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

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ART. I.—1. *The Bengal and Agra Gazeteer*, 1840-41.

2. *Tassin's Map of Bengal.*

THE remark of Heeren relative to the varied appearance of nature in the great continent of Asia, would equally apply to that smaller division of it, which forms our Indian empire, and to that yet smaller subdivision, known as the tract on both sides of the Lower Ganges, or the Plains of Bengal. Even in a country marked by one grand characteristic, there are several specific distinctions, which, in a slight measure, redeem it from the charge of uniformity. Nature is not *exactly* the same in the Sunderbunds and towards the line of hills, which form our eastern Frontier, nor in the dry and arid rock of Midnapore and Birbhúm, nor in the wooded hills of Chittagong, nor in the unbroken cultivation of the districts, immediately north and east of the City of Palaces. But it cannot be denied that although highly favoured by nature, in point of fertility, Bengal presents few of those attractions, which striking scenery or historic association, have thrown around Hindustan or the countries of the Dekhan. Mysteriously created by the changing courses of a hundred streams, Bengal is, as it were, a land of yesterday. Here no crowds of pilgrims wear away the road to shrines, which the giant superstition of centuries has hallowed. No monuments raised by the unremitting labour of multitudes attract the gaze of the pious Hindu. Here Mussulman reverence or ambition never called in the aid of Italian workmen to erect the light and elegant fabric, wherein the dead might repose. No hill fort, in Bengal ever presented, those formidable obstacles, which British valour, in the early rise of our empire, delighted to overcome. The interest created by varied nature, antique monuments and dauntless courage are wanting in the Lower Provinces, and the enquiring traveller will here find few objects of greater antiquity or veneration than the hot spring of Sita in Eastern, and the temple of Tribeni, in Western Bengal.

The estimation in which Bengal proper was held by its conquerors, will be found generally to have been lowered by

the very facilities of its conquest It has always yielded easily, after one or at most two battles, and has therefore been little thought of and almost thrown aside at once. Akbar's generals won it in two combats from the Affghan king, and his son enlarged the capital of Dacca, till it was transferred to Múrshedabad at the beginning of the last century. A Subadar governed it and remitted that portion of its revenues to imperial Delhi, which policy or power dictated. We gained it in one battle and have hardly fired a shot in its plains since then, and yet even that single battle field is, or will ere long have become the heritage of the encroaching river. The few travellers, who have as yet visited India for the sole avowed purpose of seeing the wonders of its empire, with good reason, have had little to do with Bengal. India to them was the India of Kanouj, of Delhi or of Agra, where the Hindu Rajah had been Lord, and the Mussulman emperor had succeeded. The late Dwarkanath Tagore on his first visit to England, if we mistake not, astonished an enquirer of the West end, who was anxious to elucidate some disputed point in the architecture of the Taj Mahal, by informing him that he had never seen the building in question, and yet we do not wonder either at the question or the answer. Ruins and Temples, relics of magnificence and wrecks of time, are those things, which speak to the eye and heart of the Tourist and Draughtsman ; nature's fertility and the productiveness of civilization arrest the regards of the philosophic historian, who attempts to read something of a nation's character from their climate and their soil. And yet Bengal proper well deserves to be thoroughly known. Its amazing fertility, its importance hitherto in a financial, and hereafter perhaps in a commercial point of view, render it by far the most valuable of our Indian possessions Its present revenue surpasses that of the most able Mussulman viceroy. From it we draw the return, which hinders India from becoming a burden on the mother country. If its looms are no longer plied by a thousand hands, and the muslins of Dacca have lost their importance in the market, yet neither Act nor Regulation, nor the views of political economists, can effect the richness of a soil, which a fierce sun and a deluging rain only combine to render more abundantly fruitful. If it wants the pure cold season of the North West Provinces, it is also free from its fiery furnace blasts. If it has not got Simla and Landour, it can yet boast of Darjíling and Cherra Punji, and its temperature, more equable during the twelve months of the year, is perhaps as well fitted for an European constitution as the greater range of the thermometer in the districts of the North West.

Few readers either in India or in England require to be told that the distinguishing characteristic of Bengal is uniform flatness. Even the amusing and accomplished writer who talked about the hills of Húgly and the mountains of the twenty-four Pergunnahs could hardly have expected to impose on the most untravelled reader of the *Oriental Magazine*. The elements of ruggedness, solidity, and gloom which Burke laid down as the causes of the sublime and that of gradual variation which he claimed for the beautiful, are here utterly wanting. Smoothness and infinity, to which lower Bengal, has an undisputed title, are too apt to degenerate into tameness. A striking and grand result is wanting. The eye demands change, a succession of rise and descent, a prominence here and a sudden break there. We are wearied with the same, dull, recurring level, and turn away saying, that there is neither beauty in lower Bengal, nor good in the Bengali. Yet to the artist and the true lover of nature we doubt if any country exhibits a greater number of *detached* objects of beauty, or of more intensity in colouring. The painter, wandering over the plains, might fill his scrap book in a week with sketches not unworthy of a place side by side with those of Italy or the Tyrol, as those can testify who have ever been admitted to a peep at the portefeuille of the accomplished amateur to whom we owe the picture of the arrival of the Sikh guns. In luxuriance of foliage, in the graceful proximity of tall tree and humble creeper, in that strange vegetation which we hardly know whether to class with plant or with timber, Bengal is unrivalled. Our attention is excited now by the graceful bend of a river crowned with clumps of bamboos, drooping in negligent confusion like the weeping ash or willow: or by an old ruined temple overgrown with hanging creepers; or by a dark and isolated grove sacred to some Hindu Thakur or Mussulman Faqír: or by a *mandari* tree in the full blossom of its gorgeous red: or by a wide spreading banyan under whose shade whole squadrons might repose: or by an old tank with raised embankments crowned with underwood and full a quarter of a mile long, the monument of pious Rajahs, for whose devotional works labourers flocked in abundance. And if the Rambler was right in supposing that confined spaces and vallies inclosed by high ranges of mountains hindered the mind from wandering, there is surely no obstacle to discursiveness of thought on those vast plains, which in one district are covered with a teeming rice crop far as the eye can reach, and in another with nought but the unfruitful jungle grass, the undisputed haunt of the wild hog and the buffalo herd.

We begin at once with the staple cultivation of the banks of the lower Ganges. The principal object to which the labours of

the Bengal Ryot are directed, is, as all our readers know, his *rice* crop. In England an opinion is or was generally prevalent, that rice forms the staple food of all the inhabitants of the Indian Peninsula, and the Historian's pen has been already employed to dispel this illusion. The Bengal and Madras districts, the first countries subjugated by us, are the rice fields of India, and with a disposition to generalize from special occurrences only too common to all discoverers, it was at once assumed that rice was the only means of subsistence to the peasantry of India from the Himalayas to the sea, and from Assam to Gujarat. Our readers here well know that up-country men do not live on rice any more than Bengalis on tea, as was gravely stated in the senate by a noble Lord. But there is no doubt that rice is the main object of the Bengal Ryot's hopes and fears, and we therefore propose giving a few of the main features of rice cultivation, both as curious in themselves, and also in the hope that they may not be altogether unacceptable to some of our readers. Of the rice itself which is exposed for sale in the bazar, there are some dozen cacophonous denominations; but of that actually cultivated in the field, there are three principal varieties, *almost the same in every district*. The two first are universally known as the *Aous* and the *Aumon*, and philology has busied itself in deriving, with some appearance of truth, the former from the Sanskrit Ashuvrihi or *quick-growing*, and the latter from Himanto or the season of cold. The third and least common of the three is known as the *Boru*, and as it is always found on the edges of large jhils, where cultivation is possible only during the dry months of the year, it has been imagined that *Boru* is identical with Varuna (!) the Hindu Neptune or Regent of waters. But all speculations of philology apart, the features of the cultivation are in general as follows. The commencement of operations is of course entirely dependent on the showers which temper the hot weather from the end of March to the setting in of the rainy season, and in the common course of things, the sooner the ground is moistened and the seed sown, the better chance it will have of gaining head before the heaviest rains fall. As a general rule it is sown from the end of March or the beginning and middle of April to the end of May, and as it ripens in about ninety days, it is cut variously from the beginning of August or even the end of July to the middle of September. The *Aous* may be grown on those high sloping and sandy situations which no amount of rain can ever innundate. The *Aumon* on the other hand is generally sown on the black rich loam of the lower lands which hold water like a cask, and are impassable for man or horse during six or seven months of the year. This crop is sown from the middle of May

to the end of June and cut after the space of about five months in November, December, and even January. As the produce of this crop is much more valuable than the Aous, so it is much more liable to injury from the capriciousness of the weather. If too much rain falls in May or June, the Ryot cannot sow: if he delays owing to the above cause, the tender plant is deluged by heavy falls in July and August, and consequently ruined. We all know how it does rain in lower Bengal in the months of July and August, and if a sudden and protracted downfall ensues ere the stalks have made head, the consequences are often total ruin to the crop. A night and day spent actually under water, are however productive of little or no injury. It might almost be said, that, like the Republic of old, "should you plunge it in the deep, it emerges in greater beauty;" and Abul Fazl was not guilty of much exaggeration, when he wrote that the rice stalks of Bengal would grow six inches in a night, had they once but a fair start of the inundating rains. Give them this reasonable advantage, and they rise with the rising waters. A race commences as full of interest to those concerned as the most stirring fox hunt, or the most prolonged stern chase at sea, and just such as Dickens would love to describe. It is Neptune versus Pomona: Shiva against Vishnu: the destructive power in Hindu mythology in opposition to that of preservation. And the good genius often wins the day. The rice stalks mounting till the inundation begins to recede, often reach to the length of eight, ten, and even twelve feet, and then dropping quietly down in a recumbent posture on the departing waters, they await the sickle, in the expressive phraseology of the Ryot, a perfect "jungle of a crop."

But once the inundation gains way and remains without decreasing for five or six days, the Ryot who depends on this crop for his subsistence, may starve, steal, or abscond. It follows then that although the Aumon crop is in good years by far the most valuable, returning, as it does, seven, eight, and even ten rupees a bigah, yet the Aous which only yields perhaps from three to four, is much safer to depend on. No amount of rain, however unseasonable, can utterly overwhelm it, though it may impoverish the return, and it is often cut and garnished before the heaviest rain falls. There is also another point of view in which the Aous crop is more valuable than its colleague. The rich soil of Bengal, in which a crop ripens within three months, must not be suffered to be idle during the remaining nine. The old Virgilian line is applicable in the strictest sense in most districts of the Lower Provinces—

Bis gravidos cogunt fœtus, duo tempora messis.

Hardly has the rice straw been thrashed out in the Kalian,

or cleared space on the open plain, and gathered into the round shaped storehouse of the Ryot, when the land is again subjected to the plough, and at the close of the rains when the last departing shower has well soaked the upturned clods, the cold weather crop is sown in all its profuse variety. Under the above comprehensive term we may learn what the alluvial land of Bengal is able to produce. Here the cold weather crop consists of Kalye or Vetches of every kind and denomination: there it is *gram* second only to the far-famed gram of Patna: here again it is a golden crop of barley rivalling the fairest produce of Norfolk or of Hertfordshire, or a magnificent out-turn of millet, or peas and mustard in one and the same furrow,—an arrangement which vividly recalls to our minds the direct prohibition of the old Jewish Law against sowing the field with mingled seed, or wearing a mingled garment of woollen and linen. With all of the above the Aumon or late rice crop has little or nothing to do. But there is one feature in its cultivation too curious to be omitted. In most European countries grain is sown, but it is new to us to hear that in Bengal it *is planted*. The Aous and the greater part of the Aumon crop, are of course scattered with the hand, after that the rude plough has at the least possible cost of time and labour to the cultivator, just marked out a few furrows in the yielding loam.* But a part of the Aumon crop, termed *roa*, is actually planted with the hand after the following fashion. A spot is chosen, often near a Ryot's hut, and sometimes in the very precincts of his courtyard, which is thickly sown with rice seed. When the corn has attained the height of eight or ten inches, it is taken up in small sheaves, and carried to a plot of ground, generally at some distance out in the plain, and often on the edge of the lowest lands, which has been previously scraped, smoothed, and cleansed for its reception. The stalks are then planted at the distance of a foot or so from each other in rows, and smoothed down close to the ground in the opposite direction to that whence the prevalent wind blows. The quincunx is formed on the most approved rules of husbandry, and under the combined influence of sun and shower, the plants, for they are no less, gradually raise themselves upright, and as the national poet of Rome would have said, seem to grow in amaze at their own productiveness.

Sometimes when the inundation rises too quickly for the

* We must make an exception in favour of those Ryots who bring *deserted* land into cultivation. Their labour is indeed on an equal footing with that of the sturdiest and hardest worked English day-labourer. To clear the jungle grass, roots and all, and cut a foot or so into the hard bound earth, demands a powerful wielding of the kodali or hatchet, and a good exercise of muscle and sinew. But once brought under the plough, the labour of the ensuing year is comparatively trifling.

growing corn, the first settings are drowned, and the same process of cleaning, scraping and planting is gone through again. In a good season the produce of the roa crop, cleared as it is from weed or jungle and with plenty of space all around, is perhaps the most valuable of any throughout the year. At the close of the rains a parting legacy in the shape of a heavy shower is ardently looked for and highly prized. If it occurs from the tenth to the twentieth of October, the hopes of the Ryot are at their height. After that the Aumon crop gradually falls by its own weight, or in some districts is smoothed down by a bamboo held lengthways by two men, and there it lies, exposed to the heavy dews of November and its clear north wind until the cutting day be come. We all know the dismay with which an English farmer would look on a fine twenty acre field of wheat, beaten down by the rain and wind of a July hurricane. We can hardly at first comprehend the complacency with which the Bengal cultivator gazes on his tangled crop of rice, level with the water, which its impervious shade keeps cool and almost cold through the whole November day in spite of the bright sun which shines overhead.

We now come to the third and last species of rice, which is much less common than the other two. It is termed as we said, the Boru, and is sown just at the time when the latest produce of the Aumon is cut, and in places where other crops could never come to maturity. To understand this we must remember that although in the rainy season Bengal may almost be termed one enormous jhíl, and in the dry season one succession of hard clay-baked plains, yet thousands of bigahs are under water for the whole twelve months of the year. As these jhíls or jhíls decrease from the influence of the hot sun, their edges are scraped and cleared in the same manner as the ground for the roa crop. If a supply of water is at command, the Ryot defies sun and wind, and may sow and cut his crop at any time of the year, setting the seasons and their fluctuations at nought. Thus he plants his Boru crop in January or February, and keeping it constantly supplied with water from the jhíl, cuts it in April or May, when the swamps are at their lowest ebb, and have not yet commenced refilling from the earliest showers of the rainy season.

The above are, we believe, the main features of rice cultivation in the Lower Provinces. Local differences and peculiarities it would be easy to point out, but as a general rule, we think our account will be accurate. We now conclude the mysteries of *paddy* cultivation,—a word, which by the way, seems to baffle the endeavours of all enquirers into language and to sport with Phi-

lology. Paddy is certainly neither Persian, Sanskrit, nor aboriginal Hindi, and to the best of our belief, it is not English. We should be obliged to any one who would enlighten us as to whence this outlandish expression dropped into Indian phraseology, and has been universally adopted to designate the staple produce of the plains of Bengal.

We have given the above sketch in the hope that it may not be altogether unacceptable to those who rightly estimate the value of the Lower Provinces. But in well cultivated districts, (and how few are not ?) there are several other means of forcing the soil to pay its tribute in places not exactly suited to the rice crop. Date gardens are highly valued not for the fruit but for the juice, and when the rice crop and the mahajan fail, the Ryot is only too glad to fall back on the *gûr* and the sugar merchant. Sugar-cane too is highly profitable to those Ryots who can command sufficient capital for the outlay without falling too deeply into the tender mercies of the money lender. At a cost of some twenty rupees cultivation per bigah, cane will give cent. per cent. and even more. Nor is the saline ground, which refuses to bear the rice crop, altogether let off. Sometimes it is reserved as a pasture ground for cattle, and sometimes it is enclosed and yields the long grass used in thatching. The dense mass of apparent jungle in which all Bengalis delight to shroud themselves and which encircles the Zemindar's palace as well as the Ryot's hut, is every where more or less productive. It is composed of the materials for food or for building, the cocoa-nut, the bamboo, the jack tree and the mango. There may be seen the tall slender stalks of the supari or betel tree, and the towering stems of the cocoa-nut above them, their long arms waving in the breeze; on the other side probably a thick garden of plantains, that curious link between the vegetable and the timber; in the back ground an underwood of wild cane, twining itself round every thing of firmer bulk; and a little further on an undistinguishable mass of thorn, creepers, and underwood of every shade, length and denomination.

Such is the general aspect of a village in Bengal and such it will ever be, until the higher classes of natives will practically admit that currents of fresh air, and cleared spaces, and purified tanks, are not amongst the peculiarities of climate most prejudicial to health. There are in fact two sorts of jungle in Bengal, the one natural, and the other artificial. The, former, which still lives in the great Malda jungle, the Rajmahal hills, the Terai, and in some of the Eastern districts, or at least on those vast churs formed by the Megna or the Podma,

is slowly but certainly disappearing before the spread of cultivation under our rule. But it disappears only to be succeeded by one of a different kind. The Ryot must have his fruit tree and his bamboo which yield him a return with no amount of labour, but that required for gathering or cutting, his protection for the womankind, and his shade against the fierce sun of April or May. If he attains these primary objects he is content. No matter how much miasma may be exhaled from the decaying vegetation, how much disease may lurk in that fair but deceitful mass of green foliage, how many reptiles and venomous snakes may be concealed in the unwholesome shades which surround his paternal inheritance. The sun and the gaze of the passing neighbour must alike be excluded. Grant him this and he will endure with stoical fortitude, the periodical fever, the steamy heat of the rains, and the fetid water which stagnates in the pools whence he has dug the materials for his *bíta*, only because it cannot feel the influence of the breeze and the light. Many a time on threading his way through a small and miry path in the midst of such a jungle the traveller has suddenly come on some respectable Grihastha's dwelling, and has wondered at the well-to-do appearance of the whole,—the four departments of the house towards the four cardinal points of the compass, neatly thatched and in good repair, the open courtyard between, as cleanly swept as that of the most thrifty housewife in England, the cow-house where some four or five bullocks are lazily cropping the *dub* grass, and it may be the *Thakúr bari* where the owner pays his devotions to the presiding deity.

Jungle such as the above is met with in every district in Lower Bengal, and often most where the greatest amount of cultivation prevails. It is the inseparable accompaniment of the spread of agriculture. Let a new village be founded on some wide extended plain covered with nothing higher than the mere jungle grass, by an enterprizing Planter, or by a Zemindar possessed of more energy than his neighbours, and in the course of a very few years the artificial jungle springs up by the side of the hut and lays incontinently the foundation of future disease and mortality. But the real natural jungle, the opponent of agricultural wealth, the mainstay of primeval barbarism, is fading away gradually under the stability of our rule. Not more certainly have the back settlers in the woods of America removed the deer and the Red Indian some hundreds of miles from their frontier, than the Bengal Ryot has the tiger and the wild elephant from whole districts together. Those entirely cultivated are, as may be readily imagined, the nearest to the great commercial capital. In Húgly, Baraset, the twenty-four Pergunnahs, Jessore and Nudiya, it is,

generally speaking, one vast sheet of rice in the plain, and the fruit-bearing trees in the village. In others remnants of the jungle still remain and hold a sort of disputed reign, with civilization. Such are the districts of Furrídpore, Múrshedabad, Pubna, Bakergunge and Dacca. To the west Midnapore is still more than half overrun with the low *shal* tree jungle: Bancúrah is only partly cleared, and Bírbhúm has its dry Kankar rock and its hills crowned with thick brushwood. To the south again the Sunderbunds are gradually being narrowed, and may possibly return at some future period to that state of cultivation in which tradition represents them to have been some five hundred years ago. To the east and the north the wild beast has often undisputed sway over whole tracts. The hills of Chittagong are clothed with an almost impenetrable shield. Beyond Dacca and Tipperah heavy tree jungle is to be met with. To the north of Purnea and north east of Rungpore stretch the deadly Morung and the forests of Kúsh Bahar. And in Rajshahi, Bogra, the vast district of Mymunsing, Malda and Dinajpore, the deer and the tiger still hold the same haunts,—fierceness and timidity in close approximation. It is not altogether uninteresting to mark the successive steps by which the Denizens of the Forest give way to man. The lordly Elephant is the first to depart. Old Travellers speak of him as found on both sides of the Ganges, and he is now, we believe, banished to the hills of Rajmahal, the great forests of Berar, or caught in the Kheddahs of Chittagong. Next goes the Rhinoceros. The jungle monarch holds his own a little longer, but retreats or is killed when he cannot change his haunts so as to elude the search of the sportsman. With him or shortly after him, go the Peacock, the jungle Fowl, and the Deer of all species, the spotted, the Hog Deer, and that graceful and diminutive species, the Mouse. A longer space is allowed to the vast herds of Buffaloes, who often lord it in the very teeth of cultivation over a jhíl, a large plain, or a chur, which regains in one season what it lost in the one preceding. The Leopard or Panther and the wild Hog remain the last of all. Common jungle grass or the village itself are ample shelter for them, to the daily detriment, not perhaps of the lives, but of the herds and the crops of the Ryot.

The network of rivers which intersect Bengal form too curious a feature in its history to be altogether omitted. To them it owes in part its origin, from their currents it is daily undergoing some change and under their adverse or propitious influence the spread of cultivation is either retarded or promoted. These rivers are of every imaginable size. The deep well-filled stream, navigable at all times of the year and never varying in its level

save the space of a few feet: the narrow pent up river, rushing with the rapidity of a mill stream under the influence of the rains and a mere thread as soon as they have ceased, and the wide spread expanse, a genuine sea in the months of July and August, a dreary succession of sand banks, with a few pools of water between them for the remaining months of the year. We have everything, in short, save the clear pebbly streams which are sometimes to be found at the foot of the snowy range to remind us of the trout rivers of Scotland and Wales. It is often hard to ascertain whence these rivers take their rise. Sometimes they seem to run not into, but out of each other, and sometimes they are off-shoots of the great Ganges, the father of the tribe. Here they meet us under one name, and twenty miles farther down they are known by another, without any proof that they have changed their nature in the interim. Their windings, crossings, and different appellations often seem to baffle all correctness in geography or surveying. But large or small, all that are connected with the Ganges or Podma by a remote and intermediate, but regular number of steps, swell and decrease in conformity with their common parent. Fed by the melting of the snow and aided by the rains, the great river "comes down" on the plains, gradually it may be, and with due warning of its approach. But once fairly "come down" and few barriers can stay its course, every stream within the magic circle feels the impulse, and when they have received their full complement, the plains between come in for their portion. Often places within thirty and even forty miles of the Podma's banks have acknowledged its paramount sway, and the common dinghy, nay! even the ten-oared Bauleah have sailed without obstacle over the plain where five months after their owners might walk dry-shod.

The plains of Bengal, as affected by the rainy season, may be said to consist of three kinds. 1. The high and sandy soils secure from the caprices of streams and quite ready to receive any amount of rain which the clouds may shower down. 2. Those influenced by no streams, but which from their clayey soil and low situation are swamps for at least seven months out of the twelve. 3. Those which suffer from the periodical inundation of large rivers, such as the Podma in the central districts, the Burrampúter to the East, and the Damúda and Rup Narayan to the West. With regard to the first of these little need be said. Light and sandy soils are not always the most productive, but their produce is safe and their first and second crop are gathered in with regularity. For these we can desire nothing beyond a tranquil population, a mild Zemindar, and in the language of the most witty divine of this age, a clear highway, a stout con-

stable, and all the other accompaniments of good government. With regard to the second of this class we believe that a good deal might be done in the way of damming or cutting nullahs in direct connection with some river which has a free but not too fierce current in the rains and a moderate one in the remainder of the year. Nearly all streams in Bengal carry a deposit, and wherever ostentation or a worthier motive has dictated an attempt of the kind, most beneficial results have invariably ensued. A khal has been cut: one party, for there will often be a sharp contention before the matter is settled, says, to admit the waters with detriment to the country, and the other to let them out with advantage. But no matter, in the end the stream and the rush of waters have had their effect: an impulse has been given to the stagnant waters, July and August send their fertilizing deposit of ooze and sand, and in four or five years' time, a real metamorphose takes place almost rivalling the imaginary transformations of any Eastern Fairy tale. The jhíl or bhíl is converted into a firm plain: the haunt of the wild Duck and of those myriads of aquatic birds which flock to Bengal, into the regular rice field with its divisional bunds of earth: the tall null jungle is succeeded by the fruit tree: the wretched fisherman's temporary hut of leaves by the neat and regularly raised dwelling place of the grihastha. The earth pays her tribute not in precarious and uncertain quotas, but by the full measure of a regular harvest: man has been fruitful, and some portion of that blessing is imparted which has never failed to wait on those who replenish and subdue the earth.

Thus much for the second class. The third is of greater importance, and more extended in its field of operations, and as such can be but little affected by private munificence. It is a subject on which the highest efforts of human labour directed by unwearied industry and triumphant skill, have been exercised in other ages and countries remote from the banks of the Ganges. Those who have seen the broad ocean leaning against the land, or tossing in impotence against those mighty barriers which the patient Dutchman has erected, may be tempted to speculate for a moment, whether if the destinies of India had been committed to that nation, which at one time seemed almost to dispute with us our footing in Bengal—we should have seen similar mounds towering on the banks of the Ganges, to stem waves of less force only than those of the ocean, or the sluice and floodgate placed in due succession to regulate that influx of waters which cannot altogether be stayed. On this subject, however, it is needless to dwell, as it has been already treated of in a separate paper, in our last number. Such undertakings, it is freely

confessed, are fraught with difficulties sufficient to employ the concentrated energies of a nation; but, if prosecuted with skill and perseverance, the returns may be thirty, or sixty or even an hundred fold. The primary obstacles are always great, and additional difficulties supervene when it is discovered that the bed of the river rises every year so as to be, in time, above the actual level of the surrounding country. Bunds have been indeed formed wherever the vicinity of a station has rendered it necessary, but we must insist upon it, that hitherto they have been generally formed without system or scientific art—and that the plan of a duly regulated series of sluices and floodgates has not yet been sufficiently tried. Those who have seen the fine tracts desolated every year by the inundation of large rivers, will not wonder at our earnestness in again pressing this momentous subject on the attention of Government. Yet good finds its way out of evil. Ormuzd and Ahriman are seen side by side in Bengal as well as in Persia. The Ganges never fails to bring its yearly deposit of sand and ooze, and the Ryots may almost rejoice on beholding the rich layer of mould which remains after the deluge has passed away, available for the cold weather crop.

Swamps and Bhils are not suffered to stagnate without paying some tribute to the Royt. Jungle of various kinds, *null*, *húgla*, *pati*, with sundry others of still more barbarous appellation, flourish in water and mud, and are mainly used for thatching or sometimes for weaving baskets. But with regard to the finny tribe the productiveness of Bengal is most seen, and the population may be termed Ichthyophagous in the strictest and widest sense. Over abundance of any article of general consumption, it is well said, may be a bar to energy or to invention, and cause prodigality and sloth. On the other hand scarcity of provender tends to a certain extent to sharpen and refine. The savage in pursuit of feathered or four-footed game in some vast jungle where nature conceals her subjects from the hand of man, exerts his ingenuity to capture the creatures that serve for his precarious meal or his scanty covering. His arrow and his hooks are sharp, and his correctness of hand and eye worthy the admiration of the more civilized sportsman with his polished engines of destruction. In Bengal it is just the reverse. The infinite plenty of fish in her tanks and jhils has a tendency to foster carelessness. The fisherman's craft wants two if not all those great efficients, which, according to political economists, determine the productiveness of labour and the consequent increase of wealth. It is not directed by any great amount of skill, it is not always exerted with continuity,

and it is certainly not aided by any remarkable power. Why, indeed, should it be, when in the rains at least, fish are to be had in every drain, ditch, pool or puddle of water for the mere catching? Where they come from in such plenty, by what channels they introduce themselves into the strangest and most improbable localities, is a mystery, which at first sight seems inexplicable. But the truth is that all streams and reservoirs which do not fail in the hot weather, hold their myriad tribes. The rains descend, and the tank overflows, the jhíl extends its limits, the rising river runs up every gully and creek with which it has connection, and the liberated fish wander, literally, over the whole face of the country. The Ryot is well prepared to give them a warm reception with very little labour to himself. A common fish weir or basket is put down in a drain by the road side, for a night, with an earthen pot at the end to receive the wanderers, on something of the principle by which elephants are caught in a kraal. In the plain further on, and in the very midst of the growing rice crop, the same sort of fish weir is fixed with perhaps a little more labour and skill, and often in the very middle of the dry season the Ryot may be seen constructing his small trenches, which eventually are to lead the waters and their denizens to the never-failing fish weir at the termination—for as surely as the rains descend, so surely will the finny tribes swarm wherever there is water of three inches in depth.

But a far more slovenly mode of catching fish remains to be told. When the large jhíl is nearly dry or contains only two feet or so of water in its whole expanse, twenty or thirty men station themselves in a line each with a common basket, which they hold in an inverted position. They then march in regimental order steadily across the jhíl, and constantly drop their baskets on the waters, pressing them down to the bottom for the mere chance of finding a fish in the space enclosed. Of course success does not attend their efforts once in twenty times. But still every now and then an internal motion of the basket gives signs that a fish has fallen victim to the doctrine of chances. The labour is not very great, nor the machinery very expensive, and the produce of the hunt, for it is no less, in the end is quite sufficient to supply the Ryots' evening meal or to add something to his purse. We mention the above instances, because it is from peculiarities like these that we can most readily understand how so much plenty and so much poverty, such riches and such debasement mark the population on the banks of the Lower Ganges.

We now turn to a different subject, the intercourse over these

vast and fruitful plains. It is allowed that a facility of intercourse between distant places is one of the grestest helps to civilization, and we need hardly say that without permanent roads all intercourse must be precarious and limited. The ancient world were practically well aware of this truth. A Roman poet in a pleasing but delusive description of that remote time which his fancy delighted to represent as the golden age, and which sober truth often realizes as one of primeval barbarism—places "the making of long roads" as the first step to civilization and its train of attendant ills. An old Greek legion represents the sons of Vulcan as "road-makers," thus practically carrying out the principles of the great father of all art, and we well know from the evidence of our own country the high value which the Romans set on their aqueducts and roads. The old Roman roads speak for themselves. They were imprinted, as it were, on the physical face of every country subjugated by the she-wolf, just as her laws and institutions were on the moral, and their remains teach us a lesson which should never be forgotten. It is for us to see how far the British Government in India have followed the example of the great nation of antiquity in one of the points where her example is most worthy of imitation. A glance at Tassin's map shows the reader a perfect net work of roads, crossing each other in all directions and passing over low tracts of country and rivers of all sizes with an apparent facility which leads the eye of the imagination to picture to itself embankments and bridges carefully laid down and repaired every season under the vigilance of directing authority. But alas! The above is a pleasing hallucination, and it is not too far from the truth to say that, as a general rule, there are no roads in Bengal. We should say that there are no roads because it is hardly sufficient to mark out a track over the plain by cutting a small ditch on one or both sides some six inches in depth, and raising the intermediate space to a corresponding heighth. Yet such was the plan too often pursued by those who were charged with this important branch of works some thirty or forty years ago. Here and there a little more labour was expended. Bridges were built at those places where the *rush of waters in the rains* was considerable: embankments were raised and deep ditches dug on both sides where necessary, and the road itself generally, made some six or eight feet higher than the level of the surrounding country. But roads must not merely be made. They must be kept in that repair which the nature of the climate imperatively demands in addition to the common wear and tear of traffic. Where this has not been done, the

consequences may readily be surmised. The bridge has become unsafe here, or actually broken down there, or the embankment has frittered and *melted* away from both sides of the bridge, which now stands alone and in silent appeal, as it were, to the traveller; in the course of a couple of days' march not one, but twenty bridges may be seen thus situated, the present road or track marked by country carts running round them, at a considerable distance, and with a proportionate increase of delay to both man and beast: while, as if to give a practical commentary on Burke's famous dictum, the vacuum created by the fallen embankment is invariably the place where the water remains the longest, where the first showers of May and June collect soonest into a puddle and where under the sun of the succeeding February they are the last to dry up. The most energetic outpourings of rhetoric could not add to the strength of our cause or the truth of our appeal. The bitterest invectives poured forth by some untravelled Englishman on his first dawk trip over "Mofussil roads" could never speak with one quarter the force of the mute eloquence of broken bridges, destroyed embankments, and the muddy pool in the very centre of the road, where a numerous and half-naked population are employed in catching the never-failing fish.

The old Hindu Rajahs were, we take it, not much given to road-making. The evidence of their labours is most seen in occasional tanks and reservoirs. Their whole system, religion, morals and politics is wrapt up in itself and knows nothing of expansive or centrifugal force. The Mahommedan rulers were more aware of the advantages of intercourse, and roads were amongst the great works by which Akbar and Jehangir hoped to leave a lasting memorial of their sovereignty in Upper India. Even their Viceroys were not insensible to the wants of Bengal, and a road was made from Dacca to Murshedabad, the old to the new capital, for the conveyance of treasure and state prisoners, whenever the one or the other were paid in or caught. Traces of this road still remain, where destructive inundation, or the still more destructive encroachments of agriculture have not carried it away. We have seen this road in some places almost as complete and in as perfect repair as the day it was laid down,—its breadth, solidity and permanency doing honor to its founders, who were in all probability either Murshid Kuly Khan or his successor Aliverdi: and the great banyan or pipul tree, which with a singular perversity the road-makers had planted not on both or one of the sides but *exactly in the centre*, still flourishes as a grateful protection to the wearied traveller, with the

honours of a hundred years on its aged brow, and only wanting the sacred bard to rival the fame of Cowper's Yardley oak.

Bacon was not more constant in his recrimination of the mistakes made by the old philosophers: Demosthenes not more earnest in his recommendation of *action* as the grand qualification of an orator: Chesterfield not more interminable in his paternal injunctions to study *les bienseances* and to sacrifice to the graces, than we shall be in putting forward the great advantages of good lines of roads. They are the keystone to all improvement. Without them every other change for the better is at a dead lock On them hangs the efficiency of alterations in the departments of the Revenue, the Police, the Post Office, and even Education. All our excellent institutions of vernacular schools, of local Magistrates placed in charge of sub-divisions, all our more stringent or more equitable regulations for the suppression of crime, or even for the payment of Revenue, are half neutralized from the want of facility in moving from place to place. Nothing tends to foster in its original length and breadth the unchanging Toryism of the Hindu, so much as the want of roads. Without them every village is a republic of itself, with its own demagogue at whose beck and call the mob move, and every bazar is a small commercial city which contracts, while it seems to extend, the traffic of all places just within its sphere. With good roads available at all times of the year, justice would be brought much nearer to every man's door than it ever could by even further additions of local Magistrates or energetic Darogahs. Intelligence would be communicated in hours and not in days as is too often the case at present. The Revenue of great landholders or of Europeans with large ijarahs would be collected with much less of the time and trouble now expended in the process: some portion of the resources of the country would find their way to Calcutta by the more expensive but at the same time more secure and expeditious mode of land carriage, in preference to the circuitous and dangerous route of the Sunderbunds, and a general spirit of activity or enquiry would be set on foot everywhere. With us in Bengal it is at present the old fable of the belly and the limbs in its strictest and most literal sense. The former when well filled set all the other springs agoing and the whole machine moved well, although the limbs were loathe to acknowledge this truth. When deprived of its rightful food from that short-sightedness which would not recognise the effect till it was forced to follow up the cause, the limbs lost their play and became weak, puny, and inefficient. Just so with roads save that as yet they have never had a fair field. Let their importance once be

practically recognized and the dependant limbs of vernacular education, efficient police, intelligence of events, and civilization generally, will manifest a healthiness and activity to which they have been utter strangers. Without them the police officer will never move about quickly, the dawk runners will have the invariable excuse of wading through mud and water to account for their delay, and the direct superintendance over the laudable institution of vernacular schools will be to the public servant it concerns, a piece of duty only performed, in the teeth of many obstacles, at occasional and uncertain intervals. Our object is for the most part to depict things as they are and not to advance remedies. But in the present instance we may be excused for stating our views on reform at some length. In the absence of stone quarries or of kankar, it has been usual throughout Bengal to lay down roads of brick. A *via lateribus munita* when in complete repair is of course inferior only to macadamized England. But once it falls into decay and a wheeled conveyance of any kind, except perhaps the all-enduring hackery, might almost as soon pass over a broken down brick wall, as go in safety over their uneven surface. Consequently brick roads are generally confined to the immediate vicinity of a station where constant superintendance is available through the medium of convicts. The district is left to roads made of the common earth, whose rise, fall, and present condition we have attempted to describe. Yet we desire nothing more than such roads, be they only provided with bridges where necessary and of sufficient breadth. To be brief in short with our proposed improvements. The Roads should be made of the common earth, and if sandy, so much the better. They should be at least eight feet higher than the surrounding country and broad enough for six bullock carts to move abreast at the same time. We have erred in making them too narrow. Not only are narrow roads sooner worn away by the common country carts, which from necessity are driven in one and the same track, but they are less able to resist the rush of waters in the rains, and almost invariably *melt away* on both sides of a bridge. The mention of bridges—and by bridges we do not mean those thrown across streams and nullahs, but those in low places where there is water only for six months in the year—leads us to correct another error. We do not crave for *pucka* roads, but wherever it is necessary to construct a bridge, the road for fifty yards on either side of it, should be laid down in brick or otherwise metalled. Without this measure, the divorce of bridge and road may be confidently predicted, and the former is left alone, without perhaps, a single brick displaced, every

trace of the raised road leading to it, having faded away. But suppose the broad road with a capacious ditch on each side, once in full play, we have yet to cope with the formidable opposition of rushing rivers and corroding streams. To bridge these must be a work of time. Even common wooden bridges, like those over the alpine torrents in Switzerland, whose current is full as destructive as that of any of their muddier Bengal brethren, would be of inestimable benefit. Hereafter it may be that private liberality will cause the arch to span the flowing river, when we once have a good set of roads laid down, and when the Zemindars of a later generation shall have learned that there are more worthy and enduring objects of expenditure than idle nautches and extravagant Púja hs. Meanwhile we should like to see a general reform of the public ferries. The boats in which horses and even wheeled carriages are now crossed over in every district, we believe, but that of Midnapore, are of the most fragile description, and built exactly on the model of the bark of the great ferryman—

> —— gemuit sub pondere cymba
> Sutilis, et multam accepit rimosa paludem.

Every traveller on the Rhine, whose current when pent up between the frowning range of the Taunus hills, is as rapid as the Ganges itself in July, will remember the broad flat-bottomed ferry boat, with a moveable stage or draw-bridge at both ends, easily managed by a couple of men, into which horses and carriages might be driven bodily, often without loosening the traces or disturbing the unconscious inmates of the dickey. These are just the sort of boats we require in the public ferries of Lower Bengal.

We beg pardon of our readers for what may seem prolixity, but the importance of the subject will, we trust, plead our excuse. As rulers of India, we are to civilize the land, and we never yet heard of real civilization in any country, ancient or modern, which had not good roads. To them Rome owed something of her universal dominion. The Highlands of Scotland before the time of the famous General Wade, immortalized in a well-known couplet, were always turbulent and disaffected; and without roads, some parts of Spain, as Gallicia, and some provinces in France are in a condition as regards civilization really not much if at all better than that of the most settled provinces under our rule.

There exists, it is well known, a committee in every zillah termed the Ferry Fund, with a certain sum of money at their

disposal for the improvement of intercourse in the district. But there are two things which generally render these functionaries inefficient. In the first place there is the name of the committee, in the second their labour is unpaid. Our experience in the east teaches us the almost proverbial inefficiency of committees, and the established axioms of political economy tell us of the utter unproductiveness of unpaid labour.

With four good trunk roads, running from the sudder station of every district towards the four principal points of the compass or to the neighbouring stations, kept constantly in order by judicious repairs made at the close of the rains, furnished with their proper complement of bridges, and available for transit at all times of the year—we should soon have a net work of smaller roads crossing and recrossing each other. Zemindars will not spend money on great and patriotic measures, and it would perhaps be too much to expect that they should give us, each, their ten and twenty miles of road. But every landholder is clear-sighted enough where his own interest is at stake; and if the main road in good repair lies at a moderate distance from his country seat, or his most profitable bazar, he will very soon lay down a cross road to meet it, and thus secure, in the one case a speedy transit for himself, and in the other, the commerce of all the adjoining neighbourhood. This to our knowledge, has been done in several instances. We here take our leave of this important subject, on which much more might be written, though much has been said. There is an old proverb about things always mending when at their worst. Let this but hold good and the roads of Lower Bengal might almost be expected to mend of themselves. The above remarks have been penned in the spirit not of cavil, but of unfeigned regret. We do lament that England, while bestowing so many real advantages on India and her people, has not given them the one advantage which gives permanency and effect to all the rest. The thinking minds who acknowledge the real blessings which our rule has conferred on the natives can best determine how much these blessings are neutralised by the want of roads, and how certainly they would be doubled by facilities of intercourse. If, as seems likely, the next ten years are to be rendered memorable in Indian History by the introduction of railroads, we shall possess the highest results of science in this respect before we have enjoyed her commonest fruits, and shall emerge at one step from the traces of primitive barbarism to the evidences of the most enlightened civilization.

Our subject is the plains and their peculiarities whether of agriculture, fertility or manners and customs. It may then

perhaps be worth while to glance at the various amount of land revenue derived from the twenty-five Regulation districts in which the Bengali language is wholly or even partially spoken. In a table which we submit below, we have been guided by such published documents as were within our reach, and in some cases have been enabled to compare the returns of more than one year, taking the common average as the standard. In others again we have been unfortunately restricted to the returns of a single twelvemonth. But we believe that our statistics will be found tolerably correct, within a few thousands, and if anything, under the mark. In alphabetical order the districts pay land revenue as follows:—

	Rupees.
Backergunge	1,007,900
Bancúrah	400,000
Baraset	6,200
Birbhúm	750,000
Bograh	175,000
Burdwan	3,100,000
Chittagong	740,000
Dacca	450,000
Dinajpur	1,860,000
Furridpur	30,000
Húgly	1,200,000
Jessore	1,000,000
Noacolly	530,000
Nudiya	1,100,000
Malda	275,000
Midnapore	2,050,000
Murshedabad	1,320,000
Mymunsing	750,000
Pubna	100,000
Purnea	1,300,000
Rajshahi	1,190,000
Rungpur	1,120,000
Sylhet	380,000
Tipperah	950,000
Twenty-four Pergunnahs	1,050,000

For a view of the comparative fertility of the several Bengal districts, the above is tolerably accurate and sufficient for all practical purposes. The table wants the detail of hundreds and even of thousands, and it may be that half a lakh might be added to some districts, as the revenue arising from Khass and resumed Mahals, lately settled, the exact amount of which we

have not the means of estimating. Several points also require a little explanation, in order to relieve whole districts from the charge of sterility. Burdwan, it will be seen, stands at the head of the list, distancing all its competitors in the great race. This district is remarkable as the birth-place of Puttani Talúks, and the immense revenues of its wealthy Raja are got in with safety and expedition under the above arrangement. With two other districts, those of Midnapore and Chittagong, it was almost the first land that came into our possession, at an epoch five years anterior to the memorable 12th of August, 1765. We are thus naturally anxious to see how its colleagues have fared, and while twenty lakhs may well be afforded by the immense extent of country included in Midnapore, one of our largest zillas, Chittagong only contibutes a little more than seven. The hills of this district are still clothed in their primitive verdure. This is one of those where a long series of toils may yet employ the axe of the woodsman and the plough of the Ryot, and yet from a variety of causes, its revenue establishment is perhaps the most expensive in the whole of India. But the twenty-four Pergunnahs came under our rule even before the other three, and the goodly amount of their revenue may serve to explain in some measure the paucity of the Baraset contributions, which are in a great measure paid in to the collectorate at Alipore. The same excuse may be pleaded for Furridpore and Pubna, districts only lately apportioned, whose civil and financial matters are mainly settled in the courts of their neighbouring districts. On the whole then it may be assumed that ten or at most eleven lakhs is a fair average of land revenue for districts fully as large as the county of Devon, and sometimes almost equal to all the Ridings of Yorkshire combined. It can hardly be said that the Zemindars are heavily assessed, or that they are compelled to exact extra cesses from their tenants with even more than the license of old feudal landlords. With the supreme landlord too, for the Government has made itself nothing less, the barriers are fixed, broad and deep, and for ever. Let deserts be turned into rice fields. Let the timber of the forest fall, and its underwood cease to spring up, let jhíls and swamps be dried, and rivers inundate only to fertilize, the Government will hardly add a direct Rupee to its revenue. Whatever improvements take place by natural changes or through the energy of man, agriculture and the land-owner alone will benefit. The Decennial settlement was made *Perennial* in the sanguine but fallacious hope that Zemindars would set to work in earnest, and bestow all their energies on the improvement of the land. Re-

sumptions and their unmerited obloquy are by this time terminated, and even those creations which we may expect from the magic influence of Bengal's hundred streams, will, in conformity to a late equitable enactment, be subjected to scrutiny only once in ten years. We reserve any further remarks on the operation of the revenue laws as inconsistent with the limits of the present paper. But no one who has ever studied the subject will at all complain that the rice crops of Bengal are over-assessed, or that we have been at any time liable as a governing power, to the reproach which might well have been indignantly vented against the invading Roman general, "where they have made a solitude, they give it the name of peace." Our stringency in the Revenue Regulations relates to the exacting of the Revenue fixed by law, and not to the steps by which that Revenue was fixed in the first instance. We have made no deserts. We have not driven away a teeming population from its dwelling places, or cleared out villages by wholesale. If a mistake was made and too much demanded, the collector's hammer fell with its wonted regularity, and the estate was soon subjected to a lower assessment. Things thus found their level in a very short period of time, and even when an estate was put up for sale, it would often be found that the exactions or carelessness of a landlord, or the rapacity of his agents, or the mysterious and unforeseen operations of disease, inundation, and famine had combined to recall the desert for a time, with its noxious animals or malaria more noxious still.

In surveying the plains of Bengal we may be excused for looking with something of an antiquarian spirit for peculiarities of names as indicative of the age. And here again we have Hinduism vividly stamped on the face of the land. As the very names of his sons and his daughters are borrowed from the Deities he adores, so are the appellations of the villages in which the Hindu lives. There is not a district in all Bengal which has not by dozens its cities of Bhawani, Kali, Durga and Krishna. Sometimes we have indications of a divided empire between Church and State, the priestly power in contradistinction to the kingly. In the south of England it is usual to hear a common ending diversified by the prefixes of "King's" or "Abbott's," each indicative of their respective origin and belongings, and so in Bengal we have everywhere the Rajahat, and the Bamanhat, or the bazar of the Zemindar and that of the Brahman. All this and much more besides is unmixed Hindusim. Often however we have the surface broken by the introduction of Mussulman names, or by their intermarriage with the pure

Sanskrit vocables, and by those rude local denominations in which the peasantry of every country are wont to indulge. The result is that in ten miles of a district we have a strange combination of names. First we meet with Kanchannagar, the city of gold, Dharmapur, the city of justice, pure and untainted Sanskrit. Then we find Alinagur, the exalted city, Mirzanagur, Sultanpur and Khanpur, cities of Mussulman dignitaries, the Persian prefix illegally married to the Hindu termination; and lastly uncouth appellations, apparently indicative of local peculiarities of climate or situation or incident. These points, trivial in themselves, are yet forced on our observation by their very frequency, and they serve to remind us in due order, of the great spread of the Sanskrit language, the Hindu religion, and the race by whom both language and religion were preserved. Next they recall to us the Mussulman tide of invasion which broke up forcibly the old barriers of the language and gave us, in the Upper Provinces, the flexible and polished Urdu for the harsh and unpolished Hindi, and the Lower Ganges, the modern form of Bengali for that which depended solely on the Sanskrit: and lastly they tell us that in every country there are to be found certain quaint and rustic appellations which find themselves a resting place in the teeth of any language, adventitious or indigenous. Historical inquiry will not disdain the light thrown by peculiarities such as the above, provided that antiquarianism be set down in its proper place, as one of those tabulæ naufragii which may serve to rescue facts from the deluge of time. Even if not useful, the study of Bengali names could hardly fail to be amusing, were the amusement no other than that produced by the perusal of Captain Marryatt's tour in America, where that amusing writer gravely enumerates how, in the backwoods, he found so many places of the name of Syracuse, so many of the name of *great mud*, so many named Athens, so many *little muds*, so many Romes, and so many "*muddies*."

It was on the banks of the great Ganges, whose fertilizing and destructive powers, we have been endeavouring to describe, that the most ribald writer of a sceptical age placed the genuine abode of moral purity and truth. Nothing in Europe, in Western civilization, or in the consolidated benefits of discipline and law, could satisfy the longings of that untameable spirit. In a series of tales nearly all devoted to Asiatic subjects and many to India in particular, he sent forth his fiery shafts to destroy, scathe or wound, everything either venerable in Western institutions or hallowed by a belief in its divine origin. No weapon

in the great armoury of ridicule from the most brilliant and elevated wit to the most coarse and nauseous buffoonery, of which his variously-gifted nature was not thoroughly master; and no error so absurd, no mistake so degrading to that wisdom which glories in its own far-sightedness, by which his infidel reason was not led blindly captive. We read in the tales of Voltaire of Brahmans deploring their own ignorance, of young Hindu maidens conjugating their first Italian verb with their confiding lovers, where heart answered to heart in simplicity, and of the happy land of the Gangarides whose shepherds are all equal, whose places are renowned in Eastern and Western marts; and where a population of peaceful inhabitants assemble for religious ceremonies in temples built of cedar wood, on the days of the full moon! We read the above and much more, told too, in a style at once so graphic and captivating as almost to make us forget the absurdities it conveys. But we turn to the living picture and the illusion, if ever it charmed for a moment, is dispelled at once. We survey the plains of the Lower Ganges, their magnificent revenue, their luxuriant vegetation, their productiveness which almost defies the drenching rain and the blazing sun, their wonders in the animal creation, the gorgeous varieties of their feathered races, their thousand streams never failing in contributions to the daily food of millions, their teeming population, their language and religion as little altered by the lapse of ages as the nature of things will possibly admit, and we are forced to confess that "only man is vile." We shall scarcely be required to prove the moral degradation of the Bengal Ryot, and we therefore propose closing our paper with a few observations on his present condition and ways of dealing.

The vices of the Bengali are but too well known. His good qualities are patient endurance, suppleness, dexterity, and quickness of apprehension. But though it may be assumed that the grosser forms of vice which we have been so often warned not to take as samples of the nation at large, and which prevail in the suburbs of large towns and the purlieus of our courts, are not found in the villages with their artificial jungle, yet it must not be supposed that the latter places are the abode of rustic simplicity and manliness. Bad and low passions are as rife where law has never been as where it is daily perverted to a means of fraud or oppression. The curse of ignorance as to man's proper rights, and a demoralizing disobedience to lawful authority, are more prominent in a village on the very outskirts of a district, than in those next the great bazar where the sudder

station is generally placed. Not but that the Ryots are often susceptible of management. They listen and too readily, to the voice of the man of influence. But the sentence pronounced against Reuben sits heavily on them. "Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel." If good and seasonable advice is tendered, if they are told to pay in their legal dues and to receive something of protection in return, if any arrangement is proposed by which old feuds and grievances of long standing are to find an equitable solution—too often the traces are as those written on the sand. The first breath from the mouth of the village demagogue blows them away. But should the compact be made in order to set right at defiance, to defraud the landlord and to enjoy a freedom from the ties which in the East bind subject and master together, the traces are then written deep on the face of the rock. It is curious to remark the firmness of every link in the chain of evil, and how certainly it brings its own punishment in the end. To resist the unlawful oppression of a little brief authority the Ryot is generally powerless. He will submit in patience to the exactions of a Police official, to the unbridled tyranny of a Zemindar, to the repeated extortions of a native collector of revenue. His only object is to pay and end the matter. Every now and then the overstraining breaks the bow, and oppressed poverty has recourse to the protection of the law, or next to the advocacy of some powerful rival of the enemy, or lastly to one of those frantic outbreaks of summary revenge of which even the uncomplaining Bengali is capable. Let however the object of the league be to resist authority in whatever lawful shape it comes, and the Ryot soon finds the union of atoms to be capable of producing solid matter. In the quaint but expressive language of his own Sanskrit poet,—"By stems of grass having attained unto the state of a rope, even mad elephants are bound." The village population soon learn to estimate the practical truth of that discussion which engaged the attention of the Scottish King and his minister on the subject of a bundle of arrows. When separated, each fragile shaft snaps in two at the slightest pressure: united, and the bundle defies the utmost efforts of man's strength. So the arrows unite in a bundle and a long and arduous struggle is the result. The Zemindar however can reverse the maxim and find means to snap the arrows separately. Burke saw this sixty years ago and set down cause and effect to their true sources, when he said that servile concealment called forth tyrannous coercion. At last however the battle is decided, and in the way it always must be where perseverance on one side is met by equal perseverance on the other, backed by the consciousness of right

and title. The motto of *væ victis* is then rigidly enforced, and the Ryot pays for the short enjoyment of his rebellious freedom by a long and heavy interest due to hatred and revenge.

Thus all Zemindars are not exactly prototypes of injustice, nor the Ryots of suffering innocence. The former always have some shadow of excuse in the general unwillingness of Ryots to pay their lawful dues, and the latter will use fraud to circumvent or force when fraud fails. But we do not intend to let the Zemindars off so easily. They are well aware of the primary difficulties of the question and thus solve it in two ways. Either they are violent and oppressive in their mode of collection, or they let the estate out in farm and cease to trouble their heads about the matter. We have rarely if ever heard of a Zemindar contentedly living on his own estate, and making a trial of personal superintendance, and temperate but firm authority in the exaction of his dues If the Zemindari is let out in ijarah, the condition of the Ryots of course depends on the character of the ijarahdar, who may be as harsh as the original owner, partly because he too will encounter opposition and partly because he must make his own profit, or the speculation will not answer. If the Zemindar does collect himself, through Puttani, through various subdivisions of under tenure or by Khass collection, it is the most we can hope for if he be not violently oppressive. It is well if he jogs on quietly. As for the laying out his money on any lasting objects beyond an occasional tank, or a scanty mile or two of road, it is what we never heard of yet, and in all probability in this generation at least, never shall.

We might write more regarding many subjects on which from the length of this paper we have only touched. We have attempted to show something of the nature of the great plains of Bengal, their staple cultivation, the gross amount of their land revenue, their facilities for intercourse, the influence of their climate on character, and the failings of their vast population. It could not be expected that we could do more than strive to awaken interest on many of these points, and show how much yet remains to be known and said. But while we write with a sense of the degradation of the Bengali, we would believe that there is abundance of hope yet. In many things we see much to awaken sympathy, re-animate confidence and banish despair. The Bengali is poor with the riches of a bountiful soil, actually running over around him: he is degraded as a man in whose eyes as a child we discerned the fire of intellect. The Ryots of Bengal have been tried by a long and complicated series of ills any two of which would have sunk most nations to an equal if not a lower

depth. They have been tried by ages of priestcraft, and of oppression, by an enervating climate, by systematic neglect, by the dead level of despotism, by all the vices which profusion when abused is wont to generate, by that sensuality and sloth which wilful man educes from the very prodigality of nature's choicest blessings, by ignorance in high places, by crime in its worst appearance, the crime of the physically weak. "Never were a Government," says an accomplished historian, "in a more parental situation towards their subjects than are the British Government in India." Never has there been a more remarkable instance of the contact of a nation in its infancy with one at its full growth. The Bengali while he has many of the faults of wayward childhood, has also much of that ductility which is its undoubted privilege. He is not wantonly cruel. His kindness towards children, be they his own or another man's, is a most pleasing feature in his moral nature. Another as remarkable is his almost uniform politeness. We do not allude to that cringing humility which a host of dependants pay to the man high in authority. In a common Ryot's hut, in the midst of a village where probably an European face was not seen once in six months, we have met with straightforward, we had almost said, manly good breeding, which reminded us of the honest English farmer, and on which Chesterfield or Beauclerk would have looked with applause.

To raise the Bengali and civilize Bengal is a task imposed on Indian statesmen as hard in execution as the improvement of Ireland and her peasantry for leading men at home. Dissimilar in many points as are the Bengali and the Irish peasant, with both, idleness and ignorance are the main obstacles to advance. But we still indulge a not unreasonable expectation that by the multiplication of our schools and colleges whether originated by Government, voluntary Associations, or private individuals, and by the future establishment of good lines of roads, we shall see the wishes of a philanthropic Government crowned with success, in the fairest and richest of the provinces under our Rule.

ART. II.—1. *Memoirs and Correspondence of the most noble Richard, Marquess Wellesley, &c. &c., by R. R. Pearce, Esq., London, Richard Bentley,* 1846.

2. *Historical Sketches of Statesmen who flourished in the time of George the third, by Henry, Lord Brougham, &c., &c., Third series, London, Charles Knight and Co.* 1843.

3. *The Despatches, Minutes, and Correspondence of the Marquess Wellesley,* 5 *vols. London, W. Allen and Co.* 1837.

4. *Mill's History of British India, vol. VI.*

5. *Thornton's History of British India, vol. III.*

THERE are few more glorious situations in which a man of ability can be placed than those in which his energy, zeal and talent may benefit a nation in its time of trouble. Nor would we envy the cynical indifference of those who could sneeringly smile at the pleased satisfaction with which such a man would listen to the praise won by his honest patriotism. It is a noble thing to serve one's country under any circumstances, peculiarly so when that country is in danger, and it must be a gratifying thing to find that service rewarded by honor and fame. This, however, is but the portion of a few—the favored ones of humanity, on whom nature and fortune have equally smiled, whom both have loaded with their choicest gifts.—There is still another source of gratification somewhat smaller in degree, but equally honest and unblameable. It is when one's near relations—his father, or sons, or brothers or sisters—have won a nation's gratitude and admiration by their services or talents. A generous nature exults in the prosperity of the loved relation as if it were his own, and joins in the public applause with an inward overflow of the heart's satisfaction of which the crowd knows nothing. If modern history presents a single illustrious example of a man who might honestly and justly indulge in this two-fold species of gratification, that man was the Marquess Wellesley. Great himself as a statesman and politician, eminently successful as a ruler, and placed in the midst of a period in the world's history when his talents could not well be concealed, and were eminently useful to his country, it was his rare good-fortune to see his brothers also shine out from amongst the crowd, in the ranks of the greatest of his fellow-countrymen. It was his peculiar privilege after he had won honors and fame, with a distinguished niche in the world's history for himself, to see the brother, whose earlier essays in arms he had patronized and directed, gradually rise to the summit of

military fame, and finally become the conqueror of the great modern Alexander. The history of the world cannot disclose to us a nobler instance of true family greatness. Let us endeavor to picture to ourselves what were the feelings of the mother* of these distinguished men when she saw one of them take his seat in the British house of Peers, and in the highest order of peerage, the acknowledged warrior and champion of his country —another in the second order, known to the world as the saviour of the Indian empire of Britain and the most popular viceroy of a third part of the kingdom—a third and a fourth also Peers, distinguished as diplomatists and statesmen, and yet not one of these sat there by hereditary right for they had all raised themselves to that eminence by superior ability and talent!— when we picture to ourselves what the feelings of the Countess of Mornington were under these circumstances, we will have some faint idea of the noblest and most honest pride that ever entered into the female breast. When the slow sure finger of time has obliterated from the minds of men the jealousies and party feelings of the day, the family of the Wellesleys will shine forth in the history of the world with a lustre beside which even that of the Gracchi will appear obscure. It shall be our endeavor in the subsequent pages to give a brief, but clear and impartial account of the events which marked the early career and Indian administration of the eldest of those illustrious brothers, the Marquess Wellesley.

The family whence the subject of our notice was descended, was one of antiquity and renown, and although the renown of their ancestors, or the antiquity of their family, can add nothing to the admiration with which we would regard such men as the Duke of Wellington or the Marquess Wellesley, yet it is a pleasing thing to reflect that men so distinguished, should have been derived from those, who, in ages long past, had proved themselves superior to the herd. The venerable oak which has for centuries stood the shocks of tempests and of desolation, frequently proves itself more able to resist the wintry blast and equinoctial gale than the more youthful offspring of fifty years of growth. The Earl of Mornington, the father of the distinguished Marquess, was a privy Councillor of Ireland and Custos Rotulorum of the county of Meath; he was more distinguished for his musical compositions than his statesmanship, and had he not produced such sons as those of whom we have spoken

* It is related of Lady Mornington, that on a crowd pressing round and obstructing her carriage when on a visit to the House late in her life, she said to Lord Cowley, who accompanied her, "so much for the honour of being mother of the Gracchi!"—*Brougham's Statesmen, &c., 3rd series.*

would have gone down to his grave "unwept, unhonoured, and unsung" by the muse of history.

On the 20th of June 1760, the subsequently celebrated Marquess was born, either at Dengan Castle in Meath, or in Grafton Street, Dublin; his biographer does not decide in which. Whatever the evils then, which Ireland has been the innocent or guilty means of inflicting upon the British Empire, let us not forget when reflecting on them, that she has given to that empire the greatest of her modern warriors, and the most brilliant of her eastern statesmen. At Eton, whither our hero was speedily sent, the intellectual energy which he possessed, displayed itself in a passionate love of ancient literature, and a devotion to the Greek, Latin,* and English muse. In 1778 he matriculated in Christ's Church College, Oxford, as a nobleman, and there he remained till the death of his father in 1781, which called him away from his university studies before he had taken his degree. At Oxford he gained the Latin Verse Prize in 1780, by a poem

* At the age of eighteen we find him contributing the following neat and harmonious lines to the "Musæ Etonenses."

AD GENIUM LOCI.

O levis Fauni et Dryadum sodalis,
Finium tutela vigil meorum!
Qui meos colles et aprica lætus
Prata nemusque.

Mobili lustras pede, nunc susurros
Arborum captans, modo murmurantis
Fluminis servans vitreos reducta in
Valle meatus!

Die ubi attollat melius superbum
Verticem pinus? rigidosque quercus
Implicans ramos immis æstuosam
Leniat horam?

Namque Tu saltu tibi destinato
Exulas custos operosus, almæ
Fertilem silvæ stirpem atque lætus
Noscere terram.

Dum malum noctis piceæ tenello
Seniter vernis folio vapore, et
Sedulus vagulta fovens, futuræ
Providus umbræ.

Lauream sed campus Apollinarem
Parturit myrtosque vigentiores;
Omnis et te laxuriat renascens
Auspice tellus;

Te, rosa pulchrum caput impedita,
Candidi conjux facilis Favoni
Ambit, ut vernos tueatis æquo
Numine flores.

Lætus O! faustusque adeas, precamur,
Nil mei prosunt sine te labores,
Nil valent cultum nisi tu secundes,
Rustica cura.

on the death of the celebrated navigator, Captain Cook.* The month following his father's death he attained his majority, and voluntarily took upon himself the numerous pecuniary obligations of his deceased father, placing the family estates under the management of his mother. At this period his second brother, William Wellesley Pole, afterwards Lord Maryborough, was eighteen, and Arthur Wellesley, *the* Duke, but twelve years of age; the care of their education devolved on the Countess, a duty which she discharged with a success unexampled perhaps in history. "This truly venerable matron," says a personal friend of the Marquess, "was permitted by Divine Providence to reap the highest rewards which such rare virtues as adorned her character, can, in this stage of our existence, receive; for her life was extended to an extreme old age; she saw all the glories of Hindustan, of Spain, and of Waterloo."

Lord Mornington, as our hero was now styled, launched at once into the stormy sea of political life, on attaining his majority. The year 1781 when he first took his seat in the Irish House of Peers in College Green, Dublin, was one which witnessed some of the most exciting events either in their commencement, progress, or completion, which modern history unfolds. France was in all the agony of a revolution-birth, groaning in its endeavors to work out the great problem of liberty to all, excited with new views of life, politics, religion and economy, the central object of attention to all the neighboring powers, and of study to all the great minds of Britain and continental Europe. In America a new theory of Government was being worked out, so extraordinary in its nature, so unique in its character, and so simply majestic in its features, that all the world was anxiously awaiting its future development. Nor was it abroad alone that there existed objects of study and matter of reflection for the youthful statesman. In England Parliamentary Reform was the agitating question of that, as it has been since of a much later day—an oppressive debt, a wasting war, intestine tumults, and treasonable agitations were the subjects of contemplation which the politician had before him,—and then the politicians themselves! Could the noble youth just entering on public life be insensible to the talented patriotism of Pitt, doing battle violently, but wisely, against the profound political wisdom and philosophy of Burke, the practical statesmanship and vehement eloquence of Fox, the brilliancy and vigor of Windham, Sheridan, North and Erskine? Such were the men, such the contest in the sister isle; whilst in Dublin itself, there was a

* "In obitum viri eximu et celeberrimi navigatoris Jacobi Cook."

man standing on the arena of public life, equal to most of these in many respects, superior in some—Henry Grattan—a man "so born, so gifted, that poetry, forensic skill, elegant literature and all the highest attainments of human genius were within his reach; but he thought the noblest occupation of a man was to make other men happy and free"* and so he gave up his talents and his powers to one object, and that, not his own fame, but the good of his country.

Lord Mornington appears to have entered upon his political life impressed with liberal and enlightened ideas. A zealous student and ardent admirer as he was of antiquity—he was also an admirer, but not a blind, or over-enthusiastic one, of the constitution which had been bequeathed by their forefathers to Englishmen, and to the maintenance of the more excellent features of this constitution he ardently devoted himself, whilst he was by no means blind to those parts of it which required amendment. The removal of the disabilities of the Roman Catholics in Ireland he regarded as a measure of bare justice, not of favor, and did what he could towards its accomplishment; whilst he was one of the first to exclaim against the want of economy which pervaded every department of the state. The only occasion, however, on which he appears to have signalized himself in the Irish house was on the appearance of the "volunteer" delegates in military uniforms in the House of Commons towards the end of 1783, headed by Mr. Flood. The proceedings of that body he considered unconstitutional, and did not fail loudly to declaim against them. During the same year, but somewhat previous to the speech to which we have thus incidentally referred, the order of St. Patrick was first instituted by letters patent and Lord Mornington was amongst the first knights then enrolled.

In the following year he left Ireland to enter the English House of Commons where a wider field presented itself for distinguishing himself. He was elected Member for Beeralston, in Devonshire, a nomination borough in the patronage of the Earl of Beverley, which he vacated in 1786, on being appointed one of the Lords of the Treasury in England when he took the ministerial borough of Saltash, in Cornwall. A petition, however, unseated him shortly after, and he was obliged to return to his former position until 1788, when he was elected for the royal borough of Windsor. During this year the important question of the Regency was debated, in which debate Lord Mornington took a prominent part, as well as subsequently when it came to be considered in the Irish House of Lords. On this occasion, as the students of Parliamentary history will remember, the Par-

* Rev. Sydney Smith.

liaments of Great Britain and Ireland were at variance with each other, the former having voted that the Prince Regent should exercise and administer all regal powers, jurisdictions and prerogatives, subject to certain limitations and exceptions specified, whilst the latter gave over all such powers, jurisdictions and prerogatives to him without any exception whatever. Lord Mornington loudly and spiritedly protested against this act of the legislature of Ireland, which, had not the speedy recovery of George III. prevented it, would unquestionably have entailed serious consequences. There can be little doubt, however, that it was one of the proximate causes of the act of Union between the two countries. Lord Mornington's opposition to the wishes of the Irish Parliament was not forgotten by the King on his recovery, and to the personal favor which he thus obtained, something of his subsequent success is to be attributed.

We have seen the future Governor-General of India as yet but in the character of a politician and diplomatist—we have now to view him in the far higher and nobler character of a friend to suffering humanity. The philosopher in his study, the man of generous impulses in the bosom of his family, may imagine that it requires little moral resolution, little generosity of heart, little benevolence in the statesman, to raise his voice against the abuses of the political world or system in which he lives, but in estimating what the merit or demerit of the statesman's actions is, we must take into account also the trammels of party, the influence of his colleagues, the position in which he stands. The statesman is not an isolated individual who can judge and act according to the dictates of his own heart or intellect, irrespective of every other consideration—he is a portion of the political machinery—he knows that he is such—and that a deviation from the law of his party may involve irregularity in the whole political machinery of the state. It is a noble thing when we can point to a statesman in the British senate, and say of him, 'in this instance he saw what humanity and reason dictated, and, disregarding the ties of party or the obligations of interest, he boldly declared the right, posterity assuring us, that it *was* the right.' *This* we can say of Lord Mornington's conduct in the debate on Mr. Wilberforce's motion for the abolition of the slave-trade. This was in 1792. On the 25th of April of that year he moved that the slave trade should end from the first of January 1793, but his motion was lost by a majority of 49. A subsequent amendment to Mr. Dundas' motion that the trade in slaves should not be lawful after the 1st. of January 1800, " in which he proposed that it should end at the commencement of 1795, was also lost, the year following being fixed upon as the termination of the traffic." On this occasion he delivered a pow-

erful speech of which we extract a few sentences—nervous, feeling and convincing :—

"Gentlemen had said in a former debate, that time should be allowed to the planters to cool, and to discover the truth of the assertions of those who contended that the abolition would ultimately be for their advantage. What length of time it would require to cool them, and for truth to make its way among the planters, while the liberty and happiness of thousands were exposed to invasion during the tedious process, it was impossible for him to say. If he were to put the question mathematically, he would say "the force of truth being given, and the hardness of a planter's heart being ascertained, in what space of time will the former be able to penetrate the latter ?" For his part he was free to say that he had known great numbers of planters of the clearest heads, and most quick and lively conceptions ; and he believed they were. in general, persons who would not be the last to discover the truth of a proposition. On this occasion, however he meant to allow them two years ; and he would ask whether (if all that was wanted was to convince the planters that the abolition would not injure them) two years would not do as well as seven ? He believed the committee would be of opinion that the time proposed for the purpose of convincing their judgment was much too long ; for that, in point of fact, they were convinced already ; and it was nothing but mean and sordid avarice that induced them to wish for the continuance of this abominable, infamous, bloody traffic—this commerce in human flesh, this spilling of human blood, this sacrifice of human right, this insolence to justice, this outrage to humanity, this disgrace to human nature. Private follies from habit had sometimes been excused by the charitable ; they affected chiefly those who displayed them ; they were objects of compassion to some, and from the most severe they met nothing but ridicule : but for crimes, and those of the most public, notorious, hateful, detested nature, nothing could be said as an excuse or palliative. Every hour that this nefarious traffic was allowed to be continued was a disgrace to Great Britain."

The same year witnessed the introduction by Mr. Gray of his momentous proposition for the reform of Parliament. Several different orders of minds would be delighted at such a proposition as this. The sanguine, the enthusiastic, the discontented, the aspiring and the man of vast foresight would all be probably banded together in favor of such a measure, whilst, on the other hand, the timid, the cautious, the contented, those accustomed to look at the best side of things, the reverers of antiquity and of constituted system would be found amongst its opposers. Lord Mornington was of the latter class, and the arguments which he brought forward against the measure may be briefly summed up thus. The safety of life, liberty, and property is the great end of Government; this the British constitution, as it was, secured—again, that constitution had worked excellently well hitherto, from the union of monarchical, aristocratical and democratic principles which it involved, why then endanger this working by infusing more of the democratic principle? Lastly, the infusion of the democratic principle into the Government in France was working much evil in that unfortunate country, why not in England also? Such were the chief grounds on which Lord Mornington based his opposition to Mr. Grey's motion. Before 1832, however, his views on the subject had changed, for he was then a member of the Government which carried the Reform Bill.

The future Governor-General was in a manner prepared for the consideration of those questions which were likely to come then under his notice by his appointment in June 1793, as a Commissioner for the affairs of India in the new Board of Control under Mr. Pitt's act. This he did not regard as a merely nominal office, but applied himself to the study of the various affairs of Indian interest which presented themselves, with his accustomed zeal and ability. "He acquainted himself," says his biographer, "as far as possible, with the details of every fact bearing upon the commerce, the Government, and the laws of that country (India); and with the instinctive sagacity of great genius, pondered upon the future destiny and the possible exigencies of Hindustan. He appears to have directed his attention to it from the beginning of his career in the English Parliament; and very probably regarded the post of Commissioner for the affairs of India as a stepping-stone to the splendid appointment of Governor-General."

In the following year occurred the celebrated debate on the war with France which ensued on the death of Louis XVI. and in which Lord Mornington as a Ministerialist, supported its policy, whilst Fox and Sheridan vehemently pleaded against it. The battle on this occasion was fought on either side not by the leaders of the two great parties, but by their talented supporters, Mornington and Sheridan. The speech delivered by the former of these two celebrated disputants on that occasion, was certainly the greatest and most memorable of his political life—it had been previously prepared, and was subsequently published, by his Lordship as a separate pamphlet, whilst it was replied to by Sheridan in a continued burst of unpremeditated and passionate eloquence such as the House of Commons has seldom witnessed since. To attempt any thing like a sufficient analysis of the noble Earl's speech on this occasion would much exceed our limit: suffice it to say, that he commenced by shewing the absolute impossibility of receding with honor from the contest in which they had engaged, shewing that the principles which guided revolutionary France in her intercourse with other powers, were those of aggrandizement and ambition, which England was necessitated to submit to or to repel. He then entered upon a review of the acts of revolutionary France to prove the truth of his assertions, exposing in strong and forcible, but still in sufficiently temperate language, the want of faith and scorn of obligations which pervaded every action of the convention. "The seizure," he exclaimed in the course of this review, "the seizure of the property of the clergy and the nobility was a revolutionary measure;—the assassinations of Foulon and Berthier at Paris, and of the King's guards

at Versailles in the year 1789 were revolutionary measures. All the succeeding outrages, the burning of the title deeds and country houses of all gentlemen of landed property, the numberless confiscations, banishments, proscriptions, and murders, of innocent persons—all these were revolutionary measures:—the massacres of the 10th August and the 2nd September—the attempt to extend the miseries of civil discord over the whole world, the more successful project of involving all Europe in the calamities of a general war were *truly* revolutionary measures,—the insulting mockery of a pretended trial to which they subjected their humane and benevolent sovereign, and the horrid cruelty of his unjust, precipitate, and execrable murder were most revolutionary measures: it has been the art of the ruling faction of the present hour to compound and to consolidate the substance of all these dreadful transactions into one mass, to concentrate all these noxious principles, and by a new process, to extract from them a spirit which combines the malignity of each with the violence of all, and *that* is the true spirit of a *Revolutionary Government!*" The system of Finance pursued by that Government, the public renunciation of religion, the worship of reason, and the source whence its revenue was derived, was each then in its turn discussed; this memorable speech being wound up with a peroration worthy of the subject and of the speaker. From this we can only extract a few sentences:—

"All the circumstances of your situation are now before you—you are now to make your option—you are now to decide whether it best becomes the dignity, the wisdom, and the spirit of a great nation, to rely for existence on the arbitrary will of a restless and implacable enemy, or on her own sword: you are now to decide, whether you will entrust to the valor and skill of British fleets and British Armies, to the approved faith and united strength of your numerous and powerful Allies, the defence of the limited monarchy of these realms, of the constitution of Parliament, of all the established ranks and orders of society among us, of the sacred rights of property and of the whole frame of our laws, our liberty and our religion; or whether you will deliver over the guardianship of all these blessings to the justice of Cambon, the plunderer of the Netherlands, who to sustain the baseless fabric of his depreciated assignats, defrauds whole nations of their rights of property, and mortgages the aggregate wealth of Europe;—to the moderation of Danton, who first promulgated that unknown law of nature, which ordains that the Alps, the Pyrenees, the Ocean and the Rhine, should be the only boundaries of the French dominion;—to the religion of Robespierre, whose practice of piety is to murder his own sovereign; who exhorts all mankind to embrace the same faith, and to assassinate their Kings for the honor of God; to the friendship of Barrère who avows in the face of all Europe, that the fundamental articles of the revolutionary Government of France is the ruin and annihilation of the British empire;—or finally, to whatever may be the accidental caprice of any new band of malefactors, who, in the last convulsions of their exhausted country, may be destined to drag the present tyrants to their own scaffolds, to seize their lawless power, to emulate the depravity of their example, and to rival the enormity of their crimes!"

The marriage and subsequent separation of the Marquess Wellesley from his wife is a portion of his domestic history

which his Lordship's biographer has left unexplained. The fact is bluntly announced in the commencement of Pearce's fifth chapter, that "on the 29th of November 1794, the Earl of Mornington was married, at St. George's Church, Hanover-Square, to Mademoiselle Hyacinthe Gabriel Roland, a native of France"—a lady, he subsequently informs us, whose beauty and accomplishments had for some years exercised a powerful influence over him. The biographer further assures us that they lived together on terms of the utmost affectionate harmony till the period of the noble Lord's appointment as Governor-General, that after his return from India they "did not live long together," and were not again reconciled. This is an unsatisfactory and bald account of a step so important in our hero's life. Why did not Lady Mornington accompany the Governor-General to India? and what was the cause, or what were the causes, of the subsequent disagreement? are questions which suggest themselves to every mind on reading this passage of his life—and they are questions which *we* have no means of answering with certainty, whilst it would serve little for us to endeavour to supply by conjecture, facts which are hidden from us by the veil of intended concealment.

In November 1795, Lord Mornington made his last speech in the House of Commons prior to his appointment as Governor-General. It was in the debate on the Seditious Meetings Bills, and in the course of his remarks he drew rather an alarming picture of the treasonable assemblies which infected London, and of the publications which issued from these associations. In replying to these observations of Lord Mornington, Mr. Sheridan held up his Lordship to ridicule for the anxiety with which he had hunted for plots, and the laborious exertions he had made to scrape together proofs of sedition, with that happy mixture of eloquent satire and malicious irony, of which he was so thoroughly master.

Having thus arrived at the conclusion of the first Parliamentary career of our hero, it may not be amiss to notice the description which Sheridan once incidentally gave of his manner and appearance when speaking; "exactly two years ago" said he, "at the opening of the session, he remembered to have seen the noble Lord with the same sonorous voice, the same placid countenance, in the same attitude, leaning gracefully upon the table; and giving an account from shreds and patches of Brissot, that the French republic would last but a few months longer." Lord Mornington appears indeed to have studied much the graces of elocution—his voice, his gestures, and his enunciation were all equally subjects to which he at first devoted

considerable attention; and although he cannot be said to have ever attained *greatness* as an *orator*, yet his parliamentary career gave abundant evidence of the solidity and strength of mind, as well as of the sound good sense and unrivalled perspicuity which subsequently distinguished him.

In October 1797 Lord Mornington was appointed Governor-General of India. Lord Teignmouth had resigned that office early in the same year, apparently weary of the cares of government, and anxious to enjoy his newly gained nobility in England. The Marquess Cornwallis had been named to succeed him; but appears to have resigned in consequence of the Lord Lieutenantcy of Ireland having been held out to him as a bait to induce him so to do. However this may be, certain it is that shortly after his nomination, the Directors announced "that various circumstances had induced the Marquess Cornwallis to resign his appointments," and that "under circumstances and for reasons of a peculiar nature," the Earl of Mornington had been appointed to succeed him. This high and most responsible office was one for which the Earl had been in training apparently for three years and upwards, that is, since his appointment to the Board of Control, whilst the first despatches that he sent to India, as we shall subsequently see, prove that he had studied with extraordinary attention, and reflected with no ordinary ability, upon the various questions which, as Governor-General, came under his immediate notice. Before referring to these despatches more particularly, however, it will be well for us to take a glance at the state of India at this period, and at the policy which had been pursued then by the British Government up to the date of Lord Mornington's appointment.

In political questions connected with India there are few sources of fallacies more fertile of evil than the application of principles adapted to the constitution of Europe to the affairs of the East. This is a truth which constantly-recurring experience must have taught to every student of Indian history. Wherever civilization comes in contact with barbarism or semi-civilization it must necessarily be, and consequently always has been, aggressive The dictates of prudence are as little acted upon systematically by barbarous tribes as by semi-civilized states; and if civilization, in its higher developments, is to exist in their vicinity at all, it can only do so by quelling the turbulence and overcoming the aggression of its neighbors. Hence it arose that from the period when the British first set foot in India as governors, their course *must* have been one of progressive conquest, or else they must have allowed themselves to be driven from the country. Their progress since that period we are all acquainted with, and that it verifies the remarks we have just

made, will not, we conceive, be denied—true, they have been at times, *more* aggressive than was required; there *were* periods undoubtedly when a cessation from warlike operations was allowed them, and on some occasions they availed themselves of this advantage, as in the few years of Lord Teignmouth's administration, during which periods any acts of aggression would have been at once impolitic and unjust, but those who imagine the same policy could have been always maintained, must be lamentably ignorant of the state of India, or must be unreasonably biassed against our British rulers. "Suppose ever so fixed a purpose to be entertained," says a distinguished statesman writing of India, "that no consideration should tempt us to increase our dominions, no man could maintain such a resolution inflexibly in all circumstances, and indeed least of all in the very event most likely to happen, namely, of some neighbouring state, greatly increasing its force, attacking us or overpowering our allies, or even only menacing us, and endangering our existence, should no measures be adopted of a counteracting tendency. In truth, we had gotten into a position," he continues, writing of the period of Lord Mornington's appointment, "from which, as it was impossible to retire, so was it not by any means within our own power to determine whether we should stand still in it or advance; and it might happen that the only choice was a total abandonment of our dominion or an extension of its boundaries."*

These considerations will suffice to shew us the absurdity of that outcry which has been raised, echoed, and re-echoed by a section of politicians in India and England against every war in the former country which has tended to the aggrandisement of the latter. Such aggrandisement was a necessary consequence of the position of the British in India, the state of India itself, and the superior military skill of the Europeans. Advance or retrogression were the only alternatives; to remain at rest, *in statu quo*, was an impossibility. He who imagines, however, that it is our intention in these remarks to justify *every* Indian war must strangely misunderstand their import. What we have said proves, we trust, that progress was necessary, and consequently that *some* wars were necessary, whilst it leaves each individual war to be judged of, as to its justice or injustice, on its own merits.

The system which had been pursued by Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth) of non-interference with independent native states had been one of the means whereby he was enabled to maintain peace during his administration; experience may have since left

* Lord Brougham's "Statesmen of the time of George III." Third Series, page 276.

it doubtful whether it was the most politic, inasmuch as it tended, it has been argued, to decrease our influence throughout India, and consequently to weaken our hold of it. The evil in this case, however, if evil it was, as has been previously shewn in the pages of this Review,* lay, not with that excellent Governor, but with the Government of England; and consequently the then Government, and not the Governor-General, should be responsible for its effects. But at the period when Lord Mornington undertook the Government of British India, it was necessary that a change should be made in its policy. A revolution, silent but important, had been progressing in the native states, and consequently in their relative position with each other and with the English Government. To have continued longer the former system under these altered circumstances would have been extreme political folly, and the approbation expressed by the Home Government of the more vigorous policy of Lord Mornington sufficiently proves that a conviction of its necessity had been forced upon them. The non-interference system was, as has been sufficiently proved we trust, in the pages of this Review previously, the most politic when native states were quarrelling with each other, *and no dangers to be apprehended to our own territories from their wars*, but when the invasion of Zeman Shah was expected in the North, when a French army, with Napoleon at its head, was in Egypt, burning to reach India, when Tippú Sultan in the South was openly threatening us with invasion, and pushing forward his preparations with all the energy of genius, when a French force of 14,000 men was at Hyderabad, ruling the Nizam, our most constant ally, because less powerful than his neighbors—when all these things threatened British India it was surely time for its Government to be up and doing, it was surely time to strike a blow such as would convince the native powers and the world that the military energy which directed the operations of Clive and Cornwallis had been but slumbering and was not dead. Altered circumstances required an altered policy, and to have maintained the policy of 1794 in 1798 would have been as foolish as to fall back in 1848 upon the system of 1800. These circumstances, however, are too intimately connected with our present subject, and too important in themselves, to be thus summarily dismissed.

The treaty of Seringapatam had been supposed to establish peace on the foundation which secured it in Europe—the balance of power. Irrespective of the great dissimilarity between the condition of Europe and of India, principles, only applicable to the former, had been acted upon in the latter, and with what result?

* No. 1, page 92.

With that result which all rules of experience and of sound judgment must have led the judicious to anticipate. The balance was a chimera, a thing which from the commencement had no real existence, and even the appearance of which, very shortly after the conclusion of the treaty, was totally annihilated. In the first place the British Government was incomparably stronger than the Mahrattas, and the Mahrattas were very much stronger than the Nizam, and all three united, that is, if united in reality, and not in name only, would have been more than a counterpoise for two Tippús and two Mysores. Such was the pretended balance of power! Scarcely had the treaty, which was to secure peace, been concluded, when open war broke out between the pretended allies, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, a war the most impolitic and capricious, between those whom European politicians had expected would be governed by the rules of western diplomacy. Do we require then a stronger proof that the principles which direct the states of Europe in their intercourse with each other are totally inapplicable to the East? The consequence of this war was what might have been expected. The Nizam was reduced in strength and crippled in resources, and were it not for the dissensions of the conquerors, would have been rendered powerless for the future. His only reliance indeed was a body of troops collected and disciplined by Raymond, a Frenchman, which, though it consisted in 1792, but of one or two battalions, was very shortly after increased to 10,000, and before 1798 to 14,000 men. This large and comparatively well-disciplined force was officered entirely by Frenchmen, who of course obtained very considerable influence at the Court of Hyderabad, and who lost no opportunity of instilling into the minds of the Nizam and his officers "the probability of the French nation acquiring, at no distant period, decided ascendancy in India, as well as in Europe."* The treaty of Seringapatam had provided for the maintenance of an offensive and defensive alliance between the English, the Mahrattas and the Nizam, with a mutual guarantee against the common object of their apprehension, the Sultan of Mysore. On this basis peace was then supposed to be secured, but how much had not the relative situations of the parties to the treaty altered since 1792? The Nizam and the Mahrattas, we have already seen, were deadly enemies to each other in the first place,—what common co-operation between them, then, could be anticipated or hoped for? Tippú, it was well known, in the second place, looked to the French, as the allies by whose aid he was to obtain full revenge for all that he

* Major Kirkpatrick's answers to Lord Mornington's queries.—Despatches, &c. vol. 1, p. 638.

had suffered from the British, whilst the Nizam and his Court were directed by French officers and influenced by French ideas. What prospect was there then that in case of aggression from Mysore the British Government would obtain any assistance from the Nizam? or rather, on the other hand, was there not every prospect of the French corps of 14,000 marching to the ranks of Tippú in such a case, and thus increasing the number of our enemy? "In the event of a war with Mysore," wrote the Governor-General in 1798, "there can be no doubt that the wishes and interests of this part of the Nizam's army must be favorable to the cause of Tippú Sultan, more especially under the actual circumstances of his having concluded an alliance with France, and having admitted a body of French troops into his service."

Nor was the state of affairs at the court of Púna more favorable to British interests. Such had been the diminution of the influence and power of the Peishwa, caused by the inordinate ambition and power of Scindia, that it was not to be expected the inferior chiefs would hold themselves bound by a treaty concluded by the Peishwa alone, and that too with powers, one of whom they openly hated and despised, the other whom they secretly feared and were opposed to; whilst in addition to all this there was the overweening influence of Scindia prevalent at Púna, an influence which it was well known would be directed in any other direction than in favor of the British. Indeed it was more than suspected at the time that Scindia and Tippú were on the best terms with each other, and anxious to advance each other's interests.

Such was the condition of two of the parties to the triple treaty in 1792—was it not time then for the British Government in 1798 to look about for the means of bringing back affairs to their position in the former year, or so to alter them as to provide for itself efficient assistance against its great enemy in the South, whenever that assistance was required—since the intrigues and exertions of Tippú left little doubt that that period would soon arrive?

A celebrated historian of British India, Mill, in pursuance of his object which appears to be on every occasion to shew the injustice, incapability and corruption of his countrymen, has unduly depreciated the character of Tippú. In proportion to the low estimate which we form of his abilities and activity will be our contempt of the alarm which the British rulers felt of him at this period, and such is precisely the feeling which Mill would excite in us. A very cursory consideration of the energetic measures pursued by the Sultan to bring about the consummation which he so devoutly desired, the humiliation

of the British, will be sufficient to prove how dangerous an enemy he was, and that, in directing his policy towards anticipating the great outbreak which he expected in that quarter, Lord Mornington was but taking the part of wisdom. During the six years of peace which followed the treaty of Seringapatam, the whole energy of Tippú's active mind was directed towards the re-establishment of his military power; an ordinary chief would have been contented with this alone, but Tippú was far from being such, and, in the pursuance of his great plan, made his influence be felt at one and the same time in Paris, in Kabul, in Hyderabad and in Púna.

His embassy to the unfortunate Louis XVI. in 1787 had been unsuccessful in consequence of the disorganized condition of France at the period, and the apprehensions of its sovereign. The humiliation of Tippú subsequently, in the war which ended in the partition of half of his dominions, did not prevent his still looking forward to aid from the same country, and although his representations were confined to the Government of Mauritius, they were not the less urgent or amicable. At length in 1797 the accident of a privateer from Mauritius having been driven dismasted into Mangalore afforded him, he hoped, the opportunity so long sought of arraying the French forces with his own against his former conquerors. The French captain represented himself as the second in command at Mauritius, and as having been sent to ascertain the Sultan's views relative to the co-operation of a French force with that of Mysore, for the expulsion of the English from India. Tippú too anxiously desired these representations to be true to allow of his entertaining a doubt respecting them, and entered upon the negotiation with zeal. Ambassadors were sent by him to the island, who arrived there in January 1798, with a letter from Tippú to the Governor. They found their expectations miserably disappointed—there was no force prepared to accompany them back to Mysore—no preparation had been made, and the expedition finally resulted in the issuing of an absurd proclamation by General Malartic, the Governor of the island, and in their being accompanied on their return, not by a powerful French army, but by a few of the rabble from the Mauritius, whose number did not exceed two hundred.

Nor was it from European assistance alone that Tippú hoped to see the object of his wishes finally accomplished. Zeman Shah, King of the Affghans, succeeded his father Timur, in 1792, and speedily announced his determination to restore the Mogul Empire in Hindustan. All India, but particularly the Mahratta state, was excited at this intelligence; some with hope,

others, like the nation mentioned, with fear. In 1796, in pursuance of his object, the Shah advanced to Lahore with a force of upwards of 30,000 men. The Shiks did not oppose his progress; the Mahrattas loudly called upon the British to assist them, whilst their internal dissensions prevented their acting with energy or a chance of success; all was confusion and dismay when Zeman was recalled to his own capital by a rebellion, and thus for a time were the fears of the Mahrattas allayed. Tippú did not fail to take advantage of this new enemy—he sent ambassadors to the Shah, and awaited with anxiety the day when the British would be arrayed against them in the north, in order to strike them down in the south.

Aware of the dissensions amongst the Mahrattas, the Sultan carried on his intrigues vigorously at Púna, to attach some chiefs to his own interests, and to detach others from that of the British, and so effectually were these different objects accomplished that it would have been consummate folly in any British general acting against Mysore to expect efficient aid from the court of Púna. Nor was the influence of the sovereign of Mysore felt less at Hyderabad than at the capital of the Mahrattas. *There* he had a force of 14,000 men, officered by his allies, governing the Nizam and the country at the time when they were in the closest alliance with himself. Such was the extent of the intrigues of Tippú! and yet whilst these were being thus vigorously prosecuted, politicians such as Mill would have us believe that there existed no valid ground for apprehension on the part of the British!

The Earl of Mornington arrived at the Cape of Good Hope on his passage to India in February 1798, and whilst there the *Houghton* and other vessels, with India Despatches on board, arrived from Bengal. These, the new Governor-General thought it fit to peruse in the then critical state of the country, and their contents he carefully examined. He was fortunate also in meeting at the Cape with Major Kirkpatrick, formerly resident at Hyderabad, from whom he derived the most valuable information relative to the condition of the Nizam, and other native powers. The despatches which he thence addressed to the President of the Board of Control, and to the Court of Directors sufficiently prove how deeply he had studied Indian politics, and how sound the views were by which his procedure then and subsequently was directed. "It is a remarkable, and I believe an unexampled circumstance," says Lord Brougham, "showing how accurately Lord Wellesley's opinions and plans were formed, that whole pages of his minute of the 12th August at Calcutta, explaining his views, after they were perfected by a six months' residence in

the country, are taken from the letters written by him at the Cape in February!" The jeopardy in which British interests were placed at Hyderabad by the existence of the formidable French force there under Raymond, was forcibly pointed out by Major Kirkpatrick, and profoundly weighed by Lord Mornington. In the despatches referred to he lays down with his usual ability and prolixity (for both are equally characteristics of his writings) the plan by which he proposed to remove the danger, and to make the force of Hyderabad become the agents of the British, instead of being, what they then were, the tools of Tippú and the French.

The four measures proposed by Major Kirkpatrick to bring about this object were, 1st—The introduction of British subjects, or other Europeans, the subjects of friendly powers, into the service of the Nizam, care being taken that their characters should be such as that reliance might be placed upon them. This measure he hoped would have the effect, in the first place, of counterbalancing the corps of Raymond, and ultimately of suppressing it. 2ndly—That the dismission of the corps should be pointedly and firmly demanded, and the Nizam, at the same time, informed that in case of refusal to comply with this demand, the British Government should withdraw itself from its existing engagements with him. 3rdly—The holding out of suitable inducements to the European officers in the corps to leave the Nizam's service and enter that of the British. And 4thly—That the connexion between the Company and the Nizam, according to the expressed wish of the latter, should be drawn closer, and such an augmentation of the detachment of British troops in the Nizam's service made, as would preclude the necessity of his retaining Raymond's corps. With regard to the first of these measures Lord Mornington, in his Cape despatches, says, "I do not think this measure likely to be effectual to any good purpose, and it might even aggravate the evil which it is proposed to remove. A party so consolidated and united as that of Raymond's, which has been strengthening itself for a period of several years at Hyderabad, and has established the means of recruiting and augmenting its numbers will not be counteracted by the irregular and desultory opposition of such adventurers as might be induced by our encouragement to seek employment in the service of the Nizam; persons of this description (and we cannot expect that any others will engage in such an undertaking) would want the system and concert necessary to give vigor to their operations." Few, we imagine, will be disposed to deny the wisdom of this last observation. With regard to the second proposed measure the Earl wrote, "certainly no

representation from one friendly state to another could ever be more solidly founded than ours might be to the Nizam in the case before us. But besides that Major Kirkpatrick expects no benefit from representation and demand unconnected with the offer of some advantage to the Nizam; I doubt whether our manifesting in the first instance the extent of our anxiety for the dismission of Raymond's corps might not embarrass us in the progress of the most effectual measures for that desirable end; at present the Court of Hyderabad seems willing to purchase a closer connection with us by great sacrifices, and if that connection should not appear objectionable on other grounds, it may probably take place on much more advantageous terms to us, if we grant it as a matter of favor to the solicitations of the Nizam, than if we commence the negotiation by demanding the dismission of any part of the Nizam's military establishment." Major Kirkpatrick's third proposal, as may readily be supposed, did not obtain much favor in the eyes of the Governor-General. "I should never think it worth while," says he, "even in the cases supposed of a rupture with the Nizam, or of an attack from Raymond, to repel the aggression by corrupting the officers of the hostile army; I trust, that in either case, we should soon find a more certain as well as a more honorable mode of effectually destroying this French party and its adherents." The fourth of the Major's proposals was that which met most favor from the Earl. The Nizam's empire, as we have previously noticed, had been, for some time, very much on the decline amongst the native powers of India. In influence, in power, in resources, in weight, it had been considerably reduced. Now, with the eagle eye of political wisdom, the Earl of Mornington saw that the reinstatement of that power in its original greatness would not only raise up a barrier against Mysorean and Mahrattan ambition, but serve also to draw tighter the bonds which connected the empire of the Nizam with that of the Company. Here then was the fulcrum of his entire political machinery. The Nizam desired a closer alliance with the British—he desired a larger subsidiary British force, and the Governor-General wisely determined that he should have both, the price demanded for both being the disbandment of Raymond's corps and the departure of its officers from India, together with the abolition of the peiscush paid on account of the Northern Circars. By these means would a doubtful enemy be changed into a faithful friend—by these means would a barrier be raised up against Mysore and the Mahrattas, whilst the resources of a large empire would be put into our hands.

In April 1798 the Governor-General arrived at Madras, where

he employed a few days of leisure in examining the condition of that presidency and getting an insight into the character of the leading men there. The following month he landed at Calcutta.

On the 8th June, a paper was published in Calcutta purporting to be a copy of a proclamation* made by the Governor of Mauritius, General Malartic, which naturally attracted the attention of the Government. In this very impolitic and extraordinary document the French Governor declared that he had received ambassadors from Tippú who desired to enter into an offensive and defensive league with the French, a nation with which the British Empire was then at war. "*He waits only*," says this proclamation, "*the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.*"

* The following is a copy of this curious document:—

Liberté — Republique Française — Egalité.
Une et indivisible.

PROCLAMATION.

Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, General en Chef, Gouverneur-general des Isles des France, et de la Réunion, et Commandant géneral des Etablissements Français, à l'est du Cap de Bonne Espérance.

Citoyens,

Connaissant depuis plusieues années votre zèle et votre attachment pour les intérêts et la gloire de votre Republique, nous sommes très-empressés et nous nous faisons un devoir de vous donner connaissance de toutes les propositions que nous fait Tippú Sultaun, par deux ambassadeurs qu'il nous a dépêchés.

Ce prince a écrit des lettres particulières à l' Assemblée Coloniale, à tous les Généraux qui sont employés dans ce gouvernement, et nous a addressé un paquet pour le Directoire Executif.

1. Il demande a faire une alliance offensive et défensive avec les Français, en proposant d' entretenir à ses frais, tant que la guerre durera dans l' Inde, les troupes qu'on pourra lui envoyer.

2. Il promet de fournir toutes les choses nécessaires pour faire cette guerre, excepté le Vin et l'Eau de vie, dont il se trouve absolument denié.

3. Il assure que tous les preparatifs sont faits pour reçevoir les secours qu'on lui donnera, et qu' à l'arrivée des troupes, les Chefs et officiers trouveront toutes les choses necessaires pour faire une guerre à laquelle les Européens sont peu accoutumés.

4. Enfin il n'attend plus que le moment où les Français viendront à son secours, pour déclarer la guerre aux Anglais, desirant avec ardeur pouvoir les chasser de l'Inde.

Comme il nous est impossible de diminuer le nombre des soldats des 107 et 108 regimens, et de la garde soldée du Port de la Fraternité, à cause des secours que nous avons à envoyés notres alliés les Hollandais; nos invitons tous les citoyens de bonne volonté, a se faire inscrire dans leurs municipalités respectives, pour aller servir sous les drapeaux de Tippú.

Ce prince desire aussi avoir des citoyens de couleur, libres, et nous invitons tous ceux qui voudront aller servir sous ses drapeaux, à se faire aussi inscrire.

Nous pouvons assurer tous les citoyens qui se feront inscrire, que Tippú leur fera des traitements avantageux qui seront fixés avec ses ambassadeurs qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur souverain, à ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ses armées, ne puissent jamais y être retenus quand ils voudront rentrer dans leur patrié.

Fait au Port Nord-Ouest, le 10 Pluviose, l'an six de la République Française, une et indivisible.

(Signé) MALARTIC.

On being assured that this document was authentic, the Earl of Mornington naturally formed the determination of not waiting till the dominions which he governed were attacked, but resolved to urge on the measures on which he had determined relative to the Nizam and the Mahrattas, whilst he directed General Harris, then Acting Governor, as well as Commander-in-Chief, at Madras, quietly to concentrate a force sufficient to repel Tippú in case of attack, and which should form the nucleus of an invading army if an invasion were rendered necessary.

In these preparations Mr. Mill can perceive nothing but the results of that "state of inflammation" in which the mind of the Governor-General was, and which precluded anything like sound judgment! The fact of his advocating as speedy an attack as possible upon Tippú proves, says that historian, either that he "condemned the policy of the treaty which was concluded by Lord Cornwallis, and highly applauded by the Ministers, by the Parliament, and by the people of England; or such was the change in circumstances that the enmity of Tippú, which was neither formidable nor offered any reasonable prospect of being formidable, in 1792, had become intensely formidable in 1798; or lastly, the mind of the Governor-General was, in a state of inflammation, and decided upon suggestions totally different from a cool and accurate contemplation of the circumstances of the case." This last is of course, in the opinion of our historian, the only allowable hypothesis. The fact was that, by his embassy to the Mauritius, Tippú himself had altered the relations subsisting between him and the British. The question was, one of time merely, and we think few who consider the matter will agree with Mr. Mill in thinking that it would have been wiser in Lord Mornington to allow Tippú to choose his own time for making the attack, or to allow him the chance of ultimately receiving French assistance, instead of anticipating him, and thus saving the expense of keeping up a large armament to await him. Such a procedure as the former would have been in opposition to every recognized principle of military or political tactics.

But in the meantime a circumstance had occurred in Europe, which rendered it doubly necessary, that Tippú should be speedily disabled—an event which combined with the proclamation of General Malartic, caused the Court of Directors, through their Secret Committee, to write out to Lord Mornington on the 18th June of this year, "recommending" him "not to wait for his attack, but to take the most immediate and the most decisive measures to carry their arms into the enemy's country." The event referred to was the sailing of the expedition from Toulon in May of the same year under Napoleon, an expedition evidently

the country, are taken from the letters written by him at the Cape in February!" The jeopardy in which British interests were placed at Hyderabad by the existence of the formidable French force there under Raymond, was forcibly pointed out by Major Kirkpatrick, and profoundly weighed by Lord Mornington. In the despatches referred to he lays down with his usual ability and prolixity (for both are equally characteristics of his writings) the plan by which he proposed to remove the danger, and to make the force of Hyderabad become the agents of the British, instead of being, what they then were, the tools of Tippú and the French.

The four measures proposed by Major Kirkpatrick to bring about this object were, 1st—The introduction of British subjects, or other Europeans, the subjects of friendly powers, into the service of the Nizam, care being taken that their characters should be such as that reliance might be placed upon them. This measure he hoped would have the effect, in the first place, of counterbalancing the corps of Raymond, and ultimately of suppressing it. 2ndly—That the dismission of the corps should be pointedly and firmly demanded, and the Nizam, at the same time, informed that in case of refusal to comply with this demand, the British Government should withdraw itself from its existing engagements with him. 3rdly—The holding out of suitable inducements to the European officers in the corps to leave the Nizam's service and enter that of the British. And 4thly—That the connexion between the Company and the Nizam, according to the expressed wish of the latter, should be drawn closer, and such an augmentation of the detachment of British troops in the Nizam's service made, as would preclude the necessity of his retaining Raymond's corps. With regard to the first of these measures Lord Mornington, in his Cape despatches, says, "I do not think this measure likely to be effectual to any good purpose, and it might even aggravate the evil which it is proposed to remove. A party so consolidated and united as that of Raymond's, which has been strengthening itself for a period of several years at Hyderabad, and has established the means of recruiting and augmenting its numbers will not be counteracted by the irregular and desultory opposition of such adventurers as might be induced by our encouragement to seek employment in the service of the Nizam; persons of this description (and we cannot expect that any others will engage in such an undertaking) would want the system and concert necessary to give vigor to their operations." Few, we imagine, will be disposed to deny the wisdom of this last observation. With regard to the second proposed measure the Earl wrote, "certainly no

representation from one friendly state to another could ever be more solidly founded than ours might be to the Nizam in the case before us. But besides that Major Kirkpatrick expects no benefit from representation and demand unconnected with the offer of some advantage to the Nizam; I doubt whether our manifesting in the first instance the extent of our anxiety for the dismission of Raymond's corps might not embarrass us in the progress of the most effectual measures for that desirable end; at present the Court of Hyderabad seems willing to purchase a closer connection with us by great sacrifices, and if that connection should not appear objectionable on other grounds, it may probably take place on much more advantageous terms to us, if we grant it as a matter of favor to the solicitations of the Nizam, than if we commence the negotiation by demanding the dismission of any part of the Nizam's military establishment." Major Kirkpatrick's third proposal, as may readily be supposed, did not obtain much favor in the eyes of the Governor-General. "I should never think it worth while," says he, "even in the cases supposed of a rupture with the Nizam, or of an attack from Raymond, to repel the aggression by corrupting the officers of the hostile army; I trust, that in either case, we should soon find a more certain as well as a more honorable mode of effectually destroying this French party and its adherents." The fourth of the Major's proposals was that which met most favor from the Earl. The Nizam's empire, as we have previously noticed, had been, for some time, very much on the decline amongst the native powers of India. In influence, in power, in resources, in weight, it had been considerably reduced. Now, with the eagle eye of political wisdom, the Earl of Mornington saw that the reinstatement of that power in its original greatness would not only raise up a barrier against Mysorean and Mahrattan ambition, but serve also to draw tighter the bonds which connected the empire of the Nizam with that of the Company. Here then was the fulcrum of his entire political machinery. The Nizam desired a closer alliance with the British—he desired a larger subsidiary British force, and the Governor-General wisely determined that he should have both, the price demanded for both being the disbandment of Raymond's corps and the departure of its officers from India, together with the abolition of the peiscush paid on account of the Northern Circars. By these means would a doubtful enemy be changed into a faithful friend—by these means would a barrier be raised up against Mysore and the Mahrattas, whilst the resources of a large empire would be put into our hands.

In April 1798 the Governor-General arrived at Madras, where

he employed a few days of leisure in examining the condition of that presidency and getting an insight into the character of the leading men there. The following month he landed at Calcutta.

On the 8th June, a paper was published in Calcutta purporting to be a copy of a proclamation* made by the Governor of Mauritius, General Malartic, which naturally attracted the attention of the Government. In this very impolitic and extraordinary document the French Governor declared that he had received ambassadors from Tippú who desired to enter into an offensive and defensive league with the French, a nation with which the British Empire was then at war. "*He waits only,*" says this proclamation, "*the moment when the French shall come to his assistance to declare war against the English, whom he ardently desires to expel from India.*"

* The following is a copy of this curious document:—

Liberté — Republique Française, Une et indivisible. — Egalité.

PROCLAMATION.

Anne Joseph Hyppolite Malartic, General en Chef, Gouverneur-general des Isles des France, et de la Réunion, et Commandant général des Etablissements Français, à l'est du Cap de Bonne Espérance.

Citoyens,

Connaissant depuis plusieues années votre zèle et votre attachment pour les intérêts et la gloire de votre Republique, nous sommes très-empressés et nous nous faisons un devoir de vous donner connaissance de toutes les propositions que nous fait Tippú Sultaun, par deux ambassadeurs qu'il nous a dépéchés.

Ce prince a écrit des lettres particulières à l' Assemblée Coloniale, à tous les Généraux qui sont employés dans ce gouvernement, et nous a addressé un paquet pour le Directoire Executif.

1. Il demande a faire une alliance offensive et défensive avec les Français, en proposant d' entretenir à ses frais, tant que la guerre durera dans l' Inde, les troupes qu'on pourra lui envoyer.

2. Il promet de fournir toutes les choses nécessaires pour faire cette guerre, excepté le Vin et l'Eau de vie, dont il se trouve absolument denié.

3. Il assure que tous les preparatifs sont faits pour reçevoir les secours qu'on lui donnera, et qu' à l'arrivée des troupes, les Chefs et officiers trouveront toutes les choses necessaires pour faire une guerre à laquelle les Européens sont peu accoutumés.

4. Enfin il n'attend plus que le moment oú les Français viendront à son secours, pour déclarer la guerre aux Anglais, desirant avec ardeur pouvoir les chasser de l'Inde.

Comme il nous est impossible de diminuer le nombre des soldats des 107 et 108 regimens, et de la garde soldée du Port de la Fraternité, à cause des secours que nous avons à envoyés notres alliés les Hollandais; nos invitons tous les citoyens de bonne volonté, a se faire inscrire dans leurs municipalités respectives, pour aller servir sous les drapeaux de Tippú.

Ce prince desire aussi avoir des citoyens de couleur, libres, et nous invitons tous ceux qui voudront allér servir sous ses drapeaux, à se faire aussi inscrire.

Nous pouvons assurer tous les citoyens qui se feront inscrire, que Tippú leur fera des traitements avantageux qui seront fixés avec ses ambassadeurs qui s'engageront en outre, au nom de leur souverain, à ce que les Français qui auront pris parti dans ses armées, ne puissent jamais y être retenus quand ils voudront rentrer dans leur patrié.

Fait au Port Nord-Ouest, le 10 Pluviose, l'an six de la République Française, une et indivisible.

(Signé) MALARTIC.

On being assured that this document was authentic, the Earl of Mornington naturally formed the determination of not waiting till the dominions which he governed were attacked, but resolved to urge on the measures on which he had determined relative to the Nizam and the Mahrattas, whilst he directed General Harris, then Acting Governor, as well as Commander-in-Chief, at Madras, quietly to concentrate a force sufficient to repel Tippú in case of attack, and which should form the nucleus of an invading army if an invasion were rendered necessary.

