned by the reduction of the citadel in its immediate contiguity. The extreme thickness of the walls of the fortress and their great height, though partially dismantled now, do not fail to strike the spectator ; but the extraordinary strength of the place seems to have depended less on engineering skill and ingenuity than on a belt or crescent of forest, which was once very dense and which formed a natural barrier to the more accessible and vulnerable portions of the fortifications towards the eastern extremity. The ponderous gates are covered with thick plates of brass, studded over with large nails and knobs of the same material. A fine bridge of masonry leads to one of them, and is built over the best and broadest moat I have ever seen, full of clear water with aquatic birds floating on its surface here and there.

On reaching the tower that was undermined and blown up by the British, some colossal fragments of masonry are observed

* This course is now being somewhat generally adopted under the auspices of our Government and in a few cases under that of the Native Chiefs themselves.

to mark the spot, and to tell the tale of destruction that attended the storming of the place, against the resolute defence of the Jauts and others devoted to the cause of the usurper. Not the least of these vast vestiges, is a great gun that once surmounted the tower and commanded a long range, but which is now lying on the ground beside the fragmentary remains. From its position and the nature of the structure, the Bhurtpore fortress is just the spot to have suited a robber-chief like Churamun, who as is well known, constructed it from the booty which he obtained, during the emperor Auruugzebe's march towards the Dekhan in pursuit of conquest.

Within the precincts of the fort, there are a few large and good-looking houses, the most prominent of which is the Rajah's palace embracing as it does a fine audience-hall, neatly enclosed with rails in front, exhibiting to the outward view a profusion of colored "Purdahs" screening the arches, doors and verandahs, while the interior itself is well furnished and carpetted. An entertainment was here given to Lord Auckland, amidst a dazzling illumination and a grand display of fireworks.

The "*Motee Jheel*" (literally a pearl lake) covers a few acres of land during the rainy season, one side of it being dammed up by a huge embankment of earth, while on the other sides are shelving banks formed by the nature of the ground on which it is situated. A couple of clumsy looking boats were afloat for aquatic excursions and for the amusement of the Rajah and his guests. During the operations carried on against Bhurtpore, an attempt was made by the soldiers and retainers of Doorjun Saul, to inundate the country with the water from this "Jheel," but Colonel Skinner with his usual foresight, counteracted the step, by occupying under orders, a position, at the head of some of his Cavalry, that gave him entire command of the sluices.

The forest is now being thinned annually for fuel and other purposes. Bulls and cows, that were let loose in it by the former possessors of the soil and the predecessors of the present Rajah, have perpetuated a breed of wild cattle, which are seen occasionally in herds, but they are harmless if not molested. The wild hogs here are supposed to owe their origin, to stray domestic animals of their kind, but this is doubtful as they exist numerously in various parts of the country, where domesticated pigs could not possibly have found their way. There are a few large hogs with formidable tusks ; those at least that have escaped the indiscriminate slaughter of the Nimrods of all classes who are allowed to shoot them ; but the generality are a small and degenerate race of swine, which may in the course of time become altogether extinct, unless a code of "game laws" is instituted for their protec-

tion. These animals form a distinct species and are far inferior to the wild boar of Bengal, in point of ferocity, size and strength. They are surprised in their lairs and easily shot while asleep; or are driven out of the thickets in which they take refuge and laid low by the rifle ball. When wounded, they sometimes turn round on their pursuers and charge furiously, but soon become exhausted from loss of blood, and are then quickly despatched with the spear or a deliberate aim at the head or other vital part. They resort to a small pool of water on the verge of the forest to slake their thirst. Some young sportsmen have been known to dig pits in its vicinity, into which they enter when the moon is up and watch patiently for these animals. If they happen to be large and are severely wounded, they charge direct towards the spot, whence the shot is fired. In this case, the latent Nimrod has either to depend on his own steadiness in firing a second shot, or on that of his friends in the neighbouring pits, to kill the animal outright. Jackals in this forest are so numerous, that if a deer is wounded and eludes pursuit, they soon overtake the poor creature and devour the flesh to the bare bone, in the course of half an hour, and all this by broad day-light. Indeed, the atmosphere in some parts of the forest is impregnated with an unpleasant odour, imparted by the numberless jackals that exist in it, and a person traversing the forest is struck with this disagreeable fact. At night, they not unfrequently prowl around and walk into the tents that are pitched, and make their supper off a haunch of venison or the ham of a hog, under, if not at, the table of the sluggish sportsmen, who sleep too soundly after the fatigues of the day, to have their slumbers disturbed by these nocturnal intruders under their bed and board. Various expedients are therefore devised, to prevent these carnivorous creatures from committing such depredations on the sportsmen's stock of fresh provisions, which for the most part, consist of what has been realised from the forest itself.

The Rajah maintains his preserves at some expense by employing foresters, and at a large sacrifice of revenue, owing to the land being of course left uncleared and uncultivated. He justly imposes a restraint, but it is almost nominal and so laxly enforced, that a party of about half a dozen is frequently formed, who encamp in the centre of the forest and create considerable carnage amongst the antlered race and the wild swine. So long as an elk, a bull, or a cow, is not killed, (because they are held sacred by the Hindoos,) one is very generously allowed to pursue his sport, without any interruption whatever. This is ascribable, in a great measure, to the good feeling of the Rajah towards Christians in general, and attributed by some to a tacit acknowledgment on his part of his being placed on the Musnud of his ancestors, by the British Government, in supersession of the pretended claims of the

late usurper Doorjun Saul; but above all, I should think, by the Rajah's own good nature and kind disposition.*

We reached Futtehpore Sickree on the morning of the 14th December and halted here for two days. It is the site of a grand group of some of the finest ruins in India. Deeming it therefore to deserve a distinct description, it is my purpose should circumstances permit, to publish a separate volume, devoted entirely and exclusively to a development of its architectural details.†

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* Rajah Bulwunt Singh, died on the 21st March 1853, and was succeeded by his son and heir, the present Rajah, who was then a minor. His State was administered by proxy till he attained his majority on the 28th March 1872, when he assumed the reins of administration entirely, though he took part in it a couple of years earlier.

† Such was my intention originally when I wrote the above paragraph, but the mutiny, and other unforseen circumstances connected with my after-career in life, prevented my ever carrying out my wishes. I am now therefore obliged to circumscribe my cursory account of the place, to the limits of the following Chapter.

CHAPTER IX.

FUTTEHPORE-SICKREE.

Glimpse of ruins on an approach from Agra—Akbur's Dewan-é-Aàm—Daring conduct of a band of Mewatees—Sonêhree Munzil—Akbur's hall of business—Colossal chess-board—Domicile of Beerbul and his daughter—Abool Fuzl and his abode—Turkish lady's dwelling—Stabling for elephants—Elephant gate and minaret—Sûleem Cheestee's tomb—His reputed sanctity—Giant of Gateways—Water-cisterns—Deer and their depredations, &c.

Between the Bhurtpore Fort and the town of Agra, lies Futtehpore-Sickree, being about fourteen miles from the former and twenty-two miles from the latter place. It takes its name from two villages that lie contiguous to one another. Neither was of much consequence less than three centuries ago and Sickree is to this day of little importance, though it has been much improved to what it was originally, owing to substantial buildings taking the place of huts in that once lonely hamlet. Among the buildings of the present date, is a somewhat extensive one belonging to the descendants of the chief architect, who superintended, if he did not plan and execute, the construction of the edifices for which Futtehpore has long been justly renowned.