In these preparations Mr. Mill can perceive nothing but the results of that "state of inflammation" in which the mind of the Governor-General was, and which precluded anything like sound judgment! The fact of his advocating as speedy an attack as possible upon Tippú proves, says that historian, either that he "condemned the policy of the treaty which was concluded by Lord Cornwallis, and highly applauded by the Ministers, by the Parliament, and by the people of England; or such was the change in circumstances that the enmity of Tippú, which was neither formidable nor offered any reasonable prospect of being formidable, in 1792, had become intensely formidable in 1798; or lastly, the mind of the Governor-General was, in a state of inflammation, and decided upon suggestions totally different from a cool and accurate contemplation of the circumstances of the case." This last is of course, in the opinion of our historian, the only allowable hypothesis. The fact was that, by his embassy to the Mauritius, Tippú himself had altered the relations subsisting between him and the British. The question was, one of time merely, and we think few who consider the matter will agree with Mr. Mill in thinking that it would have been wiser in Lord Mornington to allow Tippú to choose his own time for making the attack, or to allow him the chance of ultimately receiving French assistance, instead of anticipating him, and thus saving the expense of keeping up a large armament to await him. Such a procedure as the former would have been in opposition to every recognized principle of military or political tactics.

But in the meantime a circumstance had occurred in Europe, which rendered it doubly necessary, that Tippú should be speedily disabled—an event which combined with the proclamation of General Malartic, caused the Court of Directors, through their Secret Committee, to write out to Lord Mornington on the 18th June of this year, "recommending" him "not to wait for his attack, but to take the most immediate and the most decisive measures to carry their arms into the enemy's country." The event referred to was the sailing of the expedition from Toulon in May of the same year under Napoleon, an expedition evidently

intended for Egypt in the first place, and for India ultimately. Had the Earl of Mornington, then, pursued the policy recommended by Mill, he would not only have been placing the British Indian empire in peril, but have been acting in direct contradiction to the recommendations of the Court of Directors.

No unbiassed individual, we conceive, can reflect on the position in which India at this period stood without perceiving the absolute necessity which existed for energetic proceedings on the part of its Government. France was thundering in Egypt under the modern Alexander, whose ambition would be as little likely to be bounded by the Indus as by the Rhine. The Affghan King had sworn to restore the Mogul empire in its integrity, and from his capital to Delhi there was no power to oppose him with any chance of success, whilst Tippú, with 100,000 men,* was threatening our empire in the South, and ceaselessly intriguing to throw the enemies of the British power upon the empire. As soon, therefore, as explicit information relative to the intrigues of Tippú with the French had reached him, Lord Mornington lost no time in urging upon General Harris the necessity of making every possible preparation for an immediate and decisive attack upon Tippú—a measure however which "the dispersed state of the army on the coast of Coromandel and certain radical defects in its establishments," as he declares in one of his despatches, "rendered a much more tedious and difficult operation" than he had anticipated.

The interval which elapsed from the commencement of the preparations for an attack upon Tippú to their close was by no means left unoccupied by the Governor-General. We have already seen that the disbanding of the French force in the service of the Nizam at Hyderabad was a fundamental part of his policy for raising up a check to Tippú and the Mahrattas. With a view to this, on the 8th of July, he instructed the Resident at the Nizam's Court to propose a new treaty between the two powers which, whilst in accordance with the Nizam's wish, it should unite the two powers more closely together, would, at the same time, be the means of bringing to pass the Governor-General's wish relative to the French force. By this treaty the British subsidiary force in the service of the Nizam was increased to 4,400, whilst the annual subsidy to be paid by His Highness in consequence amounted to about nineteen lakhs of rupees (£190,000). This treaty was ratified on the 18th of September, with the full concurrence of the Peishwa, to whom all its stipulations were communicated. On the 10th October the

* Vide Appendix C. Wellesley Despatches. 1st Vol.

subsidiary force under Lieutenant Colonel Roberts reached Hyderabad, and on the 22nd by His Highness's orders, and in concert with a body of his cavalry, it surrounded the camp of the French army, then 10,000 strong, the remainder being out on detachment duty. Fortunately for the British interests, a mutiny had broken out in the camp the previous day, and the sepoys had imprisoned their French officers, so that the capture of these officers by the British force which immediately followed was looked upon by them as a release from captivity, and, perhaps, from death. They were treated with every possible respect —their claims upon the government were settled—and they were subsequently sent to Europe, not however as prisoners of war, but without detention or restraint. The success of this admirable stroke of policy is mainly attributable to the partiality for the English exhibited by the new minister at Hyderabad—Azim-ul-omra. Whilst this important success was being gained at Hyderabad, a change of ministry at Púna occurred, which gave every promise of being favourable to British interests. Nana Furnevese, a chief noted for his attachment to the English, had been restored to the ministry, and had publicly taken charge of the affairs of the Government. "Neither Tippú nor the French," says Lord Mornington, "will ever acquire any influence at Púna, while Nana shall hold the reins of power."* True it is that the influence of Scindia was very great, and that he was decidedly hostile to the British, but he too was kept in check by the threatened invasion of Zeman Shah, an event which rendered it decidedly his interest to cultivate the alliance of the British, by whose aid alone he could hope to preserve his dominions in the north.

The news contained in the letter of the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, relative to the departure of the Toulon Armament, did not reach the Governor-General until the 18th October. It naturally rendered him more anxious than he had previously been to hurry on the expedition against Tippú, so that if the French did succeed in reaching India, they might not do so until his power had been destroyed, and the great fulcrum of their intended operations thus removed. A fortnight later, intelligence arrived of the total defeat of the French fleet by Lord Nelson at Aboukir, which Lord Mornington lost no time in communicating to Tippú, at the same time taking occasion to mention the alarm which the military preparations of Tippú and his intrigues with the French had caused to the Company and its allies. "The Peishwa, and his Highness

* Despatches. Vol 1. p. 341.

the Nizam," continued the Governor-General, "concur with me in the observations which I have offered to you in this letter; and which in the name of the Company, and of the allies, I recommend to your most earnest consideration; but as I am also desirous of communicating to you, on behalf of the Company, and their allies, a plan calculated to promote the mutual security and welfare of all parties, I propose to depute to you, for this purpose, Major Doveton, who is well known to you, and who will explain to you more fully and particularly the sole means which appear to myself, and to the allies of the Company to be effectual for the salutary purpose of removing all existing distrust and suspicion, and of establishing peace and good understanding on the most durable foundations." To this Tippú replied on the 18th December that he had no connection with the men who represented themselves as his ambassadors at the Mauritius, and that the treaties already entered into by the four states "were so firmly established and confirmed, as ever to remain fixed and durable," nor could he "imagine that means more effectual than these could be adopted, for giving stability to the foundations of friendship and harmony, promoting the security of states, or the welfare and advantage of all parties." In this way he eluded the request of the Governor-General that a Resident at his court should be appointed. This answer reached Lord Mornington at Madras whither he had gone to urge on the preparations for the invasion in concert with Lord Clive, the Governor, and General Harris, the Commander-in-Chief.

Although still anxious to settle the matter if possible by negotiation, Lord Mornington did not allow the delays caused by the dilatoriness of Tippú to pass unimproved. On the 9th January in the succeeding year, he addressed another letter to the Sultan, in which he recapitulated the various grounds of complaint which the British and their allies had against him, particular reference being made to the proclamation of General Malartic; "even under all these circumstances of provocation," continued his Lordship, "the allies entertain the most earnest desire to establish with your Highness, a real and substantial peace accompanied by the intercourse and good offices, usual among friendly and contiguous states." Shortly afterwards, he declares that "a new arrangement is become indispensable, in consequence of your Highness's new engagements with the common enemy of the allies; and I again entreat your Highness" (he adds) "to meet with cordiality, the friendly and moderate advance of the allies, towards an amicable settlement of every ground of jealousy and danger." Finally he calls upon

the Sultan "in the most serious and solemn manner" to admit Major Doveton as a British ambassador to his court. There is here unquestionably no evidence of that eagerness for war, none of that rabid hatred of Tippú, none of that exaggerated alarm, which Mill would have us believe existed in the mind of the Governor-General.

Notwithstanding the earnest request contained in the letter just referred to, that an answer would speedily be returned to it, and notwithstanding the subsequent transmission of a letter from the Turkish Emperor to Tippú by the Governor-General, in which he was strongly dissuaded by that high Mahommedan authority from an alliance with the French—no answer was received in Madras till the 13th of February, and that which then arrived was without date and contained little to the purpose, besides an ungracious permission for the embassy of Major Doveton. "Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding on a hunting expedition. You will be pleased to despatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written,) slightly attended (or unattended)." Although, the Mysorean Sovereign was thus dilatory, however, in replying to the repeated representations of the British ruler, he was not equally careless about keeping up his communication with the French. Whilst his letters professed the greatest amity and an assurance of continued peace, he lost no time in making preparations for war, and, on the 7th of February, he despatched Dubuc as his agent to the Directory of Paris, again desiring assistance. His design, in the delays which he allowed to intervene in his correspondence with Madras, was clearly perceived by the Governor-General, who now felt convinced that, until an invading army had entered his territory, he would not be likely to come to any reasonable understanding with the British and their allies.

During the absence of the Governor-General from Calcutta the chief duties of Government devolved upon Sir Alured Clarke, the Commander-in-Chief, whose services were required in the North, in consequence of the apprehended invasion of Zeman Shah. The command of the expedition against Mysore devolved therefore upon General Harris. It consisted of two thousand six hundred Cavalry (of whom about a thousand were Europeans) six hundred European Artillery, four thousand five hundred European Infantry, eleven thousand Native Infantry, and two thousand seven hundred gun-lascars and pioneers—altogether forming a force of twenty-one thousand men, with sixty field pieces; with this force, another of six thousand men co-operated from the Bombay side under General Stuart. On the

5th of March, General Harris entered the territory of Mysore, and on the same date, in the ensuing month took up his ground for the seige of Seringapatam. Upon the details of the march of the army, or of the operations connected with the fall of the capital, it will not be necessary for us to dilate —they have been too frequently described before to render any new abstract of them interesting, whilst our limits prevent our entering upon them with that minuteness, which would be necessary to allow of our judging them impartially. Suffice it to say that on the 4th May, Seringapatam was taken by assault, Tippú Sultan himself being slain in the attack, and the territory of Mysore lay at the mercy of the Governor-General of British India.

Whilst there might possibly have been found many men capable of conducting the army against Mysore, and of bringing the war to a successful issue, we very much doubt if another statesman could be found in the East at this period, who would have exhibited the same wisdom and ability in the settlement of the country when conquered, as Lord Mornington. In other words, the qualities of courage, mental energy, tact and foresight are much more commonly found united than those of wisdom, moderation, prudence, and address in the midst of a victory. Here was a kingdom to be disposed of, here were two rapacious allies to be satisfied and rewarded, at the same time that their mutual jealousy or cupidity was to be guarded against, here was a new empire at the feet of the British power in India to be got rid of, so as on the one hand, to avoid alarming all the native states by its annexation, and on the other, to prevent the loss of all the future advantages to be derived from our success! Suspicion, odium and hatred on the one hand, danger and contempt on the other—these were the Scylla and Charybdis of the British Indian politics at this time, between which the Governor-General was to steer, and had he been an ordinary statesman, doubtless he would but have sheered off from the whirlpool of danger to be wrecked upon the rocks of odium and hatred. But the pilot was equal to the task which he had undertaken—the vessel of state was borne triumphantly through the difficulties which beset its course, without a single accident, and finally landed in the haven of security.

The principles by which he was guided in the settlement of Mysore are thus clearly developed in a despatch of the Governor General to the Court of Directors.* " To have divided the whole territory equally between the Company and the Nizam, to the

* Despatches, &c. Vol. 2. p. 74.

exclusion of any other state, would have afforded strong ground of jealousy to the Mahrattas, and aggrandized the Nizam's power beyond all bounds of discretion; under whatever form such a partition could have been made, it must have placed in the hands of the Nizam many of the strong fortresses on the northern frontier of Mysore, and exposed our frontier in that quarter to every predatory incursion; such a partition would have laid the foundation of perpetual differences, not only between the Mahrattas and the Nizam, but between the Company and both these powers.

"To have divided the country into three equal portions allowing the Mahrattas, (who had borne no part in the expense or hazard of the war) an equal share with the other two branches of the triple alliance, in the advantages of the peace, would have been unjust towards the Nizam and towards the Company; impolitic, as furnishing an evil example to other Allies in India, and dangerous, as effecting a considerable aggrandizement of the Mahratta empire, at the expense of the Company and of the Nizam. This mode of partition also, must have placed Chittledrúg, and some of the most important northern fortresses, in the hands of the Mahrattas, while the remainder of the fortresses in the same line, would have been occupied by the Nizam, and our unfortified and open frontier in Mysore, would have been exposed to the excesses of the undisciplined troops of both powers. * * * It was, however, desirable to conciliate their good will, and to offer to them such a portion of territory as might give them an interest in the new settlement without offence or injury to the Nizam, and without danger to the frontier of the Company's possessions. On the other hand, it was prudent to limit the territory retained in the hands of the Company and of the Nizam within such bounds of moderation as should bear a due proportion to their respective expenses in the contest, and to the necessary means of securing the public safety of their respective dominions."

In conformity with the views here expounded a settlement was made which the concurring testimony of the enemies and friends of the Government has declared to be distinguished by wisdom, sagacity, moderation and prudence. Whilst a portion of the country surrounding the capital, and yielding an annual revenue of upwards of £500,000, was reserved for the formation of a new Mysorean kingdom, dependant, of course, on British supremacy, the rest was divided amongst the allies according to the principles above enunciated. To the British and the Nizam portions of territory of equal value (realizing annual revenues approaching to £250,000) were allotted, whilst the

Mahrattas were to obtain a tract of somewhat more than half the value of those assigned to the other allies. For the Company's share were allotted the districts of Canara, Coimbatúr, Daraporam and Mujnad, with all the territory lying below the Ghats between their possessions in the Carnatic and those in Malabar. By this addition a valuable portion of land forming an uninterrupted tract between the coast of Coromandel and Malabar was joined to the territories of the Company in the south; which now included the entire sea-coast of the kingdom of Mysore and the base of all the eastern, western and southern Ghats. To these were added the forts and posts forming the heads of all the passes above the ghauts on the Table Land, with the fortress, city and island of Scringapatam. This settlement was provided for by "the treaty of Mysore" between the Company, the Nizam Ali and the Peishwa which was concluded on the 22nd of June 1799.

The grounds on which a portion of Mysore equal to that taken by the Company and given to the Nizam, was refused to the Peishwa are given above. It is evident indeed that he had no claim whatever to any, the smallest portion, in as much as he had contributed nothing to the expense of the war, and had run no risk. The destruction of the power of Tippú was besides to the Peishwa a decided advantage, an advantage in fact of the very utmost importance and value, for by the destruction of that power, a formidable neighbour was destroyed, and the enmity of a man opposed by creed, principle and the force of circumstances to the great Hindú power, removed. If then, under these circumstances, any part of the territory of Mysore were granted to the Mahrattas it must have been solely as a free gift, as a bonus in return for which their gratitude and friendship were due. But was it expedient after granting one favor to press upon them another without some remuneration? Lord Mornington thought not, and therefore for the territory proposed to be ceded he demanded that they should guarantee the inviolability of the new Mysorean kingdom, that they should make the Company arbitor in their disputes with the Nizam, that they should not allow European foreigners to enter their service, and that they should enter into a defensive treaty with the Company against the French, should they invade India. These, Lord Mornington conceived, were trifling concessions compared with the addition to their territory, power and influence, to be gained by the increase of their possessions. He even believed that they would be gladly accepted, but he was deceived, for he was here applying the principles which guide *civilized* diplomacy to that of a state which was *semi-barba-*

rous. The Peishwa demanded, in the first place, an equal share with the Nizam and the Company, and that too without conditions !* A state in Europe, under similar circumstances, would be considered bereft of reason were it to do so. When the smaller portion was offered, with the conditions annexed, it was indignantly refused, and the territory set apart for this purpose was, in consequence, divided between the Company and the Nizam.

The appointment of a sovereign for the new dependant kingdom of Mysore was a matter of no ordinary importance or delicacy. The four sons of Tippú would of course be the first individuals upon whom the Governor-General's attention would be fixed, as being the candidates for the honor most nearly and intimately connected with its former sovereign. But to the elevation of any one of those to the vacant musnud there were some very serious objections—objections of such weight that Lord Mornington at once decided to supersede these candidates in favor of the ancient royal family of Mysore. The sons of Tippú would have imbibed, it was to be expected, much of the character and disposition of their father. Brought up in the hope of succeeding to the highest rank in the state as independant princes it was not to be supposed that they would look upon the partition of half the empire with any other than hostile eyes. True. the power of the state was crippled and a great proportion of its means of offence removed, but there could be little doubt that when at the head of his nominally independant state, a son of Tippú would but wait the first opportunity to strike a blow at the British for revenge or retribution. The appearance of humility and gratitude an Oriental Prince would not find it difficult to exchange for the menaces of hostility. Had a son of Tippú then been appointed, the British Government must have remained in an attitude of defence and preparation, whilst the French would still have a basis for their operations when a convenient opportunity presented itself for invading India. How different, on the other hand, would be the feelings, principles and predilections of the Government of Mysore if, instead of a son of Tippú, the descendant of the ancient family dethroned by Hyder were placed upon its throne! The one would regard the British as his natural enemies, the other as his truest friends. The one would look

* This circumstance is a curious illustration of the native character *politically*. It reminds us of an anecdote which illustrates it *individually*. An European officer at the risk of his life lately saved a coolie who had fallen from a vessel into the Húgly. The first words the rescued man uttered when he returned to consciousness on the deck of the vessel, whilst the officer was standing over him, were "*buckshish, sahib !*" would any European sailor or porter have done so ?

upon British interference as the bane of his Government, the other as its support. The one would regard each successive Governor-General as the ruler on whose head hung the blood of his forefather and the ruin of his independence, the other as the representative of that power to which he owed his restoration to the throne of his ancestors, and by whose arm his own authority was upheld. Thus, on the one hand, family predilections, pride, self-interest, and passion counselled hostility to the British, on the other, self-interest, gratitude, and fear counselled a love of, and dependance upon, them. When we add to all this that a religious feud of the most deadly nature—that between Mahommedanism and Hinduism—separated the two royal families, and that the former had been for many years triumphant, we shall then be able to form an estimate of the strength of the bond which would unite the descendant of the ancient Mysorean dynasty when elevated to the throne, with the power by which that elevation was effected.

Influenced by considerations similar to these the Governor-General* resolved on the restoration of the heir of the ancient family to the throne, and accordingly, on the 30th June the Rajah of Mysore was formally installed on the musnud, by the commissioners appointed for the settlement of the country, aided by the representative of the Nizam. Whilst the title of sovereign was granted to this prince, however, the real *authority* was assumed by the British. The military defence and protection of the country were retained by the latter for a subsidy of about £280,000 yearly, whilst the Rajah and his Government were clearly given to understand that the British reserved to themselves the right of interfering in the internal management of the country when they saw fit, as well as of increasing the subsidy in cases of necessity. The sons of Tippú were removed to Vellore, Lieut. Colonel Close was appointed resident at the court of the new Rajah, whose seat of Government was fixed at Mysore, the ancient capital; whilst Col. Arthur Wellesley was appointed commandant at Seringapatam. Thus were concluded the conquest and final settlement of the empire of Tippú.

During the period which elapsed between the commencement of Lord Mornington's administration and the final settlement of Mysore, other matters of importance, besides those whose progress we have narrated, engaged the attention of the Governor-General. Of these one of the most important was the succession to the throne of Tanjore. In 1786 Tuljají, the ruling Rajah, died, leaving a half brother, Amír Singh,

* See his views on the subject detailed at length in a despatch to the Court of Directors, dated August 1799, vol. 2, page 80.

and an adoptod son, Serbojí, as competitors for the crown. The rival princes appealed to the Madras Government as being the protector of the state, and as the English had no interest in the matter, they resolved to have the question decided by Hindu law; Amír Singh being appointed protector during the minority of his rival, still a child. The question of succession was referred to a council of pundits, learned in Hindu lore, but which the British Government took little care to preserve from corruption. This seems to have been the head and front of its offending in the matter. The consequences were what might have been expected. Amír Singh had the resources of the country in his hands; his rival was a child subject to his authority; and the council, with true oriental sagacity, was speedily convinced that the stronger party was the one on whose side the justice lay.

The administration of Amír Singh, however, gave little satisfaction to his supporters. His cruel treatment of Serbojí, his oppression of his subjects, his reckless profligacy were daily subjects of complaint, and it was at length resolved by the British Government that Serbojí and the widows of the former Rajah should be removed to Madras. Here the claims of the latter to the throne were again brought before the notice of the Supreme Government, and Sir John Shore entered upon their investigation. The opinions of Pundits at Benares and elsewhere were again sought, and with the success which might have been anticipated. If the British Government were not favorable to Serbojí, doubtless these learned orientals argued, they would not again solicit our opinion, and *ergo*, Serbojí has the best right to the throne. No decision less acute could have been anticipated from the astute doctors of Hindu law. Let us mark the transaction, for it is worthy of note as a development of the native character. Amír and Serbojí are the two competitors, Amír is in power, Serbojí an insignificant infant—the Hindu doctors are asked which has the best right to the throne—they doubtless smile at the useless interrogation, and give numerous reasons of great weight to show that the wearer of the crown is its rightful possessor. But anon a stronger than Amír steps into the field, takes Serbojí by the hand, and calls upon the learned doctors again to pronounce which of the two has the best right to the throne. How absurd to doubt of the reply! The pundit salaams to the most powerful again, and sets vigorously to work to destroy those arguments which a few years before he assured us were of adamantine strength. Such is oriental probity! Such, the uprightness and consistency of the 'grave and reverend' expounders of Hindu law!

The elevation of Serbojí to the musnud was the occasion of a new treaty between the British Government and Tanjore. By this treaty the security of Amír Singh was provided, and a revenue of nearly £10,000 per annum assigned to him; the military and civil administration of the country were taken by the British, and an annual revenue of £40,000, secured to Serbojí. "This arrangement," says the apologist of the Honorable Company.* "was undoubtedly beneficial to the interests of Great Britain; but it is no exaggeration to say that it was far more beneficial to the people of Tanjore. It delivered them from the effects of native oppression and European cupidity. It gave them what they had never before possessed—the security derived from the administration of justice." The treaty by which these important advantages were secured to Tanjore was concluded on the 25th October 1799, and ratified by the Governor-General in Council on the 29th November following.

A revolution somewhat similar was brought about in the city of Surat by causes very different. This city had acquired considerable importance from its extensive commerce, and from its being the port whence the pilgrims to the tomb of the prophet usually sailed to Mecca. A factory had been established there by the British at a very early period, and they had subsequently obtained considerable authority in consequence of having bravely defended the territory from the attack of the founder of the Mahratta empire. A century afterwards the command of the castle and fleet, which had been previously independent of the civil power, was granted to the British, and confirmed by the imperial Court of Delhi of which the Nabob of Surat was a dependant. The subsequent destruction of the Supreme power at Delhi caused the Nabob to assume an independence which, without the aid of the British, he could not maintain. The first ground of difference between the two was the alleged insufficiency of the funds allowed by the Nabob for the military and naval forces, an amount which, however, he was extremely unwilling, and professed himself to be unable, to increase. Remonstrances, and answers to them, passed continually between the two until the death of the reigning Nabob, early in 1799, afforded an opportunity to the Company's Government for authoritatively pressing its claims. It was quite evident indeed that two powers almost independent of each other, a military and a civil one, could not continue to exist in this small territory without the ultimate absorption of the one in the other. The question was whether the British were to resign

* Thornton, vol. III. p. 103.

the authority they had received from the Imperial Court into the hands of the Nabob, or whether the latter was to become the dependant of the former. There was little of *right* on either side, but what there was of it certainly attached to the side of the Nabob. The forces of the Company however were an unanswerable argument, of which its officers knew well how to avail themselves. We question whether any other power would have acted differently.

The death of the Nabob, early in 1799, as we have said, afforded an opportunity for the British Government to press its claims upon Surat. An infant, his sole progeny survived him only a few weeks, and its uncle as heir, claimed the Government. Without the permission of the British he could not obtain it, and the price which they demanded for their assistance was the delivery of the entire civil and military administration of the city and territory into their hands. A treaty to this effect was drawn up by the Governor-General and sent to Bombay where it was a subject of negotiation till May 1800, when it was ultimately agreed to by the Nabob. By this treaty it was provided that the management and collection of the revenues of the city of Surat, and of the territories, places, and other dependencies thereof, the administration of civil and criminal justice, and generally the whole civil and military government of the said city and its dependencies, should be vested, for ever, entirely and exclusively in the honorable East India Company." A lakh of rupees annually was set aside for the revenue of the Nabob, whilst he was allowed to retain his titles and honor as formerly.

Another proof of the Earl of Mornington's desire to consolidate the British Government in India, and to remove those festering sores which so much impeded the proper action of the body politic, was exhibited in his transactions with the Carnatic and its Nabob. With regard to the wretched condition into which this portion of India had been brought by the rule of Mahomed Ali and his successor Omdut-ul-Omra, no controversy can be maintained. These Nabobs had entered into engagements with the British Government relative to the support of subsidiary forces, which they took little care to discharge properly, and the consequence was the accumulation of debts and embarrassments which no proper means were taken to liquidate or remove. Remonstrances on the part of the Madras Government were met by evasive answers from Arcot. Europeans of no principle but of considerable sagacity carried on intrigues of the most openly profligate character at the Nabob's court. The revenue was badly managed, whilst the people were ground to the

dust by its collectors, and ruin, in its most appalling form, was fast extending over the country. To this state of things the Governor-General was by no means blind, and although not disposed to violate the letter of the last treaty concluded with the Nabob in 1792, was yet anxious, if possible, to find some means of preventing the spread of ruin over the entire country. For this purpose Lord Mornington early addressed the reigning Prince, calling his attention particularly to the large debt which he owed the Company, and proposing that a portion of his territory should be ceded to the British Government for its liquidation. The answer of His Highness the Nabob was courteous but decisive—he referred to the treaty of 1792, and hoped it was still binding—"Is it so nominated in the bond?"—was his answer to every proposal. The opinions of the Governor-General on the subject are to be found in his despatch to the Board of Control, dated March 5th, 1800. "The double Government of the Carnatic," he there states, "is a difficulty which continues to present the most serious and alarming obstacles to every attempt at reform,"—"nor could he cherish the slightest hope," he adds, "of an improvement during the life of the reigning Nabob,"—"I am thoroughly convinced," he continues in another part of this very voluminous despatch, "that no effectual remedy can ever be applied to the evils which afflict that country, without obtaining from the Nabob powers at least as extensive as those vested in the Company by the late treaty of Tanjore;" an arrangement which he hoped might be made on the death of Omdut-ul-Omra. It is evident indeed that it was Lord Mornington's intention, long before he dreamt of a treasonable correspondence between that prince and Tippú, to bring about a change in the administration of the Carnatic—and it is to the fact of his having promulgated this opinion before the proofs of this treachery were made apparent, that we probably owe the attacks which have subsequently been made upon him for the course which he pursued in reference to the Carnatic. Let us proceed with the history of the transaction first, however, and make what remarks upon it appear necessary subsequently. During the march of the British Army into the territory of Tippú, the officers, civil and military, of the Nabob had acted in such a manner as to throw the most considerable difficulties into the way of its advance, whilst they were bound by treaty and engagements to afford it every facility. "During the whole course of the late war," wrote the Governor-General, "the conduct of all the Nabob's officers, without exception, amounted nearly to positive hostility in every part of his territories through which the British Army, or that of the Nizam marched, or even

in which supplies were ordered to be procured or collected for their use. When complaints were stated to his Highness he promised redress, but never in any instance, afforded it." This conduct on the part of the Nabob and his ministers naturally excited in Lord Mornington a suspicion that Omdat-ul-Omra was a friend of Tippú, or if not so, at least no well-wisher to the British Government. Papers found in Seringapatam on the capture of that fortress, sufficiently proved that such was actually the case, and that the treason of the Nabob had extended even to the communicating of intelligence which tended to promote the interests of the Mysorean Prince and impede the progress of the British. "Nothing, surely," says Mr. Mill, "ever was more fortunate than such a discovery at such a time!" That this discovery rendered the Governor-General less reluctant to carry out his views on the Carnatic by force, than he would otherwise have been, is certain and so far was it "fortunate"—but if Mr. Mill's exclamation is intended, as the sequel appears to prove,* to imply that the whole discovery was a fraud and the papers forgeries, we repudiate his insinuation with disgust, and can only lament that any Englishman could be found to cast such an imputation on one of the most upright Governments that India ever enjoyed.

By these documents it was evident that the Nabob of Arcot had placed himself completely without the protection of treaties and engagements, for he had directly violated the tenth article of the treaty of 1792 in opening a correspondence with the Sultan of Mysore at all, whilst the entire communication proved the falsity of his expressions of pretended regard for the British, and the enmity which slumbered in his breast. These facts cannot be denied, and he would be a strange politician truly, who, in contemplation of them, would blame Lord Mornington for his harshness to a Prince, who, without the means of averting or opposing it, had thus wantonly excited the resentment of the British Government. The Governor-General, however, did not proceed in the matter with any ill-judged or

* "When the Governor-General, and all his superiors, and all his subordinates, in the Government of India, were languishing and panting for the possession of the Carnatic, but afraid, without some more plausible reason than they yet possessed, to commence the seizure, here it was provided for them in extraordinary perfection."

And again—"As the British Government was situated with regard to the papers of Tippú, it was, it may be affirmed, the easiest thing in the world to prepare evidence for any purpose which it pleased."—Mill's British India, Vol. vi. p. 311.

With regard to this disgraceful charge, the biographer of Lord Wellesley justly observes that, not only must the Governor-General have been the grand mover of the forgery, but General Harris, General Baird, Colonel Arthur Wellesley, Colonel Close, Hon. Henry Wellesley, Captain Macaulay, Mr. Edmonstone, the Interpreter, and Mr. Webbe, the Secretary to Government, must have been also "the vile instruments" of this "unmanly fraud!" This is surely *satis superque* on the subject.

unnecessary haste. It was not till the 28th of May 1801, that he issued his final orders on the subject, having previously made himself acquainted with the wishes of the secret committee of the Court of Directors. He then wrote to Lord Clive, the Governor of Madras, authorizing him to propose a new treaty to the Nabob, requiring him to cede the civil and military government of the Carnatic to the East India Company. He despatched at the same time a letter to the Nabob, informing him of the nature of the discoveries which had been made, and referring him to the Governor of Madras for information as to the new footing on which his connexion with the Company was to be put. This letter, however, never reached him. When it arrived at Madras, Omdut was laboring under mortal disease, and lest it should aggravate the complaint by inducing mental anxiety, it was withheld. On the 15th July of the same year he died, and his will having, with some difficulty, been procured by Mr. Webbe and Col. Close, it was found that the Nabob had left all his rights, possessions, and properties, including the government of the Carnatic, to his reputed son Ali Hussein. With him Lord Clive offered to conclude the new treaty, but the youth refused to consent to the arrangement, and the Governor accordingly raised another member of the family to the musnud, Azim-ul-Dowlah by name, who gladly occupied it on the terms offered; an ample provision being of course made for the support of his princely dignity.

Such was the conclusion of this much-canvassed affair, and such is a succinct account of the proceedings which led to that result. Where then, we may well ask, in this history are the grounds for that severe censure with which the British Government of the day has been visited for the part which it then acted? A Prince had entered into arrangements with the Company which he took no active precautions to fulfil. He allows himself to get deeply into arrears with the remittances which he has to make, and wrings from a half-ruined population contributions which tend to render his country a desert, in order to supply the wants caused by his own extravagance and want of care He is remonstrated with, and neither gives nor promises satisfaction. He is threatened, and appeals to the faith of treaties which he has not himself properly fulfilled. Here for a time the matter ends, but after an interval, a mass of evidence is thrown into the hands of the forbearing party, proving that this prince, who holds so hard by the altar for protection, has himself violated the sanctuary, that he has systematically broken the treaties which he is so earnest in quoting; in fine, that he has been acting for years as the secret enemy of his generous creditor, and as the secret

friend of that creditor's enemy. This fact discovered, what mercy can he hope? He has a right to nothing at the hands of the pretended friend whom he has thus wantonly betrayed but open hostility. He is unable to ward off that hostility, and of course the insulted friend comes to him with an angry brow, throws off the cloak of friendship with indignation, and says, "you have abused my confidence, and favored my enemies, I now therefore strip you of every remnant of your power, whilst, out of my generosity, I give you funds amply sufficient to supply the trivialities and childish amusements in which you personally delight. Take them and live henceforth with the name of a prince, but the power of a subject." Who can blame the stronger party in such a case as this?

Even Mill himself, the great opponent of every Indo-British Government, thus honestly confesses that the change for the Carnatic was a beneficial one—"Though we may suspect the servants of the Company of some exaggeration, when they describe the horrible effects of the Nabob's administration, there is no doubt that they were deplorable: It is equally certain, that no considerable improvement could be introduced while the powers of civil administration remained at the disposal of the Nabob: and, though what the Company had attempted for improving the condition of their subjects, where they possessed the undivided powers, had hitherto displayed but little either of skill or success, some efforts had been nobly intended, and will doubtless be followed by more judicious expedients. Even under the bad system of taxation and the bad system of judicature which the English would employ, the people would immediately suffer less than under the still more defective systems of the Nabob; and they would reap the benefit of all the improvements which a more enlightened people may be expected to introduce. *On this ground, we should have deemed the Company justified, in proportion as the feelings of millions are of more value than the feelings of an individual, in seizing the Government of the Carnatic long before;* and, on the same principle, we should rejoice, that every inch of ground within the limits of India were subject to their sway. In matters of detail, I have more frequently had occasion to blame the Company's Government than to praise it; and, till the business of Government is much better understood, whoever writes history with a view solely to the good of mankind, will have the same thankless task to perform; yet I believe it will be found that the Company, during the period of their sovereignty, have done more in behalf of their subjects, have shown more of good-will towards them, have shewn less of a selfish attachment to mis-

chievous powers lodged in their own hands, have displayed a more generous welcome to schemes of improvement, and are now more willing to adopt improvements, not only than any other Sovereign existing in the same period, but than all other sovereigns taken together upon the surface of the globe."*

The policy pursued by Lord Mornington (who in December 1799, was created Marquess Wellesley, by which name we shall in future style him) with reference to Oude did not give more general satisfaction to one class of politicians than the measures which we have just detailed. Very shortly after his arrival in Bengal he signified to the resident at Lucknow his disapproval of the policy of the reigning Vizier,† Saadut Ali Khan, and the necessity which he conceived there existed for a more substantial guarantee for the payment of the Company's subsidies than the promises of a capricious and wavering Eastern despot afforded. Saadut Ali Khan was of a disposition somewhat different from that which usually characterises the princes of India. His ruling passion was avarice; his mental failings cowardice and irresolution. He did not, it is true, waste the treasures wrung from the hard labour of his subjects in wild extravagance, but he rendered them equally, if not more, useless to the country at large, by hoarding them in a private treasury. He had a body of ministers, but in them he put no trust, for he looked upon them as the tools of the English resident. He had a body of troops, which, had it been disciplined, we might have styled an army, but in it he felt little confidence, nay rather was he in fear on account of it, for the wages of his soldiers were safely locked in his own coffers—he preferred the gold which justly belonged to *them*, to their love and fidelity, looking for consolation in their tumults and disturbances to the treasures of which he was depriving them, and relying on a foreign power for protection against their violence. Such a prince, in such a position, might excite contempt in the proud, or pity in the humane, but respect he could win from none.

The military force, which we have just referred to, was the particular part of the Vizier's establishment which the Governor-General considered most defective, and that, in which a "reform" might be best commenced, and this he was not slow in recommending,—urging that the funds which were consumed in the support of these "numerous disorderly battalions," which were in the service of the Vizier, would be amply sufficient to

* Mill's British India. Vol. vi. p. 330.

† We do not here notice the rebellion of Vizier Ali and its consequences, as these events have been already amply detailed in the pages of this Review, See. No. I, p. 76, and "postscript."

defray the expense of a subsidiary British force which had "become indispensably necessary to the security of His Excellency's dominions." "This," as Mill truly and sarcastically remarks, "was what the Governor-General, with other Englishmen, called a *reform* of the military establishments of the Vizier; the total annihilation of his military power, and the resignation of himself and his country to the army of another state." Let us not forget, however, that the state of Oude was almost as completely in the power of the British Government before, as after, this reform. The troops of the Vizier were utterly incapable of competing with those of the Company in their disorganized and disorderly condition, whilst there seemed little probability of anything like a real reform during the Government of Saadut Ali Khan. The question was then, not whether the troops of Oude were more likely to uphold the Vizier's authority than the British troops, but which was the more likely to be of utility to Oude itself? The disciplined army of the Company able and ready to oppose foreign invaders, such as the Affghan King, or the plundering disorganized bands of the Vizier?

In the progress of the negotiation Lord Wellesley seems to have fixed his eyes at an early period upon Colonel Scott as a man more able and politic than the existing resident. He accordingly wrote to Mr. Lumsden that "as he was aware he would require the assistance of some able military officer in the execution of the arrangement proposed, he (Lord Wellesley) had requested Sir A. Clarke to dispense with the services of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, the Adjutant General, who would be directed to proceed to Lucknow immediately." This Mr. Lumsden naturally looked upon us an insidious supercession of himself, and sent in his resignation accordingly. His conduct in this transaction, we conceive, most people will admire more than that pursued by the Governor-General. Openness and candour demanded, in our opinion, that the latter should have given the appointment at once to Colonel Scott if he conceived Mr. Lumsden incapable, instead of thus attempting to give the former the power, and the latter the name merely of Resident.

From a letter addressed on the 5th November 1799 by Lord Wellesley to the Vizier, it would appear that the former made use of the threatened invasion of Zeman Shah merely as an excuse for thrusting *permanently* upon the authorities at Lucknow the maintenance of a force intended at first but for the emergency mentioned. In that letter he says, "it might not be in the power of the British Government, on a sudden emergency, to reinforce the troops in your Excellency's country with sufficient

expedition; my firm opinion, therefore, is that the Company can in no other way effectually fulfill their engagements 'to defend the dominions of your excellency against all enemies,' *than by maintaining constantly in these dominions such a force as shall be at all times adequate to your effectual protection, independently of any reinforcement which the exigency might otherwise require,* but which might not be disposable in proper season."* It is not often that we can concur with the censures of Mr. Mill, but in this point we must confess to considering his observations strictly just. "This was," he says, "in other words, an explicit declaration that the military force for the protection of Oude ought to be, at all times, even in the bosom of the most profound peace, at the utmost extent of a war establishment; than which a more monstrous proposition never issued from human organs!" One is almost tempted to suppose this proposition made with the sole intention of rousing the opposition of the Vizier, that advantage might be taken of that opposition to his own destruction, or at least to the destruction of his authority. If such were really the object, it would certainly have been more manly and straightforward in the Governor-General to place his alternatives before the Vizier, and say "accept of one of these, or reject both at your peril. The British Government has the power, and I have the will, to force compliance." The expense incurred by this augmentation, Lord Wellesley again reminded him, might be defrayed by disbanding his own disorderly legions.

The Vizier continued irresolute and indisposed to give any final answer, continually urging that he had a proposition of his own to bring forward, which he hoped would supersede the necessity of this measure being forced upon him: after much delay this proposal was unfolded by him in person to the Resident. It was that he had entertained for some time "an earnest desire to relinquish a Government which he could not manage with satisfaction to himself or advantage to his subjects." This communication Col. Scott heard with pleasure, giving intimation of it, of course, as speedily as possible to the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley, however, with more keen-sighted policy, considered that if his Excellency could but be persuaded to renounce the civil and military administration of Oude in favor of the Company, it would be better far than an abdication,—more advantageous to the latter at least. This proposition, however, the Vizier would by no means agree to. He naturally asked, if he complied with His Lordship's wishes, how much

* Despatches, II. p. 134.

of his authority would descend to his successors, and being told that the scheme did not provide for a successor at all, he indignantly, and, as we conceive, naturally rejected it. His intention, so far as we can gather it from an attentive perusal of Col. Scott's despatches, in originally having made the proposal, appears to have been, not to renounce the sovereignty of Oude on behalf of himself and his family (if he could do so) for ever, but merely to shift the burden of government upon another, contenting himself with a private station and the enjoyment of his amassed wealth. When Lord Wellesley was informed however, of the refusal of Saadut Ali to ratify the treaty proposed, he professed to consider his conduct as wholly indefensible, and "intended to defeat by artificial delays, the proposed reform of his excellency's military establishments,"* and again he writes that "he was extremely disgusted at the duplicity and insincerity which mark the conduct of the Nabob Vizier on the present occasion." This duplicity and insincerity may certainly have been exhibited in other transactions by the Vizier, but not, that we can discover, in that to which the above refers—his proposal of abdication in favor of his son. On these charges against this unfortunate prince, Thornton is very wisely silent—he judiciously says in his very brief notice of the affair, "whether he had ever entertained any sincere intention of relinquishing it (the Government of Oude) is a question on which it is impossible to arrive at any satisfactory conclusion."

The Nabob Vizier being now understood to have refused both the propositions of the Governor General, that is either to resign his civil and military power altogether, or to allow of such an augmentation of his forces as would be likely to render Oude secure in the case of the threatened invasion by Zeman Shah, Lord Wellesley resolved to force the latter measure upon him, whether he agreed to it or not. The march of the troops intended to occupy that country was therefore ordered forthwith. This was on the 31st August, 1800. The Vizier protested against the measure, and the Governor-General was again angry at his protest. The troops were marched on, but no funds were forthcoming from the Vizier for their maintenance. After much delay and a most voluminous correspondence, he at length acceded to the disbanding of his forces, a measure which the resident and those acting with him performed with consummate ability—no disturbance of any kind resulting from a measure which the Vizier considered would plunge his country into "a sea of troubles." The funds derivable from this measure, however, were not found

* Despatches, II. p. 199.

to be so great as was anticipated, and the Vizier at length declared his utter inability to afford sufficient for the maintenance of the European squadrons. This declaration once made, it was immediately seized upon by the Governor-General as a reason for insisting upon the performance of the second alternative which had been submitted to his Excellency—" you will require his Excellency," were the orders given to the resident in January 1801, " to make a cession to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, of such a portion of his territories, as shall be fully adequate, in their present impoverished condition, to defray these indispensable charges." The portion thus marked out comprised the Doab and Rohilcund, with Azimghur and Goruckpore, if the former should be found insufficient; that is, nearly two-thirds of the Vizier's entire dominions.

This cession, it is not to be supposed, that the Vizier would readily agree to, and he accordingly endeavored to ward off, for a time at least, if he could not entirely avert, the evil, by correspondence. This correspondence continued till June 1801, when the Vizier communicated directly to the Governor-General a number of proposals as conditions on which he should agree to the sacrifice required. These, however, did not meet Lord Wellesley's approval, and he accordingly replied that he had demanded this territorial security " as a matter of right and justice, which required no correspondent concession on the part of the Company." For many months after this the negotiation " dragged its slow length along," without anything decisive occurring—the Vizier declaring that unless the Governor-General granted the concessions he demanded, he would not give up so large a share of his territories, and the Governor-General urging upon him the necessity of compliance and submission.

At length Lord Wellesley, who was then on a journey through the Upper Provinces, sent his brother, Mr. Henry Wellesley,* to Lucknow to conclude the negotiation. On the 5th September that gentleman met the Vizier, and informed him of the fixed determination of the Governor-General to proceed with the measure which had been commenced, in defiance of every obstacle. At length in November of the same year a treaty was concluded on the terms desired by the British ruler. The Vizier, by this engagement, bound himself " to cede territory yielding one crore and thirty-five lakhs of rupees, including expences of collection, in commutation of all claims upon the British Government, and he in return was released from all future demands on account of the protection of Oude or its dependencies."

* Subsequently Lord Cowley.

On the 10th January 1802 the Governor-General was met at Cawnpore by the Vizier, who conducted him to Lucknow, where several minor matters, relating particularly to the better Government of the territories still left to the tender mercies of the Vizier's Government, were decided. A commission was also formed, about the same time, for the settlement of the ceded provinces, at the head of which Mr. H. Wellesley was placed—the abilities which he had displayed in the negotiation, having satisfied his brother the Marquess, that the settlement of the country could not be placed in more able hands. To this appointment the Court of Directors objected as being a virtual supercession of the rights of their civil service, an objection which was immediately overruled, however by the Board of Control. In the course of this settlement the relationship in which the Nabob of Furruckabad stood to the Company came naturally under consideration. This Prince had annually paid to the Vizier a stipulated tribute, in consideration of which the latter Sovereign defended his dominions and supplied him with soldiers. This tribute being transferred to the Company, Mr. Wellesley conceived it would be greatly to the advantage of the Government which he served, if the Nabob would transfer to him all his civil and military jurisdiction, a portion of the revenues of the district sufficiently ample, being reserved for the Nabob's private use. To this arrangement the Nabob was unwilling to agree, but Mr. Wellesley pressed the matter, and he at length "reluctantly yielded." "It is to be wished," says Mr. Thornton, "that the transfer had been effected in a less summary way."*

We have now seen the attention of the indefatigable Governor General directed during the same period to Surat in the West, Tanjore in the South, and Oude in the North, whilst he was planning extensive reforms also in Bengal, but these labours and topics, great as they were, were not the only ones which occupied his mind. Equally formed to grasp the most extensive subject in all its magnificence and entirety, or to pry into the details of the most complicated political mechanism, we have seen him on first approaching the shores of India, planning a great scheme of political action and diplomacy, whereby the dangers impending on British India might be averted, and the British power consolidated, whilst we have subsequently viewed him entering into every minutia of the progress of those great political schemes—the disbanding of the French corps at Hyderabad, the conquest of Mysore, the assumption of the civil and military

* Vol. III. p. 239.

power of Surat, the settlement of Oude. Differing as these various measures did in importance, in their effects, and in their nature, he neglected none of them—his "Despatches" remain an imperishable monument of the universality and greatness of his mental grasp, as they do also of the minuteness with which he entered into every question. We have now to view him providing against the incursion of Zeman Shah, by bringing another power into the field against him, whilst he was providing also against his appearance by the concentration of troops and settlement of territories in his own neighbourhood. We refer to his embassy to the Khan of Persia early in 1800, which was despatched from Bombay. Captain Malcolm, who had proved himself worthy of trust at Hyderabad, was chosen for this service, and acquitted himself in it with distinction. Before the close of 1800 a treaty was concluded with that prince, by which he bound himself to renew his attack on Khorassan, and to prevent the establishment of the French on any portion of his dominions. This attack was the means of recalling Zeman Shah to his dominions, whilst the assistance given by the Persian ruler to Zeman's brother, kindled a civil war which ended in the elevation of the latter to the throne, and the dethronement of the boaster who was to drive the English from India.

During the same year the Marquess prepared an expedition, which was concentrated at Trincomalee, for the purpose of resisting any act of aggression on the part of the French in the East, or of repelling an attack on India itself, should such be contemplated. The Mauritius, he conceived, might with this force, be easily subdued, and thus great loss to the English commercial navy be prevented by occupying an island, whence numerous cruizers and privateers were continually despatched. To carry out this measure, the Governor-General requested the co-operation of Admiral Rainier, then commanding the British navy in the East, a co-operation which, to his surprize and disappointment, was refused, apparently on the ground that the Admiral had no orders from home to engage in such an expedition. The Marquess remonstrated, but without avail, and the expedition was accordingly sent to Egypt under General Baird to act against the French Army there under Napoleon. It consisted of about a thousand Europeans, four thousand Native Infantry, escorted by a squadron of Company's cruizers under Admiral Blankett. Thus, for the first time, were the natives of 'utmost Ind,' in co-operation with their European fellow-subjects, brought to the banks of the Nile to do battle with the Gallic invaders of the East. Roman history tells us of no such event—it was reserved for that empire on which the

sun never sets to embattle the Indian sepoy and the Briton against the Frank, and that too in the land of the pyramids! The fate of Egypt however had been decided before the arrival of General Baird, so that a toilsome march through the desert, and the heroic endurance of hardships, were the only claims which he had to military honors.

We have seen the Governor-General hitherto successful in every thing which he undertook, and the course of his administration uniformly prosperous; when we are informed, therefore, that, on the first of January 1802, he intimated to the Court of Directors his desire to resign his high office at the end of that year, we must look for the causes of this announcement to something differing entirely from unsuccessful policy or disappointed ambition. His reasons for this announcement were not detailed in the despatch alluded to, but are to be found in a private letter to Mr. Addington, which has been prefixed to the 3rd volume of the Wellesley despatches. The causes there detailed, he enumerates under the three following heads—first, that the Court of Directors had manifested a want of confidence in his administration; secondly, that they had directly interfered "in several of the most important details of the local executive government of India," by dismissing persons either directly appointed by Lord Wellesley, or whose appointment had met his approbation, and selecting others for their situations, "whose appointment" was "entirely contrary to his judgment"—the Court intimating further that they intended to pursue the same course subsequently; and thirdly, that the Directors had "positively disapproved" several measures of his administration and with-holden its sanction from others. It would occupy too much of our limited space were we to enumerate the particular instances of the Court's opposition which are alluded to under the above heads. Suffice it to mention, the peremptory order to reduce the military strength of British India; the peremptory order to reduce the salaries and allowances of several officers which had been increased subsequently to the Mysore campaign, and amongst others those of the Marquess' brother, General Arthur Wellesley; the positive order to rescind Col. Kirkpatrick's appointment as secretary in the political department; the order to revise Col. Scott's appointment as resident at Lucknow "with a view to rescind it;" the peremptory order to appoint Mr. Speke, Acting President of the Board of Trade, with the refusal to sanction the Governor-General's scheme regarding the College at Fort William, (full particulars of which have formerly appeared in this Review).* In answer to his application, the Court

* See No. IX—Article 2—"The College of Fort William."

requested him to continue in office for another year, that is, till the beginning of 1804, "being persuaded that his Lordship would be enabled, in the course of another season, to terminate with honor to himself and advantage to the Company, every measure of importance connected with their recent acquisitions." The war with the Mahrattas, however prevented his departure till the summer of 1805.

The rise and progress of the Mahratta power form one of the most deeply interesting chapters of Indian history—its later career was worthy of its origin, aggressive, turbulent, fearless and unreflecting. But the spirit which had animated the first energetic leader of the lawless bands of the Mahrattas had now died out in the Court of Púna and in the breast of the Peishwa; it was to be found only in the untameable ambition of a few predatory chiefs, whose personal daring and hazardous exploits emulated the fame and deeds of the founder of the empire to which they nominally owed subjection. Harassed as the Peishwa was, however, by his turbulent and ambitious *subject* princes (as they nominally were), and feeble as the Court of Púna had become, still that sovereign was universally recognized by the native states of India and by the British Government as the head of the Mahrattan confederacy—if confederacy that collection of states can be called which was not united by any regular from, any system of constitutional laws, or of established treaties; whose only bonds of union lay in a vague and indefinite sense of common interest, the recollections of a common origin, the similarity of their civil and religious usages, and finally in their common habits of lawless depredation. In 1792 the Peishwa had materially benefitted by the partition of the conquered and ceded portions of Tippú's dominions, an opportunity of which Lord Cornwallis had availed himself to enter into an alliance with that prince which was intended to be beneficial, of course, to British interests. Between the years 1792 and 98, however, the authority of the Peishwa had been so materially lessened by Scindia, one of his own military officers, that the latter may be said to have entirely usurped the Government, and thus frustrated any advantages which were expected from the treaty of Seringapatam. The power of Scindia was upheld by that kind of support of which the Mahrattas, better than any other people, understood the influence, an army, the artillery and regular infantry of which, had been trained by French officers—that of the Peishwa by right and hereditary title, bases of sand or water in such a state as that. In the condition to which the latter prince was thus reduced, Lord Wellesley conceived he saw the means of promoting British interests at Púna, if he could but persuade the Peishwa to accept the aid of a British force to re-instate him in his

hereditary throne a lawful piece of diplomacy unquestionably, and in the subsequent development of which, we shall find little to censure. At the same time that overtures of this nature were made to the nominal head, the real fountain of power was not forgotten. Propositions of the most amicable nature were offered to Scindia, which were, however, immediately rejected. To his influence also the Governor-General attributed the rejection of his offers to the Peishwa, and the breach of treaty by that prince, in the last war with Mysore.* The circumstances which led the Governor-General to repeat his offers of assistance are thus detailed by himself:—

"The Mahratta states, unconnected with any European ally could never become formidable to the British Government, excepting in the event of an actual union of the feudal chiefs of the empire, under an efficient sovereign power, or in the event of a revolution, which should unite the command of the resources of a large portion of the Mahratta territory, in the hands of an active and enterprizing chief. Such events, however to be deprecated, might have been encountered without apprehension by the British Government, in the commanding position of its foreign relations, and in the vigorous condition of its internal resources and concentrated strength.

But it was obviously prudent to employ every endeavour to effect such an arrangement, as should preclude the union of the Mahratta states under any circumstances, which might menace interruption to the tranquillity of our possessions, or of those of our allies. With this view, it appeared to be expedient to receive under the protection of the general defensive system, of which the foundation was laid by the treaty with the Nizam concluded in 1800, such of the Mahratta states as might be disposed to enter into subsidiary engagements with the British Government: on this principle a subsidiary treaty was concluded with the Guikwar in 1802, the operation of which attached that state to the Company, and secured to the Company a valuable and important territorial establishment in the maritime province of Guzerat. The most effectual arrangement, however, for securing the British Government against any danger from the Mahratta states, appeared to be an intimate alliance with the acknowledged sovereign power of the Mahratta empire, founded upon principles, which should render the British influence and military force the main support of that power. Such an arrangement appeared to afford the best security for preserving a due balance between the several states constituting the confederacy of the Mahratta empire, as well as for preventing any dangerous union, or diversion of the resources of that empire.

It has always been a principal object of the British Government to prevent the sovereign power of the Mahratta state, or the power of any great branch of the Mahratta empire, from passing into the hands of France. While the views of the Government of France shall be directed to the establishment of its authority within the peninsula of Hindustan, it is manifestly the policy of the British Government to accomplish such a system of alliances with the powers of India, as may preclude the occurrence of those internal convulsions, which would afford to France the most favourable opportunity of effecting her ambitious purpose.

The disturbed state of the Mahratta empire would have afforded an advantageous opportunity to the Government of France, for the successful prosecution of its favourite object, of establishing a dominion within the peninsula of Hindustan, by the introduction of a military force, for the purpose of aiding the cause of one of the contending parties; and the views of France would have been materially favoured by the strength and efficiency of Monsieur Perron's force, established

* See his views on the subject at length in his "Notes relative to the late transactions in the Mahratta Empire," an extract from which is given in the "Despatches," Vol. III. p. xxvi—xli.

with a great territorial dominion extending towards the left bank of the Indus through the Punjab, and comprehending Agra, Delhi, and a large portion of the Doab of the Jumna and Ganges, on the most vulnerable part of our north-western frontier of Hindustan; and holding the person and nominal authority of the unfortunate Shah Alum, (the deposed Mogul emperor,) in the most abject and degrading subjection."

In this position of affairs Lord Wellesley considered it no less desirable from policy than from prudence that the Peishwa should be induced, if possible, to place himself in such connexion with the British Government as would have preserved the influence of the former amongst the Mahratta chiefs, and insured that of the latter in the Court of Púna. This connexion the Peishwa resolutely prevented until circumstances compelled him in 1802 to throw himself upon the generosity of the British Government, and ask its aid to re-establish himself on his hereditary throne. These circumstances it shall now be our aim briefly to narrate.

The authority which Scindia possessed at Púna was extended over those parts of the Mahratta empire which willingly acknowledged the superior authority of the Peishwa. In a dispute respecting the sovereignty of a territory in Malwa between two brothers of the Holkar family, Scindia had exerted his authority to raise one of them Cashí Rao Holkar to the throne, in consequence, as it is said, of a bribe, variously stated at six and fifteen lakhs of rupees. The other brother he attacked with a military force and slew, dispersing his attendants, taking care however to obtain possession of his infant son Khundeh Rao as soon as born. Cashí Rao appears to have been a man of no energy or independence, and the consequence of these violent proceedings was that the Holkar estates were really administered by Scindia himself. Jeswunt Rao, an illigitimate brother of Cashí's, had espoused the cause of the slain aspirant to the throne, and after many romantic adventures, succeeded at length in collecting and disciplining a force by means of which he hoped to be able to reinstate the infant Khundeh on the throne. On the 14th October 1801, Scindia met him with a considerable force near Indore and completely defeated him; but Jeswunt was not to be extinguished by a single defeat. He employed himself in busily re-organizing and adding to his shattered force, changing the field of his operations from Malwa to Púna, and so effectually had he succeeded in regaining his power, that early in 1802, he was more formidable than he had ever been before.

In the mean time, the Peishwa had been considering more favorably of the offer of Lord Wellesley, and consented to take six battalions of British troops into his service, proposing to

yield a territory, however, as security for the subsidy requisite, over which his authority was but nominal—a security which the Governor-General did not deem sufficient. The advance of Jeswunt Holkar to Púna, and his avowed determination of releasing the Peishwa from the authority of Scindia, and of placing Khundeh on the throne of Malwa, thoroughly alarmed the authorities there, but did not frighten the Peishwa into accepting the Governor-General's offer, until a battle had been fought in October, between the rival chieftains—Scindia and Holkar, in which the troops of Holkar were completely victorious. The Peishwa then fled with precipitation, sending his minister at the same time to the British resident, Colonel Close, offering to cede to the Company territory in Guzerat, or the southern portion of his dominions, yielding an annual revenue of twenty-six lakhs for the subsidy. This was all that the Governor-General desired, and on the engagement being transmitted to him, he ratified it immediately.

Púna, in the mean time, had fallen into the hands of Holkar, who having failed in obtaining possession of the Peishwa, administered affairs in the name of Amrut Rao,* an adopted son of the Peishwa's father; whilst the fugitive prince hastened to Savendrúg, whence a British ship conveyed him to Bassein in the vicinity of Bombay, where he awaited the answer of the Governor-General to his engagement. Colonel Close followed the Peishwa to ratify the proposed treaty as speedily as circumstances would permit. On the 6th December, the Governor-General's approbation of the Peishwa's offers was received, and on the 31st of the same month, the important treaty of Bassein was concluded. It consisted of nineteen articles,† of which we shall only notice the more important, and that as briefly as possible.

The first and second clauses declare perpetual peace between the two contracting powers, the British Government engaging to defend the rights and territories of the Peishwa, from all acts of unprovoked hostility and aggression, for which purpose in the third article, the Company agrees to give, and the Peishwa to receive, a "permanent subsidiary force of not less than six thousand regular native infantry, with the usual proportion of field pieces, and European artillery-men attached," which force, it was added, was to be stationed in perpetuity in his Highness' territories. For the support of this force, certain portions of

* Amrut Rao he nominated Regent for his son Vinayak Rao, who was raised to the Musnud.

† It will be found by the student entire in the Wellesley "Despatches," vol. iii. p. 627.

his dominions estimated to produce twenty-six lakhs were made over by the Peishwa in the 4th, 5th and 6th articles. Then followed sundry stipulations, relative to the manner in which the promised territories were to be ceded, and the employment of the subsidiary force which the Peishwa required. In the eleventh article, it was stipulated that any Europeans in the service of the Peishwa belonging to a state with which the British nation might be at war, should be dismissed from such service and not allowed to reside in the Peishwa's dominions, so soon as it should be proved that these persons entertained hostile feelings, or had entered into intrigues hostile, to the British nation. The succeeding clauses prohibited the Peishwa from committing any act of aggression against the Company's allies or dependants, whilst he was to accept of, and abide by, the Company's mediation in his disputes with various native powers specified. Such were the principal stipulations in the celebrated treaty of Bassein, a treaty unquestionably of the utmost importance to the British Government in India, securing as it did, their supremacy and influence in a state, which circumstances, neither improbable nor remote, might have made one of the most formidable, as it certainly was, one of the most turbulent, with which that Government would have to deal.

The re-instatement of the Peishwa upon the throne at Púna, and the ratification of friendly treaties with Scindia or Holkar, were now the principal objects of the British ruler. To accomplish the latter, negotiations were commenced with the former chieftain intended to gain his amicable consent to the arrangements entered into with the Peishwa, and to induce him to become a party to the system of defensive alliance, whilst Holkar was informed of the treaty and requested to allow its peaceful fulfillment.* To this policy the keen observer cannot but attribute unqualified praise, whatever the snarling sarcasms of hostile criticism may insinuate, for it certainly was the wisest course which the Governor-General could pursue, not precipitately to bring the contest between Scindia and Holkar to a close by abruptly marching troops against them, but to gain if possible the friendship of one or both. The evasive answers of Scindia to the requests made, and the exorbitant demands of Holkar, the satisfaction of which, he said, would alone induce him to meet the wishes of the British Government, were sufficient to weary out the most patient, and to irritate the most forbearing. Troops were accordingly marched from all quarters upon Púna.

* These negotiations did not delay for a single day, however the re-instatement of the Peishwa, on his throne at Púna.

The Nizam's contingent reached the western frontier of the Nizam's territories, one hundred and sixteen miles from the Peishwa's capital, on the 25th March 1803. Major-General Wellesley advanced from the south, with a considerable British force, aided by two thousand five hundred of the Rajah of Mysore's horse, and, on the 15th, affected a junction with the Nizam's contingent. On the 20th, by a forced march with his Cavalry, this enterprizing General (whose deeds were so soon to pronounce him, what his European campaigns subsequently confirmed, the first of modern tacticians) was seen before Púna, which, it is said, the Commander of Holkar's forces there had orders to destroy before letting it fall into the hands of the British. Púna was preserved, the family of the Peishwa recovered, and that Prince re-instated on his hereditary throne. Such was the opening scene of the great drama which was now to be enacted on the Mahratta territories; the Wellesleys, Scindia, and Holkar the principal actors; all the world the spectators.

In the march of this force, and the re-instatement of the Peishwa upon the musnud, the Governor-General was far from anticipating the commencement of a long and bloody war. That the Mahratta chiefs, or at least the more powerful of them, would be far from being pleased with the stipulations of the treaty of Bassein, he was perfectly aware, but the Rajah of Berar he knew to be an indolent and pacific Prince, whose rights were not directly invaded by the treaty, and whom therefore he judged not likely to measure swords with the overpowering strength of British India, for a point of honor. Scindia and Holkar were at variance, and even if they united, their raw troops could not be expected long to stand before the valour of the British veterans, whilst they could each enjoy the government of their own territories, or their mutual war, without interference in consequence of the treaty of Bassein. Lord Wellesley's hopes of peace therefore were founded upon the friendship of the Peishwa, the apathy of the Rajah of Berar, and the prudence of the two hostile leaders, Scindia and Holkar; but he was deceived—the "friendship" of the Peishwa had been better designated by the name of enmity, the "apathy" of the Rajah by that of unreflecting resentment, and the "prudence" of the rival chiefs by that of rashness. It is easy for the historian *now* to say that his expectation of peace was folly; his only error was in believing that the Mahratta chiefs would act as prudence dictated that they should act.

The refusal of Scindia to give his consent to the treaty of Bassein, the gradual approach of that chieftain and the Rajah of

Berar towards each other, and the opening up of communications between them and Holkar, all tended to dissipate the dreams of peace which had for some months occupied the Governor-General's mind, and bade him prepare for war. This he did with his characteristic energy and ability. On the 28th June, General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, then on the northern frontier, was instructed to put the Army under his command in a state of preparation for the field, with as little delay as possible, whilst General Wellesley in the south was to advance upon the territories of Scindia to the south of the Godavery. These measures of course were not taken until it was plainly apparent that the discontented chieftains were determined to resist the operation of the treaty of Bassein by force. With his characteristic comprehensiveness of design, the Marquess determined, as war was now inevitable, not to sheathe the sword until such a settlement was affected "as should afford a reasonable prospect of continued peace and security to the British Government and its allies." For this purpose the plan of operations in the north was constituted to accomplish two great military, and two political ends—that in the south a great political object and two conquests. "The first of the military objects was to conquer the whole of that portion of Scindia's dominions, which lay between the Ganges and the Jumna; destroying completely the French force" under General Perron, "by which that district was protected; extending the Company's frontier to the Jumna; and including the cities of Delhi and Agra, with a chain of posts, sufficient for protecting the navigation of the river, on the right bank of the Jumna." The second was the annexation of Bundelcund. The political objects were, first, the possession of the unfortunate Shah Alum, and his nominal authority as the Mogul, now in the hands of General Perron, and the extension to the minor Mahratta states of his subsidizing military system. On the south General Wellesley was to defeat Scindia and the Rajah of Berar, thereby protecting the Company's territories and the Governments of the Nizam, the Peishwa and the Guikwar. The two conquests to be made on this side were the extensive province of Cuttack from the Rajah of Berar, which would connect Bengal with the northern Circars, and the port of Baroach from Scindia, with its contiguous district on the coast of Guzerat. Such were the great objects to which the unprovoked war so madly entered upon by the combined chiefs, were to be made subservient! Such the comprehensive ends which the statesman-like mind of a Wellesley saw might be effected when the sword was once drawn! But thus is it ever with genius—the seeming obstructions that start up in its path

are but made the stepping stones to aims which it had scarcely dared to hope previously might sometime be effected.

It is not our intention, as it would not comport with our limited space, to enter upon a detailed account of the military operations carried on respectively by Generals Lake and Wellesley. A brief notice of the advance of each however, and at least the names of the battles fought, will be necessary to the due understanding of the Governor-General's subsequent measures. On the 4th June General Wellesley, with a force of about 9,000 men, advanced from Púna to attack Scindia's fort of Ahmednuggur. His progress was impeded by the weather, so that it was not till the 8th of August that he summoned the Killedar of the fort to a surrender. The summons was disregarded, and the Pettah was taken by force next day. On the 10th a small battery was opened upon the fort, and on the 12th it was surrendered. The possession of Ahmednuggur left the whole of Scindia's territories south of the Godavery at the mercy of the British. On the 29th of the same month the fort of Baroach was taken, after a vigorous resistance by Colonel Woodington, acting under the orders of the General. Advancing from Ahmednuggur the British Commander was informed that Scindia and the Rajah of Berar had entered the territories of the Nizam, and were pushing on with a considerable force of cavalry, it was supposed to attack Hyderabad. General Wellesley moved with his force, now diminished by garrisons and losses to about half its previous number, so as to counteract them, and on the 21st September, communicated with Col. Stephenson, who commanded the Nizam's contingent and horse, when a plan was concerted to attack the combined force at Bokerdun on the morning of the 24th. The force which the British General thus decided to attack had been increased a few days before by a large body of infantry under Colonel Pohlman, a Frenchman—no effort having been made apparently on the other side to prevent this junction, a circumstance which strikes us as extraordinary. On the morning of the 23d, Gen. Wellesley arrived at Naulniah by the eastern route round the hills between Budnapur and Jalna, expecting Colonel Stephenson next day by the western. When there however the General heard that the cavalry of the enemy were moving off and the infantry about to follow; he therefore resolved on immediately attacking them as they stood, their cavalry resting on Bokerdun, their infantry on Assye.* The battle which followed

* Thornton says, "it turned out that the information upon which the plan had been arranged had deceived the commander," and subsequently "misinformation brought the battle prematurely on."—Vol. iii. p. 327 and 330. General Wellesley, in his despatch to the Governor-General from the field of battle, writes, "I found the whole combined army encamped on the bank of the Raitna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed that they occupied."—Wellesley Despatches, iii. p. 324.

has long been matter of history, and has afforded much ground for comment—it was bravely fought, and won, with much bloodshed, by the handful of troops which the General commanded; ninety pieces of cannon being left in the hands of the British. "This victory," said their illustrious commander, "which was certainly complete, has cost us dear."

On Colonel Stephenson joining Wellesley on the 24th, he was despatched in pursuit of the defeated host. The latter body proceeded westward, apparently threatening Púna. To prevent any attack on that quarter, General Wellesley remained himself in the south, ordering Stephenson to the north to attack Burhanpore and Assirghur. This threatened attack Scindia moved to the northward to prevent, whilst the Rajah marched towards Chandore. To oppose Scindia, General Wellesley was again obliged to make an harrassing march to the northward, and when Scindia's object had been defeated, he again came southward, passing Aurungabad on the 29th October. Stephenson's force had been completely successful—Burhanpore had been evacuated by the enemy on his approach, and on the 21st of the same month, Assirghur, "the key of Dekhan," surrendered, with all Scindia's dominions in that province. Thence this division proceeded to Berar, threatening Gawilghur, the principal fortress of the Rajah. This movement the Rajah marched to counteract—Wellesley advancing also, to support Colonel Stephenson's detachment. On the 29th November the two divisions of the British army united, taking up a position, six miles from the Rajah's force, which was posted on the plains of Argaum. On being apprized of the proximity of the enemy, the British General, with that characteristic intrepidity and confidence, which so eminently distinguished all his campaigns, whether in India or in Europe, resolved to attack them immediately. The battle of Argaum was fought in the evening and resulted in the complete defeat of the Rajah's force; thirty-eight pieces of cannon remaining in the hands of the assailants. In consequence of this success no time was lost in investing Gawilghur, which was reached after a very toilsome march through the mountains, and taken on the 14th December, after a hard-fought and desperate struggle, in which the bravery and courage of the British forces were especially notable. Thus were the operations against Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in the South completely successful, nor were those conducted by the Commander-in-Chief in the North less able in their progress or satisfactory in their results.

On the 7th August General Lake broke up from Cawnpore, intending directly to attack General Perron, the French officer in Scindia's service formerly mentioned, who, in consequence of his chief's protracted absence at Púna, had acquired and

assumed sovereign power and state in northern Hindustan. On the morning of the 29th the British troops entered the Mahratta territory—Perron having drawn up his troops apparently waiting for the conflict in a strong position near Alyghur. On the approach of the British cavalry, however, the French force speedily retreated, leaving the town of Coel in possession of the attacking force. Preparations were then made for attacking the fortress of Alyghur, which were protracted, however, for a few days to try the effects of negotiation and bribery. These proving unsuccessful, an assault was determined on, and on the 4th September, after a very severe engagement, Alyghur was taken by storm. A vast quantity of military stores, and two hundred and eighty-one pieces of cannon thus fell into the hands of the British. The fall of Alyghur was speedily followed by Perron's surrender to the Commander-in-Chief, a circumstance caused, not so much by the progress of the British arms, as by the loss of Scindia's favor and the unfaithfulness of the French General's subordinates. The indecision and apparent pusillanimity of Perron, however, had not been communicated to Bourquin, one of his Generals of division. On the 11th of September that officer met General Lake, about six miles from Delhi, and there took up his position with such judgment and skill, that it was not until the British commander had drawn him from his advantageous post by a stratagem, that victory declared for the forces of the Company. This was the final blow to French power on the Jumna—three days after the battle, Bourquin and four other French officers surrendered themselves to the British.

The conquerors lost no time in advancing to Delhi, where they were joyously received by the heir of the Moguls—the unfortunate and aged Shah Allum, who, in all the misery of helplessness and blindness, had dragged on a wretched existence subject to the power of Scindia and his French Generals. The contrast between the former state and present condition of the Mogul Emperors is thus eloquently described by Thornton:—

"The triumph of the British arms under General Lake opened a new scene. Immediately after the battle the Emperor had despatched a message to the victorious commander, offering the monarch's congratulations and soliciting protection. An appropriate answer was returned; and on the 16th of September the heir of Timur, so long the victim of adverse fortune, seated in the capital of his ancestors, gave audience to the English general. In that place his predecessors, clothed in the most gorgeous productions of the loom, had sate upon thrones formed of gold, and made radiant by a dazzling profusion of the most costly jewels. Around them had stood hundreds of obsequious guards and dependents, waiting in mute and watchful attention the expression of their sovereign's will and ready to give it effect as soon as uttered; while vassals from distant countries, or their representatives, tendered respectful homage to the lord of the faithful throughout India, and wooed his favour by presents worthy of his rank. Far different was the scene which met the eye of the British general and his attendants. Beneath a small and ragged ca-

nopy, the appearance of which seemed a mockery of regal state, sate one whose age exceeded that usually attained by man, but in whose appearance the operation of time was less apparent than that of long and hopeless misery. Eighty-three years had passed over his head, and they had been filled with trouble and sorrow. While his name was held in reverence throughout India, his life had been passed amid poverty, danger, and suffering, and all around him at this moment indicated the most wretched destitution. But there was one element of misery greater than all. The light of heaven, the common source of enjoyment to the prosperous and the wretched, shone not for him—the face of nature was to him a blank. The miserable satisfaction of contrasting the appearance of all things around him then with former scenes was denied him. Strangers from a far distant country stood before him—in their hands was his fate—they addressed to him words of sympathy, and kindness, and comfort, but he could not read in their countenances a confirmation of the friendly language which fell on his ear. Poor, dependent, aged, infirm, and sightless, the head of the empire illustrated in his person the wide-spread ruin which had overwhelmed the empire itself."

Leaving Colonel Ochterlony to hold Delhi with a competent force, the Commander-in-Chief next directed his attention to Agra, which he reached on the 4th of October. Here a sharp conflict awaited the British troops in the town and principal mosque (which were occupied by seven battalions of regular infantry) ere approaches could be made to the fort. On the 10th an attack was made upon this force which was perfectly successful, and with all the fickleness of Asiatics, no sooner had these battalions been defeated, than they transferred their services to the British commander. Seven days subsequently the fort surrendered, a practicable breach having been opened in its ramparts.

Of all the regular forces of Scindia in this part of India there remained now fifteen regular battalions untouched which had been sent to the north by him early in the campaign, and two others which had joined these from Delhi. They were occupying a situation near Laswarri, about thirty miles north east of Agra, and, from their excellent artillery, were an object of considerable apprehension to the Commander-in-Chief. He resolved therefore to march against them at once, a project which he put into execution at the end of October. Arriving first with his cavalry, although he found them strongly entrenched, he resolved to attack them at once with that arm, aided by his mounted artillery. No impression could be made however upon the well-appointed and compact masses of the Mahrattas, until the arrival of the infantry, when a hard-fought battle, with severe loss, gave victory at last to the British. "I never," wrote General Lake to Marquess Wellesley, "I never was in so severe a business in my life or any thing like it, and pray to God, I never may be in such a situation again," and again, "I think, without exception, yesterday was the most anxious day I ever experienced, for had we been beaten by these brigades, the consequences attending such a defeat must have been most fatal. These fellows fought like devils, or rather heroes, and had we not made a disposition for

attack in a style that we should have done against the most formidable army that we could have been opposed to, I verily believe from the position they had taken, we might have failed."* These assertions of the General will serve to give some idea of the terrible nature of the battle of Laswarri, which our limits compel us thus cursorily to notice. It was, in its results, however completely successful, all the enemy's battalions were cut up or taken, and seventy guns captured, with all their baggage and ammunition.

Thus, after a struggle of three months, of which the concluding blow was the most desperate, fell the dominions of Scindia upon the Jumna, with the seat of the Mogul, into the hands of the British. General Lake's progress had been one of uninterrupted success, a success so easily obtained in the first part of the campaign, that his conduct in the battle of Laswarri may be justly accused of rashness, but as that battle was the one in which he was most near to being defeated, so was it that also which entailed the greatest loss on the enemy and which was far the most decisive in its results.

We now return to General Wellesley's operations in the south. The battle of Argaum gained, that intrepid chief had invested and taken, as we have said, with considerable difficulty, the fortress of Gawilghur. These two successes following so rapidly upon each other, at length aroused the Mahratta chiefs to a sense of the necessity of making peace if they wished any portion of territory to remain to them, and accordingly, the Rajah of Berar lost no time in concluding a separate treaty with the British General, who, for this purpose, had been armed with plenipotentiary powers. General Wellesley was not a man to be tampered with by Mahratta trickery, and he plainly told the ministers of the Rajah what concessions would satisfy the British Government, and that these *must* be made faithfully and truly, or he should proceed conquering. On one occasion when the Vakil of the Rajah had exclaimed against the exorbitance of these demands, the General coolly replied that "the Rajah was a great politician; that he ought to have better calculated his chances of success before he began the war, but that having commenced it, it was proper, he should suffer, before he should get out of the scrape." The Mahratta was convinced at length that with such an unbending character, diplomacy, however cunning, was useless, and on the 17th December, 1803, a treaty was concluded, by which the Rajah yielded to his conquerors the province of Cuttack with Balasore, together with all the territories of which he had collected the revenues in conjunction with the

* Wellesley Despatches. Vol. III. p. 41.

Subadhar of the Dekhan, westward of the Wurdah. He was further to renounce all claims on the territories of the Company or its allies, and to admit of the mediation of the former in any disputes with the latter. Further he was to take into his service no French or Americans, nor any Europeans without the consent of the Company.

This important treaty concluded, and the whole force of Berar thus detached from the alliance, Scindia could have little prospect of success. He was therefore anxious to conclude a treaty also with the British General, but was at least equally anxious also to avoid the concessions which the conquerors were determined to extort. At length by the 30th, his consent was reluctantly obtained to all the stipulations deemed necessary, and on that day, the treaty was signed, by which he lost the greater part of his dominions. By this agreement he ceded all his rights of sovereignty in the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, and to the northward of the territories belonging to the Rajahs of Jeypúr, Judepúr, and Gohud, with each of whom subsequent treaties were concluded; he ceded the fort and territory of Baroach, which were retained by the British, as well as those of Ahmednugger, which they gave to the Peishwa; the territory between the Adjunti hills and the Godavery, which Scindia gave up by this treaty, the British transferred to the Nizam, as well as the territory to the westward of the Wurdah obtained from Berar; lastly, Scindia renounced all claims upon Shah Allum, upon the British Government, or its allies the Subadhar, the Peishwa, and the Guikwar. Certain lands belonging to the family of Scindia in the districts by this treaty ceded to the British, it was stipulated, should still remain in their former occupancy, whilst pensions allotted by this chief to his dependents derived from similar lands, were confirmed to the extent of seventeen lakhs of rupees a year. On the whole then we can scarcely allow that he was treated with any extraordinary severity in the treaty under consideration—he had voluntarily drawn his sword against the British power; he had been totally defeated, and lay at the mercy of that power; a great portion of his territories was certainly taken from him, but the whole lay at the mercy of his conquerors, so that instead of bewailing their rapacity, he should rather, we conceive, have applauded their clemency.

Two months subsequently, on the 27th February 1804, a supplementary treaty to the former was concluded with Scindia, intended to place him in a situation capable of opposing Holkar, if necessary, to whose movements and projects our attention must be speedily directed. By this agreement the British Go-

vernment was to supply Scindia with a force of 6000 Infantry, and the usual proportion of Artillery, the expense of which was to be defrayed from the resources of the ceded districts, whilst it was expressly stipulated by that crafty Chieftain, and agreed to by the British General, that this force was not to be stationed within his territory, evidently with the intention that it might not there acquire influence. The policy of these concessions by Colonel Wellesley has been applauded by various writers, and was not certainly impugned by the Governor-General; we must confess to not seeing in it, however, either prudence or wisdom. Scindia was very much reduced it is true, and may have been inferior to Holkar in strength, but in what lay the necessity of putting them on a footing of equality? Besides, was it not known previously that they had hushed up their mutual grounds of quarrel, in order to act together against the British, and why might they not do so again? And, if such a contingency was, however distantly, to be apprehended, would it not be impolitic to make one of the parties stronger than he would otherwise be? Again it was argued that Scindia was now poor and could not support this force from his own resources—this fact granted, we conceive, proves more convincingly the ease with which his future enmity might have been frustrated did he really want the force, by its being insisted on that it should be quartered in his territories.

Thus, by the able movements and masterly operations of Lake in the north, and Wellesley in the south, was peace re-established, a peace which the Governor-General fondly hoped would be, if not perpetual, at least, prolonged. The Peishwa had been restored to his throne, and to a *nominal* sovereignty, the British Government obtaining the *reality*—the Rajah of Berar had been convinced of his own impotence, and an extensive and valuable province of his kingdom added to the British possessions—the French force threatening the north-western frontier had been destroyed, and the seat of the Moguls transferred to the British—Scindia, the crafty, proud and energetic prince, who had been so long accustomed to success, that he believed he had for ever parted company with defeat, had been humbled—his finest provinces, his strongest fortresses had been torn from his iron grip, and a force granted to *protect* him, by that power in which he thought it was presumption ere while to conclude a treaty with the Peishwa without his consent. Besides all this too the Nizam had gained extensive territories, and the Peishwa's dominions had been strengthened and increased—so that the greatest of the British allies shared in the consequences of their success. Reflecting on all that had been

done, then, we can scarcely wonder that the Marquess Wellesley now anticipated a prolonged peace—an anticipation, which, however reasonable, was destined to be disappointed.

Hitherto we have seen the British arms triumphant in every serious encounter with the Mahrattas. We have now however to view a new phase of this strange, eventful history, and to behold those arms lately so victorious, sullied by defeat and tarnished by flight.

Jeswunt Rao Holkar, we have said, was a party to the alliance between Scindia and the Rajah of Berar in the late war. He had not given these chiefs, however, any effectual assistance in consequence of the panic produced by the battle of Assye, at its very commencement. In December 1803 Holkar, with his army, took up a position threatening the allies of the British, and commenced a series of depredations to which the latter were not disposed to submit, however much they might be the practice of his nation. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, on the conclusion of the war just narrated, did not disband his army, but kept it at Agra ready for operations, if such should prove necessary. A correspondence commenced between the two leaders in January 1804, which led to no satisfactory results —General Lake requiring that Holkar should retire to his own dominions, or at least to those of his family which he claimed, whilst that chief in return made demands so exorbitant the price of his compliance as entirely to preclude any probability of a settlement. Under these circumstances there was no resource but for the British government to compel a retreat, and this the Commander-in-chief, under instructions from the Governor-General, marched to effect in the month of April.

We have already noticed the progress of an unpolitic and vain confidence in the breast of General Lake, which had nearly been the cause of a defeat at Laswarri. This overweening reliance in British resources, and undue contempt for those of their enemies, had been gradually developing themselves in the Commander-in-chief's mind from the first period of his first advance into the Mahratta territories and a considerable portion of the disasters which we have now to record, may, we conceive, be traced to the consequences of this folly.

The territories of the Rajah of Jynaghur being threatened by Holkar's position, General Lake sent a detachment of three battalions under Colonel Monson of H. M. 76th Regt., to protect them. The approach of this force caused Holkar to suspend his depredations and retreat rapidly to the south. Colonel Monson pursued, the Commander-in-chief advancing also in his rear.

On the 10th May a happy omen of future success attended the British in the capture of the fort of Tonk Rampúra, by Colonel Don, dispatched from the main body for that purpose—an omen, however, which subsequent events unfortunately belied. The flight of Holkar, for it can scarcely be called a retreat, was rapid in the extreme, so much so indeed that the Commander-in-chief became weary of pursuing so despicable a "free-booter," and accordingly marched back his troops into quarters, leaving Monson to guard against Holkar's return, with whom it was expected that Colonel Murray from Guzerat, acting under General Wellesley's orders, would co-operate. It has been asserted that this retreat of General Lake was necessitated by the sufferings his army endured in consequence of the hot winds, but if so, how were Colonels Monson and Murray, with their detachments, expected to survive them? The fact was, General Lake despised Holkar's force too much, and believed Monson's detachment alone more than a match for him.*

The first reverses experienced were in the newly-acquired province of Bundelcund, where one of Holkar's Generals fell suddenly upon two companies of British sepoys and artillerymen, whom he completely destroyed, taking their guns and tumbrils. In the mean time Holkar continued retreating and Monson advancing—the latter having been considerably reinforced. Kotah and the pass of Mokundra were successively passed by both armies, and on the 1st of July the British leader attacked and took the strong fortress of Hinglaisghur, one of the oldest possessions of Holkar's family. About fifty miles in advance of the Mokundra pass, whither Monson now proceeded, he expected to get supplies and to communicate with Colonel Murray, whom he supposed to be advancing from Guzerat to Oujein. The supplies, however, were not forthcoming in the abundance which he had anticipated, and Murray had formed the extraordinary resolution of retreating behind the Mahie river, and was now actually falling back for that purpose. This posture of affairs was doubtless what Holkar was waiting for. Like the wary tiger he had been but flying to entice his enemy into toils whence he could not extricate himself, and was now preparing for a fatal spring. When Murray resolved on retreating, he was in Malwa at the other side of the Chumbul river. This he now recrossed with his army and confronted Monson. The British officer resolved to retreat to the Mokundra pass, instead of measuring swords with the

* See his letter to the Governor-General, dated July 21, 1804. Wellesley despatches, IV. 178.

Mahratta "freebooter," as General Lake was fond of styling him. Two reasons induced him to take this step, first a scarcity of grain, and secondly the absence of two detachments of his force, one gone for a supply, and another advancing from Hinglaisghur. On the 8th before daybreak he commenced his retreat —a retreat as impolitic and unwise as had been his advance— leaving his cavalry on the ground he had occupied, with orders to follow in half an hour. When he had advanced twelve miles on the road, intelligence was brought that the cavalry left behind had been cut to pieces by Holkar's. On the 9th he reached the Mokundra pass in safety. On the 10th the Mahratta army made its appearance, and on the 11th Holkar summoned Colonel Monson to surrender. This modest request was of course refused, and an attack from the enemy was the result, which was bravely repulsed. The British leader, however, felt no return of confidence in his own resources in consequence of this success. Next morning he was on the road to Kotah, where he hoped to obtain shelter and provisions—leaving his camp standing to deceive the enemy.

The retreat of a dispirited army in the midst of severe rain and overinundated roads, with a powerful enemy in its rear, was not calculated to win to it many friends or to confirm the wavering in their allegiance. Arrived, after enduring numerous hardships, at Kotah, the Rajah told Colonel Monson that he had no provisions and could not admit him into the town. Without food or rest or hope therefore this disastrous retreat was to be continued—the heavens still conspiring to render it more toilsome and gloomy by repeated deluges of rain. On the 15th, scarcely a week after the foolish and vain-glorious advance, the guns were obliged to be abandoned, and the march was continued over a country completely covered with water. At length the Chumbul was reached, and re-crossed, the two armies having exactly reversed their situation since they had last forded it—Monson now flying, and Holkar pursuing. On the 29th the British force reached Tank Rampúra, where it was joined by a reinforcement of two battalions and some artillery, and where Monson, by his delaying, appeared to have decided on making a stand, as he certainly might have done. But no, retreat, retreat was still the cry the moment the enemy made his appearance, and whilst the Commander-in-Chief, with that supercilious contempt of his enemy which led to so many disasters, was writing to the Governor-General that Holkar's "insolence" was "abominable!" and that he would not easily "get his cavalry again to attack British infantry,"* that "freebooter" was driving before him with pre-

* Despatches, IV. p. 178.

cipitate and headlong haste the force which had been intended to "crush him."

On the 22d of August Colonel Monson reached the Banas river, which was found unfordable for two days, an interval which gave the Mahrattas time to approach. They were again beaten off however, and the river crossed on the 24th with the loss of the British baggage, whilst no attempt whatever appears to have been made to prevent the passage of the enemy. On the night of the 28th Rúshailghur was reached, where the British leader met with convincing proofs of Scindia's hostility in an attack from a portion of his troops. Disasters were now thickening round this devoted army—the want of resolution in their leader, the strength of their enemy's cavalry, the defection of their friends, the loss of their artillery, the inclemency of the weather, all combined to depress their spirits and cut off all chance of ultimate safety. At Rúshailghur two companies of infantry and four hundred horse deserted to the enemy—on the 28th all order on the march was lost,—numbers perished—and, by the 30th of August, all who had escaped the enemy, arrived at Agra. Such was the consummation of Holkar's "abominable insolence!"

The consequences of this most disastrous retreat were serious and lamentable. By the successes of the British troops in the Dekhan and Hindustan during the previous war with Scindia and Berar, the native princes had been convinced of the superiority of the British power to any forces which they could bring into the field—battle after battle had been won, fortress after fortress had been taken; however numerous the enemy, however strongly fortified the place of refuge, success attended the British arms with uniformity, and seemed stamped upon their banner. But how easy is the work of destruction, how difficult that of construction! A maniac may, in playful or malicious madness, destroy the monument of architecture which was reared by genius and labor, and has stood for centuries! One year of impolicy, imbecillity or irresolution may irreparably injure the political fabric which it has taken a hundred years to consolidate! and so the *prestige* which a hundred victories has scarcely sufficed to confirm may be shaken or destroyed by one signal reverse. So was it in the present instance. Scindia and the petty chiefs on the borders of the British territories began now to look again with hope for a restoration of lost power, and where fear and humility formerly prevailed, resolution and defiance were now to be met. The influence acquired by the victories of Assye, Argaum, Gawilghur, Delhi, Agra and Laswarri had well nigh been destroyed by the fatal consequences of Lake's vain confidence and Monson's temerity—that unfortunate retreat.

Immediate measures were taken by the British authorities to put matters on a different footing and to check the "abominable insolence" of Holkar. An army equipped for light movements was assembled by the Commander-in-Chief at Cawnpore, and marched against Holkar on the 3rd of September. On the 22nd, it had arrived at Agra, another portion of the army of Hindustan being posted at Secundra, only six miles distant. On the advance of the British forces towards Muttra early in October, Holkar drew off to the north-west along the bank of the Jumna, the Commander-in-Chief using his utmost exertions to bring the enemy to action, but without effect. Holkar not only knew when to strike, but when to retreat also. Whilst this distinguished "free-booter" was gradually leading the British general to the north-west, he had despatched his Infantry and Artillery to surprise Delhi, then defended by a small force of about 800 men under Colonel Ochterlony, the resident. General Lake had ordered that in case of an attack the city should be deserted and the citadel alone defended, an order which Ochterlony promptly gave to the Commandant, Colonel Burn, on the appearance of Holkar's immense force. But that brave officer declared that the city also should be defended, extensive as it was, dilapidated as was the surrounding wall, and small as was the force to defend it. For nine days did this small band (some companies of which were in a state bordering on open mutiny,) with its gallant officers withstand the attack of 20,000 of Holkar's best troops, backed by the cannonade of 100 guns. The Mahrattas were foiled and retired from Delhi in disgrace—the British troops, in this gallant defence, proved that the valour and ability which had heretofore guided their arms had not yet fled, and that they were still the men who had fought at Plassy, at Assye, and at Laswarri.

General Lake reached Delhi on the 18th of October, where he remained till the 31st, a period which Holkar busily employed in laying waste the newly-acquired British provinces between the Jumna and the Ganges. On the 31st, the British forces were divided into two parts to oppose the two divisions of the enemy—that under General Frazer going in pursuit of Holkar's Artillery and Infantry, that under the Commander-in-Chief proceeding against Holkar's cavalry in the Doab. On the 12th of November General Frazer's forces came up with the army of which they were in search in the vicinity of Goburdun, the left of the enemy resting on the fort of Deeg, whence the battle that ensued gets its name. On the 13th the enemy, who were strongly posted, and defended by a very powerful park of Artillery, were attacked by the British forces on all sides and driven

from the field, with the loss of two thousand men and eighty-seven pieces of cannon. This victory was purchased by the loss of nearly six hundred on the side of the British, with their brave commander, who died a few days after the battle in consequence of a wound received in it.

On the 17th of the same month the victory of Deeg was followed by another still more decisive gained by General Lake. On the night of that day Holkar's camp with its thousands of slumbering horse and men, was surprised by the British cavalry riding in to put an end to its quietude and their slumbers. The "freebooter" rode off with all the attendants he could muster, speedily as his horse could carry him, three thousand of his men having fallen in the attack, whilst his force was still further decreased by desertion and dispersion. The completeness of the surprize may be estimated from the fact of the British force having lost but two men killed and twenty wounded.

The fortress of Deeg, which belonged to the Rajah of Bhurtpore, was the next object of attack by the British forces. *Professedly* an ally of the British, the Rajah had shewn his *real* sentiments by aiding the Mahrattas with a body of horse, and firing on the British forces from Deeg during the battle fought under its walls. On the 13th December Lord Lake took up his position for the siege—on the sixteenth a breaching battery was opened, and on the 23rd the fortress was stormed. Thus was the year 1804 brought to a close in the midst of renewed successes gained by the British forces. Nor were those recorded the only ones so gained. Holkar's dominion south of the Tapti and west of the Chumbul, in the Dekhan, were respectively taken possession of by Colonels Wallace and Murray.

Into the history of the succeeding six months of the Marquess Wellesley's administration we cannot particularly enter. A brief digest of the operations of the armies such as we have hitherto given may suffice to convey some idea to the reader of the manner in which those operations were directed, and of the never-tiring energy of the head of the Government who planned them. But the history of a siege, such as that of Bhurtpore, or the proofs of Scindia's treason, and the interminable diplomacy to which it gave rise, are not matters which can be crowded into the small remaining space now left us. Suffice it therefore to state that on the 1st of January 1805, Bhurtpore was invested by Lord Lake, that in numerous assaults he was repulsed, and that finally the Rajah appears to have become so convinced of the hopelessness of Holkar's cause that he was

glad to conclude a treaty in April of the same year, greatly to the advantage of his enemies. The failure in this siege is probably to be attributed to the want of an efficient artillery in the British camp, a want arising perhaps from Lord Lake's undue depreciation of the strength of the fort and of the Rajah's resources, as much as from his undue confidence in the valour of his troops—that valour was as conspicuous in the siege as it had been before, but against deep ditches and mud walls, defended by undaunted men, valour alone could do little.*

The loss of so powerful an ally as the Rajah of Bhurtpore reduced Holkar to the lowest position as a chief and as a leader. Other chieftains also were ready again to join what appeared to them to be the strongest side and to desert him whom fortune had already deserted. Surrender, however, he does not seem to have thought of, but continued to carry on a desultory warfare with his cavalry, ravaging the country when there was any thing to be gained by so doing, flying when his enemies advanced, and advancing when they retreated—but still looking probably to the co-operation of Scindia as the one gleam of light still left him in the deepening gloom of his horizon. Scindia appears to have been misled by the defence of Bhurtpore into the belief that matters were again becoming more favorable for the Mahrattas, and that if he joined Holkar at this crisis, the British might be routed. But he was not a man of sufficient energy of character to strike at the proper time. Anxious to ward off the consequences of his march if events turned out unpropitiously, he still maintained communications with the British, protesting, in reply to the Resident's remonstrances, that his only object was to make peace between the two enemies. On the 15th of April, two days previous to the signing of the treaty between the British and the Rajah of Bhurtpore, Holkar joined Scindia, the latter still temporizing with the British. The

* A writer in the *East India United Service Journal* fully bears us out in this censure of Lord Lake. Writing of the superintending Engineer he says "if an officer of the requisite ability and experience had been present, it is doubtful whether he would have been attended to, *for so confident was the General in the restless bravery of his troops, and so impatient withal, that he could hardly brook the delay that was necessary to enable his guns to make a breach in the ramparts.* He had undertaken to besiege a large, populous, and strong place, with means that were totally inadequate for such an enterprize; *and in a military point of view he was highly culpable.*"

The attentive student of Lord Lake's campaigns cannot, we conceive, fail to be struck with the progress of overweening confidence in British resources which possessed him. The ease with which he destroyed or dispersed the French corps of General Perron in his first campaign appears to have done him infinite harm. In the storming of Agra he was indebted for success to the unconquerable resolution of his men alone—at Laswarri his vain confidence had well nigh caused him to lose the victory—at Bhurtpore it occasioned the loss of thousands and ultimate defeat. To us it appears strange that this failing did not prominently strike the historians of British India—Mill and Thornton; even Wilson only incidentally notices it.

junction with Holkar, and the refusal to comply with the Governor-General's wishes, induced the British resident to demand from Scindia leave to depart, a permission which was not granted, however, although enforced by the authoritative order of the Governor-General. Compliance would have been speedily enforced by the weighty arguments of Lord Lake's artillery, had not a change come over the spirit of the councils at Calcutta. Towards the end of July the Marquess Cornwallis arrived in India, and superseded his illustrious predecessor in its Government. Lord Wellesley, aware that he must speedily arrive, had somewhat delayed the execution of measures which he conceived to be absolutely necessary in order that his successor might have an opportunity of confirming them or pursuing others without embarrassment. Accordingly, when Lord Cornwallis arrived, affairs were in the position we have indicated. Holkar, Scindia, and all the other insurgent spirits of the Mahrattas were together; Lord Lake was prepared for hostilities; the British resident was still detained by Scindia, and the demands of that chief were as exorbitant as ever. Into the policy pursued by the successor of the Marquess Wellesley, in compliance with the wishes of the Directors, or into the course followed by Sir George Barlow on Lord Cornwallis' death, it does not come within the scope of this article for us to enter—suffice it to say *that* policy seems to have been dictated by but one principle—the desire to conclude a peace on *any* terms; Scindia's insults were to be submitted to, and the demands of the conquered Holkar were to be complied with; the faithful allies of the British were to be surrendered to the tender mercies of Mahrattan "free-booters," and the successes of three years of war were to be recompensed by the surrender of territories, and the abandonment of friends!

We have now brought the administration of the Marquess Wellesley to a close, and in briefly summing up the character of that administration, it will not be necessary for us to enter particularly into its various acts. These have been freely criticized as they successively came before our notice. We have shewn ourselves, we trust, no blind or indiscriminate admirers of his government,—where wrong was apparent, we have duly noted it, where injustice was done, we have not feared to denounce it, where praise appeared to us to be due, it has been given. Our sketch is imperfect and somewhat hurried, but our limits must be remembered—the acts of Lord Wellesley's government, recorded at any length, would fill a volume, not merely an article in a Review.

It has been urged that the Marquess' administration was characterized by excessive ambition and rapacity, that his system of defensive alliance "was impolitic and unsound," that in oppo-

sition to the dictates of wisdom he was fond of engaging in war. That his procedure with regard to the minor states brought under British control during his government, is not in every case to be defended, we have already shewn to be our conviction, but that his administration was characterized by rapacity, we unhesitatingly deny—and as to his ambition, we have yet to learn that ambition is a crime. That he was not rapacious may be proved by his conduct to Mysore, there the whole country was at his mercy, he could have annexed it all to the British territories, but he did not so. Oude lay at his mercy, he did not annex it, but merely provided for the safety of the British frontier, as policy demanded that he should do. Berar was conquered, he took only a part and left the rest; Scindia's force was annihilated, and he restored him to a great portion of his dominions. If these be instances of rapacity, we strangely misunderstand the term. But he was ambitious! He was—but not inordinately or traitorously so. He was ambitious that the British empire in India should be supreme—that British interests should be secure—that the lives of British subjects should be safe. Does *this* ambition then, we ask, criminate a British ruler? If so, we should be glad to learn *what* ambition would be commendable in him.

The failure of Lord Wellesley's system of defensive alliance in the case of Scindia is surely not sufficient to brand that system as utterly impolitic in the face of numerous examples to the contrary. Had Scindia acted with ordinary prudence, with ordinary sagacity, with ordinary regard for his own interests, he would never have allowed himself to have been drawn into alliance with Holkar when Holkar was defeated, and when there existed not a chance of success. Against the mad acts of capricious folly in those entrusted with power, what system can secure us? Scindia's defection is to be ascribed to Scindia's folly, not to the impolicy of Wellesley's system. In Mysore that system of subsidiary alliance appeared to be successful—in Hyderabad it was the means of preventing insurrection, and forwarding British interests—in Oude its results were so far beneficial to the people and their sovereigns—in Púna it accomplished all that was anticipated. If these facts be true, then can it justly be objected that the system was impolitic and unsound? It accomplished all that was expected of it, and to condemn it for not accomplishing more, would be as absurd as to condemn the conductor of a railway-carriage because he could not bring it up the side of a mountain.

The charge of his being fond of war is so ably refuted in Thornton's history, that it will not be necessary to travel over the same ground here. It appears paradoxical to assert, and yet is unquestionably true, that Wellesley's administration was

a pacific one, although almost constantly engaged in war. The fact is, war was the necessity, peace the choice. If it had been prudence to wait for Tippu's attack, if it had been prudence to allow Scindia and the Rajah of Berar to ravage the British territories, if it had been prudence to remain in quarters till Holkar chose to invade them, then indeed were the wars we have briefly recorded in the foregoing pages, unnecessary,—not otherwise.

In conclusion, it only remains for us to point out one or two of the distinguishing excellencies of the administration we have just chronicled. Lord Wellesley's first great excellence as a Governor has not escaped the notice of the leading historians of India. The excellent choice he made of the men by whom his projects were to be carried out, and his suiting of the character, disposition and previous habits of the man to the work he was called on to perform. Kirkpatrick and Malcolm at Hyderabad were the able effectors of the reform there carried out—a reform of so much importance, and so eminently useful, to the British Government. Generals Harris, Baird and Wellesley were the instruments of the conquest of Mysore, and what enterprize was ever more thoroughly successful, or more ably consummated? Mr. Webbe in Madras was the instrument through which several important negotiations were conducted by the Governor-General, and the perfect success which attended these, proves the capacity of the agent. Colonel Scott and Mr. Henry Wellesley in Oude fully answered the Governor-General's expectations in bringing about the settlement of that impracticable country. In fine, we shall find on a cursory review of the history of the Wellesley administration, that whenever the choice of his subordinates lay in the Governor-General's power, that choice was exercised with a discretion and foresight, which gave the strongest proofs of genius and ability. In this he resembled all great rulers. Discrimination in the choice of their inferiors was equally a characteristic of Cæsar, of Napoleon, of the Duke of Wellington, and of the Marquess Wellesley.

Nor were the plans which these men were called on to carry out unworthy of the men themselves. Comprehensive in the extreme, suited to the circumstances of the country and to the desiderata to be supplied, they afforded the strongest proofs of the talent and capacity of the source whence they emanated. No omission was left to be supplied, no error to be corrected, no contingency was forgotten—and whether their object was the disbanding of a tumultuous enemy as at Hyderabad, the conquest of a powerful kingdom such as Tippu's, the settlement of a difficult question such as that connected with the Mahrattas,

or the prevention of the evils anticipated from the Affghan's invasion, every particular of the plan, as well as of the result to be attained, was laid down with a precision, an exactitude, and an ability which proved the capacity of the drawer. The Wellesley "Despatches" will ever remain an imperishable monument of the indefatigability, the zeal, and the talent of the Marquess.

Lastly, we cannot, even on the most cursory inspection of this administration, avoid being struck with the promptitude with which every means were seized by which these comprehensive plans could be forwarded. Circumstances, apparently the most inimical, were made the means of bringing about results the most important and beneficial. The existence of the French corps at Hyderabad was made the instrument of effecting the complete prostration of the Nizam's resources, and his entire dependance on the British. The threatened invasion of Zeman Shah led to an offensive and defensive alliance with Persia, as well as to the settlement of Oude, whilst the flight of the Peishwa from Puna was the foundation of British supremacy amongst the Mahrattas. In this particular the Marquess Wellesley gave the most decisive proof of his possession of genius, which ever thus shapes and moulds the circumstances of the times and its own position, whether those circumstances be favorable or not, into the means of carrying out its own plans and accomplishing the objects which it desires.

This discrimination then in the choice of the men whom he employed, this comprehensiveness of plan which characterized all his schemes, this moulding of all circumstances to work out his own ends,—these were the principal characteristics of the Marquess Wellesley as a Governor, and these were the efficient causes of that success which so eminently distinguished his administration. He found the British power in India a second-rate, if not a subordinate, power—he left it supreme, the arbiter of the destinies of the country. Let this then be his highest praise as it was his noblest work. He added another to that noble list of statesmen and of administrations which distinguish the pages of British Indian history, and in the long list of worthies whose deeds that history chronicles, we dare boldly to affirm, that there is no name which in future ages, will shine more brightly on the roll than that of Wellesley; none of whom the future British historian may more justly be proud. Clive's name will ever be associated in that history with successful warfare—Hastings' with unrivalled diplomacy—Cornwallis' with consummate prudence,—but that of Wellesley alone with victory, diplomacy and prudence combined.

The brief notice which we have given at the commencement of this article of Lord Wellesley's early career, previous to his appointment as Governor-General, renders it necessary for us shortly to notice his subsequent appointments and employments. He returned from India in January 1806 only to witness the death of his former benefactor and friend Pitt, with whom he had but a single interview subsequent to his return. "Wait 'till Mornington comes from India, and then we shall know something of it!" was an observation once made by that distinguished statesman, fully proving, that he relied on the Marquess' ability and talent for observation. Lord Wellesley was solicited to take a place in the new cabinet, formed on Pitt's death, by the Duke of Portland, but refused to take office until the House of Commons had expressed its opinion on the charges brought against his Indian administration by Mr. Paull, and subsequently supported by Lord Folkstone. The charges "of high crimes and misdemeanors committed by Richard Colley, Marquess Wellesley, &c. &c." related principally to the settlement of Oude. Lord Folkstone's resolutions were negatived by a large majority—31 voting in favor of, 182 against, them. A subsequent resolution commendatory of the Marquess' conduct in the transaction referred to was moved by Sir John Anstruther and carried triumphantly. In May 1808, the question of an impeachment was again brought before the house by Sir Thomas Turton (in reference to the Carnatic settlement) whose "speech remains as a standing disgrace to the speaker," says Lord Wellesley's biographer. In the course of that speech he openly charged the Marquess and Lord Clive with having connived at the murder of the heir to the Nawab's throne. "Sir Thomas Turton's resolutions and motion were indignantly negatived by the House; and Mr. Wallace at once moved a vote of approbation on the conduct of the Marquess. It was carried;—there being but nineteen votes against it."

On the 1st of April 1809, Sir Arthur Wellesley was appointed General-in-Chief of the English forces in the Spanish Peninsula, then overrun by the legions of Napoleon, and on the 30th of the same month, his elder brother the Marquess was nominated "Ambassador extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to his Catholic Majesty Ferdinand the seventh." Thus were the distinguished abilities, military and diplomatic, of these two distinguished brothers of an illustrious house, brought to bear against the talent and good fortune of the great French conqueror in the field which he had chosen as the battle-ground of Europe; and never were operations more successfully conducted than those which gradually resulted in the expulsion of the French from

Spain. The enthusiasm with which the Marquess was received may be judged of from the following account of his arrival at Seville by Mr. Jacob, M. P. who witnessed it:—

"The arrival of this celebrated nobleman in Seville produced an extraordinary sensation, certainly neither prepared nor fostered by the body to whom he was sent, whose narrow souls were jealous of his character, and apprehensive lest his powerful talents should detect and expose their contracted policy and futile projects. All the respectable inhabitants of the city, among whom were many of those men whose information, patriotism, and energetic minds, had planned and effected the first revolution, became the leaders on this occasion also, and conducted the triumphal entry of the British minister. Seville was emptied of its population, and the expecting crowds patiently endured, without the city, the heat of the sun, the privation of their meals and of their siesta, and tranquilly waited from morning till dark to welcome the approach of a man whose high rank and distinguished capacity were considered as pledges of the generous and disinterested intentions of the monarch he represented.

The shouts of the people, and the acclamations of the multitude, were genuine and unequivocal demonstrations of the strong feelings of the nation; but the conduct of their rulers discovered merely that routine of compliments which the hollow intrigues of a Court may teach,—but what he, who had ruled such Courts in India, knew how to appreciate. The welcome of Lord Wellesley had, perhaps, been increased by the news of his brother's victory at Talavera; but at Seville all was unmixed pure joy at the arrival of a man whose nation was venerated, whose character had preceded him, and to whose high qualities they looked up for deliverance from the Government of a body of men fortuitously raised to the unlimited exercise of the executive and legislative power of a great nation."

The abilities of the talented Marquess were however speedily sought again in England itself, and his important mission in Spain was transferred to his brother Mr. Henry Wellesley, by whom it was ably fulfilled.

The duel between Mr. Canning and Lord Castlereagh, and the subsequent retirement of the Duke of Portland, having broken up the cabinet of which the last-mentioned nobleman had been the head, Mr. Perceval and Lord Liverpool proceeded to form another without delay, in which the Marquess Wellesley received the appointment of "Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs." Into the negotiations which the Marquess conducted with the United States of America, in this new capacity, which negotiations led remotely to the war of 1812; or into the part which Lord Wellesley took in the Regency question in January of that year, it will not be possible for us to enter; suffice it to say that in all that emanated from his pen or tongue, as well as in his actions, he upheld the dignity of his office and his country, without compromising himself individually. But it was in the energetic assistance which he gave to his brothers in the Peninsula, that his position in the Secretariat was of most use and importance to the welfare of England. *There* the blow was first struck which, in conjunction with the retreat from Moscow, humbled the power of Napoleon and levelled his pride with the dust.

On the 19th February 1812 the Marquess resigned his position in the Government, in consequence of differences of opinion with his colleagues as to the manner in which the war in Spain should be supported, the Government in Ireland conducted, and with reference also to the emancipation of the Roman Catholics, a measure which he strongly advocated. In May of the same year, the Prince Regent called upon him in conjunction with the Earl of Moira (subsequently the Marquess Hastings and Governor-General of India) to form a ministry, which however he was unable to accomplish, and accordingly Lord Liverpool remained at the head of affairs. In the course of the same year he distinguished himself greatly by a speech on the subject of Catholic Emancipation, which proved at once his liberal ideas, his argumentative power and his goodness of heart.

From this period till 1821 we find the Marquess principally engaged as a Parliamentary speaker, alternately condemning and lauding the measures of the Government, as they seemed to him to be fraught with evil or good to the country. In that year he was appointed to the high office of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in which his taste for splendor and magnificence was displayed in the grandeur of the viceregal court, no less than was his wisdom in the settlement of the troubles of that unfortunate country, then, as now, convulsed with tumult and disorder. During his administration the most even-handed justice was dealt out to all parties in the island. The Orange Societies, on the one hand, were discouraged, the associations of Ribbonmen, on the other, were suppressed. In 1825 his domestic happiness was secured by a second marriage to a lady who appears to have been in every way worthy of him. She was the daughter of Mr. Caton, of Baltimore, in America, and widow of Mr. Paterson, and, what is somewhat remarkable for the descendant of a republican, sister of the Duchess of Leeds, and of Lady Stafford. A difference of opinion between the Marquess and his illustrious brother, the Duke of Wellington, when the latter was Premier in 1828, led to the retirement of the former from the high office which he held. The subject of difference was the much-debated question of Catholic emancipation which his Grace then opposed, although in the following year he carried it himself.

In 1830 Lord Wellesley became Lord Stewart of the Household in Earl Grey's ministry; in the discussions on the Reform Bill he took a prominent part, although he was far from opposing that measure, and in 1833 he resumed the government of Ireland which he held until the summary dismissal of the Whig cabinet by king William the Fourth in the following year.

In 1835 the Whigs were restored, and the noble Marquess once more accepted office as Lord Chamberlain, which he resigned however after a month's service, when he retired into private life in his seventy-fifth year. In retirement he occupied himself in those literary pursuits which had been the employment and delight of his earlier years, dedicating in his eighty-first year a volume of poems ("Primitiæ and Reliquiæ"), "Amico suo dilectissimo," Lord Brougham. In reply to a beautiful Latin ode from the Provost of Eton he sent the following touching lines, on the occasion of his bust being placed in that college:—

"Affulsit mihi supremæ meta ultima Famæ
Iam mihi cum Lauro juncta Cupressus erit;
Mater amata, meam quæ fovit Etona juventam,
Ipsa recedentem signat honore Senem."

Thus translated by himself:—

"On my last steps fame sheds her purest rays,
And wreathes with Bays the Cypress and the Yew,
Eton, blest guardian of my youthful days,
Greets my retiring age with honors new.

Finally in 1841, the year preceding his death, the Marquess, full of years and honor, had the satisfaction of finding his former honorable masters, the East India Company, acknowledging their sense of his Indian administration by placing his statue in the India House, and thus tacitly censuring the opposition which their predecessors of 1801 to 1805 had offered to the Marquess' schemes and policy.

"Last scene of all"—he died on the 26th of September 1842, in the eighty-third year of his age, and was buried with unusual pomp in the chapel of his old "alma mater," Eton College.

ART. III.—1. *Forbes' Oriental Memoirs.*

2. *Mill's History of British India.*

3. *Le Voyage de M. De Thevenot.*

4. *Ovington's Voyage.*

5. *Fryer's East Indies and Persia.*

6. *Coryate's Crudities.*

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

With all our respect, and it is a very sincere one, for our brethren who wend betwixt the Atlantic and the Pacific, we are often persuaded, in the course of our occasional perusal of their literature, that they would not be losers but gainers were it possible to imbue them with a smattering of this very knowledge. Without endeavouring to make them unlearn the doctrine that "The States" are the finest location in the universe, and that

this present age is the most go-ahead age that has been or will be in all eternity, we should deem it *operæ pretium* could they learn that the said States are not indeed co-extensive with the universe, nor this nineteenth century co-enduring with that portion of eternity called time.

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

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

stories, or adorn our residences with unseen but not unfelt attractions.

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

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

In its most flourishing days Surat was more celebrated for its business-like appearance than for its grandeur.§ Although the houses were lofty, their aspect was not imposing, on account of the narrowness of the streets. The palace was a poor residence

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

† Hamilton's Hindustan.

‡ Todd's Rajhastan, vol. I.

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

for a wealthy Nawab; the mosques and reedghurs displayed but little of that elegance and taste of which Mussulmans have left so many traces in India; and no grand temples were raised in honour of the Hindu gods. On the other hand, when considered as a mart, the place was highly interesting. It was filled with merchandise and human beings from all parts of the world. English, French, Dutch, Portuguese, Mussulmans of India, Persians, Arabs, Americans, Parsis, Jews, Mahrattis and Goozerathis composed a population of about six hundred thousand souls, and formed as motley a crowd as may be seen at the present day in Bombay. So late as 1816 the population was double that of the presidency. According to an official return received at the India House in 1825, signed "John Romer, Magistrate," there were then a hundred and twenty-four thousand inhabitants, ten thousand of whom were Parsis.* Cashmere Shawls, Kinkhabs, jewels, manufactures inlaid with ivory, ebony and sandal, afforded a rich treat for the merchant's eye, and a prospect of abundant gain.

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

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

* Martin's British Colonies.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

‡ Voyagee de Sidi Aly par M. Moris.

§ Voyage of Oleep Foreen.

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

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

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

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

* Mill's History, Vol. I.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Discoveries in Asia, Vol. II.

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

As Bombay rose into importance, Surat declined. The English drove the most profitable trade, but they were so far from satisfied with their gains in 1775, that they would have left the place altogether, had not they found it advantageous to retain as a military post, and because it was a good channel through which supplies might pass from the rich plains of Guzerat to "the barren island" of Bombay, which, said a contemporary "must draw all its articles of provision from this place." The Dutch profits, however—much as they complained—were still prodigious. According to their own writers they had amounted to 500 or 800, and in the article of nutmegs to the astounding profit of 1153⅓th per cent., or according to another account to 2,400 per cent upon spices. The French contrived matters the most awkwardly. The native rulers were impressed with a belief that they were a nation of pirates—with what justice we cannot say; they themselves attributed the origin of such a report to their industrious but malevolent enemies. Besides, they contracted heavy debts, for the liquidation of which their property was confiscated. Thevenot mentions a certain father Ambrose, a French Capuchin, who by his repated integrity and sanctity gained such respect from the native rulers that he was able for a time to promote his countrymen's interests. He persuaded the Nawab that they were honest traders, and that their unfortunate reputation had solely been earned for them by one Lambert Hugo, a Dutch Corsair, sailing under French colours. It is admitted, at the same time, that the Hollander had many Frenchmen on board, and that when bearing a commission from the French Consul, he attacked the vessels of the Ranee of Vizapoor, put the commandant and the carpenter who had secreted their treasures to the torture, threatened to cut the throat of the latter's son in his father's presence, till he by such means discovered their secret and acquired a rich booty. In palliation of this the good father declared that his King never sanctioned such proceedings, but on the contrary disapproved of the Dutchman's violence. He confessed that the expedition had been fitted out from France; but maintained that its object was to avenge an insult offered to the French crown by the Aden Arabs, who having received on friendly terms the crew of a French pinnace which had been driven there for shelter, treacherously compelled them to undergo the initiatory rite of the Mussulman religion. It appears to us that this story would have been more plausible if restitution had been offered; how-

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

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

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

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

* Letter of President and Council, dated 26th May 1677.

† Le voyages de M. De Thevenot.

‡ Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

§ Letter to the Hon'ble Thos. Pittedge, dated 18th April 1700.

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

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

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

* Letter dated 26th May 1677.

† Collection of India Papers. Mill's History of India.

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

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

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

* Voyages to the East Indies by Stavorinus.

† Mill's History Vol. VI. page 259.

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

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

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

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

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

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

* Annual Register for 1606.

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

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

* Mandeslo's Travels into the Indies.

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

‡ Chaplain Ovington's voyage.

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

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

"The whole Mass of the Company's Servants may be comprehended in three classes, *viz.* Merchants, Factors, and Writers; some Blewcoat Boys also have been entertained under Notion of Apprentices for Seven Years, which being expired, if they can get Security, they are capable of Employments. The Writers are obliged to serve Five Years for 10*l. per Ann.* giving in Bond of 500*l.* for good Behaviour, all which time they serve under some of the forementioned Offices: After which they commence Factors, and rise to Preferment and Trust, according to Seniority or Favour, and therefore have a 1000*l.* Bond exacted from them, and have their Salary augmented to 20*l. per Ann.* for Three Years, then entring into new Indentures, are made Senior Factors; and lastly, Merchants after Three Years more; out of whom are chose Chiefs of Factories, as Places fall, and are allowed 40*l. per Ann.* during their stay in the Company's service, besides Lodgings and Victuals at the Company's Charges.

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

As for the Presidency, though the Company interpose a deserving Man, yet they keep that Power to themselves, none assuming that Dignity till confirmed by them: His Salary from the Company is 500*l.* a Year; half paid here, the other half reserved to be received at home, in case of misdemeanor to make satisfaction; beside a Bond of 5000*l. Sterling* of good Securities.

The Accountant has 72*l. per Annum*, Fifty Pound paid here, the other at home: All the rest are half paid here, half at home, except the Writers, who have all paid here.

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

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

being poysoned for prying too nearly into their Actions: Though the Company, to encourage Young men in their Service, maintain a Master to learn them to Write and read the *Language*, and an Annuity to be annexed when they gain a perfection therein, which few attempt, and fewer attain.

To this Factory belongs Twenty Persons in number, reckoning *Swally Marine* into the Account; a Minister for Divine Service, a Chirurgion, and when the President is here, a Guard of *English* Soldiers, consisting of a double File led by a Serjeant.

The present Deputy has only Forty *Moor-men*, and a Flag-man carrying St. *George*, His Colours Swallow tailed in Silk, fastened to a Silver Partisan; with a small Attendance of Horse with Silver Bridles, and Furniture for the Gentlemen of the House, and Coaches for Ladies and Council.

The president besides these has a Noise of Trumpets, and is carried himself in a *Palenkeen*, an Horse of State led before him, a *Mirchal* (a Fan of Ostriches Feathers) to keep off the Sun, as the *Ombrahs* or Great Men have, none but the Emperor have a *Sumbrero* among the *Moguls*: Besides these, every one according to his Quality has his Menial Servants to wait on him in his Chamber, and follow him out."

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

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

* Ovington's voyage to Surat.

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

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

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

* Ovington's voyage.

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

‡ Discoveries in Asia.

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

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

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

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

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

The expense of them must have been considerable. When

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

* For September 1821.

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

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

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

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

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

It is as follows:—

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

* Olof Toreen's Voyage.

† Compare Stavorinus and Thevenot.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Nam Seges est ubi Troja fuit—

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

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

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

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

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

* * * * * * * *

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

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

* *Al kheds* (the holy).—ED. C. R.

which almighty God overthrew in anger and repented not: Jer. 20. 16. Hence they went to have a sight of the river Jordan, which dischargeth itself into that most uncomfortable Lake; and from hence they journied north-east through those ten tribes, (which for the sin of Solomon were rent from his son Rehoboam) till they came to Mount Libanus. Thence back to Sidon, which retaineth that name still. And here he told me, as his last observation made in that land of Canaan, sometimes *(like the garden of the Lord)* flowing with *milk and honey;* being then enriched with great variety, and abundance of God's good creatures; and in the days of David so populous, that there were numbred in it at one time *thirteen hundred thousand fighting men,* 2 Sam. 24. 9. besides women and children, and others unfit to draw swords; which was a most wonderful thing to consider that such a spot of ground in comparison, not above one hundred and sixty miles in length from Dan to Beersheba, and not above sixty miles in breadth, from Joppa to Jordan, should be able to bear and feed such a numerous people; and now the very self-same tract of earth, either for want of manuring, or (which is rather to be conceived) for the want of the blessing of almighty God, which once shined upon it, but now long since withdrawn from it *(for a fruitful land the Lord makes barren for the wickedness of them that dwell therein,* Psal. 107 31) is now become unable to sustain one in a hundred of such a number

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

When men ceased to build these vain memorials of human greatness, then and not till then did they raise a monument to God's glory. They then cared less for the houses of the dead, and began to think of a Church for the living God. Dean Prideaux stated, in 1691, that there was "not so much as a Chapel in any of the English settlements for the true religion, except at Fort St. George only (Madras)." A church had been built there at the expense of a private individual, without any aid or even countenance from the Company.* In other places the mess-room was the House of Prayer; and at Merut a plan was sanctioned in the present century for erecting an edifice which should answer the double purpose of a church and a riding-school.† A provision was made in the Company's Charter a few years after Dean Prideaux's letter was written, by which ministers who should learn the native language and instruct the native servants of the Company were appointed to be established,‡ but this provision was always grossly violated.

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

* Buchanan's Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment.

† Le Bas's life of Bishop Middleton.

‡ Charter 10th William III. 5th September 1698.

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

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

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

* Le Bas's life of Middleton.

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

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

* بیوہرا from व्यवहारिक and that from व्यवहार.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

ART. IV.—1. *The Government Gazette and Acts of the Legislative Council of India.*

2. *The Acts of the Legislative Council of India with a Glossary; an Analytical Abstract prefixed to each Act, and Copious Index, by William Theobald, Esq. Barrister at Law and Advocate of the Supreme Court. Calcutta,* 1844.

WE resume the Legislative Acts of the Council of India, for the purpose of continuing our review of them from the year 1840, at which period we stopped in our last notice of them. From judicious readers we anticipate no reproach, on account of the dulness of the task we have undertaken: to them, it will be justified, as it is to ourselves, by the consideration, that, tolerably performed, it cannot but be an useful one; as towards the public at large it may be compared to that of the traveller who is about to explore distant and little known regions: he may neither extend the bounds nor enrich the field of knowledge or science; but the chance of making discovery is worth the enterprize: it secures to him the tolerant and kindly feeling of the stay-at-homes; and on his return, the discerning listen with patience to the record of his observations and travels. It is fortunate for us after this comparison, that the very first Act we have to notice, (Act I of 1841) is grotesque and novel by side of its companions; or perhaps what strikes us as novel, is really an antiquated fashion. It has a simply affirmative and didactic preamble; which is numbered as its first clause or section: and the second is like unto it, in that it contains no command or law, but merely a statement of a definition. How it got into the Act book in this form we are at a loss to imagine. It relates to Puttidari estates, so far as the land revenue is concerned in them; and as our readers are probably prepared to hear, its title and nomenclature are obscure, and its provisions difficult of comprehension. The fact of passing such an Act, is, however, sufficient proof to our mind of the propriety of accomplishing its objects, if at all, by legislation; we therefore feel called upon to notice, as constitutionally or politically remarkable, two of its provisions. The Act places certain powers of "duress" in the hands of the Collectors; and then ties up their hands by a provision, that the said powers "shall be employed by the Collectors under such limitation and control as *Government*, or *other superior revenue authorities* shall see fit to prescribe or enforce." And the Act ends by empowering the Governor-General in Council to extend it, to any district "to which with reference *to the*

nature of the tenures prevalent therein its extension may be expedient, and the order of government shall be sufficient authority for such extension." Clauses such as these, we regard virtually as renunciations of the legislative function; or a transference of them to the executive department. We do not affirm that the executive is not as competent for the purpose as the legislative branch of Government; but we point them out as characteristic of our legislative system. The constitutional idea or theory of the charter has been in no respect carried out to its just consequences.

The second Act of 1811 is for Bombay, and is an Act for *regulating*. Turning over a few leaves more, we come to another Act (Act 4) for Bombay, for *regulating*; and still a little further on, another Act for Bombay, for *better regulating*. This repetition, within two or three pages of one another, of the same title, will suggest to our readers all that we should wish to say in an expanded criticism; in a multitude of regulations there may be many good ones; but the regulating spirit is not apt at selection. It rarely applies itself to proper objects; always meddles with too many particulars; and according to all experience, is an evil, and characteristic mostly of towns rather than states, and is the besetting sin of petty Governments As it respects Bombay, the Legislative Council is the mere echo or registrar of the Local Government; for we will not ascribe to the Governor-General in Council either the praise or the blame of caring for or understanding, these petty regulations.

Several Acts of this year illustrate the utility of a general Legislative Council for all the Presidencies. We refer to some new institutions and some new laws, which might perhaps have been established without a change of system, but certainly they would have been confined to Bengal, the special care of the Governor General and Council under the old arrangements. Act V. of 1811 is "an Act for the greater uniformity of process upon trials for state offences, and the amendment of such process in certain cases;" and it is universal, for all the Presidencies. We have much pleasure in bringing forward this Act, as indicative of the increased confidence of government in its ordinary powers for the suppression of extraordinary offences. State offences, however, we may observe, are not, and cannot be, of the same importance in India as in many other countries. They neither indicate, as mostly in England, social disorganization and discontent extensively diffused among the working classes; nor severe military pressure, as in Russia, Poland, and other such countries. Within what are called the regulation provinces, treason, rebellion and the like, are less

formidable in their effects than thuggee and dacoity. The provisions of the Act before us are very simple. First, it gives to the ordinary Criminal Courts competence "to try charges of treason, rebellion or other crimes against the state;" reserving, however, to the Presidency Governments, authority to issue a special commission to one or more judges for the trial of these offences. But the special commissions are to proceed in the same manner as the ordinary tribunals; and are to have all the powers of the latter; except that their sentence, whether of acquittal or punishment, shall in every instance be reported with their proceedings to the Highest Court of the E. I. Co. for Criminal matters, in the Presidency, previous to carrying the same into execution." And these "highest courts," on the receipt of any trials referred to them, are to proceed thereupon according to the rules in force with respect to other trials referred to them; except—and we beg particular attention to the exception—that they are in every instance to report their sentence to the executive Government of the Presidency for the time being; and are to wait for the period of three calendar months before they direct their sentence to be carried into execution. A general restriction, such as this, delaying the execution of the sentence of the law, and casting doubt and uncertainty upon the proceedings in *all* cases, cannot be defensible. The general rule ought to be, to carry the sentence of the law immediately into execution, leaving the government to interfere on its own responsibility, when that course might appear desirable. This is another instance, of powers of interference reserved for the executive authorities, which are entirely at variance with all regular and civilized distinctions as to the Province of judicial tribunals.

The next Act (No. 6) is of the same class of general Acts; it is, "An Act for a more uniform and an improved process for taking the examination of absent witnesses." First, it repeals all existing regulations and parts of regulations on this subject, in *all* the presidencies; and then supplies the place of the repealed, with, substantially, the same rules as prevail on this subject in the English system. In this Act, the anomalous position, so often the subject of animadversion, held by the Supreme Court, is again forced upon our attention. Commissions may be issued by any court to any other court except in the Presidency towns where they may only be issued to Courts of Requests;—thus studiously are the Supreme Courts left in their original state of isolation.

The Act of parliament known in England by the name of the Interpleader Act, was this year adopted by the Legislative

Council; and several more, in addition to those already mentioned, of the provisions of the English Law Amendment Act: still leaving some parts of it not yet adopted. The recent parliamentary alteration in the law concerning imprisonment for contempts of decrees or orders made by courts of equity, was this year adopted. Lastly, in the English collection we have to notice three different English acts, and two sections of another Act, adopted and comprized in one Act (21) of our Legislative Council, but in a manner wholly, we believe, unprecedented, and which we trust, will never be followed as a precedent. Each statute is designated simply by chapter and title, and then extended to the territories of the East India Company, so far as it is applicable to the same. *e.g.*

"I. It is hereby enacted that the Statute XI. George IV, and I William IV. Chap. 10, entitled an Act for making better provision for the disposal of the undisposed of residues of the effects of Testators shall be extended to the Territories of the East India Company as far as it is applicable to the same; provided that this Act shall take effect from the first day of January next, which day is substituted for the first day of September mentioned in the statute."

In like manner the "Statute XI. George IV. and I. William IV. C. 46 entitled 'An Act to alter and amend the Law relating, to Illusory appointments"; and the Statute XI. George IV. and I. William IV. Chap. 60 entitled "an Act for amending the Law respecting conveyances and transfer of estates and funds vested in Trustees and Mortgagees, and for enabling Courts of Equity to give effect to their decrees and orders in certain cases, except so much thereof as provides that it shall not extend to cases of partition;" and Sections 10 and 11 of the XI. George IV. and I. William IV. Chap. 17 entitled, &c., are enacted to be extended to the territories of the East India Company, as far as they are applicable to the same. Obviously this implies that the enactments alluded to are but partially applicable, and required alteration; and obviously, thus to extend the law without making the necessary modification, is to leave an important part of the legislative duty to be performed at judicial discretion. By this manner of legislating part of the law is unwritten; and moreover, what is written, is not contained in the Act book of our Legislative Council; but to know what it is, the public must refer to the Acts of parliament contained only in the Statute book of Great Britain. There has therefore never been that promulgation of the law in India, which probably the constitutional jurist would hold essential under the Charter Act to the validity of all Acts of the Legislative Council. We have yet another remark to offer.

One of the statutes here extended, relating to conveyances, excepts from its operation cases of partition: this Act, excepts the exception, but does not carry out its object by enacting that cases of partition shall be considered as within the statutory provisions.

Acts 19 and 20 of this year deserve to be specially described for their useful and beneficent aim and object. The former is for the appointment of Curators to take charge of the personal effects of deceased persons, and is entitled, "an Act for the protection of moveable and immoveable property against wrongful possession in cases of succession." Individually, we are the more sensible of the importance of this measure, from having heard from an officer whose duties bring him much into contact with families on the visitation of sudden death,* a description, of the waste, pillage, contest and domestic confusion which often occur from the want of a public officer to protect property in case of need at this distressing moment. The Act provides, that on the application of persons claiming a right by succession; or, in the case of absent persons, minors, and disqualified persons, on the application of an agent, relative, near friend, or of the Court of Wards, the district judge, either after actual possession has been taken, or when a forcible seizure of possession is apprehended, may cite the party complained of and summarily determine the right of possession, and deliver possession accordingly. The judge may also immediately on receiving the application appoint an officer to take an inventory of the effects, and seal or otherwise secure the same: and where there is risk of misappropriation or waste, before the summary suit can be determined, the judge may appoint one or more Curators, with power, either to take possession of the property generally, or until security be given, or until inventories shall have been made, or for any other purpose necessary for securing the property from misappropriation or waste by the party in possession. Power is also given to the Presidency Governments to appoint public curators for any district or number of districts.

The other Act above alluded to is an act for facilitating the collection of debts on successions, and for the security of parties paying debts to the representatives of deceased persons: and the chief provision which it makes for these objects is, that a probate or letters of administration, or a certificate is required to complete the title of a representative to maintain a suit or action. The act was not extended to British subjects, for a better reason, however, than usually can be alleged in favor of these personal exceptions, viz. that British subjects, being under the

* The present coroner for Middlesex.

law of the Supreme Court, were already required to take out probate or letters of administration.

The law relating to sales of land for arrears of land revenue, in the districts under the permanent settlement, was altered this year, and made less severe in some respects, but the amendments stopped short of the claims of the intelligent representatives of the Zemindar class, in the Calcutta Landholders Society; and the Indian Government has since again yielded one step more towards justice and equity. This act is entitled "an act for amending the Bengal Code in regard to sales of land for arrears of revenue." It abolishes the charge of interest or a penalty, upon arrears of land revenue. It defines what shall be deemed an arrear; and in effect gives as a day of grace, the first of the month following that on which the revenue fell due. It requires fixed days of sale to be annually appointed and notified in the Gazette to the Board of Revenue; and directs that all estates in arrear at sunset of the day previous to any sale-day shall be sold by the Collector to the highest bidder. The sale cannot be prevented by the defaulter tendering payment on the sale day, and he can re-acquire his estate, only by becoming the highest bidder. It is obvious therefore that the tenure of the Bengal Zemindar is conditional; the condition being the regular payment of the revenue; and that the land absolutely reverts to the state, if the revenue be unpaid: but still only for the purpose of being sold: for, according to this act, the state cannot continue to hold it. It was a strong ground of complaint against this act, that it gave no sufficient notice of what properties would be sold, and consequently the distant Zemindar was in danger of losing his estate, without knowing that his agents had neglected to pay the revenue; and this was true; and has since been remedied.

The purchaser of an estate forfeited for revenue must immediately, or as soon after the sale as the Collector may require, deposit 25 per cent of the purchase money, either in cash, bank of Bengal notes or post Bills, or government Securities; and make good his purchase on or before the thirtieth day after the sale, or forfeit his deposit, and moreover be liable for any loss at a second sale, by a smaller sum being bid than he had bought it for. Benami purchases, that is, purchases by one person in the name of another, or by one person in his own name for another, are forbidden *sub modo*; that is, the intended purchaser is not allowed to maintain a suit for the recovery of the property against the nominal or certified purchaser. We have never been able to discover what interest government has in preventing *benami* purchases. It's interest is, to get the highest price for the for-

feited property: if those persons who are unwilling to bid in their own names, may bid or buy *benami*, the obvious tendency of allowing benami purchases, is to increase competition and so enhance the price, and the converse is true of the above enactment.

But the prohibition of *benamee* is open also to another objection: it places the capitalist who cannot attend personally, at the mercy of his agent: for if the latter buys in his own name, though he pays the deposit with his employer's money, the latter is left without remedy for the recovery of the property.

The Act contains some special provisions respecting the rights of purchasers. One very remarkable one is, that the "purchaser shall acquire the estate free from all incumbrances, which may have been imposed upon it after the time of settlement." The permanent settlement having been enacted in 1793, and then begun to be brought into operation, the mesne encumbrances of half a century are here avoided. We are entitled to put an extreme case: but our objection is, to avoiding any honest and fair mesne encumbrances. But this is not all. The purchaser is entitled, after giving a specified notice, to enhance at discretion, (any thing in the existing Regulations notwithstanding) the rents of all under-tenures in the said estate, and to eject all tenants thereof with the following exceptions. Our pen had written: twice have we scratched it out; but we write it again: let it stand: why should not the undoubted truth be plainly spoken: A more unjustifiable, abominable law in principle: one more forbidding to the investment of capital, or more adapted to perpetuate the extreme relations of lord and serf (for we cannot more briefly express them), and to destroy all the elements for the formation of a class of small proprietors, never was enacted. These provisions are a Pandora's box of social evils; and, as education advances, they can only alienate the minds of the people from the government. But our readers observe that there are some exceptions; that is, some tenures, some interests, some incumbrances, which are protected against new purchasers. They are:—

1st.—"Tenures which were held as Istamorari or Mokurrari, at a fixed rent more than twelve years before the permanent settlement." The permanent settlement was enacted in 1793; the claimant of the benefit of this exception, must therefore carry his proof back to the year 1780, or seventy years ago; a requirement which makes this exception merely nominal; and besides, we believe it would be difficult to explain what are Istamorari and Mokurrari tenures. Individually, we have enquired, and have not been able to get an intelligible

explanation. The second exception is of tenures existing at the time of the permanent settlement, which have not been or may not be proved liable to increase of assessment on certain specified grounds. The decennial settlement preceded the permanent; and supposing this difficulty arising from lapse of time and loss of evidence surmounted, what proof would be sufficient to bring the case within the second member of the exception? Thirdly, the lands of Khúd Kasht ryots having rights of occupancy at fixed rents, &c., are excepted. The poor Khúd Khasht ryot with all his right and his poverty about him, would have little chance against the Zemindar who put him to proof of his exceptional title. The fourth exception is remarkable: "Lands held under *bona-fide* leases at fair rents, &c., for the erection of dwelling houses or manufactories, or for mines, &c., or like beneficial purposes, such land continuing to be used for the specified purposes." Now, why are not all *bona fide* leases excepted? What mentionable interest has the state in confiscating any bona-fide lease, either to itself (the state) or to the person who purchases of the state upon a forfeiture for land revenue? Next, let us see what are the conditions on which *bona fide* leases are held good and not confiscated. They must be at *fair* rents. The Act therefore assumes that a *bona-fide* rent, or a rent *bona-fide* agreed, may be not a fair rent: which is an assumption against common sense, and opens a question which ought to be considered as closed by the supposed agreement. But the exception further imposes the condition, that the land shall continue to be used for the purposes specified in the leases. But why so? Why should the legislature convert into a condition what may not have been intended to be conditional: a legislative and arbitrary construction is thus put on private agreements; irrespective either of the apparent meaning or real intention of them. But there is a fifth exception, and it is like the four preceding ones; it is of farms granted at *fair* rents, and for specified areas, by a former proprietor, for terms not exceeding twenty years, under written leases, registered within a month from their date;"—and then follow half a page of other qualifications: this exception therefore may be regarded as a mere nominal one. The case has happened of a Zemindari being forfeited for the mere purpose of obtaining the advantage given by the sale law of avoiding mesne incumbrances and destroying all the valuable under tenures; an object not difficult to be accomplished, in the lower courts by a wealthy Zemindar, who, after succeeding at law increases the value of his property and his annual income at the expence of those whose title ought to have been as indefeasible as his own.

Before we quit this act we are bound in candour to notice the 29 Section: which empowers the Local Government when it shall deem proper before a sale for arrear shall have been actually made, to direct it to be made subject to the leases, assignments or other incumbrances, &c. Government therefore has *apparently* the power to prevent the injustice on which we have animadverted: but in the majority of cases it has it not really, and we much doubt whether in the few where this power may have been practicable, it ever was exercised. Under the Act, the forfeiture is not complete until sunset of the day before the sale, and therefore no interval exists in which government can be consulted; rarely indeed would a prudent collector forbear to sell, upon the chance that government would exercise the power now alluded to. When we come to Act I. of 1845, by which much of the law now under consideration was re-enacted, but some amendments were made in it, we shall have more to remark on this subject.

The following are the Acts of 1841, to which we have not specially adverted. An Act for Bombay, for regulating the sale of ganja and bhang within that presidency. An Act for Bombay, giving the petty Sessions power to try certain felonies. An Act for prohibiting the importation of Rum and Rum Shrub into the Bengal Presidency. An Act for Bengal, for the better protection of the Abkari revenue. The Ship Register Act for entitling ships in the ports of the East India Company to the privileges of British Ships. An Act for consolidating the rules relating to Military Courts of Requests for Native Officers, &c. An Act for explaining Act 25 of 1836. An Act for exempting residents within Calcutta from giving Security in Suits in the Mofussil Courts on certain occasions. An Act concerning the taking of oaths of qualification by justices of the peace. An Act for Bengal for amending the proceedings in appeals before the Courts of Sudder Dewanny and Nizamut Adawlut. An Act for consolidating and amending the enactments concerning the exportation of Military Stores. An Act for the better prevention of local nuisances beyond the limits of the presidency towns. An Act for Madras, amending the law with respect to the rates for municipal purposes. An Act for Madras, prohibiting the importation of Rum and Rum Shrub. An Act for appropriating the unclaimed dividends on Insolvent Estates. An Act to make camp followers amenable to the Articles of War.

The first Act of 1842 is a local act for extending the law relating to the sale of spirituous liquors, to the sale of opium and other intoxicating drugs within the Town of Calcutta.

Act No. 2 is one of the Acts for enabling the Governor-

General while away from Calcutta to exercise all the powers which may be exercised by the Governor-General in Council, except making laws; and was passed on occasion of Lord Ellenborough's intended departure for the N. W. Provinces.

Act No. 4 is an Act for the better management of boats and Catamarans in the Madras roads and for the amendment of certain harbour regulations. This Act deserves a fuller notice than the two preceding ones. This amendment Act, this improvement Act, is a change from freedom to regulation, made at the instance of the local officials; to some of whom it gives lucrative employment. The Act recites the objects proposed to be attained, which, of course, are good ones; they are the maintenance of order, the protection of life and property, and the prevention of smuggling; but we always doubt the efficacy of complex office forms for the attainment of the like of them. To prevent smuggling, we find regulations which we apprehend rather make a monopoly of smuggling; "good order" (in the surf,) and the general protection of life and property are admirably taken care of at the same time. The best security for these objects we should have considered to be, competition, increasing the supply, and having a rigid police to punish those who abuse their freedom. There are regulations in this Act which make it exceedingly difficult, for the owner to change his boatmen; which, we opine, must have the effect of preventing the discharge of bad ones. If the owner wishes to increase his crew he cannot do it without first obtaining fresh registration; this, we regard as a check to prevent owners from strengthening their crews whom they deem them inefficient. Every boat must be licensed; and the granting of a license is an affair of great complexity and embarrassing detail. The license is so perfect an instrument as to supercede the necessity of prudence. Every boat must be manned and loaded according to the wisdom of the law, and its sublime agent the Harbour-master attendant. The intelligence of the owner is worth nothing. In the matter of loading the boat, there is a fair weather maximum; and a foul weather or high surf maximum. Finding these several standards, we have been curious enough to trace their adjustment into the detail, and we are sorry to say that often we find, foul is fair and fair is foul; though occasionally a just distinction is preserved between them. In fair weather and foul weather, a boat may carry the same number of *persons*, the same quantities of *biscuits*, *boat oars*, *beef*, *carriages*, *unscreened cotton*, choya, camphor, cloves, glass, gunny, gunpowder, ginger, hams, tongues, nankeen, nuts, palanquins, fish, shark's fins, soap, stationery, staves, stick lac, sugar, tents, tamarinds, tobacco.

But as to the valuable articles of benjamin (benzzon) boots and shoes, butts, bottoms, broad cloth, coodsor nuts, chests, cannons, clothing, chicoiy, chillies, cochnial, cinnamon, curry-staff's seeds, dates, rugs, flour, hay, hogsheads, European pickles, puncheon, pipes, pepper, saddlery, thread, the provident care of the legislature has made a difference; and the difference is so fine, so minute, as greatly to enhance our idea of the discrimination of the council. A boat may carry eight cases of boots and shoes in fair, but only six in foul weather; and if the cases are large only six in fair and four in foul weather: but large and small are not defined,—which must be deemed a dangerous omission, because it leaves room for wilful mistakes by interested persons, and then these valuable articles may go to the bottom. The minute care which we have already illustrated excites still more our admiration, when we reflect on the other differences almost too numerous to mention; such as between grain being carried for shipment and grain being carried to the shore; and between grain from Bengal and grain from Ramiapatum. In one instance only has the law left the boat-owner to his natural freedom: probably in the hope of proving by comparison the danger of freedom and the value of restriction: of poultry in baskets, any quantity that can be stowed conveniently may be taken.

If the public safety was the object, the purpose would appear to require no more than the above regulations against overloading. But the Act fixes also, *prices*, or at least a *maximum*, which, of course, rules generally in the absence of competition. Under this system nearly all the boats will be found to belong to one or two persons. There is one rate for ordinary trips, another for foul weather trips. It is obvious that a foul weather maximum must be fixed with reference to ordinary foul; the tendency of this law therefore is to keep the boats ashore in very bad weather: and when such weather comes, as come it does, the services required at such times, are either not done, or have to be done by boats belonging to Government. But this again exalts the local officials; it makes one little hero of the harbour (as it is called) to compensate for the general discouragement of naval energies. We shall here dismiss, for the appreciation of the public, and with the contempt it deserves, this Madras Act of boat regulations.

In January 1842, H. M., by an order in Council, passed a set of rules and regulations to be observed at the crown colony of Mauritius, in regard to emigrants to that island from British India. In the same year our Legislative Council passed an Act, (Act 15) which after reciting the order in Council above alluded to, established a similar set of rules and regulations to be ob-

served in India, with the addition of some, applicable only to the place of export. Other Acts have since been passed for the regulation of emigration to other colonies: and we will take the present opportunity of giving a summary view of all the Acts on the subject.

Six acts have been passed by the Legislative Council on the subject of Cooly Emigration. By the third of the series, passed in May 1839, all contracts for the emigration of labourers from British India were made illegal. In 1842, H. M. in Council, by an order reciting the probability that the above act would shortly be repealed, prescribed certain rules and regulations, to be observed at *Mauritius*, in regard to emigrants from British India, arriving at that island; and in the same year, an act was passed conformable with the anticipation expressed in the order in Council, and which removed the prohibition so far as to permit emigration to Mauritius from the three presidency ports of Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, but leaving the prohibition in force as it respected emigration to and from all other ports and places. This act had not been twelve months in force, before another was passed for the purpose of restriction, and which permitted emigration to take place only from Calcutta, on the ground that it had been represented that the demand for agricultural labour in Mauritius was likely by the end of the year to be greatly diminished. Thus it appears, that the present system regulates every thing except the demand for labour, which is out of the reach of the regulating hand. The supply, we should have thought, might have been left to find its level; and would have been better adjusted by the joint operation of a firm Police and of a law analogous to a poor law, to throw on property the consequences of excessive emigration. In 1844, an act was passed to permit emigration from the three presidency ports to Jamaica, British Guiana, Trinidad, and *Mauritius*; making, therefore three changes, in little more than the same number of years, as it respects the latter island. In 1846, another act took off the prohibition as it respected Ceylon; the repeal thereof to take effect, so soon as the Legislative Council of that island should have established regulations for the protection of immigrants, which the Governor-General of India in Council should deem sufficient.

We will now proceed to describe generally the regulations under which emigration from India is permitted to be carried on. First, each colony to which emigration is permitted, except Ceylon, has an Emigration agent at the port of embarkation; who is nominated by the colonial, but derives

his authority from the Indian Governments. This officer is paid by a *salary*, expressly with a view to prevent his having any interest in the greater or less number of emigrants. The appointment of this officer saves none of the ordinary mercantile charges attending emigration: but increases the aggregate cost, by all that is paid to himself, and by all the extra trouble which he gives, for which any remuneration is payable. Detailed considerations of this kind probably never occurred to the Privy Council; who, commendably, would prefer humanity to economy; yet the latter ought not to be overlooked, nor the end in view, the supply of cheap free labour.

The duties of the Emigration Agent are, for the most part, prescribed by the Order in Council. He is to ascertain that the emigrant has not been induced to emigrate by any fraud or false and unreasonable expectation, and that he is aware of the "distance" to which he is going. Very benevolent this; but not *practical;* as must appear to those who have either knowledge or imagination enough, ideally to trace these general expressions into the involved details; recollecting what sort of persons the emigrants are, and what sort the Emigration Agent. In one respect, the regulation is founded on a manifestly erroneous conception. Mere "distance," however great, has no terrors for the natives of India, who are by habit a crusading people; constantly travelling from one end of the peninsula to the other, and the Mussulman portion of them beyond, for purposes of trade or religion. The agent is also required to caution the emigrant against unreasonable and unwarrantable expectations, and at the same time to inform him of the advantages which are likely to await him. Again, we say, very benevolent, but not practical: and really attempting too much. All that the public authorities ought to do, and can do, is to establish an assurance that the cooly contracts in circumstances of personal freedom, and has a *locus penitentiæ*, if before execution he repents of his agreement; that the ship is a proper one and properly provided. But as to motives and consequences, they are not the proper subjects of official investigation, or statement. We have all of us taken the risks of expatriation; why should the self-expatriated cooly be exempted from them.

No ship is permitted to take emigrants without a license from the Presidency Government, and the order in Council prescribes a variety of conditions, in order to secure proper ship accommodation and wholesome and sufficient provisions. The license can only be granted on proof that the ship will comply with the conditions. This proof can be nothing else than the report of the officer established at every port to make Marine Surveys

on behalf of Government. To guard the emigrant against the dangers of inclement seasons, our non-nautical council has provided, that ships may sail only at certain times. May wind and weather never baffle these pleasant dispositions! which, however well-meant, tend greatly to enhance the cost of emigration.

When the emigrant goes on board, he must take a certificate or pass from the emigration agent, which, the Act of 1841, further requires to be countersigned by the Protector of Emigrants. The pass or certificate must state the name and age of the emigrant and the name of his father (!) and that he has declared before the Emigration agent his willingness to proceed for hire to the colony of his destination: and the master of the ship must also obtain from the Emigration agent a general certificate that he has complied with all the requirements of the order in Council and Act of the Legislative Council. And these various securities are further guaranteed by the Pilot and custom-house officers who have certain duties cast upon them, the object of which is to prevent the possibility of evasion. We have noted the existence of a Protector of Emigrants, at the port of embarkation. This office was not included in the original arrangements; and no duties were assigned to it in the Act which authorized the appointment. Under the act relating to emigration to the West Indies, the Protector is required to countersign the pass of the emigration agent. This appointment we do not hesitate to describe as an useless one, except for the patronage. It is a well paid place, with nothing of real value to do, and in no degree conducing to the observance of the rules imposed by law on emigration: it enhances, however, the cost; and in this respect, we deem it a fit subject of criticism. Emigration to Ceylon, however, is under no restrictions at the port of embarkation.

There are only two other Acts of the year 1842, which seem entitled to be distinguished: Act 9 adopting the English act of parliament for rendering a Release as effectual for the conveyance of freehold estates as Lease and Release by the same parties. The other is Act No. 10, which provides for the election of Committees of Inhabitants, for the repairing, lighting, watching, and other like municipal objects, in the Presidency of Fort William, out of the Town of Calcutta. A similar act was passed in 1840 for Calcutta; which, however, proved wholly abortive, except of one or two vain attempts on the part of the inhabitants to take advantage of it.

The remaining Acts of the year 1842 are, an Act for enabling the Justices of Calcutta to try certain petty thefts, not being cases of simple Larceny. An act for Bombay, respecting spirit licenses. An act for Bombay, for annexing certain villages of the Sattara

and other states, to the Bombay presidency. An act for Bengal, regarding translations. An act for describing in Legislative Acts, with greater certainty and convenience, the Courts of the highest jurisdiction in the respective presidencies. An act for amending and explaining the Law concerning the importation of foreign Sugar. An act for the better regulation of Military Bazars, &c. An act to enable the holders of Revenue which has been confiscated to them by the state, to collect that Revenue within the presidency of Bombay. An act for giving greater facility in the abatement and prosecution of nuisances in and throughout the towns and islands of Bombay and Colaba. An act for Bengal, concerning the terms of Leases granted by Zemindars and Proprietors. An act for Bombay, relative to the number and powers of the Revenue Commissioners. An act for Bombay, for facilitating preliminary investigations of criminal cases connected with the collection of the Revenue.

The first Legislative Act of 1813 deserves to be distinguished as, in design, one of the most useful acts in the Indian Act book. Its title denotes its important object:—"An Act for amending the Law concerning the Registration of written conveyances and other instruments affecting titles and other interests to land." The Law, at the time when this Act was passed, gave a registered title the preference over an elder unregistered title, but allowed this preference to be defeated by proof that the registered title was taken with notice of the unregistered title: in which case the unregistered title prevailed. This exception is manfestly equitable: but was found practically to defeat the objects of registration; as was anticipated by those who were acquainted with the Law Courts of Bengal and the character of the people; the latter, remarkable for all the wicked arts which can be brought into play in litigation; the former for every vice and deficiency which can be imagined within the precincts of judicial tribunals. This Act, passed in January, was repealed in October. The repealed Act applied to *all* titles and all interests in land: the substituted Acts only to deeds of *sale* or gift of lands or other real property, and deeds of mortgage and certificates of the discharge thereof: and registration prevails, notice or knowledge of the existence of an unregistered title notwithstanding. The difference between these two Acts is broad and apparent. The absolute preference which the latter gives to registered titles, is an improvement: the reduced number and classes of transactions and conveyances to which it applies, is a step backward in legislation. In no country is the establishment of a general register of conveyances more desirable. Registration in its present limited operation,

is still sufficiently large to protect the principal transactions in which mercantile capitalists are interested; but still it leaves unprotected the great mass of valuable titles and tenures under which land is held in this country; and we are entitled to ask why after establishing general registration in January, it was reduced to such narrow limits in October?

A good deal of attention was paid this year to minor administrative arrangements in several departments. Two Acts were passed on the subject of Appeals to the Chief Courts (Sudder Dewany Adaluts) of the East India Company in the several presidencies. By one of them, it is required that if a case on appeal be before a single judge, and he thinks that the decision appealed from should be reversed or altered, he shall call in two other judges to hear the case with him, and the three shall decide it. Doubtless the concurrent decision of three carries more weight with it than the decision of a single judge: and it is a due respect to the subordinate courts whose English judges are of the same calibre as the judges of appeal, to hold their decisions good unless reversed by superior numbers. The other Act above alluded to establishes an appeal to the highest court, from subordinate courts in cases of summary appeal from the still lower courts to the latter. This multiplication of the right of appeal, and the establishment of it to the very great extent to which it exists, betokens, we apprehend, an anxiously equitable disposition on the part of the Indian Government towards suitors, and at the same a want of confidence, well founded, we will venture to say, in the Courts of Justice. No Court in England could survive for six months the suspicions it would incur of judicial incompetency, and of distrust on the part of the suitors, if it had a fractional part of the appeals which are brought on every variety of subject from every Court in India. Want of honesty in the Amlah, want of jurisprudential knowledge in the judges, and often also of a knowledge of the language of the country, are the two main causes of the evil alluded to. The remedy, never yet undertaken, has been clearly pointed out by the Law Commissioners, in a report which we shall only glance at now, but intend to discuss and bring fully before our readers.

The two Acts just noticed, on appeals, are immediately followed by a third which gives an appeal in *criminal* cases, from *all* sentences upon convictions by *all justices of the Peace and Magistrates* acting under Statute 53, Geo. 3, out of the local limits of the Supreme Courts of the different presidencies. The persons here distinguished by the name of justices, are, we be-

lieve, all magistrates; only those are made justices who are magistrates; they derive the designation of justices from holding a Commission from Her Majesty. The Legislature in establishing an appeal from all sentences of all justices and magistrates, has, in our opinion, undeniably branded, broadly and deeply, the great body of these officers, with the sentence of judicial incompetency, in the cases provided for. The right of appeal paralysis the arm of the law, throughout the magistracy; and peace, order, property, suffer.

We are next bound to give a conspicuous notice to Act 5 of 1843. It is the Act, popularly styled for the *abolition* of slavery, but not such in effect, nor so regarded by the Legislature, as appears to us, evident from the title of the Act, which we specially present for the consideration of our readers. It is entitled, "an Act for declaring and amending the law regarding the condition of slavery within the territories of the East India Company:"—not for abolishing slavery. Predial slavery does not exist in the territories of the East India Company: but only domestic slavery; and this, not in a conspicuous manner. The general scope of the Act before us is to discontinue the legal recognition of the state of slavery, as a basis or ground of special rights in the master. By the first section, public officers are forbidden from selling in execution of any decree, r for the realization of any rent or revenue, either any person, or the right to the compulsory services of any person, on the ground that such person is in a state of slavery. By the second section, no rights arising out of an alleged property in the person and service of another as a slave, shall any longer be enforced by any Civil or Criminal Court. By the third section, the intention of the Legislature is inadequately and scarcely intelligibly expressed: we presume it was, to give to slaves *negatively*, the right of acquiring and transmitting property, "*negatively*;" because the Act merely abolishes the right of dispossessing the slave or his assignee or donee, of property, on the ground of slavery.* The fourth and last section makes any Act which would be penal if done to a free man, equally an offence, if done to a slave. The timidity of this Act is its most remarkable feature. Protection against every kind of wrong is given

* The section is as follows:—

"And it is hereby declared and enacted, that no person who may have acquired property by his own industry, or by the exercise of any act, calling or profession, or by inheritance, assignment, gift or bequest, shall be dispossessed of such property, or prevented taking possession thereof on the ground that such person from whom their property may have been derived was a slave."

to the slave, except the fact of slavery. The Act does not abolish slavery. The British Indian Government therefore has not done, in respect of slavery what Lord Hardinge has induced the Native Princes and Rajahs under his immediate influence to do in respect to Suttee. Before another year passes, we trust this defect in the Act book will be remedied.

In the year 1843, the present Bank of Madras was established by an Act of Incorporation, with a capital of thirty lakhs of rupees (£300,000 stg.) of which three lakhs (£30,000) were contributed by Government, and the rest, as appears by a schedule annexed to the Act, by about two hundred and thirty proprietors. We have taken the trouble to analyze this list, and find that only five persons subscribed the full amount (Rs. 50,000 or £5,000) allowed to individual private proprietors; only eight subscribed rupees 40,000 (£4,000) each, and there are only about thirty subscribers of rupees 20,000 (£2,000) each: more than two-thirds of the subscriptions are for sums of and under rupees 10,000 (£1,000 stg.) each. The subscribers may be classed as follows:—A few high and highly paid officers of Government: a few English merchants, subscribing, probably, partly to accommodate constituents: a few native merchants: and the remainder, forming the great majority, members of the Military, Civil and Medical Services. The same general description, we believe, would be found to apply to the original subscription lists of the Banks of the other presidencies, and of most other Joint-Stock Companies in India. India has many small, but no large capitalists. It has, indeed, a profitable trade and its soil yields a surplus income after paying all the expences of cultivation; but this is absorbed by Government, the Lord Paramount, whose debts and revenue have gone on increasing together, and who with many millions sterling annually can spare little for the general improvement of the country.

One of the most remarkable Acts of this year is an Act, in effect, to oblige judges of all classes to write their decisions and the reasons on which they are founded, in their own vernacular language. It has been the reproach of all the chief courts, that the administration of justice is but nominally in the hands of the judges, and is really carried on by the native officers (amlah.) This Act affords a feeble security, that the judge has some part and lot in the decision which has the stamp of his authority. By an order of the Bengal Government, the anglicized decisions under this Act, are periodically published, and a valuable fund of jurisprudential and judicial lore they ought to be; but in fact they are worthless. It greatly enhances our

praise of the Act now under notice, that it has thus indirectly furnished the public authorities with the most ample and authentic tests of the general competency of the East India Company's judges. All we can do here is to direct the attention of the public to these printed decisions, and at a future time we may hope to devote a few pages to a detailed notice upon the subject.

In the year 1843 was passed an Act for regulating the levy of customs duties and the manufacture of Salt in the North West Provinces of the presidency of Bengal. The Act commences by repealing all other Acts and Regulations concerning those subjects; and enacts certain duties of customs leviable upon the Import and Export into and from the North West Provinces, of certain articles. The articles are SALT, COTTON, and SUGAR of various specified kinds, including in fact all kinds of Saccharine produce. Salt, Cotton and Sugar are the three chief articles of general consumption all over India. The duty on Sugar is only an Export duty, and is eight annas (one shilling) per maund (80 lbs.) on the better kinds, and three annas on the inferior kinds. The IMPORT of Sugar into the North West Provinces is prohibited. The Import trade therefore is sacrificed, it would seem, for the sake of maintaining the Export customs duties. But the sacrifice of an import trade is in fact the sacrifice also of an export trade, that is, of all those exchanges which would take place if the prohibited articles were imported If we took Sugar or Saccharine produce from Oude, we might send in exchange British or Indian manufactures. But Government is the proprietor of canals for irrigation in the North West Provinces; and if the abundance of the earth was permitted to flow free, the Canals, we may surmise, it is apprehended, might be less productive. The Export duty is not confined to exports to foreign or independent native states; but extends to all exports *from* the North West Provinces, and therefore to the trade carried on with the Lower Provinces of the same presidency. Sugar coming down to Lower Bengal is liable, by the Act, to the duty; and by the same Act, Sugar manufactured in the Lower cannot be sold in the Upper Provinces. This is a prohibition of an inland trade between different parts of the same country, and what is called a customs duty on *exports*, is, in effect, an inland transit duty. It well illustrates what sort of minds, have prevailed in Leadenhall Street, over the Councils of India.

On the Import of Cotton into the North West Provinces, if it is uncleaned, the duty is four annas per maund, if cleaned eight annas. It would be simply absurd to talk of this duty as of

any importance to, *simpliciter*, the revenue. What useful purpose then does it answer? Is the object to prevent the Cotton of soils not belonging to the East India Company from coming into competition with Cotton grown in our territories? In this point of veiw the Cotton duty would be essentially a protective duty; and what has been the result, but diminished production of an article of the first necessity. The duty on Salt is expressed in a remarkable manner:—

"On the import of Salt of all descriptions, two rupees per maund, and a further duty of one rupee per maund on the transmission thereof to the eastward."

These salt duties are protected by a prohibition of the manufacture of alimentary salt, except by the "express sanction of Government." It may be supposed that such a restriction practically converts the manufacture into a monopoly; yet not in this instance, we believe, a favored monopoly. Government has salt lands of its own, ostensibly or benami, and an interest consequently in the trade, and therefore in keeping out competitors.

Act 15 of 1813 is an Act of a liberal character, inasmuch as, by the consent doubtless of the Court of Directors, it encroaches on the patronage of that body, for the sake of better supplying the public exigencies: but it is confined to Bengal. It is entitled "an Act for the more extensive employment of uncovenanted agency in the Judicial department." It recites that the exigencies of the public service require that the police and criminal branch of the Judicial department should be strengthened by the more extensive employment of uncovenanted agency, and it empowers the Local Governments of both divisions of the Bengal presidency, to appoint in any Zillah or District one or more uncovenanted Deputy Magistrates with the powers specified. We have before us a list of twenty-four Deputy Magistrates appointed under this Act in Bengal, of whom seven are natives; and they are reputed to be an examplary and most useful body of officers: but their salaries are inferior to those of covenanted officers with only the same duties. This is an undoubted disparagement, especially in India. And to make them efficient in such a country, they should be put on terms approaching an equality with the covenanted service. Some of the arrangements which apply to this class of officers, seem framed as if to preserve a distinction of class, and decidedly cramp the Deputy or inferior officers. We can offer individually some illustrations of this fact. If a complaint is made to the Deputy Magistrate, he has to refer the complaint to the Magistrate, who is, perhaps, 60

miles off, and until he has the latter's rúbecary or order, he has no authority to proceed upon it.

This arrangement is full of absurdities; often it can only have the effect of postponing investigation, until too late for any useful purpose; always it imposes an useless task on both the Deputy Magistrate and his superior; and so adds unnecessarily to the duties of two overworked officers. There is the sending the complaint and the returning it: or if it is not returned, inquiry is stopped by just the one of two officers, who from his situation is the least qualified to judge whether inquiry was necessary. We will illustrate this with a real case strongly exemplifying the mischief of not leaving the deputy magistrate free scope for all preliminary inquiries. In a district not one hundred miles from Calcutta, where monopoly has fixed a cruel and hitherto tenacious grasp on the banks of the Damúda, pretending in effect to an exclusive right to the navigation of that great river, two manjis, (boatmen) were brought before the deputy magistrate of the district, charged with loading their boats feloniously from the coal ghat of a coal company. "I will take your deposition, Mr. A." said the deputy magistrate, very properly; "No, Sir," replied the wily accuser, "I will not trouble you to do that so late in the day, but will attend in the morning: you can keep the men in custody;" and thereupon the prosecutor was permitted to leave the office. The deputy magistrate, not from any suspicion of the prosecutor, proceeded with his prisoners to the ghat: who, when asked, pointed out their boats, which were found in course of being loaded, by the servants of the coal company. This circumstance surprized the magistrate, and the boatmen on being questioned, said, "We were stopped, our boats were arrested by the people of the coal company: we were going up higher to bring down coal for Mr. B. from a ghat belonging to his colliery. We had done nothing when we were brought before you." "Where," said the sagacious deputy magistrate, are your *chillauns*:" "our chillauns were taken from us, and carried to the coal company's office." The Deputy Magistrate proceeded to the coal company's office, searched the file and found two chillauns for the two boats. It thus appeared, that the men were innocent; next morning their accuser attended and smoothly declined to prosecute his complaint any further, as not worth his trouble. But there remained the complaint of the two boatmen: on which the deputy magistrate could not proceed without the rúbecary of his superior, who was sixty miles off, and never thought the case of sufficient importance to make any order. We began by observing that

monopoly had fixed a cruel and tenacious grasp on the banks of that river, on the secure navigation of which depends a supply of coal for all steaming and manufacturing purposes in the Lower Provinces. Here we have the freedom of the navigation attacked, and the only magistrate cognizant in fact of the offence incompetent to inquire because he is of the uncovenanted service. We state facts here, we shall have the opportunity of summing up hereafter.

The Acts of 1843 present but two or three more points for a brief notice. By one very useful Act (Act 6) the jurisdiction of Amins and Munsiffs, the two lower classes of native judges, is greatly enlarged as to subject matter, and extended over all classes; including those who were exempted before British subjects. By another Act the refuge which a person sued in the Zillah Court of the 24-Pergunnahs, might obtain by removing to Calcutta, was abolished. This year also has its Act to enable the Governor-General to quit the presidency and exercise all the powers, except the legislative, of the Governor-General in Council. An Act was passed this year, empowering the Supreme Courts to appoint an official Trustee in cases in which the appointed Trustees are unwilling to act, and in other cases of vacancy in that office.

The remaining Acts of 1843 not specially noticed are, an Act for Madras, for abolishing the Provincial Courts of Appeal and Circuits and for establishing new Zillah Courts to perform their functions, &c. An Act for Madras, providing for the disposal of suits, pending in the Courts which were abolished by the last mentioned Act. An Act for the Administration of Justice and Collection of the Revenue in the districts of Kurnool and Bunganapelly (Madras). An Act for Bombay, for regulating the Service of Hereditary officers. An Act for Madras, regulating enquiries into the truth of matters implicating the public conduct of officers not removable without the sanction of the Presidency Government. An Act regarding the offering of rewards for the apprehension of offenders. An Act for the better custody of persons convicted of Thuggi and Dakoity. Another Act relating to Dakoity. An Act for making the provisions of the stat. 5 and 6 Vict. C. 47 S. 11 applicable to India.

In the year 1844, several Acts were passed of a highly useful character. This year, private lotteries were prohibited and declared to be common and public nuisances. The prohibition however we must call lame, because it is in terms confined to lotteries *not* authorized by Government. An exception of this kind in favor of Government is a solecism in morals. No purpose

for which money can be raised, can legitimatize the raising of it by a common and public nuisance; and all the mischiefs are the same to the mind of the weak and silly speculator, whether the lottery is Mr. B.'s own, or is managed by him as a contractor with Government, or by any Secretary of Government. The gamester often excites our compassion as well as abhorrence; but to take advantage of the passion of others for gaming, risking nothing, is mean, base, in every way contemptible, and though not quite all this, when the Act of Government yet far worse than merely impolitic: unquestionably, the exception alluded to ought to be repealed, and the executive authorities for ever deprived by law of a power which it cannot be affirmed so long as that power exists, may not be used in some hot-brained moment.

In 1844 corporal punishment, whipping with the cane or rattan, was revived in cases of petty larceny when committed by offenders of *tender* age, except females.

In this year the transit and inland customs were abolished in the Madras presidency: just eight years later than in Bengal. Doing all things good by halves only, appears to be the inveterate habit of India; while this remains uncured, we would suggest that the intervals of time should be less, between the different stages and movements of a great measure.

Power was given this year for one judge of the Supreme Court to sit apart for the trial of Criminal business, while the other judges are transacting the civil business. And the distinction of terms was so far broken down as to authorize any term-business to be transacted in vacation.

This year was passed an Act establishing one consolidated body of articles of war for the Indian Navy, or Marine Service of all the presidencies. This year also an uniform copper coinage was established for all the territories of the East India Company. It consists of:

A pice weighing.....	100	grains troy.
A double pice	200	
A pie of one-twelfth of an anna piece	33⅓	

And which severally are to be a legal tender for 1-64th, 1-32nd, and 1-192nd part of the Company's rupee. An Act was also passed to withdraw from circulation trisoli pice, so called, from bearing the figure of a trident.

By Act 16, of this year, for Bombay, the Salt duty in that presidency was doubled; an *emeute* at Surat was the conse-

quence; the reply to which was at first, that the increased impost was intended to have been accompanied by an Act abolishing all taxes on trades and professions, and which would have been, it was argued, an equivalent; but in the haste to impose a tax, the measure of relief or commutation was forgotten. Afterwards the tax was reduced; not, however, by the same authority which imposed it, but by the executive Government. The commutation Act, above alluded to, was afterwards passed, and is entitled "An Act for abolishing Town duties and Mûkauty, and all taxes upon trades and professions within the presidency of Bombay." On reading this title we should say the official argument to reconcile the rioters to the Salt tax was scarcely fair; the Salt tax presses on the whole population; not so the taxes on trades and professions; though for the most they may have been returned to the tradesmen in the price of their goods. There was therefore no fair commutation. There can however be no justification of a tax which drives a people to the verge of revolution. When taxation has gone to the limits of popular endurance, it is high time to reduce expenditure within the bounds of income; or to call on property for the necessary contributions. Taxes indefensible on general principles of taxation ought gratuitously to be abandoned by the Indian Government. The land revenue of India alone, properly managed, ought to pay all the just expences of the Government of India.

Among the minor Acts of this year should be noticed an Act respecting the expense of preparing copies of proceedings in [on] appeals to the Queen in Council. By the practice or law of appeals two copies are required, one for the appellant himself (we presume), the other for the Privy Council, of all the proceedings held and judgments or orders given in the case appealed and translations into English of such as are in the native languages. This Act casts on the appellant the expence of both copies, and authorizes the Court below to require a deposit by way of security to cover it.

An Act was passed this year to take the control and superintendence of Jails in Bengal and of the places of banishment and transportation, from the Judges of Circuit, Superintendents of Police and Sudder Nizamut Adalut, and to vest the control and Superintendence thereof in the Magistrates and Joint Magistrates acting under the instructions of the Zillah and City Judges; who—it is further enacted—

"Shall be guided in regard to all matters relating to the jails under their charge, the prisoners confined in them, the establishments thereto belonging and the places of banishment

or transportation of prisoners, by such orders as they may receive from their respective local Governments."

This Act shifts a burden from classes of elder to classes of junior Civil Servants, and accummulates fresh duties on the Local Government. A man in a fever turns first on one side and then on the other, and in each change gets momentary relief; but this does not constitute the cure of the fever; rather, it is the symptom; and so, as one is tempted to suppose, the Bengal Government

"Turns its sides and its shoulders and its heavy head;"

and its functioual derangements remain unaltered.

The only Act of Parliament transferred this year to the Act Book of India was the Statute 5 and 6. Vict. C. 39, amending the law relating to advances *bona fide* made to Agents intrusted with the goods of others.

The remaining Acts of 1844 are as follows. An Act relating to the Nawab of the Carnatic, for securing to His Highness, his family and retinue, certain privileges and immunities. An Act for Bengal, repealing an old regulation respecting gang robbery, &c. as having become obsolete by reason of its extreme severity. An Act to authorize the presidency Governments to remove prisoners under sentence of Courts martial, from one prison to-another. An Act for authorizing the institution of suits in the Courts of the Principal Sudder Amins and Sudder Amins. An Act to amend the law respecting the period of the execution of persons convicted of the crime of murder. An Act for regulating the proceedings of the Sudder Courts in regard to sentences of transportation for life. An Act extending the scale of customs on foreign Cotton and Silk Piece Goods to other foreign goods of a like description. An Act for bringing under the ordinary Courts of Bombay, the lapsed state of Colaba.

Having reached at present only the year 1845, it is evident we have not space to conclude the series. We will therefore here pause, and postpone the legislation of the last three years, including the whole period of Lord Hardinge's administration, to our next number; and the more readily so, because on such a subject a series of short articles is likely to have more readers than one long one.

ART. V.—*The Bengal Hurkaru, the Englishman, and the Star Newspapers, Calcutta; and the Friend of India, Serampore; for December* 1847, *and January and February* 1848.

PRIOR to the year 1814 the trade between Great Britain and British India was a monopoly in the hands of the East India Company. The resident European merchants in India were settlers by permission of Government, and were rather agents for the receipt, custody, and remittance of money, than merchants engaged in ordinary commerce. By the charter of 1813 provision was made for the opening of the trade, and by the charter of 1833 the country was thrown open to European emigration. The former charter was the prelude to very extensive speculation, which seriously and in some cases fatally injured the mercantile firms of Calcutta. The latter charter caused a rapid increase of European settlers and gave a powerful stimulus to trade. Before the next charter is discussed in 1853, it is probable that the history of Commerce, at least in the Bengal Presidency, will present to view a series of calamities and a succession of delinquencies, unsurpassed in the annals of commerce throughout the world. But by that time we hope that the valuable trade between Great Britain and this country, will be regulated by the just influence of the enlightened public opinion of a large European community. The ascendancy of a few daring adventurers will have terminated, and by a just and stringent Insolvent law, constant communication with England, and the painful lesson of experience, Calcutta may rise in character as the abode of prosperous and honorable merchants carrying on a legitimate commerce of growing magnitude and importance.

At present the consideration of the system of trade here, and of its past history, can tend only to humiliation and alarm. So numerous, so desperate, and so vast, have been the breaches of trust that insolvency has developed in this country, so wild and so infatuated has been the course of speculation, and so presumptuous and so wanton have been the careers of extravagance and prodigality which have been pursued here, that public confidence is destroyed in Great Britain, and British capital may long be altogether withheld. Impartial men who are entirely unconnected with commerce, look on with amazement at the pretensions of traders without capital, who flourish in all the pride of apparent success and then become insolvent, and so are detected as reckless mercantile gamblers, whose careers terminate in one insolvency only to commence again in fresh undaunted impositions

on the credulity of the public. With contemptuous confidence in the simplicity of the community, men whose judgments and whose principles have alike been proved unsound, whose ability in trade seems to consist mainly in their consummate unscrupulousness in raising money to use in speculations, have long assumed to themselves a species of supremacy in the commerce of Calcutta; and yet year after year passes without these delinquents being driven by the just rigour of the law, or the voice of insulted society, or the sense of shame, into the silence or ignominy which their frauds deserve. Men who commence without capital, commence here in a style of luxurious living; men who have difficulty in meeting the ordinary engagements of business, are the chief supporters of the Sunday hunts and the race-course; traders, long after they become notoriously insolvent, continue to maintain their original appearances of wealth, and probably spend, before they finally take "the benefit" of the Insolvent Act, a sum that would be deemed a fortune in England by many whom their recklessness ruins. The course of life, which in England is deemed suitable only to idle, ill-conditioned men of fortune and to the attendant panders who wait on them to plunder them,—the life of hunts, races, clubs, cards, and lordly household expenditure—has been the course of life here of not a few who have trembled for the news of successive mails, and have been compelled to resort to desperate shifts and stratagems to keep their firms out of the Insolvent Court. The whole system has been rotten. We have needed a commercial revolution. The commercial morality of Calcutta is a bye-word in every chamber of commerce in Europe. There is almost a total bankruptcy of character, the character of Britain as a mercantile nation has been sullied, and the name of Christian has been dishonored in the presence of the heathen.

These are not words of exaggeration, but of truth and soberness. A brief reference to the history of recent commercial catastrophes will illustrate what we say. But much that is known cannot be stated. Our community here is still so small, that all public matters are made personal matters throughout the society of the place. Public opinion, speaks so feebly, it has so long been influenced by such unworthy men, the constitution of society is so heterogeneous, there are so few who will vindicate their own integrity by severing themselves from the company of those in whom confidence is lost, that facts are denounced in whispers here, which in a well regulated community and under a faithful administration of a sufficiently stringent Insolvent law, would consign the guilty to merited exclusion from the company of their fellows. It is little for an insolvent to

include in his schedule a sum due by a breach of trust; it is little for such an insolvent to pass the ordeal of the Insolvent Court without a single inquiry, and to drive away from its doors in his carriage, to renew with undiminished boldness, and without any rebuke from the society in which he has mixed, his old course of extravagance and speculation. Men are only reckoned as "unfortunate" who never had anything to lose, and who trifled without mercy and without success with the capital of others. The time has surely come for a full exposure and for an earnest denunciation of this system. Too long have we been content to bear the arrogance of speculators, who habitually hazarded property not their own, and claimed the palm for extravagance in their private households. Too long has the public mind been accustomed to the exhibition of fraudulent trading and excessive expenditure throughout the mercantile community of Bengal. It is time now, to speak out very plainly on this subject, and we shall not shrink from the duty. We can speak disinterestedly, independently, and without personal animosity. We are neither debtors, nor creditors, nor shareholders of any firm, bank, or company; we have not suffered by the delinquencies we denounce, nor are we under obligations to any of the delinquents. We violate no private friendship with them, for we never formed any. We never joined in their pursuits or sought their society. We are therefore free to speak boldly as public journalists, and we shall fearlessly exercise this liberty, in the confidence that our sentiments will be echoed by many here, and by the unanimous voice of public opinion at home.

We commence with a reference to the failure of "the great houses," as they were called, in 1830 and 1832. The following is a detail of their admitted liabilities in round numbers, and of the dividends they paid.

	Liabilities in Sicca Rupees.	*Dividends paid.*
Palmer and Co	280 lakhs	30 per cent.
Cruttenden, Mackillop and Co	120 „	26 „
Alexander and Co	400 „	6 „
Fergusson and Co	360 „	36½ „
Mackintosh and Co.	260 „	14 „
Colvin and Co	110 „	29½ „

Here there are the extraordinary facts, that the joint liabilities of six firms amounted to nearly fifteen crores of sicca rupees; that is, to nearly fifteen million pounds sterling, and that the average of their dividends was less than 25 per cent or five shillings in the pound,—not nearly four millions sterling; and leaving a net loss to the creditors of much more than ten millions! It is fair however to say, that the mode of realizing the

assets of these insolvent firms, was not such as to make the most of them. Debts were compromised by wholesale, and two assignees, Mr. T. Holroyd, and Mr. Eliot Macnaghten, made their fortunes out of their commissions very rapidly. Yet still, in the case of some of these houses there remains much to be explained. It is impossible that the later years of Alexander and Co.'s existence, for instance, could have witnessed anything but a series of violent and hopeless endeavours to postpone the day for a final acknowledgment of long experienced insolvency. The same may be said of some other houses. Besides these houses there were several minor houses which failed for large sums, and the system which prevailed in nearly every house, great and small, almost up to the time of declaring insolvency,—the system of extravagant expenditure, of mixing trust funds with the funds of the firm, and of permitting partners to retire with fortunes, made up by calculations of bad debts as good ones—was vicious in the extreme. In some cases the conduct of individual partners who subsequently attained prosperity but neglected to pay the debts on their private estate,—conduct which has been imitated since by some who seem to have had no other practical ideas of economy,—was also justly liable to the most severe reprehension.

The effect of these failures was immense. The system of business was suddenly and almost entirely changed. The great houses had been banks of deposit for nearly the whole body of the civil and military servants of the Company, and had long traded on and maintained this hazardous supply, by allowing large interest. Their failure almost beggared many who had been living in England and elsewhere on the income of their deposited fortunes. Others who had saved a little out of the wreck, and who soon gained more, felt the necessity for some other and new mode of investment, by which they might draw the high interest to which they had long been accustomed. Hence the establishment of the Agra Bank, the apparent success of which has led to the establishment of Banks at Meerut, Cawnpore, Simlah, Delhi, Benares, and Dacca. These so called banks, are mere Loan Agencies. They are not entitled to the name of banks; their system of trade is almost entirely different. Instead of being houses of deposit and discount, in which short-termed loans are made on convertible and available security, they are agencies for the loan of money on the personal security of one or two parties, with collateral security in the form of policies of insurance on the lives of the borrowers,—the loans being payable back with very heavy interest, in monthly instalments, during given periods varying from one year to five years. Of these insti-

tutions we must plainly say that they have yet to be tested. They present great facilities for the borrowing of money, have certainly kept many of the more necessitous Europeans out of the hands of native money-lenders. But they tempt men to borrow more than is needful (as for instance to arrange for the purchase of steps in the army by inducing senior officers to retire;) they have unduly occupied the attention of many officers as Directors and otherwise; and their result on the prosperity of the shareholders, we think is still doubtful. They pay high interest, but high interest is only obtainable at a risk, and when obtained, such interest is nevertheless dealt with, not as profit on a speculation, but as regular income on settled and safe investments. It is therefore generally spent like other income and little provision is made for the contingency of a loss or depreciation of the capital stock. We apprehend that in ten years hence, it will be found that some, if not all of these banks, are in possession of a large quantity of policies of insurance, which will have to be kept up for uncertain periods at immense cost, as the only remaining valid securities for a large proportion of the outstanding debts which have been reckoned among their assets.

It may be supposed that the failure of the "great houses" and of the others which fell about the same time, altered very considerably the position of the whole mercantile community. Numerous houses from time to time arose on their ashes, but without the capital of credulous constituents to trade with. Many of these houses have flourished for a season and passed away. Some have very recently fallen. Some have been recently established. We may illustrate the whole number by one case, which in all its parts is not applicable to many houses, but which bears no little similitude to nearly all that have exhibited themselves in Calcutta, and have passed away between 1832 and 1848. A. B. C. and D. are the partners of the firm A. B. and Co. One is connected with the manufacturing districts in England and Scotland, the second has been a speculator in produce, the third has been an indigo planter, the fourth is not accurately known. They establish their house in Calcutta, and enter into correspondence in London with a firm which once had capital, and now has nothing but credit. Mr. A. remains at home, the other partners take an office, engage an astute banian, and furnish private residences very expensively, with a suitable proportion of carriages and horses. Their capital is remarkably small. One of the partners has procured a consignment of goods, another has an order for produce, the partner at home is to make advances on shipments from the manufacturing districts by means of drafts on the London agents, which in due season shall be renewed, or, by

drafts of the shippers on himself, which shall be subsequently met by bills drawn by him on the London Agents, and discounted at his bankers. Some goods being in hand, the banian advances on them; with the money so procured, produce is purchased, against which bills are drawn, and with the money derived from the sale of these bills more produce is shipped. The bills of lading of the latter shipments are sent to the London Agents, and on these they can raise money to meet the bills for the advances to the manufacturers. Markets are favorable, a considerable profit is considered to have been made, although heavy interest was paid to the banian, and the bills drawn against the first-shipped produce were drawn at a bad rate of exchange, and freight was high, and commission has to be paid to the London Agents on their advance and on their sales. But a profit is said to have been made. Confidence increases. The system is extended, more goods come, more produce is shipped; the partners live still more expensively and appear to be very prosperous people. The banian is in good humour. Then comes a tempting Indigo factory. Indigo it is said, can be made there at 90, or the most 100 rupees a maund. The owner is a most dashing man in the best society in Calcutta. He has made, or at least he lives as if he had made, a large fortune. A lakh of rupees a year advanced to carry on the factory will yield a thousand maunds of indigo; twelve per cent may be charged as interest on the advances, and there will be commission on the sale of the seed and the shipment of the indigo. Moreover, the owner will give a mortgage of his property to secure the advances; and the indigo can be consigned to the London Agents and bills drawn against it to repay the advances. The owner is to receive a certain sum—say five hundred rupees a month for his personal expenses. Time rolls on. The Gomastah at the factory has wanted so much more money for incidental expenses than was expected; the quantity of seed sown is so much more than was intended; the expenses of the owner have been so much above five hundred rupees a month, that the advances amount not to a lakh only, but to a lakh and a half—to £15,000. But then it has been "a splendid season." The factory has produced 1,400 maunds. Indigo is selling at 135 to 160 rupees a maund, or can be shipped with the certainty of a profit. More goods have come in, more produce has been shipped, the craving for a large trade has increased; next season there are more factories taken in hand. But then comes a bad season; then two good ones; then three bad ones, and now some years have passed. A B. and Co. have several factories; the manufacturers who shipped to them have had such large ad-

vances that their goods have not covered the amounts; there have been dreadful losses on the shipments of produce; many houses of like character with A. B. and Co. have entered the market and have competed for produce and have artificially raised the prices, so that no one can ship to a profit. Nevertheless, there have been larger shipments than ever. The Government has opened the Export Ware-house and will advance on goods. Its brokers value produce liberally, and heavy advances are procured. But the London Agents are in difficulties; bills are not easily discounted; a great deal of money has been spent by the partners in Calcutta; one has married a wife, and settled a large sum on her. Another spends four thousand rupees a month. The banian has no more money. What is to be done? Perhaps a company can be formed to take the Indigo factories off the hands of A. B. and Co. and the owners. A. B. and Co. will be share-holders, and so will the owners, so will the London Agents. The matter is arranged; the Indigo factories are valued very highly, and new bills can be drawn for the advances not on the London Agents, but on certain directors of the Company. One of the partners in A. B. and Co. is a director of a bank in Calcutta. Another partner was a director last year. This Bank gives liberal credit and buys bills of all kinds, and thus succour is obtained. At length the London Agents get into difficulties; there is a failure of the whole connection; and while "the splendid household property" of A. B. and Co. with all their horses are sold, the creditors are informed that the liabilities of the house are a few score of lakhs, and the assets certain goods in the godown, and some factories that cannot easily be disposed of, and some produce that has been shipped to a falling market. Eventually two shillings in the pound are paid, and A. B. C. and D. set up another concern.

Such is a sketch of what may be done on credit, and of what has been done, with slightly varying circumstances, in many cases in Calcutta. It may be said that things are as bad elsewhere. We may be referred to the extraordinary case of Cockerell, Larpent and Co. which traded for years after the death of its really wealthy partner Sir C. Cockerell, as if it were one of the wealthiest houses in England, on little or no capital except a very bad debt in India, and which misappropriated Union Bank post bills in its extremity at the last, (at a time when of course it was not "thought possible they could fail,") and finally published a report to their creditors showing much more than twenty shillings in the pound, the greater part being the bad debt, now acknowledged to be exceedingly bad, but then proclaimed

as perfectly good—the claim on the firm of Cockerell and Co., with all its long arrears of accumulating interest in Calcutta. This certainly is a bad case. But in England the delusion will not last, the real state of the case will be exposed, and misappropriation, and extravagant expenditure, and false pretences, and breaches of trust, do not pass unpunished by the Bankrupt Acts.

But let us turn from a mercantile firm to the Union Bank. We shall deal with a few plain facts. Two firms—Fergusson Brothers and Co. and Gilmore and Co., when they failed in 1842, were found to have received £400,000 of its capital. When the Bank itself stopped payment in January 1848, it was found that two other houses, Cockerell and Co. and Colville, Gilmore and Co., between them were liable for £600,000; and we believe we may affirm, that though some of the Directors had very little, and one or two, no advances from it, the President and Vice President of the Bank, and the firms of Cockerell and Co., Colville, Gilmore and Co., Lyall, Matheson and Co., and Carr, Tagore and Co.,—firms which were habitually represented in the Direction, were liable to it for very little less than a million sterling,—the whole amount of its paid up capital. And these gentlemen were appointed as proprietors to guard the interests and protect the property of their fellow-proprietors! This is an extraordinary case. But more has to follow. In July 1847, prior to the half yearly meeting, the Bank was in such difficulties, that it raised £45,000 by running the risk of having to pay £180,000. A director who himself has given most of the facts of the case, and who at that time was a large speculator in Union Bank shares, (Mr. W. P. Grant, the Master in Equity of the Supreme Court) finding the Bank in great difficulties and being very desirous to keep it going, drew bills on Cockerell, Larpent and Co., for £45,000, and sold them to Jardine, Skinner and Co., taking their bills on their wealthy London correspondents in return. The money for which Jardine, Skinner and Co.'s bills were sold went into the coffers of the Union Bank before the half-yearly meeting; as security to Cockerell, Larpent and Co. £45,000 of Union Bank post bills were sent to them in London; and the same amount was given to Jardine, Skinner and Co. Cockerell, Larpent and Co. might and did fail, and so the bills on them might be and were dishonored; and they might and did, "misappropriate" the Bank Post Bills. Jardine, Skinner and Co.'s bills after being discounted here, might have been refused acceptance at home. Thus, for the temporary use of £45,000 the Union Bank issued Bank post bills to the value of £90,000 and ran the risk of Cockerell, Larpent and Co., dishonoring the bills of Exchange

drawn on them for £45,000 and of Jardine, Skinner and Co.'s bills being returned from London unaccepted! This transaction occurred in the first week of July. In the second week, the half-yearly meeting was held; profits larger than in any former half year were announced, a dividend at the rate of seven per cent. per annum was declared, and the assurance was given that no Bank Post Bills had been issued except in return for cash, or security that was immediately available! And yet further, in December 1847, when the Bank was in great difficulties, the Commercial Bank of Bombay sent the Union Bank, bills to the amount of £40,000 on London, requesting that they might be sold, and the amount remitted to Bombay, in Bank of Bengal Post Bills. There was a run on the Union Bank at that time, and most of the money obtained from the sale of these bills went out with the rest of the cash to meet the demands of bill holders and customers! But some of it was paid away after two leading Directors were distinctly informed of the receipt of the money on account of the Commercial Bank, of the purpose to which it was to be specially appropriated, and of the breach of trust that had been committed as to a large part of it. The blame is thrown on Mr. Abbott the secretary. But the blame chiefly lies elsewhere. The Directors knew there was a run on the Bank, and it was their simple and unquestionable duty to provide means to meet the current liabilities of the Bank, or formally to stop payment. If they had not enough in their coffers to pay their floating deposits and their other liabilities, they should have relieved the secretary of all further temptation, and closed the Bank. At any rate, when the two leading Directors knew what had been done with part of the money which had been received on account of the Commercial Bank, they should have rectified the serious error and provided for the Commercial Bank obtaining the residue of its money, without delay. But what was their conduct? They subsequently called a meeting of the shareholders and stated that they had 22,000 maunds of Indigo, of which about half had arrived, and this they proposed to ship to England and sell bills against the shipments. They did not, it seems, sell any to pay the Commercial Bank, and remedy their breach of trust. But a few weeks afterwards, they stopped payment, and then it appeared that much of the Indigo had been pledged, to meet other liabilities!

All this is astonishing both as evidence of folly and of fraud. The Directors now endeavour, it appears, to withdraw attention from themselves, and to escape from public obloquy by circulating insinuations against the former Secretary, whose resignation they received in October 1846, and who relinquished his office in January 1847—a year before the Bank's stoppage.

He had contended against unlimited advances to particular houses; *he* had contended also, against the working of Indigo Factories by the Bank's capital. But then, it is said, that he had signed reports which led to misconception of the Bank's state, and *his* signature, the signature of one so able and so conscientious, deceived many. We ask, are the men who complain thus, shareholders now? If so, out of their own mouths they are condemned; for they retained their shares after that secretary—Mr. J. C. Stewart—had very sufficiently and emphatically declared his opinion of the Bank, by resigning his lucrative appointment;—they retained their shares, although the Report for July 1847, was not signed by him, and in spite of abundant evidence that the Bank was running aground. The accounts which are now complained of, were defective and delusive in these respects: they represented as assets all debts that were owing from persons whose insolvency was not actually declared, however hopeless their circumstances might be; and they did not carry to the account of Profit and Loss, the block debts on the Indigo factories, which were mortgaged to the Bank before Mr. Stewart took his office, and which, by consent and with the full approbation of the proprietors, were carried on for the Bank, instead of being sold, at whatever loss, as Mr. Stewart recommended. That the Directors declared no debt bad till the avowed insolvency of the debtor, but rather reckoned it as an asset, was no fault of the Secretary's. Indeed, the Directors were, for the most part, men who could not have afforded to act on another system. If Mr. Stewart had been the proper person to declare authoritatively what assets were good, and what bad or doubtful, he would probably have declared against some which not a few of the Directors had the very strongest interest in calling good. The debt of Messrs. Cockerell and Co., for instance, was really bad long before their insolvency, and as bad as any that was ever declared so. And yet it is not pretended, we suppose, that while that house still appeared to flourish, and while the proprietors of the Bank consented to see one of its partners their President, the Secretary was to leave his own duties, (which were quite arduous enough,) beard the directors, and declare his fears of that debt? But why, it is said, why did not Mr. Stewart publish his opinions when he left the Bank a year before its stoppage? The answer is obvious. *No one* would have ventured to do so at that time. The present crisis would have been precipitated, and Mr. Stewart would have been denounced as the cause of all the losses sustained by the community in the general panic. Had any one, in January 1847, published what Mr. Stewart knew of several, (we may say a

considerable number) of the leading men in Calcutta, he would have been overwhelmed by public indignation, real and affected. Even at the time of the failure of Cockerell and Co. in November 1847, ten months after, Mr. Larpent, its head partner, was travelling with the late Governor-General, and he has since boldly declared that when his letters of the 24th August left London, the failure of Cockerell, Larpent and Co., was not thought possible! No one who was unprepared to encounter the fiercest possible storm, dared openly have declared what was very well privately known to many in May 1847, of the real state of some of the leading persons connected with the Union Bank. They had followers enough, to cry down any unfortunate man who might speak the truth:

> For 'tis a duty, all the learned think,
> T' espouse his cause by whom you eat and drink

Mr. Stewart did what conscience demanded—he relinquished his office. He did so, not to place himself in another and better position, for he declined even to entertain any proposals after his resignation was known and prior to his finally leaving the Bank, and at length he did leave it without having obtained or sought any other official or mercantile occupation, so that the emphasis of his resignation should not be lost and its meaning misunderstood. There are very few in Calcutta who would have made such a sacrifice. There are few here whom any consideration would induce to relinquish a liberal income! The attempt, therefore, which is now made to distract attention from the Directors, who are alone responsible for the ruinous and desperate courses of 1847, who are, many of them, heavy debtors to the Bank, who were elected to guard the interests of proprietors and took advantage of the opportunity to help themselves, or their already really insolvent houses—this attempt will not succeed. It is ingenious and adroit. It is as skilful as the manœuvre by which the surprising fact or fable, that the Bank had, or hoped to have 22,000 maunds of Indigo, was brought to light, at a time when it was sorely pressed for ready-money. It is the Directors, (we speak of them generally, and refer chiefly to those who were the Bank's real managers,) it is the Directors who overlooked the interests of proprietors to promote their own; they are the men who, in 1847, so enormously extended the issue of their Bank's post bills; who took immense amounts of worthless paper in exchange for the Bank's drafts on Glyn and Co.; and who, in disregard of the suffering which such a calamity was certain to entail on innocent families whose income was derived from Bank Shares, ruined the institution and were finally proved to be among its chief debtors. We turn

from this painful subject. It is fraught with instructive lessons which we hope will not be soon forgotten. Ere long its full history may be laid bare, and then we hope it will serve as a beacon to all similar institutions. At present we regret to say that the prospects of its creditors and solvent shareholders are very gloomy. A very large proportion of the shares is held by persons who cannot pay a call on them to meet the Bank's losses. We do not believe that less than 5,000 shares, (one-half of the whole,) are held by persons who are either ruined by the total loss of their small invested property, or by persons who were speculators in shares which they purchased with borrowed money, and which they used to raise money upon, to carry their speculations further. The result, therefore, may be very serious to the creditors and solvent shareholders, whether the Bank's Post Bills are ultimately held to be liabilities or not.

From the Union Bank we might turn to the Supreme Court in Calcutta, connected as that unfortunately has long been, through its officers, with the hazardous commercial system in Calcutta. But the time has not yet come for a full and dispassionate consideration of this subject. The case however is very extraordinary. Since the case of the masters in Chancery who lost the money of suitors in the South Sea bubble, nothing more painful has occurred in a British Court of Justice. The systematic neglect of official duties, the absorbing attention to commercial speculation, the astonishing use of trust funds in these speculations, the severe suffering entailed by the defalcations on innocent persons, the shock to public confidence, the difficult and anxious position of the Judges, have naturally attracted great attention here, and will not pass unnoticed at home.

It will surely not be overlooked by the British Parliament,—the jealous guardian of the national honor—that in one of the most important British judicial tribunals, the whole body of the officers have successively been open to the gravest rebuke;—that the late taxing officer, in 1847 took the benefit of the Insolvent Act; that the official Assignee and Receiver of the Court, who is still its Sworn Clerk, recently resigned his office with deficiencies in his accounts to the extent of five lakhs of rupees or £50,000; that the Master in Equity, although paid 4000 rupees a month to perform the duties of that office, is known to have devoted his time chiefly to the management of the Union Bank and to Exchange operations, and that he has been engaged together with the Prothonotary of the Court, in most extensive and ruinous speculations in bank shares; and lastly that the Registrar and Official Administrator and Official Trustee of the Court, Sir T. Turton, has resigned his most important and res-

ponsible appointment, after having long habitually violated the rules which were made to regulate his official dealing with the property in his hands, leaving the accounts in his office ten months in arrear, and deficiencies to the extent of about seven lakhs, or £70,000! All this demands serious and searching enquiry.

No satisfactory explanation has yet been afforded. It is lightly said indeed, that Sir T. Turton has become involved in the ruin of the Union Bank, as if he were rather an object of pity than of blame. But he had no right to speculate with the funds of intestate estates in Union Bank Shares, and his deficiencies very greatly exceed the value of his shares. On many of those shares he received large advances from the Laudable Insurance Office, which he has not repaid; and the total loss on the rest of his shares is not equal to any considerable part of the defalcations which have inflicted so much anxiety and suffering on the legatees and representatives of the deceased parties, whose Estates he administered. We presume not to predict what the result will be, —whether, as has been strangely alleged, Sir T. Turton is to return to his practice at the bar, for which some of the Attornies of the Supreme Court have already provided him with a great number of retainers—or whether a bill will be introduced into Parliament to compel the East India Company to pay his deficiencies, as they were made to pay those of Mr. Ricketts, the former Registrar at Madras,—but however the case may terminate, the history of it, and of all the contemporaneous events in the Supreme Court in Calcutta, will remain long, and we hope for ever, without a future parallel. Less than this we cannot say, and more the present state of the case does not enable us, with sufficient confidence, to add. The subject is peculiarly painful,—to none we believe so much so, as to the Chief Justice and his colleagues. They must feel that if there is an institution which should be entirely free from all suspicion it is a Court of Justice; and they must be conscious that if there is one country in the world, in which, beyond all others, a regard for the character of the people and for their habitual and hereditary belief that the administration of justice is impure, should lead to the most jealous maintenance of the high character of the Supreme Court of Judicature, that country is British India: and therefore, they must have been greatly wounded at the strange rumours that for so long a period weakened public confidence, and at the far stranger discoveries by which those rumours have been authenticated. "I saw," said the wisest of men, "the place of judgment that wickedness was there, and the place of righteousness that iniquity was there!"

There are other cases, which are more open to present consideration as they have been so much matters of public dis-

cussion already, that no new light is now likely to be thrown upon them. Prominent among these is the case of the Indian Laudable Life Insurance Society. Startling as some former public reports had been, there was yet room in the public mind for a feeling of augmented astonishment, when the announcement was made that a Life Insurance Society was involved in the commercial disasters of Calcutta; but when at length the whole truth was developed in the published report of a committee appointed to enquire into the circumstances, and when it appeared that speculators in Union Bank shares, who had been enabled to purchase Shares by loans from that Bank, had pledged them to a large extent to the Laudable Society, and with these loans had (as there is no doubt) carried still further their system of wholesale purchases; when it appeared that these loans had been obtained on the security of these shares at their par value, and that the loans to the same amount had been renewed after the shares had fallen 50 per cent. a climax seemed to have been reached at last, which completely surpassed all expectation, and excluded the possibility of any new disclosures, adding to the surprise of the community. We regard the transactions with the funds—"the sacred funds," as the committee, not improperly called them,—of that Life Insurance Office, as facts which mark a state of public opinion in Bengal demanding special attention, and which naturally excites painful solicitude. But these facts stand not alone. At one meeting of creditors—the meeting of the creditors of Hickey, Bailey and Co, it was stated that the assets would scarcely do more than pay the salaries of the establishment and defray the expense of arranging the accounts; that the books were at least six months in arrear; that the inspectors appointed to inquire into the affairs of the house, had been baffled in getting information; that the partner who chiefly managed the business had given information "whether satisfactory or not remained to be seen," by being "worked away at" by the inspectors, and that he had *only* neglected, according to his own showing, to mention one loan of 50,000 rupees and a security bond for a lakh; and yet, no more than three persons could be found to support a vote of censure! So again in the report of the Committee appointed on the 15th of January by the shareholders of the Union Bank, to enquire into the actual state of its affairs, 38 lakhs of debts on joint and several personal security—no less a sum than £380,000,—was put down as worth only thirteen lakhs, and when it was suggested at a subsequent meeting of shareholders, that the names of the debtors should be given, the motion was unanimously condemned, and it has not yet been repeated. And thus shareholders in England

and elsewhere, who have in some instances been well nigh or altogether ruined, are to meet calls to pay the Bank's liabilities, without being informed of the names of their own defaulting debtors, or being enabled to judge whether they really ought to be let off without remonstrance or rebuke, on paying a fraction of their debts! The result of course will be, that the ruin of the Union Bank's shareholders will be a propitious event for its debtors, who, without declaring their insolvency, or reducing their expenditure, or incurring the censure of the very charitable public of Bengal, will compromize their debts for a small portion payable by such instalments as their handsome style of living will enable them conveniently to spare. The same will be the effect of the failure of many of the mercantile firms, as it was the effect of the failure of the great houses. But of course such debtors are "all honorable men," and we must say no more. They only take advantage of the bankruptcy of others to conceal their own. It is "A New way to pay Old Debts" performed on a very large stage before a select audience of assignees, for the benefit of the actors themselves and future gentlemen-debtors. Thus some men easily run in debt and as easily escape from their obligations—"pour encourager les autres." And yet further: among the strange incidents that have occurred, is the discovery that Mr. Larpent, the acting Assignee of the estate of Palmer and Co., transferred from the account of that estate, to the account of his firm of Cockerell and Co., the whole sum that stood in the bank to Palmer and Co.'s credit, and that he had failed with a balance of about two lakhs of rupees, or £20,000 in hand, which now of course is lost in the general wreck of property in his disastrous insolvency. The amount at the credit of this trust account was transferred to the account of Cockerell and Co. for the sake of "*convenience!*" "For whose convenience," said the Chief Justice, "except that of Cockerell and Co. it would be difficult to say."

If these things pass uncensured: if the voice of public indignation be silenced;—then, indeed, we have reached a point of social degradation, from which it will not be easy to descend lower. But we are told not to use strong language in denouncing and exposing the circumstances connected with the recent insolvencies. It is all to be called misfortune, delusion, and the like. But the time has gone by for this gilding of deformity. Whatever we may say here, uncorrupted, unbiassed public opinion in Great Britain, will pronounce its sentence in no measured terms. And here, we hope, there are some who are not afraid to speak boldly, and to deal with the conduct that has been discovered, in the spirit of those who feel that the character of their country has been tarnished, and that the moral interests of society, in this

important city, are concerned in the vindication of English principles of commerce from the aspersion of sanctioning the system under the effects of which hundreds are now mourning. There are honorable exceptions in the mercantile community—men who are not ashamed to live in simplicity and without ostentation, to acknowledge the duties of personal religion, and to trade on the good old plans of legitimate agency and traffic. We know well what their sentiments are. The members of the Company's civil service also have been most honorably distinguished during the recent calamities,—scarcely has the name of a single one of them been mentioned, in connection with any sinister transaction. Some may have been plundered, none have been plunderers. They stand by, for the most part as calm and intelligent observers of commercial events, and their sentiments are well known. By these classes, and by many more, who are equally free from the contamination of the worst classes of Indian society, one opinion only is entertained, and that is, that the terms misfortune, and delusion, are not the terms properly applicable to most of the transactions to which public attention has been attracted, and that such pleas are no more receivable in these cases, than they are in public prosecutions for embezzlement, where the money may have been embezzled in order to carry on speculations, and where there may have been an indefinite intention to restore the money, if success attended the nefarious operations. They are no more receivable by public opinion, than they would be if the agents who have misappropriated money entrusted to them for special purposes, were indicted under the statutory enactment provided for such offences. The " misfortune" and " delusion" have really been systematic extravagance of living and wild gambling speculations, without any, or at least with very little, and an entirely inadequate, basis of capital. Indeed we may rest the charge against many who are now obnoxious to public censure, on the sole ground of extravagance. The amounts spent in the mercantile establishments, and by the private partners of some firms in their private households, have been so large, that few if any of the wealthiest millionaires of the merchant princes, manufacturers and iron masters of England,—men whose profits are often tens of thousands a year—could rival them. We could without difficulty show, that the expenditure of some of the insolvent firms during the last five years, has been such as to alter very materially the amount of dividend which might now be coming to their creditors if they had exercised ordinary caution and lived with moderation. Studs of horses, betting-books, and wanton private extravagance, or at least an undue number of partners all spending more than was

necessary, together with heavy charges for office expenses, and large amounts of other charges, (such as interest on borrowed money, and loss on the exchange operations which their unnatural and forced system of trade entailed on them) have, in point of fact, been the ruin of some houses. A morbid excitement has been created; the very expenses of the system have rendered it necessary to make desperate efforts to increase resources; the exigency of every month has so pressed upon the mind, and the pomp and splendour of luxurious living, with all the vanity of the quasi aristocracy which folly attempts to create in all colonial societies like that of Calcutta, have so perverted the judgment, that in many cases men seem to have forgotten their real position altogether, and have appeared to be dreaming that they were justified in resorting to any expedient that would uphold them in their artificial dignity. Moral health has gone. Lesser magnates have imitated their superiors, and lived beyond their means; it has ceased to be deemed objectionable to live expensively and to confess yourself to be in debt; petty cliques have affected to mark the distinction between those who were and those who were not "in society"; and altogether there has arisen a state of things, so fraught with folly, so conspicuous for the lack of good sense and correct principle, that the difference between right and wrong has ceased to be distinguishable by some minds, and is estimated capriciously by nearly all. This is a state of things to excite pity, but pity is not the only emotion it excites. We shall not shrink, unpopular and unfashionable, as it may be, from regarding the contemporaneous events in Bengal in the light of the unerring standard of Divine truth. We believe that here, where the fluctuations of society are so rapid and so remarkable, the world is exhibited before the eyes of intelligent observers as if in miniature. In a few years we see here, the whole history, as it were, of a whole generation, the beginning, progress and end. And in thus observing what passes before us, we may well be struck with the remarkable illustrations of God's providence, as that providence, in its general rules, is exhibited in the Revealed word of God. We see here how "the way of transgressors is hard;" how they that hasten to be rich "pierce themselves through with many sorrows;" how "a man's way may seem right to himself while its end is the way of death." We may observe men laying up treasure "in bags with holes;" many who seem to be most prosperous, baffled and ruined as if God ordained, that while they gained much they should lay up but little; and in the case of some few others we may see, that without great incomes or any anxiety for wealth, "the blessing of the Lord maketh rich, and he addeth no sorrow with it." We may notice

here, the truth of an observation of one of the greatest preachers and political economists of our country, one who made a lasting impression on one of the greatest commercial cities in the world, and one whose wisdom was not the less practical because it was drawn from the oracles of God—we mean the late Dr. Chalmers.—Clarum et venerabile nomen! "An affection for riches," said he, "beyond what Christianity prescribes, is not essential to any extension of commerce that is at all valuable or legitimate; and in opposition to the maxim, that the spirit of enterprise is the soul of commercial prosperity, we do hold, that it is the excess of this spirit beyond the moderation of the New Testament, which pressing on the natural boundaries of trade, is sure at length to visit every country where it operates, with the recoil of all those calamities, which in the shape of beggared capitalists and unemployed operatives, and dreary intervals of bankruptcy and alarm, are observed to follow a season of over-done speculation." We say nothing, and there is nothing in the writings of that great and good man in his Commercial Discourses or elsewhere, and certainly there is nothing in the Bible, against lawful trade and patient industry. Quite the contrary. There is generally found to be eventually a blessing on these, when combined. But when men come to a country like this, and expect to succeed by setting at defiance all the rules which experience at home shows to be generally necessary to success; when men who have enjoyed some measure of prosperity here, become anxious to make money faster and faster, and then (becoming infatuated by one or two adventures,) are "drunk but not with wine," and extend their operations, and hazard much more than they ever possessed, in order to obtain large and sudden profits, and in order to hasten away from this land to their native homes to live there in selfish enjoyment and the pride of wealth, we may expect to see them baffled and defeated one after another, and to witness that "it is bitterness in the latter end." And when we look at what has occurred recently among us, and judge it by the Bible standard, we see something more than misfortune and delusion, something besides folly, something worse than infatuation, we see a want of sound principle at the root, and systematic reckless fraud as the result. From such exhibitions, and from the effect of them on society at large, it is a duty of every one who has influence to guard the community. Society has as much interest in banishing the guilty in these cases, as it has in cases of adultery. It is a wholesome severity that excludes the adulteress from the companionship of her sex, and it would be only justice and sound policy to mark with equal severity the adventurers who pervert trade from its legiti-

mate objects, who abuse public and private confidence, and who involve the innocent in the ruin which desperate and unprincipled speculations entail upon themselves. But if these men are to be allowed without rebuke and without punishment from the law or from society, to render commerce little better than gambling, to hazard in flagitious speculations the property of all who may be induced by their plausible pretences to trust them with the custody of their money, then we say that the honest trader, and the innocent capitalist whose property is involved, by the necessary system of credit, in the inevitable catastrophes of such lawless trade, are both sacrificed to the sentimental leniency, which permits the men who thus abuse trade, and abuse the system of credit, and violate confidence, to escape unpunished, and which sends them forth to practise their arts once more, unrestrained by the lessons of experience or the fear of punishment.

In these observations we refer not to private circumstances, notorious and disgraceful as some of them are; nor do we wish to be understood as applying our remarks indiscriminately to all the cases of insolvency that have occurred of late years in Bengal. There are some cases, we freely admit, but we do not think that they are numerous, in which the partners of the insolvent firms, would pass the ordeal of the Bankrupt Courts at home, even if opposed by their creditors, without any thing nefarious being discovered in their system of business or the details of their affairs. There are cases in which firms now insolvent, have carried on a legitimate trade, though to some extent in too sanguine a spirit, on their own capital, and in which a combination of adverse circumstances, rather than any special course of personal delinquency, has caused their ruin. But speaking generally, taking the history of the great failures from 1830 to the present time, looking at the extent of the trade and the smallness of the dividend of a succession of insolvent firms, from Alexander and Co. down to Gilmore and Co., and having regard to the circumstances connected with most of the principal failures within the last four months, we find ample justification for every thing that we have stated The conduct of the Directors of the Union Bank in the proceedings to which we have already referred; their taking £130,000 worth of bills of Exchange in less than ten months, from such a house as Cockerell and Co. without security; their support of Colville, Gilmore and Co. in 1847; and their treating the debt of that firm as a good asset, so lately as in the report of July 1847; and the surprising facts which are now well-known, that many of the principal insolvents,—still undischarged and un-

examined by the Insolvent Court,—are already again in business, —these things go far to prove, that we have rather failed in pointing out the full extent of social demoralization in Bengal, than drawn the picture in colors too glaring and in outlines too bold.

But what, it may be said, are the prospects of such a place? We answer, that for a few houses, the very few which have capital, and are content to pursue a system of legitimate trade on a scale proportioned to their means, and to restrict their expenditure within suitable limits, the immediate commercial prospects of this presidency, are very gloomy. We by no means think that the crisis is yet over. The full effect in Great Britain of the news of the failure of so many houses here, has yet to be ascertained. Of the real state of some of the Calcutta houses there seems to have been so little knowledge at home, that the meeting of the creditors of Cockerell Larpent and Co. in London listened without objection to the statement, that the enormous debt due by Cockerell and Co. in Calcutta to its corresponding firm was perfectly good, and that nothing but extreme rashness and haste in realizing the property of the house out here, could prevent it paying in full!—the fact being, that here it was pretty certain, from the day of the failure, that the dividend would be very small indeed! Remembering this surprising proof of the blind confidence reposed at home in some of the houses here, we fear that the development of the truth which the news of the recent Mails from Calcutta conveyed, will augment the panic in the East India trade, and give the finishing blow to confidence in many of the firms that still hold their ground in England. But besides this result, we look for such an expression of public opinion in Great Britain, on the subject of the nature of the insolvencies here, as will betoken an entire distrust in the mercantile community of Bengal, and betray a strong disinclination on the part of capitalists, to occupy any part of the vacant field of enterprise in this country. Under these circumstances the houses that can command capital here, may profit by an accumulation of agency business in their hands, and by the reduced cultivation, and the consequently increased price, of Indigo. But they will not stand alone. They will have yet, for sometime, to encounter the competition of unscrupulous men, who will again attempt to carry on business by irregular practices, and whose proceedings will again injuriously affect the whole framework of mercantile society, and the markets both here and at home. Thwarted and disappointed they have been already, (in some cases more than once) but they are not disheartened, and they are not entirely without the resources which Native capital and the organized succour of others, as bold as them-

selves can afford, in obtaining credit. But their desperate efforts will be frustrated again, and gradually new houses on new principles, and new men from England with different habits, will take their places. Without pretending to prophecy, we may safely say, that eventually those only who have carried on a legitimate trade and exercised frugality and prudence, will be found to reap any substantial or abiding profit from their residence in this country. A few exceptions there may be, of adventurers who will not be constantly repelled in their crooked policy by the irresistible progress of sounder principles than any which they personally act upon or acknowledge; but in general, there will be but a series of wild measures and false appearances, followed by disasters and disgrace, and succeeded again by fresh schemes more desperate and more hopeless than before The end will be contempt and ruin.

It will behove all the solid houses that carry on business after the present storm is over, to profit by the experience of the past. If they carry on Indigo factories it must not be in the way of spending twenty or thirty per cent more than is necessary, and passing the accounts of Managers who spend four times more than their nominal income, and under whom Gomastahs, with nominal salaries of a few rupees a month, grow rich. If they make advances on goods they must not advance up to the full saleable value, in order to compete with other houses that are bidding for business by encouraging manufacturers to expect "liberal" advances. They must not imagine that the system of trade in Calcutta, any more than the system of trade at home, can in ordinary circumstances, and one year with another, support houses, in which there is an extravagant office expenditure, heavy interest is paid for borrowed money to carry on an unduly extended trade, money is annually lost by the exchanges, and several partners spend in their private houses as much as men of considerable realized fortunes would spend at home. They must not judge of other houses by appearances. They must bear in mind that very few persons here have any capital at all, and that for the most part those who have any thing considerable, go home. It must be as well remembered, as it is well known, that very few men however splendid their apparent prosperity, have left this country and retired from business in Calcutta, with as much as £30,000, during the last ten years. Merchants must be content here, like merchants at home, to live as men who are endeavouring to make money, and not as men who profess to be already wealthy. There must be great caution in meddling with exchange operations. Generally speaking the profit on such operations is comparatively small, and the risk exceedingly great, in a place like Calcutta. Really

good bills here generally sell advantageously, and the bills that can be purchased at prices that render them available for exchange operations, are generally purchased at a risk. And it must be considered too, that one year of disasters in such speculations will much more than compensate for the gains of a long period. All long-dated bills must be systematically refused. It is to the plan of drawing at ten months' date and to the extravagance of the insolvent houses, more than to any two other causes which could be named, that the late crisis may be attributed. Bills at *ten* months' date! Surely it is scarcely credible that such bills were the ordinary medium of trade between England and India, long after steam communication was established and up to December 1847! Even the present system of drawing at six months' sight must be reformed. Bills drawn at a longer time than four months' after sight cannot be required for the purposes of legitimate traffic in the transit of goods by the voyage round the Cape,—for this period affords five months and a half to the parties. Every day beyond this period is suspicious, because it is unnecessary. There must also be a suspicion of all companies—sugar companies, indigo companies, silk companies, steam companies, salt companies and the like. The property purchased for such bodies is generally bought very high; and the managers and others, are usually saddled upon them at a large expense, before the success of the companies or the competency of these persons, is tested. Very seldom are trading companies ultimately profitable Were a calculation made of all the sums sunk in companies of various kinds in India during the last fifteen years, and of the dividends paid by them, and were a faithful history written of the persons connected with them, with a statement of their present position, it would be seen, that in about nine cases out of ten, such speculations have been ruinous, and that none have profited by them but some few persons who were officially connected with them.

But there are some social wants in this community, besides prudence and economy on the part of the solvent and respectable merchants. We require, first of all, a far more stringent and complete Insolvent Law. We require a new law for cases of Insolvency—a system under which reckless trading will be punished by the law; the accounts of every insolvent firm will be rigidly scrutinized; the causes of every insolvency be made known; breaches of trust be summarily and severely dealt with, even when the guilty are not indicted; and the community be protected from the renewed efforts of designing and disgraced men, to thrust themselves again on the walks of commerce. Such a law,

unflinchingly administered, would go far to purify society, to restore the healthy action of enterprize, and to develope the native and enduring resources of industry. We need also an improved tone of public opinion. The race-course must be deserted. It is no honor to any place, and far less is it suitable in a trading community. And if men are shown to have been swindlers on an extensive scale, and plunderers by wholesale, they must not be absolved from the punishment which minor offenders suffer for cheating and petty larceny. The extent of their frauds must not be their protection. But we own that we do not see in Bengal itself the elements of any very rapid improvement or of the requsite elevation of public opinion. "When the vilest men are exalted, the wicked walk on every side." We have crowds of men whose moral sense is depraved, and whose habits are corrupted. We stand in need of new supplies of men from home—men who are accustomed to honorable business, and whose homes are the abodes of pure domestic virtue; who trade upon their own capital and do not anticipate, in their expenditure, the fortunes which they hope to rear up by the gradual fruits of industry; men who come from places, where all the customers of the bankers would withdraw all their deposits, if they saw those bankers establish racing studs and commence operations on the turf;—and men who do not make a mock of religion, systematically despise its duties, and devote the Sabbath Day to hunting. Such new residents are required in Bengal. And when they come, let them not find the principal authorities of the place, countenance others whose habits would render them objects of contempt at home. Let them see some sort of real discrimination in the constitution and course of society—some palpable evidences in the highest quarters, of repugnance to men whose pretensions have been exposed and whose knavery is known. Slowly, but surely this country would rise in character, were public opinion altered by such an admixture of new elements among the people. So far would such change be from retarding its commercial prosperity or checking the spirit of lawful enterprise, that the effect would rather be to augment both, for the confidence of capitalists would be secured, and thus, the vast resources of this most fertile land would be rapidly developed. Bengal, with her teeming population, her inexhaustible soil, her peaceful government, her valuable staple productions, would advance in prosperity as her people are already growing in knowledge, and soon, the prospects of this country and of the inland provinces, would render British India the greatest market for British manufactures, and the most promising opening of

trade for British merchants. Already the resources of Bengal are so great, as to present a prospect of eventual prosperity, even amidst all the calamities which the conduct of reckless men has produced; but under a better system, the aspect of affairs would probably be as favorable as in any country in the world. For a considerable time, however, great self-denial, great prudence, and much foresight, will be required. There must be a new system of measures, and for the most part, a new set of merchants. A renewal of the old system, will lead only to a catastrophe still more dishonorable to the British, and the Christian name than the history of the present crisis; the prosperity of the country will be indefinitely postponed; and painful lessons of experience will at length be learned, under the pressure of overwhelming misfortunes and the apprehension of final ruin. But we hope and we believe, that recent events have instructed many, and that the day is rapidly passing in which worthless men can with impunity trifle with the property of others, and degrade trade to a system of fraud and gambling. We hope and we believe, that many who were once thoughtlessly trusted, are now known in their true characters, and appraised, both in their ability and their principles, at their true value. It is well, that it should be so;—well, for the purposes of trade, and well, for the general interests of society. If hereafter such men regain their former footing and are trusted once more, it will be in defiance of all reason and all justice, and those who next suffer in the insolvencies of Bengal, must chiefly blame their own credulity. Our warning is fairly given, and we hope that the press generally, both here and in England, will not fail to repeat it with emphatic reiterations, till the whole character of society in Bengal is elevated to the standard which becomes a Christian community everywhere, and most of all in the presence of the discerning heathen inhabitants of this country. Our warning extends not merely to the fatuity which would place fresh confidence in men, by whom confidence has once been betrayed; it extends also to the morbid craving for high interest which affects nearly every capitalist in India; to the worthless sensibility which dreads the world's opinion, and urges men in debt to keep up false appearances; and to the undue extension of trade by any class of the community. The evils against which we thus utter our caution have long been the banes of Indian society; they have caused the sacrifice of immense property, the beggary of many families, and extensive social demoralization. Their effects may be traced in the present loss of public confidence and in the restraints of private intercourse; and they are felt in Great Britain by numerous retired residents, who are

suffering, in privations which affect themselves and their children, the consequences of the wanton folly and the pride of life, that marked their careers in this country. There has indeed been an improvement since the times when nearly all Europeans in India lived licentiously, prospered by bribery, and proved their infidelity by their conduct; and a further improvement will be experienced as the succeeding generation which garnished conversation with blasphemy and degraded hospitality into drunkenness, passes away. But the hankering for rapid gains; the discontent with moderate profits, with fair interest, and with the gradual accumulation of capital; the pride and the high pretensions that distinguish too many households, still affect most injuriously the character of the European population among whom we dwell. These are social diseases which are fatal in their tendency, and which urgently require the remedies which Christian principles alone can supply by elevating public opinion, and by affording eminent examples of moderation, self-denial, integrity, and moral courage.