Futtehpore, or as it is commonly known by the conjoint name of Futtehpore-Sickree, is rendered somewhat celebrated by the fact of its being the seat of one of the grandest group of ruins in Upper Hindūstan. Nowhere in all India perhaps, is to be seen concentrated on one spot, a cluster of such curious and solid structures mostly in a state of dilapidation, but some yet in a state of preservation, though reputed to be upwards of two and a half centuries old. Their stability is accounted for by their being constructed of the most substantial materials and durable cement. The adhesive properties of the latter have surprised engineers, and puzzled even chemists in their endeavours to analyze the various ingredients of which it is composed.

To give a detailed account of all the buildings would need the pages of a volume by itself to be devoted to the task, and as my present purpose is to bring a description of the spot within the limits of a chapter, I shall circumscribe my account to an outline, which I sketch entirely from memory and after an absence of many years from its neighbourhood.

Assuming then that the traveller approaches the place from Agra, which he more frequently does, a ride of a few hours will

bring him to it, over a fair road. Long before he reaches the first gateway that leads through the high brick-wall which surrounds the place, he will catch a glimpse of the extraordinary ruins raised on an eminence and distinctly delineated on the distant horizon. As he comes near the outer gateway in question, the silent solitude of the spot is broken and enlivened by the chirping and twittering of a thousand or more of swallows or martins, which fly in and out or flutter about a cluster of nests built below its expansive arch. Riding up a gradual ascent, over a gravelled road flanked on either side by dwellings long since deserted, you muse on "the sad solemnity of the scene," till you pass a long range of ruins to the right. You then reach a large quadrangle composed of a series of cloisters supported by free-stone columns. In times of yore, a vast multitude used to assemble here, to pay homage to the renowned Akbur, who seated in a small oblong balcony on one side of the square, or appearing for a few minutes standing in the vestibule surrounded by his courtiers, was accustomed to receive the salutations of the assembled crowd, or the petitions of such of the people as had to represent their grievances, or make known their wants to the Emperor.

Leaving this curious quadrangle that formed the "*Dewan-ê Adm*" in Akbur's time, you proceed through a narrow passage and reach a somewhat wide grass-plot overlooking an extensive range of ruins. To the left of this plot is one of the old buildings of red granite converted with a few additions and alterations, into a "Dawk Bungalow"* or rest-house for travellers. A little further on you come to a large court-yard with a small gateway and a corridor or range of rooms all round, with cupolas at the four angles, and supporting an upper tier or suite of apartments. To shelter the inmates from the public gaze, there were outer screens or "blinds" of network cut out of white marble in some instances, but mostly out of red free-stone, so abundant in this locality. These were said to have formed the women's apartments, set aside as a sort of seraglio for the principal Begums or ladies of the Emperor's household. Some maintained that the entire place was the exclusive abode of a Rajpoot Rajah's daughter, who was one of Akbur's favorite Hindoo wives, and that she occupied the place with her many female attendants. This building was, since the accession of the British and the formation of a separate government for the

* Before the introduction of railways, when travelling by "Dawk" or by post, in Palenkeens or Doolies (light litters made of framework covered with canvas or cloth and carried on the shoulders of men by means of a pole at either end or passed right through) was the fashion in India, a small house or "Bungalow" was built by Government at about every twenty miles on the main roads for the accommodation of travellers. Hence all rest-houses are called "Dawk Bungalows."

administration of these Provinces, used as the Treasury office of the "Tehseelee" or Sub-Collectorate of a section of the Agra District. During the memorable mutiny, a band of Mewatees* took possession of the edifice (after plundering it I suppose) shut themselves in with provisions and awaited the assault of a small detachment of British troops sent from Agra to quell disturbances in this direction; resolving to sell their lives dearly in a delusive and desperate cause. After the gateway had been blown in, the band of desperadoes were hunted out of their hiding places, whence they kept up a brisk fire from matchlocks through loop-holes. They were all to a man shot or bayonetted, giving and taking no quarter, but dying sword in hand.

To the right of this building is a much smaller one, dignified with the designation of the "*Sonêhree Munzil*" or golden pavilion, an upper-roomed square dwelling, now boasting of no gilt ornaments or any thing of gold about it. In its immediate neighbourhood, is quite an architectural group of all shapes and sizes, differing in design one from another. One of the most unique of these, is a building with a richly carved massive column of stone in the centre, supporting a palisaded octagonal seat, with four little bridges (if I may so term them) leading to four side entrances, at each of which a Minister of State used to sit or stand to receive petitions and other public documents appertaining to their respective departments, and to solicit orders thereon from the Emperor who occupied the seat in the middle, made comfortable with silk and satin cushions. Near this hall of justice or general place of business, is a singular small structure, being nothing more than a cupola larger than ordinary, supported on four granite pillars, connected at the angles by serpentine brackets elaborately carved. This little pavilion it seems, sheltered a "Byrâgee" or Hindoo friar, who was tolerated at Court and respected by Akbur for his supposed sanctity and who received a stipend from the revenues of the State for his support. Akbur as is well known, tolerated all classes and creeds, and as he had Hindoo wives, a Hindoo priest was not out of place on his establishment.

A little further, is a structure of some five or six stories high, each successive story lessening till the uppermost was nothing more than a large cupola supported on pillars. Indeed it was a succession of open galleries, simply suited for seeking shelter

* "The Mewatees are a race of Mahomedans, who came first from a Province south of Delhi. They used to be originally employed as escorts by travellers, as well as by the merchants of the Upper Provinces, to be exempt from their exactions, which they enforced indiscriminately. The name of Mewattee is held to be synonymous to that of a public robber. Hence all similar adventurers addicted to levying black mail, fell under this denomination; very few however of the real Mewatees now come down to be employed."—*Addison's "Indian Reminiscences."*

from the sun or rain, but not adapted for an abode. The actual purpose of this building I could never ascertain. Opinions differed as to its origin and object. One maintained that it was intended for a large bell or gong placed at the highest point to strike the hours. Another averred that it was for Akbur to survey the country around with or without the aid of a telescope. A third thought it designed for the "*Mowuzin*" to call all good Moosulmans to prayers at the five appointed hours of the day. None considered it to be an Observatory, so that it was taken for granted that astronomy was not one of the sciences encouraged at that period by the Mahomedan government.

Over the extensive pavement of stone, on which stands this and other structures close to one another, an open space is taken up with a kind of chess-board or rather the board on which the game of "*Pucheesee*" is played by the natives. It is a sort of double parallelogram of little squares, thrown cross-wise at right angles, each such square being wide enough for a man to sit within. Old Busharut Alee, the then local cicerone, now long since dead, and who was my guide at the time I visited the spot, always found himself equal to accounting for every apparently unaccountable thing here, and played the wag at times. He maintained that the "men" used by Akbur for playing the game in question, were gaily-clad women, distinguished by badges to denote their position in the game ; each of whom occupied a square, and all being made to move by the waving of a wand, used by the two players ; Akbur choosing any favorite courtier as his antagonist on the occasion. A respectable and intelligent Mahomedan acquaintance of mine named Hafiz Seraj-ood-deen, a man with some sense of refinement, thought the memory of Akbur "the great," seriously scandalised by such an assertion made by the guide, called him all but a fool for his pains and little short of a knave for his "tricks on travellers" in trying to impose such stupid tales on their credulity, out of mercenary motives. They came to high words but were eventually pacified, though their little quarrel did not quite solve the problem of the "Pucheesee" board of such unusual dimensions, carved out upon the stone pavement.