All this we are prepared to hear denounced as cant. But let those who so readily escape from facts and arguments by the stale device of using nick-names, and most of all by the repetition of this convenient word, first justify the world that enslaves them by a prevalent cant of its own. Let them denounce the cant which demands payments for "debts of honor' from insolvents who may leave tradesmen and others who are ruined by them, without sympathy or succour; let them expose the cant which has appropriated to the barbarous practice of duelling, the term "satisfaction;" let them enquire if it be not cant, which sings of the glory of aggressive war, and let them ask if it be not cant which rewards with fame, the votary of selfish ambition. Till the world's own cant is cured, we are not careful to discuss the justice of the accusation which designates as cant, the plainest principles of the Bible. We are content to wait to see the question settled by public opinion echoing the voice of truth in the course of time. The denunciations of our opponents and of the school to which they belong, were directed as vehemently against every christian enterprize by which Great Britain is now distinguished,—Foreign Missions, the Christian Education of the poor, and the Circulation of the Scriptures—as they are now against all who dare to assail fraudulent systems of commerce. But we call to mind that while the great causes which were thus assailed, have triumphed wonderfully, so that their foes are now themselves silenced and abashed, the patrons of the Stage and the Jockey club, on the other hand, are beginning to experience some of the despair which has already overwhelmed the advocates of the Prize

Ring and Cock-fighting, and of other 'manly' and much applauded amusements. And so, doubtless will sound principles of social morals now make rapid progress, by whomsoever that progress may be deplored or resisted. In this confidence we leave the subject to the reflections of all good men. *Their* day of supremacy is coming, and its true glory will be rendered only more illustrious, by the few remaining traces which society will then retain of the effects of another ascendancy, and by which the contrary influence of righteousness, justice, and truth, will be conspicuously manifested in the sight of the nations.

The delay in the approach of this happier period may however be very trying, for "a multitude will run together to do evil," and occasional transient successes of commercial audacity may appear to reprove the tardy progress of patient industry: yet still let honest men hold fast their integrity; let them look to the general tendency of events rather than to casual circumstances, and let them habitually shun the society of others who can teach them nothing but artifice, and intimacy with whom is a warrant of suspicion. Let them keep themselves pure, and live as reasonable and immortal beings.

> 'Nor love thy life nor hate; but what thou livest
> 'Live well, how long or short; the rest permit to heaven.

There is a certain lawful and scriptural disdain, if we may so express it, which should fill the mind in reference to all the lofty pretensions of wicked men who affect to be powerful in crime. "The King of Egypt is —— but a *noise!*" "The best of them is—as a briar!" This is God's estimate of the proud and daring; and it is one of the signs which He has himself given us of a good man, that in his eyes "a vile person is contemned." The Great Example of embodied excellence and truth was described as "separate from sinners." But in this country nearly all distinctions seem to have been lost, and almost the whole community has become diseased by the infection of a few corrupted members. "Truth has fallen in the streets and equity cannot enter." We ask with earnestness how long shall this continue, how long shall we be trampled on by unworthy men and be deluded by their unequalled effrontery? Is conscience silenced and courage lost? Are the untainted rulers of this country, are the men of virtue and honor among us, *afraid* to deal with the evils which contaminate society, and degrade commerce? Well may we echo the cry of the moralist: "In Christian hearts, oh for a Pagan zeal!" We permit here without public censure, conduct which would have been denounced in Heathen Rome,—conduct which supplies the Hindu and the Mussulman

with the most galling reply the Christian Minister can receive: "These swindlers are your Christians,—Physician heal thyself!" Shall this disgrace continue? Are we to witness another long course of commercial dishonesty, and another and worse commercial crisis? Our hope is sanguine that the end of this atrocious sytem is at hand, and that better men and better principles will soon have sway in this country. But if a result so long desired and so long delayed is to be attained, each man for himself must do his duty fearlessly. He may be brow-beaten by some, he may be ridiculed by others, but assuredly in the end he will know that he has gained much if he sacrifice the friendship of the associates who thus trouble and oppose him. For ourselves our stand has long ago been taken, and we can sincerely testify that the smiles of worldly society are not necessary to happiness, and that the excitement of its extravagant pleasures induce delirium rather than joy. We can say as Lord Chesterfield said after his career of apparent felicity and grandeur: "I have been behind the scenes. I have seen all the coarse pullies and dirty ropes, and smelt the tallow candles which illuminate the whole decoration to the astonishment and admiration of the ignorant multitude. When I reflect back on what I have seen, what I have heard, and what I have done, I can hardly persuade myself that all this frivolous hurry and bustle, and pleasure of the world, had any reality. I look upon all that is past as one of those romantic dreams which opium commonly occasions, and I do, by no means, desire to repeat the nauseous dose for the sake of the fugitive dream!" This is the language of experience—the experience of one whose lessons were learned under the most favorable circumstances. And if such be the result of a knowledge of the world in its greatest and grandest displays, much more may we expect to be dissatisfied if we live on the favor of a small vitiated community, where our aristocracy is manufactured by temporary incomes squandered in extravagance, and where vulgar tastes and groundless pretensions too often assume the place which hereditary honors and the highest refinements of education and intercourse secure at home. To such enjoyment as such society can afford, we leave the butterflies who bask in its beams. Their time is short. There is a good day coming, and soon may its approach vindicate the honor of our country and the purity of the Christian name!

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

2. *The Bengal and Agra Annual Guide and Gazeeteer. Calcutta*, 1841.

3. *Minute by A. J. M. Mills, Esq., on the Tributary Méhals*, 1847. *(Manuscript Copy.)*

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

SOMEWHAT similar to the cloud which overshadowed the West of Europe during the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the feudal system still prevailed, was that which darkened the Cuttack Tributary Mehals,* when the province itself was conquered by the British in 1803. The administration of the Mahrattas in Cuttack, during a period of forty-seven years, had sown the seeds of "misrule, anarchy, weakness, rapacity, and violence," among the people of the province, generally; but in no parts could these enormities have proceeded in so uninterrupted a course, as in those hill estates, where chiefs reigned independent over an ignorant and fanatical race—their mountain palaces protected by nature herself;—for what the works of Vauban and Cormentaigne are to us, were those sublime forests, those rocky hills, those mountain fastnesses to them! Between the barons, then, of the middle ages, and the chiefs of the Cuttack Tributary Mehals, at the present day, there is, at least in point of circumstance and character, some resemblance; and there is little doubt that if we could go back half a century, and trace the Government in these hill estates, during that period, we would discover that its workings and effects were somewhat similar to those of the *feudal system* of old. Lands distributed into portions—principal officers appointed—the territory held on the sole condition of serving in the defence of the country—serving accordingly, at their own expense—the administration of justice, and collection of the revenue in peace, and the superintendence of the army in war, in the hands of the head of each district,—such are some of the leading features of the old feudal system. And what were the consequences of such a Government?—robberies and disorders; merchants cheated of their dues; a depressed state of trade; licentiousness and ignorance. Till within a very late period this has been the state of things in some portions of the Tributary Mehals of Cuttack:—and we may view with pleasure the recent operations against Ungool,

* *Mehal* simply means a hilly, jungly country.

—regarding them, in these parts, as the harbinger of brighter days.

When the announcement appeared in the newspapers that a "Proclamation was transmitted to Goomsur by the Supreme Government,—ordering the reduction and dismantling of all the forts and strongholds belonging to the Rajah of Ungool,"*—"Where is Ungool?" must have been a very general question. How many are there who knew it was one of the Cuttack Tributary Mehals, about three hundred miles from the seat of the Supreme Government, whose Rajah or Zemindar had become turbulent and unruly,—and, in consequence, against whom we had every right to proceed? Very few—we dare say. Before an authentic description had appeared of these hill estates, the discussions concerning them, in conversation and in writing, might have been the cause of diffusing much incorrect information,—as that regarding Goomsur, for instance,—when an enlightened Englishman gravely wrote concerning the "Goomsurs of Khond!" Now, as it is our purpose to accompany the Ungool Field Force, which passed through three of the Mehals—Atghur, Dhenkanal, and Hindole—to reach the country of the rebellious Rajah, we may, before taking the reader across the Mahanuddi, furnish some historical and general information respecting the whole of these Zemindaris.

The Cuttack Tributary Mehals, were, on the conquest of the province, excluded from the operation of the regulations, "as being a jungle country inhabited by a rude and uncivilized race of people." In 1814, the Judge and Magistrate of Cuttack, who was "vested with authority in the Tributary Mehals," and had been so since 1804, was superseded by a Superintendent—"appointed and directed to endeavour to establish such a control over the conduct of the Rajahs as might prevent the commission of crimes and outrages." Stirling, in his interesting and graphic pages, while pointing to certain features of analogy between the feudal lords of Asia and those of the western hemisphere, remarks that "the estates or jurisdictions of that class in Orissa were always called by the Hindus, Gerhs, and by the Mussulmans, Killahs or *Castles*." The original meaning of killah, we are also informed, "was a fort or strong place *on a hill* or mountain, though in latter times it has become applied to all kinds of places of defence."† And, as was found to be the case, at the present day, in Ungool, each estate pos-

* *Bengal Hurkaru*, January 8, 1848. "Weekly Summary of Notes."

† *Killah* is now merely applied to the estates or feudal jurisdictions of the Tributary Rajah.

sessed "some stronghold, difficult of access, and more or less fortified." As the kings in France and England, under the feudal system of the Middle Ages, always possessed, by virtue of their rank, the greatest portion of land; so the Hindu sovereigns of Orissa, and their successors, the Moguls, the Mahrattas, and the English, have, during their various administrations, held the most fertile and productive division of the province. And "it was the uniform policy of the strong government of the Mahommedans, constantly to enlarge this share by the gradual subjugation and absorption of the possessions of the lesser chiefs and princes." The mountain strongholds, difficult of access from the plains, the tyranny practised by the stronger over the weaker party, and many other evils attendant upon a feudal system,—all were in full operation, when a Superintendent was directed to establish a control over the Zemindars of the Tributary Estates. The power allotted by Government to this functionary was not then defined. And to have defined it, would have been no easy matter under the circumstances. The downfall of the Orissan monarchy commenced in 1524: but the Mogul arrangements, for the management of Orissa, were not completed until A. D. 1592. Then it was that Rajah Man Singh, the imperial Lieutenant in Bengal, assumed charge of the government. This native officer—in financial affairs, apparently, the Neckar of his day—was the first to prepare a written statement of "Killayat, in the jungles and hills under Zemindars, subject to tribute," (Peshkash). But no regular tribute is said to have been exacted in former days. The Rajah of Khurda, at the time of Rajah Man Singh's assumption of the government of Orissa, appears to have been the chief landholder;—for, in addition to his own numerous estates, thirty Zemindaris of Hindu Sirdars, containing one hundred and twenty-nine killahs, were under his command. The dominion of the Khurda Rajahs was, as Stirling writes, extinguished in 1804, on account of "a most unprovoked rising against the newly established English government, which drew down upon Rajah Mokund Deo the vengeance of the British power. He was driven from his fort, seized, sent a prisoner to Midnapore, and his remaining territory of Khurda was brought under the management of the British collectors." The Rajahs of Khurda have since enjoyed a pension from Government:—they have likewise "an office of authority connected with the temple"—and the Rajah, to this day, dwells in Juggernath Púrí—the dark city of the idol shrine. The thirty Zemindaris, already mentioned as being under the command of the Rajah of Khurda, on the arrival of Rajah Man Sinh, included with the exception of Keonghur and Mohuroung, the whole of the pre-

sent Cuttack Tributary Mehals. Goomsur, and several other neighbouring hill estates—separated from Orissa, about 1730—were likewise formerly under the dominion of the Khurda Rajahs. No less than thirteen make up this "line of Kings,"—from A. D. 1580 till 1798. The Tributary Mehals are bounded on the north by the District of Midnapore; on the north west and west by the Mehals of the south west frontier; on the south by the territory subject to Madras; and on the east, by the plains of Cuttack. The extent of country, on the aggregate, is stated to be 65,000 square miles: its population about 1,500,000. There are sixteen Tributary Mehals under the Commissioner of Cuttack—in his capacity of Superintendent. Mr. Mills, in his valuable Minute, states that he is indebted to the "luminous and able" report of Mr. Ricketts—the former Commissioner and Superintendent—dated the 21st January, 1839—for the information regarding the management of the Mehals, "from the time we took possession of the country, up to the date of his communication."

The exemption of these Jungle or Hill Zemindars from the jurisdiction of the Civil and Criminal Courts, was a stroke of good policy on the part of our Government The exemption was founded on motives of expediency alone—the jungle Zemindaris not being in a fit state to receive our regulations. All this was satisfactory enough. But yet we cannot reconcile ourselves to the idea that our Government did all that might have been expected of it, when the Tributary Mehals were placed under the Superintendent, in 1814. It was then that some decisive measures ought to have been taken towards the bettering of their condition. In this year, says Mr. Mills, the introduction of the Regulations was proposed by Mr. Impey; "but Government, apprehensive that the scheme could not be carried out without employing a military force, discountenanced the project." Caution, in political affairs, is often wisdom;—but here was a slight want of decision of character. In 1815, the question of the introduction of our Regulation laws was again discussed;—but nothing was done. In 1821, Mr. Blunt re-agitated the question, and submitted a code of rules of his own;—but the Government became afraid of them—pleaded, for refusing their adoption, a want of information—never called on the functionaries at Cuttack for that information;—and so the Tributary Mehals were left to the mercy of the Rajahs—these Zemindars (for Rajah is only a title of grace, which they dared not to assume while the Rajahs of Khurda were the reigning princes) being controlled only by the undefined authority of the Superintendent.

Not then, not twenty years after that, were cruelty and op-

pression to cease in those jungle regions; not then was nature to be charmed with the sight there, of justice beginning to breathe, and civilisation "struggling to be born."

The Superintendent of the Mehals, from 1821, till the time of Mr. Ricketts' appointment, was guided, however, in his control over the Rajahs and their estates, by Government orders of the tenth of August of that year. The Secretary to Government, in his letter to the Superintendent, dated, as above, says—

"Interference should be chiefly confined to matters of a political nature, to the suppression of feuds and animosities prevailing between the Rajahs of adjoining Mehals, or between the members of their families, or between the Rajahs, and their subordinate Territories; to the correction of systematic oppression, violence and cruelty practised by any of the Rajahs, or by their officers, towards the inhabitants; to the cognizance of any apparent gross violation by them of their duties of allegiance and subordination; and generally to important points, which, if not attended to, might tend to violent and general outrage and confusion, or to contempt of the paramount authority of the British Government."

On Mr. Ricketts' assumption of office*—the following principles were proposed by him, in order to introduce some uniformity and consistency of proceeding in the direction of the Tributary Mehals:—

"To restrain the Rajahs from exercising the power of life and death, to make them punishable for murder, homicide, mutilation, or other gross cruelty.

To provide for the punishment of all offenders in a manner suitable to the Mehals.

To gradually introduce trial by *Punchayat*.

To hold the Rajahs amenable in all pecuniary transactions which may be registered in the Superintendent's Office.

To regulate the course of proceeding, when claims shall be brought forward by an inhabitant of one Mehal against an inhabitant of another Mehal."

These are the principles of the draft of penal and civil rules, proposed by Mr. Ricketts for the management of the Killahs, "in which he also defined," says Mr. Mills, "the authority which the Rajahs, as Criminal and Civil Judges, might exercise in their own countries."

But these rules were, on the whole, disapproved of by the Government—as involving too much interference on our part, and tending to weaken the influence on the Rajahs over their subjects. Mr. Mills, a year or two after his appointment (February, 1839) was directed to revise the code, on principles explained in a letter from the Legislative Department of the Government, dated 25th November, 1839. These went "to interdict the

* He was appointed Commissioner of Cuttack and Superintendent of Tributary Mehals, in 1836.

'Rajahs from inflicting the punishment of death, or any other 'punishment contrary to the principles of English law; from 'committing enormities upon the people of their countries, or 'harassing or attacking their neighbours—and to enjoin as 'little interference as possible in matters either of Civil or Crimi-'nal Justice."—The first clause of these principles, it will immediately be observed, is similar to the first of those proposed by Mr. Ricketts some time before this letter was written; so that that portion of his draft, relating to the powers of life and death in the hands of the Rajahs, and the punishment of serious crimes committed by them—must have met with the approbation of Government.

Mr. Mills brought to the task of a revisal of the code three of the most essential qualifications an Indian legislator can be blessed with—long experience in judicial and financial affairs, soundness of judgment, and a vast fund of common sense. At the same time, there was a mildness about his character, a friendliness, a seeming desire to be on good terms with all men—which, as throughout his long and useful career in Orissa, may have softened that rigidity which is frequently so necessary to the perfection of administration. Mr. Mills adopted Mr. Ricketts' rules as his ground work, "modifying only such parts as involved too great an interference in the general administration of Civil and Criminal justice," and adding some suggestions of his own, "the principal of which provided for the abolition of Meriah sacrifices, and the inhuman right of Suttee." But the Government of India considered the revised rules too minute and precise to work well; so Mr. Mills was ordered to "draw out some short, clear, and well defined rules, making the Rajahs responsible to the Superintendent in cases of murder, homicide, and other heinous offences, without however interfering so far as to make them amenable to the Civil court of the superintendent, in cases between the Rajahs and their creditors."

Rules revised on the above principle, were submitted to Government accordingly; but those in authority, not being inclined to sanction any defined rules at the time, thought it better not to pass them,—and merely directed the superintendent to shape his conduct by the spirit of the rules he had proposed to bring into operation. These rules are eighteen in number. From what we have already given, regarding the modifications implied in the Government orders, the reader, we hope, will form a correct idea of the leading features of the new code. It was the constant aim of Mr. Mills to abstain, as much as possible, "from all gratuitous and unnecessary interference" with the Rajahs, in their affairs,—except where he could interpose his

authority to encourage or promote "an amicable adjustment of disputes." Regarding the Rajahs and their creditors, "I notified to the public," says the superintendent, "my determination to refuse to listen to all claims against the Rajahs for the recovery of their debts." The Rajahs and merchants are mutually benefitted by this wise determination,—the former, for ready money, getting goods at a cheap rate,—and the latter—chiefly composed of "up-country" Patans and Affghans—always demanding cash before they part with their merchandise.

Formerly, the Rajahs paid double and treble the value of an article. And there is a story current—for the truth of every word of which we do not vouch, although we have no reasons for disbelieving it—illustrating a slight transaction of business between the Mehal Rajah and the merchant. Previous to the campaign in Ungool, a dealer, with his batch of horses, was passing through that country. The Ungool chief admired some of the animals,—and wished to purchase four or five of them. "My price is two thousand rupees for the horses," said the merchant,—"so give me the money and you shall have them!" "No—no!" said Ungool—"I'll tell you what it is—I'm going to fight the English; and then you shall have five thousand for the horses. The Feringhis are not soldiers—beating drums—blowing bugle—patter-clatter—all parade—no fight in them!" (We know that he once made an assertion similar to the latter.) "That won't do!" said the merchant—"what if you do not beat them?"

Ungool looked aghast,—as the merchant walked off with his horses.

Before leaving the subject of the rules for the management of the Mehals, we shall refer to rule seventeenth which requires Rajahs to deliver up to the superintendent "any fugitives charged with heinous offences, who may conceal themselves in their estates." And this leads us to relate the immediate cause of the downfall of the Rajah of Ungool.

He had for some time been more than suspected of not only affording aid to the insurgent Khonds, but of having sent his people to destroy two villages in Duspulla, about the beginning of last year. Added to these matters, he refused to send in witnesses required by Mr. Grant, (who had been appointed by Government to examine into affairs in Goomsur,) regarding the burning of villages and other outrages. The Government then resolved to take measures against him. He was accordingly summoned to appear before the superintendent, Mr. Gouldsbury, within a certain specified period, to answer the above charges, bringing the witnesses with him at the same time;—he was also

informed that if he failed to obey the summons, he should be deposed, and proceeded against as a rebel. He treated these threats with contempt,—and refused to appear before the Cuttack Commissioner—or to send in the witnesses.

Operations against Ungool were then commenced. We shall have to allude more fully to some of the above misdemeanours, and to remark concerning the Rajah's general misbehaviour, as we proceed with our narrative.

But, without anticipating more at present, we proceed to remark, that, during Mr. Mills' administration of the tributary Mehals, as he assures us in his minute, he spared no exertions to put an end to the systems of Suttee and Meriah sacrifice. Regarding Suttee, a penal engagement was taken from the Bewurtah (head officer) of each village, "binding him to prevent any females from being burnt, in the event of the death of their respective masters." There have been a few violations of this prohibition, during late years;—but these have always been attended by the severest punishments, producing thereby a terror which has checked the frequency of Suttee sacrifice. As to the practice of sacrificing human beings to the earth god, in the Khond regions of Boad and Duspulla,* however great the difference of opinion may be regarding his measures, our own pages bear witness to the fact that Mr. Mills did labour strenuously for the suppression of this horrid rite. Being Khond regions, it were as well, that the above two Mehals were transferred to the Agent specially appointed for the suppression of Meriah. But, considering the vastness and importance of the superintendent's other duties—Commissioner of a Province, in the settlement of the land revenue of which he took a considerable share—it may be thought that he should not have been denied the aid he required, viz. that of furnishing Captain Hicks, his assistant, with a small body of troops, to further his endeavours to induce the Khonds in Duspulla and Boad, to sacrifice human victims no more. Conciliation had been tried, and had failed,—and doubtless if warlike operations were to, be resorted to, they might have been as easily carried out by one party as by another. At least, without entering into details, we may assert, that Mr. Mills, in his humane endeavours, deserved all the support which government, in consistency with its policy, could extend to him. This is no party statement;—but one founded on the rules of com-

* "It may here be noted that in Duspulla, the saal tree grows to an immense size, and the Rajah of this Mehal is bound annually to furnish timber for the Car of Juggernath, used at the Ruth jatra festival."—*Bengal Gazetteer.* The capital of Duspulla is Nursinghpúrghur—and Bermúl, which we may mention hereafter, is situated in this estate.

mon justice. And it is our foremost wish, on whatever subject we write, to do justice to all.

"The Rajah of Ungool," writes Mr. Mills, "has executed an agreement not to give any assistance to the Boad Khonds, nor to afford an asylum in his estate to Chokra Bisaye, a nephew of Dora Bisaye, the principal chief of Goomsur, and leader of the late insurrection there; nor to any of the Boad or Duspulla Khonds. Chokra Bisaye has lived in Ungool since 1837." Regarding this latter assertion, we shall say nothing at present.

Boundary disputes are said to be the most fertile source of animosity in the Tributary Mehals.

But, through the well-timed intervention of the Superintendent, and attachment, when necessary, of the disputed land—no serious feuds have of late years taken place. Mr. Ricketts and his successor, Mr. Mills, both concur in the opinion that the *general conduct* of the Rajahs towards their subjects is neither oppressive nor cruel. The following matter relative to obedience of orders, among the Rajahs, is given by Mr. Mills:—

"The principal and most independent Rajahs, viz. those of Ungool, Nyaghur, Mohurbunge and Keonghur, are very despotic in their sway; but the introduction of the rules, followed up as they were by the conviction of the Rajah of Banki, for several atrocious murders, and by his removal from the Raj, which he so disgraced, have induced a better line of conduct—even in them. They are more prompt to obey orders which clash with their own interests or inclination,—and are less disposed to oppress their subjects.'

The Rajah of Banki, mentioned in the above extract, was sentenced to imprisonment for life; and his Killah was confiscated to Government.

The annexation of his Mehal, which now feels the benefit of our administration, is in every way favourable to the better government of the neighbouring Estates;—and, no doubt, the example set by us, will tend to the diffusion of happiness and good order generally. Our recent operations in Ungool will also do much to aid us in this great work of philanthropy.

But, in our sober opinion, the whole of the Cuttack Tributary Mehals,—before they can experience the benefits conferred by just Government,—before the people can compete with their brethren in those portions of the province entirely subject to our rule,—must be—and we hope to see the arrangement some day effected amicably—brought entirely within the pale of our Imperial law. So let us give vent to our aspirations in these well known lines—

"Come bright improvement! on the car of Time,
And rule the spacious world from clime to clime;
Thy handmaid arts shall every wild explore,
Trace every wave, and culture every shore."

On account of the barbarous characteristics which degrade the inhabitants of the Hill Estates, and more particularly the ferocious *Paiks* or foot soldiers—if such rabble can be so called—Mr. Mills thinks the introduction of our Civil and Criminal Code would not be adapted to the present state of society; nevertheless he thinks "much may be effected in paving the way for its application, by adopting such measures as will extend the beneficial influence which it is in our power to exercise over the Rajahs, and as will put the relations of Government with these chiefs on a better footing—and accelerate the progress of civilization."

The constant occupation of the Superintendent's time, however, Mr. Mills found out eventually to be a serious barrier to his giving the Tributary Mehals that degree of attention which their circumstances required. He consequently suggests to his successor, in the Minute before us, "that he solicit Government to appoint the Commandant of the Paik Companies his Assistant, who should be required to qualify himself by learning the language and acquainting himself with the state of the country, and the character of the inhabitants." The several duties of such a functionary, among which the disposing of boundary quarrels seems to be the most important, are proposed in a clear and concise manner by Mr. Gouldsbury's predecessor. To fulfil these duties, with credit to himself and the Government, necessarily requires a man of some talent and great industry. And we doubt not that the present Assistant—for the new Commissioner, immediately he was settled in office, adopted Mr. Mills' suggestion, and gained the object—Lieutenant Dinsdale, of the 22nd Madras Native Infantry, will be found equal to every occasion.*

The following information regarding "Transit Duties" in the Tributary Mehals, may be interesting to some readers. Mr. Mills states, that—

"The Rajahs are in the habit of levying custom duties on the transit of grain through their districts. Mr. Commissioner Ker, believing it to be a breach of engagement with the Government, put down the practice. I found the system had been revived,—and have endeavoured to repress it; but I fear not successfully. In Atmullik, which was transferred to Cuttack in 1837,† imposts have been always levied—and the engagement contains no stipulations that warrant prohibitory interference. The Rajahs strive to evade the prohibition order, on the pretext of demanding Chokidaries' fees, for the protection of the life and property of travellers. The Rajah of Ungool is *the foremost and most systematic violator*. He has established a

* Captain Dunlop, of the 50th M. N. I. was his able predecessor, as Commandant of the Paik Companies.

† Transferred from the S. W. Agency.

Chokey at Tikripurra, on the Mahanuddi, where the river is not 200 yards broad—and collects, I am informed, some thousands of Rupees per annum, from the boats passing to and fro."

So much for the Rajah, in his capacity of "Collector of Customs."—We shall not detain the reader in this portion of our paper with an account of what has been done for the opening of roads in the Mehals; the education of the Hill tribes; and the statistics and produce of the country. These will be more acceptable when we have marched on a little; as will also the estimated extent and resources of each Mehal; and a few remarks on the chiefs and their country;—all these it is our intention to make accessories to a brief Military sketch. We cannot commence the campaign, however, without some account of the Ungool Rajah and his conduct previous to Mr. Gouldsbury's entering office about the commencement of 1817. The character of the Rajah is thus described by Mr. Mills:—

"He is an intelligent, though eccentric man; but is withal proud and headstrong,—and *the most refractory of all the chieftains*,—and *the most likely to come into collision with the constituted authorities*. He is *little disposed to obey orders*—which clash with his imaginary rights; or whatever may happen is ascribed, says Mr Ricketts, to his fortune and not to his fault,—and as being fortune, is to be met as it best may—bowed to, and endured."

Here is a curious termination. Shakspeare wrote that *men's judgments are a parcel of their fortunes*—Bacon, that *wise men ascribed their virtues to Providence and Fortune, that they might the better assume them* in public. But the Rajah founds his judgment entirely on fortune,—and ascribes his crimes and misbehaviour to the Dame—that he may the better carry on a course of infamy.

In 1831, he plundered part of the territories of the Duspulla Rajah;—for which he was directed to pay 1,150 Rs.—the value of the property. He refused to pay,—and was then threatened with the attachment—of his country. In 1837, six persons were murdered in cold blood, it is believed, by his orders. The Rajah was called on by Mr. Ricketts to give up the murderers: he refused to do so,—and the Superintendent reported his conduct to Government,—"who authorized him to enquire into the case, and to seize by force and carry to Cuttack any party resisting his authority."

A Military force was then marching up the Mahanuddi, to cooperate with the Goomsur Commissioner, in his endeavours to bring the Khond war to a termination. Mr. Ricketts took advantage of this force, and compelled the Rajah to obey orders. He likewise made him pay the money which had been due to the Duspalla Rajah for six years, also a fine which was imposed

upon him for his disobedience. As a breach of Rule 17, before alluded to—we would have been perfectly justified in attaching Ungool to our possessions, in 1837.

In 1846, the Rajah "attacked, plundered, and forcibly took possession of" a village of Hindole, "at a time," says Mr. Mills, "when his right to the village was under enquiry before me;"—for this offence he was sentenced to pay a fine of 3,000 rupees. His excuse for this outrage was that he had purchased the village. But the Rajah of Hindole had never received the purchase money. Government cancelled the sale "on the grounds that the Rajahs of the Tributary Estates are not competent to alienate any portion of their respective Estates, without the authority of Government."

The Rajah, insisting on his right to the village, "refused to renounce his claim, *and determined to oppose force by force.*"

After all this impertinence and rebellion on the part of the Ungool Rajah few may be prepared for the announcement that the village was made over to him, on the condition of his paying the fine, and imploring forgiveness for his misconduct. But the Rajah, of course, laid it all upon poor Fortune; so Ungool was spared to commit further atrocities—because it was *not his fault but his misfortune.* Being unable to approve of Mr. Mill's policy regarding the sale of this village, we deem it fair to allow him to state his own case. "I was induced to yield the point," says he, "because the sale and purchase of portions of Tributary Estates had not been formally and publicly prohibited before the transaction occurred,—and I deemed it inadvisable to proceed to extremities and employ a Military force, and seize the Killah, as the justness of our quarrel might, with some share of fairness, be impugned. Thus a war with this misguided chieftain was avoided; but, from his character it may at any time be necessary to use force against him." This leniency, however, will not do in political arrangements with rebellious chiefs. The Rajah had further determined to "oppose force by force." In 1846, a Military force should have entered Ungool;—and, at that period, the country should have been placed entirely under our management.

But the work of 1846 was reserved for 1848;—and on the 15th day of January of the present year, the "Ungool Field Force," under the command of Lieut. Colonel Campbell, C. B., crossed the Mahanuddi. The political management of Ungool was also entrusted, for the time, to the Government "Agent in the Hill Tracts of Orissa." We have before stated the more immediate cause for proceeding against Ungool. And we must say, injustice

to Mr. Gouldsbury, that all his proceedings with regard to the Rajah, have been marked with an admirable decision of character. During the first two months of his administration, his attention was drawn to the rebellious chieftain—who, towards the end of February, 1847, was reported to be creating mischief in Duspulla; plundering villages—and aiding and abetting the Khonds in that region and elsewhere to resist the measures adopted by Captain Macpherson, the well-known Khond Agent, to put down the barbarous practices of human sacrifice* and infanticide.

A wing of the distinguished Kelal-i-Ghilzie Regiment, then at Cuttack, was in consequence immediately deputed by the Commissioner to proceed to Bermúl, to protect the Rajah of Duspulla,—and, if necessary, to afford every aid in carrying out the Government measures. But nothing important was done:—we dare say, the Rajah of Ungool or his people became a little alarmed—and quietly retreated to their stronghold. All seemed at rest for a while, at least in the Tributary Mehals. But schemes of villany were busily hatching in that dark nest at Crútesnachuker ghur—where, we doubt not, the cry of the oppressed has oft resounded through the adjacent rocky hills, and dark broad forests.

As the year advanced, and affairs began to assume a rebellious appearance, the Commissioner applied to Government for two regiments. Two regiments of Madras Native Infantry—the right wing of a third—with the full complement of Artillery,—were consequently formed into the "Ungool Field Force." Two Companies of the 22nd Regiment, under Captain Dent, were immediately ordered to Bermúl, to afford protection to Duspulla. Madras seems to have been on a par with Bengal, as regards the knowledge of the position of the country, against which we were about to proceed.

We do not mean to assert that some went so far as to state that Ungool was in the North Western Provinces, or that it was on the road between Madras and Hyderabad. That would never do. But let us proceed to Kukker, on the borders of the Atghur Mehal;—for a want of Geographical knowledge is a sad thing to dwell on. The march from Cuttack to Kukker (Kurkhur) is only seven miles, nearly due west:—the village is small and insignificant—beautifully situated on the Mahanuddi. On the morning of the 16th of January, the force marched for Kuntillo, distant from Kukker, upwards of fourteen miles. The country, between Kuntillo and Kukker, is, in parts, beautiful and

* There are no Khonds of the sacrificing tribe in Ungool.

fertile—a thick jungle (in which the mangoe and bamboo abound) making its appearance, as you near Kuntillo, the capital of Atghur. This Mehal is bounded on the north by Dhenkanal and Daljúra ; on the south by Sarindah, in Banki ; and on the east, by the Kurkur and Mogullundi Estates. The country is hilly ; but flourishing valleys abound—and abundance of rice is produced. Mr. Mills found this Mehal in a state of embarrassment, when it first came under his superintendence :—through his interference, and a fair distribution of the gross rental of the Estate, things have assumed a brighter aspect. Formerly the tribute paid by Atghur to the British Government was Rs. 6,848 : at present it is about 4,115. The supposed area of the country is only 200 square miles. The estimated rent-roll, received by the Rajah, is Rs. 15,000. The Baptist Missionary Society have planted a small body of Christians in this estate. Mr. Mills states this Killah to be able to muster 1,500 Paiks. Proceeding in a north westerly direction, on the morning of the 17th, after a march of some twelve or fourteen miles, the force arrived at Bowpúr. For the first five or six miles the jungle on this march is intense, which makes the passage through it somewhat difficult for guns :—hills to the right and left, on approaching Bowpúr—then a beautiful country, betraying care in its management and cultivation. This is Dhenkanal. The Killah is bounded on the north by Tigeriah and Súkindah ; on the east by Daljúra and Atghur ; on the south by Atghur and Hindole ; and on the west, by Hindole and Ungool. Its tribute is Rs.4,780—the estimated rent-roll Rs. 50,000 ;—and the supposed area of the country, in square miles, is 10,000. The latter has been put down as 16,000 ;* but this is a great exaggeration.

Previous to 1833, Dhenkanal was one entire scene of anarchy and confusion. Domestic feuds regarding succession, with various irregularities and bloodshed, forced us, in the above year, to take the country entirely under our management :—it continued so until 1837. The present Rajah was appointed in 1842. He is described as a quiet, well-disposed man—and most obedient to the orders of the Superintendent. Like a wise Zemindar, finding that his affairs were fast going to ruin, from the system of misconduct pursued by his head man, he came suddenly, (some two or three years ago,) to Cuttack ; and implored the assistance of Mr. Mills in the management of his Estate. This was most cheerfully granted. A Deputy Collector was entrusted with the collection of the revenue, (for which he was made accountable to the Rajah,) and the measurement and

* *Vide* "Bengal and Agra Gazetteer," p. 311—part 2d.

settlement of the lands. This arrangement in no way interfered with the reigning power of the shrewd Zemindar—and was highly satisfactory to himself as well as to the Superintendent.

Rice is the principal produce of this Estate: cotton and indigo are likewise grown. In addition to the woods found in the plains, *Saal* and *Sissú* are plentiful in Dhenkanal. Quantities of the former, (used for gun carriages,) are contracted for by Government. In this Mehal, coal has been discovered in considerable abundance. Even gold is said to have been collected here, in a small river called "Curwah Nullah." Iron is also procurable in the hills of Dhenkanal. In short, this Mehal seems to have been one of Nature's favoured spots—a sort of Peru on a small scale.

A race of *aborigines*, in this Killah, is well worthy of description. Their language is distinct from that of Orissa. They reside in the jungles; and, like all tribes of the lowest type of humanity, subsist on the produce of the wilds and forests. Their raiment is of the most primitive kind:—a bunch of leaves fastened round the loins, forming the only covering for the women,—in consequence of which, they are termed "Patoas," from the Hindustani word for a leaf. If any enterprising speculator were to take a few of these strange beings to London, he would puzzle, to no small extent, the plodders in Ethnological lore.

After this digression, let us proceed on our march. But before actually striking the tents, we may as well mention that strange rumours, concerning the Rajah, were heard at Bowpúr. One party declared that the Ungool chieftain had gone out to meet Colonel Ouseley,* escorted by a large force, ready to deliver himself up to that Political Agent, on certain conditions. Another stated that Colonel Ouseley himself had gone out to meet the Rajah. This last was nearly as good as one of the Madras papers, of some weeks before—which held forth in the most grave and *authentic* manner, that Mr. Gouldsbury had started from Cuttack, to "bring in" the Rajah. We are not aware that, now-a-days, Commissioners or Political Agents go out singly to meet rebellious Rajahs.

Having halted one day at Bowpúr, on the morning of the 19th, the Force marched twelve miles, to Noukearry—two miles south of Russúl. About half-way between this and Bowpúr, we believe, commences the Hindole country. A new style of

* Governor-General's Agent for the S. W. Frontier, who co-operated with Colonel Campbell, in the operations against the Ungool.

country appeared during this march—less of the thick jungle —and more of those magnificent trees, for which the Mehals are celebrated. The road hither was excellent for guns. The news at Noukearry, as the event proved, were not founded on fact. Chokra Bisaye—who, as many readers may know, has been proclaimed a rebel by the British authorities, and for whose capture a reward has been offered—was reported to have "joined the Ungool Rajah, with two hundred followers." The capture and severe punishment of this Goomsur chieftain, would, doubtless aid greatly in putting an end to all disturbances in the Hill Tracts of Orissa. But opinions are so contradictory regarding this *quasi* Rob Roy of the Hill countries, that it is not easy to come to any correct conclusions concerning him. One party asserts that the Chokra aided the Ungool Rajah and another Goomsur chieftain, Sam Bisaye, in resisting the British Government's interference regarding Meriah sacrifice. Another, as we think, strangely, is in Sam Bisaye's favour. Mr. Mills states that the Chokra has been in Ungool since 1837, and that it was reported he had joined Bhirkours. The people declared there, that the Goomsur chieftain had not paid their country a visit for four long years. Now here is a strange catalogue of contradictions! But it is not our intention to discuss them here; so we shall proceed with our narrative.

On the 20th after a march of ten miles, the Force arrived at Huttúr, which is well on in advance in the Hindole Mehal. This Mehal is bounded on the north by Dhenkanal; on the west by Ungool; on the south by Nursingpúr; and on the east, by Dhenkanal. The country abounds in hills and jungle; and produces saal timber of good size. The Rajah is described by Mr. Mills as a "weak, ignorant man;" and is—as appears to be the case with the majority of Indian rulers—the mere tool of his servants. He is, however, tractable and obedient. The Tribute paid by Hindole is Rs. 516,—the estimated rent-roll, about Rs. 9,000. The supposed area of the country, in square miles, is 2,000.

As the Force passed through part of the village of Huttúr, scarcely a soul was to be seen in the houses. Straw stalks fenced round—cattle penned in—perhaps one solitary ryot popping his head out of some dark recess,—here a cluster of buffaloes waiting to be fed—there a wretched tattoo, gazing on the troops with a vacant stare. It was evident from these signs of desertion that the Ungool Field Force carried fear along with it. The people of Huttúr, on the borders of the Ungool country, had magnified it into a large Army—one of some ten or twenty thousand men, and at least twenty guns. And they were not the only people who thought so. It was perhaps the largest force

that had entered the Tributary Mehals, since the conquest of Cuttack in 1803; and yet it was not composed of more than two thousand fighting men, and four guns—two of the latter 12-Pdr. Howitzers—followed by a train of ammunition waggons, provided with shot and shell sufficient for some terrible conflict. It was no doubt the rustling of the chains, the extension of the line of waggons, the numbers of elephants, and the long line of Commissariat hackeries,* that tended chiefly to magnify the number of the troops. The waggons of course had been converted into guns;—and some of the natives actually believed that we carried *small guns* inside of the waggon boxes. The cause of fear in Huttúr was said to be the enemy's having come down, to the number of 400, and persuaded the villagers, that, unless they immediately fled to the hills, the "Sahib-log" would fight them too. It would appear there was some little truth in this assertion;—for, since the Force left Cuttack, Colonel Campbell's orders regarding the conduct to be observed by the troops in passing through the friendly Zemindaris—to treat the inhabitants with the greatest consideration and kindness, and to pay punctually for value received—had been strictly attended to; so the villagers most probably would have remained in their dwellings and fields, had they been left to themselves.

As it had been reported that about one mile and a half beyond Huttúr, a stockade had been built to prevent our further approach—on the evening of the 20th, two Companies went out to reconnoitre. The much talked-of stockade "defended by 500 Paiks," was found to be almost deserted; a few horsemen were seen preparing their rice, who, on our approach, made off as fast as their chargers could carry them. They had evidently been taken by surprise. The stockade was found to be a poor bamboo affair—a very bad specimen of those that were yet to come. The commissioner, Mr. Gouldsbury, accompanied the force as far as Huttúr; and previous to Colonel Campbell's entering the rebellious Mehal, (which for the present, was wisely transferred from the hands of the Superintendent,) he returned to Cuttack. On the 22nd of January, the Field Force entered the Ungool country. Proceeding in a North-westerly direction, for a distance of twelve miles, the village of Hummamera was reached. For want of water there, the troops encamped at Kinda, distant about two miles from Hummamera. And, strange to say, during this march, not a shot was heard in the jungles—not a glimpse of anything in the shape of an enemy was seen. Yet there were

* Numbers of these carts were left behind, as a temporary measure and it was ordered, on approaching the Ungool country, that 20 day's provisions were to be taken from them, and carried on elephants.

many reflective minds who could not understand why the enemy had thus allowed us to pass fairly into the country, without giving us any annoyance on the way. It was a time of great uncertainty to all. There were many who had seen much jungle warfare—that most unsatisfactory kind to the soldier—who believed that the "crack" of the long matchlock would yet resound through Ungool. And, from what had been heard of, and written concerning the Rajah's force, there was the fullest ground for such a belief. We shall now proceed to relate the reported Military Force of Ungool—taken from as correct sources as could possibly be obtained—on our entering the country. It was declared to be as follows :—

"10 guns (9 or 12 pounders) of which 2 are of English make, and the rest of country manufacture.

15 Jingals

Balls, 12,800 large, and 25,600 small.

Gunpowder, about 50 maunds, (4,000 lbs.) manufactured at Ungool.

Horsemen 100.

Infantry 2,170. Besides which there are 71 families composed of distant relatives and disaffected subjects of other Rajahs, who have taken refuge in Ungool, and have had Jagires given them by the Rajah, on condition of their performing Military Service. Supposing each family to furnish two able bodied men, this would give an additional strength of 142. The number of Paiks has probably been under rated, as Mr. Mills estimated them at 6 and 7,000" Moreover, "he is said to have recently purchased 4 additional guns, and to have taken 5 *or* 6 *Sikhs* into his service. An inhabitant of Dharacole, named Bulbudder Mistri, is employed in making gun carriages,—and an inhabitant of Cuttack, by name Ruggú Behra, procures the materials for making gunpowder for the Rajah."

Seven guns were said to be at the Rajah's Ghur, or residence; two at Tikripurra; and one at a stockade adjacent to the latter position.

We shall now give a description of the Rajah's residence and defences—that is, as they were credibly reported to be, on our entering the Mehal :—

"The Rajah deeming his former residence insufficiently protected, abandoned it soon after he was threatened with a visit by Mr. Commissioner Ricketts, in 1837; and constructed his present abode *in the most inaccessible part of his country*. The residence itself is at the foot of a hill, and is unfortified; but the main road leading to it, *via* Hindole, is defended by 2 stockades erected on 2 hills—one about 4 miles, and the other about one mile from his dwelling. The works are said to be of some strength, and that nothing effective could be accomplished against them without guns. In addition to these defences, there is also a stockade (or small fort) erected on an eminence at Tikripurra;—and it has been ascertained that, at a hill called *Kurrithpettah*, said to be 6 miles N. E. from the Rajah's residence, a new fortification, consisting of a gate with strong stockades, has recently been built—and the jungle cleared for the space of about three miles in front of it. A Choprassi of the Commissioner's Office recently saw about 500 *men at work at this Fortification, under the direction of Sindu-Ghur-Naik, the Rajahs'*

Commander in Chief." A new gate and stockade have also been constructed at Bowkheta, on the road leading from Tikripurra to the Rajah's residence."

After all this reported zeal on the part of the Zemindar of Ungool—this sheltering himself in the most inaccessible part of his country—only to be reached by passing through what was called the " elephant jungle," where, most probably, the footsteps of British troops had never before been heard—there was every reason to believe that the Force would yet meet with the most determined opposition.

The guns of the Artillery were heavy articles to bring along through a dense and rocky jungle; but the strength and beauty of the make of the carriages—the saul wood of which they were composed being probably from Dhenkanal or Ungool—showed that they would be able to surmount every obstacle.

On the morning of the 23d, the Force marched to Pokutungia, about ten miles distant from Kindu. The march was through thick jungle, from which it emerged into a picturesque and verdant country. The fort of Kurrith-pettah (or Kurrithputterghur) was believed, by Colonel Campbell, to be somewhere near Pokutungia;—so, leaving one regiment, the 29th, at the encamping ground half an hour after the halt was sounded, the remaining portion of the Force marched on, under the Brigadier, in search of the much talked-of specimen of Sindu-ghur-Naik's skill in fortification. It had been reported that this position was held by 2,000 men. Proceeding along, partly through jungle, and near the base of several hills, after having gone about two or three miles, the hill fort was discovered; and very snugly situated it was!—on the top of a long narrow hill, with a commanding range on the small maidan below—over which the Force was sure to march on its progress. A gun and howitzer were immediately called to the front:—the Infantry (the 22d Regt.) formed a line to the left, making room for the bringing up of the " political persuaders." The guns were immediately loaded and in position; when, after a few minutes' suspense, a portion of the detachment of the 41st, which had proceeded in advance with the Brigadier and the Brigadier Major (Captain Renolds,) came in sight, making way up the face of the hill, to the centre or strongest portion of the fort. The enemy were taken unawares; and on a few of the troops entering their stronghold, one of the rebels was caught in the act of sponging out a gun. Several others were near him; but all immediately fled, by a recess for retreat, which they had taken good care to establish,—a prominent figure on a white horse, supposed to have been Sindú-Ghur-Naik, the Commander-in-Chief, flying with all speed!

Had there only been a few Cavalry with the Force, these fugitives might have been caught, and probably much trouble would have been saved. During this brief business, some few shots had been exchanged, between the rebels in their flight and our troops in the stockade. But not a man was killed or wounded on either side. The fortification itself—consisting chiefly of a strong timber wall—was found to be admirably constructed:—the snugness of the place inside, the various repositories for the rough implements of war—all betokened that Sindú-Ghur-Naik had not been working on a "system" of his own. Two guns of the smallest callibre, mounted on carriages, were found, one of which was well loaded to the muzzle, and admirably pointed and elevated for a range of some four hundred and fifty yards on the maidan below.

Quantities of powder, iron shot, and an ingenious contrivance for grape, viz. a small bag, filled with pieces of iron, and rolled round with a sort of tow, so as to fit the bore of the piece—with various other articles, were found in the fort. A party remained there during the day, blasting and demolishing the works, during which operations the Rajah's powder was discovered to be considerably below the usual strength. By 3 o'clock next morning (the 24th), the hill fort was only distinguishable by various fires, which marked out the boundaries of Kurrith-pettah.

The force was now making fast progress towards Crútesnachuker-Ghur, the stronghold of the Rajah. This is his new residence—some information regarding which has already been given. The village is also called Gúndarrú. A detachment of Infantry was left behind at Kurrith-pettah. And before entirely leaving this hill of destruction, perhaps our readers will allow us to ask their pardon, if we have been too minute, and, in some respects, too tedious in our description. If we chime in too much with the opinion of "Eothen," we cannot help it, in the present instance. "Once having determined to write the sheer truth concerning the things which chiefly have interested him, he must, and he will, sing a sadly long strain about self; he will talk for whole pages together about his bivouac fire, and ruin the ruins of Baalbec with eight or ten cold lines." Yet as with "Eothen," from this very entry into detail concerning the country, and the operations of the force, we imagine that it is alone possible to give true ideas regarding both.

The march to Crútesnachuker-Ghur was not without adventure—even to those who had been long accustomed to see the "Splendour and Havoc of the East." Two stockades, it was well known, defended the grand approach; and information had since

been received that a gun was placed at the first defence, by name, the Chundernah Durwazeh. The force was approaching the most inaccessible part of the Rajah's country. Nature was now the only enemy thought of—at least by the Artillery. And a very difficult one she was to contend with. After marching some eight or nine miles through a dense forest—the guns assisted along by the Infantry—the Chundernah Durwazeh came in view. It was a strongly fortified position—with gates supported by masonry, and on each side an extension of stockade of a similar kind to that of Kurrithpettah. Had this position been even tolerably well manned, with the assistance of two guns, it might have made a desperate resistance. It was found to be entirely deserted. This fortress was situated on a rocky hill, about 150 feet high ; on each side of the face of it was dense jungle ; so that it could only be speedily approached by the road direct to the gates. Now began a little work for the Artillery : we may say for all ; for the Infantry parties and their officers were not less zealous in getting the guns up the vast steep. Then there was a scene which the lover of the picturesque could not fail to enjoy. The contrast of costume —the romantic and dark forest scenery around—the numbers of excited persons, all anxious to reach the Rajah's residence—the elephants lending their assistance by extracting the huge piles of wood* from the stockade, with as much ease as if they had been simple sticks for the support of flowers or vegetables'—all this lent an interest to the occasion, to be imagined but not described.

As the force advanced a little, the second stockade appeared. At this position it was reported, that the Rajah of Ungool had left his residence, in plain words, that he had fled on our approach. Proceeding on about two miles, over stones and through thick jungle—the force arrived at Crútesnachuker-Ghur, beautifully situated in a valley. This village, in addition to that of the Rajah, was found to be the retreat of the head sirdar (Sindú-Ghur-Naik) : the villagers had entirely deserted their homes—all bore signs of the fruits of oppression and rebellion. Many of the houses were filled with different kinds of grain, and various articles of some value, over which sentries were immediately placed. In the house of the head-sirdar himself, a strange medley was to be seen :—here an English gun-case, a tent, &c.—there a variety of fireworks and Indian Gods heaped up together. In a small yard adjoining, stood several horses, anxious for straw and water ; and, in various recesses, might be seen, rice prepared for the

* In stockades generally about ten feet in length, three of which are sunk in the ground.

morning meal—evidently hid in the hurry and confusion of escape.

After these rambling details, we shall proceed to give the boundaries, and a general description, of Ungool.

The estate is bounded on the north by Talchir (a Tributary Mehal), from which it is separated by the Brahmini river : on the south by Boad and Duspullah (the Mahanuddi river intervening) ; on the west by Atmullik, Bamrah, and Rehra Cole (the two latter Mehals being in the S. W. Frontier Agency ;) and, on the east, by Dhenkanal and Hindole. The area of the country is estimated at 1,250 square miles—and its rental lately amounted to between 50 and 60,000 rupees. Mr. Mills reckoned the latter at only 25,000. Of this, 1,550 Rs. were paid annually to the British Government,—a small sum as Tribute, when we compare it with some of the others. The country has been described as, for the most part, hilly and jungly—" the forests producing valuable saul timber. It however contains many fertile vallies."

Iron abounds in Ungool, where it is melted and prepared for general use. In short it is a country, which, we think, with care in the internal management and cultivation, might be made a valuable acquisition to the state. Jungle fever, however, is a frequent visitor in these parts : whatever, therefore, is to be done there, requiring the presence of Europeans, should be done, if possible, during the dry months of December, January, and February. There are two roads from Cuttack to Ungool, one through the Atghur, Dhenkanal, and Hindole Zemindaries (which we have already traversed in our narrative), the other, *via* Tikripurra, on the Mahanuddi. The latter is the longer road ; for, after reaching Tikripurra, *via* Kuntillo (in Atghur), and Bermúl, a distance of about eighty miles, there is yet a march of twenty miles, nearly, direct north, to reach Crútesnachuker-Ghur. Regarding the opening of roads, Mr. Mills, in his Minute, makes the following sensible remarks :

" I consider the opening of roads through uncivilized and jungly countries, as the greatest auxiliary of civilization—and a most efficient instrument in putting down rebellion. It should go hand in hand with education —that handmaid of good Government—to the diffusion of which we must mainly look for *improving* the state of the Tributary Mehals."

But this improvement can never be hoped for, unless some great change takes place in the present system of their Government. It is not in the power of any Superintendent—even were he possessed with the wisdom of Socrates and the legal knowledge of Solon—to do justice to these countries, without a complete revolution. To adopt the words of a lively

American writer: "The mineral will crystallize anew, only after it has been completely dissolved; the vegetable and the animal must be decomposed, before their elements can recombine into other forms of life. So, too, a new Society can arise, only when the old one has been wholly dissolved, its atoms freed from each other, and its old arrangements broken up."

The Rajahs themselves, are, for the most part, too ignorant, and the people too degraded, to see the necessity of education or the opening of roads. Their resistance to the latter projected improvement is thus described by Mr. Mills:—

"Government have expended large sums of money in making the Bombay posting road, from Midnapore to Sumbulpore, passing through Mohurbunge, Keonghur, and Pal Lera.

The Rajahs, in the first instance, received a remission in their tribute, to induce them to repair the roads and clear the jungle, and they afforded every assistance in their power to further the views of Government; but when it was resolved to open a more direct route, and they found that it would pass near their residences, they became alarmed. And, fancying that their welfare depended on their having impenetrable jungles around their residences, they tried every expedient to mislead and obstruct the operations of the Government Officers."

The road was eventually reduced from 20 feet to 6 feet broad. The state of instruction in the Tributary Mehals is low in the extreme. The Rajahs are uneducated:—indolence and debauchery fly in the face of all attempt to gain knowledge; and the chiefs—far more their subjects—are plunged into that deep ignorance, which Shakspeare has denounced as the "curse of God." May the time be near at hand when the blessings of education shall be felt in these wilds—when the people shall be under a more consistent form of government:—then will nature smile over a glorious revolution; and the rod of the oppressor shall be lifted no more. Mr. Mills recommends Banki to be made the nucleus of education; "by educating its inhabitants," says he, "we would stimulate their neighbours to seek knowledge—and thus advance the progress of civilization." A vernacular school has been established at Khúrda, which is 15 miles from Banki; and it was proposed to found one in the latter Estate;—but we regret to say that no school has yet been established there.

Let us now return to the Ungool Field Force. From the state of affairs it seemed probable that Crútesnachuker-Ghur was to be its abode for some time to come. All kinds of surmises regarding the fugitive enemy and the Rajah, were made throughout the camp. There—nearly at the base of a hill—stood a small house, which was dignified by the title of "the *Zenana*"—from

which, it was said, the Rajah had proceeded in a palankeen, with a few attendants. Near this spot was the magazine or arsenal, in which were found two gun carriages finished, and two in the progress of making—the pattern similar to that of the English light 3 Pdr. carriages. Vast quantities of gunpowder, saltpetre, sulphur, lead, &c., were likewise found. In the course of the day (the 25th), seven guns of various sizes were dragged from a deep mud pool, where they had evidently only recently been hid, to escape observation. The total of guns "captured" now amounted to nine. But there was no glory there. Yet the grand object had been accomplished! War skulked in the rear, as Peace took up position in the foreground.

The capture of the Rajah and his sirdars, and the conciliation of the natives and inducement for them to return to their villages, now occupied the attention of Colonel Campbell. In order to effect these objects, he sent out various detachments, (some of considerable strength,) to the most important positions in the surrounding country. The officers commanding posts and detachments had orders to preserve the villages, and the property and persons of the inhabitants, from the slightest injuries. They were also "to use every means of *conciliating* the people and of inducing them to return to their villages;" and, should the villagers be threatened with violence by any adherents to the deposed Rajah, or attacked, the assailants were to be "vigorously repelled." More judicious steps than these could not have been adopted. And before the force marched north, for the former residence of the Rajah, Crútesnachuker-Ghur and the surrounding villages were fast filling with inhabitants. The Paiks had evidently deserted their chief. They might have aided the Rajah had his country been invaded by a neighbouring Zemindar. But the "Feringhís" were quite another thing. The people looked on the English as a merry, harmless, though powerful, race—wishing rather to reconcile and preserve, than to make war and plunder. It would be well if we could persuade all natives to entirely believe this: and more—that we looked upon ourselves as God's chosen instruments for their moral and social regeneration.

On the morning of the 26th, one half of the Artillery, and two Companies of Infantry, marched to Puranaghur. The headquarters of the 22d Regiment had proceeded thither the day before. Puranaghur is styled Ungool in the various maps,—and is situated about nine miles nearly direct north of Gúndarú. A worse road for guns and waggons could not well be conceived. It seemed as if the rocks, and giant-trees of the

forest, astonished at our audacity, were determined to resist their progress.

On the 27th inst. the head-quarters of the Force, with the remainder of the Artillery, arrived. Puranaghur was formerly the residence of the Rajahs of Ungool; and is large and cleanly in appearance. The style of country is hilly and jungly—good water being by no means plentiful.

From the absence of so many detachments, the encampment was reduced to about one-sixth of its original size. Some of these had been distributed as follows:—one at Tikripurrah, one at Kunjrah, one at Crútesnachuker-Ghur, and one at Pokutungia. All stockades and defences of importance, had now been destroyed. At Tikripurrah, materials for another stockade were found; also a deep trench—evidently the commencement of an attempt on the part of the rebels to fortify themselves on the banks of the river. The track of a gun towards this position was likewise discovered. The brief campaign was now drawing fast to a close. Towards the end of the month, Colonel Campbell had visited Colonel Ouseley of the South West Frontier—who was busily employing all the means in his power—and they were not few—for the capture of the Rajah and his sirdars. The meeting took place at Dûrgapúr, about 25 miles north west of Puranaghur, where a portion of the Ramghur force and detachments of Madras Infantry were for a short time assembled. And, on the prompt co-operation of these two Agents, much good was effected, and much time saved.

On the 1st of February, the capture of the Ungool chieftain was announced in camp. The Bamrah Rajah, and Dewan of the Rajah of Sumbulpore, under Colonel Ouseley, appear to have been of great service on this occasion. He was hunted out by the paiks of these chiefs—and was taken not very far distant from Crútesnachuker-Ghur. From this post, held by a detachment of the 29th M. N. I., the commanding officer immediately sent a palankeen, to convey the helpless Rajah into his presence. The Hill Zemindar came!—trembling and humiliated. He was now at the lowest spoke of Fortune's wheel—he could hope for no turn in his favour. He had ruled a considerable tract of country with, there is every reason to believe, the rod of injustice and oppression. He had attempted to stir up his people against a humane and just Government. He was now about to be led as a prisoner to Cuttack.

In personal appearance, the deposed Rajah, Somnath Singh, seems a thin old man—although he is not more than forty-eight years of age. He is a complete cripple, from the effects

of debauchery and rheumatism. His face bears the stamp of intelligence, disfigured by duplicity and cunning;—and his eye is full and brilliant.

By the morning of the 9th of February, the Force had assumed the appearance of a general "breaking up;" and the capture of Sindú-Ghur-Naik was not the least pleasant intelligence on that day:—he, too, had been hunted down—and was being led, as a prisoner, into Puranaghur. Out of sixteen or seventeen sirdars, not one escaped: but the only one of importance was the Ex-Commander-in-Chief—whose capture gave a brilliant termination to the whole business. Thus, in less than twenty-four days, from the departure of the Force from Cuttack, every object had been effected:—the rebels had been captured—the inhabitants of Ungool had gained confidence in our protection—and the seeds of future improvement had been sown in the country.

The excellent policy of taking a force of some size, and strength on an expedition of this kind, cannot be too highly commended. Had only a few companies been employed against Ungool, the work now would scarcely have been begun. And most assuredly the detachment would have been fired on during its whole progress. Besides the grand political demonstration produced by the presence of two or three regiments and artillery in Ungool, the effect was good on the chiefs, and inhabitants of the surrounding countries. It will teach them that it is neither dense jungles, nor steep ghâts, that will save them from the punishment awarded to misconduct and rebellion.

Colonel Campbell remained at Puranaghur until the 20th February—when he left with a considerable force to proceed through the Boad, and Goomsur countries. Before leaving Ungool we may state that the ex-Rajah's son, who fled into Cuttack, for protection, before the commencement of the campaign, and who was described by the newspapers as a "wild looking fellow," is at present supported by Government: what is to be done with him eventually is not known. Regarding the deposed Rajah, and Sindú-ghur-Naik, the strictest enquiries are now in progress: while we are writing this article, they are both close prisoners in Cuttack. The sirdar is described as a wild intriguing character—the chief adviser to that master, whose downfall he has been the active means of producing. The estate is now entirely under the superintendent—who has commissioned a Deputy Collector to settle its affairs; and we doubt not that when Ungool has been sometime under our management, the people will greatly feel the benefit of our rule.

As to the late Khond Agent's views regarding the Ungool Rajah —*all* now are constrained to admit that they were right in the main. The chieftain, there is no doubt whatever, aided in opposing the Government measures,—and he probably intrigued with the Goomsur Chiefs. Let us now proceed to the other estates, and to the subject of the Tributary Mehals generally.—Mohurbunge and Keonghur are the two largest of the Tributary Mehals :—their combined area is nearly equal to that of the whole tributary territory. Mohurbunge (or Mohurbunj) is bounded on the north by the zemindaris of the South West frontier; on the east and south by Nilgiri and the Balasore and Midnapore districts; and on the west, by Keonghur. The northern part of this country is said to be inhabited by a wild race, styled the Coles,* of whom comparatively little is known. The Rajah himself is described as " not an oppressive or cruel ruler; an obedient and loyal subject—but jealous of any interference with his people." Mohurbunge is a mountainous country, " diversified with numerous fertile vallies, producing an abundance of rice." It is watered by numerous small streams; near which indigo, sugar, cotton, and other valuable necessaries are produced. The estimated rent-roll of this Mehal is Rs. 50,000 ;—the tribute paid to Government is about Rs. 1,000 ; and the supposed area of the country is 15,000 square miles.

Wild elephants are said to be numerous in Mohurbunge ; but they are of a very inferior description. Iron abounds in this estate; and it is asserted that, in the three Mehals of Keonjir, Nilgiri, and Mohurbunge, there are a variety of minerals worthy of geological investigation. Stirling alludes to a report that golden sands were found in the rivers of Keonghur. Keonghur is bounded on the north by the Cole country ; on the south

* The country of this wild and savage race has been frequently the scene of bloodshed and plundering. In 1835, serious disturbances took place in Mohurbunge. The Rajah quarrelled with a feudatory chief on his Estate, and with the assistance of the "Lurka Coles," proceeded against him, and dispossessed him of his country; but the lawless allies broke from the Rajah's control, and commenced to pillage the villages, murder the inhabitants, and stop the Government Dák. These outrages were terminated by the appearance of a military force, under Capt. Watkinson—and the whole of the Cole country was taken out of the hands of the Rajah, and placed under the protection of Government.* We know not to what race we can liken the Coles. Perhaps as near as any other, they approach the wild Kaffirs of the Cape. They are divided into 18 tribes—and in person they are hardy and athletic. They have a language of their own, a religion of their own—and are quite distinct from the Hindus of the plains. Their arms are the bow and arrow, and a small iron battle-axe, in the use of which they display much skill. They are prone to plunder, and possess considerable herds of cattle. Stirling describes a curious way they have of striking a bargain or concluding a pacification. This is brought about by their breaking a straw (stipula) between the disputants, " which will not fail to remind the classical reader of the origin of the word *stipulation*." They are governed by petty chiefs ; and eat all kinds of flesh and grain. The flesh of the hog is highly prized by them.

by Lera Pal and Talchír; on the west by Bumrah and various eatates in the south western Agency; and on the east, by Nilgiri, the Mogulbundí, and Súkindah. Parts of Keonghur are described as rocky and hilly. It however contains large tracts of cultivated country " interrupted by ridges of hills and patches of jungle." The rent roll of this killah is estimated at Rs. 30,000; the tribute paid is about 2,790; and the supposed area of the country is 22,000 square miles. The Rajah of this Mehal is a minor; and has been brought up in a deplorable state of ignorance. Regarding these young chiefs in the Mehals, we may inform the reader, that the orders of Government, prohibiting an interference with the Tributary Estates, were so far modified, as to permit the Superintendent to take under his temporary care and management the persons and estates of minor Rajahs. The Khindiparra Rajah, a minor, was brought to Cuttack, during the superintendency of Mr. Mills; " but the young chief," says he, " is surrounded by unprincipled servants, interested in encouraging indolence;" so there is little hope of his turning out either a wise or a just ruler. This estate, Khundiparra, is one of considerable importance. It is bounded on the north by the Mahanuddi; on the south by Nyaghur; on the east by Banki; and on the west by Duspullah. " Kuntillo, on the bank of the Mahanuddi, is a populous place. It contains a large bazar and carries on a considerable trade in cotton, sugar, various cloths, and grain."

The country is extensively cultivated; and is said to be able to muster a force of 2,000 paiks. The rent roll of Khundiparra is estimated at Rs. 20,000; the tribute is Rs. 3,950; and the supposed area in square miles, is 300.

The remaining tributary Mehals are Rumpore, Nyaghur, Nursinghpore, Burumbah, Tigeriah, Atmullik, Talchír, Lera, and Nilgiri. Regarding these we can give no particular information in this article; nor have we made any allusions to them except, in some cases, as boundaries. We have only room for brief descriptions of two of them, Nyaghur and Talchír, which seem to us to be the only estates of the above nine of any importance.

The first of these has Runpúr on the east, Khúrda on the north, T. Goomsur on the south, and Duspullah on the west. The Rajah's ghur or residence, it would appear, is more difficult of approach than any other in the Tributary Mehals. Twelve years ago, Mr. Ricketts wrote regarding it in the most alarming strain; and Mr. Mills, in his minute, quotes his description. Alluding to some ruined breast works, he met on approach-

ing the residence of the Rajah of Nyaghur, and the difficulty of an attack up the place, Mr. Ricketts says :

" These breast works are now mere heaps of mud; but there is abundance of stone, if it should be considered desirable to strengthen them. An attack upon the place should never be attempted without Pioneers and Artillery.....The Ghur itself is commanded by hills on both sides, covered with jungle. On no account should force ever be employed against this Rajah, without it is absolutely unavoidable."

It is not improbable that this Rajah may yet give a little trouble. Although he is now described as a peacable and tractable subject, yet he formerly violated his engagements with the government, by sheltering rebels in his estate. Mr. Mills states that, from the despotic measures which he pursues, " there is little doubt that oppression and violence are carried on to an appalling extent." " He is a powerful chieftain ; and can muster from 6 to 7,000 paiks." But, judging from Ungool, we should reckon them at about 2,500, at the most.

And these Military retainers will, we think, whenever their masters come under the displeasure of the British Government, leave their feudal lords to fight out their battles by themselves; for we are assured, that, barbarous as they are, they seek for a better administration. The rent-roll of the Rajah of Nyaghur is estimated at Rs. 35,000 ; the tribute is Rs. 5,179 ; and the area in square miles, is supposed to be 1,900.

We now turn to Talchír; whose Rajah is brother-in-law to the deposed chieftain of Ungool. The Zemindar of this Mehal is said to be " superior in intelligence and deportment to the general run of the Tributary chiefs." This estate is situated on the north bank of the Brahmini river ; and is bounded on the north by Lera Pal and Keonghur ; on the south by Dhenkanal; on the west by Killah Sobindah (under the Regulations) ; and on the east, by Bamrah. The following information in these railway times may be interesting to many. It is regarding the coal beds of Talchír:

" Coal beds have been discovered in this Killah: these have been described as about thirty miles in extent, covered with stunted jungle, and composed of various kinds of sandstone and slate. The coal may be transmitted down the Brahmini river to Hunsúrah, the export Salt Depot; and from thence it can be easily shipped to Calcutta. But the expense of carriage is against the opening of these beds."

To the west, this country is hilly and jungly. But, in many parts, it is very fertile. The lands near the Brahmini river produce sugar, tobacco, and cotton. Saal timber abounds in the forests.

The rent roll of Talchír is estimated at Rs. 12,000 : and the tribute paid to Government is Rs. 974. The country is of small dimensions, its area not exceeding 200 square miles.

Salt is supplied to the Rajahs of the tributary Mehals, by the Government, at a fixed monopoly price.

Each chieftain indents for his annual supply, according to the size of his estate. The Rajah of Mohurbunge is not allowed to take salt in excess of the 15,000 maunds prescribed for consumption in his territory, rupees 2-5 per maund, except at an increased rate, or rupees 3-12 per maund. A *golah*, or store-house, is established at Banki, for the supply of salt to the independent states adjacent to the Mahannuddi.

The magistrates of Púrí and Balasore are "ex-officio" Assistants to the Superintendent of Mehals, the former in the Mehals of Nyaghur and Runpúr, the latter in Mohurbunge, Keonghur, and Nilgiri. The following concise paragraph, by Stirling, written upwards of twenty years ago, will give the reader a general idea of the appearance of the whole country :—

"The hill estates vary much in the proportion of arable land which they contain, but, in most, a considerable quantity of rice is grown. In patches of jungle which have been cleared, and on the slopes of some of the minor hills, the Jowar and Bajera and the Mandia or Raggi (Eleusine Corocana) thrive with great luxuriance, Mohurbunge, Beramba, Dhenkanal, and Keonghur grow a small quantity of Indigo, and on the latter estate, the Poppy is cultivated. Generally speaking, however, the land fit for tillage bears a very trifling proportion to the vast extent of rocks, hills, beds of torrents, and forests, which occupy this region."

We have now carried our readers over an interesting tract of country. We say *interesting*, because we believe the subject to be a novel one to most readers, who may wonder that they have so long remained in ignorance regarding such a vast extent of territory, only three hundred miles from the seat of the Supreme Government, abounding in so many peculiarities. Nature has made the country eminently interesting in itself; and it is our bounden duty, as the paramount lords of British India, to do our utmost for the improvement of its Government, and the promotion of happiness among the people. This can never be effected while the present "feudal system" remains. As the Revolution swept away much of the infamy and licentiousness of France ; so must we look to the dissolution of this system, as what will be alone fully sufficient for putting down injustice and oppression in the Tributary Mehals. The work, we have every reason to believe,

has already commenced. The recent operations against Ungool, and the grand results of these operations are highly creditable to the Government. And from the unquestionable benefit which Ungool will derive from British interference, it must be highly gratifying to the new Commissioner and Superintendent, Mr. Gouldsbury, to think that, at the conclusion of his first year's administration in the Cuttack province, he will receive the thanks of thousands, for bringing them under the British sway. We would recommend the process of *dissolution* to be promoted slowly but surely. The opening of roads in the Tributary Mehals, for purposes of traffic, and in order that strict enquiry may with ease be made regarding the Government of each chief, and the condition of the people, would be one speedy cause of reform. And *reform* being the object, any opposition to the Government measures should be promptly and summarily dealt with. When any chief, from sheer stupidity, ignorance, or obstinate wilfulness, is unable to comprehend the wishes of Government, would it not be to the interests of humanity to pension him, and bring his neglected subjects within the pale of civilization? Would it not be to the interests of humanity to bring forth the benighted creature from his native forests and jungles—the creature who is styled "shy, sullen, inhospitable, and uncivilized,"—and let him have a fair chance with his brethren on the plains? The chiefs, generally speaking, are known to be barbarous, debauched, and superstitious; what, save active and decisive measures, can prevail with these? On such persons, mere gentleness, persuasion, and diplomacy will be very much thrown away. Much has already been done for large portions of British India, and from good men thousands have received the "elements of their moral renovation." Let some attention be now drawn to this other portion of our Indian territory, to reclaim it from the wastes of "dark and fallen humanity."

ART. VII.—*The Lands of the Bible visited and described, in an extensive journey undertaken with special reference to the promotion of Biblical research and the advancement of the cause of philanthropy. By John Wilson, D.D., F.R.S., &c. &c. With maps and illustrations. Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co. London: Longman and Co. Dublin: W. Curry and Co.*, 1847. *Calcutta: Messrs. Thacker and Co., Messrs. Ostell and Co., Messrs. Hay and Co.*

DR. WILSON is happy in the choice of a title for his book. "The lands of the Bible" and every monument topographically or historically connected with that remarkable volume exercise a fascination, which no educated mind can resist. It is vain to struggle against the charm, and impossible to class the Bible with the Veds and Puranas of Hindustan, the myths and legends of Greece and Rome, the Talmud of the degenerate Jews, or the Koran and traditions of Islam.

One feels that, apart from the help of God, the same people, who wrote the Talmud, could not have written the Old and New Testaments; and that a history running up to the creation of man, transacted in the midst of the dominant powers that successively ruled the world, and intimately connected with them all, bristling too with names, facts, dates, and topographical details appealing for their truth to all records wherever they are to be found, either could not be false, or, being false, would be at the mercy of the merest tyro, who spells over the pages of his History or Geography in a Calcutta morning Academy.

The pyramids and tombs of Egypt have yielded their secrets to the perseverance of modern research; ancient monuments have been discovered, long lost sites have been identified, and paths untrodden for ages have been traversed again and again. The Red Sea, and 'the great and terrible wilderness,' Mount Sinai and the city of the Rock, ancient Hebron and those waters, still shrouded in mystery, which roll over the guilty cities of the plain, are once more familiarly known; and from day to day, the remains of ancient cities, perhaps the first ever built by the hand of man, rise with startling interest from beneath the dust of ages to speak, like a voice from the dead, of deeds and times unknown to the living. The stars themselves have been interrogated: the bowels of the earth have been searched; and as each new discovery is announced, there is a pause of expectation,—and many an eye turns instinctively to that wondrous and venerable record, which claims to be the interpreter between God and man, and which, in calm majestic

simplicity, has blunted every weapon of attack, and still stands lofty and unmoved, shedding forth light into all ages.

Palestine is a small country, originally remarkable neither for beauty nor fertility, hemmed in on two sides by deserts, on a third by a sea coast without one tolerable harbour, and open only to the North. The people, who formerly inhabited it, appear first as debased serfs, hewers of wood and drawers of water for the haughty Egyptians, and are now in all countries counted as the off-scouring of the earth. Yet this little district was the theatre of the most momentous events in the history of man; and the annals of this despised race show forth an array of legislators, warriors, poets, historians, prophets, priests, and teachers, such as the world has never elsewhere beheld. To them modern civilization is indebted for all that truly elevates and ennobles it; and, we may gather not obscurely from the same record, that the Jew will again rise from the dust, to be the leader of the world to still higher triumphs. Accordingly there seems to be an instinctive feeling common to all Christendom that Palestine is our Father land, and that its fate is mysteriously connected with the fate of humanity. Nor is this feeling confined to Christians. The Jews, in their weeping, expect the restoration of Sion; and to the Mussulmans, the rock on mount Moriah is as sacred as the tomb of their prophet, while they believe that the doom of mankind will have for its scene the valley of Jehoshaphat.

For fifteen hundred years, Europe has poured its annual tide of visitors into the Holy Land; and a library might be formed of the volumes that have been written concerning it. It had been visited and described by pilgrims, crusaders, scholars learned in eastern and western lore, scientific men, artists with their pencils in their hands, infidels of the flippant and despicable school of Voltaire, theorists, men of quick eye and sober judgment, in short by every variety of human intellect, from the massive strength of Pocock and Maundrell down to the veriest chronicler of small beer. And assuredly the list in our own days is no way inferior to the past, either in number, variety, or interest. We may contrast the melodramatic raptures of Chateaubriand and LaMartine, with the homely truth and spiritual unction of Bonar and McCheyne: the tape-carrying and merciless American Professor, with the horror-struck Puseyite, in the full fervour of veneration for all the rottenness of the 4th century; their accomplished and intelligent Lordships of Nugent and Lindsay, with the pleasant and readable shallowness of Stephens, and the matter-of-fact observations of the man who went to see how farming was carried on in Palestine; or the flum-

mery of the high-born Countess Hahn-Hahn (whose fine ladies exhibit the most aristocratic contempt for vulgar morality and have a habit of changing their husbands without the ceremony of a divorce) and the brilliant but somewhat profane pages of Eothen, with the adventurous and accurate Burckhardt, the sober sense of Olin, the clear, interesting, and scholar-like pages of Irby and Mangles, or with the pains-taking and conscientious researches of the Germans. It would be tedious to characterize, however briefly, the labours of Buckingham, Wilde, Elliot, Castlereagh, Formby, Williams, Catherwood, Roberts, &c. &c.

It might well be supposed, after all these had said their say, and especially after the appearance of the great work of Dr. Robinson, that there was nothing new to write, and nothing new to hear, regarding the aspect or present state of the Holy Land. Yet here is Dr. Wilson claiming to be heard in two thick octavo volumes, and here is the Christian public, willing to listen, and prepared to follow his footsteps with as fresh and breathless interest, as if the field were now trodden for the first time. The associations connected with the Lands of the Bible supply the place of new discoveries, or startling incidents; and though every year adds to the pile of travels, tours and researches in Palestine and Idumea, the interest with which they are read continues unabated and undying;

> As for some dear familiar strain
> Untir'd we ask and ask again,
> Ever, in its melodious store,
> Finding a spell unheard before.

But Dr. Wilson has special claims which demand for his work a more than common consideration. Of all the able, learned and distinguished men, who have written on the Lands of the Bible, not one perhaps can be pointed out on the whole so well qualified for the task. He is confessedly one of the foremost of our oriental scholars, long and intimately acquainted with the manners, customs and peoples of the East, accustomed to travel, with a temper that nothing can ruffle, a cheerful and courteous demeanour, a sincere and intelligent belief, and feelings of the deepest interest in the people as well as in the Lands of the Bible. Thus furnished, acquainted too with so many of the modern languages, and having in his library almost every work of note from the times of Jerome and the Bordeaux pilgrim down to our own, Dr. Wilson could not well fail in producing a valuable and important work. Every part of it indeed is finished conscientiously and *ex abundanti*. There is a profusion of learning. The topographical details are full and precise, and his descriptions picturesque and intelligible. The information he has collected and condensed concerning the

Eastern churches, the Jews, the remnant of the Samaritans, and the tribes and languages of the East, would alone furnish matter for a separate volume; and the work is splendidly illustrated with engravings, cuts, copies of inscriptions, plans of cities, and beautiful and accurate maps.

Such a book is certainly not to be read like the last new novel or the last flashy tour of the season. It demands study, thought, and attention, and, in order to be fully appreciated, some sympathy with the pursuits, and no slight smattering of the almost encyclopedic knowledge of its accomplished author.

We shall not at present follow Dr. Wilson in his journey through Egypt, round the head of the Red Sea at Suez, and amidst the wild fastnesses and romantic defiles of the mountain peninsula of Sinai. The main interest of this portion of his route is connected with the wanderings of the people of Israel, and the miraculous events of which it was the scene, as recorded by their illustrious legislator. Dr. Wilson, while differing very considerably from Dr. Robinson, and for reasons which seem to carry great weight, bears witness to the wonderful truthfulness, and life-like accuracy of detail, which mark the Mosaic narrative. As the wilderness becomes better known, there seems little reason to doubt that every step in the march of the Israelites, from the passage of the Red Sea to the passage of the Jordan, may yet be distinctly traced and identified. Leaving, however, this most interesting field and all that concerns the Nile, the Isthmus, the two arms of the Red Sea, and the district lying between them for fuller notice in another connection we proceed with Dr. Wilson across the great valley of the Arabah toward Petra, the city of the Rock.

This enormous crevasse extends from the sources of the Jordan to the gulf of Akaba, with a length of 280 miles and an average breadth of 10. A glance at the map will show that the gulf of Akaba itself is merely a continuation of the same fissure, and it requires no great stretch of imagination to carry it down to the straits of Babel Mandeb through the whole length of the Red Sea. It sinks southwards through the lakes of Huleh and Tiberias, and northwards from Akaba through the Arabah, with a nearly equal descent, to the cavernous hollow of the Dead Sea. The bottom of the valley between the two seas was evidently a water-course, by which the Jordan may have found its way to the Red Sea, ere its waters covered the cities of the plain; but Dr. Wilson shows satisfactorily that this did not take place during the historic period, and has no countenance from the narrative of Scripture:—

"We were exactly seven hours in crossing the Arabah. Cutting it diago-

nally, we did not find it so level on its surface as we expected; and, generally speaking, it is as barren as the desert itself. It has commonly a very hard stony bottom. Patches of softer material, but of sand with very little soil in it, here and there occur, especially where there are depressions in its surface. Many boulders and rounded stones, of red and white granite, porphery, basalt, sandstone, and lime, such as are found in beds of rivers running between mountains of different formations, are in many parts scattered over its surface. On the Eastern sides there are beds of alluvial gravel torn up by torrents The dry bed of one of these torrents, with steep banks, called Wadi el-Gharandel, we found about half a mile in breadth. That this was the bed of a river we had no doubt; and we were quite willing to believe that it must be the bed of the ancient Jordan, through which its rolling floods passed on to the Red Sea before the destruction of the cities of the plain. The very name which it bears, however, when viewed in connexion with its real source, puts an end to this interesting speculation. It is called the Wadi Gharandel, (Arindela,) because it is the continuation of a large Wadi and winter torrent coming down first in a north-west direction from the heights of Mount Seir, and then, on arriving at the level of the 'Arabah, not passing to the south-west to the Red Sea, but to the north-east to the Dead Sea. It is considerably to the south of the part where it enters the great plain that the drainage of the 'Arabah goes to the Red Sea. Some may think that these facts, whatever they may determine as to the Wadi Gharandel as it now exists, do not conclusively prove that the Jordan may not have passed through the 'Arabah to the Red Sea before the overwhelming of Sodom, Gomorrah, and the other cities of the plain. On the occasion of this catastrophe, they may say, a great alteration may have taken place in the level of the valley throughout its whole extent. An elevation may have occurred in its middle, and a depression in its northern parts. The *extent* of this elevation and depression, necessary to suit the facts of the case, it is to be observed in reply, is such as far to transcend the Scripture narrative. The Dead Sea has been found by the actual measurements of Lieut. Symonds of the Royal Engineers, to be 1312.2 feet, and the lake of Tiberias 328.98 feet, below the level of the Mediterranean. If all this depression took place with the raising of the Wadi 'Arabah above the level of the ocean, when the Lord rained upon Sodom and upon Gomorrah brimstone and fire out of heaven, then must God have not only "overthrown those cities and all the plain, (in which they were,) and all the inhabitants of the cities, and that which grew upon the ground," as the sure word of his testimony informs us; but, if we may judge from any thing we know of the mighty power of an earthquake of the required magnitude, it must, if it took place, have convulsed to their overthrow the whole lands of Canaan, Moab, Ammon, Edom, and the Desert, to the destruction of all their inhabitants. No *such* convulsion took place. Lot, casting his eyes on Zoar, quite proximate to Sodom, said, "This city is near to flee unto, and it is a little one: oh, let me escape thither, (is it not a little one?) and my soul shall live." Into this city he was permitted to flee, and was safe. Abraham, living in the plains of Mamre, near Hebron, had practical cognizance of the execution of the threatened vengeance of God on the cities of the plain, only by his getting up early in the morning to the place where he stood before the Lord, and looking toward Sodom and Gomorrah, and beholding the smoke of the country going up like the smoke of a furnace. Striking as must have been the phenomena which occurred during the storms of fire and brimstone, and the eruptions and submergence which may have been their cause or accompaniments, they certainly fall short of the awful demands of the theory to which I refer. The fact

undoubtedly is, that the Wádi 'Arabah and its continuation, the valley of the Jordan, whatever partial changes they may have undergone in our own Adamic era, together form perhaps the most wonderful crevasse in the whole world—a fissure made by volcanic and basaltic eruptions, long before the race of man appeared on the globe."—*Vol. I. pp.* 284-286

The extraordinary geological formation of the Mount Seir range is very graphically described by Dr. Wilson, and, we believe, for the first time; and his account of the view from the summit of Mount Hor, that "mount on the top of which Aaron died," and which to this day bears amongst all the Arab tribes the name of Jebel Húrún, bears striking impress of the writer's sympathy with the awful and sublime aspect of nature around him:—

"The fundamental stratified rock we found to be the new red or variegated sandstone a circumstance worthy of notice, because, when associated with the existence of the same rock, with horizontal strata, on the heights of Mount Hor, which we afterwards visited in the course of the day, we had unequivocal evidence of the formation extending to the extraordinary depth of about 1500 feet. Through this rock, there burst longitudinal dykes of red granite and porphyry, running nearly parallel with the range of Mount Seir, and so completely silicifying the sandstone in some parts as to give it the appearance of a primitive rock. Above the red sandstone, we have the Jurassic limestone, so abundant in the Holy Land, and highest of all the cretaceous system of which we afterwards found the summits of Mount Seir behind Petra to be composed. Over much of the sandstone below, there lie great quantities of alluvial compact conglomerate, principally of chalk, with pebbles and rounded stones, and also large quantities of loose chalk, which have been washed down by the heavy rains. The red granite and the dark porphyr cutting through the stratified rocks, so diverse in their colour, and the white debris by which they are covered, presented together a scene so peculiar as to give large scope to our wonderment."

"Near the crown of the height, we found a gash in the mountain, with a ledge of rock overhanging it; and in this cut, after passing an ancient archway and gate, we found a regular series of steps which conducted us to the very summit.

After the greatness and peril of the effort which we had been compelled to make, we should, in ordinary circumstances, have been elated with the success which we had experienced; but the wild sublimity, and grandeur, and terror of the new and wonderful scene around and underneath us, overawed our souls. We were seated on the very throne, as it appeared to us, of Desolation itself. Its own metropolis of broken, and shattered, and frowning heights—ruin piled upon ruin, and dark and devouring depth added to depth,—lay on our right hand and on our left. To the rising sun, Mount Seir, the pride and the glory of Edom, and the terror of its adversaries, lay before us—smitten in its length and breadth by the hand of the Almighty stretched out against it—barren and most desolate, with its daughter, the "city of the rock," overthrown and prostrate at its feet. To the west, we had the great and terrible wilderness, with its deserts, and pits, and droughts, spread out before us, without any limit but its own vastness, and pronounced by God himself to be the very "shadow of death." We could not restrict our attention to the awful scene, unparalleled though

it was in our experience, as combinning the terrors of both the Almighty power and avenging justice of God. It was the type and representation to us of that day of the Lord, in which the heavens shall pass away with a great noise, the elements shall melt with fervent heat, and the earth also, and the works that are therein shall be burned up. Would that we had taken home to ourselves with greater seriousness than we did, the solemn counsel, "Seeing, then, that all these things shall be dissolved, what manner of persons ought ye to be in all holy conversation and godliness, looking for and hasting unto the coming of the day of God."

In Petra Dr. Wilson spent several days, and he has given a full and animated description of that wonderful city. He thinks that Dr. Robinson is mistaken in supposing all the excavations in the rocks to have been either tombs or temples; and from finding many with windows, as well as doors, habitable apartments, cisterns for water in front, and easy access from below, he has no doubt that these at least formed habitations for the living. Very interesting also is his comparison of the excavations of Petra with the cave temples and sculptures of Western India. But Dr. Wilson's well regulated mind was not entirely absorbed by the sublime and astonishing combination of nature and human art in the land of marvels around him; he looked with the feelings of a christian philanthropist upon the wild people of the neighbourhood; and he was rewarded by the very probable identification of the rude Fellahin of Wadi Músá with the ancient children of Edom. This discovery is so interesting, that we must quote his account of it at some length:—

"The most interesting of our conferences with the Fellahin of Wadi Músa were those which referred to their own position in the human family. Having been struck with the peculiarity of their countenance and dress, we asked the sheikh and some of his dependents whom we had invited to our tents, if they considered themselves a distinct Arabian tribe, or a portion of any known Arabian community. Their reply was startling:—"La, nahnu aulad Beni-Israyen." "*No; we are the offspring of the Bene-Israel*,"—and gave occasion to the following conversation, which Mr. Smith and I recorded at the time in their presence:—

Travellers.—"Who excavated the tombs and dwellings of Wádi Músá?

Fellahin.—"The Bene-Israel, the Turkmans, and the Nasram."—Christians, but applied to foreigners in general, such as the Greeks and Romans.

T.—"Where are the tombs of the Bene-Israel?

F.—"The district (balad) of the Bene-Israel is in the corner yonder," pointing to the series of tombs remarkable from their plainness at the north-west corner of the valley.

T.—"Where are the Turkman tombs?"

F.—"They are near them."

T.—"Where are the tombs of the Nasrani?"

F.—"These are they," pointing to the large excavations around us.

T.—"Do you ever find anything in the tombs?"

F.—"Yes; we have found plenty of skulls and bones, but the coffins are almost all empty." In connexion with this remark, one of the Fellahin got up to the top of the rocks and brought from a tomb an ancient urn of plain earthen ware, for which we gave him a few piastres.

T.—"Were all the excavations intended for the accommodation of the dead?"

F.—"No; they were intended for the living also."

T.—"Who were the first inhabitants of Wádi Músá? Tell us all you know about their history."

F—"This country was first in the possession of the *Jahili* Kaum el-'Abd, of the 'ignorance of the people of the slave.' After them came the Bene-Israel under Músá. After that the Bene-Israel became Muhammadans. The Fellahín battled with the Wáhabis, when the Sheikh's beard was first beginning to vegetate, when 170 Wahabís and 20 Fellahín were killed. None of us can read, and we have no records."

T.—"How numerous is your body?"

F.—"There are 500 of us able to bear arms under Sheikh Suleiman and 500 under Sheikh 'Aubed."

T.—"Do you intermarry with the Arabs?

F.—"No; we intermarry with the Bene-Israel of the Beit-Shar"

T.—"Where do these people reside?"

F.—"They live in the Jebel Atlabek and Jebel es-Safah. Their Wádi is named el-Hamd. They come to us in the hot weather."

T—"What are the names of men current among you? Mention them, omitting all your titles."

F—"'Aesu, (Esau,) 'Aubed (Obed,) Huscin, Risalun, Salim, 'Aid. 'Ali, 'Umar, Musa, (Moses,) Shahm, Suleman, (Solomon,) Hamad, Dáwud. (David,) Yusif, (Joseph,) Mahmud, 'Amar, 'Abd el-Kader, Kasim, Mansur. Salámah, Ibrahim, (Abraham,) Nasr-Allah, Ishak, (Isaac,) Yakub, (Jacob,) Salih, Naum"

T.—"Now, mention the names of some of your women."

F.—"Maryam, Fatimah, Salmah, Hamdah, Nasrah, Reyya, (Leah?) Hajar, (Hagar.) Tamum, Khaukha, Wardah, Nijam, Salmah, 'Aidah, Rafyah, Maridhah, 'Aidhah, Kauma, Watfih, Satir, Maridhah, Satr, Halima, 'Ayeshah, Matshabah, Rifka, (Rebecca) Jafla Harba, Latifah"

"Simple as was the information which we received from them, it is not without the highest interest. As they consider themselves distinct from the Arabs, and have no intermarriage with them, it is extremely probable that they are the descendants of some of the older races, (commingled with one another it may be) who anciently inhabited Idumea. Though in their features and personal appearance, and even dress, as in the ringlet of hair above the ear which some of them wear, they certainly resemble the Jews who are settled in the east, particularly those of Yemen and Bombay; and, though they denominate themselves Bene-Israel, they may not belong to the family of Jacob, but of Esau, which, as we learn from Josephus, embraced the Jewish faith. It is worthy of notice that the first name of a man which they mentioned to us as current among them was that of Esau; and that Matshabah, one of their female names, seems, by a bold anagram not unusual in the formation of Arabic words from the Hebrew, to resemble Bashemath, the wife of Esau* 'Aidah, too, one of the female names, is like that of Adah, another of Esau's wives Most of the names, including even those which are found in the Old Testament, are common to the Fellahín of Wádi Músá and the Arabs. The number of Old Testament names in proportion to others, however, is greater than I have found in any list so limited as that which we obtained from these people. It is curious to see that between "the Times of Ignorance," of which all the Arabs speak, and the prevalence of Islám, they interpose the advent to the

* Gen. XXXVI. 10.

country of the Bene-Israel; and that they point to the simple excavations of the north-west of Petra, as particularly the work of the Bene-Israel,—or, as I have supposed, the Edomites,—properly distinguishing them from the more artistic excavations which they ascribe to the Nasráni, or Nazarenes, or indefinite, "foreigners"—*Vol. I. pp.* 330-333.

The coming up from the wilderness into the promised land has been often described; but never with greater freshness and beauty than in the following extract. Dr. Wilson's temperament is apparently not poetical; yet the feelings of the christian, answering to the call of nature and the hallowed associations of faith, have here found utterance in words that breathe the essence of true poetry. It would be difficult to find a more beautiful passage in the whole compass of English literature; and we present it to our readers as a gem, that will win its way into every heart.

"The thick mists and heavy dews of this morning were decided indications to us that we had escaped from the dreadful drought of the desert and entered on the fertile elevated plains of the south of Judah. The light soil around us, though presenting nothing like the carpet of emerald green, which we see in more northern climes, was both delightful and refreshing to the eye. The grass, which was shooting up in separate stalks, not unlike rye, though comparatively spare, was intermingled with wild oats and innumerable beautiful aromatic flowers and shrubs, many of which were in their fullest blow. The wild daisy and tulip,* and a species of clover,† though not the most striking in themselves, recalled to our remembrance the pastoral fields, so long removed from our view, but which we had so often trodden in mirthful glee "when life's bosom was young." We felt exhilarated to a degree which no one can imagine, who has not been in circumstances similar to our own. The scene to us, after a pilgrimage of forty days in the great and terrible wilderness, the "shadow of death," was truly as life from the dead. We felt as if the larks which were offering their orisons to the God of nature, were sympathizing with *our* feelings. And then the Scriptural associations of this charming locality! Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob—the plain men dwelling in tents, but the great patriarchs of the people wonderful from the beginning—and David, the sweet singer of Israel, passed before us, with their flocks and herds, in all their pastoral simplicity and with all their benignant piety. Most interesting was it to us to feast our eyes on the very works of God, which, under the guidance of his Spirit, nursed their pure and elevated devotion. That language, which was the fruit of their own inspiration, we found alone adequate to the expression of our praise. Such lyrics as the hundred and fourth psalm were pregnant with new meaning, and had to us a beauty and freshness such as we had never before perceived or enjoyed."—*Vol. I. pp.* 314-315.

Here is another picture, in the broad Dutch style, sketched with a vigorous pencil, and evidently drawn from the life:—

"Dhaharíyah has seen better times than those which it now enjoys, as the *disjecta membra* of its former buildings, and the remains of a Kasr, a tower or castle, and one or two other erections, sufficiently show. At present it consists of about eighty square and round burrowing places, partly excavated from the ruins, and partly covered with mud and stones, into which

* Tulipa Clusiana. † Trefolium Stellatum. Schubert.

as many families are crammed, when their members are together; a pretty large arched khán or caravanserai, in which we found most of the male population lolling and laughing, and smoking and spitting, and swearing and abusing one another, round an immense fire of sticks, charcoal, and dried cow-dung, the only fuel now, as probably in the days of old, in the land of Canaan; a number of pits or magazines, in some of which grain and lumber are deposited, and into others of which the bodies of the dead are thrown, that the trouble of digging graves may be avoided; and of dung-hills the accumulation of years, literally as high as the hovels themselves. It resembles many other places which we afterwards saw in different parts of the country, and which are perhaps even sadder indications of the desolation and degradation of the land, than the numerous districts which are left without an inhabitant. The villagers, as distinguished from the Badawin, are denominated Hadhr Arabs. The stout lubbardly men, with their blotched faces, clotted and curly beards, and shaggy apparel—several of them wearing a sheepskin tied over their shoulders—were the very personifications of filth and laziness. The women, who were unveiled, were tolerably well-clothed, and had much more frankness and kindness about them than their lords and masters."—*Vol. I. pp.* 351-352.

By way of *pendant*, we give a specimen of an Arab scolding match. A quarrel, or rather a coolness, had taken place between Dr. Wilson's guides, and another party of Badawin. The climax was brought about by Sheikh Husein.

"Your wives and daughters," he tauntingly said, "are such tender and fastidious objects, that they can neither drive a sheep to the waste, nor recall a wandering camel. They can neither bake, nor boil, nor grind, nor bring water. Instead of serving you, you have to serve them and assist them. They are the sheikhs, and you are the slaves." This impudence met with a corresponding response. "Get down from your camels, and we shall show you that you lie. Our wives are women; but not so are yours, who are so dirty and smell so rank, that a man cannot sit with them in the same tent." Worse than this followed, and had not we peremptorily interfered, the consequences might have been lamentable, as both parties became absolutely frantic with rage."—*Vol. I. p.* 339.

Dr. Wilson visited the reputed tomb of Abraham at Hebron, but was unable to obtain admission into the interior. The tomb itself is covered by a mosque, which bears evident traces of having been formerly a christian church, built probably by the crusaders. The wall surrounding it is about sixty feet high, and the lowest part has every appearance of great antiquity. It is composed of the large bevelled stones, seen in the wall of the Haram and the tower of Hippicus at Jerusalem, and now generally supposed to be of old Jewish, or Phœnician origin. The tombs of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and their wives, as well as the tomb of Joseph, (although he was buried at Shechem)* are shewn inside the mosque:

* The tomb of Joseph, (says Dr. Wilson, vol. II p. 60) is often coupled in ancient writers with the well of Jacob. It lies about two or three hundred yards to the north of it, across the valley, and we repaired to it after leaving the well. As it at present stands, it is a small solid erection in the form of a wagon roof, over what is supposed to be the Patriarch's grave, with a small pillar or altar at each of its extremities,

but all these are undoubtedly apocryphal. Underneath the mosque however a cave is believed to exist, which has every right to be looked upon as the true cave of Machpelah, the tomb in which Abraham buried Sarah, and where his own ashes repose. There lie Isaac and Rebecca; there Jacob buried Leah; and thither his own remains were carried in solemn pomp, when the people of the land said—"This is a grievous mourning of the Egyptians."

From the exact description found in the book of Genesis, Hebron was evidently well known in the time of Moses, after the return of the Israelites from Egypt. Indeed from the earliest times, it was a place of note, being built "seven years before Zoan in Egypt." It was the first place visited by the spies, and became afterwards the inheritance of Caleb, after Joshua himself, the most distinguished man amongst the Israelites. It was also one of the cities of refuge. In the last days of Jerusalem, it is mentioned by Josephus, who particularly describes the tomb of Abraham, and the large stones of which it was constructed. Large indeed they must have been, for Dr. Wilson measured one in the wall surrounding the Haram, thirty eight feet long, and nearly three feet and a half high. Eusebius and Jerome write of the sepulchre of Abraham as well known in their day: and Jews, Christians and Mahomedans have ever since agreed in believing, that it is the veritable "cave of Machpelah over against Mamre." The evidence in its favour is so strong as to satisfy Dr. Robinson himself. Benjamin of Tudela relates, that though the tombs, or rather the Sarcophagi, above are shown to the people as those of the Patriarchs, yet, by payment of a large sum of money, access may be obtained to the cave below, which is lighted by a lamp, and contains several excavated chambers opening into each other, containing the tombs of the patriarchs, and the bones of many of their posterity, whose memory has perished from the earth. The Mussulman tradition, if not so authentic, is considerably more imaginative, and is remarkable because it refers to the cave under the mosque as a place familiarly known. It purports to be the story of a descent into this cavern by Abu Bekr, which he relates as follows:—

'They raised the pavement, and there went down with us a man named Saluk, who was a man of probity, excellence, and good faith. I went with him. So he walked on, and I after him; and we descended seventy-two steps; and then I beheld, on my right hand, a great sarcophagus of black stone, upon which was an old man with scanty hair, long beard, and in a

sometimes called the tombs of Ephraim and Manasseh, and in the middle of an enclosure without a covering. An excavation under Joseph's tomb, if made with suitable caution, might lead to some very important discovery. It is not at all improbable that the coffin or ark (in which Joseph's body was put, when it was embalmed in Egypt, and which was taken by the Israelites to this place) was deposited in a stone Sarcophagus, which may remain to this day.

green dress, and lying on his back. So said Salúk unto me, This is Isaac. Passing on then a little, we came unto a larger sarcophagus than the first. Thereon was a Shaikh lying on his back, between whose arms all was grey-haired, his head and beard being white, his two veils (or eye-lashes(and the borders of his eyes (eye-brows) being white also. Beneath his gray hair was his green robe. His person was most beautiful, and the wind gently waved his grey hair on the right and left. Then said Salúk, This is Abraham. And I fell on my face, and prayed to God the prayer which occurred into me. We passed on, and came to a lightly-skilfully-carved sarcophagus. Thereon was a brown dark old man—very brown indeed; his beard was short, crisp, and curly, and thick. Beneath his shoulders was his green robe, most resplendently green. Then said Salúk, This is Jacob. Then we turned aside, and went on to examine the deep venerable Recess."

This legend is found in an Arabic History of the temple of Jerusalem written by the Imam Jalal-addin ul Siuti and, by the irresistible play of association, transports us, far away from Manre and the East, to the chancel of Melrose Abbey, when the moonshine streamed full upon the grave of Michael Scott.

In the main, however, with scarcely an exception, nothing can be more dull, leaden, and debasing than the traditions of the Holy Land. Superstition always debases; and the Holy Land has become the very sink of superstition, fraud, fanaticism and ignorance. In the last, it must be acknowledged, that Islam bears the palm; as for instance, when the learned Imam compares a certain great slaughter to the dreadful infliction of God's vengeance, when Nebuchadnezzar, at the head of an army of Grecians, slew 70,000 Jews for their base murder of John the Baptist; but in all else the churches of the West hold indisputable and guilty pre-eminence. The superstition of the Mahomedans is, like themselves, grave dignified and decorous. The tombs, where lie Abraham the friend of God, and Aaron His chosen servant, and David the man after His own heart, inspire no distrustful feelings, and no associations, but such as are hallowed, solemn, and appropriate: and the silence, loneliness and mystery, where no rude voice is heard, and no rude foot permitted to intrude, appeal powerfully to the imagination, and win involuntary sympathy for a veneration, which the word of God and melancholy experience alike condemn as 'too superstitious.'

It was reserved for Christian churches (so they call themselves) to invent or to debase sites, associated with the most sacred names, and the most solemn and overpowering events that ever were transacted on the face of man's earth, and to exhibit to their Mahomedan brethren, in the presence of these overpowering associations, the miserable farce of the vulgar juggler, the ruffianism of the faction fight, and the licence of the brothel. No words can describe the feelings of disgust, indignation, and terror, which these scenes arouse in every truly chris-

tian heart: no words can exaggerate their awful guilt, and their evil influence. What must the Moslems think of the religion of Jesus? It came to them in war and blood: it has dwelt among them for many centuries, associated with all that is false, odious and despicable. Heavy will be the reckoning of every church that has taken part in this foul and abominable thing.

In the noble passage formerly quoted, we have seen how Dr. Wilson's soul was open to the inspiration of Palestine, and to the memories of its Shepherd king: but the approach to Bethlehem and Calvary strike no corresponding chord. It draws forth the voice of denunciation, not the song of praise and delight: and we think it a duty to lay before our readers what such a man thinks of what he saw with his own eyes:—

"The situation of the Church of the Holy sepulchre will be understood by the reader when he casts his eye on the "Plan of Jerusalem." When we were slowly going down one of the lanes to the court in front of it to the south, we were ordered to make way for a procession, headed by the Reverendissimo, or the chief Franciscan monk, and the Austrian consul general, and formed of various official and non-official personages and persons, proceeding by quick march on a ceremonious visit to this famous building. A voice behind us exclaimed, "Re, Re, Aj, badá tamáshá honá," "*Bravo bravo, we are to have fine fun to-day*" We were quite startled with this familiar ejaculation, associated in our minds with all the madness and mischief of a heathen Jattrá. The correctness of its application to the scenes and services of the so-called Christian pilgrimage of Jerusalem, our own observation soon taught us to admit It proceeded from a Muhammadan from the north of India, who was squatted at the side of the lane in which we were, with a few trinkets for sale spread out before him.

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From this western part of the buildings, we are hurried along through the crowds by our guides, to various other places of note, which have been discovered in a state of convenient proximity to one another. Here our attention is directed to the tomb of Joseph and Nicodemus; there to the exact spots where Christ appeared to Mary Magdalene and to his mother, and where they respectively stood when they beheld our Lord. Here we enter the chapel of Longinus the centurion; and the chapels of the parting of our Lord's garments, and of the place where those stood who mocked him on the cross. Descending a flight of forty-nine steps, we are in the eastern part of the buildings called the Church of the Holy Cross, where we find the chapels of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, and the penitent thief; and, after an additional thirteen steps, we are at the place of the "*invention* of the cross." Returning to the entrance of the buildings, we find the ascent to "Calvary," a locality which, if genuine, would in its sacred associations be the most overwhelming on the face of the globe. The very spot where the cross was planted is pointed out, without any hesitation or dubiety. A small crevice in the rock, in which there is nothing more remarkable than is seen in hundreds of cavities in all parts of the cretaceous strata of the country, is declared to be one of the rents caused by the earthquake which took place when our Lord was crucified. Imposture and credulity have found the whole congeries of "holy places" connected with our Lord's crucifixion, interment, and resurrection, in this building, which has been profanely called the "Temple of the Lord," the "New Jerusalem!" I envy not the

feelings of the Protestant, who can survey them with feeling of anything like complacency or satisfaction.

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The noise and bustle of the priests and people; the levity and formality on the one hand, and the theatrical affectation of devotion and reverence on the other, of great multitudes of the pilgrims; the idolatrous recognition, by nearly the whole masses, of the alleged sacred spots, and invocation of saints and angels; the innumerable prostrations before images, pictures, and ecclesiastics; and the hope of pardon, indulgence, and merit, which was swelling the breasts of all, who implicitly believe in the doctrine of their degraded churches, made us feel as if we had been transported from Jerusalem, and carried back to the great land of heathenism in which we had so long sojourned. More affecting scenes of superstition and delusion we scarcely remembered to have seen in that dark land. If we mourned and wept over the ruins of the natural Zion, when it first presented itself to our view, shorn of all its glory, and ploughed as a field, we still more mourned and wept over the desolations of the spiritual Zion at Jerusalem Viewing what we witnessed as its representative, Ezekiel's chambers of imagery were its appropriate type, We seemed to realize it as a fact that we were literally in "Sodom, where the Lord was crucified."—*Vol. I. pp.* 144-150.

The following touching and truthful account of his first impression of Jerusalem by the Rev. W. Graham shows how completely Christian minds sympathize with each other :—

"I cannot say, dearly beloved friend and father, that my feelings have been much excited, or my faith strengthened, by examining the sacred places at Jerusalem. Of course my prophetic faith—my conviction of the truth of God's testimony, whether it be in promise or in threatening, must be confirmed by witnessing, in this land, the awful realities of God's word, which has taken effect like a thunderbolt. A country teeming in former times with many millions of inhabitants, is now nearly dispeopled; the Vale of Sharon alone could sustain all the population of Palestine; most fertile districts without culture; proud cities and kingdoms overthrown, according to the exact word of God; and many similar fulfilments of prophecy, cannot but deepen the conviction of the truth of God's word in the mind of the spectator. But my love to Jesus was not excited by surveying his supposed tomb, nor my zeal for Christianity increased by seeing the hole in the rock where the cross is said to have stood, or the chamber of the cross, or the fissure in the rent rock, or the spot pointed out as that where the cock crew. In fact, I could not get rid of the idea of monkish imposture, and the emotion of my mind was that of melancholy mixed with anger. The *loca sancta* are all matters of gain and sordid speculation to the idle and ignorant monks. Every thing is formed to attract and dazzle the pilgrims The superstition of the deluded multitudes who, urged by the stings of an unquiet conscience, press into the church to touch or kiss the marble of the holy sepulchre, is melancholy; and the deceivers of these men, who ought to know better, and who are implicated in contriving and perpetuating many of the delusions, must have a severe reckoning in the day of God. The Judge is at hand, and we are forbidden to judge before the time. On the Mount of Olives, indeed, when apart from the practices of superstition, and beholding the ruined city of a Saviour's rejected love, the fountain of my feelings was stricken open again, and the awed yet tranquillized heart entered into sympathy with the moral and historic glories of the scene. Here, in very truth, the Son of God lived, and laboured, and

died. There is the castle of David, here is Mount Zion, and yonder is the hill of Calvary. O my Father, is this a reality, or is it all a dream! Did redeeming blood flow on that spot? and are these the ways and footsteps of incarnate love? O my God, let the affections of my heart flow out to the person, rather than the place; to the glorious Prisoner, now risen and ascended to the right hand of God, rather than the supposed sepulchre in which he lay bound"—*Vol. II. pp.* 269-270.

On pure æsthetical grounds, and apart altogether from religion, it is delightful and refreshing to think that the Hills of Sion and Moriah, the Mount of Olives, the pathway over its top to Bethany, the garden of Gethsemane, and a few other hallowed scenes, remain unprofaned by the vulgar pawing of the Greek and Romish friars, or by the somewhat ostentatious piety of the relic-loving and church-building Emperors, Constantine and Justinian.

Such indeed was the distinguishing outward demonstration of fourth century piety. It was not so in the first. The churches which the Apostles sought to plant, were not built with hands; and, as to the mere and brick and mortar part, so far were they from considering that as a matter of importance, that not so much as an allusion to it is made in the whole of the New Testament.

We must pass over most reluctantly the topography of Jerusalem, and the many interesting and exciting questions which it suggests. Dr Wilson has not added much from his own personal observations: but he brings to bear on the disputed points a thorough knowledge of all that has been observed and all that has been advanced by his predecessors, a sober judgment, and a spirit eminently impartial. The reader will find in this part of his work an epitome of every thing worth knowing on the subject, and a fair statement of the present state of the question as to all unsettled points of importance. He agrees with Dr. Robinson in thinking that the site of the holy sepulchre was always *within* the second wall. Indeed the topographical evidence on this head seems conclusive. By running a wall any where within that site to Antonia, the whole of the lower city would be included in a triangle having for its base a line of only 1,200 feet; and deducting from this area, the necessary space for cisterns, streets, and the large public buildings erected by Herod, the portion left would hardly be large enough to form an ordinary square. Josephus, moreover, tells us that Herod filled up the valley between Moriah and Acra, and so joined the lower city to the temple. How any one, believing this, could also believe, that the outer wall of the lower city ran along the slope of this very valley, has always appeared to us incomprehensible. Besides, as the amphitheatre of Herod and a large suburb, (ten years afterwards inclosed by the third wall) lay outside

of the Acra city, it seems natural to suppose that the crucifixion took place outside of all, and not in the midst of the houses.

Traditional evidence is more favourable to the supposed locality: but Eusebius speaks of the discovery as something wonderful and surprising, and of the monument, found, as rescued from oblivion;—language evidently incompatible with any certain previous knowledge of the site. The same tradition authenticates as strongly the *invention* of the Cross, and most of the other lying legends of the time. Indeed a fourth century tradition is in itself a cause of suspicion, and, set against topographical evidence, is not worth a straw.

In regard to the temple area, Josephus and the Rabbins agree in asserting that it was a square; the side being about 400 or 500 cubits. But the Haram is an oblong of much larger dimensions. Dr. Robinson accounts for the discrepancy by supposing that the fortress of Antonia, with its dependencies, occupied the whole of the Northern end. Mr. Williams again strikes off a corresponding portion on the South, which he supposes to have been added by Justinian, to whom he attributes the vaults and arched passages under the mosque El Aksa, from which the celebrated arch of Dr. Robinson springs. Dr. Wilson hesitates as to Antonia, but withholds his assent from Mr. Williams. He is inclined to place the pool of Bethesda in the large trench north of the Haram. In one of his notes is a quotation from Jerome, having an important bearing on this point, which seems to have escaped his notice. The trench separated Moriah from the neighbouring suburb of Bezetha: but Bethesda and Bezetha are so obviously identical that Jerome spells the pool Bezatha. This very simple supposition would at once determine the locality, and account for the name of the suburb; as well as form another and a most important fixed point in the topography of Jerusalem. His view of the extent of the third wall is novel, and, has much to recommend it, and his theory, that the tombs of the Kings are the Herodian sepulchres, and not the monument of Helena, is, we think, satisfactorily made out.

At Nabulus he found a remnant of the ancient Samaritans, from whom he collected much curious and interesting information. We have space only for the following:—

"Our host was much disappointed to find that we had strong doubts about the propriety of ranking the Bene-Israel of Bombay among the Samaritans. That we might make no mistake in forming a judgment of them, he would repeat, he said, the articles of the Samaritan creed, which he did in the following terms:—

1. الله واحد—Allah Wáhid—God is one.

2. موسى نبيه—Músá Nabiyah—Moses is the prophet.

3. التّوراة هي الكتاب—Et-Toráh hí el-Kutáb—The Law is the book.

4. كريزيم القبلة—Karízim el-Kiblah—Gerizim is the Kiblah.

5. يكون يوم القيامة والدينونة—Yakún yom el-keiámat wa ed-deinúnat—There will be a day of resurrection and judgment.

He also repeated some Arabic verses, in which this creed was given at greater length, but without any addition to its substantial meaning. When we said that the Bene-Israel do not view Gerizim as a Kiblah, he said, "Then, most assuredly they are not Samaritans." This concession, however, he made only to ourselves. To some of the members of his flock, who had begun to collect around us, he said, "These gentlemen have brought me tidings of the *Samaritans of Bombay*."

We felt much interested in the avowal of the doctrine of the resurrection by the Samaritans. When I asked the priest, on what passage of the Law he founded this important tenet, he quoted the verse, "See now that I, even I, am he, and there is no god with me: I kill, and I make alive,"* with a great air of confidence in the correctness of his interpretation, and asked us, "Do you think that men are to remain in their graves, after they are made alive again?" In answer to a question which we afterwards put to him, he supplemented his creed, by declaring his belief in the existence of Satan, as a malignant and injurious spirit having access to the souls of men, to tempt and allure. When we asked him to point out the authority in the Pentateuch, the standard of his faith, for this doctrine, he said, "The Náhásh which addressed Eve was evidently more than a serpent. It was Satan who spoke within that animal." "True," we said, "but have you no more direct proof for the personality of Satan in the books of Moses?" "Verily, we have," he replied with great emphasis, "look at these texts, 'Certain men, the children of Belial, are gone out from among you;'† 'Beware that there be not a thought in thy heart of Belial.'"‡ We could not but be much struck with his application of these passages of holy writ. With all due deference to Gesenius and others, I am more than inclined to believe, that the translators who render Belial as a proper name, have better authority for so doing, than those who render it abstractly, "worthlessness," "evil," and so forth. It remains to be proved, that it is either a late or New Testament usage merely, which sets it forth in a personal sense.§—*Vol. II. pp.* 48-49.

Dr. Wilson *saw* the mysterious island in the Dead Sea, near the embouchure of the Jordan, which Dr. Robinson did not see, and concerning which there is so much positive and contradictory evidence. It was but a few hundred yards from the shore, and too large to be only a floating mass of bitumen. Very probably it will be found to be a shoal, sometimes appearing above water, and having its bottom covered with pieces of bitumen. He has not been able to add any thing to our previous knowledge of this extraordinary and deeply interesting lake. Indeed all that is novel in the geography of Palestine seems to have

* Deut. xxxii. 39. † Deut. xiii. 13.

‡ Deut. xv. 9. The English version gives it, in this instance, "beware that there be not a thought in thy wicked heart."

§ See Gesenii Lex. sub voc.

fallen exclusively to the share of the Americans; and the later discoveries of Wolcot and Thomson are scarcely inferior in interest and importance to those of Dr. Robinson himself. One cannot help regretting, that, while science has contributed richly and copiously to our knowledge of the Holy Land in every other department, not a site within its bounds seems yet to have been astronomically determined. Dr. Robinson indeed speaks of the longitude of Jerusalem as found approximately by a lunar observation, and Seetzea took three at different times, but unfortunately they differed about seventy miles from each other! It is a little mortifying, and not a little ludicrous, that our best maps of the Holy Land have no better authority than *a pocket compass*. A sextant, an artificial horizon, and a telescope giving sufficient power to observe the eclipses of Jupiter's satellites, would add very little to the luggage of a traveller, are not likely to be injured, and would do more for the topography of the Dead Sea and other unsettled sites, in a few days, and without risk or labour, than has been done for the last 2,000 years. Let us hope that the proposed American expedition to the Dead Sea is something better than the caricature given in the newspapers, and that we are about to have a creditable and intelligent survey of its waters. So strong is the interest felt in regard to it, that the sale of the journal of such an expedition would speedily repay the whole expense of the undertaking.

In connection with his journey to the sources of the Jordan, Dr. Wilson borrows from the journals of Mr. Thomson, an account of an extraordinary little lake, described by Josephus, and supposed by him to be the true source of the Jordan:—

"Now Panium," he says, "is thought to be the fountain of Jordan, but in reality it is carried thither after an occult manner from the place called Phiala; this place lies as you go up to Trachonitis, and is a hundred and twenty furlongs from Cesarea, and is not far out of the road on the right hand; and, indeed, it hath its name of Phiala vial or bowl very justly from the roundness of its circumference, as being round like a wheel. Its water continues always up to its edges, without either sinking or running over; and as this origin of Jordan was formerly not known, it was discovered so to be, when Philip was tetrarch of Trachonitis; for he had chaff thrown into Phiala, and it was found at Panium, where the ancients thought the fountain-head of the river was, to which it had been therefore, carried by the waters." Of this lake we have a particular account by Mr. Thomson "It is," he says, 'about one hour and a half due east from the (upper) castle (of Bánias;) and consequently nearly three hours from the fountain of Bâniâs The path climbs over a high mountain, and then leads across a plain covered with lava, and divided by the deep channel of a brook, which runs down S. W., and falls into the marsh of Hûleh. The *Birket* is the most singular basin of water I have ever examined. It is manifestly the mouth of a perfectly round crater filled with water to within about eighty feet of the top. This great volcanic *bowl* is about three miles in circumference, and the sides are so steep, that it is difficult to get down to the water. It does not appear

to be very deep; since, in most parts the surface is covered with weeds, upon which thousands of ducks were feeding. The circumstances which identify the Birket er-Râm with the ancient Phiala, are its bowl-like shape, and the fact, that it has neither inlet nor outlet, is fed neither by a running stream nor by any visible fountain, and has no known channel of escape for its surplus waters. It neither increases nor diminishes; but what it is now, in the hottest and driest season of the year, the line on its lava-built margin clearly proves it to be, during the rains and snows of winter. This is a singular fact, and I leave others to explain the curious phenomenon. The examination confirmed my former doubts. It is scarcely possible that the Phiala is the more distant appearance, much less the *source* of the stream at Bâniâs. The water of the Phiala is so insipid and nauseous, that it cannot be drunk, while the fountain at Bâniâs pours out a river of cool, sweet, and delicious water. The Phiala is so crowded with leeches, that a man can gather 6000 or even 8000 in a day; while the fountain at Bâniâs is not infested by a single leech. This could not be, if the river of Bâniâs drained the lake Phiala. Besides, the size and position, of the mountains, and the depth and direction of the intervening valleys, interpose physical and geological obstacles which render the supposition incredible. And, moreover, so vast a discharge of water, as the fountain of Bâniâs requires, would draw off the whole lake of Phiala in twenty-four hours; or, if the supply from some hidden source be equal to the demand, it would at least change the stagnant character of the lake, and manifest its operation on the surface."—*Vol. II. pp.* 179-181

With this extract we most reluctantly conclude. The remaining portion of Dr. Wilson's tour embraces the tempting names of Nazareth, Tiberias, Safed, Damascus, the Lebanon range, Tyre, Sidon, Beyrut, Joppa, Tripoli, Baalbek, Smyrna, Constantinople, and the Danube. On all these, and the many other interesting localities which Dr. Wilson has visited, the reader will find in these delightful volumes not only the personal observations and researches of a richly furnished truth-loving and sagacious mind, but an elaborate, learned and distinct digest of whatever is most valuable in former writers. The latter portion of the second volume contains most valuable materials, for the historian, the Christian, and the Missionary. The various Christian sects and churches of the east, the eastern Jews, the Samaritans, the present state and prospects of Mahomedanism and various questions connected with the ancient peoples and languages of the east, are treated of in the laborious, clear and exhausting method of the Germans; and the information regarding them, amassed by Dr. Wilson, leaves the general reader nothing to desire.

The work indeed in all its details, is more like an Encyclopedia than the labour of a single individual. We look upon it, as an enduring monument of Dr. Wilson's talents and piety, an honour to our Indian literature, and to the Church, which can afford to send forth such men as Missionaries to the Heathen.

ART. VIII.—*Evidences relative to the Efficiency of Native Agency in the Administration of the Affairs of this Country. Calcutta.* 1814.

THE "wisdom of our ancestors" has become a bye-word. There are very few political or commercial principles on which they prided themselves, which have not been exploded under the fearless investigations of the present more practical age. There can scarcely be a greater contrast between the magnificent steamers which now cross the Atlantic in a fortnight, and the coracles of England in the days of Cæsar, than between the maxims which modern experience has established and those which were considered as the maturity of wisdom in the days of the Stewarts. The history of exploded opinions would form one of the most interesting, as well as instructive, of works. In no department, however, is this improvement of principles more visible, and in none does it open larger prospects of happiness to the family of man, than in our colonial policy. It is matter of sincere congratulation that the establishment of these sound and beneficent principles should be contemporary with the unprecedented expansion of our colonial system, and that the most extensive empire the world has ever seen should be held by the nation which has made the greatest progress in the science of colonial Government. For more than a century and a half, and, indeed, down to a very recent period, colonies were regarded as existing exclusively for the benefit of the mother country, and this idea predominated in all the measures which were adopted in reference to them. The object of that policy was to render all colonial settlements subservient to the interests of the country by which they had been planted, with very little regard and often without any regard whatever, to their individual welfare. This selfish principle may be considered as lying at the root of our quarrel with America. It was the attempt to make the colonies contribute to the revenues of the parent state, which brought on the disastrous war of the Revolution, and led to the independence of the United States. Hence, we find Mr. Hastings, when reproached for his proceedings in India, making it his boast that while England was losing one empire in the West, he was creating and consolidating another empire in the East, and that the revenue which she had failed to obtain in America would henceforward be furnished from India. Whatever improvements were sanctioned in the colonies themselves had an eye exclusively to their increased value as dependencies, and the liberal idea of administering their affairs with the view of promot-

ing their own peculiar interests and happiness, never appears to have entered the minds of those who enjoyed the direction of affairs in England. We believe it is the remark of Mr. Macaulay that however trite and common-place the benevolent design of governing colonial possessions for the benefit of the governed, inculcated in Telemachus, may appear in the present more advanced age, they were deemed novel and startling, if not transcendental, in the age in which they were promulgated. But a nobler feeling has been gradually diffused among public men, and wiser and more generous maxims of colonial policy have acquired the ascendancy. It is now considered one of the established maxims of the age that colonies should be released from all those restrictions which had been imposed simply to subserve the interests of the mother country, that they should be treated as integral parts of the empire rather than as dependencies, and legislated for as they would probably legislate for themselves, if they were independent. It is the prevailing opinion of the present time that the benefit of the connection should be mutual, and that while the colonies stimulate the industry, and supply the wants, of the country to which they are bound by the ties of consanguinity, they themselves should feel the blessings of the union in the improvement of their own constitution and happiness.

The Government of India has exhibited the same improvement of feeling. The noble declaration of Sir Charles Metcalfe, that Providence must be supposed to have had some higher object in view in annexing India to the empire of Britain than to afford facilities for the export of piece goods and indigo, and to provide situations for the relatives and the friends of the Directors, would have sounded strange, if not ridiculous, seventy years ago. Our power in India, came originally without our seeking. If any man had ventured to predict in April 1756, when the commercial Council of Calcutta was deprecating the wrath of the youthful tyrant of Murshedabad, that within fifteen months of that period, we should become the absolute masters of three Súbahs of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, and create a Nawab of our own, he would have been treated as the wildest of visionaries. The factory, defended by an unwarlike garrison of a hundred and fifty soldiers, was sacked, and the public servants were murdered; but we returned in force, and recaptured the town, defeated the Nawab, and found ourselves suddenly elevated into a great political and military power in India. Our subsequent career has been the inevitable result of the recapture of Calcutta, and the discomfiture of the Nawab. We were obliged either to defend our new position, or to relinquish both it and the country. But

as soon as we found ourselves masters of these provinces, the first idea which suggested itself to those on whom this power had so miraculously devolved was, to turn it into a source of profit for England and for themselves. From 1757 to 1765, the ascendancy we had acquired was employed, often by the most unjust and nefarious means, in increasing our public and private gains. Those who wielded that power acted as if they had no higher vocation in India, than to fill the treasury in Leadenhall Street, and to replenish their own private purses. When Lord Clive had obtained the Dewany in 1765, and the whole internal administration of a country, containing between twenty and thirty millions of people, was placed in our hands, he does not appear to have supposed that there was any higher responsibility attached to this important position than that of turning it to the best account for his Honourable Masters, and providing against its being endangered. He congratulated them, simply on the splendid income which they might now expect to derive year by ear from their new territorial acquisitions in India. We find no allusion in his despatches to the higher and nobler duty of employing these advantages for the benefit of the country, by attempts to improve its institutions, and to promote the happiness of its vast population. Neither does there appear to have been any more elevated sentiment among the Court of Directors at home, who were incessantly engaged in struggles for the power, pelf and patronage associated with this magnificent conquest. Seventy years before, when they had no occupation but to attend to a narrow and precarious trade, and no establishments in India but a few factories, they had directed that the Chaplains they sent out should study the "Gentoo" languages, in order that they might communicate knowledge to the people. But these benevolent views vanished with the acquisition of power and territory; and when at a subsequent period the most eminent facilities had been opened in the course of Providence for the diffusion of these intellectual and spiritual blessings, they employed themselves in debating on the propriety of expelling every missionary from the country.

So little indeed were the rulers of India alive to the moral responsibilities of their station, that for seven years after the administration of the country had been placed in their hands in 1765, they abandoned it to Native agency, with the full knowledge that the power thus delegated was made the instrument of the greatest oppression. The administration of justice was left in the hands of corrupt native officials; and the police of the country was so entirely neglected, that the high ways swarmed with bands of dakoits in the vicinity of Calcutta. Even the collection of the

revenue was entrusted to Natives of the country over whose peculations the Council exercised so little control, that when they were at length constrained to take the management of the finances into their own keeping, they found more than half a million sterling a year of revenue permanently alienated by fictitious grants. These native officers were rewarded by large salaries, at the very time when they were amassing colossal fortunes by every species of extortion. The Fouzdar of Hoogly, who occupied no higher post than that of the principal criminal authority in a single district, received an allowance ten times greater than that of the Members of Council. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that although the Civilians were wretchedly paid, the profits of the inland trade in which all the European servants of Government were engaged, in spite of every prohibition, amply compensated them for the parsimony of their masters. In a letter of March, 1772, Warren Hastings says: "The boys of the service are the sovereigns of the country under the unmeaning title of supervisors, collectors of the revenue, administrators of justice and rulers, heavy rulers of the people." At the beginning of the next year he says, "Who would rest satisfied with a handsome salary of Three or Four Thousand Rupees a year to maintain him in Calcutta, who could get a lakh or three lakhs, which I believe have been acquired in that space, and live at no expense, in the district?" The fact appears to have been, that all the authority and influence of the administration were left in the hands of Mahomed Reza Khan,—who received Nine lakhs of Rupees a year,—and of his subordinates in every district, who were also paid large allowances in the shape of salary, while the nominal superintendence of the machinery of Government was placed in the hands of the Civil Servants with salaries of three or four hundred Rupees a month; and that their attention was exclusively given to the accumulation of private fortunes by commercial speculations. The first invasion of this vicious system was made in 1772, when the great genius of Warren Hastings was employed on the complete reconstruction of the Government. He transferred the seat of the administration to Calcutta, and confided the most responsible offices in it to the European officers of Government, and thus prepared the way for a suitable increase of their allowances. By this arrangement, the importance of native agency in the management of the affairs of the country was gradually diminished, and the salaries allowed to the Native officers began to be curtailed in a corresponding degree. The process of increase in the one case, and reduction in the other, was steadily pursued during the following twenty years, and at the next change in the

character of our Government, in the days of Lord Cornwallis, in 1792, the allowances of the European officers which had stood at 300 Rs. were raised to 3,000 Rs. a month, and those of the native servants reduced to a contemptible pittance which seldom exceeded 100 Rs.

During this period, extending from 1772 to 1792, those ancient feelings regarding the administration of distant possessions to which we have alluded, still continued in the ascendant in India. The Government of this dependency was administered solely for the benefit of England. Various attempts were made, it is true, to improve the administration of justice, civil and criminal, and to repress crime and extortion, but the guiding principle of every improvement was the promotion of the honor and dignity of our own Government, and the improvement of the national estate. Amidst the struggles for power and wealth which disgraced that period, we discover no reference to the high vocation of England in India, and no recognition of the responsibility of raising the moral and intellectual condition of the people. We look in vain for any attempt to stimulate national improvement, and rouse the national energies, by opening paths of laudable ambition. We governed the country rather as the successors of the Mahomedans, than as the representatives of modern civilization. We abolished some of the most obnoxious imposts our predecessors had established, but we made no attempt to introduce higher principles into the Government, or to render it worthy of the reputation of Great Britain. Although Greig has devoted a chapter to Warren Hastings' care of science and literature, the only institution he established was the Madrassa, which was intended, as he himself tells us, to promote the study of the different branches of the sciences taught in the Mahomedan schools, to extend the credit of the Company's name, and to soften the prejudices excited by the rapid growth of the British dominions. In Hastings' summary of his own administration, we can discover no allusion to the mental improvement and elevation of the people, as having ever engaged his attention. He was satisfied with consolidating the empire of Great Britain in the East, with improving the machinery of government in all its parts, and warding off the danger of external invasion, but the time was not come for considering it the noblest part of our duty in India to diffuse useful knowledge among the people, and to give them that strong individual interest in the continuance of our Government which arises from judiciously associating them in the management of it. The care and attention bestowed on the internal administration remind us strongly of the slaveholders in the southern division

of the United States, who are scrupulously attentive to the bodily wants of their slaves, and provide them with every convenience of food and clothing, and lodging, and medical attendance, but carefully guard against that mental and moral culture which might elevate the mind, and prepare it for the enjoyment of freedom.

One of the earliest of the public servants who came forward to impugn the wisdom and the justice of this policy, was Charles Grant, who in 1792 composed his well-known work on the condition and improvement of the country. The elevated sentiments which he ventured to express were far ahead of the views and feelings of the age, and met with little encouragement in Leadenhall-Street, and with no sympathy from his fellow-servants in the East. He affirmed that we had been satisfied with the apparent submissiveness of the people, and had attended chiefly to the maintenance of our authority over the country, and the augmentation of our commerce and revenue, but had never, with a view to the promotion of their happiness, looked thoroughly into their internal state. He urged the duty of putting them in possession of the means of intellectual, moral and religious improvement, and in allusion to the objections which were raised to his proposal as endangering the stability of our empire, remarked, "The principle of the objection is plainly no other than this, that to prevent the remotest chances of such consequences as the proposed improvements might produce, our Asiatic subjects must be for ever held in the same state of ignorance and error in which they now are. Give them not the light of true religion, teach them not a better system of morals, provide no stated means for their public or private instruction, impart not to them our knowledge of nature, be not liberal to them even in communicating the principles of our arts; afford them, in a word, no benefit whatever of light and improvement, lest our interest should in some future period suffer; keep them blind and wretched for all generations, lest our authority should be shaken or our supremacy over them incur the slightest possible risk. Surely those who may have inconsiderately lent themselves to this objection, will not, on a clear deliberate view of its principles, seek to justify or contend for it. A Christian nation cannot possibly maintain or countenance such a principle." He therefore proposed that access to all that knowledge, secular and religious, which had placed Europe on such high vantage ground should be imparted to them through the medium of the English language, and he predicted the benefits which were likely to result from this liberal policy. Any one who peruses

his interesting treatise—for which he will be amply repaid—and compares his anticipations with the realities which surround us, will feel convinced that few instances of such remarkable foresight have been presented to public view. But, at the very time when Mr. Grant was urging these enlightened views upon Government, Lord Cornwallis was employed in depriving the native community of every stimulant to improvement by excluding them entirely from all offices of any importance and distinction in the Government. The leading principle of the system of administration which he established was that of conducting it in all its branches, solely by European agency; of conferring every situation of trust and emolument on the covenanted servants of Government, and narrowing the circle of employment for the natives of the soil to the smallest possible limits compatible with the working of the machinery. In the department of Civil Justice, the jurisdiction of the Native Commissioners—afterwards denominated Múnsiffs—was restricted to suits not exceeding the value of 50 Rs.; and one of the chief reasons for the institution of these Courts, was the *relief* they would afford to the Zillah and City Judges. The Police officers were entrusted with a circle of about ten miles, and invested with considerable powers; but we cannot discover that they received any other remuneration than a reward of Ten Rupees a head for every dakoit apprehended by them, and convicted by the Magistrate, and a commission of ten per cent. on the value of all property, stolen or plundered, which they might recover, provided the thieves and robbers were apprehended and convicted. They were made the mere "hewers of wood and drawers of water" to the covenanted servants of Government, upon whom all administrative responsibility was devolved. In the country in which thirty years before almost every post of official dignity and influence had been filled with Natives, they were excluded from all share in the administration, and reduced to a state of the most complete official degradation.

Strange as it may appear, this most unjust and impolitic system of administration received the cordial approbation of one of the greatest statesmen to whom the destinies of India have ever been committed, the Marquis of Wellesley. Nothing can exhibit more clearly the character of that age, than the adoption of such unworthy views by the man who was one of its brightest ornaments. At the very time when Napoleon was refusing to employ any but natives of the country in the administration of Lombardy, and the other Italian provinces he had subdued, Lord Wellesley refused to employ any but foreigners in the Government of India. In the celebrated minute in which his rea-

sons for the establishment of the College of Fort William in Bengal are given, he said, "The duty and policy of the British Government in India require that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the Government to Europeans, educated in its own service, and subject to its own direct control, should be diffused as widely as possible, as well with a view to the stability of our own interests, as to the happiness and welfare of the people." Here we have revealed to us not only the principle on which the Government of India was conducted under Lord Cornwallis and Lord Wellesley, but the arguments on which that principle was based. They and their colleagues had been led to form so low an estimate of the intellectual and moral character of the natives as to deem it a matter of benevolence to exclude them from all share in the administration, totally forgetting that one of the most effectual means of raising that character, was to hold out incentives to virtuous and honorable ambition by the hope of official distinction. They considered it essential to the stability of our foreign rule, to exclude the Natives from all participation in the power of office, forgetting how much stronger would be their attachment to our administration when they were admitted to participate in its honours and emoluments, than when they were shut out from all share in the Government, and left to brood over their degradation. If this doctrine of exclusiveness, adopted doubtless from principle, had led them to take measures for raising the tone of native society by giving the people those benefits of education to which the covenanted servants were indebted for their superiority, and thus to prepare them for being associated in the Government of their own country, their benevolence would not have been so questionable. But throughout this period, there was a feeling, not so much of indifference, as of absolute repugnance, to the mental and moral cultivation of the Natives. Education would indeed have removed one of the objections to their being employed in situations of political trust and influence; but it would at the same time have given additional strength to the other objection; for the admission of a large body of enlightened Natives to a share of the power inseparable from office would have been deemed, on the principles prevalent in that period, fatal to our exotic rule. Our empire was said to be an empire of opinion; and if we are to interpret this dark aphorism by the practice of that age, we must take it to signify that it was an empire based on the ignorance of the governed.

But the folly of this exclusive system gradually became apparent in the increasing defects of our administration. It was found that the districts entrusted to the covenanted servants were

too large for their supervision; that their own knowledge of the language, habits and condition of the people was far too limited to enable them to act with vigor and efficiency, and that the amount of labor thrown on them, rendered it impossible for them to perform their duty with satisfaction. They became mere cyphers in the system, and all substantive power was engrossed by their own native officers. It was evident that the irresponsible power thus exercised by underpaid Natives was employed solely for their own benefit, and against the interests of the community, that an under-current of extortion and oppression ran through every department, and that justice was regularly sold and bought like any other marketable commodity. By slow degrees, did the most discerning of our public officers become aware of the fatal error which had been committed in the foolish attempt to govern seventy millions of people by a thousand foreigners. The incompetency of the Natives for the performance of these official duties,—the assumed fact on which Lord Cornwallis's system of exclusion rested,—was found to be a mere assumption, which was unable to stand the test of experience. The pamphlet which we have placed at the head of this article furnishes us with the opinion of some of the most eminent of the public servants on this important subject, and we cannot better illustrate the progress of sounder opinions between the two periods of 1793 and 1831,—nearly forty years—than by a free quotation from its pages. The first testimony on the list is that of Sir Henry Strachey, one of the most eminent public servants the Company have ever enjoyed, and who, even in that age of exclusion, in reply to the interrogatories circulated by Lord Wellesley in 1802, said, "I would observe how very easily the Natives all acquire the requisite qualifications for the duties which we are pleased to entrust to them. I would ask who can doubt that they would very shortly if not depressed and dispirited, become at least equal to the functions they performed before we came among them. I confess it is my wish, though possibly I may be blamed for expressing it, not only to have the authority of the Native Judges extended, but to see them, if possible, enjoy important and confidential situations in other departments of the state." The pamphlet informs us that shortly after the renewal of the Company's Charter in 1813, the Court of Directors appointed a special Committee of their own body for the purpose of conducting an enquiry into the administration of Justice in India. The Committee called upon some of the gentlemen who had enjoyed official situations in India to send in the result of their own experience, and we find Mr. J. Neave, Mr. T. H. Ernst, Mr. R. W. Cox, Sir H. Strachey,

Mr. E. Strachey, Mr. J. D. Erskine, Mr. G. Read, Mr. J. G. Ravenshaw, and Mr. W. Thackeray all testifying to the zeal and ability with which the Native officers of Government had performed the limited duties entrusted to them, and strongly recommending their admission to higher offices. Among these testimonies, that of Col. Walker is deserving of particular notice, "The admission of the Natives to offices of honor and profit is the only mode by which they can be effectually conciliated. It is vain to expect that men will ever be satisfied with merely having their property secured, while all the paths of honorable ambition are shut against them. This mortifying exclusion stifles talents, humbles family pride, and depresses all but the weak and worthless.....So long as this course of hostility remains, the British administration will always be considered as imposing a yoke." These sentiments were delivered in 1813. Two years later Lord Moira, in his judicial minute stated that "another effect of our system was the disgust which it gave to the higher classes of natives, in the loss of all prospects of respectable provision under the economical scale of our native establishments. The door to official emoluments, and to stations of dignity was necessarily closed against the natives by the exclusive employment of the covenanted servants of Government." The necessity of introducing the natives to offices of higher responsibility, and of giving them a corresponding increase of allowances, was perceived at a very early period by the Court of Directors themselves. They recorded their own liberal view on this subject in 1814, and, ten years after, in their letter to the Bengal Government said, "It has frequently been objected to the employment of the natives of India in judicial offices that they cannot safely be trusted with the administration of justice. To this objection it might perhaps be a sufficient answer to say that they are already so trusted. But our principal reason for noticing the objection is that we may impart to you our decided conviction that when we place the Natives of India in situations of trust and confidence, we are bound under every consideration of justice and policy, to grant them adequate allowances; we have no right to calculate on their resisting temptations to which the generality of mankind in the same circumstances would yield." These ideas gained ground with the local Government of India in proportion as the education of the Natives was improved in the seminaries which had been established. In 1826, Lord Amherst thus addressed the Court of Directors—"It must otherwise probably be a source of disquiet and intrigue, among the com-

munity, for unless Government shall open some door for the employment of the talents which their own liberality has, in many instances, elicited, and, to a certain extent, fostered, by making Natives of education and respectability of character eligible to higher grades of the public service than are at present open to their fair and honourable ambition, the gift of superior knowledge, with whatever other advantages attended, can scarcely fail to aggravate the discontent of the educated classes."

It is peculiarly worthy of remark that the Court of Directors took the lead in this liberal course of policy, and that in the originality and boldness of the reforms they proposed, they manifested a degree of liberality which their servants in India were not prepared to second. So far back as 1824, they recommended that the original cognizance of *all* suits of whatever amount should be entrusted to Native Judges and their European officers limited to the duty of hearing appeals, and superintending the system. But we must give their own words:—

"We are satisfied that to secure a prompt administration of justice to the Natives of India in civil cases, Native functionaries must be multiplied so as to enable them to dispose in the first instance of all suits of that description, and, as appears to us, without regard to the amount at stake, their decisions being, of course, liable to revision under appeal where this check may be deemed indispensable, and what perhaps is of no less importance their general conduct being subject to a constant and vigilant supervision on the part of the European functionaries in the districts where they are stationed. It should be the duty of the latter not only to hear appeals but to inquire into and to report to Government periodically on the efficiency of the Native agents employed more immediately under their eye, and the degree of estimation in which they are held by the community, whilst it should equally be the care of Government to reward the deserving and to testify in the most marked manner its displeasure against persons of an opposite character."

It is a memorable circumstance in the history of British India that this reformation, which has so entirely altered the character of our Indian administration, though recommended in such strong terms by the Court of Directors, whose will is usually law in India, was not completed till *thirteen* years after the date of their despatch. The time, however, was now approaching when the enlightened and liberal views, so repeatedly, and yet so vainly, expressed by the Government in England and India, were to be carried into effect, when the maxims of the Cornwallis and Wellesley administrations, which experience had demonstrated to be unsound in principle, and unsafe in practice, were to be consigned to the tomb, and the degradation of the Natives was to cease. Al-

though Lord Wellesley had declared at the beginning of the century that the duty and policy of Government rendered it necessary that the system of confiding the immediate exercise of every branch and department of the Government to Europeans educated in its own service should be diffused as widely as possible, yet this system of exclusion had been found utterly impracticable. Government had been constrained, by the irresistible force of circumstances, gradually to enlarge the powers and jurisdiction of the Native Judges. It was found that without such assistance the business of the country would be brought to a dead halt. In 1793 the Múnsiffs were entrusted with suits only of the value of 50 Rs.; in 1803, the class of Sudder Amíns was instituted with jurisdiction over suits of the value of 100 rupees. In 1814, the powers of both classes were enlarged. In 1821, the cognizance of Múnsiffs was extended to cases of 150 rupees, and that of the Sudder Amíns to those of 500 rupees. In 1827, the Sudder Court was empowered to invest Sudder Amíns with authority to try cases to the value of 1,000 rupees, and thus it gradually came to pass that a very considerable proportion of the original suits instituted in the Civil Courts were decided by Native Judges. But these powers were conferred from necessity, rather than from choice; there was none of that cheerfulness in the gift which would have given it particular value; and Government appears, moreover, to have determined to counterbalance the enlarged powers it was constrained to grant to these Native officers by the parsimony with which their labours were rewarded. The pay and allowances given to the whole body of Múnsiffs and Sudder Amíns, the Judges of the people, the original arbiters in nineteen-twentieths of all cases of litigation, did not exceed the aggregate sum enjoyed by eight of the Covenanted Judges. This discrepancy was forcibly pointed out by the Court of Directors in their despatch of the 18th February 1828: "It is nevertheless essential to this result in India, that the Natives employed by our Government shall be liberally treated, that their emoluments shall not be limited to a bare subsistence, whilst those allotted to Europeans in situations of not greater trust and importance enable them to live in affluence and acquire wealth. Whilst one class is considered as open to temptation and placed above it, the other, without corresponding inducements to integrity, should not be exposed to equal temptation, and be reproached for yielding to it."

Lord William Bentinck assumed the reins of Government in July, 1828, and set himself to a vigorous and impartial examination of the whole system of administration which had been

in operation for thirty-five years. He carefully studied its principles, and endeavoured to trace out its consequences, and the result of his researches may be gathered from the evidence which he subsequently gave in the House of Commons—

"In many respects the Mahommedans surpassed our rule: they settled in the countries which they conquered: they intermixed and intermarried with the Natives, they admitted them to all privileges: the interests and sympathies of the conquerors and conquered became identified. Our policy, on the contrary, has been the reverse of this, cold, selfish, and unfeeling. the iron hand of power on the one side, monopoly and exclusion on the other. The bane of our system is not solely that the civil administration is entirely in the hands of foreigners, but that the holders of this monopoly, the patrons of these foreign agents, are those who exercise the directing power at home: that this directing power is exclusively paid by the patronage: that the value of this patronage depends exactly upon the degree in which all the honours and emoluments of the state are engrossed by their clients to the exclusion of the Natives. There exists in consequence, on the part of the home authorities, an interest in respect to the administration, precisely similar to what formerly prevailed as to commerce, directly opposed to the welfare of India: and consequently, it will be remarked without surprise, that in the two renewals of the charters that have taken place within the last twenty-five years, in the first nothing was done to break down this administrative monopoly and in the second, though a very important principle was declared, that no disability from holding office in any subjects of the Crown, by reason of birth, religion, descent, or colour, should any longer continue, still no provision was made for working it out; and as far as is known, the enactment has remained to this day a dead letter. India, in order to become an attached dependency of Great Britain, must be governed for her own sake, not for the sake of the eight hundred or one thousand individuals who are sent from England to make their fortunes. They are totally incompetent to the charge; and in their hands administration, in all its civil branches, revenue, judicial, and police, has been a failure. Our Government, to be secure, must be made popular, and to become so, it must consult the welfare of the many and not of the few: the Government must remain arbitrary, but it may also be, and should be, paternal."

In the course of the years 1829 and 1830, Mr. Holt Mackenzie, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, Mr. David Hill, Mr. M. H. Turnbull, Mr. Alexander Ross, and the greater proportion of the influential public functionaries at this presidency, avowed their conviction that the system on which we had been acting was absurd and impolitic, and forcibly urged a complete and radical change. The tide had now completely turned, and the antiquated ideas which had continued to linger in our administration, so long after they had been condemned by the public voice, were completely swept away by the flood of reformation. The Governor General and his Council acknowledged the injustice of excluding Natives from all offices of importance and emolument in the land of their birth; they saw the impolicy of keeping the native mind in a state of constant irritation by the exclusive bestowal

of all places of any value on the conquerors. They perceived the impossibility of continuing our Government on the principle of perpetually excluding the natives from all participation in its honors and responsibilities; and they became aware that the more enlightened the people became, the more intense would be the dissatisfaction produced by this policy. After having spent nearly three years in maturing his plans, Lord William Bentinck wrote to the Court of Directors to say—

"A more extended recourse to Native agency for the disposal of judicial business has been so earnestly, repeatedly, and so recently urged by your honourable Court, that I should almost have deemed it my duty to give effect to your injunction, in spite of any local obstacles which have opposed themselves. But concurring as I do most cordially, in the wisdom, the justice and the sound policy of those injunctions, and being fully satisfied that Native probity and talent may immediately be found, if due caution be observed in the selection of instruments, in sufficient abundance to justify the present introduction of the system, I should have deemed myself criminal had I any longer delayed to concede to the people of this country a measure so eminently calculated to facilitate their access to justice, to conciliate their attachment, and to raise the standard of the moral character."

In that year 1831, a memorable year for India, was promulgated the first of a series of enactments for associating the Natives of India in the administration of the country, and bestowing on them a larger allowance than they had ever enjoyed before. The jurisdiction and the allowances of the Múnsiffs and Sudder Amíns were increased, and a superior grade of officers was introduced into the service, that of Principal Sudder Amíns, to whom the examination of all cases which under the old regime would have been cognizable only by the European Zillah Judge, was transferred. By thus conferring situations of trust and emolument on the natives, and granting them official distinction in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen, and fostering the feelings of legitimate ambition in the native community, he succeeded in giving greater popularity and stability to our Government than it had enjoyed since we took the Dewany into our own hands; for the Perpetual Settlement of Lord Cornwallis, though a highly popular measure, conferred benefit only on one section of the public, that of the landholders, whereas the liberal measure of Lord William Bentinck disseminated the seeds of hope throughout the country. These liberal principles became the basis of our administrative policy from that time forward. Those who have succeeded him have built upon his foundation; and we should just as soon think of reviving the maxims of political economy which prevailed before the publication of the Wealth of Nations, as of going back to the system which was deemed

so wise and politic in the days of Cornwallis and Wellesley. In 1833, while Lord William Bentinck was yet in the country, the office of Deputy Collector was created for the employment of Natives in our revenue arrangements; and the system of employing Native Agency has since been gradually extended to almost every department of Government. The pay of the Darogas, the Native officers of the Police, has been more than doubled, and Native Sub-Assistant Surgeons, educated in our Medical College, have been appointed to duties which were formerly entrusted only to the graduates of London and Edinburgh. Before the arrival of Lord William Bentinck, no suit of a higher value than 1000 Rs. was entrusted to a Native Judge, and his powers were subjected to restrictions which served to mark the very low estimate in which Native Agency was held. Within six years after the barrier of exclusion had been broken down by the arrangements of 1831, the proposal originally made by the Court of Directors was carried into effect, and the original cognizance of every civil suit, of whatever amount, was entrusted to the uncovenanted judicial service, while the more costly European agency was reserved for the hearing of appeals from their decisions, and the general superintendence of their proceedings. Under the new system, a large proportion of those duties which were heaped upon the covenanted officers of Government in various departments, twenty-five years ago, have been transferred to the uncovenanted service, and for the most part to natives. If it be said that these duties were always performed by the natives before the new arrangements came into operation, and that the division of labour between the Native and the European agency is much the same as it was formerly, still it may be affirmed with perfect confidence, that, to the full extent of the truth of this assertion, nothing could afford a stronger argument in favor of these reformed plans. Under the old system, the native agency, by which the covenanted European officers were relieved from labour, was both irregular and irresponsible. It was owing to the imperfection of our institutions that so large a share of official duty, and, with it, of official power, was assumed by the venal native officers; and they made it the instrument of extortion and oppression. "It will be gaining a most important point," say the Court of Directors, "if we can substitute a well-paid and responsible agency for that unauthorized and pernicious influence, which there is reason to fear that the Native officers of the Court are in the habit now of too frequently exercising over the proceedings of those Courts." Those duties

in the administration of justice are now legitimately entrusted to them, and they are made responsible for their faithful performance; their instrumentality was now publicly acknowledged, and placed under efficient control. There can be no hesitation in affirming that the business of the country has been much better executed since natives have thus been openly associated in the performance of it. There is more work done, and it is done with greater expedition and satisfaction, and those who preside over the various departments are enabled to exact greater punctuality. Nor has this large admixture of uncovenanted agency into the service of the state, rendered that of the covenanted officers redundant. Whatever imputations, patriotism or calumny may cast upon the Civil service, as an instrument of Government, it is an incontrovertible fact, that we are rapidly approaching the period when the administration of India must be brought again under the revision of Parliament, and that as yet there is no indication of the existence of any body of men in India qualified by their intelligence, integrity, and high principle to take the place of the privileged and covenanted civil service. Whatever modifications may be made in the construction and the allowances of that service, seven years hence, it is certain that it cannot be superseded in its functions, without inflicting serious injury on the public administration. The native agency to which we have alluded has produced this benefit, that it has rendered the more expensive apparatus of the covenanted service far more efficient, by relieving the officers from the details of public duty and enabling them to devote their attention to its higher responsibilities, and there is every probability that it will be found equally necessary to retain both, when the scheme of our Government comes to be revised.

The large share in the public administration now given to the natives of the country has been the natural result of the attention bestowed by Government on their education. Their introduction to the public service, under the new system of Lord William Bentinck, was preceded by many years of successful efforts to qualify them for those situations. We have already alluded to the earnest entreaties made by Charles Grant in 1792 to establish English Schools, and unlock the treasures of European knowledge to the higher classes. It is a remarkable circumstance in the history of Indian improvements, that a quarter of a century should have been allowed to elapse before the Government of the country determined to act upon his liberal and enlightened views. During the bril-

liant administration of Lord Wellesley, although the most laudable efforts were made to qualify the Civil Servants of the Company for their important duties by enforcing the study of the native languages, no attempt whatever was even thought of to give the blessings of education to the Natives themselves. It would be as ungenerous to upbraid that illustrious statesman for not having anticipated the views and feelings of a succeeding generation, as to charge Lord Chatham with not having abolished the slave trade. Lord Wellesley's genius was employed in extending and consolidating the empire, and improving the institutions we had established for its government. The instruction of the Natives was at the time considered equally as incompatible with the stability of the empire, as the freedom of the press. Lord Minto's administration was a mere continuation of that of his predecessors, and the only educational effort which was made was a proposal to establish colleges for teaching the morality of the Hindu Shasters. Lord Hastings was the first Governor-General who boldly came forward to encourage the education of the people, not in the doctrines of the Koran or the Purans, but in those acquirements to which the European nations were indebted for their elevation and strength. He was the first to repudiate from the chair of supreme authority, the ignoble maxim that the ignorance and degradation of the people were essential to the permanence of our sovereignty; and it is entirely to the impulse which he communicated that we owe the present diffusion of knowledge among the people of India. To him belongs the distinguished honor of breaking up the old system, in spite of the serious objections of some of the most influential men in the Government, who claimed to be better acquainted than others with the policy by which India must be secured to Great Britain. It was immediately after the triumph of the Mahratta and Pindari campaigns, that Lord Hastings proclaimed to the world the novel and startling fact that the British Government did not dread the instruction of the Natives, but rather considered it an important and imperative duty. He was ably seconded in his views by Sir Edward Hyde East, Mr. Butterworth Bayley, and Dr. Carey and others, under whose combined influence the Calcutta School Book Society, the Calcutta School Society, and above all, the Hindu College, came into existence. Hearty and substantial assistance was at the same time given by his Government to the vernacular Schools established at Chinsurah by the Rev. Mr. May. Within two years after Rajpútana had been brought under our control, Lord Hastings gave a practical proof of his boldness in the career of improvement by

the establishment of an English School in the very heart of that country. Though little progress was made in the introduction of Natives to offices of importance under his administration, yet it may be distinctly traced up to the enlightened educational measures which he commenced and encouraged with so much zeal, and by which he may be said to have laid the foundation of the Native Service of Government. Within a few years after these Seminaries and Colleges had been opened, it became evident that the talent thus developed, if not employed in the service of the state, would be turned against it, and become an element of political discontent. It was felt that new paths of distinction must be opened to the people, or the Schools must be closed.

But we must not fail to notice, as an interesting historical fact, that for some time after the success of our Schools and Colleges had been manifested in developing the natural abilities of the Natives, and even after Lord William Bentinck had opened the gates of office to native ambition, a very strong feeling of repugnance to turn those talents to account in the public service was manifested by some of the more influential members of Government. They had been trained up in the exclusive Civil principles of the old School, of which they were the last lingering representatives, and they resisted the admission of the alumni of our Colleges into the service of Government with much tenacity. A reference to the journals of that period, and to the vigorous arguments which were used to overcome these prejudices, and to shew that it was the interest of Government to make the Seminaries and Colleges the nursery of the service, will shew how strong this conservative principle was, even in death. To such an extent was this prejudice exhibited, that some of those who viewed the members of the Civil Service with invidious feelings attributed it to that independence of character with which a European education was found to inspire the Native youth of the Metropolis, and which was little palatable to those who had been accustomed to the oriental servility of their Native officers. But it was not necessary to refer to so humiliating an origin for feelings which might naturally be traced to the dread of new associations, and a repugnance to innovation. At the very time when the admission of the youths of our Colleges into the service encountered such strenuous opposition from Indian functionaries, the Court of Directors were exhibiting kindred feelings of aversion to innovations, by discountenancing the establishment of communication by steam between England and India, and inflicting their displeasure on Lord William Bentinck, whenever

he ventured to employ the old *Hugh Lindsay* in conveying the mails to Suez, instead of sending them all the way round the Cape. That the Court of Directors, who have in so many cases shewn themselves to be before the age, were in this instance behind it, there can be no question; but they have effectually vindicated their character, by the strenuous efforts since made to improve steam communication between Suez and Bombay, by building the *Mozuffir* and other magnificent steamers, and we believe that if those who objected to the employment of educated natives in the service of the state, were again to occupy influential posts in the Government of India, they would fall in with the improved current of the age, and advocate the propriety of obtaining the very highest talent that is available for the public offices.

This brief review of the efforts of Government to qualify the natives of the country for the public service, and of the arrangements which have been gradually made for their introduction to it, will naturally suggest the enquiry to what extent native agency is at the present time employed in the administration of the country. This enquiry, to be of any practical value should, however, embrace not only the number who may have been placed in the more responsible situations which have been opened to competition under the new system, but the whole body of native functionaries, in every department, as well as their individual pay, and the aggregate amount disbursed by Government for native assistance. This will open a new and interesting field of observation to the inquisitive, and enable us to ascertain the influence which our system of Government exercises in the native community by the advantages and the hopes it affords to its native subjects. But before we proceed to this analysis, we desire to offer our cordial acknowledgments to the Government of Bengal, to whose kindness and consideration we are indebted for access to those official documents, which have enabled us to compile this analysis. The result of these researches has been to shew that, exclusive of the Surgeons at Civil Stations and the Protestant and Roman Catholic Clergymen, the number of officers of the Civil and Military service, employed in the various departments of the Civil Administration of the provinces, under the control of the Government of Bengal, amounts to 405

of Christians in the Uncovenanted Service..... 1,513

of Hindus and Mahomedans, ... 15,538

The provinces which furnish employment to this European and native staff are Bengal, Behar, and Orissa,—that is Cuttack,—

the South West Agency, Assam, Arracan, and the Tenasserim Provinces, the entire population of which is generally estimated at *Thirty-five millions*. This return embraces all the European, East Indian and Asiatic officers employed in the departments of Civil and Criminal Justice, the Police, the Collection of the Land Revenue, the Abkari,—or excise on spirits,—the Stamps, the Salt, Opium and Marine services, the Pilot and the Steam departments and the Post Office. The first point which will doubtless arrest the attention of the reader is the very small number of covenanted officers employed in administering the affairs of so vast a population; there being only about *Four Hundred*, or at the rate of one functionary for about 87,500 people. This will shew the absurdity of the system established by Lord Cornwallis of endeavoring to manage the Government of so large a country, by a small handful of privileged foreigners, and the preposterous nature of the objections which were raised to the addition of a large body of uncovenanted and native agents. The wonder is, not that, in these circumstances, the whole administration should have fallen into disorder and exhibited a deplorable example of weakness and inefficiency, but that there should have existed any official organization worthy of the name of a Government. The return shews us how very imperfectly the nature of the administration, and the wants of the country were understood by the Government of that period, and with how very little the Governor-General was satisfied.

The remuneration bestowed on the Native instruments of Government, is also a matter of considerable interest, and we have been at some pains to draw up the following schedule, which will be found, we hope, to present as near an approach to accuracy, as the voluminous nature of the documents we have consulted, would admit of. There are 712 receiving 2 Rs. monthly

										Rs.	As.
24,118	from Rs.	2	0	to Rs.	1	0	monthly	.....		90,657	8
11,117	„ „	1	8	„ „	8	0	„	.....		68,852	0
3,504	„ „	8	8	„ „	12	0	„	.....		36,848	8
1,707	„ „	12	8	„ „	16	0	„	.....		25,506	0
1,103	„ „	16	8	„ „	20	0	„	.....		22 776	0
618	„ „	20	8	„ „	25	0	„	.....		15,063	0
613	„ „	25	8	„ „	30	0	„	.....		18,020	8
572	„ „	31	0	„ „	40	0	„	.....		21,217	0
722	„ „	41	0	„ „	50	0	„	.....		35,560	0
153	„ „	51	0	„ „	60	0	„	.....		8,897	0
86	„ „	61	8	„ „	70	0	„	.....		5,895	0
177	„ „	71	0	„ „	80	0	„	.....		13,592	0
20	„ „	81	0	„ „	90	0	„	.....		1,746	0
397	„ „	91	0	„ „	100	0	„	.....		35 681	0
37	„ „	104	0	„ „	125	0	„	.....		4,349	0

98	from Rs.	130	0	to Rs.	150	0	monthly...		14,553	0
22	„ „	156	0	„ „	200	0	„		4,127	0
41	„ „	209	0	„ „	250	0	„		10,877	0
13	„ „	260	0	„ „	300	0	„		3,821	0
39	„ „	310	0	„ „	350	0	„		13,610	0
32	at „	400	0	.....					12,800	0
11	„ „	450	0	.....					4,950	0
1	„ „	500	0	.....					500	0
9	„ „	600	0	.....					5,400	0
1	„ „	750	0	.....					750	0
1	„	.....							1,200	0

This comprizes every native funtionary from the humble burkundaz to the Commissioner of the Court of Requests. It does not, however include the village chowkedars, whose numbers have been estimated at about 170,000, and who, on a rough calculation, are supposed to receive a sum equal to about Sixty lakhs of Rupees a year: but as the payment is drawn from the native community, and is not enforced by Government, and is, therefore, made with great irregularity, this sum will admit of a considerable reduction. These watchmen can scarcely be reckoned a part of the public establishment employed in maintaining the peace and order of society, as they are much oftener employed in encouraging than in preventing outrages, and in many districts are not only the abettors, but the prime agents of crime. Still, however, they form a part of the staff of the administration, and if we calculate the sum paid to them at two-thirds of the amount which has been assumed, we shall have an annual payment

For the Village chowkedars of 40,00,000

For the regular native establishment of Government, ... 58,50,000

or about one crore of Rupees; which is equal to ten per cent. of the gross revenues of these provinces.

The number of native officials in the pay of Government when compared with the amount of the population, and the strength of similar establishments in France and England, appears so small, as to render it difficult to suppose how the business of the country is carried on so efficiently with a body apparently so inadequate to its duties. Assuming the population at Thirty-five millions, we have only one native officer of Government among 800 people. Nor must it be forgotten that these returns include the whole number of individuals employed in maintaining the peace of the country. The small body of troops, scattered at large intervals throughout these provinces, is seldom, if ever called out, and cannot therefore be considered as affording any substantial assistance to the police.

The whole number of troops stationed through a range of a hundred and fifty miles to the west of the Bhagiruti, does not exceed Five Hundred. Exclusive of those cantoned at Barrackpore,—who are required for the municipal duties of the metropolis,—and at Dinapore—where they are stationed to watch Nepal—there are not more than five thousand Native troops to be found throughout a country larger and more populous than France, and they have not been required to support the constabulary force of the country more than once in the present century. It is pleasing to remark that, partly from the national habits of subordination, and the spirit of acquiescence which distinguish the peaceable inhabitants of Bengal, but chiefly from the mildness of our rule, no conquered country of equal extent has ever been retained and governed with so small a military force. The duty of repressing opposition, and maintaining the authority of Government in the interior is performed exclusively by the civil force. From the last returns to which we have had access of the proportion of the population in England,—employed in the civil administration of Government, we learn that it amounts to only 39,900, among Eighteen millions. In France, the number of officials paid by Government in all departments, exclusive of the army, is said to exceed 300,000, in a population of about Thirty-three millions.

The allowances enjoyed by the Native officers in the Government of Bengal, will also appear very limited when compared with the value of official situations under Native Governments. It is the peculiar feature of our rule in India, that whenever it is established, it at once closes the door of ambition on the Natives of the country. All prospect of rising to the highest dignities of the state, and of enjoying those situations of trust and power, of honour and emolument, which reconcile the higher classes of society to the oppression of arbitrary rulers, in Native states, is at once, extinguished. The great prizes of ambition are placed beyond their reach. All offices of power and of distinction belong exclusively to the conquerors. There is no situation in which the Natives are not constrained to feel their official inferiority. The establishment of a covenanted service for whom it was necessary to reserve the enjoyment of all offices of power and influence and emolument lies at the root of this policy; and, however great may be the advantages which have attended the employment of this body of high-principled and well-educated men in the service of the state—and we are not disposed to deny that they are numerous,—they have still been attended with the drawback of weakening one of the strongest instruments of popularity which

a conquering nation can employ, that of allowing families of distinction to participate in the honours of the public administration. It must be evident to any one acquainted with the interior economy of native society that a less sum than 300 rupees a month, is not sufficient to enable a native to maintain the full status and dignity of a gentleman in his own sphere; yet throughout these provinces, the number of offices, endowed with emoluments of this, and of greater amount does exceed *One Hundred and Five*. We have only to contrast this scanty distribution of official favours with the state of the administration in the Punjab under the government of Runjit Singh, where the highest offices in the Cabinet, and the administration of provinces, was open to the competition of the natives, and we shall find an ample reason for the general unpopularity of our government among the higher classes of Society. This objection to a foreign rule has been considerably mitigated since Lord William Bentinck gave effect to the liberal views of the Court of Directors, and to his own, by opening so many situations of higher trust and emolument to native ambition. Although we have not sufficient data for establishing a comparison between the state of the native service before and after his time, a reference to the offices which he has created or improved, enables us to assert with confidence that the improvement embraces about Five Hundred new or enlarged offices, and that the increased allowances enjoyed by the natives since his time, do not fall short of Twelve lakhs of Rupees a year. The tendency of Government has long been towards the augmentation of Native allowances, and the diminution of those which belong to the Covenanted service. Since the new system commenced, we can scarcely remember a single instance of the increase of the latter, and the diminution of the former, while numerous instances are constantly presented of the reverse. This liberal disposition to increase the incentives to zeal and integrity in the native community is worthy of the high character of our Government. There can be no question, however, that a larger number of offices of the higher grade, than at present exists, is required by the progress of circumstances. The scale of employment must be enlarged to correspond with the increased acquirements, qualifications, and expectations of the natives. But, independently of the duty of creating larger motives to exertion in native society, and multiplying the rewards of official ability, it has long been acknowledged and lamented that many of the more important situations under Government held by natives are disreputably underpaid. We acknowledge with pleasure that the Darogas, or chief officers of

Police, on whose conduct the happiness of the people is more dependent than on that of any other class of public servants, have within the last four years, received an important addition to their allowances, and that the minimum of pay is now fixed at 50 Rs. a month, with the prospect of an increase to the limit of 100 Rs., but even this sum is not altogether adequate to the position they occupy in the administration, and the great power with which they are entrusted. The Múnsiffs, of the lower grade, at 100 Rs. a month, ought assuredly to be raised to 150 Rs., at least after two or three years' service. They are the Civil Judges of the people, and ought to be placed more on a par in point of allowances with the Civil Judges of the aristocracy than they are at present. The Ministerial officers of the Courts, the chief men in each department in the interior, receive a pittance on which they ought not, for the credit of our Government, to be obliged to live; on which it is well known that they cannot, and do not, live. The parsimony of Government is made up by the general, but not altogether voluntary, contributions of suitors. The Shristadar, for instance, who is often a person of far more importance in the decision of a cause than the Judge himself, and always a person of the highest distinction and influence in the district, ought not to be humiliated in the eyes of the people by a salary of only 100 Rs. a month, while the Judge receives an income of 2,500 Rs. This inequality belongs to the Cornwallis School, the maxims of which have long since been exploded by the common sense and justice of the present age. In no department however is the scale of allowance so disgraceful to our character as in that of the Post Office, where the highest salary of a "dawk múnshí," a well educated native, who is expected to understand Geography, English and accounts, and to be an honest man into the bargain, never exceeds 30 Rs. a month, and too often falls below that sum. The Post Office is consequently the opprobrium of the Government of Bengal, distinguished above every other department for its incorrigible irregularity, its slowness, and its infidelity.

This schedule of allowances affords information which may be turned to good account in the cause of national education. It is well known how highly all government situations are prized throughout the country, and how large are the sums which candidates are constantly paying for them to those who are supposed to possess influence with the depositories of public patronage. It is to be lamented that all these offices of state have hitherto been coveted more for the opportunities of illegal gain they afford, than for the pay attached to them. But while the Government is endeavouring in various modes to correct this vicious principle, it

may legitimately take advantage of the eagerness with which these appointments are coveted, and convert it into the stimulant of improvement. We may feel certain that whatever qualifications for the attainment of these prizes, Government may prescribe, which are within the reach of the people, they will spare no exertion to acquire; and it is here that we have our hold upon the population at large, and may turn its energies into whatever channel we think fit to dig for them. It was under this impression that Lord Hardinge's celebrated Notification of October 1844 was drawn up, which has attracted the admiration of Europe. The object of that measure was to make the Schools, the nursery of the public service, and the public service, the stimulant of the Schools. The two clauses to which we would particularly draw the attention of the reader, are the following:

"The Governor-General is accordingly pleased to direct that it be an instruction to the Council of Education, and to the several Local Committees, and other authorities charged with the duty of superintending Public Instruction throughout the Provinces subject to the Government of Bengal, to submit to that Government at an early date, and subsequently on the 1st of January in each year returns (prepared according to the form appended to this Resolution) of Students who may be fitted, according to their several degrees of merit and capacity, for such of the various public offices as with reference to their age, abilities, and other circumstances, they may be deemed qualified to fill.

With a view still further to promote and encourage the diffusion of knowledge among the humbler classes of the people, the Governor-General is also pleased to direct, that even in the selection of persons to fill the lowest offices under the Government, respect be had to the relative acquirements of the candidates, and that in every instance a man who can read and write be preferred to one who cannot."

Unfortunately, this noble design has not yet been carried into execution. There is a time for every thing, and the time for thus rendering education and office, mutually beneficial to each other, has not arrived. The plan exists as yet only on paper. It is a noble monument of Lord Hardinge's zeal in the cause of national benevolence, and will be a light to guide his successors. But the same fate has attended it as that which befel the proposal which the Court of Directors made in 1824, to entrust the original cognizance of all suits to native agency. Indian experience teaches us that it is not sufficient for the adoption of any plan of liberal and enlightened policy, that it should receive the sanction of the supreme authority; until it be cordially approved by the subordinate officers with whom the duty of carrying it into execution rests, it will continue inoperative. Those views of the Court of Directors regarding the native Courts, remained no less than thirteen years in abeyance.

The plan of stocking the public service from the seminaries, whether connected with the state or not, may probably require the same period for its consummation. Nothing can be more unlike the broad and comprehensive scheme of that notification than the little contrivance now substituted for it, by which so absolute a preference is given to the two principal colleges of Government, that none of the directors of the numerous seminaries of learning unconnected with the state, ever dream of sending up their youths to contend for honors. All other institutions are as little connected with the public service at the present time as they were before the Notification was issued. At the last annual examination, *nine* students passed the ordeal, out of five thousand who are studying English, in and about Calcutta, and this is the total number of recruits obtained for a service which embraces so many thousands; and all the nine were graduates either of the Hoogly or the Hindu College. The plan must be recast, and the noble principle on which the Notification was based must be brought into full play before the public can derive any real benefit from the efforts now made in the country in the department of education.

That the public service cannot be adequately supplied from these two institutions alone, must be apparent from the slightest reference to our schedule. If the students who have devoted their time to the study of English, be likely to accept an office of so moderate a remuneration as 20 Rs. a month, we shall have 4500 offices open to their acceptance. But, should all situations of 25 Rs. a month and below that amount, be deemed unworthy of their ambition, we shall still have 3000 offices in the gift of Government, as prizes for our English Seminaries and Colleges. There is ample room, in the public service for all the talent which all the educational institutions can create. The public examinations should be placed on a broad basis, and no reasonable effort should therefore, be omitted to induce those who are labouring to give the blessings of education to the people without receiving public pay to bring their most advanced students forward, in a fair, honourable and impartial competition with the pupils of the Government schools, for admittance into the service of the state.

Of these 4500 situations, in which the allowances vary from 20 Rs. to 1200 Rs. a month, a very large portion will necessarily fall for many years to the share of natives unacquainted with English, who are possessed of great official experience and aptitude, who have raised themselves to distinction by their industry and zeal, and whose claims to promotion cannot be rejected. But, should the whole number of 4,500 be filled, before the close

of the present century, with men who have graduated in our English Colleges and Seminaries, are we to neglect the remaining 40,000 Native officers of the service, who are beyond the reach of any desire to acquire English, and to whom we have no means of imparting it? The allowances they enjoy are not such as any man who has passed an honorable examination in an English seminary—that is, who knows enough of the tongue to be able to turn it to intellectual use—would be disposed to accept of. This large body of public functionaries must, therefore, remain without any instruction at all, or they must obtain it through the medium of their own language. We consider it as much the duty of Government to impart knowledge to them as to the Deputy Magistrates and Deputy Collectors. They have large power and influence in the country, which may be rendered a blessing or a curse. They are equally susceptible of mental cultivation. Their public services would be in no small degree enhanced in value by those superior acquirements which they may gain through books and tuition in their own vernacular tongue. If Government were to enter with vigor upon a system of vernacular instruction, and enlist the hearty co-operation of all its Civil officers in every district, these Forty thousand situations would soon begin to be occupied with those who had been educated in their schools, and in the course of a quarter of a century, every post in the public service would be filled by men who had received the best education it was in the power of Government to bestow on them.

MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

Panorama of the city of Dacca, lithographed and published by Messrs. Dickenson, 114, New Bond Street.

Art is the handmaid of History—or ought in a great measure to be so. Though the cloud capt towers, the gorgeous palaces, and solemn temples of ages have crumbled away for the most part; yet are traces of their grandeur to be found in such of the writings of some of their admirers as have survived the wreck of many centuries. Some fragmentary portions of them still remain, like the foot of the gigantic statue, that has passed into a proverb, to furnish a palpable hint of the colossal proportions, yet exquisite taste of the original work in its totality. The pen in regard to the interests of fame, has proved after all, a more enduring testimonial than marble and brass. The art of printing in all its varieties, whether it embrace letters, or pictorial impressions, is more likely to defy the ravages of time than iron or stone. It is an adage that the written character endures. The scratches of a pen may still convey ideas, when more material things have ceased to transmit them. The marble is liable to accidents that affect not its representations on paper, for when developed into exquisite forms that appeal to the taste and feelings of civilised man—they may still have no conservative claim upon the attention of the destroying Goth of the times of old, or the consideration of the iconoclastic Islamite of our own more recent days. Art every day is becoming much less perishable, in consequence of the wonderful resources of modern discovery. A picture may fade away in the dust of centuries, but grouping, drawing, and expression will continue to live in the impressions of the Engraver and Lithographer. Those who may come after us, will in this respect be more fortunate than our ancestors, since though time may destroy the thing itself, it will continue to live, in the faithful reflection that science enables its adepts to furnish of all things visible that have in them any element of the poetry of life. The modern in consequence travels in his chamber, and contemplates pictures and statues in his own studio, thanks to the contrivances of acute minds, and artistic eyes and hands. Indeed to the indolent, to the invalid, and to the poor, the travels that the printer and the lithographer enable them to take; are undergone with a zest, alacrity and economy both of exertion and money; and perhaps even with an amount of instruction and information, which could not have been accumulated had they roughed it through all the realities for themselves.

In looking at the graphic and beautiful picture, the title of which heads these remarks, it is not easy to withhold a sigh at the thoughts which it naturally suggests, of the vanity of human wishes and the

perishability of all earthly glory. The day has been that Dacca was a place of note, a capital of mighty importance in a political and mercantile point of view. That day is gone, it may be for ever; unless some unforeseen contingency should perchance under the vivifying power of advancement and regeneration, dependent upon the magic energy of steam, develope agricultural and commercial facilities and potentialities now dormant. Till then—it may be said of the once rich, stately, prosperous, and splendid Venice of Bengal, that —the glory is departed!

The execution of this panoramic view, in all its parts, is excellent. The observer is looking, as it were, across that beautiful river, at the Strand face of the long and picturesque line of palaces and gardens, reminding one of Garden Reach. Indeed Dacca has been considered as bearing in some respects a strong resemblance to Calcutta. Both cities are on the bank of a noble river, and both abound in magnificent palace-like mansions. To us, however, by far the most interesting portion of the pictured capital, is that which testifies with mute eloquence of its decline and fall. We turn away with comparative indifference from the spruce, garish, or more gorgeous residences, of bustling clerks, merchants, Session Judges and Commissioners of Revenue, to the native part of the town now in ruins.

> Apparet domus intus et atria longa patescunt.
> Apparent Priami et veterum penetralia regum.

Fate sits indeed on those dark battlements and frowns—but time beautifies death and ruin. Such will it ever be, and decay follows prosperity as wave comes after wave. To the meditative, THE PAST is even more interesting than the present—and its voice seems in hollow tones to repeat the awful legend, and to point its moral to circle succeeding circle, of mutation in dynasty. "Babylon the great is fallen—is fallen!" Bloody are the tales, and startling the revelations that could be made by the desolate chambers and choked-up passages of the Lall Bague—could it but find a miraculous organ of utterance. Lowly hovels and mud huts now shelter themselves beneath the aristocratic walls of the Fort and Palace of the haughty Nawabs of Dacca. Where now are the men

> "Pride in their port, defiance in their eye,"

that ruffled it here—and whose names were once so famous? Where are the rulers equally unscrupulous in squeezing the revenues of a province, or directing adroitly the assassin's dagger, or poisoner's potion? They seem to rise in 'dim procession led,' Naibs and Courtiers, Cazis and Dewans, Patan adventurers unscrupulous as brave, and wily Hindu financiers smooth and impassive, while secretly wielding perhaps the detinies of Bengal, by means of their hoarded lakhs. All, all are gone—and like the shades of Banquo's glass, history evokes her dead, and a glance at these ruins of the once flourishing haunts of the mighty in their day—give a momently glance to the mind's eye, of the astute, remorseless Murshid Kúli

Khan, the kindly but debauched Sujah—the 'rash intruding fool' his son—the unfortunate Surferaz—the able, unscrupulous soldierly, yet generous Aliverdy, fostering in his dotage the Cockatrice Surajah Dowlah; and the stately vacilating but *useful* (to us!) Mir Jaffier Khan! With the advent of British power the glories of Dacca may be said to terminate.

The India Register of Medical Science. Edited by Edward Edlin, M. D. Part 1. *W. Ridsdale.*

It is not long ago that Calcutta could boast of two organs for recording and disseminating medical knowledge, but they are both defunct. The one was the Medical and Physical Society of Bengal, and the other the Medical Journal, established in 1834, by Messrs. Grant and Pearson of Calcutta. The circumstances of the decline of the first of these, would form a not uninstructive commentary on the wisdom of that homely old saying—"let well alone." For years that excellent association had prospered, while adhering to the principles on which it had been founded, and guided by which, its endeavours were crowned with signal success. Whenever they accumulated to a sufficient amount, as respected quality no less than quantity—the usual course was to bring out a volume of Transactions. As time wore on, however, a change came over the shadow of the practical dreamer. An occasional volume of Transactions suited not the notions of certain "fast men." A more rapid system of publication succeeded to the original plan. There was a craving to shine at more frequent intervals—clicquery, disunion, exhaustion of the finances, and eventual extinction followed.

In regard to the other vehicle of medical intelligence—the Journal commenced upon in 1834 (being the first Medical Periodical ever established in India) was the adventure of two individuals of the profession, hazarding thereupon their own comfort, and what pecuniary means were required; for patronage (save from the subscribers) the work we learn, never found. The Medical Board of the day did for it literally—nothing. They did not patronise it in any way. Considering the importance of maintaining such an organ in the profession, recollecting also that it was the first attempt here at getting up such a periodical; this gross neglect on the part of those, who officially at least, may be deemed the heads of the profession, reflects very little credit on the Board of that day. It is to be hoped that more generous and liberal ideas in respect to the claims of medical literature have found their way to the Board since, and from what has already reached us, we believe this to be the case, and that Dr. Edlin has good reason in regard to his official superiors to congratulate himself. Tempora mutantur!

It is undeniable, however, that attempts of this kind, must be less or more affected by the state of the Medical Corps; whose sayings

and doings it endeavours to rescue in some measure, from stagnation and oblivion. By no effort of the most honied flattery, can the state of the Medical Service of Bengal, be said to be either very flourishing or promising. It catches few or no rays of encouragement or panegyric from the high places of the land. It is not necessary to enter into details, regarding a subject which would seem to possess but a minimum of interest for the public at large. The public at large hates grievances, and especially those affecting so insignificant a fraction of the community as the *Doctor-Logue*. It is enough for our purpose, as faithful chroniclers of what passes within the compass of our ken, to observe, that the fact is sufficiently well known, that the Medical Corps is not an united one, and it assuredly does not seem to be a favourite, or favoured one. We are not, all things considered, much surprised at this—for no corps can command external respect, that is not known to be united and firmly guided by enlightened and liberal principles within itself. It may be too, that its members are too opiniative, and too ready to take up any proposition on the part of a colleague contentiously, rather than calmly, and impartially, and philosophically. Science has many sides—and requires many sided intellectuality of research. Nevertheless, it is a besetting sin of the age, that conclusions are jumped to, rather than travelled to inductively. A medical man, too often, is dogmatical in opinion and argument. How rare it is in the commerce of life to find a professional man offering an opinion suggestively or hesitatingly. It is always ex-cathedra, unflinchingly (affirmatively or negatively,) and as it were infallibly. The younger the man in the ranks of the profession, the more remarkbly prominent is this trait. Each is as it were a little Pope of Medicine and Therapeutics—with a six hundred horse power of dogmatism—and ready to hurl the most trenchant remarks at all and every, beyond the immediate horizon of his own still crude—and very recently acquired knowledge—the ventriloquism of his teachers, rather than the distilled product of his own faculties of reflection, judgment, observation and comparison. The conservative instinct is neither very strong in the corps itself, nor ever counted on from without. It may be dealt with by a side wind, or affected obliquely in a variety of ways, as by letting an appointment fall in abeyance here and there, or quietly dropping altogether till they merge in abolishment, some odds and ends of advantage. We are not aware that on those occasions, the Board constituting the supposed head of the Corps, is either consulted, or interferes protectively. At any rate it possesses no power, nor is the sphere of its cogitations, and legislation, such as to inspire any very extraordinary sentiments of respect for it, as a deliberative or administrative body. Justly, or unjustly, it has occasionally been blamed for not merely abstaining from protective appeals to the supreme powers, but for even suggesting how the skirts of emolument might be shortened and appointments sheared or lopped off altogether. It is to be hoped some day or other

for the benefit of the service at large, that the measures, and minutes, of that body from its first establishment, may find their way into print. It would be a curious thing when this promulgation *does* take place, to compare the origin, scope, results and motives (so far as they can be ascertained) of proposals, and measures, and comments, with the known history of their authors. From facts not unfamiliar to ourselves, we fear that the exposé would be more startling than gratifying to *esprit de corps*. Some of these worthies of the past were very hard bargains indeed, and yet upon their secret reports, or more open suggestions, did much of the welfare or the reverse, the prosperity or retrogradation of the Corps depend. This of itself were sufficient to explain in some degree why the medical service cannot be considered to be in a high or palmy state. The rigid principle of seniority in the progress of science, sounds very absurd. It is notorious that provided a medical officer was not committed irretrievably by some extreme misconduct, that he might rise to the highest appointments the service has to offer. No matter what his disqualifications were, if he possessed the admirable one of seniority, he was sure to rise as far as he could in that service. The facility of misconstruction or offence arising perhaps from some unintentional or unavoidable contingency is often a source of more than vexation in the corps. A medical officer's character may thus be whispered away, and his actions brought within the verge of grinding official interference when least expected—for he has more masters than any other public servant whatever. It matters little to other officers whether their appearance or manner please or displease, but woe to the medical officer when the 'I do not like thee Dr. Fell' instinct operates against him, especially with the dispensers of patronage or the wielders of power—and who has not power over him? Whatever else a smattering even of Greek and Latin might do for a man, it is unquestionable that the flavour of them, as it were, is in harmony with our notions of gentlemanly education. Many, nevertheless, up to a date which we purposely omit specifying, have grown grey priding in their ignorance of either—and even prescriptions are remembered, the piebald composition of which, was disgraceful to the writers as scholars, however meritorious they might be in a practical point of view. The tone of education, however of late years, has greatly improved—but it is to be hoped, that in an ultra utilitarian spirit, an acquaintance, to some extent at least, with the ancient classic languages, will not be foregone in the medical schools at home. Manners to a certain extent make the man, and those of the medical corps, as a corps are not so stamped with excellence, as not to require consideration and perhaps supervision. It was, and is, a quality and effect of the branch of knowledge alluded to, to serve as a sort of *vis medicatrix morum*. It has been generally allowed that it refined and polished—'emollit mores.'

It is not a good sign when organs like those mentioned in the opening of these remarks, wither and die. Wherein then lies the cause that the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta, and the

Journal of Medical Science died? When Anaxagoras was at the point of death, Pericles who had inexcusably neglected him, paid him a visit—and on expressing an affectionate interest for him the apparently dying man said—" Ah! Pericles—those who rejoice in the light of a lamp take care to feed it with oil!" Institutions also require some little sprinkling of oil from the state—and it is a reproach to it when useful organs for dissemination of knowledge, perish for lack of a little patronage, which it might so easily and gracefully bestow. The Asiatic Society contains among its members, men of rank, station and influence. It is not unreasonble to suppose, that partly to that circumstance, has it been owing, that government has extended very substantial patronage to *that* institution. The medical service on the other hand, cannot have in its array men of rank or influence (medical rank being a mere sham). It is one of the defects of the corps that the means of fostering either do not exist. We do not mean to assert, that medical men have not some legitimate amount of influence among their patients; but it is not much after all, nor does a man of delicacy care to exert it much Beyond the sick chamber, Medical influence is almost a non-entity. Individual talent and individual worth, are to be found in the corps—but it possesses comparatively little collective weight or estimation; if we may judge from the contemptuous neglect with which its memorials year after year have been treated—and the anomalies which affect medical service, even in a military point of view, up to the present hour. One of the obvious causes why the corps halts in regard to social condition, or marks of respect, or approving recognition on the part of the state, is,—that it is a profession which is never recruited from the aristocracy. The consequence is obvious—it has never been smiled upon by aristocracy—which can have no sympathy with its joys or its sorrows. Though not avowed, it is not to be denied, whatever the cause or causes may be; that the medical service does not appear to be one deemed sufficiently worthy of being marked with honor or distinction by the Heads of Departments. It is neither civil nor military. It is a corps disowned alike by the civil or military services, though legislated for by both, yet sympathised with by neither. It is worthy of remark too that men in the prime of life now quit it, at a period when their services are most valuable to the state; being in the maturity of strength, activity and experience. None but elderly men remain, or those who came out with somewhat different views from those of the present day. Clearly then, it would appear, that there are not sufficient inducements for the persons alluded to to remain. Promotion in the Bengal medical service is so slow, that it now takes sixteen or seventeen years to get the step of Surgeon. On being attained, the step is sometimes a positive disadvantage to the party concerned. It is never sufficiently borne in mind that the medical officer now usually comes out in his twenty-fourth year. The Medical

Board and Superintending Surgeon grades, are no longer counted upon as possible or desirable contingencies—but are rather turned away from in despair, as Himalaya hills of difficulty utterly unattainable; or attainable only in old age with all its drawbacks. It is high time that something were done for the service, since there is now, we hear, a sense of painful difference in regard to its claims to honor or even rank, as compared with military officers. On every occasion of military and medical officers being convened upon *any* enquiry together, the position of the medical man is made unnecessarily and invidiously inferior and humiliating. This is done on the extraordinary plea, that medical men cannot take military command. To this it may be replied that they do not seek any thing so absurd, but they *do* claim that the station of becoming *place* in a room, or at the consulting table, should at any rate be awarded to them—and that the oldest medical seniors should not be considered as in real rank inferior even to subalterns, for it amounts to *that*. The duty of examining a raw assistant surgeon in his colloquial knowledge of Urdu—is surely not a purely military duty, nor an occasion to thrust down a senior medical officer under one twenty years his junior, on the plea that he cannot take military command! In regard to the slowness of medical promotion in Bengal, it is most disheartening, as may be easily understood when the Directories of the three presidencies are referred to; by which it will be seen that the members of the Medical Board at Bombay, are the juniors by some years of some of our elder Bengal Surgeons who have no chance of being *Superintending Surgeons* even for some years yet! Medical officers with armies are effectually cut off from honours or distinctions of any kind. Is this just or wise? Surely there are feelings of the heart that are dormant to mere pecuniary reward—and which its mercenary excitements never reach!

The impression made upon us by *Part I*, of Dr Edlin's "Register," is most favourable, and we augur auspiciously for the continued prosperity of the work. The contents are of average interest and merit, and the Editorial part gives promise of sedulous attention, and extensive observation; while a tone of modesty characterises the whole, that in this age of pretence and charlatanism, is as refreshing as it is rare. In every respect, it is a very presentable and workman-like production; and we heartily wish it every success. Why will Dr. Edlin use the word *Part* instead of Number, on the cover of his periodical? '*Part I.*' would seem to indicate, that every Number will appear in two or three parts! Then why is there no date upon the cover, or the first page of the work? At the bottom of the cover we find the year indeed, and the Editorial article at page 74 bears the date of the 3d January 1848. In a word there ought to be a date on the cover—and there should be a fly leaf for table of contents—for were the cover to be torn off, or get loose by accident—there would be no bill of fare at all. Surely a more appropriate motto might also have

been pitched up on than the *here* and *there* one apropos to nothing, which at present figures on the cover? But these are trifles after all —and we cordially congratulate the profession on having got an organ worthy of them, and sincerely hope that the public spirited, and talented, and much esteemed Editor, will be extensively and zealously supported in his excellent undertaking. To give our little aid—we subjoin an extract explanatory of the nature of the undertaking:—

"It may be thought necessary that in our first number we should lay down a plan for our own guidance as to the nature and contents of our Journal, from month to month. In the main it will not differ in its plan as it does not differ in design from the Journal of 1834.

1st. Orginal communications or reviews of new works published in India or by Indian Officers.

2d. Correspondence on professional subjects.

3d. Cases and hospital Reports.

4th. Extracts and précis of intelligence from British and Foreign Periodicals.

5th. Biographical and Obituary notices, reports of Inquests or Charities, so far as they relate to health or disease.

6th. Medical news, reports of Medical Retiring and other Funds at the different Presidencies in which the profession are concerned.

7th. Editorial comments on the above.

8th. General Orders by Government and the Commander-in-chief, relating to the Medical services of the three Presidencies.*

But we will not bind ourselves to any strict rules, rather preferring to reserve to ourselves the liberty of inserting that which shall appear in our estimation most likely to interest the greatest number of our readers. In this number for instance we have so much orginal matter, that we have no room for the extracts we had prepared, we will keep them (they are set up in type) for a rainy day, by which term we would be understood to mean the hot weather, when there is no rain, and when we may expect less material of Indian growth, a smaller type shall also be adopted, for we perceive we have exceeded our stipulated limits of 64 pages. We shall be careful not to omit some extracts in our next, as we hope to conciliate, and obtain the support of Sub-Assistant Surgeons, the Subordinate Medical department, and the alumni of the Medical College, who are not likely to get Medical periodicals from England.

We hope occasionally to be able to avail ourselves of the services of a first class artist in lithographing any thing new of interest that may be sent to us, susceptible of that mode of illustration.

We have next to solicit a share of support from the presidencies of Madras and Bombay and also from Ceylon, and will cheerfully listen to any suggestions by which our work may be acceptable in those places. We earnestly invite communications."

* We intend also to print, extra limites, lists of the Medical Service of the three Presidencies corrected to a late date, and furnish them with the Journal in the three next issues with a view to help medical officers to know where each other are located, and what officers hold particular appointments.

A Brief View, Historical, Statistical, &c. of The French in India, in Past and Present Times, &c. &c., by W. F. B. Laurie, Lieut., Madras Artillery. Calcutta, Thacker and Co.

In a country like India, a literary turn judiciously cultivated, is an excellent thing for a young man, especially of the military profession. When we use the term literary, we mean of course that such a turn should include extensive and studious *reading*, without which, added to a natural talent for observation and character, and phenomena natural and conventional, such a turn will be profitable neither to the possessor or to society. Considering its limits, the title of the little work (a pamphlet) that gives occasion to these remarks, is much too long. From its dimensions it might rather serve for "The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire"—or any other voluminous work of corresponding weight and importance. The view of the past as respects French connection with India, presented in this work, is rather a meagre one; as might be predicated from its form alone, and contains nothing original, being a mere abstract of matters already sufficiently well known to the reading public. We have really neither new facts nor new points of view for those familiarly known already. The secret of the publication, or rather the no secret, since the author frankly admits it, is simply that reluctance of our *amour propre*, to willingly let die, what may have cost trouble in composing or compiling. The sketch of Pondicherry Society is slight but pleasing, and indicates abilities fit to achieve better things were materials available. There is a 'simple story'—of a Mademoiselle Constance Valcour who prefers an English to a French lover, or rather suitor, and accordingly discards the latter with a facility which we trust is not a prevailing national trait; and sufficiently demonstrating, at least to our old-fashioned ideas, that she did not love very profoundly either the one or the other; and that he who got his *congé* was not very likely to die of grief at the disappointment. It would appear, however, that Pondicherry young ladies have not—'the mighty advantages'—that young ladies from England in India enjoy, as the home education, and the home society in the spring time of life. These and the 'well to do' parents in India give a decided advantage, according to our author, on the part of the young lady of Calcutta or Madras, "over the comparatively solitary *demoiselle* of Pondicherry—she who, poor thing, can only imagine Paris, the 'golden city' of her dreams."

Mr. Laurie is evidently very partial to French Society. A peculiar charm pervades it, he deems, that is to be looked for in vain in English Society. This has been observed by many, and has been accounted for in a variety of ways. In fact the French, in general, are more competent to converse on a variety of topics, and there is a flexibility in their language expressive of shades of the shadows of thoughts, which the English language has not the same osier like quality of bending to. An Englishman seldom can converse about

art in all its branches; a Frenchman of any degree can, or thinks he can, and rattles on accordingly, and if his opinions be not always very sound or conclusive, they at any rate seem to pass the time agreeably. Mr. Laurie attributes the talent for pleasing, to their determination to be merry. It would be more correct to say that they are determined to please, and being so, generally succeed. They are anxious to set others at ease, as well as to be so themselves. The Englishman's ease on the other hand is a sort of armed neutrality. He always repels, because he suspects strangers. He is by no means anxious to please, but rather careless whether he pleases or not. There is always an element of dormant defiance even in his hours of relaxation, He cannot talk about airy nothings, or give them a local habitation and a name, and despises those who can. He deems philosophy degraded if it descend to little things, forgetful that it is little things that test the great, and that trifles are often more trying to philosophy than the great exigencies of life. Repellent at first—the English abroad are not generally liked, save when they spend their money freely, and dont haggle about it, as some, it may be many, of them, are now known to do, with a loudness of tone, and a vehemence of decision not calculated te make a very amiable impression. True they often give offence unintentionally, but it is no less certain, that too often they are utterly indifferent whether they give offence or not. This trait may be familiarly observed in the land we live in, where it is by no means uncommon to hear "black fellows"—spoken of even in the hearing of respectable natives. It is mortifying to a Briton to hear how slightingly young Englishwomen are spoken of abroad, especially in regard to a freedom of manners characteristic of unmarried young women, as compared with those of young French ladies; which do not make a favourable impression upon our Gallic neighbours. In the Levant, and Egypt, it is the same—English women are considered too free in their manners. Indeed they are at times not sufficiently scrupulous, and that upon the *honi soit que mal y pense principle.* In a word they are not always sufficiently mindful of appearances. In Cairo and Alexandria no woman of respectability goes out unveiled. It were as well were our countrywomen at times, mindful of the saying about doing at Rome as the people there do—or in other words conforming in matters of external decorum, and etiquette, to the manners of the country. In Egypt their galloping about unveiled, is not considered correct or modest. Singular enough, her modesty, *in her own country,* is the point respecting which an Englishwoman is most sensitive and tenacious. It is not always so abroad—and young women who would be horrified at a man servant entering their dressing room at home, have been known in Egypt to be assisted in the most recondite duties of the toilette by a Turk or Arab Servant! In India too, our countrymen sometimes appear to forget, that some native servants belong to the masculine gender!

The following particulars respecting the French settlements in the East, may be interesting to some of our readers. The establishments would seem to be altogether disproportioned to territorial extent, and the routine of public efficiency:—

"The whole of the French widely scattered settlements in India are under the rule of one Governor, (selected from the Captains in the Royal French Navy,) who resides at Pondicherry. He has a privy council, composed of the chief agent of the administration (chef du service administratif), and the attorney general (Procureur géneral chef du service judiciare). The revenue collector (receveur des domaines) assist the privy council in all matters concerning the revenue. In each of the settlements of Chandernagore, Karikal, Yanaon and Mahe, there is a government agent who receives the governor's orders direct, and corresponds with him. The salaries are in the following scale:

The Governor receives (per mensem)	1,333	rupees.
The Attorney General (chef du service judiciaire)	400	,,
The Chief Government agent at Pondicherry (chef du service administratif)	400	,,
The Government Agent at Chandernagore	400	,,
The ditto at Karikal	333	,,
The ditto at Yanaon	200	,,

Each of these agents is allowed, independent of his salary, a residence and a certain number of servants or *Peons*, according to his rank.—A medical officer resides at Pondicherry, one at Chandernagore, and one at Karical. It is proposed to have a second at Pondicherry, and one at each of the small settlements of Yanaon and Mahe. At Pondicherry, there is an apothecary, belonging to the Navy (Pharmacien de premiere class).

JUDICIAL SALARIES.

	Per Mensem.
The Attorney General, (it has already been mentioned,)	Rs. 400
The President of the Cour royale	,, 300
The four Senior Judges (Conceillers) each	,, 200
The two Auditors, each	,, 100
The Royal Judge at Pondicherry	,, 200
The King's Counsel (Procureur du Roi)	,, 200
The Royal Judge at Chandernagore	,, 166
The King's Counsel	,, 166
The Royal Judge at Karikal	,, 133
The King's Counsel	,, 133
The Justice of the Peace at Pondicherry	,, 133
,, ,, at Chandernagore	,, 120
,, ,, at Karikal	,, 100

What would Lords Brougham, Denman, and Campbell—the great legal Triumvirate of England—say to this, I wonder? A King's counsel for 133 pounds a year! These salaries are certainly very small—hardly in accordance with the rank and position of the servants employed.

Whether the French settlements in India are to go on dwindling

daily into greater and greater insignificance, or to become nuclei of some future important political movements, is a question which the future only can answer. Having got the upper hand, however, in these realms, it behoves us to keep to that position. This we may, and do in all honesty. It is our right and we must ever be prepared to maintain it. At a juncture like the present, when fears of national aggression are harboured even in breasts supposed to come under the classic Poet's category—

Illi robur et aes triplex circa pectus—

nothing that regards the polity of those whom some still maintain to be "our natural enemies"—can be unimpotant to an Englishman. Natural enemies! Is there not something degrading to humanity and civilization in the very phrase? Surely human beings with immortal souls to be saved, are not constituted like beasts of prey, or the brutes that perish! It is a disgrace to civilization, and a reproach to Christianity to suppose; that, in Christendom at least, nations should consider each other as born enemies, like the *Carnivori* and *Raptores* among beasts and birds of prey. Are Christian communities forsooth like Arabs of the desert, bound by a diabolical vindictive prejudice to hand down a blood feud from generation to generation? Assuredly not; and it is consoling to know that as education, and social morality improve, the false, and the violent, will relax their hold upon the national mind, every where. The world will not always be ruled by a system of chicanery or an organized lie, under the specious name of Diplomacy, utterly at variance with all but merely nominal Christianity; that flimsy garment that shows the lazar form beneath more hideously corrupt by the attempt to veil it. Let us hope that true religion will enter the cabinets of ministers and Princes, as well as the modest abodes of the righteous, the salt of the earth; who as it were preserve the mass from moral putrescence. Free trade principles, as more understood, and widely disseminated, will, it is hoped, prove in some measure the pioneer of vital Christianity, when nations as well as individuals, may be brought to acknowledge and act upon it, as a practical principle in all things, that true religion after all, is the only philosophy worthy of the name.

The Essay by the same writer on "Periodical Literature," more properly might be denominated an historical sketch; it presents no new facts, and developes no new criticism. Indeed properly speaking there is no criticism at all. We conclude by wishing the Lieut. of Madras Artillery time and opportunity to produce something better, and of a more enduring nature, than this pamphlet; since he appears to possess the requisite ability. Let him, however, endeavour to attain a simpler style and to eschew such phrases as "before *Sol* begins to illumine the Eastern horizon," &c.

DR. FORBES' ELEMENTARY WORKS IN PERSIAN AND HINDUSTANI:—

1. *Grammar of the Persian Language. To which is added, a Selection of Easy Extracts for Reading, together with a copious Vocabulary. By Duncan Forbes, A.M. 2d Edition, greatly improved, and considerably enlarged. Royal 8vo. cloth.*
2. *Grammar of the Hindustani Language, in the Oriental and Roman Characters: with numerous Copperplate Illustrations of the Persian and Devanagari Systems of Alphabetic Writing. To which is added, a copious Selection of Easy Extracts for Reading in the Persian, Arabic and Devanagari Characters, forming a complete Introduction to the Bagh-o-Bahar; together with a Vocabulary and explanatory Notes. By Duncan Forbes, A.M. 8vo. cloth.*
3. *Hindustani Manual: a Pocket Companion for those who visit India in any capacity, intended to facilitate the essential attainments of conversing with Fluency, and composing with accuracy, in the most useful of all the Languages spoken in our Eastern Empire.*—IN TWO PARTS.—Part—I. *A Compendious Grammar, and Exercises on its more prominent Peculiarities; with a Selection of useful Phrases and Dialogues on familiar Subjects.*—II. *A Vocabulary of useful Words, English and Hindustani; shewing at the same time the difference of Idiom between the two Languages. By Duncan Forbes, A.M. 18mo. cloth.*
4. *Bagh-o-Bahar; consisting of Entertaining Tales. By Mir Amman, of Delhi. A New Edition, carefully collated with original Manuscripts, having the essential Vowel Points and Punctuation marked throughout. To which is added, a Vocabulary of the Words occurring in the Work. By Duncan Forbes, A.M. Royal 8vo. cloth.*

IT is not our intention to enter into any minute or critical examination of these works. Indeed, they require no such examination at our hands. Their deserved popularity among Oriental students at home is the surest proof of their superior merit and admirable adaptedness to the great object proposed by their author—the facilitating the acquisition of the Persian and Hindustani tongues. Little else, therefore, remains for us to do, except to recommend them to our readers as, in our deliberate judgment, *by far the best elementary treatises of the kind that have yet appeared.*

Dr. Forbes is no theorist; he is pre-eminently a practical man. There is in him a shrewd instinctive sagacity which ever leads him

direct to the main point, to the summary rejection of all merely curious, or ingenious, or speculative, or incidental matter. The perpetual exhibition of this sagacity constitutes the very charm, as it has chiefly contributed to the surpassing excellence, of his elementary treatises. On the subject of Persian Grammar the only work to which he professes to be under any obligation is that of Dr. Lumsden, published in Calcutta, 1810, in two folio volumes. From this valuable work he cheerfully acknowledges his having "extracted many a pearl;" though he is constrained to confess that he has been "obliged often to dive through an enormous mass of water to procure it." We cannot do better than here record his own views of what the essential characteristics of an elementary grammar ought to be:—

"I have been long convinced, from experience, that a work like the present is a desideratum. A Grammar of any language, adapted for a beginner, ought to be brief and perspicuous, containing only the general and more useful principles of such language. It ought to be accompanied with easy extracts for practice, as well as a copious Vocabulary. At the same time, the shortest Grammar is too long for a beginner: therefore, those parts absolutely necessary for the first reading ought to be rendered more prominent, by the use of a larger type. Lastly the work ought to be confined entirely to its legitimate purpose—the instructing of beginners; not deviating into ingenious metaphysical and etymological discussions, however interesting in their proper place. nor should it be over-crowded with superfluous paradigms of Verbs, &c., so as to swell up the Volume to an undue extent.

If this criterion of a *good* elementary Grammar is sound, which I think few men of sense will dispute, then there is ample room for the present little work, however imperfect in execution, as the first attempt of the kind that has yet been made in this country, with regard to the Persian language.

Let it not be supposed, that because this book is small in bulk it must necessarily be superficial and imperfect: بقامت مہتر بقیمت بہتر نہ هرچه. On the contrary, I am convinced that the student will here find all the information of any consequence contained in larger volumes, and a great deal which they do not contain. I have endeavoured throughout the work to enlarge upon those parts of the subject which I have observed to be most needed by beginners. Such parts of the Grammar of the Persian language as agree with our own, or with that of European languages in general I have passed over with the utmost brevity."

Dr Forbes, with the modesty of genuine worth, writes hesitatingly of the execution of his work; but we have no hesitation on the subject. The execution is, in our opinion, equal to the conception, and the conception is, in our judgment, the very *beau-ideal* of a good and really suitable elementary grammar.

The very same remarks, *mutatis mutandis*, are applicable to Dr. Forbes' "Hindustani Manual" and "Hindustani Grammar"—works which, in point of clearness, simplicity, appositeness, and general excellence, greatly out-distance all former competitors in the same field. In these works—the former of which is in Roman character and therefore readily accessible he has developed fully and intelligi-

bly the principles of the language, and has supplied a great deal more of *useful* information on the matter than will be found in any of the larger works of Gilchrist, Shakespear, &c. The truth is that Dr. Forbes has entered on his favorite task with singular advantages. He was all his days a laborious, persevering and successful student. A native himself of the Highlands of Perthshire, he became a pupil of the Perth Grammar School or Academy, under Mr. Dick, who enjoyed the reputation of being one of the best classical scholars of his day. From Perth he next proceeded to the University of St. Andrews. There he enjoyed the privilege of prosecuting, with uncommon ardour and industry, his classical studies, under the late Dr. Hunter, one of the most acute, profound, and philosophical philologians of any country or age. In 1823, he came to Calcutta to assist in conducting what was then one of its most flourishing Educational Institutions. All his spare time he devoted, with intense assiduity, to the study of Persian, Hindustani and other Oriental languages. After a few years, his health failed and he was obliged to return to his native land. There he made the acquaintance of the late Dr. Gilchrist, who soon came to regard him as his own successor in the department of Oriental tuition in the British Metropolis. Owing to his great success as a private teacher, he was some years ago appointed professor of Oriental Languages and Literature, in King's College, London. And last year, his own Alma Mater, the University of St. Andrews, worthily conferred on him the degree of L. L. D. From this summary sketch of Dr. Forbes' past career, it will be seen, that, to the original advantage of high classical and general philological attainments, he super-adds the subsequent advantage of a sojourn in this land, where he laid the foundation of his oriental scholarship under the immediate tuition of learned Pundits and Múnshís. And then, during the last twenty years, he has had more varied *actual experience* in *teaching* the Oriental languages than any one else that has yet written on the subject. Therefore it is, that in the exercise of a naturally superior sagacity, he has been enabled so clearly to discover in the case of new learners, "where the shoe pinched," or, to drop this somewhat vulgar but expressive metaphor, so unmistakably to detect the sources of difficulty to beginners, and then to shape his instructions or modes of treating the subject accordingly. And hence, as the natural result, the really superior stamp and character of all his elementary works on the Oriental languages! To the acquisition of the more popular of these languages he has already done more than any living man towards smoothing the road and simplifying and cheapening the means. And, if spared for years to come, he is yet destined to do a vast deal more. He is now, we understand, engaged in preparing a new Dictionary, in two parts English and Hindustani, Hindustani and English. It has been our good fortune to see some specimens of both parts. And from this, we cannot but conclude, that, in point of *practical utility*, Dr. Forbes' Dictionary will be just as superior to all

former Dictionaries, as his Persian and Hindustani Grammars are to all former works of a similar description.

Sri-Yeshú-Khrishta-Máhátmyam, or, The Glory of Jesus Christ. A brief account of our Lord's Life and Doctrines in Sanskrit verse; with an English preface containing a Summary of the contents. Calcutta: Ostell and Lepage, British Library, 1848.

THIS little work, apart altogether from the importance of its subject matter, claims a distinct notice at our hands, when viewed simply as a monument of literary ability and skill. The general design of the work we shall first state in the author's own words:—

"The object of this Tract is to give a brief account of the prophecies by which our Lord was foretold, and of his birth, life, miracles, discourses, death, and resurrection. It has been my aim to write clearly and plainly, to put every thing in a way in which it will be easily understood by persons previously ignorant of the subject, and to supply all necessary explanations. Sanskrit verse has been employed (as heretofore by Dr. Mill in his Christa Sangitá) as the medium most acceptable to learned Hindus; but as the majority of persons called Pundits are not sufficiently masters of Sanskrit to make out correctly the meaning even of such a simple composition, it is proposed to re-print the Tract hereafter with a Hindi version at the foot of the page. Another edition with the Sanskrit printed in the Bengali character, (with which the Bengal Pundits are most familiar) with a Bengali translation, may also follow. The Tract, it is hoped, is long enough to give a clear idea of the character of the prophecies by which our Lord's coming was predicted, and of the tenor of his life and doctrines to a class of readers whose indifference or hostility might indispose them to read with attention a composition of greater extent.

Free use has been made of the renderings of terms in Dr. Mill's Christa Sangitá and in Dr. Yates's Sanskrit New Testament, and some entire Slokes of the former have been employed.

The Sanskrit title of the Tract is *Sri-Yeshú-Khrishta-Máhátmyam*. The word *Máhátmya* means greatness or glory, and is employed as the title of sections of the Purânas, written to celebrate the praise of some god, or goddess, or sacred spot. The well known *Durgá Máhátmya*, or glorification of Durga, may be mentioned as an instance The use of this term, as the title of a poem descriptive of our Lord's life and character, seems unobjectionable, and may excite attention."

The Tract is divided into six sections:—

The first of these, entitled: *Sri-Mahámoktripratikshá*, or, *the expectation of the great Redeemer*, comprises 108 Anushtubh Slokes, in which simple metre, the whole tract is composed. It opens thus:—

"I, who am of feeble voice, being intent to sing the praises of the world's Redeemer, implore God to grant me significant and attractive language.

A certain youthful seeker after truth, approaching a learned man of great experience and skilled in foreign Sástras, said to him—Sir, I have repeatedly heard the name of a great Teacher, called Christ, from the mouth

of his followers. Now, learned men ought to be acquainted with the accounts of those great persons whose fame at present pervades the whole world. My curiosity, therefore, in regard to the history of Christ, appears to me to be every way laudable and not blameable. And knowing you to be acquainted with that history, I have come here, and desire through your kindness to hear its substance. The learned man replies: I applaud your desire to know the acts of great men, and will gladly satiate you with the nectar of the history. But it is a most momentous theme, which I, feeble in understanding, am about to treat,—The fall of the world into the ocean of sin, and the achievements of its Deliverer. How can that infinite Being, whose greatness passes the knowledge of the holy hosts of heaven, be worthily celebrated by one such as I am? But taking from the ocean (*lit.* mine of gems) of revelation the gems of knowledge, I shall endeavour to string them together in the necklace of my narative.

* "I shall therefore narrate with joy the wonderful story of Christ, the Son of God, the eternal Lord of the world, who descended among men, veiling the marks of His deity;—who was born of a virgin mother, and assumed the body of an infant, was untouched by the least taint of sin, but endured its consequences;—the teacher, friend, redeemer, and lord of the world, the author of the world's welfare, the benefactor of all nations;—impelled to my task by supreme love for that noble-minded Being."

The narrative then begins with the creation and fall of our first parents, and proceeds to unfold the whole course of prophecy respecting the Messiah, together with the general expectation of a great deliverer, which thence arose in different regions both of the East and West.*

The second section, entitled *Yeshûtpatti-varnanam*, or *a narration of the birth of Jesus*, consists of 88 slokes. It opens thus:—

"That Sun of Righteousness, by the rays of whose advent the sky had before been reddened, at length arose at the fore-ordained time." All the leading facts and incidents connected with the birth and infancy of the incarnate Saviour are then recounted.

The third section, entitled *Adbhutakriyâ-varnanam*, or *an account of the wonderful works*, describes the principal miracles of Jesus, and extends to 137 slokes. It thus concludes:—

"By such wonderful works, Jesus manifested His superhuman power, and proved His divine commission to promulgate a new revelation. By the display of these miracles He also incited men to attend to His instructions. Another result of these acts was to illustrate His words. Jesus declared, that He came to save and not to destroy mankind; and in conformity with this saying, the course of His actions is beneficent, removing suffering, and delivering the wretched. Possessed of infinite power, He always acted with gentleness, and never destroyed the wicked with appalling visitations." This is illustrated by His forbearance to the inhospitable Samaritans described in Luke ix. 52—56. The following remarks are then subjoined: "But the Son of God did not descend from heaven to promote men's bodily welfare only, but to heal the soul, their nobler part, the controuler and lord of the body, which laboured under the malady of sin. By the bodily cures He performed, the healing of the soul is illustrated. The cleansing of the

* This sentence, consisting of four Slokes, is imitated from a passage of the well-known poem of Kâlidâsa, the Raghuvansa.

lepers is an image of the cleansing of the soul, and the giving of sight to the blind, of the purifying of the mental vision. The miraculous increase of food is a shadow of that spiritual ambrosia which Jesus gave to satisfy the soul. By the power which raised the dead, is illustrated that greater power which vivifies those who are destitute of the life of righteousness."

The fourth section, extending to 261 slokes, contains a selection of our Lord's moral precepts and statements of religious doctrine, including several of his parables.

The fifth section, entitled *Yeshwah prânasamarpanam*, or *Jesus yielding up his life*, extends to 116 slokes, and details all the circumstances connected with his death.

The sixth and last section, entitled *Sri-Yeshwah Swargârohanam*, or *the ascension of Jesus into heaven*, extends to 69 Slokes, and unfolds all the particulars relating to his resurrection, his appearances to his disciples, instructions, parting commission, and ascent to heaven. It then briefly adverts to the return of the disciples to Jerusalem, the Pentacostal effusion, and their subsequent proclamation of their Lord's religion throughout the different countries of the then known world, closing with the following brief statement of the progress of Christianity:—

"By these and similar exhortations, supported by wonderful works, many persons were drawn to believe in Jesus Christ. But the rulers of the world, beholding the rise of this religion, endeavoured to stop its progress by violence and other means. In order, that by suffering, the Christians might be led to deny their Lord, cruel kings afflicted them with various punishments. But many of them being endued with firmness by the strength of the Lord, endured afflictions, with patience, and did not shrink from death itself. The seed of their blood, sown as it were in the hearts of men, produced a harvest of new disciples. So the Christian religion spread more, and more, and other religions having disappeared, it alone pervaded the West."

From this very brief outline of the contents of the tract, it will be seen that it is "almost entirely of a narrative and expository character, with very little of direct argument." The whole is wrought out with admirable clearness. The fourth section in particular has struck us as exhibiting uncommon skill and point in its mode of introducing and setting forth the significancy of the precepts and statements of doctrine. In the fifth we should have wished that the author had somewhat more explicitly brought out the great scriptural fact of the Saviour's death, as *an atoning sacrifice;* since herein lies the divine strength, as well as incommunicable peculiarity of the Christian faith,—its true glory in the eyes of believers, its "foolishness" and "stumbling block" in the eyes of unbelievers, whether Jew or Gentile.

Respecting the execution of the work in point of style and idiom, we have only to express our admiration. The task was one of no ordinary difficulty, and yet it has been accomplished in a way which indicates the possession of superior taste and scholarship. As a piece of Sanskrit composition it is singularly correct and may

well abide the scrutiny of the most critical eye. To say that it is without a blemish, would be saying what can be predicated of nothing that is merely human; but this much we venture to affirm, that whatever faults or blemishes may be thought by any to belong to it, are of so minor and secondary a character as in no wise to mar its general beauty or detract from its general accuracy.

Were the intended edition of it prepared in the *Bengali* character, it would be more acceptable to the learned Brahmans of Bengal; as comparatively few of these are in the habit of reading the Devanagari.

One deficiency there is, which could be easily supplied, and that is, a series of references to the book, chapter and verse, quoted from the Bible. Such references might be introduced at the bottom of the page, and would serve to direct the attention of ingenuous readers or inquirers to the sacred original; and even where the original was not immediately accessible, would not fail to add weight and authority to the statements of the text.

In fine, the initials, "J. M." leaves no doubt that to Mr. John Muir of the Civil Service, we are indebted for this new and important addition to our native Christian Literature.

NATIVE WORKS IN PERSIAN AND URDU.