Most of the buildings in a state of preservation are contiguous to one another. It did not therefore take long to come to the one said to have been once occupied by Beerbul's daughter and hence called "*Beerbul's Havélee*" or dwelling. Many anecdotes are related as to her and her father's antecedents, their wit and wisdom and of all they did or said. Suffice it for me to say here, that while she was reputed to be one of Akbur's favorite wives, he was one of his confidential advisers and a Minister of State. Another of the chief men at Court was the erudite Abool Fuzl, who exercised great influence as an able administrator and a

wise counsellor, and in whom Akbur placed great confidence. His name is well known among orientalists, for the prominent position he occupies in eastern erudition, both as the author of a classical work called after himself and as the compiler of the "Ayeen-é-Akburree" or Institutes of Akbur, a miscellaneous compilation highly appreciated for the fund of information it affords on the topics of those times, and as a reliable authority on many points connected with Mahomedan law and the course of legal procedure adopted at that age. Abool Fuzl's abode and that of his brother, both buildings being almost united, are now very appropriately converted into a school for the sons of the local residents to receive instruction. An educational institution of the kind accords well with its being associated with the dwelling of one who was himself a man of learning and of letters, and who encouraged their acquisition at home and abroad, as far as his influence extended.

Another building of about the same size as the "Sonehree Munzil," is the "Istumbolee Muhul" or Constantinople pavilion, so called because a Turkish lady, one of Akbur's numerous wives, used to occupy it whenever she came here with her husband. The building contains some good specimens of carving in the form of vine leaves and branches with bunches of grapes dotting the foliage and hanging over the doors in festoons. These are now being fast obliterated by abrasion or exposure, as some of the red stone with which these structures are built, is rather brittle and comes off in little chips from the surface, and portions are even easily pulverised.

The "*Feel-khânah*" or stabling for the accommodation of elephants, is composed of stalls surrounding a quadrangular courtyard, but there is a separate and very substantial one of masonry much further removed, that is said to have been set aside exclusively for Akbur's favorite elephant which for size and sagacity was unequalled by the rest. There is a singular minaret in this group of most singular structures, which is rendered remarkable by its circular surface being from the base to the summit, (excepting the cupola by which it is surmounted) covered with imitations of elephant's tusks of the full size, which project out like so many brackets from its sides and give the column an odd and grotesque appearance. From this circumstance it is supposed to form a monument over the remains of the favorite elephant alluded to in the foregoing lines. Near the minaret is the "Feel Dûrwàza" or elephant gate as its name implies. It has the figure of an elephant, life-size, on either side, with their trunks thrown over the entrance and entwining each other just above the arch, if I may judge from their position and certain indications on the spot. There is now nothing more than the stump of a proboscis left to each of the elephants in effigy, as the trunks were destroyed by Aurungzebe

while he was Emperor, and he would have destroyed the rest, but they were found too solid and substantial to admit of easy destruction. They were therefore only mutilated, to the disfigurement of the gate.

Far away again are the ruins and remnants of what were once extensive public buildings erected for various public purposes. The "*Tuksàl*" or mint once existed here, for the coin of the realm to be assayed. Jewellers' shops, where piles of gold and silver ornaments used to be exhibited for sale, were by its side. Caravanserais too, for the reception of merchants, as well as covered bazars for the sale of their mercantile stores, were pointed out by the guide. But these are all now a perfect wreck and buried in their own debris, with barely a vestige here and there to show where they stood or for what purpose they were probably intended. From the silence that prevailed and from the depressing influence of the surrounding solitude, the deserted dwellings looked like a city of the dead, and over-run as they are with vegetation, "like the tomb of human nature amidst the vitality of earth!"

The foregoing outline of the spot would be incomplete and imperfect, if I did not allude to the paragon of the place, the tomb of Sheikh Sûleem Cheestee, a reputed saint, in commemoration of whom Akbur first built over his remains an exquisite mausoleum of white marble, which formed the nucleus for the rest of the structures, which gradually sprung up under his kingly auspices. Suleem Cheestee, though he has acquired some celebrity as a saint among the Mahomedans, was originally a mendicant, who in his travels all over India in the garb of a Fakeer, alighted for a day or two at Futtehpore near Sickree; both at that period being inconsiderable villages, ensconced in a girdle of forest that surrounded the two hamlets. He took a fancy to the spot, from its retired nature, as suited to the life of a recluse he was destined to lead. On the summit of the hillock or eminence on which he is now entombed, he built a hut under an umbrageous tree, of such materials as he could gather from the surrounding jungle. In this rude cell of reeds, leaves and branches, with a pallet of straw for his bed, he passed the time in his devotions to the Deity, making:

"Prayer all his business, all his pleasure praise."

Akbur who had long been without a son and heir, "his former children having died in early infancy," was apprehensive that his empire would pass away from his line of descent and his dynasty become entirely extinct. On communicating his fears and his distress of mind to his Vizier and courtiers, he was counselled to seek the mediation of Sûleem Cheestee, the efficacy of whose prayers they thought, would secure him a successor to his throne. Acting on their advice, he waited on the Fakeer in his solitary cell, made known his wishes and was in due course blessed with

a son, whom he named Sûleem in honor of the saint. On the saint's death, he built over his grave the tomb that has since dignified the spot and to which pilgrimages are occasionally performed by his votaries. The tomb is now nearly three hundred years old and is in a state of excellent preservation, proving the extreme care that has been bestowed on it by those who from time to time have had charge of it. It is an elegant edifice, made entirely of white marble. It rises on a square base and ends in an exquisite melon-shaped dome of moderate dimensions. All round it is a porch of the same material, supported by serpentine brackets projecting out of solid supports or columns of marble. These graceful supports are slightly hollow like a tube, terminating at their base with a tulip-shaped aperture. With a neat little vestibule in front, a verandah goes all round the four sides of the inner apartment, the roof being supported by marble pillars and the interstices filled in with network of various patterns and great delicacy of execution. This verandah encloses a room ornamented with colored "chunam" or stucco highly polished, while the floor is embellished with flowers cut out of marble of many colors. Within the room is a canopy shaped like an oblong umbrella, supported by four slender staves, each staff covered with small bits of mother-o'-pearl, cut out in various geometrical figures and neatly nailed to the framework. At the foot of the canopy is a low lattice work of marble, surrounding a plain tomb of similar material, and covered with a rich piece of brocade. Over the whole, a net of colored silk is thrown, more for ornament than any protection it is likely to afford. Whether viewed from within or without, the entire place has a pleasing effect, entitling it to the admiration of the spectator. It has a beautiful appearance owing to the elegance of the design and the delicacy of its construction, which have both combined to produce so elaborate and excellent a specimen of Indian architecture.

This tomb is not in the centre, but inclining more towards one angle of an immense pavement of red stone, the four sides of which are taken up, each by a long arcade forming a verandah to suites of little cells enclosed by a high stone wall, all of the same color as the pavement. There is a gateway to the east leading down to the street by a flight of steps. To the west is a capacious Musjid, sufficiently commodious for the weekly congregation supplied by the place. The north has a small opening or outlet in the wall; but to the south is the marvel of the place, in the form of a gigantic gateway, one of the highest and most majestic in the world. High as it is, it is rendered to all appearance still more so, when viewed from the foot of a long flight of steps that leads through it to a street several feet below. The gateway has borders carved in granite of a buff color, and colossal flowers cut

out of stone and imbedded in it. It is a conspicuous object, bold in architectural design and the most magnificent of gateways; having about a hundred and twenty steps leading up to the summit. The Hafiz to whom I have already alluded, accompanied me of his own accord to the top, to witness my agreeable surprise at the splendid view afforded, first of the town, tomb and ruins lying just below us, and the Taj Mûhal in an eastern direction, minified to a considerable extent by the distance of some twenty-five miles that divided the two structures, resembling as he said, the egg of that "giant of the feathered race," the ostrich. To the west was seen the fort of Bhurtpore, which he compared, perhaps contemptuously, to a "Choolah!"*

Beneath the pavement on which stands Suleem Cheestee's tomb, is a wide "*Houz*" or reservoir from which cool water is drawn up in the height of a summer's sun, through a trap-door or opening in the floor. The water is very acceptable to the inhabitants of the place, when the "hot winds" begin to blow, when nature is parched and the human system begins to droop and feel enervated by the heat of the weather. It is then that this boon, this provision of Nature preserved by art, is appreciated and highly valued.