1. *The History of the Conquerors of Hind from the most early period down to the present time, by Apurva Krishna Bahadur.*

2. *The Muheb-Hind or Friend of India, a monthly Urdu Magazine, by Ram Chunder, Teacher in the Delhi College.*

The first work is the production of a native gentleman of the city, who styles himself Honorary Poet to his Majesty the King of Delhi. It is in Persian verse and purports to give an account of the ancestry of Timur the lame, or Tamerlane, with a history of the life and actions of that warrior, not omitting the massacre at Delhi, and a disquisition on the story of the iron cage. The work, however, though nominally a history of the Delhi Family, is almost entirely taken up with Timour himself. The Persian composition, in which the author confesses himself to have had the aid of several "learned friends," is of a fair average style, and the amount of exaggeration is not more than we are prepared to find in works of this kind, executed by minds of a similar stamp. The love of exaggeration is however openly confessed in the preface, as an inseparable "characteristic of the language" itself, and on this score therefore we have nothing more to add. There is an English translation too, or rather commentary affixed for the benefit of those who are unskilled in Persian, and we must here remark on a failing which few native writers are free from. With them city and country

seem to be one and the same, and we are thus rather startled to hear of the cities of Egypt, Siberia, &c. &c., neither were we quite prepared to be told that Rome, founded by Romulus, is at present under the sway of Turkey and Islamism, or that Constantine the Great embraced the Christian creed, after renouncing Vedism, the religion of his ancestors. But accurate geography or history in the works of Eastern authors are exotics, and we do not wish to be severe on these or even more amusing mistakes. Better that native gentlemen should employ themselves in literary and harmless pursuits of this kind, than in endless litigation, in the support of lattials, or in idle and contemptible nautches.

The next publication that we have to notice is of a still more laudable kind. Ram Chunder, a teacher, as he himself informs us, in the Delhi College, has set up a Monthly Magazine, in which appear short historical accounts, and disquisitions on some of the important questions of the day, as the state of education among the natives, and the progress of vernacular literature. The style of the Urdu is, as far as we can judge cursorily, pure and correct, and the oriental type is worthy of all praise. We wish we could say as much for the English advertisement or the accompanying woodcuts, which are utterly unworthy either of the subjects, or the Editor's professions. From an English memoir illustrative of one of the woodcuts, we make the following extract which may perhaps not be unacceptable to some of our readers. It is termed, the Musharah or Assembly of the Poets:—

"One of the most amusing entertainments of the natives of the principal towns of the Upper Provinces and particularly those of Delhi is the Musharah or the assembly of the poets. Any gentleman who is either himself a poet (which is generally the case) or a great lover of poetry can establish a poetical meeting. This person is called the Mír Musharah or the principal person of the assembly of the poets. In order to call this assembly the Mír Musharah sends very polite letters to the principal poets of the town inviting them to the Musharah and requesting them to bring with them their poetical compositions. He also sends them a verse called the Turah according to the rhyme and measure of which all the poets are to compose their respective pieces of poetry. The Musharah takes place on appointed days after a month or fifteen days and sometimes it is held weekly. On the day fixed all the poets with their friends and scholars go to the house of the Mír Musharah, and there in a room, where every thing necessary for the occasion is furnished, take their seat. Here it should be remarked that the Musharah is a public assembly and any person who may be desirous of visiting it may be admitted there. When all the principal poets are met together it is the duty of the Mír Musharah or some of his friends to address any person of the assembly and to request him to read his composition, and then the Musharah commences. In this assembly there are poets with different degrees of qualification and enjoying different degrees of reputation. The audience generally leave the Musharah as soon as they have heard the productions of those particular poets who are the most popular and the most talented. In order to prevent this hasty breaking up of the

Musharah the Mir Musharah makes the poets of the lowest rank commence the Musharah, which generally closes with the recital of the compositions of the best of the poets. When a poet is requested to repeat his poem a candle is put before him (for the Musharah generally takes place in the night time) and he is seen taking out a piece of paper from his side and holding it before the light. The subject of these poetical compositions with hardly any exceptions is love, and that too of the most deplorable nature. In order to convey a just conception of this kind of love it, will be sufficient to describe the character of the fair ones as the native poets delineate them in their compositions. The Mashúk or the loved is represented as exceedingly faithless to her lover, glorying in his miseries and sufferings and delighting in the company and embraces of his rivals who are supposed to be deficient in their love to her. The character of a lover is delineated by the native poets as that of a mad man, a drunkard, an infidel, and one subject to melancholy. All persons whose duty it is to teach religion and morality are supposed to be the greatest enemies of a lover who is often represented as abusing them in the strongest language which poetry can use. The revolutions of the heavens are supposed by the natives to produce viscissitudes in the fortunes and conditions of men and when any misfortune befalls any person it is very fashionable for him to say that he can't help it, and that it is all owing to the adverse revolutions of the heavens. Hence when the native poets (for poets are supposed to be lovers) complain of their sufferings and grievances caused by the infidelity of their Mashúk they throw all the blame of their misfortune on the heavens and not unfrequently denounce them as extremely tyrannical and overbearing. As an example of the irreligiousness of the Urdú poets, the following verses will be sufficient :—

نہ بتخانہ سے کام اپنا نہ بیت‌الله سے مطلب
میں بندہ عشق کا ہوں مجھکو کیا ہی راہ سے مطلب

Neither have I any business with the pagoda, nor with the house of God. I am a slave of love, what business have I with these things.

سمجھ تو دیکھ مجھسے تجھسے جھگڑا کیا ہی ای زاہد
تجھے تسبیح سے اور مجھکو اپنی آہ سے مطلب

Know O priest that there is no cause of dispute between me and you for you have only to tell your beads and I to heave my sighs.

واعظ ناکس کی باتوں پر کوئی جاتا ہی میر
آو میخانہ چلیں تم کسکی باتوں پر گئے

O Mir who attends to the admonitions of the foolish preacher? Come never mind what he says and let us go to the wine shop."

The naiveté of some parts of the above will be appreciated by our readers; and it only remains for us to add that we shall be happy to hear that increased circulation has attended the Editor's spirited efforts.

Hints for an improved treatment of Remittent Fever and Dysentery, by E. Hare, Assistant Surgeon, Irregular Cavalry, Bengal Medical Service. Delhi Press, pp. 36.

THE author of this practical little work has departed from the usual custom of Authors to make as much as reasonably may be out of their stuff. Instead of wearying himself to make long what his readers would have to weary themselves to make short; Mr. Hare has condensed into as small a compass as possible, material which his readers will amplify and illustrate with cases from memory as they go along. He tells us in the preface that he cannot afford the risk of publishing an expensive work, and it is obvious he has but one sincere design in appearing in print at all, viz.. modestly to suggest his views to the profession on a practical subject on which he has had particularly favorable opportunities of experimenting; under these circumstances we feel the more bound to assist him in making the result of his observations known to our readers. The safe and rational treatment of Tropical Fevers and Dysentery is not a subject interesting to the medical profession exclusively. Without invading the province of the faculty which educated people are particularly averse to do, and which only the illiterate, rude, and ignorant commonly attempt, it is very desirable for those who are called to travel in jungles, alone, and remote from aid, to place themselves in possession of principles to guide them in cases of emergency affecting their own life and the lives of their dependents. Hence we need not make any apology for extending our notice of Mr. Hare's pamphlet beyond the limits we would commonly assign to a medical pamphlet. We observe the new Calcutta Medical Journal, edited by Dr. Edlin, highly commends the practice inculcated by Mr. Hare, placing it in contrast with that of Dr. Searle as taught in a volume that gentleman has persuaded the Court of Directors to send out to the medical officers of the service. The author's object is to institute a comparison of the old and modern system of treatment in remittent fever, and an enquiry whether by combining the two we may not hope for better success. The old system of Drs. Lind and Hunter was to use bark as a specific to prevent those congestions which prove so fatal in remittent fevers. This practice, founded on long and ample experience in the West Indies and America, was followed with much success in the eighteenth century; success limited chiefly by the difficulties of the exhibition of bark in substance—difficulties now greatly lessened by the modern introduction of quinine. About thirty or forty years ago, however, by some strange whim, calomel got into fashion, brought into vogue by physicians who could write but who had never seen malarious fevers in their intensity or in an epidemic form or even in a tropical climate. It became the practice to allow fevers to get a head, congestions to ensue, and then to treat them with bleeding, calomel and antimony. Dr. James Johnson who visited this country as Surgeon to a ship

and who had no more warrant from experience than a few weeks riding at anchor in the river Húgly could supply, by a smart style of writing and a didactic manner, mainly contributed to effect the revolution which banished Peruvian bark as a specific, and brought in what was called the rational system of antiphlogistic treatment in which calomel played the most distinguished part.

Mr. Hare's plot is to effect a counter-revolution, to restore the old Monarch, Peruvian bark, to his throne, and allow the body corporate the benefit of the acknowledged powers of the "revolutionary leaders," bleeding, purging and diet.

It may be mentioned, that Mr. Hare has been practising for several years at Segowlie, on the borders of the Nepal terai, where malarious fevers prevail, and he confidently states his belief in the specific powers of bark when used in the good old fashioned way in the treatment of those fevers. He has seen Johnson and Annesley, with their calomel, tried and found wanting; on reverting to Lind and Hunter he is surprised to find their views so sound and his own practice so successful when he follows their guidance.

Mr. Hare then goes on to shew how lamentably bark was put aside, and how deplorably for the last thirty years, thousands of poor soldiers in particular, have been helped by salivation for fevers, to rotton teeth, premature old age, and a place on the invalid rolls; not to speak of those who have been otherwise provided for, viz., by the undertaker. He adduces some apt quotations in which the authorities are judged out of their own mouths.

He then taxes Dr. Hutchinson, late Secretary to the Calcutta Medical Board, for recommending quinine only "*when the fever has disappeared*,"* and adds, that after searching every where, all he can find in books and magazines since Johnson's time till now, is, bleed and give large Calomel purgatives but be very careful not to give quinine *too soon!!*

After bringing others to reckoning for their bad practice, Mr. Hare next tells us what in his opinion is the proper course of treatment for malarious fever. It is to make the specific powers of bark available without delay to *prevent* the fatal congestion. For particulars, however, we must refer to the pamphlet itself.

With regard to Dysentery Mr. Hare gives a considerable number of extracts from the most eminent writers on the subject, from Galen to the present time, shewing how unanimously they urge the necessity of clearing the bowels in all stages of the disease; at the same time that they lament the great difficulty of doing this and the injurious effects of the medicines which they were obliged to employ. His quotations shew how fully they appreciate and hopelessly wish for the means of applying local remedies to the diseased surface of the intestine in Chronic dysentery. The Author having learned Dr. O'Beirne's simple and safe method of accomplishing both these desiderata, and proved its wonderful success by some years of

* Hutchinson on Jails.

experience, wishes to recommend it to his brethren. It consists in passing a long flexible tube above the sigmoid flexure of the colon and then using, most copious enemata. For other details we have no room. If applied it will save, he believes, the lives of hundreds who now die by the scourge of India. Dr. MacGregor, of Simla, truly says of dysentery, writes Mr. Hare, that it "destroys more European and native soldiers than cholera and all other forms of disease together"—and "it is extremely distressing to the medical officer to have daily proof of the utter inutility of his drugs in this disease."

Mr. Hare has found a similar plan not less useful in chronic dysentery, the long tube enables astringent lotions to be injected far enough to do good. We would suggest to the author to republish some time hence this interesting little book, and to add a selection of cases from European hospitals. There is an earnestness about the style which at least commends the substance to the good sense of every reader of considerate mind. The unfrequency of medical writing in India compared with the vast opportunities enjoyed by the profession induces us to notice the opinions of those who do appear before the public with the more attention. We owe our thanks to Mr. Hare for his present contribution to the literature of his profession. His medical brethren will canvass his arguments and practice. The discussion cannot but be beneficial, as thereby some forgotten truths will surely be brought to every one's recollection. It is only while we keep in memory what we have learned and read that it is of any practical use to others. Physicians should be copious readers of things new and old, and it is worthy of remark, that most of the successful in practice have also been writers and diligent takers of notes. Dire necessity limits the libraries of Medical Officers of the army to scanty dimensions, but if they would try they would find the diligent noting of facts from the pages of the current publications of the day and of cases as they arise, would not a little contribute to the enabling them to maintain their status in a profession which was wont to be called a "learned" one. The practitioner who reads not and writes not, but satisfies himself with ruminations on lectures and readings he was "put through" ten or twelve years ago, though he may escape with the laity by the aid of a pleasant manner and a natural shrewdness, betrays his profession as a learned science. The literature of medicine is the most amusing of studies. Nulla dies sine linea, is a motto we suggest to our medical subscribers and readers.—They should remember that honour calls on them to support their own profession, a point of honour we fear sometimes over-looked. Though promotion in the medical service be slow, and talent be indifferently rewarded, the profession itself, be it remembered, has been adopted for better for worse, and it should either be abandonned, or its dignity should be well maintained.

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., TYPS., NO. 7, MISSION-ROW.

THE

CALCUTTA REVIEW.

ART. I.—1. *Memoirs of the Right Reverend Daniel Corrie, L. L. D., First Bishop of Madras; compiled chiefly from his own letters and journals: By his Brothers:—London: Seeley, Burnside, and Seeley;*—1847.

IT was at the end of the month of January, 1779, that an Eton boy, named Charles Simeon, awoke one morning to find himself a Cambridge man. The son of a Berkshire squire, he had been sent, at a tender age, to endure the hardships of foundation life at a public school, and had emerged thence at the age of nineteen, none the worse for the conflict, a sturdy scholar of King's! He had eaten the college mutton; knelt on the flogging-block; breasted the Thames; worn the grass off the playing fields at foot-ball, and the surface off the chapel walls at fives;—fagged and fagging, from the lower school to the sixth form, he had roughed it to some purpose, had gained strength of body and of mind, and among his brother "*tugs*" had obtained some repute as a hard-headed, straight-forward fellow, and an athlete of the first water. There was muscle in young Simeon—but beyond that, there was something strange about the boy, which his class-fellows did not find it quite so easy to fathom. He was not moody; he was not unsociable; but there was at times a solemnity in his manner, which puzzled the young collegers. They laughed at him too, as school-boys will laugh, at what they cannot quite understand. And no blame to them for not understanding: young Simeon himself knew not what it was he felt stirring within him.

In January 1779, the school-boy grew into the university man. Three days after the attainment of this new dignity, he was told that, in accordance with university custom, it was expected of him that he should receive the sacrament of the Lord's supper. The announcement seemed to startle him. There was something awful in the obligation. Satan, he said to himself, might as well think of attending this solemn service. But there were three weeks before him—three weeks allowed for preparation; and what might not be done within that time to school and discipline his erring nature? With all his soul, he applied himself to the work. He made himself, in his own words, "quite ill

with reading, fasting and prayer." He humbled himself and groaned in spirit—but God at length smiled upon him. Hope sprung up in his breast and a light dawned upon his soul—a light which was never obscured.

Three or four years afterwards the same young man might have been seen slowly wending his way, from the church of St. Edward's, Cambridge. He had taken the first great step: his ministry had commenced. The weight of new responsibilities was upon him; but he felt equal to the burden. He had strength and he was now suffered to put it to the proof—to try the temper of his Christian courage. As he threaded St. Edward's passage, the jarring notes of strife issued from a mean house and smote harshly on his ear. The young minister paused and listened. A man and his wife, in loud railing tones, were disputing and accusing one another. It was a time to use the passport of his master. He entered the house; reproached the disputants, first, for absenting themselves from Church; then for disturbing those who had been more mindful of their duties; and, this done, he knelt down and earnestly prayed for them. The door was open; and a crowd collected. But the young minister was not abashed; he prayed on:—they stared and they scoffed at him, but his courage did not depart. He was about his Father's business; and he neither fainted nor failed. It was an earnest of his future career. His strength never forsook him. From that day he persevered with the dauntless valour—the inflexible resolution of one whom no selfish fears, no doubts and misgivings, no love of the world, no dread of its opinions, could drive or tempt from the straight path. And he proceeded bravely to the end. Men might marvel and stare at him; might scoff at and calumniate him. And they did so—but his constancy was not shaken; he "bore up and steered right on."

A place was prepared for him. Very early did the young enthusiast see before him his appointed work. Within a few months from the date of this little incident, Charles Simeon was called to take up the crook which he held to the latest day of his life. For more than half a century was he the shepherd of that same flock. Entering, in very youth, upon the ministry of Trinity parish, Cambridge, he only relinquished the cure, when at the age of seventy-seven, he closed his eyes upon the world for ever. No temptation—no promise, no certainty of worldly advantage;—not declining years, nor failing strength; not wealth in possession, nor ease in prospect, could induce him to forsake the temple, in which he had worshipped at the outset of his career—in which, with God's

blessing he had redeemed so many erring souls, and out of which had gone forth a spirit to evangelise the University and to work a mighty influence upon the whole Christian world.

Stormy, indeed, was the dawn of that long day—but how tranquil its close! Cambridge began by scouting him as a mountebank and a mad-man and ended by honoring him as a monarch. They broke the windows of his church, when he first ascended the pulpit; they closed their own, when that was vacant. They had made the sabbath, on his account, a day of tumult and uproar, but when he passed away from them, an unaccustomed quiet reigned over Cambridge even on a market-day. When Simeon entered upon the ministry of Trinity Church, there was fierce antagonism to encounter—antagonism which would have appalled a heart less true to itself and less strong in devotion to its Saviour. Appointed, in opposition to the wishes of his parishioners, he was received with enmity and with insult. The people locked up their pews, and the church wardens tore down the seats which the minister erected in vacant places. For months and months, until months had swelled into years, he bore up against this persecution—preaching to a scanty congregation, with an energy and impressiveness which enhanced the attention and often touched the hearts of the listeners collected in the aisles. The parishioners complained to the Bishop that he frightened them and that strange people crowded the church. They could not, poor souls! drouze comfortably in their cushioned pews, and so, compelled to abandon them, they petitioned for a more considerate, a more oily preacher. But Simeon stood his ground manfully. For years and years, he was calumniated, ridiculed, insulted. With the parochial authorities he was at open war. They closed the church against him and he called in the locksmith to his aid. The University, too, was against him. Young gownsmen went to his church, as they would go to a fair; there was excitement to be gathered from the "hot-gospellings" of the preacher, who in vehement tones and not without some grotesqueness of manner, consigned them all to the bottomless pit. And there was always too—rare attraction for Cambridge-men—a good chance of a *row*. Outrages of the most indecent description were committed by men who came to scoff and to riot. There was tumult and uproar within the church; stones were thrown in at the windows. From the university authorities Simeon had nothing to hope; they looked upon him as a methodist—a schismatic. His zeal was a rebuke to their supineness. They denounced him as a perilous disturber of the dreamy quiet of scholastic

life. University preaching had always been in a different style; university scripture had always been differently interpreted. They could not countenance such a dangerous innovation upon established rules of procedure.

But better than all support from heads of colleges, Simeon had his own Christian courage to lean upon. And it sufficed to sustain him. He lived down the enmity which assailed his opening career—he preached down the ridicule which greeted his early ministrations. One by one, the men who had scoffed at and insulted him, became listeners and then proselytes. New hearers flocked to the church, and stood in breathless silence, to catch the eager, impassioned words of a preacher who had once been received in that place with noisy derision. It became the fashion for young gownsmen to crowd the aisles of Trinity Church, and, in time, the magnates of the university condescended to do honor to the once despised fellow of King's, who had raised himself far above them. "It was Mr. Simeon's peculiar happiness," observes our own excellent diocesan, Daniel Wilson, in his eloquent tribute to the memory of Mr. Simeon, "to live long enough to see the prejudices 'which assailed him in his earlier ministry, changed through-'out almost the whole university to respect and veneration. 'Contrast the commencement and the close of his course. He 'stood for many years alone—he was long opposed, ridiculed, 'shunned—his doctrines were misrepresented—his little pecu-'liarities of voice and manner were satirised—disturbances were 'frequently raised in his church, he was a person not taken 'into account, nor considered in the light of a regular clergy-'man of the church. Such was the beginning of things 'But mark the close. For the last portion of his ministry, 'all was rapidly changing. He was invited repeatedly to take 'courses of sermons before the University. The same great 'principles that he preached were avowed from almost every 'pulpit in Cambridge. His church was crowded with young 'students. When the new chancellor of the University placed 'a chaplainship at the disposal of the vice chancellor in 1833, 'Mr. Simeon was the person applied to to make the nomination. 'In 1835, the University went up to present an address to the 'king. The vice chancellor wished him to attend; and when 'the members of the senate were assembled, made a public 'enquiry as to whether Mr. Simeon was present that he might 'be presented to His Majesty as one of the deputation." "The 'writer of these lines," adds Bishop Wilson, "can never forget 'the impression made upon his mind, when Mr. Simeon deli-'vered one of his sermons on the Holy Spirit before that

'learned University about six years since.* The vast edifice 'was literally crowded in every part. The Heads of Houses, 'the Doctors, the Masters of Arts, the Bachelors, the Under 'Graduates, the congregation from the Town seemed to vie 'with each other in eagerness to hear the aged and venerable 'man.....And at his death when did either of our Universi-'ties pay such marked honour to a private individual?"

It took half a century to consummate this change—but it was a half century pregnant with blessings to the world—a half century, in which the cause of Christianty made progress as it had only once made progress before.

It was from that centre of Trinity Church, Cambridge, and of Mr. Simeon's own college rooms, that radiated so much of that apostolic spirit, to which India is now so eminently indebted. It was his privilege to awaken the hearts and to engage the affections of men destined to achieve great spiritual triumphs. Bound as he was to the narrow limits of the University—seldom going forth beyond them—it was his to impress himself, through the agency of others, upon the minds of a people with whom he had never held communion, and to shed a broad light over a country which he had never visited in the flesh. In India we know little of Charles Simeon. His name is not associated, in men's minds with the history of the social progress of the English in the East. The student who would trace the changes which have passed over Anglo-Indian Society—the moral and religious advancement of professing Christians, and the silent but sure decadence of the worst forms of Hinduism—seldom travels back to that Cambridge church in which Charles Simeon preached the gospel, or those college rooms in which he took sweet counsel with his friends. But he was the spiritual father of many of those who during the last half century have shaped the religious destinies of India—the sender-forth of many of the great sent-forth who have laboured in this vineyard. "In every part of the kingdom," writes the amiable prelate whom we have above quoted, "he had children, as it were, in the gospel, 'who had derived benefit from his unwearied labours during a 'long life. Multitudes had first been led to serious religion 'under his energetic ministry or had been awakened to greater 'earnestness. These recommended others, when going into 'residence to seek his acquaintance. In various ways did he 'labour for the highest welfare of those who were thus brought 'within his influence. His public ministry was directed very 'much to their edification—an evening party each week was

* Nov. 13, 1831.

'known to be open to any who wished for his counsel; and he 'delivered twice in a year a course of lectures upon preaching 'to such as had passed the earlier division of their college 'course. Thus he drew around him a constant succession of 'pious youth, whose minds he imbued with his own sound and 'laborious views of ministerial diligence. The last day alone 'will reveal the aggregate of good he thus accomplished. If we 'take only four or five cases now before the world—David 'Brown—Henry Martyn—John Sargent—Thomas Thomason, 'and Bishop Corrie—we may judge by them, as by a specimen, 'of the hundreds of somewhat similar ones which occurred 'during the fifty-four years of his labours."* Of the five honored names thus recorded (and the name of Claudius Buchanan might have been added to the list, four belonged to men who have labored in this field, whilst the fifth is endeared to us as that of a literary associate—as one to whom we are under a debt of gratitude for the monuments he reared to two of his brethren who went before him. Many a passage in Simeon's correspondence emphatically shows the paternal interest taken by him in these dear disciples and in all the converts that they made. "Knowing," he wrote, on one occasion to Mr. Thomason, "what delight I should feel in the success of 'Abdool Meshed, and considering him as a 'descendant of mine,' 'through our beloved Martyn, who is my son in the faith, Mr. Cor- 'rie has had Abdool's picture taken, and sent it me, under the idea 'that it will afford me, *in that view*, peculiar satisfaction." And with what feeling his disciples regarded him may be gathered from many a passage in the letters of those whose memoirs have been thought worthy of perpetuation. "I write thus freely, my honored father in the Gospel," says Corrie, in one of his letters to Mr. Simeon, and, again, writing to Mr. Sargent, "To that Father in Israel, Mr. Simeon, I owe all my comfort on earth, and all my hopes respecting eternity." It will not now be asked what Cambridge Mr. Simeon and Trinity Church have to do with the subjects, which especially belong to this journal.

At the close of the last century, though the English in India

* One among other pregnant passages illustrative of the influence of Mr. Simeon we may here quote from his letters; it is addressed to his dear friend Mr. Thomason. "If, however, you judge of what is doing here by what we are doing for *you*, you will form by far too favorable an estimate. For within this year and a half I shall have sent you about a dozen; to Bengal, poor Mr. Crosthwaite; to Bombay, Mr. Carr, and I hope Mr. Robinson; to Madras, Messrs. Harper, Jackson, Malkin, Hough, Trail, Church; to Bencoolen, Mr. Winter; to St. Helena, Mr. Vernon. Besides these, if money can be raised, I hope to send two more to Madras a Mr. Spring and a Mr. ——, not yet ordained." Simeon, indeed, was the great *chaplain-maker* of the day. How (humanly speaking) he achieved so much there will be no difficulty in determining, when it is known that he was the honored friend and adviser of that wise and good man, Mr. Charles Grant, and could always command the influence of the Thorntons.

were emerging from that absolute slough of profligacy and corruption in which they had so long been disgracefully sunk; though great social changes had supervened; though knavery and extortion were no longer dominant in our offices, and rioting and drunkenness in our homes; though men walked more decently before their fellows, making outward show at least of honesty and sobriety, and living, as though it were no longer incumbent upon them, habitually and unreservedly, to break *all* the commandments of the decalogue, there was little real Christianity in India. Few were the altars erected to the true God; few the ministers of the true religion. Living in a heathen land we were long contented to live as heathens. Of anything like a state religion there was but the faintest shadow. Here and there a solitary Chaplain, if he chanced to be at his post and off the bed of sickness, ministered to an unwilling congregation, in some riding-school or court-house; married and buried the few who were within his reach, and left the rest to the good offices of laymen. In 1798, Mr. Tennant, one of His Majesty's Chaplains in India wrote, "It is certain that neither the number nor choice of the clergymen the Court of Directors have appointed in Bengal, has been in proportion to the number of their servants, nor the importance of the object in view; whether you regard keeping up the appearance of religion among Europeans, or disseminating its principles among the natives. On this establishment their full complement of Chaplains is only nine; their actual number seldom exceeds five or six. Two of these being always fixed at the Presidency, all the other European stations, dispersed over a tract of country much more extensive than Great Britain, are committed to the charge of the other three or four individuals. In consequence of this, the presence of a clergyman is seldom seen, or even expected, to solemnize the usual ceremonies of marriages, baptisms, or funerals. Prayers are read sometimes at the stations where a chaplain happens to reside; but I have seldom heard of any sermon delivered, except by His Majesty's Chaplains, and those at Calcutta. Hence, it must happen that many persons have left England at an early age, and resided in India perhaps for twenty or thirty years, without once having heard divine service, till their return."*

It would barely express the truth to say that, in those days,

* To this passage Mr. Tennant, in the second of his *Indian Recreations*, appends the following note—"Since writing the above this negligence has been corrected, yet many from indolence or contempt of the institutions of their country, have wilfully neglected the opportunity when offered of attending on the offices of religion."

men systematically broke the Sabbath. They did not recognise —they were barely conscious of its existence. All the daily concerns of life went on as usual, with the exception perhaps, that there was somewhat more than the ordinary abandonment to pleasure. At our military stations the flag was hoisted, and they who saw it knew that it was Sunday; but the work-table and the card-table were resorted to as on the week-days; Christianity cantered to the races in the morning and in the evening drove to a nautch. If there were any talk of divine worship, the subject was dismissed with a profane sneer or an idle excuse. One lady claimed great credit to herself as a venerator of the sabbath, because she read over the church service whilst her ayah was combing her hair. Another, who had lived twelve years in Calcutta, where there was a church, said she had never gone all that time, because no gentleman had offered to escort her and hand her to a pew. The presence of a chaplain at a military station was in those days no guarantee for the performance of divine service. Often the commanding officer set his face steadfastly against it. Claudius Buchanan was for some years chaplain at Barrackpore without once enjoying the privilege of summoning the people to public worship.

Such, indeed, at the close of the last century, was the open, outrageous profanation of the Sabbath in India, that it attracted the attention of the Court of Directors, and called forth a protest, which we have already quoted in these pages,* but which is at once so interesting an illustration of the present subject and so pregnant an example of the high feeling which even in those days animated the council of Leadenhall-street, that we need offer no apology for again reprinting the following passage. It is contained in a letter, dated 25th of May, 1798, and addressed to the Governor-General:—

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

* Vol. V. No. IX. Art. "The College of Fort William."

have been mentioned be forbidden and prevented; and that divine service be regularly performed, as in England, every Sunday, at all the military stations; and all European officers and soldiers, unless hindered by sickness or actual duty, are required punctually to attend, for which such an hour shall be fixed as shall be most suitable to the climate. The chaplains are to be positively ordered to be regular and correct in the performance of their duty, and if any one of them neglect it, or by his conduct bring discredit on his profession, we direct that he be dismissed from our service. It is on the qualities of our servants that the safety of the British possessions in India essentially depends; on their virtue, their intelligence, their laborious application, their vigilance and public spirit. We have seen, and do still with pleasure see, honourable examples of all these; we are anxious to preserve and increase such examples, and therefore cannot contemplate without alarm the excessive growth of fashionable amusement and show, the tendency of which is to enervate the mind and impair its nobler qualities, to introduce a hurtful emulation in expense, to set up false standards of merit, to confound the different orders in society, and to beget an aversion to serious occupation."

It is not difficult, in the admirable state-paper from which these passages are extracted, to discern the hand of Mr. Charles Grant—one to whom the cause of Christianity in India, for what he did directly and indirectly, by himself and through others, to advance its interests, and that too at a time when it had but few supporters, is eminently indebted.

Lord Mornington had recommended the erection of Mofussil chapels—a recommendation to which the Court of Directors responded in a becoming spirit. Calcutta at that time possessed two churches—the one a Government edifice; the other (and the elder) the property of an individual. For fourteen years the city had been altogether without a Christian temple, when in the year 1770, the Mission Church, erected at the expense of Mr. Kiernander, was opened for divine service. In 1787, St. John's Church, the "old Cathedral," was completed. At this time the Mission Church was an unsightly red-brick building, rude without and equally rude within. In 1787, says the writer of the *Memorial Sketches of the Revd. David Brown*, "it was a clumsy, unplastered brick edifice of small dimensions, and choked up with old houses; and from being of a reddish colour, had the appellation given it by the natives of the Red Church *(Lal greja)* as which it continued still best known among them according to their retentive customs even after its walls were made light stone colour. Within it was exceedingly uncouth; with a brick pulpit built against a wall; and its aisle rough uncovered tiling. A few rude benches and pews of unpainted plank formed the general seats, with a small number of pews without chairs, for the gentry; and it was calculated only to accommodate about two hundred persons. It was indeed most comfortless; and was pronounced by the then Society

' of Calcutta utterly unsuitable for the reception of an European ' congregation." It was considered a *low-caste* sort of thing to frequent a church of so uncouth and unfashionable an aspect. So rare, indeed, in those days were the visits of the " quality folk" to the sacred building that Mr. Kiernander records, with something of wonder and much of exultation, the fact that Lady Coote had actually gone to his church. Soon, however, was the *Lal greja* enlarged and beautified; but by this time St. John's Cathedral had been opened for the reception of the more fashionable members of the community, and the few who even then thought of public worship, were attracted to the more commodious and luxurious church. That for some time they were not many we have the authority of Mr. David Brown for believing. When Lord Cornwallis in 1788 said to him, that " he thought St. John's a pretty church but it had many critics," Mr. Brown thought he might fitly have replied that there were " not many critics—on *Sundays*." The tide, however, soon began to turn. A new set of actors were appearing on the stage. Of those who had figured during the reign of Warren Hastings, the best only remained. Sir Robert Chambers and Sir John Shore were men to leaven the lump with Christianity. Mr. Charles Grant and Mr. William Chambers* were also shining lights in a benighted land. The improvement commenced in the time of Lord Cornwallis, advanced steadily through the administration of Sir John Shore, and reached, under the government of the Marquis Wellesley, a point from which it diverged, slowly but steadily, to all parts of the country. That was a great day when the Governor-General received from England the Christian letter which we have quoted above, and prepared to carry out its recommendations in the spirit in which it was written.

At the commencement of the present century, though in the Provinces there were few signs of the presence of Christianity, in Calcutta a great and important change was becoming every year more and more perceptible. The ministrations of David Brown and Claudius Buchanan, the example of Sir John Shore, and the practical encouragement of Lord Wellesley, were sensibly beginning to foster the growth of the true religion at the presidency. But, perhaps, by this time, the French Revolution had done more than zealous ministers, or conscientious governors, to arrest the progress of infidelity and impiety. Scepticism had once been the fashion in India; but the brutal excesses of that great struggle, which had convulsed all Europe,

* Mr. William Chambers was a brother of Sir Robert. He held an appointment (that of Prothonotary) in the Supreme Court. He died in 1793, and was buried in the Calcutta Burial ground.

filled the minds of Anglo-Indians with disgust and detestation; and the doctrines professed by the revolutionary leaders, though at one time received amongst us with consideration and encouragement, now began to sicken and alarm. The reaction was sudden —but salutary. "The awful history of the French Revolution," wrote Mr. Brown, in 1805, "prepared the minds of our country-'men to support the principles of religion and loyalty which 'our late Governor-General considered it his most sacred duty 'to uphold with the weight of his authority; he resolved, to use 'his own words, to make it be seen that the Christian religion 'was the religion of the state; and therefore at different times, he 'appeared in his place as chief representative of the British 'nation, attended to church by all the officers of Government, to 'give the Christian religion the most public marked respect of 'the Governor of the country." And referring to a somewhat earlier period, Claudius Buchanan wrote to a friend in England, "It became fashionable to say that religion was a very proper 'thing, that no civilized state could subsist without it; and it 'was *reckoned much the same thing to praise the French as 'to praise infidelity*."* The Governor-General went regularly to Church; the principal people of the settlement soon followed him there, and the place, which had once been said to be fit only for the reception of stable boys and low Portuguese, began to open its doors wide to the quality, and to require enlargement for the accommodation of the people of condition who flocked to the temple they had once avoided and the priest they had once despised.

Those opening years of the present century were, indeed, important ones in the history of Christianity in the East. "The 'state of society among our countrymen here," wrote Mr. Corrie, in 1806, "is much altered for the better within these few years. 'The Marquis Wellesley openly patronised religion; whether 'from motives of state policy or not, it is not ours to judge. He, 'on every possible occasion, made moral character a *sine qua 'non* to his patronage, and sought for men of character from 'every quarter to fill offices of trust. He avowedly encouraged 'and contributed to, the translation of the scriptures into the 'native languages, and wherever he went paid a strict regard to

* And, in a thanksgiving sermon, preached about the same time (1800)—copies of which were distributed throughout the country by order of Government, to the great astonishment of the Company's servants, the same truth was set forth with still greater [illegible] "The context in which our countrymen [illegible] 'now so well received in society as they once were. It was formerly thought a mark 'of superior understanding to profess infidelity, &c. &c."

' divine worship on the Sunday." And Mr. Brown has recorded a conversation which took place, a short time before, between himself and Sir J. (D'Oyly) which is still more significant. "Sir J. D." by whom I was seated said, "It was very true that the worst opinion had been formed of us at home, and though he had written the truth to his friends, he did not think he should be believed, prejudices ran so high. He then told me his own feelings and grateful wonder, on finding the society here so highly improved from what he had left it so many years before; and further observed that there was no society in England which he had seen more correct in all respects. He added, you have full churches, and the most serious attentive audiences I ever saw; and in company I never hear an offensive expression. I believe there is nothing like it in any part of the world." And yet a few years before, Mr. Obeck, when asked by Buchanan if he could produce "ten righteous to save the city," replied that he was not sure he could produce ten, but he thought he could produce five.*

That the ministrations of David Brown and Claudius Buchanan conduced, in no small measure, to this consolatory change, it would be rank, manifest injustice to those eminent servants of God to deny. Mr. Brown, during a quarter of a century, laboured, with scarcely a week's intermission, in the same once-deserted field. Other ministers belonged to India—he was wholly of Calcutta. Here was all his work done; here he died; here he was buried. By unwearied industry and unfailing zeal—by a steady and consistent course of conduct—by a life of ministerial activity and personal holiness, he achieved more than many who have had the advantage of more lustrous talents and more exalted station have proved themselves able to accomplish. He arrived in India when things were at their worst; he lived out a quarter of a century pregnant with the most consoling changes; and the sorrow which was felt for his death and the reverence entertained for his memory declare the good part which he had taken in bringing them about.

David Brown was the son of a Yorkshire farmer. His father seems to have designed that he should follow some trade; but the boy, happening to make the acquaintance of a clergyman at Scarborough who discerned his early piety and promising abilities, was reserved to follow a higher calling. This new friend took young Brown by the hand, removed him to his own residence, imparted to him enough of preparatory education to fit

* Mr. Obeck had been steward in the family of Mr. Charles Grant. He was, at the time to which we are referring, one of the oldest inhabitants of Calcutta and one of the most pious men in the city. He died in 1808 in his 75th year.

him to prosecute with advantage his studies in a public academy, and then removed him to the grammar school at Hull, which was then superintended by Joseph Milner. Such acts of beneficence are not so common that we can allude to them here without deploring our inability to record the name of the benefactor. The biographer of David Brown lends us no assistance. He is content that the benevolent patron of the farmer's son should remain in his pages, an anonymous "stranger."

From the Hull school, where young Brown soon won upon the affections of his excellent preceptor, he was removed to Magdalen College, Cambridge. This must have been about the year 1782—the year in which Charles Simeon was ordained. Brown appears to have been a frequent attendant at Trinity Church, to have formed an intimacy with the then persecuted preacher, and subsequently to have entertained some idea of accepting a curacy under him. But it so happened that he had not very long taken his degree, before an accidental circumstance turned his thoughts towards Indian labour. That noble institution, the Military Orphan Asylum, was then in course of establishment. Captain Kirkpatrick was in England, as the delegate of the Bengal army, and among other duties entrusted to him was that of obtaining the services of a young clergyman as superintendent of the institution. A mutual friend introduced Mr. Brown to a Major Mitchell, who recommended him to Captain Kirkpatrick as a fit person to fill the appointment. After some doubts and misgivings and consultations with friends he resolved to start for London, and, at all events, to communicate personally with Major Mitchell. The result was a visit to Captain Kirkpatrick and the acceptance of the proffered appointment.

The Military Orphan Society required the services of a clergyman and a married man. Brown, at this time, was neither. But it appeared sufficiently easy to attain to the fulfilment of both conditions. He received a check, however, which greatly disheartened him, and for a while dispersed all his visions of an Indian ministry. The Bishop of London refused to ordain him. He had known so many, he said, ordained ostensibly for colonial ministrations, who had loitered about London and never made their way to the promised field of labour. But what the Bishop of London refused, the Bishop of Llandaff at length consented to do. Early in 1785, David Brown was ordained. About the same time he married.

He continued for some months in London waiting for a passage to Calcutta. His circumstances were, at one time, so straitened, that he scarcely possessed the means of purchasing

food for himself and his young wife. The repayment by a friend of a trifling loan, which Brown had made to him some time before and since wholly forgotten, was viewed in the light of a very God-send and acknowledged as such in a devout spirit of gratitude and love. Wanting money, however, he did not want friends. He enjoyed the privilege of familiar intercourse with Cecil and Newton; and had he not seen before him his appointed work, he might under the ministry of either of those two good men have obtained pleasant and profitable employment.* "Moneyless, friendless, healthless, and helpless," he described himself at this time, but friendless he was not; and there was a very present help in trouble to which he turned, and in the very extremity of his failing fortunes found succour. He prayed and his prayers were answered. Having applied to the Court of Directors for an advance of money, he received from that body three hundred guineas, paid his passage money, and very soon was fairly on his way to India. Simeon came from Cambridge to see him embark, an office of friendship, which many years afterwards he performed for Martyn and Thomason.

At the close of the month of November, 1785, Brown commenced his voyage to Calcutta. The vessel appears to have been constantly in danger from fire, from storms, from rocks, from collisions, from all sorts of bad management. The passage was altogether very much what a consideration of the time at which it was undertaken would lead us to expect—in many respects a source of constant pain to a pious minister of the gospel. The Captain and the Passengers quarrelled with him, because he would not sing a jolly song and drink his bottle of claret. Some argued in support of infidel opinions, some in defence of their favorite sins; and, though service was sometimes performed on Sundays, it was always shirked when there was a decent pretext, and often when there was none. On the 8th of June 1786, Mr. Brown "landed with his dear family at the Orphan House;" and at once took charge of his appointment.

This appointment he continued to hold until August 1789, when the management thought fit to dismiss him. He had been appointed, some time before, a chaplain on the establishment and the troops in Fort William had been placed under his care. When the Mission Church in 1787 fell

* See Mr. Brown's Journal, "went to Town—called on Mr. Cecil; Mr. C. offered to make him his curate, or if I would stay in England, procure me a very important and valuable one, namely, at Maidley where the pious Fletcher has long been labouring." The Editor of the 'Memorial Sketches' adds, in a note, "In a separate memorandum of occurrences at this period, Mr. Brown likewise mentions a similar offer having been made to him by the Rev. John Newton. With these honored friends he maintained an affectionate correspondence during their lives."

into the hands of the Sheriff of Calcutta, and was rescued by Mr. Charles Grant, it was transferred to the hands of three trustees.—Mr. Grant himself, Mr. Chambers, and David Brown; the latter consenting to take charge of the European congregation for a time. He continued to discharge the duties of all the three offices; but it appeared, and not unreasonably, to the managers of the orphan institution, that they were entitled to a larger share of his time; and he was called upon to take his choice—to abandon either the mission church or the superintendence of the orphan asylum. After much thought, much prayer, and much council with his friends, he resolved to cleave to his Calcutta congregation. He could not persuade himself to forsake the Mission Church; so the Orphan Institution was abandoned.

We have already, when briefly sketching the progress of Christianity in Calcutta, during the concluding years of the last century, indirectly shown the difficulties with which Mr. Brown had to contend and the triumph which he achieved over them. The history, indeed, of the religious improvement of the European community of Calcutta, during the quarter of a century which followed the transfer of the Mission Church to the new Body of Trustees, is the history of Mr. Brown's life. In the results of his teaching we read the career of the man In all other respects his life was most uneventful. For five and twenty years he was never more than once absent from his post; and then but for a brief passage up the river. Between Calcutta and Aldeen his life was spent; between the Mission and St. John's church his labours were divided. Having been appointed a presidency chaplain, his sabbath duties were most onerous. Twice he officiated, every Sunday, at the Mission Church; once at the cathedral; once in the fort. At one period, he had a school in his own house. He was a constant attendant at the hospital and the jail; an active agent of the Bible and Church Missionary Societies in the east, and ever zealous in his efforts to promote the translation of the Scriptures. In the religious progress of the European community he found his reward. He lived to see the streets opposite to our churches blocked up with carriages and palanquins, and to welcome hundreds of communicants to the supper of the Lord. He lived to see the manners and conversation of those by whom he was surrounded purified and elevated; the doctrines of his master openly acknowledged in word and deed, where once they had been scouted by the one and violated by the other. And when he died it was in the full security that his mantle had descended to more than one

who was worthy to wear it—that the field which he had so long and diligently cultivated would never be suffered to be over-run with weeds, for want of laborers to follow his example.

During, perhaps, the most important period of his ministry—for it was at the very turning point of the religious fortunes of the English in India—Mr. Brown enjoyed the solid advantage and the unspeakable comfort of the support and assistance of Claudius Buchanan. The son of a Scottish schoolmaster—born and educated in Scotland, and at the early age of fourteen appointed private tutor to the sons of a gentleman of fortune—this able and excellent man had been originally designed for the Presbyterian ministry. Having spent some time at the Glasgow university, he would there have taken his degree, but happening to fall in love with a young lady, of superior worldly station, he conceived the romantic idea of leaving his native country, carving out his fortune in foreign lands, and returning, with wealth and honor, to claim the idol of his youth. It appears that his chief stock in trade was a lie and a violin! With the former he deceived his parents; with the latter he intended to fiddle his way through the world; but had scarcely reached the borders of England before he repented of his preposterous design. His success, as a wandering minstrel, was considerable; but at the best he felt it but a sorry way of life; and if he had not been so overwhelmingly ashamed of himself he would even then have returned to his house. But the die, as he said, was cast. He went on—though not as a fiddler by the way-side, swelling with thoughts of foreign travel. Those visions had passed away. He obtained a passage, on board a collier, from North Shields to London, and was nearly drowned before he reached his destination. Arriving safely at last, he found himself in the great metropolis; and there, after the common fashion of adventurers, he was brought to the extremity of wretchedness and want. After selling his clothes and his books, he appeared to be on the very brink of starvation, when he obtained employment in an attorney's office; and subsequently he secured a situation under another solicitor, with a salary of forty pounds a year. He designed, at this time, to make the law his permanent profession; and so little was his future career foreshadowed in his then way of life, that it is recorded of him that although he sometimes wanted a dinner, he had money to spend on theatres, spouting clubs, and other public amusements.

A year after the date of his exile from Scotland, while leading this unprofitable life, Buchanan received intelligence of the death of his father. The lie, with which he had set out on his

journey, was not yet to be suffered to die. He wrote to his mother soon afterwards from London, and dated his letter from *Florence*. In the summer of this year (1788) he was prostrated by a severe fever; and whilst on the bed of sickness made many wise resolutions to be broken upon his recovery. He read Homer and Virgil; but neglected his Bible. Occasionally he found an hour, snatched from the severe studies of the law, to devote to literary pursuits; but none to pious meditations. His heart was as hard as ever.

In 1790, some higher thoughts and better feelings found entrance to that God-deserted shrine. He saw the sinfulness of his way of life as in a glass; he withdrew from evil society; he reflected much, read much, prayed much. Beneath the sanctifying influence of Mr. Newton's ministry his deepening convictions took firm root in his mind. He wrote to that good man; and from the pulpit of St. Mary Woolnooth the preacher replied to his nameless correspondent. The invitation to come unto him was gratefully accepted by the heavy-laden lawyer's clerk. There he found what he had long sought—some one to guide him, to instruct. The old man took him by the hand, became his friend and his counsellor; and, in a happy hour, recommended him to the good offices of one who with the will united the power to turn the best gifts of nature and of fortune to account in doing the will of his master. This was the late Mr. Henry Thornton, a London banker, whose life was mainly spent between his office in the city and his villa on Clapham Common, but whose good deeds went forth, in a perennial stream, to the uttermost parts of the earth. A man of enlarged sympathies, of unbounded charity, with the most reverential love of truth and a sense of justice, not severe towards others but unstinting in self-sacrifice, he was for years the centre of that noble group of philanthropists, in which we recognise the venerable faces of William Wilberforce, Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharpe, Zachary Macaulay, Charles Grant, and Lord Teignmouth.* In this group were men who possessed more brilliant talents, more fluent eloquence, more energy and enthusiasm of character—altogether more of that heroic spirit which originates great deeds and courts dangers and privations, which sets before it some great object to be achieved and girds itself up to encounter every obstacle, strenuous in the purpose to beat them down with the strength of an unconquerable will—but in Henry Thornton

* The two last had not returned to England at the time of Buchanan's first introduction to Henry Thornton. When they arrived, they pitched their tents at the extreme corners of Clapham Common.

there was that which rendered him the ally, the counsellor, the friend of all. With the strongest sense to advise, the most unfailing generosity to aid, and the kindliest sympathy to encourage, he promoted every good work; he rallied around him the friends of humanity; and from his villa on Clapham Common went forth many a great scheme for the relief of his suffering, and the evangelization of his benighted fellow-men in all parts of the world; and whilst he was ever ready to promote these great and comprehensive schemes, his individual charities, often noislessly, secretly administered, brightened up many a dreamy hearth and infused new vigour into many a drooping soul. He gave not by hundreds, but by thousands; and how well and wisely his wealth was distributed the memoirs which we have consulted in the preparation of this article, with scarcely an exception, declare.

To Claudius Buchanan he was indeed a friend. He sent the young Scotchman to Cambridge. Out of his abundance he supplied funds to one who was worthy of such patronage. Buchanan paid back the money which was thus generously advanced. Out of his first savings, he remitted to Henry Thornton the four hundred pounds which had been spent upon his college education. Nor did he stop here. In grateful remembrance of the aid, which he had derived from one wealthier than himself, he placed a sum of money at the disposal conjointly of Mr. Newton, Dr. Milner, and Henry Thornton, to educate for the ministry any young man, whom they might think fit to select.

At Michaelmas, 1791, Claudius Buchanan entered Queen's College, Cambridge. He was regular in his habits and indefatigable in his studies. He kept but little company, and the few whose society he sought were men of approved godliness. Among these was Charles Simeon. "In addition," says his biographer, "to the society which has been just mentioned, Mr. Buchanan was invited to spend an hour on Sunday evenings at the rooms of one excellent person, who has been distinguished during many years for his active and zealous support of religion in Cambridge, and to whom a numerous body of clerical and other students have been successively indebted for the most important instruction and encouragement during their academical progress. Of the kindness of this gentleman and of the benefit which he derived from his conversation and example, Mr. Buchanan wrote to more than one of his friends in terms of the highest respect and gratitude." Why the name of this "excellent person" should be so studiously suppressed we can not even conjecture.

Why should not Mr. Simeon's name take its proper place in the biography of Claudius Buchanan?

Great as were his abilities and assiduous as was his attention to his studies, he took no University honors. There were those who thought that he might, had he so willed it, have taken the highest. This, however, he always denied. "Those who think," he said, "that I might have been Senior Wrangler are not well informed. There are few instances, I believe, of any persons arriving at this eminence who had not studied mathematics before they went to Cambridge."* Honors, though not the highest, *were* within his reach; but he seems to have had no academical ambition. Perhaps, the warnings and admonitions of his venerable friend, Mr. Newton, may have deterred him from a conflict which is not without its snares. He did not despise human learning, but he entered with chastened ardour upon the pursuit. Other objects had been set before him. It was not to obtain a name but to prepare himself for the ministry that he had entered the gates of the University. And by much prayer, much self-discipline, much searching of the scriptures, much converse with holy men, he had prepared himself for the great race which providence had so significantly ordained him to run.

The first idea of Indian labour seems to have been suggested to him, whilst yet an undergraduate, by Mr. Newton. "I decline giving any opinion," was his answer: but he added in all humility—"It is with great pleasure I submit this matter to the determination of yourself, Mr. Thornton and Mr. Grant. All I wish to ascertain is the will of God." And again, in another letter, "I am equally ready to preach the Gospel in the next "village or at the ends of the earth." His friends decided the matter for him. Mr. Grant was by this time, in the East India Direction. He had the power and the will to serve Buchanan; and early in 1796 a chaplaincy was presented by him to the young minister. "On the 3d of July, he preached for Mr. Newton at St. Mary Woolnoth." Strange, indeed, must have been the sensations with which he ascended that pulpit, to which years before he had turned his straining eyes, and from which had come forth the announcement—the invitation, which was the settling point of his religious career. Little could the lawyer's clerk have dreamt that one day he would himself be uttering Gospel-truths from that very spot which seemed to him radiant with glory and instinct with inspiration—not to be profaned by unhallowed footsteps and scarcely to be gazed at by unveiled eyes.

* A few years later, Henry Martyn added another to the "few instances" then on record.

On the 30th of that month of July, 1796, Buchanan embarked for India. Of his voyage no particulars remain. On the 10th of March, 1797, he landed at Calcutta. Mr. Brown, to whom he was the bearer of a letter of introduction, received him with a hospitality which would have been equally extended to him had he carried no such recommendation. His residence in Calcutta was but brief; for shortly after his arrival he was appointed military chaplain at Barrackpore.

Here a great disappointment awaited him. The appointment he held was in one respect, at least, a sinecure: there was no church and there was no congregation. Divine service was never performed. "Barrackpore," he wrote soon after his arrival, 'has been called the Montpelier of India. Here I enjoy every thing that can minister to comfort or elegance, except society; we have society too, but it is only polite society: There are not many here, I fear, whose hearts are awakened to the love of virtue and truth. Nevertheless, I possess two companions of inestimable value. I mean those two books which are written by the finger of God, the book of God's *word* and the book of God's *works*. These are treasures, which are inexhaustible, and which afford me in my retirement pleasure, company, and comfort"—Contrast this with the complaint made, nearly half a century afterwards, by Mr. Ackland, that he could obtain no books, and was compelled to resort to horse-breaking when his doctor told him that mental employment was necessary to health.

The spirit of Claudius Buchanan was severely tried. He had believed that a wide field of utility had been opened to him—that his zeal and devotion were about to be put to the test, his energies called forth, his abilities proved by circumstances at once novel and inspiriting. Instead of this he found himself thrown into the midst of uncongenial society, drawing a good salary from Government, doing little or nothing for it, pining in dreary inactivity, his energies running to waste—his mission shown to be no more than a mission to drowse away life on a salary of twelve hundred a year. Another trial was soon to be added to the pile. His friends in England began to mistrust him—to feel and indeed to express some disappointment. They expected that he would do so much; they could not hear that he was doing anything. There were those who understood his position too well to blame him for that which was only his calamity; but others had a vague sort of idea that he had gone out to preach the Gospel to the Heathen, and that tidings ought to have reached England of conversions on a grand scale. It was simply Buchanan's duty to obey orders; to bury the Company's

officers when they died, to marry them when they turned their thoughts towards marriage (which was not very often in those days) and to baptize their christian children. The only work that he could add to this was the study of the scriptures and of the Native languages, hoping one day to turn his acquirements to good account. It was, we repeat, a sore trial; but what could Buchanan do? "I suffered," he wrote to Mr. Grant in 1798, a long struggle before I could resign myself passively to my unexpected destination. But the struggle is now over; and I view myself as one who has run his race; to whom little more is left to do. I have known some, who in such a case would have extricated themelves with violence and sought a new fortune in the Gospel. But it will require a very evident interposition of God indeed to bring me out of this Egypt, now that he has placed me in it: I shall esteem myself highly favored if I be enabled to pass my days in it with a pure conscience, endeavouring to do a little where much can not be done."—The language this of deep despondency—probably the result of failing health. He had suffered from severe attacks of fever, and was afflicted by a disorder of the chest. "I have now," he wrote to Mr. Newton, "been a year and a half in India, and have not yet engaged in the ministry; and I know not when I shall. At present indeed, I should scarcely he able were I called to it." But better times were in store for him.

In 1799, Buchanan was united in marriage to Miss Whish, the daughter of a Suffolk clergyman—a young lady of amiable temper, gentle manners, and the soundest Christian principles imbibed in the early youth and since cherished upon conviction. Here at least was an addition to his stock of happiness! For some time he continued to reside at Barrackpore, doing occasional duty in Calcutta. "My public ministrations," he wrote to Henry Thornton in 1800, "have been rare; but perhaps not so rare as from my situation might be expected. Of the three years, I have been in India, including the number of times I have officiated at the hospital in Calcutta, and in my own house at Barrackpore, I have preached on an average once a fortnight." But soon other duties were assigned to him. Lord Mornington had conceived the design of that noble institution, the College of Fort William. Mr. Buchanan was desired to draw out a sketch of the constitution of the College, and to prepare a justificatory minute. In the month of August 1800, the college was formally established, Mr. Brown was soon afterwards appointed Provost, Mr. Buchanan Vice Provost and Classical Professor.

We have already written so much on the subject of the College

of Fort William, that we may assume the reader's acquaintance with the history of its institution, and of its subsequent suppression, or rather mutilation, by the Court of Directors.* From Buchanan's letters to his friends in England, despatched about this time, we gather a few interesting particulars of the state of the Church in Calcutta, at the commencement of the present century. "Both the churches," he wrote to Mr. Grant in 1801, "are 'generally full, particularly in the cold weather. The College 'chapel has punkas which will probably draw a great number 'of the towns-people during the hot season. Lord Wellesley 'has fitted up a pew for himself in chapel." And again, "Lord 'W. has had serious thoughts of building a larger church. 'But the college institution has deranged his plans a little. 'If you can not give us a new church at present, we shall 'thank you for a clock and bell; and also for a singing man 'and organist. The charity boys sing in the two churches 'and in the college chapel every Sunday. And there are organs 'in each, but only one organist..... Sir Alured Clarke has 'just left us. He is entitled to the thanks of your court for 'his attention to divine service; and for the general good example 'he has set to your settlement here."† And later in the same year he writes to the same excellent member of the Court of Directors: "Our Church continues in much the same state in which I described 'it to be in my last. We have had an addition of some communi-'cants, principally from college. The Church thins a little 'always in the hot months of May and June. Lord W. has 'proposed to use punkas and tatties; and it is probable that 'we shall have recourse to them next season." In the following year writing an apology for infrequency of correspondence he says—"I have less time now than ever. The chief labour of 'the churches is devolving fast upon me. My religious cor-'respondence in India is greater than at any former time. The 'whole direction of the college is with me; every paper is 'drawn up by me; and everything that is printed is revised by 'me. In addition to this, I give Greek and Latin lectures four 'times a week." And again early in the same year, "Our 'churches during this cold season are more crowded than I 'ever saw them before. Even on Wednesday evening there are 'a great number, and good is done. Some of the students 'attend on that evening. Their presence warms the heart of

* See Art: in No. IX. "The College of Fort William." The article in No. VI. on the "early period of Government Education in Bengal," may also be advantageously consulted.

† And in another letter it is set down—"General Lake is just arrived. He and his family were at Church yesterday."

'old Mr. Obeck. 'How would Mr. Grant rejoice,' he some-'times says, 'to see these things.' The pillars are removed and 'a number of additional seats made, to accommodate the many 'who come."

And from that time, every year saw a more numerous attendance in our churches, and a more devout spirit pervading the congregations. In 1805, Buchanan wrote, "We have had 'Divine service at the Mission Church lately for the settlement. 'The punkas make it very pleasant; but it was found to be 'too small for the auditory; many families going away every 'Sunday morning; seats being in general occupied an hour 'before service;" and to this he adds as another evidence of the progress of vital religion among the European inhabitants of Calcutta: "The demand for religious books, particularly of evangelical principles, has been very great these two last years. Messrs. Dring told me they had sold an investment of fifty 8vo. Bibles in the course of three months." And in other letters, written about the same time he thus describes his congregations:—"On account of the increase of our congregations we are about to have two morning services on Sunday; the first at seven o'clock in the Old Church, and the second at the usual hour of ten at the new. This is very agreeable to a great majority. Only Mr. Brown and myself will officiate at the Old Church. We shall of course (at least I shall) continue to officiate as usual at the new."....

* * * * *

We have some of all sects in our congregations; Presbyterians, Independants, Baptists, Armenians, Greeks, and Nestorians. And some of these are of my audience at the English Church. But a *name*, or a *sect* is never mentioned from the pulpit; and thus the word preached becomes profitable to all.... .....Even among the writers in the college there are Presbyterians, Independants, and Methodists. Their chief difficulty at first is from the ceremonies of the English church, which few of them ever witnessed till they came here. I must lie down a while and dictate to an amanuensis, for it is very hot. The thermometer is to-day near 110."

In the hot weather of this year (1805,) the failing health of Mr. Buchanan rendered it necessary that he should determine on a brief cessation of labour—a brief absence from the enervating, exhausting climate which had so reduced his strength and diminished his activity. A visit to the Malabar coast was accordingly planned; but before it could be put in execution, an alarming accession of illness brought the invalid down to the

very brink of the grave. The hour of death seemed to be at hand. Buchanan himself, assured that his earthly race was run, sent for his friend and colleague, David Brown, resigned into his hands all his worldly affairs, commended wife and children to his care, ran over the history of his past life, spoke of the interpositions of an especial providence discernible in it, said that he was ready, nay eager to depart, and gave directions about his funeral, his monument, and his funeral sermon. In this trying hour did he exhibit the utmost tranquillity of mind and an assured belief of his acceptance through the merits of Jesus Christ. In " a humble, submissive, patient and fervent" spirit he gave himself up to prayer—but not his alone were the supplications which then ascended to Heaven. Other prayers were offered up in faith—other prayers were blessed to the supplicants —and Claudius Buchanan, almost by a miracle, rose up from the bed of death.

The fever left him. In the steamy month of September, he was removed from Calcutta to Barrackpore and thence to Súksagur. Here a new trial awaited him. He received intelligence of the death of his wife, on board the vessel which was to have conveyed her to England. " I am now a desolate old man," he wrote, " though young in years. But my path will, I doubt not, be made " clear as the noon-day.' " Resigned to his hard lot, he turned his thoughts into new channels, and never was his mind more busy with great projects than during this season of affliction. " My chief solace," he wrote, " is in a mind constantly occupied; and this is the greatest temporal blessing I can expect even to the end."* To Mr. Grant he wrote to recommend the enforcement of certain regulations for the better government of writers and cadets on board-ship; and to the Archbishop of Canterbury he despatched a lengthy and elaborate epistle on the religious prospects of Hindustan and the necessity of an episcopal establishment for India—the darling project of Buchanan's life. He did not labour for himself; but there were those who hoped and expected to see in him the first Bishop consecrated to the Indian church. " I must inform you," he wrote to Mr. Grant early in 1806, " that since my late illness I am become

* The manifestations of genuine sorrow are so variously shaped by individual character, that it would argue little charity in us, and indeed but a limited knowledge of humanity, if we were to say more than that the following words, which we find in the same letter, grate somewhat harshly on our own feelings; " whilst I was thus engaged ' (in the study of the Syriac language) the news of Mrs. Buchanan's death arrived, I ' found some consolation in writing a few lines to her memory in the Hebrew, Syriac, ' Greek and Latin languages, which I inscribed on a leaf of her own Bible—the best ' monument that I could erect; for the body was buried in the deep." This is the pedantic side of sorrow, but all we wish to say about it is that we have no sympathy with such polyglot woe.

infirm in body and in mind: and I am scarcely fit for those public duties in this place which require the heart of a lion and a countenance of brass. I trust my excursion to the Deccan, which I meditate next month will be beneficial to me..... As to returning (to England) in order to receive episcopal dignity my soul sinks at the thought of it. I trust my lines will rather be cast in a curacy. Place the mitre on any head. Never fear; it will do good among the Hindus. A spiritual bishop will appear in due time!" The prophecy has been accomplished.

Repeated attacks of fever and ague, and some difficulty in handing over his several appointments, detained him for some-time in Bengal, and it was not until the beginning of May that he was enabled to commence his voyage to the south-ward. "The principal objects of this tour," he subsequently wrote in his *Christian Researches*, "were to investigate the state of superstition at the most celebrated temples of the Hindus; to examine the churches and libraries of the Romish, Syrian, and Protestant Christians; to ascertain the present state and recent history of the eastern Jews, and to discover what persons might be fit instruments for the promotion of learning in their respective countries, and for maintaining a future correspondence on the subject of disseminating the scriptures in India." With this great design occupying his thoughts, Buchanan set out on his voyage along the coast. At the Sandheads, the vessel in which he sailed, passed within sight of another then steering towards the mouth of the river. It was one of an outward-bound fleet; and it bore the name of the *Union* on its stern. Among the passengers in that vessel was a young man of whose great talents and signal piety Buchanan had heard much from Mr. Charles Grant, and whom he now yearned to embrace as a friend, a brother, and associate.

The son of a self-taught Cornish miner, who had raised himself to a seat in a merchant's office, Henry Martyn had passed through the grammar-school of Truro with the character rather of a docile than of a studious boy. Quiet and inoffensive, of delicate frame and retiring habits, he had paid the common penalty of the gentleness which does not resort to, and the weakness which cannot resist, injustice. To his master he had recommended himself by the quickness of his parts and the sobriety of his disposition; but thus early he had given no sign of the brilliant talents which distanced all competitors at Cambridge, and the energy of character which supported him throughout so great trials in the eastern world. Unsuccessful, at the boyish age of fifteen, in an effort to obtain a scholar-ship

at Oxford, he had returned to the Truro Grammar-school, and directed his thoughts towards the sister university. Two years after the Oxford failure, he was entered at St. John's, Cambridge; but so little was he aware of his own capacity for the exact sciences, that he commenced his academical career by committing to memory the problems of Euclid, as lessons which he could not understand. Such was the inauspicious dawn of his Cambridge life; but before he had completed his twentieth year he had attained the highest University honors. No man ever wore them more meekly. Senior wrangler of his year, he felt the emptiness of the distinction In his own words he had but "grasped a shadow."

His talents were of a remarkable order. He seems to have combined, in an extraordinary degree, the imaginativeness of the poet with the exactness of the man of science. Intellectual eminence he had attained. Social eminence was within his reach. But he had no such aspirations. The promptings of worldly ambition never disturbed the serenity of his mind. Human learning and earthly fame appeared before him as mere baubles. New desires had sprung up in his heart—new thoughts were busy in his brain. Another path was opening out before him—another hand was beckoning to him; other voices were making music in his ears.

He was one of those students who, attracted in the first instance by mere curiosity to Trinity Church, listened with deep attention to the Gospel truths there uttered by Charles Simeon. He was one of those who in due time became constant attendants at Mr. Simeon's rooms, on those ever-remembered social occasions, when he mustered his young friends around him, enquired into their wants, and gave them the counsel they needed. In the young student of St. John's, Simeon soon discerned the brilliant talents and the apostolic character, which we now contemplate with so much interest and veneration. Loving Martyn as a son, he was soon enabled to testify the genuineness of his affection by appointing him curate of Trinity Church.* In October, 1803, Martyn was ordained. And how truly may it be said that no man ever entered upon his ministerial career with a more solemn sense of the responsibilities he had undertaken with his ordination vows—a more holy desire to render himself worthy of the honor and the trust that had devolved upon him.

* In succession to Mr. Sowerby—another senior wrangler, who had shortly before died of consumption. Mr. Thomason was, at this time, an associate in his ministerial duties of Mr. Simeon. "What," says the biographer of the latter, "must have been Mr. Simeon's consolations in the ministry at this period, enjoying as he now did, the rare privilege of the devoted affection and invaluable co-operation of two such friends as Thomason and Martyn."

It would seem that he had already determined to devote himself to missionary work. The great outline of an undetailed scheme of action had been grasped with the tenacity of an unalterable resolution. He was called to preach the gospel to the heathen. It was whilst listening to a sermon by Mr. Simeon, in which were set forth in impressive language the immense blessings which had flowed from the endeavours of a single labourer* in the vineyard, that his thoughts had leaped up to embrace the grand idea of a missionary sacrifice.† In his study it had gathered strength and significance. Pondered over, prayed over, wept over, it had swelled into the one desire of his soul. He read with ecstasy the outpourings of David Brainerd's saint-like spirit and felt his "heart knit to the dear man," rejoicing in the thought of meeting him in heaven. His imagination traversed the burning sands and confronted the fiery skies of the eastern world. He saw before him mighty victories to be achieved over ignorance and superstition—but he saw with equal distinctness the cost at which they must be purchased; not the perils and privations—these he disregarded—but the severance of ties which, enlacing a heart of no common tenderness, bound him to his own native England. He had a beloved sister—and there was one still dearer to him than a sister. The sacrifice was great; but he was prepared to make it—prepared to leave his family, his friends, his betrothed; and, perhaps, for ever.

With feelings most chequered, but honorable in their varying shapes alike to the man and the christian, Henry Martyn turned his back upon Cambridge. A chaplaincy had been procured for him in the service of the East India Company—from the same source as that which had supplied Buchanan with his credentials, the discriminating benevolence of Mr. Charles Grant. In the summer of 1805, he prepared to embark. Mr. Simeon met him at Portsmouth, and accompanied him to the vessel, remaining

* That single laborer was Dr. Carey—*clarum et venerabile nomen.*

† It is not for us to call the attention of our ordinary readers to the fact that Henry Martyn, like Brown and Buchanan, like Thomason and Corrie, was a *Chaplain* on the establishment—and in no accepted sense of the word, a Missionary. It was not his Mission to preach the gospel to the Heathen—but to perform Church service in the presence of the Company's servants, to marry them, to bury them, and to baptize their children. Of this, we say, our ordinary readers are as well aware as ourselves. But chance readers we may have in Europe, ignorant, or forgetful of the fact. The error, which assigns to Martyn the character of an ordinary missionary, has recently been in some measure, endorsed and perpetuated, by the biographer of Mr. Simeon, who writes "the deeply cherished desires of his (Martyn's) soul were at length gratified by an *appointment to Missionary labour* in India." Martyn's own biographer, indeed, says, "God, who has appointed different orders and degrees in his Church, and who assigns to all the members of it their respective stations, was at this time pleased by the Almighty and gracious influence of his Spirit to call the subject of this memoir to a work demanding the most painful sacrifices and the most arduous exertions—*that of a Christian Missionary.*"

some days on board, sustaining his young friend with kind words and wise counsels, preaching to the passengers and sailors, fixing the attention of all and touching the hearts of some. On the 17th of July, the two friends parted for ever. It was a bitter moment when Henry Martyn awoke, next morning, to find himself alone on the great waters. "My feelings," he wrote, "were 'those of a man who should suddenly be told that every friend 'he had in the world was dead. It was only by prayer for them 'that I could be comforted."

The vessel was detained, for some weeks, off Falmouth. New excitements, new trials, new joys, new sorrows, were now unexpectedly opened out before him. The temptation was not to be resisted; he went on shore. He knew what it would cost him. He knew how great the agony of that fresh divulsion of the closing wounds of his lacerated heart. Who would not have done as he did—snatched a few brief hours of enjoyment even at the cost of such after pangs. He sate beside his betrothed again.* Forgetful

* Henry Martyn's Biographer has shadowed forth the individuality of this young person with an indistinctness which we cannot suppose to be accidental. She was a Miss Grenfell. In the following extract from one of Simeon's letters, in his recently published life, we catch a glimpse of the truths:—

"With her mother's leave Miss G. accompanied us to Col. Sandy's; when I had much conversation with her on Mr. Martyn's affair. She stated to me all the obstacles to his proposals; first her health; second, the indelicacy of her going out to India alone on such an errand; third her *former* engagement with another person, which had indeed been broken off, and he had actually gone up to London two years ago to be married to another woman; but as he was unmarried, it seemed an obstacle in her mind; fourth, the certainty that her mother would never consent to it. On these points I observed, that I thought the last was the only one that was insurmountable; for that first, India often agreed best with persons of a delicate constitution; e. g. Mr. Martyn himself and Mr. Brown. Second, it is common for ladies to go out thither without any previous connexion; how much more therefore might one go out with a connexion already formed. Were this the only difficulty, I engaged with the help of Mr. Grant and Mr. Parry, that she should go under such protection as should obviate all difficulties upon this head. Third, the step taken by the other person, had set her at perfect liberty. Fourth, the consent of her mother was indispensable; and as that appeared impossible, the matter might be committed to God in this way: If her mother, of her own accord, should express regret that the connexion had been prevented, from an idea of her being irreconcilably averse to it, and that she would not stand in the way of her daughter's wishes; this should be considered as a direction from God in answer to her prayers; and I should instantly be apprized of it by her, in order to communicate it to Mr. M. *In this she perfectly agreed.* I told her however, that I would mention nothing of this to Mr. M., because it would only tend to keep him in painful suspense. Thus the matter is entirely set aside, unless God, by a special interposition of his Providence (i. e. by taking away her mother, or over-ruling her mind, contrary to all reasonable expectation, to approve of it,) mark his own will respecting it—" This was *written shortly after Martyn's departure. The picture is not an agreeable one.* To many it is simply that of a prudent, calculating mother,

Old and formal, fitted to her petty part,
With a little hoard of maxims preaching down a daughter's heart.

But the truth we fear is not to be disguised: that daughter's heart required little preaching down. She did not love Henry Martyn. Love never deals in reasons after this fashion. In all probability her heart had never wholly given up its old idol. Perhaps, when she first listened to Martyn's addresses, she thought herself stronger than she really was, and subsequently discovered her mistake. Let no man ever trust to such appearances.

of the past, regardless of the future, he gave himself up to the happiness of the present hour. But the dream was soon dissolved. A sudden summons to rejoin his ship called him back to the dreary reality of actual life. With all speed he hurried to Falmouth, and again, in solitude of heart, sinking beneath the burden of his sorrows, he looked out over the wild waters, and called on God to comfort his soul.

The agony he endured was excessive. He seemed as one sinking in deep mire, where there was no standing—as one who had come into deep waters, where the floods were over-flowing him. He wept and groaned till he was weary of his crying; till his throat was dried, and his eyes failed him. We must know the nature of the man to appreciate his sufferings. A strange, sensitive being—*all nerve*—was this young Cornish priest. Irritable and impulsive, of varying moods, sometimes eager and sanguine, at others despairing and dejected, he was wrenched and torn by gusts of passion which seemed almost to threaten his existence. His health was delicate and he had over-worked himself. He seemed to be always in an extreme state of tension vibrating to the slightest touch. His soul never rested. Ever alive with emotion, trembling with deep joy or deeper sorrow, with wild hope or profound despair, he should have had the frame of a giant to sustain the shocks of so tempestuous a spirit. But his physical organisation was of the most delicate kind, his body was feeble and diseased. Much, indeed, that was strange and unaccountable in his character may be attributed to physical organisation; his irritability, at one time so extreme, that the life of a friend was endangered by an attack which young Martyn made upon him with a knife—his dreadful fits of despondency, which at times almost seemed to threaten his reason—were but so many indications of the constant presence of disease. But for the saving influence of Christianity, it is probable that the curse of madness would have descended upon him. That influence made him a hero—a martyr. The Christian character has never, in these later days, worn a more heroic aspect. He had the courage to do and to endure all things; he was the true soldier of the cross. "From the day on which, from the deck of the *Union*, he gazed, for the last time, with swimming eyes, on the dim outline of St. Michael's Mount and St. Hilary's Spire, to that hour when he sate in the Armenian orchard, and thought with sweet comfort of God, in solitude his company, his friend and his comforter, his life was one long season of self-sacrifice—of self-sacrifice mighty in the struggle between the strength of his earthly affections and the intensity of his yearnings after the pure spiritual state. The subjugation of the

human heart was finally accomplished—but what it cost him who can tell?

The voyage to India was a long and tedious one: to Martyn it was inexpressibly painful. For weeks and weeks he had not even the consolation of that sense of progress, which has always an exhilarating influence on the mind. At last the fleet began to make some way. Rising from the depths of despondency in which he had been sunk, Martyn began to bestir himself. He saw that there was work to be done and he flung himself upon it with a whole-hearted energy which we admire whilst we deplore. The truth must be told—nay, we have already told it. Martyn lacked judgment and discretion; he lacked kindliness, not of heart, but of manner. He wept for the sinners by whom he was surrounded, but he did not weep with them. The earnestness—almost the ferocity, with which he preached against the companions of his voyage, exasperated rather than alarmed his hearers.* Some asailed him with bitterness—some with ridicule. It was a failure to be utterly deplored.

On the western bank of the Hoogly, not far from the settlement of Serampore, where in those days toiled with unintermitting energy, regardless alike of the frowns of Government and the apathy of the people, those eminent servants of God, Carey, Marshman and Ward, stood a Garden-house, in which there dwelt the venerable minister, David Brown. At no great distance from this house, a deserted idol-temple, on the banks of the river, stands out shadowy and grand against the setting sun. It had once been the temple of Radha-Bullub—an eminent shrine in its day, not wholly unconnected with pseudo-miraculous associations;† but the encroachments of the Hoogly had driven the idol to seek a residence further inland, and the once sacred abode had been given up to the profaning hands of the stranger.

* Simeon at the outset of his career had erred in the same manner as his disciple. But his more matured judgment had pointed out the danger of this intemperance. "I am arrived at a time of life," he wrote in 1817, "when my views of early habits, 'particularly in relation to the ministry are greatly changed. I see many things in a 'different light from what I once did; such as the beauty of order, of regularity, and 'the wisdom of seeking to win souls by kindness rather than to convert them by 'harshness, and what I once called fidelity. I admire more the idea which I once had 'of our blessed Lord's spirit and ministry." And again writing to a clergyman of whom it was reported that his style was "unnecessarily harsh and offensive," he observed:—"It is not by coarseness of expression, or severity of manner, that we are 'to win souls but by speaking the truth in love." And again, a short time afterwards he thus remonstrated with another who had the same taste for strong preaching, "What 'is your object? Is it to win souls? If it be, how are you to set about it? by exciting 'all manner of prejudices and driving people from the church. How did our Lord 'act. He spake the words in parables '*as men were able to hear it.*' How did St. Paul 'act? He fed the babes with milk, and not with strong meat."

† We may here not unfitly refer the reader to Vol. IV. (No. 8) of this Journal; Art. "Right Bank of the Hoogly," for some interesting legendary lore.

David Brown bought it, as a mass of brick and plaster; and turned it into a bungalow. Being a hospitable man, in the true spirit of Christian hospitality, the number of his guests often outgrew the dimensions of the Aldeen house; and the idol-temple soon grew into a supplementary place of reception. Here Henry Martyn was presently located as the honored guest of David Brown; and here, before many weeks had passed, he was joined by Daniel Corrie.

Martyn's first public discourse, delivered at the new church of Calcutta, produced no little sensation. It was one of those bold, uncompromising sermons, which had so exasperated his auditors on board the *Union*. Here he not only gave offence to his congregation but drew down upon himself the enmity of some of his brother-chaplains. His doctrines did not consort with their notions, so they preached at and against him. They pronounced his discourse a rhapsody—a mystery; said that he would drive men to despair—destroy their hopes of salvation—and speedily empty the church. All this was gall and wormwood to poor Martyn; but there was boundless comfort in the conviction that God was on his side. Right or wrong, Martyn was always sure of this. What he did was done at immense sacrifice of self. He may have had subsequent misgivings; but he ever acted, in all sincerity, according to the light that was in him at the time.

These unseemly pulpit contentions were not new to the settlement. Brown and Buchanan had been preached at in the same manner. Lord Valentia alluding to a time prior to the arrival of Martyn, observes. "It will hardly be believed that in this 'splendid city, the head of a mighty Christian empire, there is 'only one church of the establishment of the mother country, 'and that, by no means conspicuous, either for size or ornament. It is also remarkable, that all British India does not 'afford one episcopal see, while that advantage has been granted 'to the province of Canada; yet it is certain that from the 'remoteness of the country, and the peculiar temptations to 'which the freedom of manners exposes the clergy, immediate 'Episcopal superintendance can no where be more requisite. 'From the want of this it is painful to observe, that the characters of too many of that order, are by no means creditable to 'the doctrines they profess, which, together with the unedifying 'contests that prevail among them even from the pulpit, tend to 'lower the religion, and its followers, in the eyes of the natives 'of every description. If there be any plan for conciliating the 'minds of the natives to christianity, it is so manifestly essential that it should appear to them in a respectable form at the

'seat of Government, that I presume all parties will allow, that 'the first step should be to place it there upon a proper footing." It appears that Brown and Buchanan had offended by offering "strong meat" to their congregations. The former, we are assured did it very sparingly; and not before he had long fed his people with "milk." Henry Martyn seems, in some degree, to have been persuaded that there might be wisdom in moderating his fiery zeal. Corrie, on his arrival found, that a "great opposition was raised against Martyn, and the principles he preached,"* but adds soon afterwards, "Martyn preached from Rom. III. 21—23, the most impressive and best composition I ever heard. The disposition of love and good will which appeared in him must have had great effect; and the calmness and firmness with which he spoke raised in me great wonder. May God grant a blessing to the word. Oh, may it silence opposition, and promote religion, for Jesus Christ's sake, amen!"

And now that we find them together—those two friends, Martyn and Corrie—located beneath the same roof, comforting and sustaining each other, each at the outset of his apostolic career, sprung from the same seat of learning, the sons of the same "father in the Gospel," the same bright rays of glorious promise descending on either head; so similar and yet so dissimilar, so firmly knit together in common bonds, and yet in human character so inharmonious—let us pause to speak of the latter of the twain, of the fainter, but of the steadier light. Daniel Corrie was not a man of great genius or gigantic enthusiasm. His mind was, in no wise, cast in the heroic mould; but for ordinary purposes of life it was sufficiently strong and serviceable. He was the model of an useful colonial chaplain, rising at last to the highest ecclesiastical rank, and whether in a humble or an elevated condition of life, blameless in all relations and admirable in some. He was the son of a Scotsman who had become a Lincolnshire clergyman. Cast early upon his own resources, and subsequently redeemed from a profitless London life, and sent to Cambridge, he had done his best to repair the defects of a neglected education and had passed out of college with credit to himself but with no distinguished success. Attracted by the preaching of Mr. Simeon, he had become a constant attendant at Trinity Church, and was one of the little band of disciples which gathered around the teacher in his rooms. With Martyn he had formed an intimacy, which had ripened into affection on either side, and with another predestined fellow-laborer, not the least loveable of the group, the excellent Thomas Thomason, he had united himself in

* "Lord grant me wisdom," he exclaims, "that I may act with discretion and in nothing give unnecessary offence."

brotherly bonds, which were only broken by death. Some two or three years spent in a country curacy had strengthened his convictions and endeared to him his office; and when Simeon pressed upon him the acceptance of an appointment to ministerial labour in India, it was with the assurance that he was in every way fitted to bear the burden and to perform the work.

Daniel Corrie was the man of all others to glide easily through a voyage to India. He gave offence to no one and endeared himself to many by the kindliness of his heart and the gentleness of his manners. There was nothing more remarkable, nothing more loveable in his character, than his affectionate concern for the welfare of young people. He took a deep interest in all that related to the cadets on board the *Asia;* and his friendly condescension was not without its results. All respected him; many loved him; some were converted by him. And as at the commencement so to the very close of his career, he was emphatically the friend of the young. Many and many an eye, as it is fixed on this page, will glisten in grateful recognition of the truth which we have just uttered.

A few weeks spent together in the enjoyment of the Christian hospitality of Mr. Brown; and Martyn and Corrie parted. The former had been appointed to the Dinapore station, and in the middle of October he set out on his voyage up the river, accompanied some little way by Corrie, by Brown, and another chaplain, Mr. Parson. "Mr. Marshman seeing them pass the Mission House (at Serampore) could not resist joining the party, and after going a little way left them with prayer." Martyn was soon fairly launched on his solitary journey. How easy is it to accompany him as he goes. We see him, we sympathise with him, now immersed in deep study, translating the scriptures in his boat; now sauntering along the shore with gun in hand, the student bent on active exercise; now listening to the wild discordant music which marked the approach of some heathen procession; now deploring the idolatries which he was forced to witness; now mixing with the deluded people, conversing with them as best he could, distributing his tracts among them, often with exquisite griffinism, unwittingly offending their prejudices, but always regarding them with the deepest feelings of commiseration and love. Yes; and easy is it to penetrate into the deeper recesses of that warm human heart—to take discursive flights with the imaginings of that ever active human brain. What memories—what hopes—what aspirations! Now his thoughts travel back to his college rooms; he is face to face with the revered Simeon, or the beloved Thomason—he is taking sweet counsel with one in whom he sees, as in a glass, himself reflect-

ed—one as delicate, as sensitive, as earnest as himself, with his genius and his holiness blended together—the early-called Kirke White. Now he is at home again in his father's house, sitting beside his dear sisters—hoping all things, yet trembling much, for sad events already are casting their mournful shadows before; —now, still as his eye ranges over the wild scenery of his native Cornwall another female figure passes before him, and his heart leaps up to embrace it; he is in an ecstacy of wild hope, and then in the very slough of abject despair.* He spreads his books out on the little table of his narrow cabin; the lamp is set before him; the unfamiliar characters of strange languages are before his eyes; strange sounds are in his ears, the howlings of the jackalls, the scarcely more melodious music of the boatmen, the clanging gongs on the river side—but the sights and sounds loved long ago still distract him. He cannot quiet that throbbing heart.

At Berhampore his Christian courage, his Christian patience were severely tried. The rebuffs of the natives on whom he obtruded himself pained him little, but his sensitive nature shrunk from the insulting ridicule of his European fellow-countrymen. He knew what it was to force his way among hard-hearted English soldiers; but what he had done on board the *Union*, he was prepared to do at Berhampore. He went to the European hospital; but the inmates would not listen to him. "Rose very early," he records in his journal, "and was at the hos-'pital at day-light. Waited there a long time wandering up 'and down the wards, in hopes of inducing the men to get up 'and assemble; but it was in vain. I left three books with 'them; and went away amidst the sneers and titters of the com-'mon soldiers. Certainly it is one of the greatest crosses I am 'called to bear to take pains to make people hear me. It is 'such a struggle between a sense of propriety and modesty on 'the one hand, and a sense of duty on the other, that I find 'nothing equal to it. I could force my way anywhere in order 'to introduce a brother minister: but for myself I act with hesi-'tation and pain." The failure here described is as characteristic as the tone in which it is recorded. We have extracted the passage to compare it with one in another journal. Two months afterwards, Corrie, on his way to the Upper Provinces, visited that same hospital. "In the afternoon," he writes, "we visited the hospital. I drew near the bed of a man apparently in the last stage of disease, who received the word with tears and requested me to pray with him. Having made this known P.

* "Thought at night more than usual of dear] but the more I exaggerated these ideal joys, the more I treasure up subjects of w

(Parson) invited the others to draw near: *a large party collected from all parts of the hospital.* I expounded the third chapter of St. John's Gospel, and prayed. *Much attention in the poor men.*" Corrie could find hearers, where Martyn could find none. With a lower order of intellect, and less heroic zeal, he abounded in what Martyn most wanted, the tact to conciliate and the cordiality to attract. He was, in the more honorable Christian acceptation of the phrase, " all things to all men"—from the Governor-General to the youngest cadet. Henry Martyn was always the same Henry Martyn. The inward zeal rode rough-shod over the outer manner. He failed so often because to his spiritual earnestness he did not impart an exterior grace.

Arrived at Dinapore, and surrounded by an uncongenial society, Martyn found his chief solace in the letters of his Calcutta friends and the translation work, in which he was engaged. The duties of the chaplaincy were not very onerous. There was no church; but he " read prayers to the soldiers at the barracks from the drum-head, and as there were no seats provided, was desired to omit the sermon." A building better adapted to the purpose being subsequently found, he managed to collect on the sabbath a number of Christian families, but they did not like his extempore preaching, and intimated to him that it would please them better if he would read them a written sermon. This excited the natural irritability of the man; but his anger soon passed away, and he saw clearly the wisdom of conciliation. " He would give them," he said, " a folio sermon-book, if they would receive the word of God upon that account."

The year 1807 opened and closed upon Martyn at Dinapore. He saw little society; there was, indeed, but one Christian family with which he was on terms of intimate friendship—but in his solitary bungalow how busy he was, how active, and, in thought, how social. He could people his room at will with beloved forms and fence himself around with loving faces. " I am happier here in this remote land," he wrote, " where I hear so seldom of what happens in the world, than in England where there are so many calls to look at 'the things that are seen.' How sweet the retirement in which I here live!"—Shadows there were, doubtless; but perhaps at no period of Martyn's career, was there more of sunshine to irradiate his path. Now discussing points of faith with his Munshi and Pundit; now dreaming of his beloved; now in deep humiliation contrasting himself with David Brainerd; now cheering himself with the thought that as a translator at least his labours were not profitless; now endeavouring to obtain redress for the injured; now submitting

to injury himself; now rejoicing in the affection of his friends; now weeping over cruel disappointments—he passed from one state of feeling to another, but ever in weal or woe there was a sustaining power, a cheering influence in the thought of *work* done or doing—of something already accomplished, of something more *to be* accomplished, by human brain and human hand active in the cause of their maker.

And it was at this period that he succeeded in obtaining the greatest mastery over himself. Never had he been so resigned—never so hopeful—never so assured that God is love—never so eager to see Him face to face. Tried in the furnace of human affliction, he had come forth purer and brighter, longing for that great and glorious hour when God will wipe away all tears from the eyes of his beloved children. The victory was not complete. We dare not say it was. How could it be with that warm human heart still beating against his side?

From Dinapore, early in 1809, Martyn was removed to Cawnpore. Here there was much to vex his spirit and to assail his health. The arid, dust-charged atmosphere of that sultry place pressed upon him with a weight which sunk him to the earth. He had seen a Christian church rise up before him at Dinapore. He was now at a station where was no Christian church. He performed service, in the open air to the European troops, and sometimes saw them dropping around him under the influence of the intense heat. Among the natives he was at this time, unusually active. His heart was always with them. In spirit at least, he was their minister; not a mere military chaplain. We see him preaching to crowds of mendicants whom he assembled around his house. They came to receive alms, and he distributed to them. Then they listened to what he said—those naked, squalid heathens—the halt, the maimed, and the blind—they flocked around him and listened. Or they pretended to listen—for what could they do less? And Martyn spoke to them, as one who could not help speaking; as one who felt it would be a sin to be silent. From the full heart gushed forth a torrent of words—not always perhaps with the strictest philological propriety—and, in sooth only by rare snatches intelligible to his congregation. But the numbers increased, and so did the plaudits—and far be it from us to say that no seed fell upon good ground.

In the mean while Corrie, who had been appointed chaplain at Chunar, was steadily pursuing his course, contented with small successes. There was much to discourage and dishearten; but for this he was prepared. The invalids were, at best, but a careless, godless set of men; and they were slow to welcome

the *Padre.* The officers at the station had much more piety than the men; and Benares, to which Corrie occasionally went, had about as much christianity as Chunar. At the latter station there was public worship in the Fort, but the greater number of the invalids remained away; and the officers made all manner of excuses. To preach openly to the heathen he hesitated. He had the fear of the Supreme Government, of the Court of Directors, and above all of the *Edinburgh Reviewers* before his eyes. "I suppose," he wrote, "we should be taken to task were we to preach in the streets and highways; but other methods not less effectual are to be used and less likely to produce popular clamour. Natives themselves may and can be employed with the greatest advantage in evangelising their brethren, whilst the minister superintends and directs and encourages"—and again, hearing that a letter to his friend Mr. Buckworth had been published in England, he writes, "I heard some time since by a friend that a letter from one of the Bengal chaplains who came out in 1806 had been published, and in the then state of the Court of Directors towards the evangelisation of this country might be of great detriment, Mary (his sister) brought me word who the offending chaplain is and who the friend is that has published his letters. I confess that for a time I found myself wounded in the house of friendship. In the eyes of the world pride told me that my character would suffer; and I still expect to see myself caricatured by the *Edinburgh Reviewers,* or by some such enemies to all serious acknowledgement of God." Sydney Smith's well known article had recently been published. It seems to have alarmed Corrie more than it pained him.*

Corrie was then on a visit to Calcutta—his sister having arrived from England. His sojourn at the presidency was but brief; and we soon find him again among his people at Chunar. His residence was on the banks of the river; and his hospitality was constantly extended to passing travellers, proceeding by water to the Upper Provinces—especially to young officers, recently arrived from England, whom he was always eager to advise and to assist. "Our dwelling," he wrote "is on the banks of the Ganges. The common mode of travelling is by water, in commodious boats, dragged when the wind is adverse, like barges. At this distance from home, hospitality to strangers seems to me a peculiar though painful duty, as it breaks in too much upon my leisure. There is no such thing as an inn, and very

* We must distinctly be understood not to reproach any chaplain on the establishment for abstaining from preaching, at such a time, to the Natives of the country. We shall take an opportunity before long of enlarging upon this subject.

'many of the passers-by are young officers, whose situation is in 'general far from being comfortable. To these I would be 'especially kind, as being also less noticed by many who judge 'of the attentions due to them by the wealth and rank they 'possess. Those youths who are now here join readily in our 'family worship, and delight me when I hear them repeating 'the Lord's Prayer after me with seriousness. Dear lads, my 'heart yearns over them, exposed as they are, to every kind of 'temptation, without a rudder or a pilot." A passage in every way most characteristic of this amiable and excellent man.

Though the fruits of his ministerial labours were not very palpable at first, in due time they began to develope themselves, both at Chunar and Benares.* Still there was much to discourage his efforts—much painful opposition to encounter. "We have for some time," he wrote, "been engaged about a Church at 'Benares; a subscription of about 3,000 rupees has been made, 'and a spot of ground is fixed on. I trust now all opposition 'is silenced, though not entirely done away. The hearts of 'some haters of all good have been brought to give money 'even. One family is highly respectable and regular in religi-'ous duties. One young officer has become a new creature. 'Of the rest, few alas! seem willing to go any further." Still counting by units—but other good work was done. He had opened several schools; and was diligently engaged in studying the native languages with the view of translating the scriptures. And he had a congregation of native women, principally soldiers' wives, to whom he read and discoursed. But he was soon removed to another field of labour. Government appointed him, in 1810, to the ministerial charge of the Agra station.

On his way to join his new appointment he halted at Cawnpore. There he took up his abode beneath the roof of his beloved Martyn. Twice had he seen him at Dinapore, and then had cause to tremble for the safety of his friend. But even,

* Of Corrie's first attempt to establish himself at Benares, we find this account in his Journal, "I came down on Friday evening with the view to perform divine 'service on Sunday. On Saturday morning I waited on the General; who received me with the most chilling coolness. He told me that he had nothing to do with divine service or the Artillery men; and that he should not interfere; he had heard nothing of divine service except from my application. Mr. —— who had been forward for my coming down, on hearing of my arrival, flew quite off, and said they could do quite as well now, as before, without divine service; he however came yesterday in the morning. A congregation of at least sixty assembled; and after service Mr. A. thanked me, and said he hoped they should give me encouragement to come oftener amongst them. Afterwards, the Brigade Major came with a message from the General (who did not come to Church) saying, I was 'at liberty to come and go as I pleased, but the Artillery-men and Officers could not be permitted to attend so far from the lines, for fear of the Natives seizing the guns whilst they were at a distance: if the Court House were used to assemble in, or a place of worship erected near the lines, he should have no objection; but all this was to be *kept a secret.*'"

with this preparation, the altered aspect of poor Martyn greatly startled and alarmed him. When I arrived here, "he wrote to Mr. Brown, "Martyn was looking very ill, and a very little exertion laid him up. Since then, you will know that I have been ordered to remain here for a time to assist him; and he is already greatly recovered." Three weeks later he wrote, "On my first arrival Martyn recruited greatly for a fortnight, but is now to say the best at a stand.....The state of his health seems to be this: he is easily fatigued and then gets but broken rest, with confused and distressing dreams. A very little exertion in speaking produces pain in the chest, with almost total loss of voice, and all these symptoms are produced by the evening of every day." In another letter (to his English friend Mr. Buckworth) Corrie gives the following refreshing account of their way of life at Cawnpore. We need scarcely say that the initial S. represents the name of *Sherwood*:—

"The account of one day will give you a general idea of our whole manner of life. We usually rise at day-break and ride out. Martyn and I breakfast between six and seven o'clock: then read the Scriptures with a Polyglot before us and pray. Martyn then goes to his study. I go to see Mary; (Miss Corrie) and she and Mrs. S. are learning Hindustani in order to be able to speak on religion to their female servants; and if circumstances favour, to get a school of female native children. I am their teacher. Mrs. S. has a school of European children belonging to the regiment. I return to reading, usually Hindustani or Persian. At eleven, my Christian children come to me to say the lesson they have been learning with the native school master. In the middle of the day we have a repast, and then resume reading till four, when the Christian children come again to read in the Hindustani Gospels. In the evening we meet, usually at Capt. S.'s, or Martyn's, when we sing some hymns, with reading and prayer before we separate. This is the peaceful tenor of our way. At the intervals, two days in the week, I visit and pray with the sick in the hospitals: On the sabbath, public worship; in the morning at the drum head of one of the three European corps lying here, in rotation. In the evening of Sunday and Wednesday, we have social worship with a goodly number of pious soldiers in a public building fitting up, but not yet ready to open as a church: besides the (services) once a fortnight, there is public worship in the general's house. Except the soldiers, all our other English rank as gentlemen. We have here only these two classes, except a very few persons in trade."

Most unwilling was Martyn to leave his post, and difficult, indeed, was it to persuade him even temporarily to lay aside his work. He thought that a brief river-trip would suffice to restore him, and when he felt, under the influence of excitement, a little temporary accession of strength, he said that even that was unnecessary. But the truth was not much longer to be disguised. He was absolutely dying at his work. The affectionate solicitude of his friends prevailed over his own reluctance; and he at last consented to obtain leave to proceed to Calcutta and to try the restorative effects of a sea-voyage. On the 1st

of October, he commenced his journey down the river. It was some consolation to him to leave his flock under the care of one whom he so dearly loved, and in whom he reposed so much confidence. He had smoothed the way for his friend. A church had sprung up during his ministry. He had remained long enough to see it opened; and when he turned his back upon Cawnpore he felt that he had not sojourned there in vain.

For Martyn's affectionate heart there was other comfort in store. He was about again to partake of the hospitality of his venerable friend, Mr. David Brown. He was about to meet for the first time in this land of exile a cherished friend and associate of former days—one whom he had loved and honored at Cambridge, a fellow-disciple in the great Simeonite school: a fellow-labourer in the ministry at the outset of his career. Let us break off for a while to speak of this last accession to the saintly band. There are few of our readers who have not already syllabled in thought the name of Thomas Thomason.

Left in infancy by the death of his father, to the care of his surviving parent, a woman of sound understanding and matured piety, he had imbibed whilst yet a boy those lessons of wisdom, which however slowly they may seem to fructify, or however destructively they may be choked up for a time by the weeds of worldly engrossment are never instilled wholly in vain. In the case of Thomas Thomason the good fruit was seen early upon the boughs. When only twelve years old he had in his conversation and in his manner of life evinced signs of a settled piety almost unprecedented at so immature an age. Like Buchanan he had been engaged in teaching others, whilst himself yet a boy; but the offer of a situation, as French interpreter to a Wesleyan establishment then proceeding to the West Indian islands, had carried him for a time from his native country; and it is probable that he might long have remained in a western settlement and subsequently attached himself for ever to the Wesleyan ministry, but for the advice of a lady, bearing the honored name of Thornton who had directed his thoughts towards the Episcopal church and pointed out the especial advantages of the Elland institution to one who like young Thomason had not the means of obtaining, out of his independent resources, the benefits of an University education. To this institution therefore he had endeavoured to gain, and had succeeded in gaining admission; and, after some time spent, under its tutelage, in the house of the venerable Mr. Clark of Chesham, he had been sent up by the society to Magdalene College, Cambridge, and had distinguished himself by the successful

exercise of talents of a high order.* Whilst yet an undergraduate, a chaplaincy had been offered to him by Mr. Charles Grant, but reasons of a domestic nature had induced him to decline the tempting invitation, and the appointment had been given to Claudius Buchanan in his stead.

"Had Mr. Thomason," wrote an intimate friend and constant companion of that excellent young man, "accepted the chaplaincy 'he would have been a very faithful and efficient minister of the 'gospel and have done much good. But I question whether at 'that time it would have extended much beyond the immediate 'sphere of his labours.† He was young, decidedly pious, de-'voted and active, and must have been a blessing wherever he was 'stationed. He had an extraordinary facility in learning lan-'guages, and would have become an eminent oriental scholar, and 'in all probability India would have been eminently benefitted by 'his translations of the scriptures into more than one of their 'vernacular tongues. But I do not think he would have exer-'cised a commanding influence, nor formed any very compre-'hensive plans for the benefit of the vast continent, nor have 'entered at all in that boundless field in which Dr. Buchanan 'rendered himself so eminently conspicuous, and which he cul-'tivated with such great advantage to the millions of India. Of 'all the literary and pious men which Cambridge at that time 'possessed, few, perhaps none, had the peculiarly appropriate 'qualifications of Dr. Buchanan for that important station. 'His mind was calm, intellectual, and comprehensive. His 'manners reserved, dignified, commanding. His literary at-'tainments were considerable, and gave promise of great in-'crease. He sought, acquired, and effectually sustained a place 'in the society of the most learned men in the University: even 'whilst an undergraduate, there was an elevation about him which 'left younger men of inferior talents and attainments but ill 'at ease in his presence, this very appearance conveyed the idea 'of a person destined to do things at which others would never 'aim, and to carry measures on a scale of magnitude to which 'few would find themselves equal, or dream of accomplishing. 'When it is added, that Dr. Buchanan was as eminent for his 'piety—as distinguished for his talents—as simple in his man-'ners as he was dignified in his appearance—as single in heart 'as comprehensive in mind—as attentive in the discharge of 'very humble duties as he was active in planning and vigorous

* He was *fifth* wrangler of his year—and had he commenced earlier the race for University honors, he would have gained a more forward place.

† Thomason's biographer says, that the offer made to him was that of an appointment "to fill the *Mission* Church of Calcutta"—but the context shows this to be a mistake.

'in executing schemes for christianizing the immense popula-
'tion of India,—no doubt will be felt that the loss of Mr.
'Thomason's labours *at that particular crisis* was more than
'compensated by those of Dr. Buchanan."*

After taking his degree, Mr. Thomason had accepted a tutorship in a private family; and from this, having received ordination, had been raised to the more honorable office of assistant to Mr. Simeon. The curacies of Trinity Church and of Stapleford had both been intrusted to him.†—For of all Simeon's disciples, we must pause to observe, Thomas Thomason was the one whom the master most loved. He had such a loveable spirit, he was so gentle, so humble, so little selfish, so little envious, it would have been difficult not to love him. Simeon, indeed, always "clove to" him It was to Thomason, that in after days he delighted to write—to record all that he felt, to narrate all that he did. Thomason was his own familiar friend —his brother, not simply by Gospel bonds, but by the ties also of human affection. He felt the tenderest concern for all that related to him. He became a son to Thomason's mother—a father to Thomason's child. Of others it may be said, that Simeon loved the Christian—of Thomason, it is emphatically to be remarked, that he loved the man. We have no difficulty in understanding the secret of this, when we read Mr. Simeon's description of the character of his friend. "In Mr. Thomason," wrote the venerable minister to Mr. Sargent, "though there was every imaginable excellence, there was no-
'thing prominent. Were I to compare him with any thing, it
'would be with the light, in which a great diversity of rays are
'joined, but no one more conspicuous than another. Towards
'God, he was distinguished by a simplicity of mind and pur-
'pose; and towards men, by a placidity of manner and deport-
'ment. I never saw any thing of self blended with his actions.
'He seemed to have one end and aim in all that he did: and

* In 1797, he was chosen fellow and tutor of Queen's. His cumulative duties must at this time, have been very onerous.

† We may here append Simeon's characterisation of Buchanan, which appears to be peculiarly just and discerning:—

"I have just finished the life of Buchanan and am greatly delighted and edified with it. There seems to have been in him a certain dignity of character very uncommon in religious men. His independence, and generosity, and capacity to adapt himself to all persons of every station, yet accompanied with such a surprising simplicity of mind, cast an air of nobleness and majesty around him, that I have never met with in any other man. He was formed for great things both by nature and grace; and great things he lived to accomplish. As compared with pious ministers in general, he shines *velut inter ignes Luna minores*. Many equal him in what we should call piety; but there is a luminousness and a grandeur about him that is very uncommon; and to have been the instrument of bringing such a man forward is no little honour to that blessed man, Mr. Henry Thornton."

what he did was never by an effort so much as by a habit. In fact, every day with him, from morning to evening, was a kind of equable course, somewhat like that of the sun in a Cambridge atmosphere. He gave a tempered light, never blazing forth with unusual splendour, but diffusing to all around him a chastened influence. Every thing was done by him in its season; but in so quiet a way as not to attract any particular attention. There was nothing of elevation, nothing of depression. In this respect there was an extraordinary resemblance between him and Mrs. Thomason. Each executed a great deal in every day; but throughout the whole day, though there was much business, there was no bustle no parade. Each lived only for the Lord, and to glorify him seemed to be the one business of their lives. There was not a work of benevolence within their reach, but they engaged in it just as if it had been a domestic duty. The parishes in which they were able to exert their influence seemed as their own family: schools of industry, as well as other schools, were established by them; the poor and the sick were visited and relieved, and all that Christian love could devise was planned, and executed with the tenderest assiduity, and most unwearied constancy. If I were to fix on one thing more than on another wherein Mr. Thomason was at home, it was at his Sunday evening and Tuesday evening lectures in his school-room. There the poor were permitted to come, and he was as a father amongst his children, or a pastor amongst his flock. In his addresses there was an unrivalled simplicity, and a divine unction, which left a savour that is not forgotten to this hour. The name of Thomason in Shelford and Stapleford is remembered, like that of Schwartz in Tanjore and Trichinopoly: and I doubt not but that to all eternity many will have reason to bless God for his affectionate administrations. One thing I may mention to the honour of both Mr. and Mrs. Thomason, that in all the ten years I lived under their roof, I never on any occasion heard an angry word from either of them, nor ever saw a different countenance in either of them towards the other, or in either of them towards me. Indeed I should not omit to mention his liberality. He did good to the utmost extent of his ability; so that when he went out to India he had not wherewith to carry him thither without the aid of his friends; and when after eighteen years of continuance in India, he came home from thence, he had not wherewith to bring him home, without the aid derived to Mrs. Thomason from taking the charge of several young females during their voyage. Had it pleased him, he might have amassed money both in England and in India;

'for in England he had twelve pupils, and in India he was in 'the receipt of a large income; but he was as superior to the 'love of money as any person, either with or without a family, 'can be supposed to be."

Such, in the language of one who, for many years, had eaten bread at his table continually and had walked in the House of the Lord with him as a friend, was the loveable and lowly-minded Thomas Thomason. Of the time of his sojourn at Shelford, to which Simeon has so affectionately alluded, we have in the biographies of both a picturesque memorial from Thomason's own pen, which even at the close of such an article as this we cannot refrain from quoting. The young minister is writing to his mother:—

"Do you remember a very pleasant spot, where there are two bridges, and you have a sweet view on both sides? Close to that spot is our mansion, the walks extend down to the river. A more beautiful place I never saw: it is the garden of Cambridgeshire. When I look around me, it seems a dream: I can scarcely persuade myself it belongs to me. If you think of me between the hours of twelve and two, you may imagine me walking in the shrubbery with my little Hebrew Bible in my hand? should the sun be very hot, depend upon it I have taken my seat under the shade of a thick chesnut. There I endeavour to collect my thoughts and stir myself up to diligent improvement and application of the word of God. But alas! I find it easier to admire the landscape around me, than to raise my heart to him who made it; easier to thank him for the walks and gardens, than to besiege a throne of grace for spiritual blessings: yet these are what I earnestly long for, and without which my soul cannot be satisfied. Mr. Simeon has a room on the ground-floor, which opens into a delightful pleasure garden, surrounded by a wall, where he can walk privately, in which he so much delights. One door of his room opens into my study, so that we are as near each other as possible. His friendship I must name among my chief blessings; he is more and more dear to us, as indeed he ought to be; his kindness to us is wonderful."

And thus had the stream of life flowed placidly on until the spring of 1805, when the great idea of Gospel-labour among the Heathen rose up and took possession of his mind—"This year he resolved under God, with the bible in his hand, and his saviour in his heart, to go where the darkness was dense and the sphere extensive for the diffusion of light." But there had then been no vacancy. Mr. Grant's patronage for the time was exhausted; and it was not until the spring of 1808, that an Indian chaplaincy had been placed by that Christian gentleman at Mr. Thomason's disposal.

He had sailed soon afterwards for Calcutta, and been shipwrecked before reaching it—an event to which interesting and instructive as is the narrative of the great peril and the miraculous escape, we can only thus briefly allude. We have brought Thomason to Calcutta and now, after an interval of two years, we must bring him face to face with his beloved friend and associate,

Henry Martyn. There was deep joy in the meeting—but with it how much of human sorrow mingled. They saw in poor Martyn but the wreck of his former self—they saw one whom sickness, and sorrow, and much toil in an exhausting climate—the strong spirit ever battling against the weakly frame—the carnal wretchedness of the man at strife with the heavenly ecstacy of the immortal—had brought down to the very borders of the grave. Let us hear their account of the meeting.

"Dear, dear Martyn," writes Mr. Thomason, "arrived, and we had the unspeakable delight of seeing his face. The agitation I felt during the whole morning, was such as I never experienced in India. Joy and sorrow alternately—joy to see him, sorrow for the occasion. In three or four weeks he leaves us to go to sea for his health. He is much altered, is thin and sallow, but he has the same loving heart. No tongue can tell what a refreshment the sight of him has been to us. I should be thankful to be his nurse if he would remain with us; but one would wish him to try every means, hoping that God may yet spare him for a few years—Martyn and I are both writing under the same roof." Her husband adds, addressing Mr. Simeon, "This bright and lovely jewel first gratified our eyes on Saturday last. He is on his way to Arabia in pursuit of health and knowledge. You know his genius, and what gigantic strides he takes in every thing. He has some great plan in his mind, of which I am no competent judge. But as far as I do understand, the object is far too grand for our short life, and much beyond his feeble and exhausted frame. Feeble indeed it is! how fallen and changed! his complaint lies in the lungs, and appears to be incipient consumption. But let us hope the sea air will revive him, and that change of place and pursuit may do him essential service, and continue his life many years. In all other respects he is exactly the same as he was; he shines in all the dignity of love, and seems to carry about him such a heavenly majesty as impresses the mind beyond all description. But if he talks much, though in a low voice, he sinks and you are reminded of his being dust and ashes. It would have filled your eyes with tears to have seen dear ——— when she saw him; you know her smile and hearty countenance, and eyes darting good nature, but you never saw them so called forth. We were all filled with joy unspeakable, and blessed God for the rich opportunity of loving intercourse. I immediately put into his hand your long and affectionate letter, in order that *you* might be of the party. Martyn read it in the corner of the sofa, —— sat by him, and I sat looking on: so the letter was read and the tears flowed."

And Martyn left them, never to return. On the 7th of January he embarked on board a vessel bound for Bombay; on the 16th of October, 1812, he put on a garment of immortality. We can not now narrate the history of his travels and his trials—what he did and what he suffered. There is nothing grander in the annals of Christianity, than the picture of Henry Martyn, with the Bible in hand, alone and unsupported, in a strange country, challenging the whole strength of Mahomedanism to a conflict of disputation. He seems at this time to have possessed something more than his own human power; so cool, so courageous; so bold to declare, so subtle to investigate; astonishing the Mahomedan doctors with his wisdom,—gaining the confidence of all by the gentleness of his manners and the blamelessness of his life. There is a cheerfulness of spirit predominant in the Shiraz journal—almost, indeed, are there touches of humour in it—which would lead us to think that at this period of his life he was more happy and self-possessed than he had been for many years. His victory over the Mullahs was complete; and it pleased him to think of it. In the translation of the Bible into the Persian tongue he had achieved a great work, which was a solace to him to the very hour of his death. He quitted Shiraz and new trials awaited him. Inclement weather—extremes of heat and cold alternating—weary travelling along rugged roads on ill-trained horses—little rest and bad food—every possible kind of exposure and privation, soon fevered the blood and exhausted the strength of one so sensitive as Martyn. From Shiraz to Ispahan—from Ispahan to Teheran—from Teheran to Tocat, he struggled onwards, hoping to reach his home and he did reach his home; but it was in Heaven.

And who can say what the news of his death cost the survivors. Simeon had shortly before received Martyn's picture from India. He had gone to see it, when the case was opened at the India House, and been so much affected by the sight, that the bystanders exclaimed, "That I suppose is his father?" Now the news of his son's death smote upon his heart crushingly. On Corrie the blow fell heavily indeed. David Brown did not live to feel it; he had gone to his rest a few months before. Let Thomason declare, in his own words, the anguish of his heart.

"Few," he justly and emphatically exclaimed, "have reason to mourn, individually as I have: with him I hoped to spend my days in mutual deliberation and united labour. Here in a short time he would have been fixed, and hence we neither of us would have wished to stir a foot. He has often said it to me. I fondly counted on his return full fraught with health and Arabic. On this his heart was set, though not for itself. It has pleased God to remove him to the rest for which he

had been panting, and from which nothing but the love of his work here would willingly have detained him. With his presence in Calcutta, the Persian and Arabic versions would have proceeded with spirit; he was so eminently qualified with all needful endowments for a good translator. The great Head of the Church lives, that is our consolation. I have learnt more than ever what that scripture means, 'cease ye from man, whose breath is in his nostrils.'" "We are deeply wounded," he writes in another letter; 'His walk was so grand, his labours so important, his attainments so rare! O how fondly we counted upon his future labours! how the heart leaped for joy at the thought of Martyn's successful career in Persia, and hoped for return to Calcutta.....Often have our petitions been offered up at our social meetings for his preservation and success Once especially the conversation at table was wholly engrossed with Martyn, and the prayers which followed were unusually fervent. The very next day we heard of the termination of his career....No event within my recollection has filled me with so much sorrow, and caused so hard a conflict between faith and unbelief."

And here for the present we must pause. We are approaching a new and momentous epoch in the history of the Anglican Church in the East. We are coming close upon the Episcopal period. Another chapter may well be devoted to the later annals of established religion in India; at all events we can not embrace them in this We would wish what we have written to be regarded as little more than a series of rapid biographical sketches—a collection of hastily executed portraits, not of the soldiers of Christ in the great world of Oriental Heathendom, but of one special band, limited in numbers and perhaps in influence, which we could in no words more fittingly describe than as that of the "Simeonites in the East." We claim for them no exclusive merits. We write not of them as men who were the only labourers in the great field which we have,. in some sort, endeavoured to explore. We make and we invite no comparisons. We speak of our heroes simply as they were, so many links in the great chain of Christian brotherhood which includes the names of holy men of all denominations. We have niches reserved in our gallery for those of whom the University calendars and the East-India Register have alike taken no account—who have never preached before a Governor-General or touched the Company's coin. There are niches, we say, reserved for them, and we trust that they will soon be filled.

ART. II.—1. *Asiatic Researches, vols.* 1—20, *4to. London and Calcutta,* 1799—1836.

2. *Gleanings in Science,* 3 *vols.* 4*to. Calcutta,* 1829—31.

3. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,* 16 *vols.* 8*vo. Calcutta,* 1832—48.

4. *Calcutta Journal of Natural History,* 7 *vols.* 8*vo. Calcutta,* 1840—48.

5. *Transactions of the Literary Societies of Madras and Bombay.*

6. *Summary of the Geology of Southern India, by Capt. Newbold, parts* 1, 2 *and* 3. *London,* 8*vo.*

7. *Transactions of the Geological Society. 2d series.*

THE demand for geological information is rapidly on the increase. In the infancy of the science, when it was the fashion to begin at the wrong end, and dream about causes, when little or nothing was known of appearances, cautious men—or the majority of them—eschewed the cosmogony mongers, and were content to take the world as they found it. The splendid theories of the last century had their admirers—and there were notable men among them; but the genius of science has ever been in the long run, conservative of the well-known, and obstructive to the spread of fancies; so that whatever may have been the temporary triumph of new hypotheses, they have all in their turn been dropped which had no basis in facts. Thus we find that so long as geologists sought for theories first, and facts afterwards, it was the way with their neighbours to laugh at them, as philosophers who could make a world to their liking, and yet not know what it was made of. If this ridicule was carried too far, and applied to men and books now honoured among us; it is only what has always happened when doctrines clashing with the prejudices or the faith of the masses, have been reared on a mixed foundation of truth and error, the error apparent or soon found out, the truth perhaps lurking in the envelope of fancy to which it has given birth, as the chrysalis lies hid in its web of gold. But though great minds may often make a wrong use of truth, it is never thrown away in their hands. They may build bad houses of their materials, but when they fall, if fall they must, the industry spent in digging among the ruins is sure to find that all is not rubbish, if it do not collect wherewith to found a new and lasting structure, in the rearing of which, too, many of the plans and principles of the former archi-

tect, retain their original value. And it will contribute not a little to our admiration of the first great masters of geology, if we look at the principles of the science as now established, and see how much they owe to the ruins of the grand hypotheses which went before. We have no Wernerians, no Huttonians now, but had Werner and Hutton never lived, it is very likely that we should have been even now more in the dark than they. We have retained their facts, and an invaluable store they have been—but what is of still greater consequence, we have adopted much of their habits of observation—and with certain restrictions—their habits of reasoning. Their authority is still received with the greatest deference, and in certain matters of the highest importance, has never been shaken by subsequent research.

Still it was only when the theories of Werner and Hutton were on the decline, that the geologists could justly claim exemption from ridicule. But the trammels of pre-assumed belief once cast off, further progress was easy. Men, from surmising what might have happened before Adam, learned to look about them, and observe facts which might in the end make theorizing a business of profit. Geology was now a science, and for a time strictly the science of observation. The world-makers became earth-students, and it is impossible not to be struck with the splendid results which have attended the investigations of the past half century; during which men have given up trusting to their imaginations, as good for laying hold of truth, and resorted to that homely apparatus which God has given each of us for the study of His works, a good pair of eyes. How little was known of the "earth's crust," when the first mineralogist of his day compared the structure of our planet's surface to the concentric coats of an onion! And yet there are some among us who remember the time when this whimsical notion was thought to be supported, not only by probability but by something more. And when it was pointed out by certain people who used their eyes, that the strata were anything but continuous all over the globe—it was thought a sufficient answer to say, that the onion, though originally perfect, had been damaged by keeping. But the times are changed, and the aggregate amount of industry and sagacity that in the last fifty years has been employed in the simple study of the rocks, is a great fact in the history of the science, and one which could not fail of producing the most brilliant results. For, in this child-like study of nature, have been engaged many of the greatest minds of our time,—men capable, if so disposed, of elaborating theories up to any required degree of magnificence, from the materials they found in their own heads; but men who happily preferred

to work in the quarry first; and defer until afterwards the indulgence of any hankering they might possess after playing the architect. The excursive genius of a Leibnitz or a Werner, the delight of their disciples and the wonder of all, led these great teachers through every region of fancy—to lead them back—little the wiser for their airy travels;—the excursiveness of our Humboldts and our Lyells, and an emulating host of fellow-labourers; has carried them bodily from one end of the earth to the other, and guided them home laden with *truths*, the meat and drink of science, and the only diet she has ever been found to fatten upon. But it is not the Geological travellers, although their labours may seem more to challenge our admiration, who monopolize all the honours. The labourers at home, the men who since the days of William Smith, in England, Germany, France, America, have ransacked their own native hills and dales—some of them great men in their way—some merely obscure collectors—scientific hodmen, content to drudge and let others plan so long as the building rose the faster—let us not forget these. All alike have been working to some purpose, as in their researches from day to day they have come in contact with an endless variety of wondrous yet simple truths, which if rightly understood, may in some measure be said to preclude the necessity of theoretical conjecture—and to make the physical history of our planet during the countless ages of its existence, a historic tale. The Geological Society of London, founded in 1807, was the external embodiment of the principles of the reformed science. The founders of that institution adopted the words of Lord Bacon, in inviting "those to join them as the true sons of science, who have a desire and a determination, not so much to adhere to things already discovered, and to use them, as to push forward to further discoveries; and to conquer nature, not by disputing an adversary but by labor, and who finally, do not indulge in beautiful and probable speculation, but endeavour to attain certainty in their knowledge."* And no one can say that the body has not acted up to this enunciation of its legitimate object. And not only have the Geologists of England been true to the escutcheon of their society, but their example has been followed by all Europe, to the raising up of a host of sober enquirers after truth, in schools which had been once most noted for their speculativeness.

* Quod si cui mortalium cordi et curæ sit, non tantum inventis hærere, atque iis uti, sed ad ulteriora penetrare; atque non disputando adversarium, sed opere naturam vincere; denique non belle et probabiliter opinari, sed certo et ostensive scire; tales, tanquam veri scientiarum filii, nobis (si videbitur) adjungant.

Novum Organum, Prafatio.

No one will suppose, however, that the study of the earth at the present day, is a study of dry details. If speculation was once the bane of our science, it was only while it was antecedent to observation; the value of the theory is as well understood in Geology as in any other department of human learning—and here as elsewhere has it well played its part as the most effectual incentive to the pursuit of knowledge, and the strongest impulse to its diffusion. How strongly is the value of a theory, not abused, illustrated by the career of the philosophic Lyell! How invaluable the array of facts which this great teacher has marshalled in support of his doctrine that the former changes of the earth's surface have been produced by causes similar in kind and energy to those now in operation! Supposing that these facts had not served their purpose, they would still be as available as ever for the purposes of general science; the conclusions might be modified, even abandoned, but the premises would remain. And this is only one instance of the value of a well-used theory, among a multitude which Geology furnishes. Some have served their uses and are forgotten; others have yet a mission to fulfil, which accomplished, their days will end; while a third class, not only work for the advancement of truth, but have in themselves the elements of undying truth. Of the latter, for example, is the celebrated doctrine of Buffon, "that the present mountains and valleys of the earth are due to secondary causes, and that the same causes will in time destroy all the continents, hills and valleys, and produce others like them." Now the principle involved in this is as well established as the Copernican system, and it would be difficult to find a Geological argument into which it does not in some shape enter. Yet it was this opinion that Buffon was compelled by the Sorbonne to recant. Allied to this, is the Geological doctrine which makes the age of our planet much greater than the world has been accustomed to assign to it. We here approach a subject on which it will be necessary for us to dwell at some length. The doctrine in question, is one now universally received among those who are informed on the matters which it concerns, although they may arrive at their conviction by different roads. It is one, however, which never fails to startle those for whose acceptance it is for the first time offered; and it has been so often and so grievously misrepresented, that we cannot be content with its simple enunciation. It will not be supposed that we mean to enter into the whole question of the connection of Geology with Revelation—to insist on the points in which they agree, or even to reconcile all their apparent discrepancies; for we have not yet been able to persuade ourselves that man has already attained a sufficient

mastery of science, human and divine, to entitle him to pronounce between what is here irreconcileable in the very nature of things, and what may only be made to appear so by his ignorance Bacon tells us that—" as no perfect view of a country can be taken upon a flat, so it is impossible to discover the remote and deep parts of any science, by standing upon the level of the same science or without ascending to a higher;"—and we may suppose that He only who stands on the highest point of all, who is the Author and Head of all science, can behold all things linked together, in that unity which belongs to universal truth.

But if it be presuming too much upon our humble powers to expect that we can at once explain away all the seeming discrepancies between our revealed and our acquired knowledge—there is an opposite extreme which is surely worse than presumption. They go to this extreme who demand that a revelation whose professed object has an importance inconceivably above the inculcation of purely physical truth, shall describe nature as they would describe her—relate the history of the creation as they would relate it. They too are more than presumptuous, who are so confident in their own powers of observation and induction, that they are willing to look upon human science as all in all—and who think they need no heaven-lit beacon to guide their course over the waste of speculation. We want no observer of nature to try his *facts*—if he will prove them facts—by any test to be found in the Bible; we grant every license to induction—to speculation—that can possibly serve the ends of true philosophy. But until it can be shewn that man requires no light from above, which, Prometheus-like, he cannot himself snatch down; until it can be proved that human science can bring us nearer to our Maker than the Bible brings us—that it can provide us with better moral laws, better motives, better hopes than the Bible holds out to us—that if in short it takes away the Bible it can give us something more suited to our wants;—till then we have a right to demand of the student of nature that he at least keep the Bible in view; and if he be unable to prize the book as a treasure, that he respect it as a guide. It may teach him little about what many may think of paramount importance, but it will at least keep him from much error, if he cares for that. The two paths of sacred and of human knowledge, are distinct enough; but though not identical they are parallel, and the man who wishes to keep to the latter, though he may not care to travel the former; will do well to have its well marked hedgerows before his eyes, and if he once find himself branching off at right angles from this, narrow way, he had better suspect the road he is upon.

When we remember that we are not writing in a Christian country, nor yet in a country where Geology is much studied or talked about—we feel that we need make no apology for expressing ourselves on this important subject in a manner which will vindicate our orthodoxy, both Biblical and Geological. We would carefully avoid every appearance of evil; and as in this and future articles we may have occasion to indicate our belief in a cosmogony apparently, but not really, irreconcileable with the Mosaic, we would once for all avoid being misunderstood, either by Christian or Hindu.

Astronomy gives us no positive evidence regarding the antiquity of our planet, of the system to which it belongs, nor of the sidereal universe in the contemplation of which our system is lost in insignificance. The astronomer may calculate his long recurring periods, but he may not verify his calculations by the records of the past—for events gone by are unrecorded in sidereal space. He may see "no traces of a beginning, no prospect of an end," may be unwilling to believe that what has boundless space for its theatre is limited by comparatively meagre periods of time; but however improbable that there should be this disproportion, the study of the heavens gives us no positive chronology to remove the perplexity, nothing but vague conjecture, ending in uncertainty more painful to dwell upon than the incongruity itself. But if the motions of the heavenly bodies have left no traces behind them, it is not so with the events which have marked the history of our globe. Every one of them has left its memorials; stupendous or trivial, all the operations of nature have had their records. Some of these records, subsequent changes have obliterated; but so vast is the store of the archives preserved, that we may well defer our regrets for what is lost, until we have explored and decyphered what is extant.

We look then to Geology for positive information regarding the history of our planet. And what is the sort of information given? And here it may be said, that if the study of the heavens reveals to us regions of space which if they be not infinite are best expressed as such; so the study of the earth's strata forces the mind to accept periods of duration which are inconceivable in themselves, and can only be vaguely indicated by a reference to the unmeasured space of the astronomer. Into the grounds on which such a conclusion is based, we can hardly be expected to enter at length here, although they may be shadowed forth incidentally in the course of our article. They are well understood by the Geologist; the tyro in the science can comprehend them, and yet they are not to be laid down to advantage in a few pages of our Review. A little knowledge on this

subject is hardly worth having, and those who do not understand it and yet wish to do so, can find what they want in any of the popular treatises on the science. It is sufficient then that we repeat our belief in another form. It is this. The idea that all the changes which have been produced on the surface of our planet have occurred during the past six thousand years, is found to be totally out of the question, when we examine with the slightest care, the records of her operations which nature has preserved in every quarter of the globe. And when we are once set loose from the thraldom of conventional ideas, we shall find that, the barrier being once past, the mind expands freely in the boundless field it has entered—and that less violence is done to probability by a chronology which assigns millions of years to the upheaval of a continent, than by that which would crowd the history of all the races that have lived on our planet, and all the mighty revolutions that have altered its surface, into the space of sixty centuries. And yet so far from affording the slightest countenance to any idea of the eternity of matter, the whole tendency of geological proof is to point to a commencement. It is from the study of the stratified rocks and the organic remains which they contain, that we derive this belief in the vast antiquity of the earth. But the same study tells us that these strata and these organisms had their beginning. Enormous as is the thickness of the sedimentary rocks, yet they form but an insignificant portion even of the crust of the globe. It is true that as far back as the study of the strata leads us, so far can we trace the history of our planet and refer the results, of which we find the chronicles, to laws now in operation. But our science can go no further. We know in a certain sense, that is relatively, when vegetable and animal life began in their rude forms; we seem to know even when the deposition of rocks from water began, but the rest is hopelessly beyond our grasp. It is true that the conformation of the earth, with which we are all familiar, may seem to warrant a notion of its former fluidity, but this is a notion only, and is likely ever to remain so. We have indeed seen a philosophy which would go still further—resolve our supposed fluid into a vapor, and tell us how globes were produced by the spontaneous gyrations of a universal fire-mist; but we have lived to see such philosophy as this disposed of by the resolution of the nebulæ which gave it birth. The nebular theory—the most splendid physical hypothesis of modern times, has been the most unfortunate. Unlike some theories which have perished from neglect, it has had the support of our Herschells, our Nichols, our Humboldts—and all in vain. It has been killed by no force of reasoning—but fairly hunted down by those

celestial sharp shooters, who perch themselves in Astronomical observatories. Driven ingloriously from one corner of the heavens to the other, dispossessed of each stronghold in succession, we saw it last entrenched under the shelter of Orion, where for a little time it seemed to brave the artillery of its assailants. But a piece of ordnance was preparing, destined to knock this refuge about its ears, and turn it once more adrift upon the celestial world. While we write, a London Journal tells us that the nebula of Orion has been resolved by a telescope mounted at the observatory of Cambridge in America. The theory has still one last shelter left, behind the nebula of Andromeda—let us leave it there in peace for the rest of its few and evil days.

Passing by then, the nebular theory, which after all is not necessarily antagonistic to natural or revealed religion, since it in no way asserts the self-existence of matter, but merely pretends that we can trace its history back to the time of its creation—let us return to *terra firma*. Of all that Geology teaches us, we find no truth more ultimate than that so sublimely declared on the first page of revelation—"*In the beginning God created the heaven and the earth.*" And here we come to the point. When was this beginning? Turn to the New Testament—"*In the beginning was the Word*"—when was *this* beginning? Of one and the other we can only assert that they were. *God is the creator of all*—this simple but sublime truth once announced—the Author of all our knowledge instructs no further where further curiosity would be presumption. But regarding what more immediately concerns ourselves we have fuller information. There is a blank between the brief *prefatory* announcement of the *first creation of matter out of nothing*, and the more expanded though still succinct notice of the *preparation of the world for the reception of our species*,—a blank, we might reverently assert, consistent with the whole plan of the Book of Revelation, which is alone a history of the dealings of God with his intelligent creatures. It was in accordance with this plan that we should be told that He *created* the heaven and the earth, that we should be made acquainted with the events which fitted the earth for our habitation; but until it can be shewn that what we call science is necessary to the reconciliation of man with his Maker, let us not be surprized at a reserve which withheld a positive revelation regarding physical changes which had no bearing on our highest interests—or the existence of successive tribes of plants and animals whose life and death could in no way concern the one great object of the book. Let us then, instead of demanding more, be thankful that we have so much; that our curiosity has been in some measure gratified, when all might

have been left to conjecture. The more we study the Bible, the more we are impressed with that unity of design, which is so apparent from beginning to end. Compare it with the repositories of other creeds, the Vedas, the Koran, the Zendavesta, —how many deviations from purpose in these, if purpose they ever had ;—how many childish exhibitions of false science—how much hopeless struggling after physical and moral truth—how much that is meant for philosophy, practically good for nothing, and sublime, only because presumptuous and unintelligible! But from Alpha to Omega the Bible is the same, a revelation from Heaven for a certain purpose, and that purpose never once lost sight of. There is nothing to lead astray, for the tendency is only in one direction—nowhere do we find some new and tempting path struck out, to lead the traveller a little way into some wilderness of human knowledge and there leave him to shift for himself ; the path is a narrow one, and no one who trod it with eye fixed on the goal, ever yet lost his way.

We repeat it then, the Bible is not a scientific treatise, and it is inconsistent with its declared purpose that it should be so. Let it be supposed for a moment that such a book had been intended ; what must have been its character ? We meet now and then with persons who will not believe the Bible, because it does not treat subjects scientifically, that is, in accordance with our notions of science. Show us, they say, a revelation from Heaven whose Astronomy is unexceptionable, and we will believe that. But let us ask—what sort of sympathy would the men to whom the first books of Moses were delivered, or by far the greater part of mankind ever since, have had with our modern sceptic? How were *their* minds prepared to receive so much of Astronomy as would have given them a tolerable idea of our own system, leaving celestial space out of the question ? Let any one try and explain the Copernican philosophy to a tribe of Bedouins, or to the uneducated classes even of civilized countries, and he will be able to answer our question. The real truth is, that the Bible has *no system*, properly so called, of Astronomy at all. It simply makes an occasional passing allusion to obvious Astronomical phenomena, in popular language intelligible to the whole world, and solely for moral or religious ends. But if we are entitled to demand a scientific Revelation, the Astronomer is only one out of a hundred who have a right each to call for an exposition of his own peculiar science. And each of these treatises, to vindicate its divine origin, would be expected to present nature—not as she appears to us, nor as she will appear to more enlightened posterity; it would have to inculcate ultimate truth, exhaust its subject, leave nothing unrevealed, lest

human science should unveil it and then assert its superiority to the divine.

The ancient Greeks had no mean opinion of their Astronomy, and had the New Testament gratified their vanity by endorsing the notions most current at the time of its appearance, we should have seen them welcoming a book, which together with its other claims to be considered a revelation from God, professed to give the divine sanction to their imperfect philosophy. And as those who call Christianity an invention, are considerate enough to admit that it is a very ingenious one; will they explain to us why they who contrived it, should have left out the very part of the trick most essential to its success? Paul surely knew enough of the Greeks and their philosophy, to see where was their weakest point. And we suppose it will not be denied that he had the ingenuity, if he had chosen, to have concocted a *rifacimento* of the physical science of the day, such as it was, that would have secured him the highest popularity among the wise men of Athens. His sermon on Mars hill would have then found an admiring audience, and "certain philosophers of the Epicureans and of the Stoicks" might have been his first converts. The word of God would no longer have been, "to the Greeks foolishness." Christianity would have obtained her earliest triumph at the great seat of human learning. What mortal teacher unaided by heaven could have resisted temptations like these, or what impostor would have neglected so sure a means of ensnaring his victims?

Now as the men of Athens, so ready to hear some new thing, would probably have embraced Christianity, had it come before them with the *prestige* of their own philosophy, so it is likely that the scientific sophist of the present day would be satisfied if the Bible presented him with a sketch of the physical history of the universe, as complete as that to be found in Humboldt's *Kosmos*. And yet what will Humboldt's *Kosmos* be to the learned of another century? A splendid monument of human science, it is true, and at the same time a lesson to human pride. The first volume has been before the world scarcely three years, and yet the improvements in our telescopes have demolished one of the author's favourite positions. And had Paul preached Humboldt's *Kosmos* to the Athenians, and had physical science, then taking its departure from the great truths there laid down, made during the past eighteen centuries a progress commensurate with what it has effected from its Pythagorean starting point; is it too much to say that our scepticism would have solid reasons for doubting the inspiration of the man, who though presenting truths, fell into many positive errors?

We are content to leave the subject here with the following quotation from Gaussen, the distinguished colleague of D'Aubigné :*

"The Scriptures are however reproached with using a language about the daily phenomena of nature, which seems to indicate ignorance, and which is incompatible with a plenary inspiration. In the words of the writers of the Bible, the sun rises, the sun sets, the sun stops in its course, while the earth remains fixed. One would rather that the Creator, in speaking to us in a book inspired by himself, had shown us more clearly that the Spirit by which the sacred historians spoke, was aware before ourselves of the rotation of the globe, its periodical revolution, and the relative immobility of the sun.

Let us then examine this reproach.

We will first ask those who utter it whether they would have had the Bible speak as Sir Isaac Newton spoke. Would they forget that if God had expressed himself regarding the scenes of nature, I do not say according to their appearance in His sight, but according as they would appear to the learned of future ages, the great Newton himself would then have comprehended nothing? Moreover the most correct scientific language, is now and ever will be after all, but the language of appearances. The visible world, is more than we are accustomed to think, a scene of illusions and phantoms. What we call reality, is in itself only an appearance, in relation to a more remote reality, a more extended analysis. In our human language, the word reality conveys no absolute meaning; it is entirely a relative term, employed only to express what we view from a new step gained in mounting the ladder from the deep abyss of our ignorance. The human eye only sees objects in two dimensions, and projects them all as on the same curtain, until touch and certain experiences have given them the reality of a third dimension, depth Colours are accidents, and belong to the objects that present them, only by reflection and illusion. The impenetrability of bodies even, their solidity, their extension, are only an appearance, and can merely be said to offer us one reality, until a better acquaintance with the object shall substitute another Who can say where this analysis shall stop, and what would be our mode of speaking of the objects most familiar to us, if we were endowed with but one sense more, with antennae for instance, like the ants and bees? The expression of appearances, provided it be exact, it then with men a language philosophically correct; and this language, the scriptures would naturally choose. Would we have the Bible speak to us concerning the scenes of nature in a language different from that which we use in our social or domestic relations with one another, different from that in which the most enlightened men would converse?"

The sagacity and the perfect reasonableness of these remarks is a fitting introduction to the practical eloquence of the following passage:—

"When Sir John Herschell directs his servants to wake him exactly at midnight to observe the passage of some star with his meridian glass, does he think it necessary to speak of the rotation of the earth, and of the moment when it shall have brought their nadir to the plane of its orbit? I think not, and if you heard him converse in the observatory at Greenwich with the learned Airy, you would see that even in this very sanctua-

* Theopneestiu on Inspiration Plénière des Saintes Ecritures. Par L. Gaussen. Deuxieme edition, revue et augmentée par l'auteur. Londres et Paris 1842.

ry of science, the habitual language of these Astronomers is still exactly like that of the scriptures. Would you then have had Moses speak to all generations of men, a language more scientific than that of La Place or Arago?"

Though all this bears directly upon Astronomy, we need not point out its application to our subject. Had the Mosaic cosmogony said too much instead of what some may choose to think too little—that is, had it contained grievous errors or palpable absurdities, such as any human invention of so remote an age most certainly would have contained; we should have been compelled to reject it as soon as our observation and experience gave the lie to its pretended revelations. Had it even committed some monstrous sin against probability only, something not easily disproved but yet very unlikely, such as a story about the hatching of a mundane egg—we could hardly have been expected to embrace it. But the sceptics can shew us nothing of the sort; they can only infer that the author was a man and an impostor, from his describing things according to their appearances. Now it is this language of *appearances* that is recognised among us as the *only* correct scientific language, and no one will have any patience with an observer who supposes what he does not see, and attempts to dive into hidden causes, and assume the existence of latent properties. We are used to make a boast, and a just one, of this strict regard for known phenomena; and to attribute to this cause, the rapid advance of physics in modern times; and to vindicate from the charge of presumption, a philosophy that is most distinguished by its stern adherence to facts. But let us ask, has not human science been nearly six thousand years in thus learning to busy itself about appearances alone? Samian and Stagyrite would have treated with contempt such matter of fact drudgery; they would ever have a great deal to do with what they did not know and could not prove. The Plinies and Strabo, who so long supplied scientific world with facts, adulterated their wares with sham facts and moonshine; while the wise men who came after them for many a century, did the same thing, only after a still more remorseless fashion. It did not suit all these good people to be tied to dame nature's apron string; the staid matron's system of education was too substantial, not giving sufficient consequence to the ornamental branches, and so we find her pupils playing the truant in tender years, and running off to schools more after their own heart, where play was mixed with study, and one pretty fancy better esteemed than a mine of unembellished truth. It is not till we get near the days of our great-grandfathers that we find people telling us in a straightforward way what they saw with their own eyes; and that the old leaven of

hypothesis, dwelt among us up to a still later day, is seen from the history of geology as referred to above. And yet the very men who smile at the fancies of our forefathers, who were after all honest philosophers according to the light they possessed, find no difficulty in believing that Moses was an impostor; although writing at that remote period of antiquity when mankind was ready to be led by the nose by every marvel-monger, he confined himself closely to appearances, has not disfigured his narrative by one single absurdity or manifest fabrication, and has spared us any human notions about the hidden causes of things, according to the true spirit of the Baconian philosophy! And if this does not look like imposition of any kind, how much less like the work of a *religious* impostor!

So much for what is undoubtedly a digression, though one not uncalled for; and while we have seen the danger of doing injustice to the subject by attempting to dispose of it in a few pages, we hope that the above remarks which seemed to lie on the very surface of the matter, will serve to suggest what may be expected from a closer study.

We have already hinted at the progress of geology, from being a curious mixture of facts and fancies, to its present condition, which is that of a science that deals in certainties and will away with no reasoning that is not inductive. The geologist of the present day, is therefore an assiduous collector of facts, and the reader will suppose that by this time the common stock of solid knowledge regarding those parts of the earth which are accessible to observation, must be tolerably extensive; and that the careful classification of these materials will have served to establish a fair number of general laws, universal in their application to every quarter of the globe. Had it been otherwise, one might have good reason to call in question the utility of a science that could make nothing out of the materials it collected. In his *Principles*, Mr. Lyell has given us a masterly view of the laws of geology in the most extensive sense of the term; that is, he has followed the laws of general physics, through their application, under every variety of condition, to the production of changes on the earth's surface. The reader will hardly expect that we shall enter into an inquiry so fascinating but yet so extensive. There are other laws, or the classifications of the science, which may be rudely sketched in a few pages; and we hardly feel that we can presume upon a sufficient degree of familiarity with the subject, especially among our native readers, to justify our jumping at once into geological details relating to India. Were the whole surface of the globe a dead level we should be pretty much in the dark about its internal structure, and it

is a fair *sequitur* that a Bengali whether indigenous or imported, who has spent all his days or the best part of them on our flat alluvial plain, will know or care very little about stratification. But besides, and there is no denying it, the whole of India is at first view geologically uninteresting. It has very high mountains certainly, but they are not a little out of the way; its rocks both stratified and unstratified are strikingly destitute of variety, and though it has turned up some highly respectable fossils, yet the richness of a few localities does not counterbalance the poverty of the country as a whole. A country without fossils, is without the strongest incentives to the study of geology. And more than this, a great part of the field is still inaccessible—during many months of the year, all of it is practically so. The votary of science is woefully restricted to time and place. He may not ramble, hammer in hand, wherever and whenever he chooses; but must always entertain a wholesome respect for sun strokes, jungle fever and the wild beasts of the forest. Tigers are believed to have no regard for science, they would eat up a geologist as soon as they would any other animal, and we can easily imagine how many a possible Lyell, has kept at home from a pardonable disinclination for martyrdom.

We will begin then at the beginning, and inform the reader that the word *rock* as used by geologists, is taken in a wider sense than obtains in common conversation. It includes, not only the indurated materials of the earth's surface but mineral masses of whatever sort, such as gravels, clays, sand and even with some writers, peat. This definition is not to be lost sight of. What is called *stratification*, or the division of rocks into layers, was observed at a very early period; but as Werner, who was the first to give due importance to this structural feature, fell in only with stratified rocks; he concluded hastily enough that all rocks had been originally stratified, and arranged in concentric layers—and he was fond of illustrating his notion by comparing the globe to an onion, as we have already said. The error however was very soon pointed out by Hutton, and one of the first sound classifications which the geologists learned to make, consisted in the division of rocks into two great classes, stratified and unstratified. Stratified rocks then, are those which are divided into layers, which are more or less parallel, and distinguished one from the other by certain peculiarities of colour, mineral composition, &c. Stratification on a small scale, may be seen anywhere along the banks of our rivers, and it is presented on a very large scale in the structure of the delta of the Ganges, which is regularly stratified to a depth of at least 480 feet, as was ascertained by the boring operation in Fort William in the years

1835-40. Stratified rocks are also called *Sedimentary*, a term which indicates their origin, in the deposition of their materials from the water which once held them in solution. We are all familiar with the quantity of earthy matter suspended in the water of the Ganges, and no one requires to be told that the river is constantly throwing down this burden on the bottom and sides of its bed. In some instances permanent *stratified* deposits are thus formed in the course of the stream; but by far the greater part of the earthy matter, though it may in its voyage down the river have entered successively into the composition of a hundred sand banks, eventually finds its way into the Bay of Bengal, and reaches a final resting place at the bottom of the sea. A moment's reflection will convince us that by this means the floor of the Bay is becoming loaded with an accumulation of sedimentary rock. It is also easy to see that this rock must be *stratified*. We know that not only the quantity but the *quality* of the sediment borne down by the stream, varies with the seasons. The annual freshes, passing over lands which are high and dry during a great part of the year; convey to the main stream, periodical accessions of sediment, whose colour and mineral character depend of course on the geologic structure of the district which each tributary drains. During the winter months the Ganges derives but little of its colouring matter from the Himalayas, but in the spring, when every mountain rill is converted into a swollen torrent, and the foot of every glacier belches forth its angry tide, the change in the colour of the mighty river is apparent to the eye, and foretells a *stratified* structure in the sediment collecting at its mouth.

But earthy matter held in solution, is far from being the only tribute paid by the Ganges to the ocean. The bosom of the noble stream is ever loaded with the remains of animal and vegetable life, and with works of human skill; many of which find their way to the sea, and are there buried in the sediment at the bottom, together with the spoils of marine plants and animals. Of these, the softer parts decay; what is more imperishable is preserved. Let us suppose then, that by whatever means, a portion of the bed of the Bay of Bengal was elevated above the surface of the water. There would thus be brought to light a series of *stratified* rocks. Whether they would be indurated or not we need not say, but it is plain that the structure would be such as we have pointed out; and further than this, they would be found to contain *fossils*, by which we generally understand, vestiges of organic life.

Now, stratified rocks, many of them fossiliferous, are found in almost every part of the world, and from studying them

carefully, geologists have arrived at the conclusion that they have all been originally deposited from water in a manner similar to that we have described. True, they are not now under water, some of them have been raised to enormous heights above the level of the sea; but yet they bear such unmistakeable evidences of their origin, such as stratified structure and the embodied remains of marine plants and animals; that it is infinitely easier to conceive of the forces that could have raised them to their present position, than to account in any other way for their regular disposition in parallel layers, still more, for the presence of their contained fossils. Did all our experience go to establish the immobility of our planet's surface, it might perhaps be fairly thought unphilosophical to imagine those mighty changes in the configuration of the earth and in the relative disposition of land and water, necessary to raise the stratified rocks from the bottom of the sea, to the heights at which we find them; but our experience has been nothing of the sort. We are all of us in India more or less familiar with earthquakes, and yet know that in other parts of the world, their violence unmeasureably surpasses anything that we are personally acquainted with. Yet even in India, and in the present century, the elevation of the Ullah Bund in Cutch during the earthquake of 1819, and the simultaneous submersion of a large tract of the adjacent country, are facts of the highest interest to the geologist, as pointing out the means by which whole continents with their mountain chains have been upheaved from the bed of the ocean. A consideration of this branch of geological dynamics, however, falls out of the range which our limited space will allow us; and we must refer the reader who cares to become better acquainted with it, to Mr. Lyell's work already cited. That such upheavals have occurred on the most stupendous scale in India, will be seen when we come hereafter to consider the height at which beds of marine shells occur in the Himalayas.

There is however one important distinction between the fossiliferous strata now accumulating at the mouths of rivers, and along their banks; and most of those which have emerged from their original position to appear in the shape of dry land. The former, it is plain, must be rich in the vestiges of man and his works. Of the thousands of human corpses that annually float down the Ganges, a certain proportion may be supposed to find their way to the sea, where their bones, set free by the decay of the softer parts, sink to the bottom and are soon covered up with sediment; while works of human industry, from the rude cocoanut *hookah* of the native to the huge framework of the lost Indiaman, all find a common tomb in these yet submarine strata.

Now it may be asserted generally, that none of the fossiliferous rocks that go to form our present continents and islands, have ever afforded a single human relic, nor is it at all likely that any such remains will ever be found in these rocks.* If men lived and died on the earth, and left nothing but their bones behind them, the fact that no human bones have yet been found in a fossil state, when the remains of birds and even insects, much more liable to destruction, have been beautifully preserved; would render it very improbable to say the least, that man existed at all on the earth when these strata were being deposited. But man cannot exist even in his most savage state without surrounding himself with a variety of useful implements, and weapons of the ruder sort; many of which are less subject to decay than even the shelly coverings of marine mollusks. Such are the stone hatchets and arrow-heads of the savages of Oceanica and the tribes of the New World. Thinly scattered as were the tribes that once roamed over the Atlantic States, the terror of the Puritan settlers of New England, and the protectors of honest William Penn—they have not passed away from the face of the earth without leaving a vestige behind them. The New England ploughboy often picks up the flint that armed the shaft of the Indian hunter, and the curious antiquarian finds perpetuated every where, abundant memorials of these extinct people. Not so the geologist as he explores the fossiliferous strata, with eye ready to fasten itself upon the minutest relic, and practised in discriminating between the most closely allied forms of animal organization. Through the whole immense series of formations, the thickness of which will be presently explained, he finds nothing to remind him of the presence of man; but in their stead, many new and strange acquaintances.

For it is something more than the absence of any traces of man, and his works, that distinguishes the rocks of which the geologist is immediately cognizant from those which we suppose to be accumulating in present hydrographical basins. The study of the strata tells us that not only is man a late arrival on our planet but that his servants, his companions, and his enemies of the brute

* The *homo diluvii testis* of Scheuchzer, was declared by Cuvier to be an overgrown Salamander.

Some human skeletons were found in Guadaloupe a number of years ago, embedded in a limestone beach and accompanied by broken kettles and other implements. This fact attracted much attention, till it was shown that the rock in which the bones occur is forming daily—and, which settles the matter with the geologist, that the associated shells are all of them *recent.—See Lyell's Principles.*

Other discoveries of human remains have met with the same fate. One of the latest was made in America in 1846. Mr. Lyell visited the place where the bone was found, and satisfied himself that it belonged to a recent deposit. His views were given in a letter to the *Times.—Year Book of Facts*, 1847, pp. 267.

creation—the vegetation that shelters, and nourishes him—that all these are only the last link in a series of God's works, that has covered our planet with life and verdure, through ages that can only be numbered by Him whose day is a thousand years. The vast thickness of the fossiliferous rocks will be seen hereafter. Throughout the whole of their extent they are loaded with animal and vegetable relics, by far the greater number of which are of species now extinct. Lying uppermost, and bearing but an insignificant proportion to the whole mass, are the strata which contain the bones of the mastodon—an animal allied to the elephant; of which human records make no mention, although its bones are found in great profusion both in the Old and the New World. A probable cotemporary with the mammoth, was the *sivatherium*, whose remains were brought to light by Cautley and Falconer, and which formed a connecting link between two orders of animals, the ruminantia and pachydermata, which Zoology had long learned to separate. Facts like these are remarkable enough in themselves, for Zoological classifications though seemingly arbitrary, are founded on laws which are well proved to be strictly followed by the existing races of animals. But the mastodon and sivatherium stand only in the near foreground of this marvellous retrospective-view of the ancient earth and its inhabitants. They can only be said to excite curiosity, but as we look further back, curiosity passes into wonder and amazement. One strange variety conducts us to another still more strange; then come grotesque anomalies in rapid succession, until we at last arrive at monstrosity itself in forms that seem to justify all the extravagance of the pictures one may see in Chinese books of Zoology. And the vegetable kingdom vies with the animal in setting at defiance the analogies of the existing order of things. Accustomed as we are to look on our earth and its brute inhabitants as made for man alone, the pride of our species is not a little humbled by the startling conclusion to which the study of the fossiliferous strata leads us, that our appearance on the stage is only an affair of yesterday, and that the chief actors in our planet's history have been our humbler fellow-creatures.

The science of Palæontology consists in the application of the principles of comparative anatomy and botany to the *study* of those *ancient beings*, whose remains are preserved to us in the fossiliferous rocks. The Palæontologist collects and classifies the relics of organic life which are yielded by the earth's crust, and so studies the history of the races which they represent. He is also enabled from the study of the fossils of any particular rock, to assign to that rock its place in the ascending or

descending scale of fossiliferous strata. If the sedimentary beds that have been accumulating at the mouth of the Ganges for the past two or three centuries, were by any means whatever, raised above the level of the sea, and so made accessible to investigation; it would be an easy matter to distinguish between the lowest, and therefore oldest, and the uppermost and consequently newest beds, by the embedded *fossils* of each. The former would contain nothing to shew that a foreign nation had obtained a footing in Bengal; but proceeding upwards we should probably soon fall in with the remains of some sunken bark, buried in strata that were laid down at about the time when the enterprize of "the adventurers" was first attracted to these fertile plains. Higher still we should find wrecks increasing in frequency, and the gradual growth of the exotic population of Bengal would have its indications, scanty perhaps but yet unmistakeable, in the presence of articles of European manufacture among the indigenous spoils of the sacred stream. Here and there a heap of long-forgotten treasure would recal the tale of some lost treasure ship, and the strata of last year would bring to light the hapless trophies of Meani. Relics like these would be highly valued by the antiquarian, who would be able to pronounce in a great many cases on the age of any individual relic, and consequently on that of the stratum in which it was found. The Palæontologist is the geological antiquarian, who labours however under this disadvantage, that he has not the independent testimony of history to serve as his guide, or to ratify his conclusions. His chronology then is not absolute but relative, he knows the order in which one form of life succeeded another, but he cannot count the centuries back, and speak, though but approximatively, as to dates. Yet his labours are to some purpose, for it has been established by ample experience, that the Palæontologist can pronounce with certainty on the relative age of a rock, by an inspection of its contained fossils, provided you give him a tolerable number of specimens to judge from.

One of the most important services which Werner rendered to geology, was the introduction of the principle of arranging rocks not according to their composition, but their respective ages. Relative position in a perpendicular series is obviously an infallible test for age when it can be obtained. It is easy enough when we find a certain number of strata, resting on another, in a given locality to say which is the oldest and which the most recent. The same may be done regarding fifty individual series of beds, and yet regarding any two of these series taken in different parts of the globe no one shall say which is the

older. Thus geologists have long seen the necessity of a common standard to which any rock, whatever its locality, may be referred, and this they have obtained by supposing all the fossiliferous strata on the earth's surface to be arranged in a perpendicular series of *groups*, each of which has its own peculiar fossils. The following is an enumeration of the fossiliferous rocks in the order of their succession. The classification is that of Mr. Lyell:*

TABLE

Showing the Order of Superposition, or Chronological Succession, of the Principal European Groups of Fossiliferous Strata.

Periods and Groups.		Names of the principal Members and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.		Some of the Localities where the formation occurs.
I. Post-Pliocene Period.	A. Recent.	Marine. (*a*) Consolidated and sandy beds; (*b*), hard calcareous sandstones, inclosing corals, shells, pottery, and human skeletons; (*c*), coral limestone, consisting of corals, shell, &c.	Freshwater (*d*) Peat, with freshwater shells, bones of land animals, human remains, and works of art; (*e*) *Travertin*, calcareous deposits from mineral springs	*a.* Newer part of delta of Rhone, in the Mediterranean. *b.* Shore of Island of Guadaloupe. *c.* Newer part of coral reefs in Pacific, &c. *d.* Kinnordy, Forfarshire; Solway Moss. *e.* Tivoli, and other parts of Italy.
	B. Post-Pliocene.	(*a*) Clay, sand, and volcanic tuff, with shells of recent species; (*b*), limestone, with casts of recent shells. *Boulder formation*, (*c*), sand and clay, with erratics.	(*d*) Sand, clay, and lignites, with shells and fish scales. *Shell marl* of Scotland (*e*), with shells and freshwater plants, and masses of solid limestone. *Loess of the Rhine* (*f*) Silt, with land and freshwater shells.	*a.* Ischia. *b.* Cuba. *c.* Scandinavia; mud cliffs of Norfolk; and Beauport, Canada. *d.* Mundesley. *e.* Bakie, Forfarshire. *f.* Valley of Rhine.
		The Post-Pliocene deposits, including the Recent, are for the most part concealed under existing seas and lakes.		

* Elements, Ch. XXVI. Many of the words here used will seem harsh and arbitrary enough. Lias and Wealden, for instance, are English provincialisms which have made their way into the terminology of the science, and are now generally understood. The *Silurian* system was so named by Sir R. Murchison who first described it; because it is well developed in the ancient British kingdom of the Silures. The terms *Eocene*, *Miocene*, *Pliocene* and *Post Pliocene*, have a far less arbitrary signification, which will be found fully explained in Chap. 12 of Lyell's elements.

Periods and Groups.		Names of the principal Members and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.		Some of the Localities where the Formation occurs.
II. Tertiary Period.	C. Newer Pliocene.	(*a*) Loam, with marine shells; (*b*), limestone and calcareous conglomerate.	(*c*) Strata of loam, sand, and gravel, with fresh water shells and bones of extinct quadrupeds.	*a.* Glasgow. *b.* Sicily. *c.* Brentford, &c., Valley of Thames.
		A large majority of the shells of recent species.		
	D. Older Pliocene.	*Norwich Crag.*—(*a*) Shelly sand and loam, with marine shells and bones of land animals. *Subapennine beds.*—(*b*) Yellow sand and blue clay.	(*c*) Sand, with freshwater shells.	*a.* Postwick, Norwich. *b.* Sub-apennines, Italy. *c.* Postwick, Norwich.
		Half, or more than half, the shells usually of recent species.		
	E. Miocene.	*Red Crag.*—(*a*) Red ferruginous quartzose sand, with rolled shells. *Coralline Crag.*—(*b*) White calcareous sand, passing into a soft stone, with comminuted coral and shells. *Faluns of the Loire.*—(*c*) Similar aggregates and marl. *Bordeaux beds.*—(*d*) Argillaceous and marly deposits.	(*e*) Blue clay and yellow sand, with mammalian bones and freshwater shells; (*f*), beds similar to *d*, with land and freshwater shells.	*a.* Suffolk. *b.* Orford, Suffolk. *c.* Valley of the Loire, near Nantes, Angers, Tours, and Blois. *d.* Bordeaux and Dax. *e.* Upper Val d'Arno. *f.* Saucats, 12 miles south of Bordeaux.
		About one-fourth of the species of shells recent.		
	F. Eocene.	*London clay.*—(*a*) Clay and sand. *Calcaire grossier.*—(*b*) Coarse limestone.	*Calcaire siliceux.*—(*c*) Siliceous limestone, siliceous millstone green, white, and gypseous marls and gypsum.	*a.* London and Hampshire basins. *b.* Paris basin. *c* Paris basin; Isle of Wight.
		Species of shells, almost without exception, extinct.		

Periods and Groups.	Names of the principal Members and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.	Some of the Localities where the Formation occurs.
II. SECONDARY PERIOD. G.	1. *Maestricht Beds.*—(*a*) Soft yellowish-white limestone, resembling chalk, with siliceous masses; (*b*), aggregate of corals; (*c*), *Baculite limestone* marine).	*a.* St. Peter's Mount, Maestricht; Ciply, near Mons. *b.* Faxoe, Denmark. *c.* Valognes, Normandy.
	2. *Chalk with flints* (marine).	
	3. Chalk without flints, and chalk-marl (marine).	
	4. *Upper green sand* (marine).—Marly stone, and sand with green particles; layers of calcareous sandstone.	North and South Downs, and parts of the intervening Weald of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.
	5. *Gault* (marine).—Blue clay with numerous fossils passing into calcareous marl in the lower parts.	Yorkshire, North of Ireland.
	6. *Lower greensand* (marine).—Grey, yellowish, and greenish sands, ferruginous sands and sandstones, clays, cherts, and siliceous limestones.	Beauvais, France.
Wealden Group. H.	1. *Wéald Clay*, (freshwater),—Clay for the most part without intermixture of calcareous matter, sometimes including thin beds of sand and shelly limestone.	
	2. *Hastings sands* (freshwater).—Grey, yellow, and reddish-brown sands, sandstones, clays, calcareous grits passing into limestone.	1, 2. Extensively developed in the central parts of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.
	3. *Purbeck beds* (freshwater).—Various kinds of limestones and marls.	3. Isle of Purbeck, in Dorsetshire.

Periods and Groups.		Names of the Principal Members and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.	Some of the Localities where the Formation occurs.
III. Secondary Period—*continued.*	I. Oolite, or Jura Limestone Group.	1. *Portland beds* (marine).—Coarse shelly limestone, fine-grained white limestone, compact limestone—all more or less of an oolitic structure; beds of chert.	Isle of Portland, Tisbury in Wiltshire, Aylesbury.
		2. *Kimmeridge clay* (marine)—Blue and greyish-yellow slaty clay, containing gypsum, bituminous slate (Kimmeridge coal).	Near Kimmeridge, on coast of Dorsetshire; Sunning Well, near Oxford.
		3. *Coral rag* (marine).—Calcareous shelly freestones, largely oolitic; coarse limestone, full of corals; yellow sands; calcareous siliceous grits.	Headington near Oxford, Farringdon, in Berkshire; Calne and Steeple Ashton in Wiltshire; Somersetshire.
		4. *Oxford clay* (marine)—Dark blue tenacious clay, with septaria, bituminous shale, sandy limestone (Kelloway rock), iron pyrites, gypsum.	New Malton, in Yorkshire, —Lincolnshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire and Midland counties abundantly near Oxford; Somersetshire, Dorsetshire.
		5. *(a) Cornbrash* (marine).—Grey or bluish rubbly limestone, separated by layers of clay.	*a.* Malmsbury, Atford, Wraxall, Chippenhall.
		(b) Forest marble (marine).—Calcareo-siliceous sand and gritstone; thin fissile beds of limestone, with clay partings; coarse shelly limestone.	*b.* Whichwood Forest, Oxfordshire; Fromé, south east of Bath.
		6. *(a) Great oolite* (marine).—White and yellow oolitic calcareous freestone, coarse shelly limestone, layers of clay.	*a.* Bath; Burford, in Oxfordshire; Bradford, in Wiltshire.

Periods and Groups.	Names of the principal Members and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.	Some of the Localities where the Formation occurs.
	I. *b. Stonesfield slate.* — Oolitic limestone, with remains of and animals, birds, amphibia, plants, sea-shells.	*b.* Stonesfield, near Woodstock, Oxfordshire.
	γ. Fuller's earth clay (marine). — Clay, containing in some places fuller's earth.	Near Bath.
	δ. *Inferior oolite* (marine). —Soft freestone sand, with calcareous concretions.	Cotteswold Hills; Dundry Hill, near Bristol.
id.	Limestones of various qualities, clays, sands, and sandstone, containing the same fossils as those occurring in the series of the oolitic group of England, constitute the main body of the Jura chain of mountains, and cover vast tracts of country in Germany.	
SECONDARY PER. Lias Group.	K. *Lias* (marine),—Shale and sandy marlstone. Blue, white, and yellow earthy limestone, usually in thin beds, interstratified with clay, often slaty and bituminous.	Lyme Regis, in Dorsetshire, and in many parts of Somersetshire, Yorkshire. In France, as at Metz, and to a considerable extent in Germany, as in the Swabian Jura.
New Red Sandstone Group.	L. 1. (*a*) (*Keuper, or variegated marls.*—Red, grey, green, blue, and white marls, sandstones, conglomerates, and shales, containing gypsum and rock-salt. (*b*) *Bone bed.*—Dark coloured limestone, with remains of peculiar fishes. (*c*) Red and green marl.	*a.* Neighbourhood of Vosges Mountains, and many parts of Wurtemberg and Westphalia, Nuremberg. *b.* Axmouth, Dorset, and Aust, Somerset. *c.* Axmouth. Warwick.
	2. *Muschelkalk* (marine). —Grey, blue, and blackish limestone, with alternating clay and marl, and with siliceous layers and nodules.	Extensively developed in Germany and France. Hitherto no beds in England have been identified with the formation.

Periods and Groups.		Names of the Principal Members and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.	Some of the Localities where the Formation occurs.
III.—Secondary Period.—*continued.*	L.	3. *Variegated (Bunter) sandstone.*—Red, white, blue and green siliceo-argillaceous sandstone, often micaceous and containing gypsum and rock-salt.	Stuttgardt. Counties of Stafford, Salop, and Worcester.
	M. Magnesian Limestone Group.	1. *(a) Magnesian limestone* (marine).—Marl-slate, shelly limestone, variegated marls, yellow magnesian limestone. *(b) Dolomitic conglomerate*—Fragments of subjacent rocks, with dolomitic cement. *(c) Zechstein of Germany.*—limestone; marl-slate, containing copper ore, and impressions of fish.	*a.* Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland. *b.* Bristol. *c.* Mansfeld, in Thuringia.
		1. *Red conglomerate*—*Rothliegendes* of the Germans.—Red Sandstones, conglomerates and red marls	Neighbourhood of Exeter; Mansfeld, in Thuringia.
	N. Carboniferous Group.	2. *Coal measures* (fresh-water and marine).—Sandstones, grits, conglomerates, clays, with ironstone, shales and limestone, interstratified with beds of coal.	Northumberland, Durham, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire, Somersetshire, South Wales, Valleys of the Forth and Clyde. District of Liege, Westphalia, Silesia, Bohemia, &c.
		2. *Millstone grit.*—Coarse quartzose sandstone, sometimes used for millstones, usually devoid of coal.	South Wales and Bristol coal-fields. Yorkshire.
		3. *Mountain limestone* (marine).—Grey, compact, and crystalline limestone, abounding in lead ore in North of England, and alternating with coal measures in Scotland, containing corals and shells.	Mendip Hills, Derbyshire, Yorkshire, Durham, Northumberland, Lanarkshire, Linlithgowshire. Many parts of Ireland. North-west of Germany, Belgium, North of France.
	O.	1. Yellow sandstone.	Dura Den, Fife.

Periods and Groups.		Names of the principal Members, and Mineral Nature of the Formation, in Countries where it has been most studied.	Some of the Localities where the Formation occurs.
III. Secondary Period—*continued.*	O. Old Red Sandstone, or Devonian Group.	2. Red and green marls, red sandstone, concretionary limestone called *cornstone*, conglomerate.	Herefordshire, Forfarshire.
		3. Tilestone and grey pavingstone, red and green shale, micaceous sandstone, grey sandstone, with peculiar fishes	Sidlaw Hills, Forfarshire; Caithness, Cromarty.
		4. Green chloritic slates and sandstone, with shells and other fossils.	South Devon, Cornwall, Eifel.
		5. Blue crystalline limestone, with corals, shells, and other fossils of peculiar species, but with some common to the Carboniferous and Silurian groups.	Babbacombe, Torquay, and Plymouth, South Devon, Gerolstein, Eifel.
		N. B.—Nos. 4. and 5. of this group (O) correspond in age to Nos. 1, 2, and 3.	
IV. Primary Fossiliferous Period.	P. Silurian Group.	1. *Ludlow rocks* (marine).—Argillaceous limestone, sandy shale.	Ludlow Castle, Shropshire; Aymestry and Woolhope, Herefordshire.
		2. *Wenlock limestone* (marine). — Coralline limestone and argillaceous shale, with nodules of earthy limestone	Wenlock Edge, Shropshire, Dudley, Worcestershire.
		3. *Caradoc sandstone* (marine).—Shelly limestone and micaceous sandstone, quartzose grits, and sandy limestones.	Horderly, Shropshire; and May Hill, Gloucestershire. East flank of Wrekin and Caer Caradoc, Shropshire.
		4. *Llandeilo flags* (marine).—Calcareous flags, sandstone, and schist.	Llandrindod, near Builth, Radnorshire; Llandeilo, Caermarthenshire.
	Q.	*Cambrian group.*—Stratified rocks, older than the Silurian, but in which no assemblage of organic remains specifically distinct have as yet been determined. Professor Sedgwick has proposed the name of "Cambrian" for these formations, as being of great thickness in Wales.	

The reader sees that in no one locality are all these rocks found piled one above another, the table being formed on a careful study of nature in a great number of localities. In one instance the carboniferous group will be found resting on the Old Red Sandstone, and the Magnesian Limestone on the Coal. In another the New Red Sandstone, based on the Magnesian Limestone, will be capped by Lias—and the Lias of a third district may be capped by all the rocks in succession up to the latest Alluvium. The whole series is thus made up from a comparison of individual successions, and the order established is never reversed. A whole group or a number of groups may be wanting to complete the series in a particular locality; the Tertiary rocks may even lie in direct contact with the Silurian rocks; but never the Silurian on the Tertiary, nor the Lias on the Oolite, nor any one rock or group on a rock or group that stands higher in the series. To this rule there are positively no exceptions in reality; though there are a few apparent ones, where by some extraordinary effect of subterranean force, whole formations have been tilted up and finally fallen over in an inverted position; or in common phrase, bottom up. Such instances are however rare, and where they do occur, there is always independent evidence of the *bouleversement*, sufficient to prevent the geologist from suspecting that his tabular arrangement is at fault; and if we bear in mind the enormous forces which have been at work in the upheaval of continents, we shall not be surprised at occasional accidents like these. Nor must it be supposed that the strata always maintain their original horizontal position. They are often thrown up, and especially in the neighbourhood of mountain chains, at every angle with the horizon, and bent into every imaginable shape. And it is to these disturbances that we owe great part of our knowledge of the lower sedimentary rocks. All that human enterprize and ingenuity have yet effected, has only penetrated about a mile below the surface of the Earth; and this, supposing that all the fossiliferous rocks were piled perpendicularly one on the other, would only make us acquainted, and that very partially, with a small portion of their whole thickness. But, thanks to the throes of nature, we constantly find exposed to view the upturned edges of the whole series more or less complete from top to bottom; so that we can proceed *downwards* in a geological sense, while simply walking over the ground. In this manner, according to Mr. Phillips, we have become acquainted with more than six miles in thickness of fossil-bearing rock, in England; while Mr. Rogers makes the fossiliferous strata of America, counting only from the top of the coal measures, 40,000 feet thick.

But there are *non*-fossiliferous stratified rocks, and in no part of the world are they more abundantly displayed than in India. Indeed many stratified rocks in this country, occupying a higher position in the geologic scale than others known to contain fossils, seem to be totally destitute of the traces of organic life. This is to a certain extent true of every part of the globe, but the absence of fossils from deposits in India entitled from their position to be classed with the fossiliferous rocks, is a striking peculiarity in the geology of the country. To such rocks as these however, the term non-fossiliferous, as we commonly understand it, does not apply; with these, the absence of fossils is an accident which occasions surprize, while there are other stratified rocks in which the geologist never expects to find organic remains in any country. Such are gneiss and mica schist, hornblende schist and many others, which generally *underlie* the lowest of the rocks in which fossils have been discovered. These rocks though stratified are crystalline in their structure. Gneiss, which is by far the most abundant, and may be taken as the type of the whole, is simply stratified granite. Though evidently sedimentary in their origin these rocks widely differ from the newer sedimentary strata in their general mineralogical characteristics, besides being distinguished by the absence of fossils; and in many respects they closely assimilate to the *unstratified* rocks which lie beneath them or are intruded into their masses. Their present condition seems to be owing to the action of heat, to which they have been subjected since their original deposition; and on this account they have been called *metamorphic* rocks, or rocks that have undergone a change. The term *primary stratified* by which they were once known, is falling into disuse; since it is found that any rock, however recent, may become crystalline, and lose all traces of organic remains—may in fact be thoroughly *metamorphosed*, by the action of subterranean heat.

Thus far we have been considering rocks in which the phenomenon of true stratification is presented. But any one acquainted with granite, as it occurs in large masses, is aware that it is not stratified, and that there is nothing in its appearance to lead us to infer for it a sedimentary origin. We shall not attempt to explain, however briefly, the reasons which have led geologists to assign an igneous genesis to this rock and others allied to it, but simply state that such is a belief which no one ever thinks of calling in question. Neither shall we enter into any enquiry as to the means necessary for the fusion of so enormous an amount of solid and refractory matter. On this point there are differences of opinion, but geologists are all agreed that

whatever the origin of the heat, the furnace is subterranean; and it is getting, to be a very common opinion, that the formation of granite, that is the fusion and subsequent cooling of mineral matter, is a process constantly going on beneath our feet. Granite and its varieties, which we need not here enumerate, have been denominated Plutonic rocks, a term sufficiently suggestive of their deep-seated source. The plutonic and the metamorphic masses are often spoken of together under the designation of *hypogene* rocks "a word implying," says Mr. Lyell, who has done so much for geological nomenclature—"the theory that granite and gneiss and the other crystalline formations, are *nether formed* rocks, or rocks which have not assumed their present form and structure at the surface."

We have yet another class of rocks; the volcanic. Lava, like granite, is melted under ground; but, unlike granite, it is poured out at the surface, either in the open air or at the bottom of the sea. Geologists suppose that the only difference between lava and granite is a difference in the degree of pressure and other conditions under which they are cooled, but we are now dealing only with their present appearances. Of Volcanic products there are two kinds; the common lavas and tuffs which being poured out in small quantities on the open ground, or forcibly ejected into the air, expand freely while cooling, and therefore for the most part assume a highly vesicular structure; and *trap** which cooling under a considerable degree of pressure, either from its own superincumbent masses or from water, takes a more compact, and sometimes a columnar form. Of trap there are innumerable varieties, which we need not stop to designate.

Trap rocks and lavas are frequently *pseudo-stratified*, or arranged in sheets, which would at first sight seem to point to a sedimentary origin. The geologist however will always be able to distinguish true from false stratification, even though the deception should be heightened by the interposition of a layer of sedimentary rock between two sheets of trap.

We have hitherto omitted, not unintentionally, any mention of the *alluvial* formations. The "term alluvium" is commonly applied to deposits formed in the beds and on the banks of our present rivers, and many geologists have used it to designate all such formations as have accumulated during the historic period. Mr. Lyell however defines it as "earth, sand, gravel, stones, and other transported matter, which has been washed away and thrown down by rivers, floods or other causes

* The word *trap* is often used loosely enough. It is taken from the Swedish *trappa* a stair, the rocks to which it is applied frequently being arranged in the form of stairs or steps.

upon land not permanently submerged beneath the waters of lakes or seas." Of *Diluvium* or drift, we shall say nothing, as it occurs in latitudes with which the "geology of India" has no concern.

It is with no little regret that we have hurried over so much ground in this desultory manner, nor are we sure that we have not made omissions which may prove fatal to our purpose, of endeavouring to make the details into which we are about to enter, intelligible to the non-geological reader; the more so where we know that the geological student stands as much in need of diagrams, as the beginner in Geometry or Astronomy. We believe however, that we have made good use of our space, and we can only hope that the reader who would know more, will have recourse to the best sources of information. A few deficiencies may be supplied in foot notes to the succeeding pages.

It is remarkable how little is known to the public concerning the geology of India, after all that has been written about it. Let us take for instance the great trap region of Central and Western India. Great part of this ground has been gone over repeatedly by competent observers, who have recorded what they saw faithfully enough, and yet the world is not very much the wiser for their labours. There is store of information in the published researches of Voysey, Malcolmson, Coulthardt, Sykes, Franklin, Jenkins, Hardie, and as many more; but it is only to be got at by a process which very few are able or willing to undertake. It is not in the hands of every one that we find all the works named at the head of this article, nor are there many readers, even possessing a considerable taste for geology, who would study all these books if they had them. There has been a great want of concentration in the labours of these men; an unavoidable evil we know, but none the less to be deplored. The same may be said of the explorers of every other part of the country; so that one who undertakes to possess himself of what is known about Indian geology, from complaining of a want of information, will almost learn to regret that so much has been written. And then the value of much that has been said is lost for want of a proper, or even an intelligible nomenclature. Moreover a great many of our earlier observers—we should be sorry to say it to their disparagement—were professedly new hands; and we all know that neophytes are too apt to make a Procrustes' bed of their faith, and shape their facts to suit the standard. We wish to do these men justice however. Quackery was certainly not their fault, for we find them all ready enough to own their deficien-

cies in practical knowledge. Capt. Franklin in his paper on the geology of Bundlecund says;* "I am not learned enough to become an advocate for any party; a few lessons when in England, and the great volume of nature, have been my chief guides." That they were not blind guides, and that they had in this man no blind follower, we all know; and when we see how much has been done by men who had not even the "few lessons in Europe" to boast of, we shall be slow to sneer at the amateurs; who knowing little or nothing about geology when they came out here, did what they could for science, with but few opportunities of correcting their self-acquired stock of information by European standards.

But Captain Newbold's "Summary" has put us out of humour with our own grumbling. We willingly take this work as an ample instalment of the debt which public servants in India owe to the country that nourishes them; and only hope that the rest of the obligation will be paid up in equally good coin. We owe this gentleman a small private debt of our own; for he has saved us a deal of tolerably dull reading. We believe very little is known, worth knowing, about the country which he claims as his "beat," that he has not brought into a very manageable compass, and set forth to the best possible advantage. With his own invaluable observations made during the course of a number of careful sections across the country, and a lengthened residence in many of its most interesting regions; are blended those of Benza, Malcolmson, Voysey, Buchanan, Kaye and Cunliffe; of all indeed who have seen or said anything about the country south of a line from Ganjam to Bombay, that the geological reader would care to know; and though there are plenty of blanks to be filled up hereafter by himself and his emulators, yet the general outline of the sketch will never we are sure be materially altered. Captain Newbold is no theorist, though we dare say he has a creed, and that a good one. We mean that he does not trouble us with his notions till he lets us know what they are built upon; it is not till we have remarked the patience of his geognostic observations, that we admire his sagacity in turning them to account. We should be glad to think that before he leaves India he will have an opportunity of doing for the whole country, what he has effected for the peninsula.

In attempting a summary of what is known regarding the geology of India we can scarcely be expected to arrange our facts strictly with reference to such a system of classification as is laid down above. But few of the Indian sedimentary rocks

* As. Res. Vol xviii.

have as yet been positively identified with European types, nor do we yet possess a chronological arrangement for India alone. This however is not surprising when we consider the vastness of the field, the scarcity of labourers, and above all the want of organic remains; by which the observer is so often restricted to the tests of lithologic character and of superposition; one of them notoriously uncertain, and the other frequently inaccessible. In the absence then in many cases of any certain guide to the relative age of Indian strata, we shall be compelled to treat our subject somewhat geographically, sacrificing a little unity, for the sake of avoiding unwarranted generalizations.

We begin then with *Southern* India; taking for the present Captain Newbold as our guide, over that part of the Peninsula which lies South of a line drawn from Bombay to Ganjam. The Northern limit of this area is formed by the Sub-Vindhayan hills and the plains of Central India; the ocean bounds the rest. Two mountain ranges, the Eastern and Western Ghauts, mark irregularly the coast lines "supporting on their Atlantean shoulders and inclosing as in a massive frame work, the intermediate table lands; at an altitude varying from 500 to 3000 feet above the sea's level." The seaward bases of these chains, are skirted by tracts of lowland from one mile to seventy in breadth, marked by irregular and often abrupt elevations. The Western Ghauts rise in Khandeish, and in their course southward, form nearly a right angle with the Vindhaya range. They take a direction nearly South by East from the Taptí to Cape Comorin, unbroken save by the well-known gap of Paulghautcherry. In the Nilgíris, a little above this remarkable breach, we have their highest known elevation of 8760 feet above the sea; towards Bombay they have an altitude of 5000 feet. Their seaward face is for the most part comparatively precipitous, while inland they present a gradual slope towards the level of the table lands.

The Eastern chain will not compare with its counterpart either in regularity or grandeur. It makes its first appearance in the low hills about Balasore, and may be traced, though not always without difficulty, to Naggery Nose, about fifty-six miles North-west of Madras. It here seems to meet at an obtuse angle, another line of elevation:—

"Which sweeping irregularly inland, crosses the peninsula in a south-west direction by Chittore, Sautghur, and Salem, and joins the Western Ghauts north of the gap of Paulghautcherry. The southerly direction of the first mentioned elevation line is marked at intervals along the Coromandel coast, by outliers and detached hills, and re-appears in the almost contiguous island of Ceylon. There is little doubt from this and other geological reasons, that Ceylon was raised above the ocean by forces similar to, and contemporaneous with, those that elevated the peninsula.

It is worthy of remark, that, while the steeper declivities of the Western Ghauts face generally towards the sea, those of this cross range, or rather break in the continuity of the elevation, have usually a southerly aspect.

Below, or south of this great break, which I shall call that of Salem, the Eastern Ghauts, as just stated, lose the character of a chain, and reappear at intervals in detached hills, groups and clusters; while the general level of the peninsula ceases to be sustained as a continuous table land. Some of these clusters rise to a considerable altitude; the Puluey Hills attain an elevation above the sea's surface of between 6,000 and 7,000 feet; isolated patches of table land not unfrequently occur on their summits. The average elevation of the Western Ghauts may be roughly stated at 4,000 feet; and that of the Eastern at 1,500 feet.

Geographically speaking, these great chains are separate and distinct; but, in a geological point of view, after a careful and extended examination of the intervening table land, I am inclined until further evidence be adduced, to regard the Western Ghauts south of Malwa, the Eastern Ghauts and their table lands, as part of one magnificent elevation of plutonic rocks, by a succession of efforts, during a period which may be termed plutonic, breaking up the hypogene schists, and, in some instances, uplifting aqueous beds of a more recent origin.

The true general direction of this elevation is nearly N. 5° W. though the apparent directions of the lateral chains on its flanks, are, as we have noticed, to the east and west of north respectively."

The table land enclosed by these chains, has a general inclination to the Eastward, which determines the drainage of the country in that direction. Its surface is studded with detached hills, usually naked masses of granite or gneiss, and seldom rising above 500 feet from the level of the plain. "Some few exceed 1,200, and the highest not 1,800 feet; many have been selected by the natives as the sites of the Drúgs or hill-forts, so celebrated in the annals of Southern India."

"The mean elevation of the table land around Bangalore and Nundidrúg, above the sea, is 3,000 feet. Northerly towards Hydrabad it sinks to 1,800 feet; and a little south of Bangalore it falls, by rather abrupt steps, to the level of the plains of Salem and Combatore, (viz 1,400 feet,) whence to Cape Comorin, the mean height of the country is about 400 feet. The average height of the low country between the ghauts and the sea, on both the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, may be roughly estimated at 200 feet, rising at the base of the mountain to 800 feet."

The low country between the Ghauts and the sea on either side, has a mean elevation of some 200 feet. On the Coromandel side, the slope towards the sea is gentle and the soil sandy; on the West is "a succession of low irregular hilly spurs, separated by narrow marshy flats, covered with eternal forests and often descending to the sea in precipitous cliffs."

While our best maps almost always fail to give even a tolerable idea of the conformation of the surface of a country, they generally do some justice to its rivers. To the map then we refer the reader for a view of the drainage of the field before us.

The Godavery, Kistna, Toombuddra, Cauvery, and Pennaur escape through "singular fissures" in the Eastern ghauts to the Bay of Bengal, which fissures "offer striking illustrations of the correctness of Mr. Hopkins' theory of the origin of the cross valleys of the weald," running as they do nearly at right angles with the elevation line.

Having said so much for the physical geography of Southern India, we now approach details more strictly geological. These will be found singularly free from complication, and to some extent devoid of interest; for though the hypogene and trappean character of the country is remarkable enough, it hardly compensates for the want of fossiliferous rocks.

"Hypogene schists, penetrated and broken up by prodigious outbursts of plutonic and trappean rocks, occupy by far the greater portion of the superficies of Southern India. They constitute the great bulk of the Western Ghauts, from between the latitudes of 16° and 17° N. to Cape Comorin; and form the base of the Eastern Ghauts, from beyond the north limit of our area, to their deflection at Naggery, Lat. N. 13° 20'. They are partially capped and fringed, in the Western Ghauts by laterite;* and in the Eastern Ghauts, by sandstone, limestone, and laterite.

From Naggery to Cape Comorin, they form, with a few exceptions, to be adverted to in due order, the basis of the plains of the Carnatic, Arcot, the valley of Seringapatam, Salem, Trichinopoly, Coimbatore, Tanjore, Madras, Tinnevelly, and Travancore; and, intimately associated with granite, the principal hills and ranges on the low lands south of the Salem break and valley of the Cauvery. North of this valley, and above the break, they form the basis of the table lands of Mysore, the Baramahal, Bellary district, part of Hydrabad, and the Southern Mahratta country; and present a ground-work on which will be sketched out, as accurately as the present imperfect state of information will permit, the circumscribed areas occupied by more recent aqueous strata. Towards the north-west flank of our area, almost in a line drawn diagonally across the peninsula from Nagpore by Bijapore to the Western coast, the hypogene and plutonic rocks disappear, emerging only occasionally, under one of the largest continuous sheets of trap in the world, and which extends far beyond our limits to Central India."

Gneiss is usually found lowest in the series, next to it mica and hornblende schist; actinolite, chlorite, talcose, and argillaceous schist and crystalline limestone. This rule of succession however is by no means universal, for each of the above rocks, crystalline limestone excepted, has been found resting immediately on granite. The strata are often violently contorted, though the disturbance is less perhaps than might be expected from the amount of plutonic action that has taken place. The dip,† though very irregular both as to amount and direction, is usually towards the east in the Western, and westerly in the

* A rock to be described subsequently.

† When strata are not horizontal, they are said to *dip* towards some point of the compass, and the angle made with the horizon is called the *dip* or *inclination*.

Udigherry portion of the Eastern Ghauts, and in the plain at their seaward base. The amount of inclination varies from 10° to 90°. There are of course many variations in the dip which we need not stop to particularize.

The most prevalent rocks are gneiss and hornblende schist; to gneiss, the other kinds may be termed subordinate. The composition of gneiss and of the other schistose rocks, varies considerably in different localities; but they are all highly ferriferous, a fact as remarkable as the highly stanniferous character of the hypogene rocks of the Peninsula of Malacca.

Statuary marble is very rare, so much so as almost to have escaped observation.

"The deficiency of this member of the Metamorphic series, so largely developed in the Alps, is almost equally remarkable in the hypogene rocks of the Grampians, and in those of Norway and Sweden. It exists doubtless, in Southern India in more localities than those just specified, but in such paucity as forcibly to exemplify the truth of Mr. Lyell's remark, viz. "that the quantity of calcareous matter in metamorphic strata, or indeed in the hypogene formations generally, is far less than in fossiliferous deposits." Why this should be so, has been attempted to be explained by the theory of the non-existence of those mollusca and zoophytes, by which shells and corals are secreted, at the period when the hypogene rocks were deposited. Others, again, are of opinion, that when these strata were broken up by the grand outbreak of plutonic rocks, the same heat which imparted to them their present highly crystalline texture, expelled from them the lime and carbonic acid. Neither of these theories taken individually appears to be satisfactory. It seems more reasonable to suppose, that, during the earliest phases of the history of our planet, when the hypogene rocks were deposited, lime was far less abundant on its surface than at present; for, although it has not been proved that lime-secreting mollusca and zoophytes did not exist in the ancient waters from which the metamorphic schists were deposited, yet it seems proved, from their scarcity in the lower rocks, that they must have existed in far less numbers than at subsequent periods.

The other and principal source from which the lime on the earth's crust has been derived, is springs of water charged with carbonate of lime brought up from beneath its surface. If we assume that the greatest quantity of lime is brought up from calcareous rocks in the interior of the earth, when fused or heated, during periods of plutonic activity; as would seem to be the case by springs of water charged with this mineral abounding in volcanic districts; it will be readily admitted, that but little lime was deposited during the period of repose in which the hypogene strata were accumulating under the ocean; and that a large developement of it took place when by far the greater bulk of these beds were broken up and uplifted. At all events, there can be no question that the deposit of lime brought up from the earth's interior by springs, many still in operation, must be greater now than when it commenced at a remote geological era."

Clay slate appears in no great quantity; blue roofing slate is rare. For the rest, every variety of hypogene rock may be found; and it would be useless to enumerate all. "The numerous divisions" says our author, "into which M'Culloch has petrolo-

gically classed them, may all be observed in an area of a few miles in extent." Further details respecting them are given in Captain Newbold's valuable contributions to the Journals of the Bengal and Madras Asiatic Societies.

We have no space for even a catalogue of the minerals of the region before us. The following remark, with which our author winds up this division of the subject, is apposite enough:—

"In concluding this summary of the metamorphic rocks of Southern India, I cannot refrain from remarking how forcibly they recall to mind the remark of the illustrious Humboldt, who in concluding his survey of the plutonic and hypogene series of South America, says: 'When we pass to another Hemisphere, we see new forms of animals and plants, and even new constellations in the heavens; but in the rocks we still recognise our old acquaintances; the same granite; the same gneiss; the same micaceous schist, quartz rocks, &c.'"

The "primary geology" of Southern India then, if we may for once use a term which Mr. Lyell has chased out of the geological vocabulary, has nothing very remarkable about it, beyond the gigantic scale on which it is developed. It is not till we ascend to rocks higher in the series, and among which we at once look for abundant traces of organic life; that we find the analogies of our science as it has been established by observation in other countries, somewhat at fault.

The fossil riches of the Silurian system are here inquired after in vain, and whatever may be the age of the rocks which immediately overlie the groundwork we have just now described; there are many to which it will be at present difficult to give a name, or assign any certain position in the scale of sedimentary strata. Such are the beds of limestone, sandstone, and sandstone conglomerate, the argillaceous, arenaceous, and siliceous schists, which here and there hide from view the hypogene foundation of the Peninsula. These, from their being usually associated, sometimes alternating; and from their frequent conformability* of strata, our author describes under one head, leaving a less arbitrary classification, till the discovery of distinguishing fossils. The sandstone and limestone beds have not been seen south of the Salem break, but north of this boundary they cover a considerable area, apparently however confined to the more elevated table lands. "They occur in irregularly-shaped patches, separated usually by broad and apparently denuded zones of the subjacent hypogene and plutonic rocks." Their most extensive developement is in the "Cuddapah Beds," where they cover an area of about 9,000 square miles, the limits

* Two or more series of Strata are said to be *conformable* when their planes of stratification have the same general direction, or are parallel.

of which are laid down by Captain Newbold with some minuteness. We have them again between the Kistna and Godavery, in the south Mahratta country, the Nizam's dominions and elsewhere, preserving every where the same relative position with respect to the older rocks, the same embedded pebbles and general lithologic appearance. In order of superposition the limestone is usually the lowest, and is then followed by common varieties of argillaceous, arenaceous and siliceous rock. Occasionally the limestone has been found alternating with the other members of the series. Their dip approaches conformability with that of the subjacent rocks, though now and then it is subject to variation. The limestones are not entirely destitute of organic remains. An analysis of the dark blue limestone of Cuddapah has resulted in the detection of a certain quantity of volatile "extractive" matter, which gives the colour to the rock. Mr. Walker has found a vein of coal associated with shale at Kotah on one of the tributaries of the Godavery, and in some of the chert veins of the limestone at Nannoor, Captain Newbold has discovered myriads of what appear to be microscopic foraminifera. The sandstones also afford traces of coal, both bituminous and anthracitic; and are supposed to be identical with those supporting the coal measures at Chirra Punji, which abound in certain organic remains:—

"A few impressions of stems and leaves of plants, one of which resembles a fossil Glossopteris Danæoides of the Burdwan Coal field, figured by Professor Royle, have been discovered by Lieutenant Monro in the Nagpore Sandstone. There are two other impressions in Lieutenant Monro's specimens, bearing some resemblance, Mr. Malcolmson thinks, to the large bony scales of the sauroid fishes of the old red sandstone. However, they were so indistinct, that it would not be prudent to indulge in any speculation, until further discoveries be made. One of those impressions, which I carefully examined, bore resemblance to that of the reticulated skeleton of a leaf."

On such scanty data it is plain that we can have little to say regarding the age of these rocks. They have a certain degree of lithologic resemblance to the sandstones of the Devonian group, and among the various conflicting opinions on the subject, Captain Newbold is inclined to agree with Mr. Malcolmson in classing them with the more ancient secondary, or even metamorphic rocks; but wisely defers any positive conclusion until the discovery of fossils. Compared with other Indian rocks they are probably the oldest fossiliferous beds.

A peculiar interest attaches to the sandstone, on account of its being the matrix of the diamond. Most of the diamond localities of Southern India have frequently been described, and the paper on this subject to be found among Dr. Heyne's

"Tracts, Historical and Statistical on India," is well worth reading. Economically speaking, these deposits of mineral treasure are daily losing their importance; but to the student they still possess unusual value. One general fact is especially worth noticing;—"Granitic or basaltic dykes are invariably found intruding into diamond areas," a fact which helps our author to the following theory of the formation of the gem:—

"The great intrusion of basalt into diamond areas has already been noticed, and it has usually been accompanied by evidence of heat, viz., induration and silicification of the limestone, fissures, and numerous thermal springs rising up through them impregnated with carbonic acid. It is possible that this subterranean heat, during its periods of intensity, by acting on the limestone which has been shown to contain volatile vegetable matter, in addition to carbonic acid; drove off a portion of these in a geseous form, with the superincumbent sandstone, and then caused its diamondization, if I may be permitted so to express myself, by a process somewhat similar to that of the dolomization of limestone. The atoms of carbon set at liberty from their old combinations of lime, oxygen and hydrogen, and having little affinity for the silica of their new matrix, gradually aggregated under the influence of certain laws, in the pores of the sandstone, and assumed a crystalline form."

We now come to a more attractive part of our field, and more productive in palæontological results. The existence of a bed of shelly limestone in the vicinity of Pondicherry, though mentioned by Mr. Calder, can only be said to have recently attractive the notice of scientific men; although the very doorsteps and flagging stones of Pondicherry have long been formed of this interesting rock. Perhaps their high state of preservation, led those who observed them to suppose that the shells were recent, but from whatever cause, it was not till 1840, when Newbold visited the Pondicherry beds, that the world was made aware of their high geological value. These beds of limestone rise in gentle undulations at about nine miles from the sea inland of Pondicherry, and run in a S. E. by E. direction to an extent which has not yet been accurately ascertained. The limestone of the Verdachellum Talook in South Arcot belongs to nearly the same epoch, as also similar beds which occur in the vicinity of Trinchinopoly, apparently resting immediately on the plutonic and hypogene rocks. Though long neglected, these beds have enjoyed an unusual share of attention, since Messrs. Kaye and Cunliffe forwarded to England their beautiful collection of fishes and invertebrata from all these localities, the Pondicherry beds however yielding by far the greater proportion. The fishes were examined by Sir Philip Grey Egerton, and the invertebrata by Professor E. Forbes, and the results arrived at by both of these eminent palæontologists were about the same—

each being led by independent lines of evidence to refer the beds to the cretaceous period. The fossil fishes from Pondicherry were found to belong to the Squaloid family of Placoids, one Cycloid and one Ganoid alone excepted. These fossils are in general badly preserved, but not so the invertebrata, among which the cephalopods, including twenty-eight ammonites, are pre-eminent for their beautiful condition. Of the 178 species of invertebrata in the collection, 165 are mollusca, two articulata, eight echinodermata, and three zoophytes. Professor Forbes assigns the Pondicherry fossils to the Lower Green Sand or Neocomian beds, and those of Verdachellum and Trichinopoly, among which are several species in common, not found at Pondicherry, to the Upper Green-sand and Gault. Sir P. Egerton from an examination of the ichthyolites would place the Pondicherry beds somewhat higher than this, since they contain the genera Corax and Enchodus, which have not been found elsewhere so low as the Neocomian. This admixture of tertiary forms however, only tallies with what Professor Forbes tells us of the at first glance tertiary, aspect of the invertebrate part of the collection, given to it by the presence of varied forms of Voluta, Oliva, Cypræa, Murex and other genera usually supposed to be characteristically tertiary. The difference of opinion moreover is not very material, and to enter into it would lead us through enquiries regarding the distribution of species through different ages and climes, of a character very wide of our present purpose.

We next arrive at rocks, whose tertiary character is not that of first appearance only :—

"In the route from Hydrabad towards Nagpore, on the north bank of the Godavery, among the Nirmul Hills and thence across the Wurda to Hingan-ghaut beyond the limits of our area, Mr. Malcolmson discovered detached beds of chert and limestone, containing shells, the general character of which Mr. Lonsdale considers to be that of fresh water. The fossils were first found at Munoor, and between this village and Hutnoor, which is near the top of the Mucklegundi Ghaut, and in different parts of this pass leading into the valley of Berar Mr. Malcolmson describes* the bed in which they were first observed to be a band of a singular quartz rock, projecting about two feet from the surface, half-way up the escarpment of the principal mountain, ascending the step pass leading up the south side of the Nirmul Hills, and which is composed of concentric nodular basalt imbedded in a soft greenish wacke."

The fossils all belong to fresh-water genera, and to species which have not yet been discovered recent. They are chiefly undescribed species of Physa, Cypris, Unio, Limnea, Melania Paludina and Chara, which have since been determined by Sowerby. The Charæ occur in such abundance as to form entire

* Geol. Trans. Vol. V. Second Series, pp. 549-550.

rocky masses. Many similar deposits will be mentioned in connection with the great overlying trap.

Other deposits of fresh water shells occur, between Beder and Hydrabad, and about five miles South of Puddpungallí near Rajahmundry on the Godavery; the latter occurring in a limestone both resting on and capped by trap. "Here however the deposit must have been in an estuary or lake communicating with the sea, since Dr. Benza states that among the *Limas* and *Melaniæ* he found oysters."

No formation in India has attracted more attention than the singular rock called Laterite. Its peculiarity to the East was assumed, and as far as we yet know correctly, by Francis Buchanan, who gave it the appropriate name which it has ever since borne. Both Buchanan and many of his successors however were in the dark as to its origin, and it is to Newbold that we owe the first description of it, sufficiently faithful to give that clear idea of its lithologic character and geognostic position necessary to enable one who is not familiar with it, to form an independent opinion regarding its source. As the rock is probably unknown to many of our readers, we make no apology for the following long extract:—

"The laterite varies much in structure and composition; but, generally speaking, it presents a reddish brown, or brick coloured, tubular, and cellular clay, more or less indurated, passing on the one hand into a hard, compact, jaspideous rock, and on the other into loosely aggregated grits or sandstones, as at Beypoor near Calicut, Pondicherry, &c., and into red sectile clays, red and yellow ochre, and white porcelain earth, plum-blue, red, purplish, and variegated lithomarges. Sometimes it presents the character of a conglomerate containing fragments of quartz, the plutonic, hypogene, and sandstone rocks, and nodules of iron ore derived from them, all imbedded in a ferruginous clay.

The cavities are both vesicular, tubular and sinuous; sometimes empty, but, in the lower portions of the rock, usually filled, or partially filled with the earths and clays above-mentioned, or a siliceous and argillaceous dust often stained by oxide of iron. A species of black bole, carbonized wood, and carbonate of lime, sometimes occur, but rarely, in these cavities. Minute drusy crystals of quartz not uncommonly line the interior.

The walls separating the cavities are composed of an argillo-siliceous paste, often strongly impregnated with iron, and frequently imbedding gritty particles of quartz. The oxide of iron, prevails, sometimes to such an extent as to approximate a true ore of iron, and the nodules are often separated and smelted by the natives in preference to using the magnetic iron ore, which is more difficult to reduce, from its greater purity. When the whole mass is charged with iron, and very vesicular, (not unfrequently the case,) it might easily be mistaken for iron slag. The colour of the *parietes* separating the tubes and cells, which in the less ferruginous varieties is a light brick red or purple, changes into a liver brown; having externally a vitrified or glazed aspect; while the surface of the interior cavities puts on iridescent hues. The walls of these cells are sometimes distinctly laminated.

The specific gravity varies, as may be supposed from what has just been

said. Many average specimens of the laterite of the Malabar coast I found to range between 2· and 3·2 ; that of the laterite of the Malay peninsula was found by Dr. Ward to be 2 586.

Before the blow-pipe the walls of the cavities melted into a black shining glass powerfully attracted by the magnet. The brown paste and ochreous dust contained in the cells did not fuse, but were converted into a cineritious slag less powerfully attracted, whilst the reddish and purplish portions hardened and remained almost unchanged beyond exhibiting scattered minute magnetic globules, having a dark metallic lustre.

The air-exposed surfaces of laterite, as previously remarked, are usually hard, and have a glazed aspect, and the cavities are more empty than those in the lower portion. A few inches or more below the surface the rock becomes softer, and eventually, as it descends, so sectile as to be easily cut by the native spades, but hardens after exposure to the atmosphere. Hence it is used largely as a building stone in the districts where it prevails, and to repair roads. From its little liability to splinter and weather, (time appears to harden it,) it is a good material in fortifications; for which, and in the construction of their early churches, it has been largely used by the Portuguese on the western coast, and in their settlements to the eastward. The Arcaded Inquisition at Goa was built of it, and the old fortress of Malacca. The angles of the blocks of laterite in the remaining portions of these massive structures are as sharp and perfect as though the block had been separated from the rock but yesterday, although upwards of three centuries have elapsed

The accumulation of the clays and lithomargic earths in the lower portions of the rock, which absorb some of the moisture percolating from above, renders the mass soft and sectile. These earths, doubtless, existed once in the upper cavities of the rock, from which they have been gradually removed to the lower strata by the downward action of the water of the monsoon rains. They accumulate at various depths from the surface and form impervious beds, on the depressions of which the water collects, forming the reservoirs of the springs we often see oozing, as at Beder, and many localities on the Malabar coast, from the bases and sides of lateritic hills and cliffs. Some of the tubes and cavities are *culs de sac*, and do not part with their contents, but the generality have communication with those below them, either directly or indirectly. The downward action of the water, by working through the thinner *parietes*, has tended to improve this communication: for we find in the laterite cliffs of Beder, where a horizontal layer of impervious matter occurs in the substance of the rock, that the sinuous tubes in the laterite immediately above it, have been diverted from their usual obliquely downward direction, to one nearly horizontal, showing that the water, on arriving at this obstruction to its progress downwards, spread itself laterally and horizontally over its surface.

In the same cliffs empty sinuous tubes, having a generally vertical direction, are observed, varying from a few lines to two inches in diameter, and passing from the surface of the rock to considerable depths in its substance One was traced thirty feet until it disappeared in a projecting portion of the cliff."

Some of these form caverns of great extent, according to native stories; and one of considerable size, in the lateritic cliffs cresting the Soudur Hills in the Ceded districts, was visited by our author, who dug several feet deep into the detritus at the bottom in the hope of finding fossil bones, but was disappointed.

Beds of lignite have been discovered in lateritic deposits at Travancore, and at Karkulli near Quilon on the western coast, by General Cullen; and at Beypúr near Calicut by Captain Newbold —in the latter instance the lignite is found in a bed of loose sandstone into which the laterite passes, rather than in the rock itself.

The geographical extent of this rock invests it with great importance, and bears on any theory that may be formed as to its origin. It covers the western coast almost continuously, and for the most part up to the very foot of the Ghauts, and from the south of Bombay to Cape Comorin. It is found in detached beds along the Coromandel coast, near Madras, Nellore, Rajahmundry, Samulcotta, and extends into Cuttack. It caps the loftiest summits of the Eastern and Western Ghauts; and some of the isolated peaks in the table lands of the interior. "On those of the northerly parts of our area it appears in more 'continuous and extensive sheets; often forming low ranges of 'flat-topped hills, resembling in contour those of the hori- 'zontal sandstone and overlying trap formations. The laterite 'bed of Beda in Lat. 17° 55′ N., and Long 77° 31′ E., is about 'twenty-eight miles long, from W. N. W. to E. S. E., and twenty- 'two miles broad. It forms a table land, elevated according to 'Voysey, at 2,359 feet above the sea's level; and terminating 'to the north in precipitous facades, forming salient and re- 'entering angles, on the right bank of the Monjera. The 'average thickness of the bed is about 100 feet; its maximum '200 feet."

The Calliany bed, about forty miles west of the above, is still more extensive, and the intervening space presents all the appearance of having been covered with a continuous sheet, stripped off by a denudation which has bared the subjacent volcanic rocks. Laterite also occurs in the south Mahratta country, Mysore, Salem, Coimbatore, South Arcot, the Carnatic, Tanjore, in short in innumerable localities throughout the Peninsula—and is found in Malwa, many parts of Bengal and Ceylon. Not confined to India proper, nor yet to the continent of Asia, it fringes the shores of Burmah, Malacca and Siam; while Captain Newbold has seen it on the coast of Sumatra, and on many of the islets in the straits of Malacca, "*invariably occupying the same overlying position.*" More than this, there are many grounds for believing that it formerly extended over wider areas than it now occupies, for traces of denudation are everywhere apparent, and "natural sections often remind one forcibly of the striking instance of denudation of the red sandstone on the north-west coast of Rosshire, given by McCulloch." Two examples are

given in the pages before us which strikingly bear out the comparison.

We have already alluded to differences of opinion regarding the origin of this rock, and should be glad to present a summary of the arguments on either side, only that we think Captain Newbold has settled the question by his array of facts. That it is not volcanic, is inferred from the absence of all decided volcanic products, or any direct evidences of such origin; such as dykes, or signs of forcible intrusion, or the alteration of the rocks with which it has come in contact. Veins of laterite are common, but Captain Newbold says—"in every instance where I have had an opportunity of seeing veins, if they may so be termed, of the laterite in other rocks *in situ*, they have occurred as deposits *from above*, into pre-existing chunks of the subjacent rocks, like the conglomerate which fills fissures in the limestone of Petit Tor; and never injected from below, as is the case with volcanic rocks." In some instances there is an apparent passing of laterite into trap, but this on examination turns out to be a confused blending of the rocks near their junction, from which distinct and unmixed fragments of either sort could be separated, like bits of granite from the breccias that are usually found near the junction of granite with sandstone.

Other writers derive laterite from the weathering of hypogene and trappean rocks *in situ*. But the beds cover indiscriminately plutonic and aqueous rocks, and their composition in no way depends on that of the subjacent masses. "Nothing is more common in lateritic tracts than to see a hill of granite trap or hypogene rock capped with a thick crust of laterite; while the adjacent hills, composed of an exactly similar rock, and forming a continuation of the same bed, equally exposed to the action of the weather, are quite bare of laterite." "I have seen too," says Captain Newbold, "laterite resting on limestone, without any traceable lime in its composition; and containing veins of manganese, when resting on a trap in which hitherto the existence of this mineral has not been detected; facts proving that the overlying laterite was not the upper portion of those rocks weathered *in situ*." To conclude:—

"When we look up from the microscopic view afforded by these slowly weathering blocks of rock and beds of ore, and cast our eyes upon even the present extent of laterite over the surface of India, the thickness of its beds, its flat-topped ranges of hills, and the gaps effected in their continuity, evidently by aqueous causes no longer in action; its occasionally embedded water-worn pebbles of distant rocks, its often elevated position above the present drainage level of the country, its beds of lignite and silicified wood; we find no more reason for attributing its origin to the weathering of rocks in situ, or to their detritus transported by causes now in action, than for

attributing the formation of the older sandstones, to the present disintegration of the granitic and hypogene rocks, of the detritus of which they were doubtless, as well as the laterite, formed originally."

Laterite was long supposed to contain no fossils, but we have seen that the conclusion was formed too hastily. It is certainly however far from rich in organic remains, a fact which our author attributes to its highly ferruginous nature, for it often approximates to an oxide of iron. The scarcity of fossils in ferriferous rocks has long been noticed; and when we bear in mind the great amount of iron contained in the hypogene foundation of India, there is less reason for surprize at the organic poverty, not only of the laterite, but of other and older formations in this country. Captain Newbold asks the question, "why should laterite be confined to India?" and suggests an answer in the highly ferriferous nature of the hypogene basis, which, under the supposition that electricity has had any thing to do with the peculiar structure of this cellular rock, would afford conditions highly favourable to the development of that powerful agent.

Laterite, as we have already seen, is constantly found resting undisturbed on the overlying trap, and was therefore laid down subsequently to the period of volcanic activity in India. It also overlies the shell limestone of Pondicherry, which in its turn we know to be more recent than the diamond sandstone. "It has never been invaded by the dykes of trap that penetrate the latter rocks—the hypogene and plutonic rocks—fragments of all which it sometimes imbeds, but is evidently contemporaneous with the efforts or series of efforts, by which the Western ghauts were lifted above the waters; since it is seen capping their summits, often shattered into large irregular blocks, and stretching more continuously, and with less signs of disturbance from their base to the sea." Captain Newbold also classes the laterite as later than the Nirmul fresh water cherts and limestone, on account of the latter rocks having been invaded and altered by trappean intrusion while laterite has not.

The petrified tamarind trees of Pondicherry, which the reader will hardly be surprised to learn are not tamarind trees, have long been an object of curiosity. They are found in beds of ferruginous lateritic grit, which lie a few miles inland from Pondicherry, extending southward in a direction parallel with the coast line, and forming a low range of hills. These strata rest conformably on the fossiliferous limestone above described. The trees are found scattered here and there throughout the lateritic grit, but occur in greatest abundance at Trivicary about fifteen miles west of Pondicherry. They are both dicotyledonous and monocotyledonous, coniferous and non-coniferous;

dicotyledons however being by far the more common, the flora differing in this respect from that of the coal measures, where monocotyledons are most abundant. The trees are prostrate and mutilated, and since moreover there are no traces of the soil in which they grew, there is little doubt of their being driftwood. The largest tree mentioned is one described by Lieutenant Warren,* which was about sixty feet long and from two to three feet in diameter, this however has been broken up by the native collectors of petrifactions. "The organic and microscopic structure of the wood, in many specimens, is beautifully preserved. The siliceous matter of petrifaction is often semi-transparent like chert or chalcedony, or opalized, or striped with lively bands of red, like jasper. It varies in colour and texture from an opaque whitish chalk-like stone, to a red and white cornelian, giving fire with steel; the prevailing tints are delicate shades of brown and grey."

The carbonaceous matter of the wood has been entirely replaced by silica and iron. The imbedding rock is highly siliceous, being "for the most part composed of angular grains of quartz, often stained with iron, and loosely connected together by dark red and whitish clays, passing into a conglomerate, and into a tubular and cellular rock, differing in no respect from some varieties of laterite"—a rock which is seen occupying precisely an equivalent position along the coast to the northward :—

"The silicified wood of the Egyptian desert closely resembles that of Pondicherry, as also the rock in which it is imbedded at the "Fossil Forest" near Cairo, not only petrologically but in *gisement*. Both occupy similar situations covered with gravel, sand and other detritus, and rest on a marine limestone in strata but little inclined from the horizontal. Both have suffered from aqueous denudation exposing the subjacent limestones. I could not discover the least trace of extinct volcanoes, or of volcanic substances in the vicinity of either."

Silicified coniferous wood occurs in very small quantities at Mungapett and a few other localities on the banks of the Godavery and Wurda. At Hinganghaut also on the north side of the river, "silicified branches of dicotyledonous trees, and a very perfect portion of a palm were found in loose blocks of a black and red chert, resting on the newer trap formation." Captain Newbold is inclined to refer this last deposit to the fresh water chariferous limestone and chert formation, rather than to the laterite and Pondicherry beds.

We now ascend to rocks which belong unquestionably to a very late tertiary, or even recent period. These are beds of sandstone found on the eastern coast of the southern extremity

* As. Res. Vol. XI

of the Peninsula, containing pelagic shells which as far as they have been recognized are of species inhabiting the adjacent sea. It is this rock which stretches across the Straits to Ceylon, forming the remarkable barrier known as Adam's bridge, which was elevated, in Captain Newbold's opinion, simultaneously with the Laterite. Similar strata are found in the southern portion of Ramnad, and in Tinnevelly, as also near Cape Comorin and on the opposite coast of Ceylon.

It has been said above, that true diluvium is not to be looked for in Indian latitudes. This remark is to be applied to the *erratic block* formation as it occurs in northern Europe, Siberia, and North and South America. It is not found, Mr. Darwin tells us, in the equatorial regions of South America, though scattered over the southern extremity of that continent, and we think that the glacio-aqueous mode of accounting for the dispersion of drift, is so well established by this and other facts that the absence of any true drift from India may be fairly predicated. This however is dangerous ground, and we may confine ourselves to the assertion that no wide dispersion of the boulders has yet been discovered in this country. Northern India affords us transported blocks in sufficient abundance, but it is easy to trace these to a comparatively local source in the Himalayas—there is none of that extensive diffusion of travelled masses that so long puzzled the geologists of Europe till accounted for by a reference to the every day phenomena of icebergs. The supposed boulders of Southern India are, we think, clearly shown by Captain Newbold, to be masses of granite *in situ*, which have resisted the degradation of the surrounding beds from causes which it would not, we suppose, be very difficult to explain. Our author then, avoiding the term "diluvium," describes as "older alluvium," "certain beds of gravel and sand which occur in such situations as not to be accounted for by the agency of existing transporting powers."

At Condapetta, for instance in the Cuddapah district, is found a gravel bed which covers an area of several miles, and is principally composed of rounded fragments of trap, granite and schistise rocks, which must have been transported from the distance of twenty or forty miles, intermingled with pebbles of quartz jasper and chert, and others from the adjacent sandstone and limestone. "In this gravel intermined with kunker and iron ore, (the oxide), the diamond is found as a transported crystal or pebble, often fractured, and with slightly worn edges." A similar gravel occurs near Parteal. At Wakoory in the Nizam's dominions, about twenty-two miles S. E. from Hingoli, there is a bed of gravel cemented together by kunker, enclosing bones

which in one instance at least appear to be those of the mastodon. Other beds, seemingly accumulated under conditions which no longer exist; but as far as we yet know destitute of fossils, are found in the valleys of the Bima, the Kistna, the Tumbuddra, and even on the summit of the Nilgíris.

Beds of dark blue marine clay, underlying the alluvium at Pondicherry, are found in many places along the Coromandel coast, as at Madras and Nellore, sometimes extending two or three miles inland. This clay is found at depths of from twelve to twenty feet below the present blown sands and aqueous alluvium, and embeds existing marine shells. It also contains small rolled masses of carbonized wood—something between peat and lignite.

The only remaining sedimentary rock at present known to exist in southern India, is the curious soil, called *Regur* or *Black Cotton Clay*, which covers at least one-third of the surface of the country, according to Captain Newbold. "It occu
'pies principally the elevated table-lands of the Ceded Dis-
'tricts, the Hydrabad, Nagpore, and Southern Mahratta coun-
'tries; including thereby the whole plateau of the Dekhan.
'It is less common in Mysore, but is again seen in continuous
'sheets from six to twenty feet thick, below the Salem break,
'covering the lower plain of Coimbatore, Madura, Salem,
'Trichinopoly, Tanjore, Ramnad, and Tinnevelly to the vicinity
'of Cape Comorin." The following is a description of this singular and valuable soil:—

"The purest regur is usually of a deep bluish-black colour, or greenish, or dark greyish black, fracture varying from shining to earthy, streak brownish or greenish black, shining; when placed in water it crumbles slowly with emission of air bubbles, and forms a *tenacious* paste, when moistened it gives out an argillaceous odour. Before the blowpipe, *per se*, it melts into a greenish glass, or dark slag. Mr Reid fused some of it in a large covered crucible placed in a furnace, into a solid mass, on the surface of which a crust of oxide of iron formed. A chemical analysis made by my friend Dr. Macleod afforded the following result —

Silex	18	2
Alumina	20	3
Carbonate of lime	16	0
Carbonate of magnesia	10	2
Oxide of iron	1	0
Water and extractive	4	3
	100	0

The quantity of iron it appears by this analysis is not sufficient to account for the black colour of this soil, which may be partly attributed, as in the case of the Cuddapah limestone, to the extractive or vegetable matter it contains. The regur of Trichinopoly, I am informed by Captain Allardyce, does not fuse, and contains imbedded crystals of pure mineral carbon, which

are converted before the blowpipe into a white ash. There is, no doubt, nearly as great a diversity of composition in the regur deposit, as we find in other equally extensive aqueous rocks.

The best kinds of this extraordinary soil are rarely suffered to lie fallow, except by accident, and never receive manure, which is even supposed to lessen its fertility. It has yielded annually, crop after crop for upwards of 2000 years (usually in triennial rotation) of cotton, juari, and wheat, or bajri, without receiving any aid from the hand of man, except an annual scratching with a small plough, and a decennial, or still more seldom, clearing of the nuth grass by means of the large plough. It is irrigated solely by the dews and rains of heaven.

The chemical composition of the cotton plant it produces, somewhat assimilates in its ingredients that of the soil, as Dr Macleod's annalysis subjoined, shows. In addition will be found the alkali of the vegetable, and the muriate of soda, which, as well as the carbonate, are frequent accidental ingredients in the composition of the regur. They sterilize it when present in large quantities. The proportion of silex in the cotton plant, as might naturally be expected, is much less, and the alumina is altogether wanting:—

Silex	7 0
Alumina	0 0
Carbonate of lime	45 6
Carbonate of magnesia	25 0
Charcoal, oxide of iron, and loss	5 2
Carbonate of potass	10 6
Muriate of potass and soda	6 6
	100 0

The regur is remarkably retentive of moisture; a property to which is ascribable much of its fertility, since it has been ascertained by the experiments of Sir Humphry Davy that the absorbent power of many soils with respect to atmospheric moisture are greatest in the most fertile soils. He dried* 1000 parts of a celebrated soil from Ormiston in East Lothian, by a heat amounting to 212° Fahrenheit, and found that by one hour's exposure to air saturated with moisture at a temperature of 62° it gained 18 grains Dr. Christie thoroughly dried a portion of regur by a heat nearly sufficient to char paper. He then exposed to the atmosphere of a moderately damp apartment 2615·6 grains of it, and found after a few days it had gained 147·1 grains. He now exposed it to an atmosphere saturated with moisture, and found that the weight increased daily till the end of a few weeks, when it was found to be 2828·4 grains. The soil had therefore gained 212·8 grains, or about 8 per cent.

During the dry season, when the crops are off the ground, the surface of regur, instead of presenting a sea of waving verdure, exhibits the black drear aspect that the valley of the Nile puts on under similar circumstances, and which powerfully reminded me of the regur tracts of India. Contracting by the powerful heat of the sun, it is divided, like the surface of dried starch by countless and deep fissures, into figures usually affecting the pentagon, hexagon, and rhomboid. While the surface for a few inches in depth is dried to an impalpable powder raised in clouds by the wind, and darkening the air, the lower portions of the deposit, at the depth of eight or ten feet, still retain their character of a hard black clay, approaching a rock, usually

* Madras Journal of Literature and Science for October, 1836, p. 472.

moist and cold; when the surface dust, as I have proved, has a temperature of 130. In wet weather the surface is converted into a deep tenacious mud.

Over the vast and fertile table lands where this soil prevails, rice, the staple article of food on the maritime and low tracts, is no longer, or but seldom, used by the lower classes, and cakes of wheaten flour, or of that of the juari and bajri are substituted.

The purest beds of regur contain few rolled pebbles of any kind; the nodules of kunker we see imbedded have probably been formed by concretion from the infiltration of water charged with lime; and it is only near the surface that the regur becomes intermingled with the recent alluvium of the surrounding country, or in its lower portions where it becomes intermingled with the debris of whetever rock it happens to rest on,—trap and calcedonies in trappean districts; granite, sandstone, pisiform iron ore, and limestone, in the plutonic and diamond sandstone areas. It sometimes exhibits marks of stratification: in Gujarat, Professor Orlebar informs me, the regur is distinctly stratified; and a writer on the Geology of the Hydrabad country, in the Madras Literary Transactions, (Part 1, p. 82) observes, that the cotton soil there varies in depth from a few feet to many fathoms; and that it is generally found distinctly arranged in strata, which are sometimes separated by thin layers of sand or gravel. These strata, he observes, vary in thickness; they are sometimes horizontal; in other instances waved, or more or less inclined to the horizon."

Like Laterite, Regur covers all rocks without reference to their age or composition, with the single exception of some of the more recent alluviums, under which it is seen to dip. We cannot therefore refer its origin to the local decomposition of any one of the older formations as some of our best authorities have attempted to do, and indeed we have exactly the same reasons for calling it an aqueous rock, that we have applied to Laterite. Its wide geographical extent precludes the supposition of its being a fluviatile deposit. It must probably then be classed, for the present at least, as the most recent marine deposit in Southern India, and this is all that can be said about it until more is known.

The absence of fossils from Regur is a fact not easy of explanation. It contains a very trifling proportion of iron, nor is there any thing that we are aware of among its component parts, unfavourable to the preservation of organic matter. Its extreme permeability when exposed for any time to the atmosphere would account for the absence of fossils from the surface of the deposit, but not far from the surface, it preserves a consistency like that of many clays which are rich in fossil remains. It is not improbable that the lower regions of the regur may yet reward the search of the palæontologist.

Though Regur has not that we are aware of any known representative in Europe, yet a specimen of the black soil called *Chernoi Zem* that covers many of the steppes of Russia, which was brought from that country by Mr. Murchison, struck both

Captain Newbold and Mr. Lonsdale by its external resemblance to the Indian cotton soil. The geological portion and distribution of both rocks also appear to be similar.