Not far from this tomb and in the midst of many buildings around, there is a "*Bowlee*" or large pond constructed of masonry. Surrounding a dark pool of now stagnant water, rise successive galleries or tiers of rooms and cloisters all facing and opening towards the cistern; presenting the appearance of an amphitheatre. This spot is said to have been the bathing-place of the female members of Akbur's household. It is well adapted for the purpose, and perfect privacy can be secured by the door to the long flight of steps to the cistern, being properly closed.

The immense quantities of white and grey granite or red free-stone, especially the latter, of which all the buildings at Futtehpore-Sickree are chiefly constructed, were quarried on the spot. Large heaps of huge chips, forming something like little hillocks, lie in the immediate vicinity of the quarries, left after shaping the blocks of stone into pillars, columns, component parts of cupolas, and other portions of the structures constructed here, including imitations of tiles cut out of long stone slabs, many of which are very deceptive from their being close copies, but excelling

* A temporary and primitive sort of stove or fire-place, erected by native travellers and others, with the most convenient materials at hand. It is generally of an ephemeral nature and composed of mud, loose bricks or stones.

those that they are made to resemble. Now that the quarries are not needed for local edifices and have changed hands, they are worked to supply slabs for the roofs of houses at Agra and elsewhere, as well as blocks of stone for tombs and monuments. A profitable trade is also carried on in supplying several markets in these provinces with "*Chuckees*" or hand-mills, made of a circular form and sold in couples for grinding grain, one such pair being considered an essential appendage in every household however humble. Hence the demand for them is universal. A dozen or more of the upper halves of these hand-mills, have a pole passed through the apertures, the ends of the pole having ropes tied to them and adjusted on the shoulders of buffaloes or bullocks; while the lower halves without the apertures are slung on the sides of those animals and even on camels. They are thus dragged and carried to the most favorable marts, near or far. They are sold wholesale by the owners, to retail-dealers, who furnish their constituents and customers with them at a small profit. Other grind-stones are also manufactured and sent to distant parts of the country in various ways and by different routes; in strong carts, if they are more than ordinarily bulky.

Besides this particular staple forming one of the principal artificial products of the place, the natural produce in cereals is not inconsiderable. The fertility of the neighbouring fields is more especially distinguished by extensive beds being sown with plants of the "Chilly," a kind of capsicum indigenous to India and invariably used as an essential ingredient for certain culinary purposes. The Chillies thrive here to an extraordinary extent, from some peculiarity in the soil being favorable to their growth. The plants are so profusely laden with the fruit, that it would be no exaggeration to say the latter are equally as numerous as the leaves, if not more so. In walking over the narrow pathways that divide the beds of the fields in which they are planted, one cannot help crushing with his feet the small branches that fall in the way borne down by the weight of the fruit. The waste that is thus caused by the cultivators themselves and their families, while collecting the Chillies, is hardly felt or cared for, as from the quantity gathered with very little labor, the result is looked upon almost in the light of a spontaneous product of the soil. It is not unusual to see the flat roofs of houses in and about the villages covered with layers of ripe Chillies kept out to dry, and being of a scarlet color, they look from a distance, like crimson canopies covering the surface. When sufficiently dry, the Chillies are packed in large bags and sent mostly to native States, where they are sold to great advantage. It would scarcely be credited that the Chilly forms such a lucra-

tive article of commerce. It is about next in value to salt, as a condiment in all Indian households.

Between the town and ruins of Futtehpore-Sickree, bordered by a "Bund" or embankment over which the road to Bhurtpore passes; there was some twenty years ago a wide sheet of water, which assumed the appearance, if not the proportions, of a large lake. During the administration of the Hon'ble James Thomason, the then Lieutenant Governor of these Provinces, and during the incumbency of Mr. C. C. Jackson as Magistrate and Collector of the Agra District, the water was drained off and the land reclaimed for agricultural purposes. It is one of the most productive spots in the locality and the cultivation of cereals is carried on very successfully on it. Seen from the embankment or any other elevation, the wide carpet of verdure thus spread out is refreshing to the sight, and forms an oasis when viewed in juxta-position with the singular series of dreary looking rocky eminences, on which the ruins of Futtehpore-Sickree stand.

The embankment to which I have just alluded, has a fine bridge of stone and masonry; and the "Ootungun Nuddee" or rivulet, flows not very far from it in a different direction. Thence some large fish of fine flavor, are caught and brought for sale. Herds of deer may be seen reclining on the turf or grazing on the grounds left fallow, sometimes bounding over the ravines in their way, or trotting by the road-sides when not molested or pursued. It is nothing unusual for some of the neighbouring cultivators to solicit sportsmen who go there in search of game, to bivouac near their villages in order to destroy these animals as well as the wild hog (which are also numerous) owing to the depredations that both of them commit on the fields, on which they unceremoniously feed in their nocturnal rambles by moonlight or otherwise. Peafowl and aquatic birds are likewise very plentiful. The latter are to be found on pieces of water in various directions. The former resort to these ruins for shelter and are frequently shot for food, or for the brilliant plumage with which the peacock is clothed and adorned by Nature. The "Kunjurs," a race of degenerate Indian gipsies, entrap these beautiful birds and they or their families ingeniously convert the largest of their feathers into pretty fans, and "chowries" for keeping off flies. Blue pigeons in their wild state, are also caught in numbers by them, or by Bûhalias (professional bird-catchers,) who adopt the plan of throwing large nets of twine over the mouths of dry wells, which are numerous between this place and Agra. The former of these men may also be frequently seen carrying a dead hyena or two to claim the reward sanctioned by the State for their destruction; or a basket containing a fox, a jackal or a couple or more hares, which they sell to the Officers of the Agra cantonment for coursing.

CHAPTER X.

AGRA AND ITS ENVIRONS.

Akbur's tomb at Sekundra—Sekundra Orphanage—Civil Lines—Catholic Cathedral and Convent—St. Peter's College—Agra College—St. John's School—Fort of Agra—Motee Musjid—Armoury—Etimad-ood-Dowlah—Rambagh—Rung Mûhûl—Military Cantonments—St. George's Church—Metcalfe Testimonial—Adam's Monument—Bandstaad—Taj Mûhûl and its marble minarets.

After an absence of two long years, I returned to the spot whence I started on the journey, which with its concomitants I have attempted to describe in the preceding pages; but as they would be incomplete without my entering into a succinct account of Agra and its edifices, embracing its environs, I shall devote this last Chapter to the task, though to enlarge on the subject, would need a volume for the purpose.

On the right bank of the river Jumna, the city and a part of the suburbs of Agra, extend in one long chain of buildings facing the stream. Between those buildings and a few fine "Ghats" descending to the water's edge, is a broad and level road running from the present Pontoon bridge to the imposing old Fort, built of red free-stone or granite, in the oriental style, with high and substantial walls, and surrounded by a wide moat or ditch communicating with the Jumna. From the Fort, the same road leads on one side to the Military Cantonments and on another to the far famed Taj Màhàl, of which more in the sequel.

From the bridge, another and more direct road goes almost straight to the Civil Lines, and from the latter to the village of Secundra or its vicinity, where stands the singular and solid tomb of Akbur "the great," from whom the City of Agra derives its modern name known among the Mahomedans as Akbur-àbàd or Akbur's abode.* I cannot therefore do better than describe the peculiarities of this structure, before I proceed to allude to the others that render Agra so famous for its ancient buildings of oriental origin. Long before the Mausoleum is reached, the four mutilated turrets or minarets of the massy gateway, greet the eye of the traveller from afar. Reaching it, you pass a double arch, one facing the entrance and the other the paved road that goes straight to the broad square platform of stone,

* Literally: rendered populous by Akbur.

forming a base of some 120 yards in length and breadth, on which rises the curious structure of red-stone to about as many feet in height. The first story is composed entirely of wide and open arches, some twenty-two or more in number, with three large and lofty ones to the east, west and north; the fourth being loftier still and rising over the entrance to the sarcophagus itself: the entrance being by a sloping passage into a dark and dismal room, where the remains of Akbur lie interred beneath a plain tombstone of white marble, well polished. Above the first or arcaded terrace, rise three or more tiers composed of turrets, arches, columns and pillars of red-stone, each tier gradually diminishing like a pyramid, but in open galleries, till they terminate in quite an open space on the summit, of some thirty yards square, in the centre of which is the cenotaph, cut out of one solid block of white marble, beautifully carved; with four cupolas of the same material at the four angles. Around the cenotaph are sculptured in high relief, in Arabic letters, the attributes of the Deity. At the head of the tombstone is the word "AKBUR," which answers the double purpose of signifying one of those attributes as the *Greatest*, and serves also as an epitaph in one word to the memory of the deceased monarch by name, as the *great*; the comparative in Arabic, being converted into the superlative by the addition of a monosyllable, the omission of which is permissible on such an occasion, by either the idiom of the language, or as an exceptional case, for in alluding to the Almighty, all words must of themselves form superlatives, as admitting of no comparison. Hence the various words used around this cenotaph are mostly in single syllables, each implying the highest attribute applicable to the Deity.

Be this as it may; at the head of the block of marble is a circular cavity of a few inches in diameter, which formerly contained a golden or silver censer. A mosaic pavement of white and black marble, surrounds the base of the block and ends on all sides with some elegant specimens of lattice-work of different patterns, elaborately carved out of solid slabs of the same material and forming a wall of some feet in height. Just below the turrets at the four angles, are other cupolas, their domes covered with "Chinese tiles" or masonry bearing a resemblance to them and formed of a composition of durable cement of variegated colors, thus diversifying, but in my opinion not adding to the beauty of the effect. The prismatic colors do not blend with the purity of the white, to which they form too wide and vivid a contrast and are by no means an improvement. Besides this portion of the super-structure being entirely of white marble and the lowest terrace being built of masonry plastered over with white stucco, the intermediate tiers are exclusively composed of red-stone. But for these two exceptions, the struc-

ture might be likened to another Alhàmbra* though of a very different form. The shape of this building is so singular, that there is perhaps not another like it in all Asia for its peculiar style of architecture. It seems to be faulty in taste, if it is not so in design, and it is difficult to conjecture where such a model could have been obtained, if it did not originate altogether from the strange ingenuity of the architect himself.

The colossal arch to the south of the structure, besides forming an entrance to the sarcophagus, has a long flight of stone steps that leads to the first terrace above, which is very spacious and affords a fine promenade all around. Thence other stone stairs less in length, lead to the tiers and terraces higher up. From the summit an extensive view is obtained of the country, with the serpentine course of the river Jumna in a north-easterly direction; the little colony of native converts to Christianity, with its fine Church and other buildings inclining south-westerly, known as the "Secundra Orphanage;" as well as groves of trees and fields of green, dotted with ruins of old tombs and ancient buildings in a state of dilapidation and decay.

The Mausoleum of Akbur is in the centre of several acres of ground forming an area of about a mile or more in circuit. This area is divided into four wide sections, one on each side as you enter being laid out as a garden, while the remaining two at the further end have each a few large sized beds chiefly taken up with fruit trees; the rest of the ground being cultivated with cereals amid and around tamarind and other trees, some of them almost as old as the Mausoleum itself. A high wall surrounds the whole, with three old outer-structures, two of them in a state of utter decay. The large gateway to the south, the roof of which covers an octagonal room in the centre and side rooms, with similar accommodation above, has had all four of its marble minarets partly destroyed, some say by an earthquake, but this is doubtful from the uniformity with which portions have been cut off or dismantled. The result might have been owing to some other cause.

On the whole, the Mausoleum comprising as it does an odd combination of columns, cupolas, spires and arches, though arranged systematically and corresponding on all sides, fail to impress the spectator with unqualified admiration, notwithstanding that the bulk and solidity of the structure may inspire him with some degree of wonder at first sight. Its magnitude, and yet not its magnificence, cannot but force upon him the impression that years of labor and a "mint of money" must have been devoted to

* Alhumber in Arabic signifies red, and "Alhambra" may be a to any red building of stone or masonry, although a particular one is ed to in Spain.

and lavished in the construction of an edifice which, while it is enduring from its stability, will necessarily be a lasting monument to perpetuate the memory of one of the best eastern sovereigns that ever ruled the destinies of Hindoostan.

Leaving Secundra, a three miles drive will take the traveller through the "Civil Lines," which had gradually risen to be a fine station when the seat of the Lieutenant-Governorship of these Provinces was here, and before it was removed to Allahabad for State reasons. Many of the dwellings which had escaped incendiary fires during the mutiny of 1857, were dismantled or demolished, the materials having been generally used for enlarging the premises of the Central Jail of these Provinces and in constructing a new penitentiary on a smaller scale.

Beyond the Jail and on the road leading to the city, is the Catholic Cathedral, a conspicuous object from its size, its style of architecture and its tall steeple. Not far from it are the Convent and St. Peter's College, both reputed to be and highly esteemed, as excellent educational institutions. The Civil Lines Church, a small but neat structure, escaped the fury of the mutineers; but some other public buildings, especially the Courts of Justice, were destroyed, probably by the very men who were thence sentenced to long terms of imprisonment and who escaped during the temporary commotion. Near the Church is a large garden-house adjacent to the "Kundharee" village and adjoining its bazar. It is consequently very commonly called the "Khundaree house" and is the property of the Bhurtpore Rajah.

On the Mall, that connects the Civil Lines with the Military Cantonments, lies the Agra College, an attractive Gothic building erected at the expense of, and richly endowed by, an opulent native, for the instruction of his countrymen, but where others are also admitted to derive the advantages afforded by a sound education. Besides this, there is "St. John's School" established originally at the expense of Mr. John Davidson, a late Judge of the then Sudder Court. The school is for the benefit of Christian youth in particular but open to all alike.

In leaving these localities and passing through the main street of the town, the Fort of Agra is reached. It is surrounded by a double wall, the outer one about forty feet from the ground and the inner towering some thirty feet more above the outer. It is about a mile or more in circumference and has two principal gateways, the loftier one being surmounted by a large and some small domes and assuming a castellated appearance. The apartments above and below are used as guard-rooms and the summit is well adapted for a sentinel to command a distant view of the surrounding country.

The "Dewàn-é-Aàm" within the Fort is about a hundred and eighty feet long by about sixty in breadth. The roof is supported by two rows of high pillars, some portions of the interior being arched. This long and lofty hall is open on three sides, the front having venetian blinds painted green, thus modernising in appearance an otherwise ancient edifice. The fourth or eastern side is enclosed by an elevated oblong niche-like place, where the King used to sit on a marble throne, to give audience to his splendid Court and to receive embassies from foreign climes and countries. A pillar in this hall bears the mark of a blow struck with a dagger by an exasperated courtier, at another with whom he had an altercation and whom he killed on the spot, notwithstanding that the blow was broken by the column being in the way. The indignity to the Emperor before whom the deed was done, and the sudden assassination, were both speedily expiated, by the murderer having been summarily ordered out to instant execution, and who was beheaded in presence of the assembled and astonished Court.

The Dewàn-é-Aàm is now converted into an Armory where weapons of all kinds are methodically and tastefully arranged. While stands full of rifles fill the floor; swords, pistols and bayonets, form clusters of stars on the walls. Banners and flags taken in various engagements, hang from the sides as trophies of battles won. At one end are the so styled "Somnath gates"*

* Mr. W. Simpson, in a letter addressed to the London "*Daily News*," throws considerable doubt on exceedingly good grounds, about these being the genuine gates of Somnath. Mr. Fergusson, bears him out in his views by stating a circumstance not generally known: "that the gates in the Dewan-é-Aam at Agra had been inspected with a microscope and they are (found to be) of "Deodar pine" and not of sandal wood." Mr. Simpson concludes his communication by adducing the following historical facts and his inferences thereon: "Puttun Somnath, in Gujerat, contained one of the most celebrated temples of the Brahmins. Mahmoud of Ghuznee, shortly after he came to the throne, in A. D. 877, made a raid into India for the double purpose of destroying idolatry and looting in that well-to-do country. The wealth of Somnath led this Mahomedan hero in that direction, and, after a desperate resistance, he took the place. Amongst the plunder, he carried back to Cabool the gates of the temple. They were of sandal wood, and of great celebrity from their elaborate ornament. After Mahmoud's death these gates were put on his tomb, and were treasured as evidences of Mahomedan conquest. The probability would seem to be that the original gates were destroyed by fire, and when the tomb was repaired, a new set of gates were made of Deodar. These gates are not new, for they bear many evident marks of age. Panels are smashed, and much of the ornament destroyed; rude repairs are done with scraps of wood and iron; and, a curious link between East and West, there are a number of horse-shoes nailed upon these old portals. As they were brought from Mahmoud's tomb at Ghuznee by our conquering army, they were an evidence to the Hindoo population of India, that our power had no rival in the East. So far, Lord Ellenborough's proclamation is correct enough; but now, as their *political significance has ceased to be, it ought to be known, for historical and archæological reasons, that they are not the gates of Somnath.*"

brought from Ghuznee by the avenging army deputed by Lord Ellenborough while he was Governor General of India, under command of General Pollock, to retrieve and repair the disasters of the Caubul war, that at one period formed so mournful a page in the history of British India.

In front of the Arsenal are arranged various pieces of ordnance of all sizes, and a large gun that had been taken during the mutiny. The mutineers brought it to batter and blow in the gate of the Fort, which at that time sheltered from danger, all the Christian population near and far, that had resorted to it for refuge from the rebels.

Behind the Armory, is a small garden that divides it from other native buildings designed for various purposes, and to the right of these are others again on an elevation overlooking the waters of the Jumna and which in times of yore formed a State prison. Here "Shah Jehan passed the last eight years of his life, imprisoned by his son Aurungzebe, who had usurped the throne." State prisoners were still more recently incarcerated, if they are not so now, and I believe the apartments are at the present day used as a penitentiary for Military prisoners.

To the left, is a cluster of rooms running into one another. The largest of these is the "Dewan-é-Khàs" or hall of special private audience. It is a room some "seventeen yards by seven and joining by an arched colonnade an open gallery of equal extent. The walls are ornamented with white marble vases and flowers in relief, but infinitely inferior in beauty to the work at the Taj."

Next to the "Dewan-é-Khas" is the seraglio, comprising several apartments, composed of white marble and ornamented elaborately with flowers in various forms, some hanging gracefully in festoons. These are almost all carved, many painted and a few gilt, "covering the walls and ceilings in extravagant profusion." Contiguous to the "Zenanah Khanah" or female apartments, is the "Hummàm" or bagnio, a "*sine qua non*" in all the domestic arrangements of the Begums or ladies of quality. It consists of several rooms for bathing, "the walls and floors whereof are adorned with mosaic work of various colored marbles and semi-pellucid gems. The floors are extremely beautiful and from a fountain in the middle of one of them, the water, rising from a hundred springs, falls in soft showers in a central bath."

Adjoining the Hummam or bagnio is the "Sheesh Mûhûl," or glazed mansion, consisting of two brilliant apartments, glittering not with gems as you would suppose on entering one of them, but with talc or small bits of glass, so arranged on the walls as to represent

clusters of mirrors in miniature, forming flowers of various kinds and figures of divers patterns. In the centre of the bath itself, is a single fountain, the jet of water from which must have caused a curious reflection all around, especially at night, when the slightest illumination within its walls would produce a dazzling effect, owing to the reflected rays of light passing through a foam or spray raised by descending showers. Quite close to the Hummam in a separate room is a small oval basin cut out of marble with a *jet d'eau* in the centre. It is about the most beautiful thing among the whole of these elegant specimens of artistic skill. From its style of carving in bold relief, and the variegated pieces of marble let into the basin of superior polish, all combine to render it a perfect "*chef-d'œuvre*" in sculpture.

Further on is a large slab of dark-colored granite, on four supports of the same material, which raise it several inches from the floor on which it stands. It is eleven feet by seven and of about a foot in thickness, thus admitting of its being surrounded by Arabic inscriptions in large letters. This block of black granite was used as the King's throne in private audiences with his Viziers or Ministers of State. It has somehow been split right across, breadthways, an unaccountable circumstance, for there is no apparent cause for the result. The natives who attach a miracle to everything mysterious, attribute the fact of the rent, to the throne having been profaned or desecrated by the feet of Jewun Singh, a son of Sooruj Mull, who was a Jaut Chieftain of the olden time, and to whom I have cursorily adverted in my allusion to Goverdhun near Deeg.

As you leave these and return to the small court-yard in front of the Dewan-é-Khas, you cannot help observing a rent or two in the trellis-work, caused by cannon-balls fired into the Fort by a battery established on a dry sand-bank of the river, when General Perron besieged the place and selected that side as the weakest and the most vulnerable. The whole of the side facing the river is about eight hundred yards in extent, while the entire circumference of the fort is between one and two miles, a little more or less.

Leaving the court-yard of the Dewan-é-Khas and descending to the left, a small door of about three or four feet is observed, more like a window. It leads to a long and dismal dungeon where prisoners used to be chained. At the furthest extreme, an opening to the right leads to a dark and dreary chamber, which can only be explored by torch-light, even under a meridian sun. In the chamber is a beam running cross-wise just below the roof and over a well that once communicated with the river, but is now choked up with the debris of masonry dug out in the hope of discovering hidden treasure. If tradition is to be believed or reports

relied upon, it would appear that this dungeon was designed for the incarceration of women found guilty of misdemeanours, and the beam for the execution of those among them who were convicted of any heinous crime, or construed as such by their arbitrary lords and masters. With some gloomy impressions derived from a sight of this dungeon, and an unfavorable idea formed of the unbridled despotism of those dark days that led to the darkest deeds, you are glad to leave the tainted atmosphere you are inhaling, and retrace your steps through the narrow door, to find relief in breathing again the pure and fresh air of freedom.

On looking around to admire the many edifices, a few with their gilt spires glistening under the vertical rays of the sun, a walk leads you to a long flight of steps made of free-stone roughly hewn and rudely put together. Ascending these and expecting nothing so grand, you are surprised by being suddenly brought in sight of the prettiest structure in the Fort,—the "Motee Musjid" or Pearl Mosque. "At the extremity of a square court, paved with large white flags, and surrounded by a beautiful gallery and colonnade of the same material, rises this delightful mosque, comprising a single room, fifty four yards by twenty, supported by rows of pillars and crowned with three lovely domes and several well-proportioned pavilions; the whole of marble of the purest white. Free from the aid of foreign ornament, its fair resplendent face shines with an unrivalled lustre."*

This Musjid is justly admired for its beauty, for its exact proportions and for the excellent skill that planned and produced this gem of Mosques, appropriately styled the "Pearl" from the mass of pure white marble that rises before you over a silvery surface formed by its wide pavement. While the colossal Jama Musjid of Delhi, from its magnitude and its bold outline, may be likened to the masculine of its kind; the one under discussion, from its *tout-ensemble*, may, so to speak, be styled the feminine, in appearance at least.

From any of the many high commanding points of the Fort, may be seen an extensive panorama of old ruins afar off, yet nearer buildings in a better state of preservation, and nearer still, the city extending in a long line of great depth, its main street paved with stone, with narrow lanes branching off in different directions flanked with houses three or four stories high, each story having long but narrow balconies of grey or red free-stone, in which and on the several terraces, the inmates of the dwellings are seen seated out of an evening smoking the "calumet of peace" or gazing at the throng below. From the Fort you also catch a good view of the opposite side of the river, with green fields spread out in a wide

* Addison's "Indian Reminiscences."

and verdant carpet that is refreshing to the eye already wearied by the sun's rays reflected back from the surface of the stream ; or by the reflected heat of the sun acting on the masses of stone-work and masonry nearer you, imparting a sensation not pleasant to the system, owing to the sultriness of the weather during summer. As you shade your eyes and shield them with your hand the better to behold distant objects through the overpowering glare, you see to the right the conspicuous contour of the Taj Mahal clearly pencilled out on the horizon " like a most beautiful pearl on an azure ground," and reserve it to the last to explore it by a closer inspection. To the left, is a less pretending structure on the other bank of the river, but one not without its modest merits to a moderate extent. Curious to know what it is like, you leave the fort, pass the " Tripoleea" and its gate, go through the " Gunje" or grain-market, rattle over the paved streets of the town in your buggy ; traverse the pontoon bridge cautiously ; drive by the railway station and alight at the entrance to the mausoleum of " Etimad-ood-Dowlah," father of " Noor-é Jehàn," or light of the world, as the Orientals delight to designate her. It is situated in the centre of a garden divided into four sections in large squares, quite crowded with flower and fruit trees.

" The building is about sixty feet square ; and from the angles of a second story, rise four small marble spires, somewhat higher than the edifice, which on the second story, consists of a single room, about twenty-four feet square, and below a room of equal extent, surrounded by small apartments, the whole throughout of white marble elegantly inlaid inside and out, in beautiful patterns of flowers, vases, cypress-trees and other ornaments composed of gems as in the Taj, but of inferior delicacy, yet producing a fine general effect. The tombs in the lower story are of a yellow cast of porphyry, of a high polish and extremely beautiful. The cenotaphs in the upper room are of plain white marble ; and the walls of open lattice work throughout, exceedingly delicate and admitting an agreeable light, that displays the ornaments to the best advantage."*

Much of the beauty and neatness of the structure has since been neutralised by the neglect which followed the capture of the city and suburbs, by successive conquerers ; for the interior of the Etimad-ood Dowlah and the surface of its walls look dirty and dark, from the effect of smoke, showing that the place had been used for cooking purposes by some inconsiderate camp-followers or other persons, a piece of Vandalism that has been partially rectified after the place came into the possession of the British. With every effort to redeem its lost

* Addison's " Indian Reminiscences "

lustre, the brilliancy of the building has been irretrievably dimmed and tarnished.

The spires rising at the four angles of its upper-story, seem disproportioned to the circumference of their base, a circumstance that gives them a dwarfish and stunted appearance, compared to other minarets raised on a base of similar diameter and dimensions. The roof is hardly in the shape of a dome, being oblong and depressed, partaking a little of the Hindoo or Buddhist style. It has struck me,—not so much from this circumstance but from the fact of there being Chinese drawings of dragons, now nearly obliterated, in some of the rooms surrounding the sarcophagus,—that a "Chinaman" had something to do with the planning and construction of this edifice, but in all probability under Mahomedan supervision and superintendence.

As an appendage to this building, there is another of less pretensions composed of three rooms, built of red-stone on the river's bank. It was doubtless used formerly for visitors to this mausoleum to rest or refresh themselves, and is now converted, with the addition of doors and furniture, into a place for health-seekers to pass a few days at a time, by the payment of a small daily fee. Below it is the head of a fish in effigy, cut out of white marble and imbedded in the plinth of the building facing the river. During the rains, at very "high-water-mark," if this fish's head happened to be submerged, it used to be accepted as a sign of the Jumna overflowing its banks and overflooding the country.

From the Railway-station, which is quite contiguous to "Etimad-ood-Dowlah," a ten minutes' drive will take one to another place of recreation, the "Rana-bagh," or as it is now popularly termed the "Rambagh;" an extensive garden formed of different terraces rising higher than one another and divided into square beds, planted chiefly with fruit trees, and bordered with flowering shrubs and plants. At one extremity, to the left as you enter, are two very commodious suites of furnished apartments, both having upper and lower stories. They are a favorite resort for holiday-makers, or for those who have recourse to the place for picnics or for a few days' change.

Between Rambagh and the Railway station, may be seen on the river's bank, the remains of the "Rung Muhàl," an old and dilapidated structure now in perfect ruin. It was once an attractive place, from its variegated style of architecture and the different colors of cement with which its exterior is composed. Thrown together, they combine to form a peculiar style of mosaic covering the sides of the walls and surface of the spires, in serpentine curves and zig-zag lines running into one another. It was origin-

ally no doubt a beautiful building, but it is quite a wreck, caused by the action of the river undermining its foundations.

Rowing up the river or floating down the stream in a boat, a range of ruins may be scanned on some parts of both banks, interspersed with gardens and buildings, as well as "Ghats" or bathing-places for the natives, extending all the way from the Taj on one side and on the other to the limits of the Rambagh and far beyond. Between those spots, the "strand" is seen on the right bank bordering the buildings of the city, touching the fort at one end and at the other extreme taking in the large and spacious "Custom House" standing close by the bridge.

Leaving these places and proceeding to the Military Cantonments, you cannot help observing the great contrast between the ancient buildings and those of a modern date, the latter bearing no comparison with the former in point of size and superiority. Yet the Agra cantonment has its advantages and attractions in many of its features, not the least of which is its conspicuous and commodious "St. George's Church." The "Metcalfe Hall" is also an ornament in another direction and was built by private subscription in testimony of the first Governor who exercised independent gubernatorial functions over the "North-Western Provinces." There is likewise "Adams' Monument," an obelisk of some consequence that stands within a well laid out garden, with the antecedents of the good old General's military career traced from the earliest dates of his martial successes and depicted in English, Hindee and Persian characters and sentences, cut out on stone slabs on the sides of the column. The garden also contains the best Band-Stand in India, constructed of white stone forming a string or line of harps encircling a wide pavement placed on a raised platform of earth, bordered with grass plots and flowering shrubs. It is a model of the kind, deserving of general adoption in every large military station. The rest of the Cantonments is in its main phases like many others, comprising Officers' bungalows, soldiers' barracks and sepoy lines. Besides these, there are comfortable hotels, and European shops well-stocked with all kinds of commodities. Though last not least, there is likewise a large Press which issues the *Delhi Gazette*, a popular news-paper well known all over India.

From either the Cantonment Church or the Fort, it is about three miles, and almost equi-distant, to that jewel of Eastern edifices, the famous and far-famed Taj Mahal. The first or outer gateway leads into a large court-yard lined on either side with rooms, where the poor were supposed to rest themselves, in coming on a pilgrimage from distant parts of the country to so majestic and beautiful a mausoleum and to pray at the sacred shrine by its side. Advancing a hundred or two hundred yards further,

you alight before a broad pavement of stone, passing over which you go under a large gateway of red-free stone which rises over an octagonal room of about forty feet square with small side rooms and a roof like the inner or inverted curve of a dome. Descending a flight of steps, brings you on a line with a long row of fountains placed some feet from each other in an oblong cistern of great length, in the centre of which is a lovely little reservoir of white marble, lying between the gateway and the Taj itself. On either side of the fountains, are broad walks paved with stone and lined with cypress trees ; similar walks branching off from them and intersecting an extensive garden composed of large square and oblong beds, filled with fruit trees of various kinds and a still greater variety of flowering shrubs and plants.

Leaving these, you ascend a few steps and come to a dead-wall of white marble, which shuts out from the view in front, a double flight of marble steps of great smoothness rising from the right and left, to a tesselated pavement of white and black marble, forming a mosaic of great neatness and thus affording a relief to the eye, when it suddenly alights on a mass of silvery white of such exquisite effulgence. Taking up your position here for a few minutes lost in admiration of a structure of such splendour, you approach it gradually to trace new beauties at every step you take, for the outer portions of the building are as highly ornamented as the inner and the one has as many attractions as the other. The entrances and arches are not only surrounded with flowers in relief cut out of marble in various patterns but encircled with passages in Arabic, from the Koran, let into the white marble-ground in black characters, each such letter being about a foot in length. They are cut out so regularly, with such precision and so elegantly, that the best caligraphist could not produce with the pen on paper, better " Toghra" or Cufic characters, if he took ever such great care in the attempt.

" The plan of the Taj appears to be one central octagon room about sixty feet in diameter, having a suite of octagon rooms all round to the number of eight, which have a direct communication with the centre apartment. The doors rise in an elliptic arch to the height of eighteen feet, above which are eight large elliptic windows, with the intervention of a cornice and an Arabic inscription in black marble characters, that surrounds the room. Around each door also there is a beautiful inscription descending to the floor."*

Two beautiful cenotaphs, elegantly carved and elaborately ornamented with poly-colored semi-precious stones, cut out and imbedded in the white marble ground-work of the truncated pedes-

* Addison's " Indian Reminiscences."

tals so peculiar to the Mahomedan form of tombstones,—stand in the centre of the large octagon room in question, surrounded by a substantial railing carved in excellent devices and designs, out of solid blocks of white marble highly polished. This railing is about eight feet in height, the doorway to the enclosure being about a couple of feet higher in the shape of an arc. A few of the flowers on the cenotaphs are finished with such exactness and accuracy, that they are said to contain fifty or sixty, if not more, different colored stones, within a space of less than an inch each. These can only be distinguished with the aid of a microscope. Seen with the naked eye, the varying shades of color are found so well blended together and with such delicacy of execution, as to give them the appearance of natural flowers closely and correctly imitated. Many of those round the cenotaphs are however made of a less number, and most of them carved out of single stones. Nevertheless, all tend to produce an effect of surpassing beauty. Turn which way you may, the interior of the large octagon room furnishes instances of sculpture on the surface of its walls, such as can hardly be excelled, if even equalled, in point of elegance. Below these cenotaphs in a somewhat low vault entered by a single flight of a few steps, are the two real tombs of the sarcophagus, of a size and shape similar to those above, but of much plainer workmanship. Beneath these, lie the bodies or bones of both Shah Jehan and of Moomtauz-é-Zûmànà *alias* Moomtaz-Mahal; the edifice having been constructed during the life-time of the Emperor, in memory of his beloved consort, who preceded him to the grave.

The terrace or platform on which the mausoleum stands is about a hundred yards square and is raised some fifteen feet from the floor and about five or six feet more from the level of the garden. The platform or pavement is surrounded by a low parapet* of about two feet in height. At the four angles are four superb minarets of white marble, inlaid with black and surmounted by a fine cupola. They are about a hundred and fifty feet in height and each one of them would anywhere else form a magnificent monument in itself. Here they add to the grandeur of an edifice which even without such subsidiary aid would be grand in the extreme and of transcendent beauty. It is by ascending one of these four

* About a quarter of a century ago, a deplorable accident occurred between the first minaret to the right as you enter and the double flight of steps. At a party of ladies and gentlemen and in the midst of great conviviality, Mrs. Duncan, wife of Dr. Duncan, feeling tired after a promenade over the platform, sat on this parapet not six inches wide, overbalanced herself, fell back on the marble pavement and was taken up a corpse, her head having been fractured and her large hair-comb (made of metal, it was said,) having entered her brain by the fall. Need it be added that the company was aghast, dispersed immediately after, and the sad accident cast a gloom all over Cantonments, as she was a general favorite with the Christian community.

lofty turrets that you see how much higher the dome and its gilt spire are over the highest point of the minarets, some forty or fifty feet probably, though from beneath, the spectator can hardly realise the difference in the height, owing to the bulk of the main building and the slender appearance of the Minars by its side. There is another and higher parapet of about six feet, protecting the upper terrace round the spring of the dome, with cupolas at the angles supported on slender pillars of marble, which when seen from the garden give the "*tout-ensemble*" a light and aerial appearance, while without them, the dome by itself would wear a heavy look if it had nothing near it to relieve its bulky form by way of comparison.

On either side of the Taj and removed from it by a space of about a hundred yards in extent, are two large and distinct buildings, which may be regarded as the wings. That to the right as you enter is the "*Jàmaut Khanà*," a place for the people to assemble before prayers or during the ceremonies performed on the anniversary of Shah Jehan's death or on that of his consort Moomtaz Mahul. The other to the left, is a Musjid. Both are built so as to preserve a uniformity of appearance in an external point of view. The internal arrangements and plan differ materially, owing to the two distinct objects for which they were designed. The floor of the Musjid is marked off into little partitions, each sufficiently large for one of the congregation to squat himself on bended knees and to go through the genuflexions and prostrations prescribed by the Moslem creed. Both buildings are arcaded, each having a grand arch in the centre about sixty feet in height, with other arches within and without. The outer arches have a sort of fluted beading cut out in stone, from the summit to the base, as an ornament. They are built of red granite and stand on a pavement about three feet high, but nearly twenty feet lower than the platform on which the Taj is erected. Connecting the two buildings is a low parapet (much too low for protection against any accident as shown above) on the very verge of the entire pavement overlooking the river Jumna from a height of about forty feet. Stairs from the Musjid and the "Jamaut-khana," lead to the surface of the stream ; and a suite of upper apartments in the latter are now furnished for the accommodation of health-seekers or holiday-makers.

From the terrrace of this structure, as well as from the summit of the minarets, an extensive view is obtained of the country around. Exactly opposite the Taj on the other side of the river, is an old foundation in ruins, said by the "Khàdims" or custodians of the place, to have been intended for another edifice corresponding with the Taj, the two to be used as the tomb of each and both to be connected by a marble bridge to represent the bond

of union between the King and his consort even after death. Making every allowance for the poetry of imagination with which these men are sometimes imbued, we must take the assertion for what it is worth. If a sight of the Taj itself and an examination in detail of its several parts, leaves one "in astonishment at the dignity of mind that planned, and the merit that executed so wounderful a task;" what would that astonishment be, if the tale or tradition were realised as to the counter-part of the Taj and their junction by a marble bridge. Visionary as all this may seem, they cannot detract from the intrinsic merits of the reality as it exists. No description however vivid or precise, no colouring however brilliant or varied, even if supplemented with paintings or drawings, can give one a correct idea of the Taj, for its nobleness as an edifice unparallelled in the annals of eastern architecture. To appreciate its worth and value, it must be seen, and when seen, it must be closely scrutinised. I shall therefore conclude my imperfect outline and feeble sketch of this *bijou* of buildings, with the following almost extemporaneous lines, uttered by an enthusiast under the fervor of poetic inspiration, on a first and sudden sight of that marvel of mausoleums:

"Oh thou! whose great imperial mind could raise,
This splendid trophy, to a woman's praise:
If joy or grief, inspired the bold design,
No mortal joy or sorrow equalled thine!
Sleep on secure—this monument shall stand
When desolation's wing spreads o'er the land,
By Time and Death in one vast ruin hurl'd,
The last triumphant wonder of the world!"

END.