It is moreover a curious fact, that the components of the dark flat mud deposits of the Nile are the same precisely as those of the regur, though the proportions differ, in the specimens that have been compared. Captain Newbold also observes a strong resemblance between regur, and the black vegetable deposit often seen in the tanks of India. An anonymous writer in the *Bombay Times** describes a *red* cotton soil "superior to *regur* for some kinds of plant," which succeeds the trap some twenty or twenty-five miles North of the Kistna and South East of Bíjapore. It is spoken of as "a tenacious kind of clay, seldom or ever more than a *hath* in depth," which the writer suspects to be formed from the debris of the granite which is the formation of that part of the country. This supposition seems probable enough, judging from the colour of the soil alone, and had there been any thing remarkable about this red clay, it is not very likely that it would have hitherto escaped attention. Still as there is a chance the other way, we have thought it worth while to rescue the fact from Newspaper oblivion.

We have now done with the sedimentary deposits of Southern India so far as they are yet known, but there remains to be described a rock with which all our Indian readers are tolerably familiar, and regarding whose origin, there has been a good deal of speculation. The calcareous substance known throughout India we believe as *kunker*, affords a remarkable instance of the compensating process of nature, by which the adaptation of the globe to the wants of man is everywhere kept up. Great part of India is but sparingly supplied with true sedimentary limestone of the sort fit for the kiln, so that in this respect what may be called the ordinary geological resources of the country are insufficient for the support of a large population in an advanced stage of civilization. If any one had watched the formation of the continent, from the laying down of the first course of aqueous rocks, to the upheaval of the whole, including the latest tertiary rocks above the level of the sea; he would have said that nature had left her work incomplete, inasmuch as a continent without lime is fit only to be inhabited by savages. But, as if to confound those who would have us believe that the processes of nature consist in the mere passive obedience of matter to certain eternal laws, in a routine which is never interfered with by a divine Author of all; the apparent incompleteness

* *Bombay Times*, April 5th, 1848, page 272.

turns out to be only a variation in the means for effecting a given end. The deficiency, so to speak, is supplied at the eleventh hour, by the process both new and effectual to which we are indebted for *kunker*. This substance is thus described by Captain Newbold:—

"The older kunker is usually of a light brownish, dirty, cream, reddish, or cineriteous grey tint; sometimes compact and massive in structure, but more usually, either of a nodular, tufaceous, pisiform, botryoidal or cauliform-like form. Its interior is sometimes cancellar, or slightly vesicular; but compact or concentric in the pisiform varieties. Its interior structure is rarely radiated. When compact it resembles the older travertines of Rome and Auvergne. It aggregates in horizontal overlying masses, usually intermingled with the soil without much appearance of stratification. It is broken up and used as a rough building stone in the bunds of tanks, walls of inclosures, &c. by the natives, and is universally employed to burn into lime."

A specimen of kunker analysed by the late Mr. J. Prinsep, yielded

Water of absorption	1	4
Carbonate of Lime	72	0
Carbonate of Magnesia	0	4
Silex	15	2
Alumina and oxide of iron	10	0

Some varieties contain so much silex as to give fire with steel; others are almost entirely composed of earthy white carbonate of lime, and crumble between the fingers.

No organic remains have hitherto been discovered in the ancient kunker of Southern India; but in the modern kunker, I have seen pottery, bones of recent mammalia, fragments of wood, existing land and fresh water shells, Paludinæ Helix, Planorbis and Ampullaria, imbedded."

Kunker occurs filling, or partially filling fissures and chinks in rocks of every age, in nodular masses and friable concretions in the clays and gravels above the rocks, and in irregular overlying beds, varying from a few inches to forty feet in thickness. The *kunkerous* structure, if we may so express it, prevails alike in granite, the schistise rocks, the diamond sandstone and limestone, and the laterite. As to its extent, Captain Newbold says, "The kunker formation is irregularly distributed in overlying 'patches over perhaps one-eighth of our area. I know of no 'tract entirely free from it, with the exception it is said of the 'summits of the Nilgíris. I have seen it however, at the 'height of 4,000 feet above the sea, among the ranges on the 'elevated table lands. It is most abundant in districts pene-'trated and shattered by basaltic dykes, and where metallic 'development is greatest, for instance in the copper district of 'Vellore, and the chrome and iron tracts of Salem. It is per-'haps least seen in localities where laterite caps hypogene or 'plutonic rocks."

We believe there can be no longer any question as to the tufaceous origin of kunker. It differs in many respects from

the travertines of Italy, and yet resembles them more than any other European rock to which we can compare it. From the concretions of the Magnesian Limestone and the calcareous nodules of the Lias, it is distinguished by the fact that the spheroids never present the traces of lamination that are so commonly to be noticed in the rocks we have cited. It resembles perhaps more than any thing else, the *tosca rock* of the Pampas of South America, or what Mr. Darwin calls the pumiceous mudstone of Patagonia. The *Pampas* formation has its analogues in Australia and in South Africa, and as it may be found hereafter, in India. Indeed it is impossible to read Mr. Darwin's account of the tuffs of South America without being reminded of the Indian kunker.

We adopt then Capt. Newbold's theory of the formation of kunker, which is as follows :—

"The kunker, as may have been collected from what has been just stated, is not of zoophytic origin like coral reefs; nor does it appear to have been generally deposited, or chemically precipitated, from the waters of an ocean or inland lake; but, like the travertines of Italy, it may be referred to the action of springs, often thermal, charged with carbonic acid, bringing up lime in solution, and depositing it as the temperature of the water gradually lowered in rising to the earth's surface, or in parting with their carbonic acid.

After depositing a portion of calcareous matter in the fissures of the rocks by which it found a vent, the calcareous water appears to have diffused itself in the loose debris, regur, gravels, and clays usually covering the rocks; and by force of chemical affinity, the disseminated particle of lime gradually congregated into the nodular and other forms we see them assume. These nodules are sometimes arranged in rows like the flints in chalk; and from some of them project delicate spiculæ of carbonate of lime, which would have been broken off had they been drift pebbles as supposed by some."

It may be worth while here to quote Mr. Darwin's description of the Pampean formation.*

"The Pampean formation is highly interesting from its vast extent, its disputed origin, and from the number of extinct gigantic mammifers embedded in it. It has upon the whole a very uniform character; consisting of a more or less dull reddish, slightly indurated, argillaceous earth or mud, often, but not always, including in horizontal lines concretions of marl, and frequently passing into a compact marly rock. The mud, wherever I examined it, even close to the concretions, did not contain any carbonate of lime. The concretions are generally nodular, sometimes rough externally, sometimes stalactiformed; they are of a compact structure, but often penetrated (as well as the mud) by hair-like serpentine cavities, and occasionally with irregular fissures in their centres, lined with minute crystals of carbonate of lime; they are of white, brown, or pale pinkish tints, often marked by black dendritic manganese or iron; they are either darker or lighter tinted than the surrounding mass; they contain much carbonate of lime, but exhale a strong aluminous odour, and leave, when dissolved in

* Geological Observations on South America, being the third part of the Geology of the Voyage of the Beagle, page 76.

acids, a large but varying residue, of which the greater part consists of sand. These concretions often unite into irregular strata; and over very large tracts of country, the entire mass consists of a hard, but generally cavernous marly rock: some of the varieties might be called calcareous tuffs."

The reddish mud deposit, Mr. Darwin supposes to arise from the decomposition of hypogene rocks, while with regard to the calcareous matter the author says (page 100):—"The 'quality of calcareous matter in this formation, especially in 'those large districts where the whole mass passes into tosca-'rock, is very great; I have already remarked on the close resem-'blance in external and microscopic appearance between this 'tosca rock and the strata at Coquimbo, which have certainly 'resulted from the decay and attrition of recent shells. I dare 'not however, extend this conclusion to the calcareous rocks 'of the Pampas, more especially as the underlying tertiary 'strata in Western Banda Oriental, show that at that period 'there was a copious emission of carbonate of lime in connection 'with volcanic action."

Captain Newbold treats kunker as a pliocene and recent rock. It has never been observed to form a bed on which another deposition has taken place, lower than regur; nor has it been intruded upon by veins and dykes nor disturbed by the overlying trap. These reasons, and the fact that the few shells which it imbeds are of existing species, induce our author to give it the place we have mentioned. "It is probable that its earliest 'appearance took place at an era anterior to this, but there is no 'direct evidence of its being older than the newer pliocene 'travertines of Rome, which imbed the existing land and fresh-'water shells of the surrounding country, and the remains of 'the Mammoth." The process of *Kunkerization* is probably going on now, wherever calcareous springs rise from the bowels of the earth.

The Pampean formation appears to be recent, and so of course, the concretionary beds included in it.

There remain a few more aqueous deposits in Southern India, chiefly local, some of them evidently belonging to our own age, others of less certain date; but as they are none of them of any great consequence, we are compelled to pass them over on account of the length to which our article has already extended. We proceed at once then from the Sedimentary to the Plutonic rocks.

The reader will be prepared to hear that granite and its congeners are abundantly developed throughout the hypogene area. This rock shews itself under every variety of external moulding; it starts up from the surface of the table land in bold and sharply hewn peaks, or rises in dome-shaped bosses, or appears

in profuse but distinct clusters and ranges, which affect no general line of elevation, but often radiate irregularly as from a centre, or are arranged in " rings resembling the denticulated periphery of a crater." Some of the insulated peaks are striking enough in outline and structure ; the rock of Nundidrúg which rises 1,700 feet above the plain, looks almost as though it were composed of a single solid mass of granite—the rock of Sivagunga is still higher:—

" The most remarkable of the insulated clusters and masses of granite on the Table-land of the Peninsula are those of Sivagunga, Severndroog, Ootradroog, Nundidroog, Chundragooty and Chitteldroog, in Mysore ; Gooty, Raidroog, Adoni, Bejanugger, Gongondla, in the ceded Districts; and those of Hydrabad, Paungul, Annagoondy, Copaldroog and Idghir. In the country south of the Salem break, are those of Trichinopoly, Dindigul and Alighirry ; and in the maritime tract of the Coromandel, are those of Vellore, Arcot and Permacoil. The islands in the Chilka Lake, at the northern extremity of our area on the East Coast, are of porphyritic granite."

The aspect of granite districts is not however always marked by this abruptness of contour. The rock often forms " immense undulating layers like lava, rising little above the general level of the country, separated by fissures and joints, and running for a considerable distance in a given direction like a regular chain of hills. The horizontal fissures often impart a pseudo-stratified appearance, and when crossed by others nearly vertical give the whole the semblance of some huge wall of Cyclopean masonry." By a process of concentric exfoliation the blocks of which these walls are composed weather into spheroids, sometimes of enormous size. This process is supposed by Captain Newbold " to be the result chiefly of meteorological and electric causes, acting upon and developing a latent concentric structure in the granite, totally independent of any supposed planes of stratification, and resembling that often observed in basalt and lava." This weathering frequently takes place on so large a scale as to give a singular character to the physical aspect of granite tracts. Its phenomena are described and its causes inquired into at length, in a separate paper by the author, on the granites of India and Egypt.

The lithologic character of the granite is subject to every degree of variation as the constituents of the rock mingle in different proportions. One or more of these elements is frequently wanting, and the addition of new constituents is no less common. Thus all the varieties of granite described by McCulloch and Brogniart, together with others not mentioned by these writers, may be seen in Southern India; but we shall not stop to enumerate them all, nor yet the minerals which often accompany them, all such minerological details being wide of our purpose even if we had room for them.

Of rocks which seem to be at once both hypogene and trappean, the most abundant in southern India are Diallage, Serpentine, and Basaltic Greenstone. Whatever may be the position of these rocks in other parts of the world, their general character as we study them in Southern India, is decidedly hypogene; for they are rarely found except as dykes, or as contained beds in the hypogene schists. Diallage has been seen only in the Salem district, and at Bannawarra, about eight miles westerly from Bangalore, in both of which localities it accompanies gneiss and mica schist. Captain Newbold's description of it does not seem to bear out in any way McCulloch's idea of its sedimentary origin, although lithologically the Indian rock resembles that of the Shetlands. Mr. Lyell classes it without hesitation among volcanic products.

Serpentine is found in the form of dykes and thick beds in the schistose rocks of Salem, and also near Bezwarah on the Kistna. A serpentine of unusual beauty occurs at Turivicary in Mysore. It is composed of "a dark grey or black talcose paste, imbedding numerous small black crystals of a mineral containing a large proportion of iron, being strong attracted by the magnet. These crystals do not yield to the knife, and they fuse into a black slag. The paste usually yields to the knife, and is of various degrees of hardness in different specimens, and infusible *per se* before the blow-pipe. The fraction of the rock on the large scale is flat conchoidal; it is difficultly frangible." This rock takes a high polish and forms the materials of the beautiful pillars of the Mausoleum of Hyder at Seringapatam. It has been mistaken for basaltic greenstone by Buchanan, Benza and Malcolmson.

Basaltic green stone is universally distributed over southern India, but is most abundantly developed in the Table Land between Bangalore and Bellary, in the Salem and Vellore mining districts, and in the Western Ghauts. It occurs in dykes penetrating the sedimentary rocks up to laterite. It occasionally approximates the columnar structure, as in the vicinity of Chittywanrypilly, Kurnúl and other places.

The vast outpouring of trap over the surface of Peninsular India demands a degree of attention that we have no space to give it at present. It belongs at once to Southern and Central India, and if only for unity's sake had better be treated as a whole in another article; we therefore stop short of the Overlying Trap, although its southern half covers no inconsiderable portion of our area.

We come now to a few facts bearing on the "Principles of Geology." First with regard to recent changes in the level of land. The Puranas assert that the whole of the Coromandel

coast has been raised from the bed of the sea, and the position of many Post-pliocene beds along that coast gives credit to the story. Captain Newbold thinks that the deposits in question were elevated by forces which are not yet at rest—although their action seems to be undulatory, raising some parts and depressing others, while intermediate tracts remain stationary. Whatever may be the date of the upheavals—certain tracts appear beyond doubt to have been submerged during the historic period.

"It is stated in Brahmanical writings that the ancient city of Mahabalipur (now termed the Seven Pagodas,) about forty miles south of Madras, was anciently overwhelmed by the sea, which now rolls over the greater portion of the submerged ruins It is supposed by some to have been the Palibothra of Ptolemy, a place of considerable commerce. I was informed, by Lord Elphinstone and Mr. W. Elliot, that whenever a storm took place from the seaward, Roman, and occasionally Chinese coins were cast upon the beach. One of the former, according to Mr. Norton, is of the reign of Valentinianus. General Fraser informs me that south of these ruins, at Ariacoopang and Cuddalore, pieces of brick, tiles, and pottery are taken up from the bed of the sea at considerable distances from shore, beyond the recoil of the tidal wave Still further south, near the embouchure of the Cauvery, the Brahmans point out the submerged site of another ancient city. At Madras, from all I can collect from the oldest inhabitants and survey, the sea has certainly encroached latterly on the ground it formerly occupied: while St Thome, an ancient Portuguese settlement, a little south of Madras, is traditionally said to have stood twelve leagues inland."

The level of the Malabar Coast appears also to have suffered disturbance. The town of Barcoor, north of Mangalore, supposed by Rennell and Robertson to have been the Barace of ancient Geographers, and the emporium of Indian commerce; now stands two or three miles from the sea. Some of the cliffs running parallel with the present coast, at some distance inland, have every appearance of having been formerly washed by the sea and the Brahmans assert that the whole of the Malabar Coast was elevated for their special use. The island Vaypi near Cochin was thrown up from the sea in the fourteenth century, an event which "had so strong an effect on the minds of the Hindus that they marked the geological phenomenon by commencing from it the new era termed *Puduvepa* (new introduction)."

Changes of a still more recent date seem to have occurred on the Coromandel coast. The site of the old city of Calicut is now buried beneath the sea, and it is said that the remains of an old factory are to be seen in the surf off Purkaad, and those of Pagodas in the surf at Tricanapully on the coast of Travancore. Cases of this sort however require to be better established than they are at present, and we hope some one will adopt Captain Newbold's suggestion for instituting observations on the faces of the cliffs washed by the sea, after the example set by Celsius.

Captain Newbold in a paper read before the Geological Society of London in 1841-42, has established the fact that the curious hollows in the exposed surfaces of rocks, which have been called Rock Basins, the Giant's Cauldrons of the Scandinavian mountains, are not necessarily the product of the streams which have descended into the *moulins* of glaciers. They may now be observed in the course of excavation in the bed of the Tumbúddra and other streams of southern India where ice is unknown. The same may be said of the parallel striæ, which though doubtless generally caused by glacial action, are frequently produced in the beds of tropical rivers by the action of present floods.

Our conclusion must here be abrupt, but we hope to resume the subject in the next number of the Review, although we by no means promise to dispose of the "Geology of India" in a second article. The reader who would know more about the ground we have so hurriedly gone over, will do well to follow our example by consulting Captain Newbold's Summary, which however is unaccountably not to be found with any of the Calcutta booksellers.

We cannot however bring our article to a close without dwelling for a moment on the loss which the Geology of Southern India has suffered in the premature death of Mr. Kaye, whose researches in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry, alluded to above, effected so much, while they promised still more important achievements. As a palæontologist Mr. Kaye was rapidly attaining a high position among his fellow-labourers in this country, for though his attention was not directed to the science till many years after his first arrival in India, yet the zeal with which he prosecuted it in spite of every disadvantage was rapidly compensating for the want of earlier training. His sudden removal then must be looked upon as a public misfortune. The following extract from the anniversary address of the President of the Geological Society of London for the year 1847, will show that we have not formed too high an estimate of Mr. Kaye's merits, and at the same time furnish a few biographical particulars, which will be interesting to our readers :—

"Mr. Charles Turton Kaye was born in London in 1812, and from school went to the East India Company's College at Haylebury in 1829, where he distinguished himself and gained the Classical Medal at his first examination in 1830. In the spring of 1831 he proceeded to India, having obtained an appointment in the civil service, in the presidency of Madras. In the College of Fort St. George he obtained the thousand-pagoda prize for proficiency in the native languages. He was at first employed in the revenue department, and was shortly afterwards appointed Assistant to the Accountant-General of Madras; but in 1838 he received the more important appointment of a Judge at Cuddalore, on the Coromandel coast. Hitherto his attention had been more directed to literature than to science, and accidental circumstances appear to have led him to geological studies. In conjunction with his friend Mr.

Brooke Cunliffe, also resident at Cuddalore, now a Fellow of this Society, he examined in 1841 a neighbouring district, which is remarkable from containing fossil wood in great abundance, and where they collected a considerable number of other organic remains. They afterwards obtained many specimens of fossils from a limestone in the neighbourhood of Pondicherry and Trichinopoly. Mr. Kaye came to England on leave of absence in the spring of 1842, bringing the collection with him which he presented in his own name and that of Mr. Cunliffe to this Society. He drew up a short memoir, describing generally the structure of the country from which he had obtained the fossils, which was read on the 29th June 1842; and that memoir, together with two reports, the one by Sir Philip Egerton "On the Remains of Fishes," the other by Professor E. Forbes "On the Fossil Invertebrata of the Collection," have, as you are aware, been recently published, forming the third part of the seventh volume of our 'Transactions.' Professor Forbes tells us that the collection is in every point of view of the highest interest, and that the fossils are as beautiful as they are interesting. The total number of species of Invertebrata is 178, of which 165 are Mollusca, 2 Articulata, 8 Echinodermata, and 3 Zoophytes, the greater proportion being from Pondicherry, or, more properly speaking, from South Arcot, being more within the English than the French territory. The evidence afforded by these fossils as to the age of the beds in which they are contained, makes it clear that they are cretaceous; that in two of the localities in which they were found the beds are equivalent to the Upper Greensand and Gault, and in the other to the lowest division of the cretaceous system in Europe. We are thus indebted to Mr. Kaye for some additional precise and valuable information respecting fossiliferous deposits in Southern India, the great importance of which in a geological point of view must be allowed, when we consider the comparatively limited extent of our knowledge respecting the distribution of animal life in the seas of the tropics during the secondary period. We know little more than what we have learned from the valuable memoir of Captain Grant on the district of Cutch, published in the fifth volume of our 'Transactions,' and from these researches of Mr. Kaye. Although unpracticed in geological investigations, he undertook to follow out the hints afforded by Captain Newbold, and overcame all difficulties, through his sagacity and ardent love of science. His collections in our Museum are a monument of his zeal. During his stay in England he neglected no opportunity of getting together whatever information was likely to aid him in the prosecution of his researches. He returned to India in October 1845, prepared to investigate the interesting district upon the structure of which he had already thrown so much light; but he was shortly afterwards attacked by a disease which terminated his existence in July last, in the 34th year of his age."

Mr. Kaye seems to have committed very little to paper, beyond what has appeared in the Transactions of the Geological Society. Before his death, however, he was engaged in investigating the subject of Indian palæontology in general, and a few of his rough notes on this subject have been placed at our disposal. These we hope on a future occasion to turn to account, although they have been left in a very imperfect state.

ART. III.—*A Dictionary in Hindi and English: compiled from approved Authorities. By J. T. Thompson, Delhi. Calcutta, Printed for the compiler, &c.* 1846.

AMONG the subjects of inquiry connected with India, not the least curious or instructive is that of the changes in the languages of its people. One of the most noticeable of these changes is manifested in the Hindí,* and is especially interesting as being partly proceeding under our own eyes. Dim however are all the traces we can find of its earliest characteristics, and beyond a short distance we become enveloped in perfect darkness. The opinion that the Hindí is but an offshoot from Sanskrit is supported by such authorities as Colebrooke, Wilson, the Editor of the Bengal Asiatic Journal, and many others. For two reasons we would, with due humility, express our dissent from this. One is founded on the nature of the Sanskrit, which we think, in its *present* state, to be a *manufactured* language; and, so far as it is such, of more recent origin than Hindí. This is not the place to state the grounds of this conclusion, and we pass on to our second reason of dissent. This we found on the Hindí language. Of the members (Hindí being one) of the India-proper Family of dialects, Dr. Wilson says, "they are, as far as we are familiar with them, recognized as Sanskrit. They have undergone great changes; have simplified their grammatical structure; have suffered, in a greater or lesser degree, admixture and adulteration from foreign words. They probably also comprehend a small portion of a primitive, unpolished, and scanty speech, the relics of a period prior to civilization: but in names of things of the most ordinary observation..... they are almost wholly dependent upon Sanskrit."† The Editor of the Asiatic Journal, in a note appended to a communication of Mr. Hodgson, says, "we are by no means of opinion that the Hindí, Sindhí, or Páli had an independent origin prior to the Sanskrit. The more the first of these, which is the most modern form and the furthest removed from the classical languages, is examined and analyzed, the more evidently is its modification and corruption from the ancient stock found to follow systematic rules, and to evince rather provincial dialectism (if I may use the word) than the mere engraftment of foreign words upon a pre-existent and written language."‡

* Formerly it was called Hindooee (Hindui). This has fallen greatly into disrepute; and very properly, as the rules of Sandhi are against it.

† Preface to Sanskrit Grammar, p. p. IX. and X.

‡ Hodgson's Illustrations of Buddhism, p. 188.

If one language is to be recognized as another, because many of the words are from the latter, then English is to be recognized as Latin. But we can hardly conceive this to be the ground which is taken. History throws a satisfactory light on such cases. When one tribe overcomes another having a different language and settles among them, as the Brahmans did, the conquerors gradually adopt the same mode of looking at objects as the more numerous body of men amongst whom they dwell, but retain very many of the names they formerly gave to these objects. England, France, Persia afford instances of this. We are sure that India is another, and thus account for the large proportion of Sanskrit terms in Hindí.*

Moreover, we think, that one language must be considered independent of, though not, on this ground, unrelated to another, when the grammatical forms of each are different—just as Persian is regarded as another tongue than Turkish, though having many of the same words. It is not enough to say, that the original stock has been modified or corrupted. We know that a newly formed language retains that of the grammatical structure of the language from which it is drawn. Yet there is very little similarity between the Hindí forms and the Sanskrit, except by direct derivation. If, however, this difference has been caused by 'following systematic rules,' then the Greek would have much more right to be placed among tongues not having 'an independent origin prior to the Sanskrit.' The two languages are remarkably alike in some of their nominal and verbal inflexions; and, besides, have numbers of roots corresponding in sound and in meaning. Any one may see the resemblance between the Greek roots δο *(do,)* εσ *(es,)* εστ *(est)* εφυ *(ephu,)* λειφ *(leiph,)* λαμβ *(lamb,)* &c., and the Sanskrit *da, as, ast, abhu, lip, labh,* &c., having the same sense. Would the Editor say that the Greek is posterior to and dependent on the Sanskrit? The relation of case is expressed in Hindí by particles placed after the noun: in Sanskrit by certain forms affixed to the verb. The refined and lengthy system, averse to all auxiliaries, for the conjugation of the verb in Sanskrit, is strikingly contrasted with the simple forms of the Hindí and its frequent use of auxiliaries. There are verbs in Sanskrit which act as auxiliaries, but they are joined to 'adverbs, or nouns converted into adverbs,' and are very different from the auxiliaries used in Hindí—*their* object being to accomplish modifications of meaning as the same verbal root. Besides in Sanskrit,

* It is by no means a trifling argument in favour of our view, that the principal relics of the 'primitive speech' are *verbs*, and not nouns.

the most common form of verb is that compounded with prepositions. We have not one instance of this in Hindí. We get compound roots to which the Hindí inflexions are appended; but then these are drawn from the Sanskrit direct, and are not characteristic of the Hindí. The speakers of a language would not be inclined to renounce this mode of conveying thought; but would be more likely to adopt it—if they had it not. And the fact of the Hindí not having it except through Sanskrit, is a strong argument for its distinctness from that language. These considerations appear to us decisive and prevent us from regarding Sanskrit as the original 'stock' of the Hindi. We can account for a number of the words being the same; but each language fails to stand the test of sameness with the other. They are of the same great family; but we require a different light to what we have, ere we can say which was the founder. We believe, indeed, that it will be long before any one shall be singled out to fill that place.

Like all other extensively spoken languages, the Hindí has various dialects, in some of which marked peculiarities exist. Among these the most noted is the Brij-bhasha, which has almost established itself as the mould into which Hindí poetry shall be run. In addition to this, Mr. Elliot, in a map contained in his 'glossary,' distinguishes eight other local dialects. The Brij is a dialect rather from its sounds, the others from their words. These are characterised very much like the dialects of other languages, and all have the same grammatical basis. The grammar is very simple, and in its use of auxiliary verbs presents a close affinity to European languages.* With some unimportant changes, a few apparently for euphony, the Urdú has taken this grammar. The distinction, between the two languages, is frequently said to lie in the Hindí drawing on an indigenous or Sanskrit source, and the Urdú on a Persian or Arabic. It may be well, for the sake of defining, to make this representation, but we must not forget that in usage many exceptions would be found. The early writers of Hindí, as Bihari Lál and Tulsídas, are not without words which would be called Urdu. The staple of their words is Sanskrit, and their style is above the comprehension of the body of the people, for whom some interpreter of their works is needed. And although they wrote apart from the suggestion or superintendence of foreigners, yet we believe the Premságar would be said to be purer Hindí. No one hesitates, however, to place the Satsay and

* The scholar will recognise, in the plural termination *an*, a form to which he has been accustomed—*en* of the Teutonic. The difference of the vowels *a* and *e* will occasion no difficulty.

Ramáyan among pure Bháshá* works. But what are we to make of the usual written and spoken language of the present time? The epistles written in Kaithi, (the written character of the Nágarí) or Nágarí; the literary scraps, generally poetical; and the native newspapers published at Benares in the Nágarí, are all characterised by a greater amount of Urdú words than the writings of an earlier period. But among the Hindus, and we might add Mahommedans too, there is little or no idea of what belongs, or is foreign, to either tongue. The opinion expressed by some young Pundits, we dare say, would be found that of most natives. When spoken to on the necessity of cultivating the *bháshá*, they, in substance, replied, 'we do not know what you mean by Bháshá; the only distinction we make between words is Sanskrit or not Sanskrit.' We often hear from the people, inhabitants of a city especially, a combination of Urdú and Hindí which no test of the kind stated above could resolve. Extract the terms used on religious subjects—the remainder shall mar our ideas of linguistic symmetry, and be opposed to our standard of purity. There is, however, an absence of Arabic and Persian genitives, &c., such as are found in Urdú works. But these works themselves do not agree to the rule. For example take the Bágh-o-Bahár. We have opened the edition of that work, published by Dr. Forbes with vocabulary, at two different places. The first passage contained twenty-eight words of all sorts, and of these twenty-four were neither Persian nor Arabic. The second had thirty-eight words. Omitting auxiliary verbs, and the particles, which are all Hindí with the exception of a note of exclamation marked both S. and P. (Sanskrit and Persian) and a P. conjunction, there were left nine Urdú and twelve Hindí words.† This result may surprise some who speak of Urdú as if it were, grammar excepted, quite distinct from Hindí. And if these sentences be a fair specimen of the style of the book, and, as they were taken quite at random and were not among its pure Hindí parts, we have no reason to doubt they are, they go to show that Urdú has something else, to a larger extent even, than Persian or Arabic terms. *Something like* the rule certainly holds; but not in the broad manner usually laid down. We must, therefore, on all accounts, look on Hindí as the most important of the elements forming the speech by which we communicate with the natives of Hindustan.

It is not easy accurately to define the limits within which

* The term used by Hindus to express their vernacular, and that it is not Sanskrit.

† There were fourteen Hindí,—but it happened that two were each twice written.

Hindí is the vernacular. In a general way it may be said to be so in Behar, Oude, the Rajpútana states, and all that is under the jurisdiction of the Lieutenant-Governor of the North West provinces. *Travellers* say that they can make their way all over India by means of Hindí! All educated Mussulmans speak Urdú; but the lower non-agricultural and agricultural Mahommedans verge towards, and generally speak like the Hindus. According to the rough statistical return, published by the Government of the North West, the proportion of Hindu to Mahommedan is as nine to one: and if Behar and the Sagur and Nerbudda territories were included this proportion would probably rise.

The study of Hindí by our countrymen has been very slight. Beyond the Prem Sagur few have read any thing—exclusive of those who have intercourse with Hindus on other points than such as relate to law or commerce. The mass of the population who live apart from educated Mahommedans or Europeans, and have had little to do with courts, will be found to speak in a manner which only a small number of their rulers could understand. We have heard a respectable Munshí, a Mussulman, acknowledging his ignorance of what was said by some Ganges boatmen, residents of his own city. Most Europeans, (though quite at ease in conversing with Vakils,) such as have read Urdú, or those accustomed to talk with educated men, have been in similar circumstances. Some one to explain being at hand, this fact has not made a lasting impression, or induced inquiry into the causes of the difficulty in comprehending the speaker. Difference of pronunciation only partially accounts for it. Even a good knowledge of Hindí would not clear it all up; for there are forms in use among the uneducated classes entirely unnoticed by the writers of grammars of this language. Facility in the use of it would be helpful, and, with learned men, almost sufficient to enable us to understand whatever might be uttered.

Besides, Hindí boasts of a literature, and on this ground alone would be worthy of attention. There are more works; some of them, we believe, more read; and, beyond all question, more influential upon its readers and hearers than the Urdú.* That so few should have made efforts after a knowledge of it; that no whispering of its use and no indication of its power, should have been noticed by the majority who, in camp or court, have dealings with those who handle it, and whose mental furniture it supplies; and that some go so far as to say that there is no real need for a dictionary of its words;—all this tends to

* We hope at a future opportunity to review something of the Hindí literature, and illustrate the hints given above.

show how unwilling we are to penetrate below the surface—hardly ever, unless some special circumstance calls us to do so.

There have been, and are, instances of another kind; and, as confirming our own ideas, we quote from the preface to Major Broughton's 'Selections from the popular poetry of the Hindus.' "Many reasons might be offered for our neglect of the 'Hindí language, but perhaps none satisfactory; for the advan-'tage of clearly understanding, and being understood by those 'whom we command, is too evident to stand in need of any argu-'ment to enforce it. We are very apt to contemn the common 'language of the Hindus as illiterate and vulgar; and as one 'used only by the lowest classes of the people: whereas, in fact, 'it is simply rustic and not vulgar; can boast of many admirable 'literary productions; and is spoken by every description of 'Hindu, in all the Western Provinces of our extensive empire. 'A principal reason for the general neglect of the Hindí lan-'guage, is the facility of communication with our Hindí, as well 'as Mahommedan subjects afforded by the Urdú.....With this 'language, however, few of our Hindí sipahís are conversant 'when they quit their native villages. In the course of a long 'service they doubtless acquire more of it, but throughout their 'lives, they generally retain so much of their original dialect, that 'it not unfrequently requires a third person to interpret between 'a veteran soldier and even his experienced officer." pp. 3 and 4.

The inconsiderate adoption, by our earlier authorities in this country, of the forms of the Mahommedan rulers, has contributed much to keep the Hindí from occupying its proper place. The use of Urdú in the civil courts is a step in the right direction, and we hope the time is not for distant, when petitions or complaints, in Núgarí or Kaithí, shall be received in all the courts of the North West, as freely as the indescribable and absurd Persianized Urdú now in vogue. At present we question whether one half of those having cases in the courts could tell the meaning of what had been written, although the materials were given by themselves. Why might they not tell their story in their own way? It would be a wide and a wise advance. Yet when one sees how very hard it is for men to break the swaddling bands thrown around them to guide their first attempts; how very gladly many would return to the old and often unreasonable modes which they first used; how frequently a season of progress is followed by one of retrogression; he might fear that again the Persian would be established in its former position. In this, however, there would be the more hope of the further step to Hindí being taken, when the move forward should again be the wish of those in power.

We have no desire to keep the Urdú and Hindí as distinct media of intercourse. All seems tending to an amalgamation, and we are sure that no efforts to keep them apart will be of avail. It would be the part of wisdom, then, to aim at producing a suitable and considerate union, instead of stickling for purism. A few intelligent men might direct their minds to this end so as to guide the undiscerning people to a cautious result, and prevent after generations from the regrets, which nearly all Englishmen have felt, that more of the Anglo-Saxon element had not been preserved in the English language. The Hindí and Urdú are more nearly related than were the Anglo-Saxon and Norman French. They sustain, however, a somewhat similar position to each other, and, though we hardly look for the former to supplant the latter, we do anticipate its being more largely used. And we think that the Hindí element should have attention fixed upon it, for the very purpose of being drawn upon for words and idioms. Lest we should be understood as advocating some uncouth barbarous combination, let us mention what we mean by taking more of the Hindí element.

Verbs in Urdú are frequently formed by taking a Hindí verb and associating with it an Arabic or Persian noun.* Four or five of these Hindí verbs are very ready to dance attendance on, and take into all sorts of positions, these strangers. They are exceedingly pliable—above the extreme of politeness. But one does not like a string for a staff, or a daw in peacock's feathers. As a matter of taste such heterogeneous alliances are objectionable. They make solecisms which could be easily avoided. For there are single verbs in Hindí which would, in general, equally well express the idea conveyed by the union of foreign noun with native verb. We would take the former, when used by the people, and substitute them for the latter. Both purity and simplicity would be gainers by this, and a helping hand to the attainment of a vernacular patent to all would be given. On a similar plan, and for like reasons, Persian or Arabic forms, with a few exceptions, of the genitive and plural—certain nouns, &c. would we exclude. Perhaps the nearest approach to the style we should wish to be aimed at, is found in the Baitál pachísí or Singhásan battísí. Those who have had intercourse with the Hindus and lower Mahommedans of a city, would be found assenting to the statement, that these works are better representatives of the usual style of conversation among such classes, than either the Bagh-o-bahar on the one hand, or the Prem Sagur on the other.

* Occasionally Persian verbal roots have the Hindí conjugational affixes. In such a case, however, they remain no longer aliens; but are naturalised by 'act of usage.'

A question may arise as to the source from whence we would draw scientific terms. Mr. Thompson in his preface advocates the insertion from Sanskrit of whatever such terms are not found in the vernacular. On the supposition that Urdú and Hindí are to be kept distinct, this would be obviously right; but as the two must be gradually fused into one, we could not accord with this procedure. We are no more inclined to Sanskritised *Hindustani* (as we may call the amalgamation about to be), than we are favourable to Persianised Urdú. Yet from whence to adopt such terms is somewhat difficult to tell. The *thing* must be known before the *term* for it can be understood; and though a long word in such circumstances be as easy as a short, yet there are some compounds,* made up of well-known terms, that would aid early comprehension. We should much prefer the natives themselves to decide upon this matter; but as they are likely to be guided by their European teachers, it would be needful for the latter to consider well on what plan they should regulate their translations.† When the thing was not known to the Hindu, or not so well known to him as to the Arab, this might give the preponderance to an Arabic term; and when the case was reversed, to a Sanskrit—supposing no colloquial word, or combination of words, would express it. Where there was nothing special to turn the balance, some such indefinite considerations, as greater suitability, ease of pronunciation, connexion with words in common use, likelihood of being understood, should decide on the term sought for.

However, it is time to proceed to the fulfilment of the right we have assumed to ourselves, of passing a judgment upon the merits of any book that may come before us. We trust that the preceding observations will not appear very wisely connected with reviewing a Dictionary of the Hindí. Our design has been to obviate any objection that might exist to such a Dictionary because it appeared unnecessary. The Hindí language in itself is attractive; it is very extensively spoken; it is the foundation and forms the principal element, of the Urdú; it has an influential literature; and the two should be cautiously, but perseveringly, and to a greater extent, made to unite, in order that the desirable result of one vernacular for Hindustan proper,

* We refer here to words such as those with *Kona*, describing certain mathematical figures. Why should a man, from the absurd fear of not speaking or writing *pure* Urdu, adopt terms from the Arabic when he has panchkona, chahakona, &c.—the exact equivalents to pentagon, hexagon, &c. and in harmony with the genius of the vernacular?

† Many of the terms must be *transferred*, and it might be advisable, as a general rule, to transfer. The difficulty would be the same.

might be facilitated. These considerations amply justify the compilation and publication of a Hindí Dictionary.

This, we believe, is the first general Hindí and English Dictionary. The dictionaries of the Urdú had, of course, many Hindí words; and Shakespear has frequently inserted them in their proper characters. Captain Price, in his Vocabulary of words in the Premsagur, has left a very good specimen of what was required, and, considering the time in which he issued it, deserving the highest praise. It was, however, intended to assist in the reading of that work only, and did not include even all the words used in it. This was succeeded by the Hindí Dictionary of Mr. Adam—an agent of the London Missionary Society at Benares. It, although exceedingly valuable, demanded some acquaintance with the language before it could be available, as both the words and significations are in Hindí. It would not be just to omit Mr. Elliot's 'Supplement to the glossary of Indian terms.' Though published for a special purpose, and embracing numerous words not Hindí, yet it refers to so many purely Hindu customs and views, as to afford, occasionally, aid otherwise unattainable, to the student, and be a valuable guide to future Lexicographers.* Still the want of a Dictionary suitable to Europeans was not met, and this is what Mr. Thompson has endeavoured to do. He applied himself long since to the work of compiling; but afterwards had made request to three individuals, in whose knowledge, skill, and ability he could put confidence, to apply themselves to this work.† Various circumstances have combined to throw the work on his own hand. We would congratulate him on the favorable completion of his toil and perseverance, and hope that he will be encouraged by an early and rapid sale.

Our wishes for a Dictionary for Hindustan are not yet realised. We need one embracing both Hindí and Urdú, thus to be of service in perusing any work in either dialect. We have no great fancy for any Dictionary which professes to give those

* We trust Mr. Elliot will soon fulfil the hopes he has caused to be entertained of the appearance of the second part. Now that the first part is out of print, we would say that it was very short-sighted in the officials of the Government of the North West to print so few spare copies, and at such a prohibitive price, of this valuable work; and that Mr. Elliot, though not now attached to the North West, would use his influence with its Government, to undertake the publication of a larger and cheaper impression. Or if Government would not do this, would it not allow others to do so?

† We have part of a manuscript Dictionary of the Hindí in our possession—possibly drawn up by one of the gentlemen to whom Mr. Thompson refers. If so, it is a matter of congratulation that the work has fallen on Mr. T. as his compilation is not slightly superior to the MS., though perhaps scarcely so well representing the city *Hindí*.

Hindí words only which are used in good Urdú; deeming this to be very much the same as if Johnson's Dictionary of the English, were to be published with the omission of all Anglo-saxon words not found in two or three of the principal English authors.

Since the beginning of this century the collection of words in the lexicons of certain languages has taken altogether a new and more scientific form. The help which one finds in them may tend to produce too unfavourable a judgment of those in which similar features may not appear. Besides, these languages have been long the object of study; many, skilful and learned, have expended their abilities upon them. Some of them too are not now spoken, and have the advantage of a few authors to whom appeal for words and their usage may be made. Still we are, surely, not expecting too much in a dictionary, designed for those who are groping their way to the acquisition of any language, that it should afford light on certain conspicuous points. A word is like a companion with whom we are to have long and intimate fellowship. We like to know about his parents, his place of birth, his age, the various events that have occurred to him modifying to a great degree his pursuits, whether or not we can agree with him, and in what matters we can calculate upon his cordial aid. To make a word a useful instrument of our mind, we wish to know whether it be a pure word, that is belonging to the language as a language, or whether it is affiliated to a different tongue, in one way or other brought into contact with the former. Besides, whether it be original or derived, expressing one conception, or a combination of conceptions; showing the source, or a point after something else has been added. We want to know how long it has been in use: whether one of those which was long employed, but fell into desuetude; or one which has come in to express thought at a later stage of the language: whether it be such as can be traced through all the developments of the language; or, on the one hand, it be used only in the elevated style of poetry; or, on the other, be confined to certain parts of the country. We wish to know if its form has at all changed, so as to be able to recognize it at any point: if it retain its early signification or has qualified or changed it: the serial steps by which that change has been accomplished: and whether these changes of form and meaning be local or general. In making such demands we may be thought too exacting. Mr. Thompson offers his compilation "to the reading portion of the community in general, and to students of Hindí and the patrons of its literature, in particular."

He conceives that, "there is no department of study which the present work will not be found to be helpful in advancing; and terms are to be met with in it both simple and abstract." We do not say that he has not effected what he intended; but, that there are various points, next to indispensable in a lexicon, of which he has taken no notice, and so far we consider his work defective. We are not of those who think that to make a dictionary is as easy a way of gaining fame as a man can take—that he is just to have enough of patience to write out strings of words alphabetically, and then put the various significations after each word. To us the compilation of a good dictionary appears one of the highest achievements of learning; and the man who arranges it, to be invested with an amount of knowledge of the principles of universal Grammar, of skill in detecting coincidences and unravelling perplexities, of acuteness in tracing the various shades of meaning in a word, and indicating to others where one goes off into another, such as very few indeed possess. If any of our readers think we are magnifying the difficulties of getting a satisfactory dictionary, let him sit down and write all he can about such words as *thikáná, pakká, kámáná;* taking our hints, as to what is advisable, for a test of whether he has done the work well or not.

There are reasons why we might have expected something more than Mr. Thompson has given. In Price, Shakespear, &c. we learn by letters whether a word be Sanskrit or Hindí, Arabic or Persian. Why has this good custo[illegible] been forsaken? Not because there are only Sanskrit and Hindí words in the compilation, and little good would result from distinguishing the possessions of each. For though we have noticed few words from sources not Indian, we have seen *bairakh, kalam, palak;** and various words in the idioms as *gair, tauba, zamín, &c.* Such words however, as *bádsháh khabar, qaid, hazrat,* all of which are employed in the Bhaktimál, no late work, are not found. In the present state of the languages of Hindustan it is very needful that the difference in the origin of words should be shown.

Price and Shakespear, generally, give the derivation of words. We have not noticed one instance in Thompson. Yet to know how useful it is, take only one instance—the verb *Dháná.* Mr. Thompson gives the following as its significations: *To run, to make haste; to toil and labour, to drudge; to worship.* One is very apt to doubt of any people making it openly appear that

* May not the last two words be both Hindí and Old Persian; just as *begar* belongs to both? v. Elliot's Glossary under 'begár.' So also of the verbs noticed on p. 9. *note.*

they esteemed their worship a drudgery—as would be the case if the same word answered for both. We get the explanation of this difficulty in both Price and Shakespear. *Dhánā*, in its sense to worship, is derived from *dhyán*, religious meditation; and its other meanings from *dhaw* to go or move.

Following the example of his predecessors Mr. Thompson has given the pronunciation of each word in Roman letters. When *quoting* so directly from his compilation we use his own system, though far from liking it. It is defective and inappropriate. It has no way of distinguishing the cerebrals from the dentals, the long 'u' from the short 'u.' In writing English we might prefer something like this mode of his; but in scientific works we look, if not for more accordance with that system to which the sanction of *our* usage is given, at least for so much consistency and specification as to prevent doubt as to accuracy of sound. In that Romanizing system in which every sound has its equivalent letter or mark, a wrong mode of pronouncing is but too easily acquired. Where each sound has not a definite representative this evil is greatly aggravated.

In no Urdú or Hindí Dictionary as yet have we seen any regular effort to point out poetical, obsolete, or local words—with the exception of a few of a certain class in Shakespear. We learn nothing of the time when a word enjoyed what may be called its classic use, nor, in the use of a rare word, who used it. These points are still desiderata.

In the case of a change in the form of a word, Thompson is much better than Shakespear. The latter, however, is not open to blame as his is professedly a Dictionary of the Urdu, in which these changes are seldom observable. In Hindí they occur frequently, and Mr. Thompson has inserted many as *páthar*, *rákhna*, &c.; but omits *lágná*, *tháki*, and others. In not finding one set of forms we have been much surprised. Rarely if ever is an instance of the very common practice of inserting 'w' in the causal form of the verb taken notice of as *bajáwná*, *sikháwná*, &c.

The dictionaries in use in Hindustan are susceptible of great improvement in tracing the various and related significations of the same word. They ought not to be thrown together as a medley; but, by position and symbols, have the priority, dependence, consistency, and connexion amongst the several inserted meanings indicated. In some of the dictionaries numerals are used to show these differences; but leaving yet plenty of scope for improvement. Mr. T. uses the semicolon, seemingly to distinguish one variation in sense from another. The logical depen-

dance has, however, been frequently violated, and of this we will give instances. Price in his vocabulary has as follows:

Aparâdh.—Offence, fault, transgression. Mr. Thompson puts in 'crime' as second meaning and adds 'guilt, sin.'

Aparâdhí.—A criminal, a sinner, an offender. To this Mr. T. adds 'transgressor, one culpable.' Shakespear in a somewhat similar manner confounds the significations, but we acquit them all of thinking with Tallyrand that a fault is worse than a crime. The terms are derived from *ap* away from, and *râdh* to complete. The first meaning would therefore be 'not doing-neglect': this would constitute a 'fault'; and hence an 'offence.' Etymologically the meaning 'transgression' cannot be sustained, and, perhaps, if customary native usage were accurately inquired into, it might be found that it always indicated a coming short, not an unconscious or resolute violation, of duty.

Dhoondh.—s. m. Dim-sightedness; haziness, mistiness, (Thompson). These meanings should be reversed: as natural objects must have been first observed, and from the haze or mist over them, which might be supposed before a man to obstruct his vision, the word would be applied to not seeing well; hence dim sightedness should be last.

Bhudr.—adj. Happy, prosperous, lucky, propitious, s. m. Prosperity, fortune, happiness; a fragrant grass *(cyperus)*; a wagtail. (Thompson).* We see no cause for arranging the meanings of adjective and substantive in a different order, but this seems to bear out our idea that the value of the logical order has not been appreciated. With such views as we may suppose the early speakers of this word to have had—connecting the present and its circumstances directly with something exterior and superior—the order should be 'Fortune, prosperity, happiness.'

We find no hint of a word being locally used, and such terms are very sparingly, if at all, given. Much benefit would have been obtained from Elliot's glossary, on some points in which we deem Mr. Thompson to be deficient. In extenuation he might urge the unfixedness of the Hindí. One goes to books written long ago—he finds the style very different from what

* We have purposely refrained from referring to the connexion which might be traced in this word between the material object and the mental conclusion; as the words may be different, although the same in sound. It may be worth noting, however, that it is deemed good at all times to see a bird, which from the description given is a wagtail; but in the month kartik if two be seen it is an omen of a lucky year. We can not learn of any bird which the people call *bhadr*; but this meaning is found in Wilson's Sanscrit Dictionary.

is now spoken. Is he to take all the words used in them? Then the books now written are few, and in some of them the style of former works is imitated; so that he has little help from them. Is he then, to take only the spoken language? But how can he collect the words on all subjects? For he can take only such as he knows are used; and how is he to know that many of them are not confined to the district in which he may be. These considerations do make us forbearing in our criticism, while we mention defects.

If we had the ability and leisure to make a Dictionary of the Hindí, we would get vocabularies made of the best known works, and add all other words we should find to be employed by the people. We would also take the works published by Europeans, in order to obtain certain classes of words. We would confine ourselves to these sources. The language of the books, especially the poetical, has very much Sanskrit mingled with it; but as the reading natives make use of these books, we should have no option in the matter. We should not deem ourselves to possess the right of inserting compound words which *might* be used because others similar to them have been: or to interpolate any term which we might imagine would supply a defect in the language. If we arranged the proper names at all we would adopt Adam's plan, and have them separate from the other words. If not to be given we would make exception in favour of words expressing a family, class, or tribe. Mr. Thompson has not supplied us with definite information as to how he has made his compilation. If we do not mistake the meaning of the following passage, he would seem to have drawn largely on the Sanskrit. "It will not, surely, be considered a fault in the present compilation that it embraces, and even abounds, with terms purely Sanskrit;....and such derivations must necessarily serve to enrich the language, whether spoken or written." "The compiler, therefore, hopes that he will be pardoned for having added to his compilation so largely from the parent language, terms, familiar, it may be, only to the learned part of the population, but hardly in use among the other classes of natives," p. iv. and v. He does this, first; because the spoken Hindí does not offer, he thinks, some needed words, for which the Sanskrit must be drawn upon. And, second, we quote his own words as we are not quite sure that we understand them right, "let, then the European scholar not hesitate, in his conversation and composition, to adopt a style that shall show his attainments to be on a par with those of the learned men of the country, at the same time that his judicious selection

of universally understood terms shall render his communication level with the capacities of all classes of people," p. v. Our objection to this plan is that it makes a Dictionary not of the Hindí language, but of that and something more. It is, therefore, so far misleading; and we think Mr. Thompson has been drawn aside by it. Any one taking up his Dictionary will easily discover the great proportion of compound words, many of which might well be omitted, see, for example, words compounded with *bahu*, *dharm*, *dhírgh*. These compounds may be all in, or according to, Sanskrit, yet if not in Hindí why should they be inserted? We would not mark such copiousness as a fault if all the compound words were given; but we do not find some words* which are used in Hindí works as *andhan* wealth in grain, *chhbitipat*, a land-proprietor, *mangaláchár*, rejoicing, *andhádhundh* blind, blindly, (Shaks); hence, one who sees not the right, unjust.

Under certain words idioms are given, for some of which there is no cause, e. g. under *bát*, *háth*, as the meaning is very clear from the several words of which they are composed. Shakespear seems to have been followed in this matter, yet not wisely. It was, doubtless not the cold weather when Mr. Thompson was at the letter 'g,' or he surely would not have omitted from the idioms under *galá*,—*galá bigarná*, to have a sore throat We have repetitions of words, with their meanings attached, rather superfluously on the same page; as *dos* and *dosh*, *bhusum* and *bhusm*, *bit* and *bitt*.

We have noticed a want of many of the terms used in the different arts and sciences. In Rhetoric, the following terms, used in a Hindí work, we have not found. *Upamey* to be illustrated by *Atyuktá* hyperbole. *Vritty-anuprás* alliteration. We expected to have an explanation of the technical words applied to the different kinds of verse; as Dohá, chaupái, Kabit, Tuk, Pad, &c. and we obtained, "*Dohá*, a couplet, distich; *Chaupái*, a sort of metre or verse, consisting of four feet *(pud)* or lines; *Kubit*, a sort of verse, poetry; *Pud* a foot or rather line of a stanza; *Took* one line of a poem, a rhyme." This is not clear. How are we to distinguish *Doha* from *kabit*? Is a *chaupai* two *dohas*? Are *tuk* and *pud* the same? The want of suffi-

* Once for all we would state, that owing to different modes of spelling words, as 'b for v,' sh for s, &c; or a different arrangement of the letters, we have frequently thought words, which we ultimately discovered, had been omitted. We have taken care to look at the different places, where by some chances and changes a word might be and believe that in no instance mentioned by us shall the term be found. Mr. Thompson is partly to blame for this, as he is not consistent in his mode. For example the double letter, 'ksh' is put in 't' after 'k,' and in 'bh' at the end of all the consonants.

cient definiteness is a great cause of inaccurate impressions. *Doha* is literally 'a couplet.' Yet it would be correctly represented by the English common metre in which the first and third lines do not rhyme, each of *these* lines would be a *tuk*. But the natives reckon only two lines to a *doha*, yet say that there are four *tuk*, not *pad*. The commonest measures of *doha* are twelve and fourteen *mátr-a*—a consonant with a vowel sound attached. *Kabit* is a short poem. It is said, there are five different kinds as there are more or fewer *tuks* in the *kabti*. All *chaupais* may be *kabits;* as all *pads* may be *tuks;* but we cannot reverse this.

There are many terms connected with agriculture which we do not find in the Dictionary. The compiler asks indulgent consideration for having seemingly neglected, it may be some of the easiest terms. We by no means censure him for this, as such words can with difficulty be all remembered. He will acquit us of all intention to be captious if we mention a few words and meanings, which we have met in reading or conversation, and have not seen in his work. We do not pretend to lexical accuracy in the significations. *Anat* or *Anthá*, a knot. *Anuktá*, incomparableness. *Apartá*, boundlessness. *Abír*, a powder used in the Holi. *Chatíl*, level. *Chhám* thin. *Nán* or *Náná*, small. *Banik*, a merchant. *Bharsak* with all one's power. *Geunra*,* land close to a village; generally considered to be good, and in which the poppy is usually sown, *Vritti* style. *Halsi* one who is delighted, a lover, *Sogandh* or *Saugandh*† an oath. *Tumhárá* and *hamárá* your and our.

Again, omissions of meanings—the words and some significations being given,—*Chola*, the outer envelopment of a man, the body. *Kolhu*, a sugar mill. *Prasang*, a discourse. *Parál*, straw (*of rice* should have been added). *Charháo*, an offering. *Saras* and *Sársái*, a lake, water. *Hár*, land at a distance from a village, *Palak*, twinkle of the eye, the link between 'eyelid and a moment.' We notice a word in this part which as it signifies changes that are occurring not seldom in these days, in the native as well as the European community, may not be uninteresting. *Dewálá*, bankruptcy. Shakespear ques-

* Mr. Elliot in his glossary gives goend. Our mode of spelling was taken from a Pandit in the Lower Doab; but in the Benares district we have heard goenrá. It is the same word, however. Easy and common changes account for the difference in form.

† This word is quite Hindí in its appearance, and we have found it in a Bhásha song. Shakespear however has marked it and we regard it as one of these words common to both languages in this meaning, and so notice the omission.

tions whether the word may not be derived from *déwáli*, barter; and intimates that the fortune has been dissipated in gaming. Very unlikely. The natives seem to be as much at a loss as Europeans to find out the sense of this word. One of them thus explains;—when a mahajan fails, the carpet of his office is turned over and a light placed upon it. The object of this is to shew that he is in search of his lost rupees. He is than called *diwalia*, a word which comes from *diwali* —a winter festival, in which great numbers of lights are burned; we doubt this too, but it might be tried for the funds of a Bank. Another explanation is as follows, and we deem it good though suspicious. We note it as we would have it inserted in the Dictionary. *Dewala* (from *diwala* wall), the wall or screen behind which a banker transacts his business; the removal of that wall or exposure of accounts, is bankruptcy. We can question whether the word in itself means bankruptcy, as is given by Mr. Thompson; or not rather always joined, to convey that signification, with *nikalna*. Hence, of course by the frequent use of this verb with the noun, when the latter alone can be applied to banking affairs, there would be no doubt about its meaning.

As instances of indefiniteness, we refer to *agrásar, upakárí*, in which the substantive and adjective meanings are mixed—to *par, pay* and *se* for confounding of meanings. The same might be tested by a reference to *káran, nimmit, máre, hetu*. So far as we have observed, the difference among these useful and frequently recurring terms is, that *káran* is the doing thing, the agent and not the instrument, the reason for; *nimmit* the cause as operating, the motive; *máre* 'struck with,' the occasion; and *hetu* the object for which, the design. One of these may often, under certain laws, be used in place of another; but one is not at such variance with itself, or so very closely allied to each other, as the significations given in the Dictionary would make appear.

We have remarked some minor defects too. Some months and days are explained by a reference to the English names; but those of *pús* and *sukarbár* are not so. The same thing is noticeable in reference to words expressing the peculiar tenets of Hinduism: as *nidhi* is fully elucidated; but *panchtatur* is not.

A number of proper names have been inserted in the body of this Dictionary, but very many are omitted. We would not plead for the insertion of all the proper names in, or even at the end of, a Dictionary, whose principal aim is for other classes of words. We wish only the more common. Here, however, we do not get *Udho*, the friend and messenger of Krishna; or

Balbír, Krishna's brother; or *Bírbal*, Akbar's celebrated Hindu minister; or the celebrated sectarian *Kabír*: besides many others always in the mouths of the people. Notwithstanding we find the new terms *Khrisht* and *Khristyan*. He does not give *Rúm*, and the only meaning of *Rúmi*, excepting its signification of a certain vegetable substance, is Grecian. This is by far too specific. The geographical notions of the natives of India have not been guided by the boundaries of separate countries. Mountains, rivers, seas; or treaties, language, habits, matter little to them in assigning a term or terms to mark the inhabitants of distant countries.

We had noted a few things more; but the fear of being considered tedious, induces us to stop. We deemed it right, however, to make no statement without furnishing *part* of the proofs on which we grounded it. And while we acknowledge that these may wear the appearance of being unfavourable to the Dictionary, we would beg that no one will give a different interpretation to our remarks than we allow. The Dictionary will fill a place, hitherto unoccupied, in the libraries of those who wish to know Hindí: we know not indeed how any such can get on without it. Mr. Thompson states that it contains about half a lakh of vocables. And though some are given, which might have been left out, and some are omitted that should have been found, it yet constitutes itself as the most complete and best Hindí Dictionary extant.

We have taken this opportunity of indicating what seem to be defects in all our Dictionaries of the languages of Upper India, making this one the occasion of expressing our views, as well as suggesting some things in which improvement might be made on itself.

We have noticed occasional errors of the press, yet they are not many. The whole getting up is very creditable to, and shows great improvement on the outward appearance of works issued from the Calcutta Press.

ART. IV.—1. *The Government Gazette and Acts of the Legislative Council of India.*

2. *The Acts of the Legislative Council of India, with a Glossary; an Analytical Abstract prefixed to each Act, and Copious Index, by William Theobald, Esq. Barrister-at-law and Advocate of the Supreme Court. Calcutta,* 1844.

WE purpose concluding in the present article our cursory and chronological review of the Legislative Acts of the Council of India: but before we proceed, we must renew the claim which we have already made to the candid and even kind consideration of the friends of free discussion and the public. The field we are upon, is new; we are but pioneers, to point the way, we trust, to many others after us, who may, we believe, find some useful hints in these pages.

Our last notice came down to the end of 1844. Act No. I. of 1845, (such is the usual mode of quoting Acts of the Legislative Council) is an Act to *amend* Act No. 12 of 1841, &c.; which last mentioned Act was an Act for *amending* the Bengal Code in regard to sales of land for arrears of revenue. The *manner* in which this so-called amendment is made, deserves to be pointed out and commended; it is, by repealing the former Act, and re-enacting it *in extenso*, with amendments. When amendments, as in the present instance, bear but a small proportion to the whole of an Act, this plan appears to involve an unnecessarily large expense of printing and paper; but all things taken into account it is really economical. For, nothing is more usual, than further amendments rendered necessary by previous ones; and amendments made in separate patches make the whole law unintelligible; the amendments may then be compared to pit falls for the public, and the law becomes a snare and a net in the hands of the lawyers. We must however, observe, that the method which we thus commend is not generally adopted in the Act book of India; and probably we are indebted for it in the present instance, to the direct interest which the Government has in the subject matter. Obscurities in this great revenue sale law, would only multiply references from all parts to the Board of Revenue, and heavily tax the time of the Collectors. Generally, amendments of Acts are made as in the English Statutes: by bits and scraps, which the legist and public are left to collate and put together. In the present Act, the *substance* or object of the chief amendments is as commendable as the manner of them. They substitute what is fair and equitable for arrange-

ments which were equally pernicious to the landholder and the Government. They abolish a wrong, which consisted in peremptorily selling property for arrears of revenue, on, we may say, the very instant of forfeiture, without any notice whatever, and, of course without any intermediate legal proceedings. Mr. Theobald, in one of his notes upon this Act thus describes the alteration effected by it:—

"The greater part of this Act, as will appear by the following notes, is a literal re-enactment of Act 12, 1841, which is repealed by the above Section. The alterations are chiefly in the 3d and 6th Sections: and their object is, to give notice to the public of every estate which is in arrear, and of its liability to be sold, unless the arrears are paid on or before a day also notified. This notice to the public is adapted to produce competition at the sale, by attracting bidders. It also informs mortgagees, and other non-resident or distant proprietors, of the danger in which the estate is placed, and which may be owing to the negligence or fraud of their agents or Mookhtear.

By the former law, certain fixed and general sale days were appointed by the Sudder Board of Revenue. But what estates would be sold, could be known only to the Collector, to his officers, and to persons attending the sale; because the arrears were payable until sunset of the next preceding day. The sale day was known by reason of the general orders of the Board of Revenue but not the particulars of sale, because, practically speaking, there was no interval between the sale and the forfeiture of the property.

The alteration made in this respect is as follows. The Sudder Board instead of appointing, as before, by notice in the *Gazette*, certain general sale days, is directed to appoint what may be called certain extreme general *pay-days*, and arrears will be receivable from the defaulters until sunset of the last pay-day, but not after. If the arrears are not paid on the last pay-day, the Collectors, who of course will act in this important matter under the orders of the Board of Revenue, will advertize the property for sale in the manner pointed out hereafter. This advertisement is new and is the great boon conferred by the above Act.

The first and second Sections of Act 12, 1841, are the only ones left unrepealed; the former itself merely repeals previous regulations: the latter merely prohibits the demand of interest on arrears of revenue."

Act 2, is an Act for *Bombay*, for regulating the punishment of adultery in the Courts of the East India Company. The punishment which it prescribes is fine or imprisonment or both, at the discretion of the Court, and it abolishes every other kind of punishment. The Act also regulates the right to prosecute, confining it to the husband, both as against the wife and the paramour. However well this may accord with European ideas, it may be questioned, whether it is consonant with the interests of Hindu and Mussulman Society. The right to prosecute, if the offence belongs to the branch of criminal law, obviously should be given, to all who are injured by the offence, and therefore should not be denied to the father, brother, or other near relations, on whom falls, the maintenance of the peccant daugh-

ter, sister, &c On general principles therefore this would seem to be a bad law.

Act 3, establishes an uniform rule respecting security for costs on *appeals* from all courts in the *Bengal* Presidency. The rule which it prescribes is, that it shall not be necessary in every case for the court of appeal to take security; but in every case security may be required, before the respondent shall be called upon to answer. This appears to be a just restriction; sufficient on the one hand to check an abuse, and not to prevent a fair exercise of the right of appealing: and adapted in every point of view to be a *general* rule; yet the Act is confined to the Bengal Presidency? Why? we may ask; not because a similar rule was already in force in the other presidencies: for, a few pages further on in the Act book, we come to an Act for Bombay (Act 8) on the subject of *appeals*, referring to an entirely different rule, and establishing an exemption from it in the case of public officers. The true answer to the above question is, that generally the Legislative Council merely registers the ideas of the different Presidency Governments, and have limited this Act to Bengal, it having been suggested by the Bengal Government.

Act 7, is an Act for *regulating* the levy of water rent, tolls and dues on canals for irrigation and navigation in the N. W. Provinces. The Act would have been more correctly entitled, an Act to *enable the Governor of the N. W. Provinces to regulate, &c.;* for, the Act neither prescribes a tariff, nor a principle to guide the local Government in fixing one, but gives a general power to that Government. Such unlimited power ought not to have been given. The principle on which the tolls on canals for navigation should be imposed are familiar in political economy, though not perhaps at Agra, and therefore they should have been expressed in the Act as rules for Government. On what principle the tolls on canals for *irrigation* should be fixed, may be open to some question: but for that reason, it was the more incumbent on the Governor-General in Council, to have laid down rules and principles for the local Government. This was the proper province of legislation. Here then we have another instance of the defective working of the Legislative Council. It may be said, the Governor of the N. W. Provinces is subordinate to the Governor-General, and therefore if he errs, open to correction. Granted, for arguments' sake; but errors would have been guarded against, if the Act had prescribed just principle, and the rules prescribed what have been exposed to discussion.

Act 9, is entitled an Act for *amending* the schedules of the *Import* Duties. The amendment consisted in raising to the

extent of between 50 and 75 per cent. all the import duties, and retaining the differential scale against foreign bottoms.

With respect to the differential duties,—when the single duties were low, three and a half per cent. ad valorem, for instance, the differential duty was only a *heavier* but hardly a *protective* duty: but when the single duty was raised to seven and ten per cent., the differential duty became indeed a prohibitory duty. It was remarked at the time in Calcutta, that the Act ought to have been entitled an act to diminish the consumption in India of British manufactured goods and European products generally, and to stop all direct trade with foreign countries. The Act has been repealed: which is a sufficient condemnation of it: but we note it here, as a legislative fact and a striking example of inconsistency. It was sent out by the Court of Directors to be registered by the Government of India; founded on notoriously exploded ideas; yet sanctioned, as it must have been, by the President of the Board of Control, a Cabinet minister, who, at the time, was giving his adherence and support to the wise and liberal principles of Sir Robert Peel's commercial policy;—adherence and support we have said;—It would rather seem that Lord Ripon's head moved not by an enlightened will, but according as the string was pulled by the prime minister or the prime oligarch of the Court of Directors.

We must not pass unnoticed Act 12, though its immediate object is minute and unimportant, namely, to enable the two chief Courts of the East India Company in Bombay, to assign to the office of Uncovenanted Assistant Register, any duties at present performed by the Covenanted Register. We present this Act as a striking exemplification of the very narrow powers possessed by the local or Presidency Governments over the *par excellence* so called "Civil Service." To entitle the Governor and Council of Bombay to transfer some of the duties of the Covenanted Register to his uncovenanted assistant, an Act of the Legislative Council was necessary. Such Acts as Act 12 properly understood will be as guide posts to discussion at the period for considering the Charter.

Act 15 is remarkable, for the consideration which it evinces, for certain minute *Civil* interests of Native Officers and Soldiers of the army of the East India Company. All law proceedings in the Courts, at every stage, are carried on upon *stamped* paper. This Act authorizes the courts to receive plaints from native officers and soldiers on *unstamped* paper, except in suits for *loans*, or originating in transactions of a commercial nature. The Act is a partial relief from undoubtedly one of the greatest grievances suffered by the people of India. But then the relief

is followed by a petty-fogging miserable farthing proviso, thoroughly characteristic, however. The stamps dispensed with in one clause are, by the next clause, to be charged in the decree "on behalf of Government to the party cast or to the parties respectively in such proportions as may be deemed equitable:" —which is a new and uncertain mode of levying these duties and makes the officers of the courts accountable to the Collectors of Revenue.

The Act contains another provision in favor of native officers and soldiers. Among the most useful Acts is Act 4 of 1840, for preventing affrays respecting land—and this it does by entitling parties who have been dispossessed by *force*, to be restored by the magistrate, without reference to any disputed *right*, *provided they make their complaint within one month* after the dispossession. By this Act the time for making the complaint is enlarged in favor of native officers and soldiers to such period as may be considered by the magistrate reasonable with reference to the distance of the party (i. e. soldiers) and the difficulty of communication.

This just, but still recondite provision, is characteristically illustrative of the sensitiveness of Lord Hardinge's administration, to the personal, selfish interests of the native soldiery. No Governor-General ever made so much profession of regard for the army as Lord Ellenborough: but medals and sweetmeats were all he was allowed to bestow on that army. Lord Hardinge, with little of profession, has bestowed upon it a variety of benefits of a substantial kind. The great majority of native officers have wives and families and are small landholders: in this Act, Lord Hardinge says to these brave mercenaries; 'You may safely leave your homes and homesteads, so far as respects the security of your possessions during your absence; though others should take forcible possession, you shall have the same benefit from Act 4 of 1840, as if you were on the spot to take advantage of its beneficent provisions.' The Act was clearly intended as one of many means of ingratiation with the native army.

Act 17, though on an obscure subject, we must notice as significant of the distrust which is evinced, whenever any new power or function is conferred on any of the subordinate courts or judges of the East Indian Company and of the lavish manner in which the right of appeal from one Court to another is given. This act is entitled an Act for the better enforcement of the attendance of witnesses in the Courts of the Moonsiffs in Bengal. The Múnsiffs are the lowest grade of native judges. The Act empowers them to require the attendance of witnesses out of their own Zillah, but ends with the following proviso:—

"Provided that all orders passed by Múnsiffs under this Act shall be subject to an *appeal* to the Zillah or City Judge whose decision thereon shall be final."

Act 19 is an Act for incorporating the Assam Company. The Company was formed in 1840, and had sunk and lost as some compute two-thirds of its capital in 1845, when this Act was passed. In passing this Act the Legislative Council was merely the Register to the Court of Directors; and considering the state of the Company's affairs at the time, we can scarcely regard this Act as honest towards the public in its tendency or character. To prevent the delusions so likely to result from the Incorporation of the Company, its capital stock should have been declared by the Act at its reduced and true value. It has been suggested that this Act was conceded at the hour of all but dissolution, as a sort of set-off or indemnity for disappointment suffered by the Assam Company in not realizing the advantages which were expected under the rules regarding free settlers on lands. The subject deserves inquiry; and we opine that if conducted in a searching manner and on an extensive scale, whatever the experience of the Assam Company may have been, the rules of the East India Company respecting the tenure of land as well as the native tenures, will be found generally unfavorable to the investment of capital and consequently to the development of the vast natural powers of India In the system of the Court of Directors, India appears to be regarded as a vast landed estate, fit for the location and maintenance of a certain number of civil servants, of the different denominations of judges, magistrates, and collectors. This is the one grand theory, but often as respects progress and improvement, India might as well be in Chancery. Here we have in Act 19, a ruined Company saved by an anomalous law from dissolution or bankruptcy: while young enterprize is every where discouraged either directly or indirectly. It would seem, the genius of imperial Britain, which has triumphed in all other quarters of the globe, may not hope to find favor for her sons in India, till she exhibits marks of decrepitude and senility.

Act 20 provides new Articles of War for the Government of the Native officers and soldiers in the Military Service of the East India Company, and deserves to be noted as signalizing the administration of Lord Hardinge. Before Lord Hardinge left, it was repealed and re-enacted with amendments.

Act 22 is an Act for enabling the Governor-General to carry on the executive government away from Council and was passed on the occasion of Lord Hardinge going to the Upper Provinces at the end of 1845. We have before pointed out the frequency

of Acts of this kind, and some of the consequences of the long absence of our Governor-Generals.

Act 23 is an Act to enable the Union Bank of Calcutta to sue and be sued in the name of the Secretary or Treasurer. It is remarkable that two companies in such circumstances as the Assam Company and Union Bank should have obtained special Acts in one year. To us it appears equally remarkable that the Union Bank Act should have contained no provisions adapted to the contingency which has now befallen the Institution.

Act 31 we notice, chiefly with a view to aid in giving publicity to its provisions. It is entitled an Act for exempting the Pensions of Soldiers and officers from attachment by process of the Courts of the East India Company:—which it does; and also makes null and void and of no effect, all assignments, bargains, sales, contracts, agreements or securities whatsoever, made after the passing of this Act by such Pensioner for any money to become due thereafter on account of the pension. But the Act is confined to *Bombay*, though the policy would appear equally applicable to the pensions of the whole army.

Act 32 is an Act to modify Regulation 1 of 1820 of the *Madras* Code, relative to manufacturing spirituous liquors by the European process of distillation. What may have been the regulation now modified we do not know; but from the present Act it may be inferred that it must have been virtually prohibitory of the European process of distillation. The object of this Act appears to be to allow persons manufacturing spirituous liquors by the European process of distillation to dispose of the same, under certain conditions within the Madras territories. In a degree to unfetter this branch of manufacture or trade appears therefore to be the object: and the best means certainly would have been simply *laissez faire*, to repeal restrictions and let it alone. But no; these improved liquors, for such we take them to be, must either be sold for exportation by sea, or to civil or military officers for the public service, or to abkarry renters for retail sale within the limits of their respective farms, and may not be sold to licensed retail dealers of Madras, &c. From this it may be inferred that the Madras Government supplies this improved commodity to the Madras army: and we beg to suggest to it the following mere commercial mode of estimating the utility to itself of such restrictions as the above. They enhance the price which Government has to pay as a consumer. Set off the enhanced price which Government itself pays, against the amount of its abkarry revenue for whose protection these restrictions are intended, and what would be the balance. We would venture to say the restriction costs the

Government much more than the abkarry returns in excess of what it would return if this trade were free. This is a matter of small moment, but it exhibits a violation of important principles.

The remaining Acts of 1845, which we have not specially noticed, are as follows:

An Act for *Bengal* to amend the law regarding the Registration of Deeds. An Act for *Bengal*, concerning the examination and appointment of Mahomedan Law officers. An Act to amend the Law regarding the issue of commissions of the Peace. An Act for empowering Courts to issue warrants in case of failure to serve summonses. An Act for *Bombay*, for the better management, &c. of funds for police and municipal purposes. An Act for *Bengal*, to provide for the appointment of Nazirs in the Múnsiff's Courts. An Act, extending certain privileges of the Bengal army to the armies of the other presidencies. An Act for the punishment of offences committed by convicts, &c. An Act respecting the appointment, &c. of agents for the suppression of the Meriah sacrifices in the Hill tracts of Orissa. An Act for regulating the time of the sailing of ships carrying emigrants from *Madras* to Jamaica, British Guiana, and Trinidad. An Act to regulate the granting, &c. licenses for the sale of spirituous liquors in *Calcutta*. An Act to empower the Government of *Bombay* to appoint Joint Zillah or Joint Session Judges. An Act for *Madras*, for enabling Session Judges to award fines in compensation to injured parties.

In the year 1846 only eleven Acts were passed, the smallest number in any one year since the establishment of the Legislative Council; in consequence of the absence of the Governor-General, and his being engaged in duties which left no leisure for legislation. Acts passed when the Governor-General is away, are styled as passed by the President of the Council of India, with the assent of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India: but the assent may safely be asserted to be merely formal; and no legislation of considerable importance can be undertaken or carried through when he is absent.

Act No. 1 of 1846, is an Act for amending the law regarding the appointment and remuneration of *Pleaders* in the Courts of the East India Company. It repeals a great number and variety of regulations, and establishes one set of rules, or one code on this subject, for the three presidencies. The class of Pleaders, in the Courts of the East India Company are not, as the term Pleader may popularly denote, solely advocates; advocates they are, but they are also legal draughtsmen: they draw the plaints, pleas, and other written proceedings, and besides, do the duties which in

English practice belong to the attornies. There is no technical law to prevent the Pleader also being the General agent in the cause as well as the legal agent; and the Pleader often in fact fills three characters; that denoted by his name; that of vakeel, which properly means attorney, and denotes an inferior kind of legal agency; and that of agent or múktear.

This Act opens the office of Pleader "to all persons of whatever nation or religion," subject only to the following restriction, viz.; that no person shall be admitted a Pleader unless he has obtained a certificate that he is of good character and duly qualified for the office. But barristers are excepted: they are entitled *as such* to plead in the Sudder (Chief) Courts of the East India Company. If however a Barrister chooses, as some have done, to establish themselves in these Courts, to exercise the miscellaneous function of Pleaders, it would appear, that they would be subject to the same rules of the Court as the Pleaders are.

By this Act the Pleader is allowed to settle by private agreement the amount of his fees or remuneration: but adverse parties under a decree for costs are only to be charged according to the rates fixed by an old Regulation, and which are graduated according to the value of the matter in litigation, and varying from five per cent. to one per cent., but restricted in the aggregate to 1,000 rupees (£100 sterling.) As Barristers are allowed to practice only as such, it would appear to follow that all the essential rights and privileges of their status are preserved to them: and therefore that their remuneration retains the character of a *quiddam honorarium*, and cannot be made the subject of bargain, nor enforced like that of the Pleaders by suit or action. We state these propositions as inferences. If this were the place for expressing our opinion, probably it would be in favor of the principle of allowing all remuneration to be the subject of bargain: as really the most economical to the suitors and public, and not at all derogating from the honor of the profession, according to any just theory or standard of morals, and adapted to put an end to illegitimate bargaining in India, where the professional rule is, 'make money any how you can.'

Act 2 is remarkable as a regulation of trade, in the important article of cotton. The summary of it is thus given in the index:

"Cotton wool unscrewed may be exported duty free from any 'subordinate port of the Bombay presidency to the port of Bom-'bay, and from any Madras port which may be exempted from 'duty."

"Cotton wool unscrewed may be imported into Bombay from 'any port of the continent of India."

This in 1846! This Act, of course, as far as it goes, is commendable: not positively however, but negatively, as the repeal of a highly objectionable restriction.

Act 3, for *Bombay*, and Act 1 of the succeeding year (1847) for the *North Western Provinces*, are for the establishment and maintenance of boundary marks,—the former, of *fields*; the latter of fields *or* estates: and the two acts are alike, with the exception of this minute, but important difference. Both acts are for objects highly commendable, viz., the better definition and security of landed property; the prevention of encroachments and disputes, and the identification of lands assessed to, or exempted from, the public revenue. Their practical value must depend on administration. There is no similar act for *Bengal*,—unless indeed, Act 9 of 1847, though it is for different purposes and less general, be similar.

Act No. 4 is an Act for amending the Law regarding the sale of land in execution of decrees in the territories subject to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal. The phraseology used in this Act to describe its territorial scope is remarkable, and raises in our mind doubts which may not occur to better informed persons. For, first the Act contains a set of rules for the *territories* subject to the presidency of Fort William in Bengal, *except* the N. W. Provinces; and then follow, a set of rules for the N. W. Provinces of the territories subject to the *Presidency* of Fort William, &c.; which expressions imply that the N. W. Provinces are territories of Bengal, *and* subject to the Bengal Government; but the fact is not generally understood to be so. The N. W. Provinces have a Lieut. Governor; a distinct system or establishment of courts, from the lowest grade to the highest; and when Bengal, as often happens, has a Deputy Governor, the Lieut. Governor of the N. W. Provinces, is, we apprehend, of co-ordinate rank, and not subordinate to him.

Act No. 8 is an Act for determining the duration of the existing settlement of the North Western Provinces; meaning, the existing current arrangements between government and the cultivators of the soil respecting the rent payable to Government, and the length of their terms of holding. The settlement, it appears, was made for different periods, and not always, as is said, according to the orders of Government. This Act, therefore, to avoid confusion and litigation, defines the period until which the *jumma* (rent) shall be considered as fixed in all villages comprized within certain specified districts: e. g. *Pani-*

put (district) until July 1st, 1872. *Hissar* (district) until July 1st, 1860. Twenty-seven districts are, in this manner, enumerated. The year 1872 is the latest, 1857 the earliest period at which any of the settlements will expire. Leases however for longer periods are to continue: and existing rents are to be payable after the end of the term, unless the renter has given twelve month's notice, or the Government shall have revised the settlement. These provisions vary little from the ordinary law of landlord and tenant. The law is a good one; but it may be hoped, that before any of the periods fixed in the Act shall arrive, the administration of the land revenue and the tenures all over India will undergo revision. The other Acts of 1846 invite no particular criticism, and are as follows:

An Act for placing the Police of Surat under the Magistrate. An Act for the more convenient administration of the Government of the country called the Bhutti Territory. An Act regarding the deposit of Diet money for witnesses in petty cases. An Act to authorize the Madras Government to extend to other ports within the Madras Territory, Act 4 of 1842 (on which we have animadverted.) An Act for regulating the proceedings in certain cases of distraint for arrears of rent. An Act for taking part of Candeish and Ahmednuggur out of the general regulations.

In the year 1847 twenty-three Acts were passed; the first eighteen, by the President of the Council, with the assent of the Governor-General; the last five, by the Governor-General in Council; and every Act passed since, may, we believe, be regarded as an arrear left by Lord Hardinge.

Act No. 1 of 1847 is the Act we have already mentioned, for the establishment and maintenance of boundary marks in the N. W. Provinces, and deserves commendation.

Act No. 2 is a declaratory Act, to relieve the Courts of *Justices of the Peace* from an interpretation, put by the Supreme Court of Calcutta on Act 5 of 1840. This Act, (Act 5 of 1840,) substitutes a solemn affirmation for the absurd practice, of swearing witnesses, on judicial proceedings, by the water of the Ganges or upon the Koran; and unquestionably, according to all recognized rules of interpretation, the Act applies to all Courts of all kinds and denominations; but *Dis aliter visum est*; the Supreme Court of Calcutta decided that itself and other Courts sitting by H. M.'s Commission, are not within the operation of the Act. We shall not repeat here our demonstration of the erroneousness of this decision: its effect was to reintroduce into the Calcutta Police Courts the practise of swearing by the water of the Ganges and upon the Koran, which the

Justices had discontinued, interpreting the Act as we do. The present Act merely takes the Courts of Justices of the Peace out of this decision and consequently again restores the solemn affirmation to those tribunals.

Almost every year gives us one and sometimes two Acts relating to Cooly Emigration. Act 8 of 1847 again permits, what had shortly before been prohibited, Emigration to take place from *Madras* as well as Calcutta: but under the costly, and in a degree illusory, though double, superintendence of one Agent for the Madras and another for the Mauritius Government.

Act 9 is "an Act regarding the assessment of lands gained from the sea or from rivers by alluvion or dereliction within the Provinces of Bengal, Behar and Orissa;" and is an Act of great importance, as it respects its practical scope or application. After specifying the Government Surveys, which have been made in certain districts, it provides that whenever on inspection of the Map, it shall appear to the Local revenue authorities that land has been washed away from or lost to any estate paying revenue directly to Government, they shall make a proportionate deduction from the revenue: and whenever, on the like inspection, land shall appear to have been added to any estate, they shall assess the same according to the rules applicable to alluvial increments: and when, on a like inspection, it shall appear that an island has been thrown up in a large and navigable river liable to be taken possession of by Government, they shall assess and settle the land according to existing rules on such occasions.

The existing revenue surveys are to be in force for the above purposes for ten years from certain specified dates, the earliest of which is 1839, and the latest 1845; from which dates we learn that between 1845 and 1847 no new survey was completed and that these surveys are of recent introduction: which facts deserve to be noted, as proof of the exceedingly slow and backward character of the Leadenhall-street Government. To the improvement which comes from without, and takes its rise in free discussion and in the action of enlightened opinion, it is all but impervious, in consequence of its system of secrecy.

Act 12 deserves to be mentioned, as making an improvement in the relative *status* of Múnsiffs and Sudder Amíns, (the two lower grades of (chiefly) native judges) as towards their superiors, the civil service judges. The Múnsiff has jurisdiction to the extent of 500 rupees (£50), the Sudder Amín to the extent of 1,000 rupees (£100). This Act, reciting "the more elevated position" which these classes now occupy in the judicial scale, abolishes the power which the Judge has hitherto had of fining them in case of slight misconduct and neglect of duty.

Act 15 is an Act to authorize the Governor of Bengal to appoint an officer to make a survey of lands in the Town of *Calcutta*. The survey is now in the course of being made, and is, we may hope, the harbinger of improvements much needed, which would, without it, be impracticable.

Act 16 is also an important local Act and perhaps connected in design with the preceding one. It is entitled an Act "for constituting Commissioners for the improvement of the Town of *Calcutta*, partly by appointment of Government and partly by election of the rate-payers." A similar Act was passed in 1840, but never came into operation from not having been adopted, as was required, by a public meeting of the inhabitants. This Act provides, that the Government should appoint *all* the Commissioners, unless within one month after it was passed, the inhabitants should do what was required on their parts to bring it into operation. This the inhabitants did. The Act provides that there shall be seven Commissioners, one for each of the four divisions of the town, to be elected by the rate-payers of the division, and three to be appointed by Government. The Commissioners who have been appointed by Government are, the Chief Magistrate of Calcutta, the gentleman who is making the survey of the town under Act 15, and an eminent Presidency Surgeon. The elections proved the immense preponderance of native influence, and that the natives took a very lively interest in the Commission. Three of the divisions elected native gentlemen, belonging to families of good consideration, and the remaining division a very young European who probably owed his election to the connection of his family with the old Conservancy arrangements. This result, on the whole, disappointed the English part of the community and among them many friends of Municipal Government; but, as appears to us not justly. The Native commissioners are young men, with a Hindu College education, and their ambition to take place by election of their fellow-citizens, and the support they have had from the general body of Hindu inhabitants, surely is matter for congratulation among the friends of progress and improvement, if it may be considered as an indication of the general feeling.

The Act provides that the Commissioners shall have such salaries as shall be fixed by Government. The salary which has been fixed is 250 Rupees per mensem, and is allowed to all of them, except the Chief Magistrate who has other allowances. These salaries are paid out of the assessments, and constitute a charge of 1,500 Rupees (£150) per mensem. The Commissioners appoint their own officers, but subject to the approbation of Government. They have appointed a Clerk at

600, a Collector at 400, a Surveyor at 600, and an Assessor at 400 rupees per mensem. The charge of the Clerk and of the Surveyor are now for the first time brought upon the assessment fund, and added to the charge of the Commissioners' salaries and some increase of establishments, considerably intrench upon the fund. But against this, the Act provides a new tax, upon carriages, keranchis, hackeries, carts, horses, ponies, and was intended also upon draught *bullocks* (the animals chiefly used for draught) but the enacting part of the Act omits them, and consequently has not given effect to the schedule which specified a tax for them. These taxes are not to be imposed until the Commissioners shall have submitted to Government rules for the assessing and levying of them, and these rules shall have been approved by the Governor of Bengal and the Governor-General in Council;—so that still, hope may be indulged that these taxes will not come into operation; and failing this resource, the Act presents another, free from all objection, except the popular one against all taxation; we allude to the house assessment, which, now five per cent., may, by the Act, be increased with the sanction of Government. The objections to the wheel tax are obvious. In India, carriages are not luxuries but necessaries, and many families having one, may fairly plead poverty as a ground of exemption. Many persons too poor to keep a carriage for their families, are still obliged to keep one to take them to the place of their daily occupations; and poverty obliges many to make one carriage serve for the common use of several. These taxes it is obvious press alike on persons between whose circumstances there is all the difference between poverty and affluence. Some of the carriages enumerated, (keranchis,) belong to and are used only by the very poorest people. As to hackeries,—many of them belong to the drivers, mere labouring people, whose implements of labour or trade they are, and which, as such, ought specially to be exempted, though other carriages were subject to taxation. On other grounds an exemption might be claimed for them: on a hackery which costs only 20 or 30 rupees, the annual tax proposed is 5 rupees; on a carriage which may cost 1500 rupees, the annual tax is but 32 rupees per annum; on a buggy the cost of which varies from 700 to 1000 rupees, the annual tax is but 16. The purposes also for which hackeries are almost exclusively employed—taking produce to and from the markets, and to and from the ware-houses and wharfs, afford an argument for exemption. Things used for such purposes are the very last things to be taxed, and not until there are no other taxables. The Schedule imposes a tax on draught tattoos, the very lowest description of pony and belonging only to the

very poorest people; on which ground they should be exempt as donkeys, for the same reason, have always been exempted in England. They will also be difficult to assess and collect and will be open to numerous evasions. A tax exhibiting such features is a bad one.

The only regular tax at present at the disposal of the Commissioners is the house assessment, which is five per cent, on the actual rent, where it can be ascertained, and produces about two and half lakhs of rupees or £25,000 stg. per annum, and consequently gives the assessed rental of Calcutta, at fifty lakhs of rupees or half a million stg. The premises assessed exceed seventeen thousand, of which by far the greater number are rated quarterly at less than one rupee or two shillings All are separately assessed, and none are exempted from assessment: and therefore the assessment lists afford some criterion to judge, if we had no other, of the condition of the mass of the population. The 17000 assessments are paid by about 10,000 persons. It has been calculated that about 300,000 persons earn their daily bread in Calcutta; if only half of them reside within its limits, in the 18,000 huts and houses under assessment, how indescribably wretched must be the condition of vast numbers of them, as it respects mere habitation, irrespective of the thousand nuisances of which the crowded masses are at once the cause and victims for want of Municipal Government.

The Act proposes excellent objects for the commission. After the payment of salaries, &c. it directs that the funds shall be applied to the following purposes, viz.

1. The formation of tanks and aqueducts for the conveyance of water to all parts of the town.
2. Opening streets and squares in crowded parts of the town.
3. Filling up stagnant pools of water and removing obstruction to the free circulation of air.
4. Lighting and watering the roads and streets.
5. Cleansing and repairing the same and the drains of the town.
6. And in improving and embellishing the said town generally.

And in order to effect these objects, the Act gives the hope that additional funds will be supplied by Government, which is said to have fifty Lakhs (half a million sterling) of the old Lottery fund, properly belonging to the town, besides other current revenue properly municipal, and which can scarcely be withheld if the commissioners present feasible plans of improvement.

The Commission has now been six months in existence, and is beginning to be reproached with having done nothing. And, *so far as appears,* nothing peculiar has been done; but from enquiry, we believe, that what has really been done amounts to much, though not apparent to the general body of the people, and is both a present good and contains the seeds of great reforms, the germ of fruits which will be public blessings. Nuisances of every kind were on the increase. The Commissioners have put a check to their increase, but it takes time effectually to attack and abate them, and much, in this respect, depends on the police, who are thoroughly inefficient, and much on the magistracy. Negligence was the order of the day—neglect of the roads, of the drains, of the lights, of the watering; neglect of every duty. For the heads to plan and devise as little as possible, and for the hands to get off with as little work as possible, was the system. All this is no longer the case; but the Commissioners have to work for the most part with the old establishments, which have to be taught that the Commissioners will not be satisfied with what satisfied their predecessors. The Commissioners have to mend the old tools, and fit them for their business; and besides this, they have to clear away the arrears left by the neglect of their predecessors. All this explains why, *so far as appears,* the Commissioners may be said to have done nothing. What has had to be done first, from the very nature of it, is not apparent, and reasonable men will not on that account lose their faith in the Commission.

Act 17 of 1847 is "an Act for remedying *a defect in the Law* regarding undiscovered defaults in the prosecution of suits." The Act describes the defect in the preamble; and it consists in the following rule:—

"That the discovery of defaults in the prosecution of suits and appeals invalidates all proceedings in such suits and appeals, which may have been had since the occurrence of the default:"

And to cure the defect the Act provides that a default shall be considered as cured, if the opposite party has neglected to take advantage of it and passed it over. We should have thought that on general principles of jurisprudence, defaults of form were cured by the opposite party passing them over, and that an Act to this effect was unnecessary.

Act 19 is an Act to make amendments in the Articles of War, which were passed in 1845 for the native army. This Act repeals the former Act and enacts anew one body of articles with the amendments. On the merits of these articles we do not feel ourselves competent to pronounce an opinion, except as

it respects their style and composition, which is simple, perspicuous, and concise, and their arrangement, which appears to us orderly and convenient. In a popular point of view they are chiefly remarkable, for reviving corporal punishment. The necessity for this is universally asserted by military men so far as we have had the opportunity of collecting opinions. By the articles of 1815, 200 lashes were permitted: by the present only 50, the maximum which can be awarded by any Court Martial: quite a sufficient number we should say for the only two useful ends of military punishment, example, and the giving to the mutinously inclined and the refractory, a motive for the immediate performance of some present act or duty, which cannot be dispensed with.

Act 20 is the new copyright Act. It establishes the same copyright in India as by the recent Act is established in England and is entitled, "an Act for the encouragement of learning in the Territories subject to the Government of the East India Company, by defining and providing for the enforcement of the right called copyright therein."

The remaining Acts of the year 1817, which we have not specially noticed, are the following. An Act to provide for the appointment of Constables and Peace officers at the *Straits settlements*. An Act for *Madras*, to enable the Governor in Council to appoint any military officer a magistrate. An Act to facilitate the execution of the sentences of certain courts established by the Governor-General in Council. An Act to establish a new copper currency in *Penang*, *Singapore*, and *Malacca*. An Act to regulate distresses for small rents in *Calcutta*. An Act for amending Act 30 of 1836. An Act relating to the transportation of convicts from *Hong Kong*. An Act relating to cooly emigration from *Ceylon*. An Act repealing parts of certain old regulations. An Act for curing the invalidity of the registration of deeds in certain cases. An Act to enable the Supreme Court of *Bombay* to do the same business out of term as in term: and one Judge to sit apart for the despatch of the Criminal business. An Act for the amendment of Act 31 of 1838.

Here ends the chief part of our labours; and it remains for us only to give some general elucidations of the Act Book, by grouping the Acts into a few principal classes. It is still a humble plodding task: but the diffusion of knowledge is our object, and a more useful one we deem, than that of the sophist which dazzles and amuses.

Acts relating to the GOVERNOR GENERAL: Of these, it has been seen there are several; and we have already animadverted

upon them. All of them, except one (Act 1 of 1834,) were passed for the purpose of conferring on the Governor-General individually, "all the powers of Governor-General in Council, except the power of making Laws or regulations." To our former remarks we will only here add, that Acts of this kind have been much more frequent than could probably have been anticipated by parliament. The objection, however, which they raise in our minds is less, to the large powers which they give to the Governor-General, than to the other consequence, that they leave the all important function of legislation to be carried on without the Governor-General. It is enough here to state,—this is not the place for arguing, the objection, as it would necessarily lead to a very long digression.

Respecting the PRESIDENCY GOVERNORS,—the next persons in official rank,—there is only one Act of the class "Personal;" but it is a remarkable one, and was passed on occasion of the Governor of *Madras* leaving the Presidency Town. Its object was to make the Governor's orders while away, as valid as orders of the Governor in Council. On the anomalous character of this Act we remarked in a former article.

We may next point out, as forming a separate class, the Acts, of which there are several, putting particular districts, usually on account of their disturbed state, under the orders of the Governor-General: who thereupon usually establishes a special Agent, Civil or Military, to govern them. There are also several Acts the converse of this kind; putting districts under the ordinary regulations and within the common legal jurisdictions.

These differences in the manner of governing have given rise to the distinction of provinces by the names of regulation and NON-REGULATION PROVINCES. On the policy of these Acts the public have generally no means of judging The motives for the latter class are political. Often, we believe, the emergency which gives occasion for them springs out of the untimely and unwise application of regular forms and systems to barbarous tribes and countries in a primeval condition.

The Acts relating to the REVENUE of course are numerous. The principal branches of the Revenue are, the Land Revenue, the Opium monopoly, the Salt revenue, the Customs, and the Stamps. Of these the first is by far the most productive and important; but from 1834 to 1848, from the first to the last page of the Act Book, there is not a single Act defining or modifying the principle or rule of assessment. We conclude that it is either not within the prescribed jurisdiction of the Legislative Council or is deemed not within the province of legislation. In, perhaps the half of Bengal, the Revenue is permanently settled: and to

this extent, the amount and principle of assessment are taken out of the province of legislation: but the rest of India is *khas* (Company's land) held for longer or shorter terms directly of Government, whose principal rule to guide the Collectors (the land stewards of India) judging from the result, appears, for the most part, to have been, "get as much as you can." We took the opportunity in the proper place of praising the new Revenue sale law; but it relates only to the parts of Bengal where the Revenue is permanently settled: and there are many other Acts of an auxiliary kind which deserve commendation, in a lower degree, because less important.

The OPIUM MONOPOLY,—which produces a revenue of from one to two millions sterling,—respecting this also, not a single Act has been passed by the Legislative Council. The terms of the Opium Monopoly on this side of India are contained in an old Bengal Regulation of Government. The poppy may be grown only in certain districts, and only for Government. These two rules have settled every thing, except the one great imperial-politico,-economical question: and that, we believe, is beyond the prescribed province of the Legislative Council

It is not quite the case with SALT as with OPIUM. The Salt monopoly, as it is still often called, has been broken in upon. But the monopoly rules are still contained in an old Bengal Regulation of Government, and have not been touched by the Legislative Council, probably also because they are out of its prescribed jurisdiction. The Directors take care of all such things. But, salt being a necessary of domestic consumption, and a universal condiment, even of the poorest people, a good deal of internal regulation on the subject has been necessarily required; and consequently, there are numerous Acts relating to Salt, alike with reference to the prevention of smuggling and the gradual cheapening of the article.

FOREIGN SALT being admissible now, this article also appears in the tariff of Customs: but the rate of duty is fixed, in Leadenhall Street, and is merely registered by the Legislative Council. Be the character of the salt and opium revenues what it may, the praise or the blame belongs to the authorities in England: and their repeal or modification, if repealed or modified they are to be, must be settled in England. To a degree of which the English public is quite unaware, the Governor-General and Governor-General in Council, and Presidency Governors and Governors in Council are the mere agents, with scarcely, a deliberative voice to take and carry out the orders of the authorities in England: and seeing such to be the case, we can-

not understand why great Indian interests which undoubtedly are connected with imperial interests have been so generally renounced by parliament.

FOREIGN SALT; the customs duty on this is imposed in an Act of the Legislative Council, but is fixed in England, at a rate supposed sufficiently moderate to let it in, to compete with the Indian article, the price of which is fixed by Government. The profit on the Indian article and the duty on the imported article are supposed to be equivalent. On a hundred maunds of salt the Government receives as much for duty, as it would make of profit on the same quantity if it came out of its own godowns. Such, as we understand, is the theory of the existing arrangements. But the calculations, we believe, are not to be depended upon; the duty is in a great degree arbitrary; and the element of commercial freedom or ordinary competition is as yet, from the very nature of the case, wholly wanting. In the discussions on this subject, it is commonly treated as a question between foreign Salt and Indian Salt: but if the trade were set free, mines which are closed by the existing policy would soon be opened in the heart of the country, against which foreign Salt would have no chance of competing.

Of the general tariff, of CUSTOMS DUTIES, no complaint could reasonably be made, as it respects their amount, as originally settled: but the fact that their subsequent increase in 1845, has diminished the returns to the Exchequer, proves a short sighted policy; and the increase in many respects showed either ignorance or indifference as to the manner in which it would affect the local consumption and particular classes of consumers. Only low duties should be laid by *measure* and *bulk*; high duties should always be *ad valorem*; or they press unequally and unjustly on the poorer classes whose wretched kind of wines, for instance (necessaries), or spirits, would turn Dives sick, and yet they are as highly taxed as the rich Falernian of Dives. In the Act of 1845 this consideration was violated.

As it respects the articles selected for the Customs Duties, it is sufficient to mention that Cotton is liable to export duty, for our readers to appreciate the wisdom from which the Act emanated. The double tax, first of what is collected for land revenue before it can be taken off the ground, and next the Custom's duty has well nigh stopped the production of this necessary article on the Western side of India.

The ENGLISH STATUTES, transferred to the Act Book of the Legislative Council, are numerous, but they appear not to have been adopted by rule or system. For example, Lord

Brougham's Law Amendment Act, which was passed in 1833, like Lord Somers's of the same name, is a miscellany of laws on various subjects: parts have been taken out one by one, as may be surmised to have happened through accidental post-prandian suggestions, of some judge to some member of Council, in a gossiping talk about Law or Legislation or particular cases which had been recently litigated. Thus, in 1839, out of the said miscellany, the section was adopted by which debts over due, after demand, were made to bear interest: in 1840, the provisions respecting the incompetency of witnesses by reason of interest and respecting arbitrations, and in 1841, we have another batch from the same statute.

At the end of 1839, the Act of parliament for the amendment of the Law relating to Dower, and the Act for the amendment of the law of inheritance were adopted: land in India, except of Hindus and Mahomedans, being *real* property. We are quoting these merely as instances; our present object being merely to bring out a fact and illustrate it. As British subjects all over India are subject to British law and to the common law in the state in which it was when the Supreme Court was established, it is important that the reforms of the Imperial Legislature should to be regularly systematically and successively adopted. This branch of Legislation has virtually been placed in the hands of the Supreme Court judges, and hence the tardy progress made in it. Thus, the Bankrupt Laws have never been transplanted to India. The only Insolvent Law is that originally passed in 1828, and was peculiar. The bad habits of commerce in Calcutta would never probably have grown to their present enormity, nor produced such destructive fruits, if the Bankrupt and Insolvent Law had more nearly resembled the English, and the successive improvements of the latter had been adopted.

The subject of English Statutes, calls to recollection the case of FOREIGN ORIENTAL AND OTHER NON-BRITISH RACES,—such as Parsis, Armenians, Greeks, Oriental Jews, &c, who are under English Law for the arbitrary reason, that it is the lex loci of India, because of all countries under British sway to which a different law has not been conceded. Their claim to relief has been established. No one can doubt it: and a *lex loci* more consonant with reason and justice as it respects such classes, has been prepared by the Indian Law Commissioners; but wholly shelved, through, we may justly say the weakness of the Legislative Council and the narrow principles or the indifference of the Court of Directors. The proposed lex loci also provided for the class of native christians, whom no philosophic mind,

not to say religious, can contemplate without some feeling of interest, nor regard with indifference the social penalties to which they are liable, from the exercise of the rights of man and rights of conscience. The law alluded to confined itself simply to giving relief against some of those penalties—particularly the penalty of disinheritance of vested rights of property. Such subjects as these are proper for the Council of State of India. That Council of State ought to have the inherent strength to deal with them, independently of the Leadenhall Street proprietory oligarchy: but at present the Council seems to want both the strength and the independence requisite.

We cannot also but think a new MARRIAGE LAW, one of the things which might justly have been expected from the Legislative Council of India: for, whether the lex loci on the subject of marriage, and in relation to British subjects proper, be Lord Hardwicke's Act, or the older common law, it is certain, that neither is suited to the various classes comprized within its scope, nor to the circumstances of India. On this important subject a large body of information was supplied in the *sixth* number of this work. Since then, various memorials have been addressed to the authorities in India and at home. But, hitherto, nothing has been done; though the *necessity* for Legislative interference is every year becoming more palpable.

It has been seen that a very considerable portion of the whole Act Book consists of ACTS FOR PARTICULAR PRESIDENCIES AND PRESIDENCY TOWNS,—for Bombay, Madras, the Straits Settlements, &c., and our readers must have often remarked in these, a very narrow spirit and exploded principles. We ascribe their origin entirely to the local Governments. They are the Legislation of the Presidency Governor in the name of the Legislative Council, and display the tastes, objects and passions usual in small corporate bodies. Undoubtedly the local authorities must be consulted on what concerns their own districts: but still local legislation admits of the application of general principles; and the use of a grand Council of State is, to see that every thing, howsoever originated, squares with imperial, philosophic, recognized or statesmanlike standards.

Of Acts, properly POLITICAL, there appear to us, to be but two: the Act commonly called for establishing the liberty of the press, and the Act placing offences against the state under the cognizance of the ordinary tribunals. Arbitrary power had attained its grand climacteric on the deportation of Mr. Buckingham; and, brought on a premature decline by the overstrained vigor of that occasion. In the former of these Acts we see

it, in relation to the press, in an apparent state of old age, in its decrepitude, and, if we may pursue the metaphor, gouty and bed-ridden. This Act is its crutch, which in any fit of momentary paroxysm, we may see it snatch up, as a weapon to beat down opposition. Connected with it there are provisions, such as the form of registration, which it is very easy to neglect; and the neglect or violation of which may form a ready instrument of oppression to any official who may be arbitrarily or despotically disposed. Indeed, it is by no means improbable that any use which is ever likely to be made of this Act, will be found to be an abuse of it. A law cannot lay under a heavier ground of condemnation.

In the class of ACTS AFFECTING COMMERCIAL CAPITAL, it is remarkable how very small is the number of Acts for the incorporation of Joint Stock Companies, compared with the very great number of such companies actually or recently in existence. The Assam Company, whose Act was passed in 1845, the Bengal Bonded Warehouse Company, and the three Semi-Government Banks in the three presidencies respectively, are the only incorporated companies in India. We *here*, are as aware as the merchant, the lawyer, the capitalist in England are, how ill adapted, how fatal often, the rules of the Common Law are to the interests, in any sort of business, of a numerous Joint Stock proprietory body: but we are obliged to submit to a settled policy. The desire for incorporation is choked in its first impulse by the hostile maxims which are known or supposed to prevail at the India House,—the inheritance, we may surmise, of the official men of the present day, from the days of monopoly. The late Union Bank is the only Joint Stock Bank, which has obtained power to sue and be sued by its public officer; to which power are superadded a few special provisions to make shareholders liable to creditors.

The ACTS relating to the COURTS of the East India Company are numerous, and embrace a very great variety of subjects. Generally they must have originated with the local authorities. Collectively they exhibit a most respectable amount of reform, and the credit belongs, we believe, to the Sudder Dewany Adaluts and the Indian Law Commissioners. In our previous notices we have distinguished several of them; but cannot forbear again referring to the Act requiring the English judges to record their decisions in English. Most of our readers are aware that the proceedings are in the native languages. The intention probably was, to form a valuable collection of law reports; this intent has not been realized: jurisprudentially considered, and as

records of law and precedents for other courts and judges, they are a mass of rubbish; but to those who care for the reform of the courts, they furnish a large and valuable body of evidence, and prove, as we deem, incontestibly the want of juridical skill in this highly honorable and generally untarnished class of functionaries.

The creation of a new class of magistrates,—the DEPUTY MAGISTRATES in *Bengal*, was in itself a good, and may we hope, be the first step to a new just and more economical and more efficient mode of recruiting the public service generally. The peculiarity of this measure is, that by establishing an inferior grade of magistrates, it opens that branch of the service to the public generally. The Deputy Magistrates have all been appointed from local candidates, either natives or Europeans. Considered as an experiment of "free trade," the appointment of Deputy Magistrates has completely answered, and is a good augury for giving the Local Government power to appoint Magistrates in a similar manner: indeed, though some of the Deputy Magistrates have little more power than the darogahs, others have *full* powers, and substantially are Magistrates, though paid inferior salaries and wanting the privileges of the Civil Service. By no other means is the magistracy at all likely to be raised, in numbers, to the public exigencies. Districts larger than any English county, have only one Magistrate. Parts of districts as large as many English counties have only a Deputy Magistrate. For every one of either class there ought to be many. The expence would be fully repaid by the security which would result to persons and property.

In adverting, as above we have done, to the considerable amount of reform which has been made in the judicial system, we are bound to guard against erroneous conclusions, our object being to disseminate truth, and put it in the place of a host of prevailing fallacies and delusions. We must therefore remind our readers of what to many of them will appear a mere truism: good rules do not secure good administration: and in the Indian system bribery and corruption, perjury and subornation of perjury, forgery and false personations are every where active and prevailing agents. The corrupted character of the people, and the corruptness of the native judicial establishments, mutually act and react as causes and consequences, and until a check is put to these reforms of system,—reforms not touching the administrative agents are fallacious.

Having now noticed the principal classes of Acts and the omissions, we will conclude by observing that on the whole the

new Legislative Council has disappointed the expectations raised both in and out of Parliament. Two eras are clearly distinguishable: its early and latter days. In the former, fresh from the brain of Jove, it gave many indications of its Parliamentary birth and origin: these are gone by; and in its latter days all the indications are of its Leadenhall-street connection. For the sake of India, for the sake of the Imperial interests of Great Britain, we pray that the period when the Charter Act expires may be the epoch of its regeneration.

Postscript.—In page 393, we have spoken of the Customs Act of 1845, in terms which might lead our readers to suppose that the Act has been totally repealed. The repeal is only of the differential scale; but the new tariff of enhanced single duties is not repealed. We observe with pleasure that the President of the Board of Control has been questioned on their subject in the House of Commons. We have also tidings of the intention of Mr. Mangles to defend the Land Revenue system. In the half of Bengal it is the permanent settlement: in another part of Bengal, it is the *Khas* system under one form, and in the N. W. Provinces the *Khas* system in another form. In Bombay again it is different. And no one defence can apply to all of them. A general defence of all would involve the greatest conceivable amount of inconsistency and contradiction.

ART. V.—1. *General Orders of the Bengal Army.*

2. *Sketch of the Rise and Progess of the Bengal Army.—Calcutta Star*, 1844.

3. *Memoir of Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery; from the British Indian Military Repository.*

4. *Report of the Sub-Committee appointed for the purpose of making a revision in the several equipments in the British Artillery Service.* 1819.—*Ibid.*

5. *Proceedings of the Special Board of Artillery Officers assembled at Calcutta.* 1836-38.

6. *Remarks on the organization of the Corps of Artillery in the British service.* 1818.

7. *Memorandum on Horse Artillery; from the East India United Service Journal.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A history of the rise and progress of the several Ordnance Corps in India, is a great desideratum, but one which, as regards Bengal at least, we hope ere long to see supplied. The advantages possessed by Europeans over the natives of India in practical science and the mechanical arts, even in the earliest days of their mutual connection, naturally led to the employment of Artillery by the Portuguese, the first European conquerors and settlers in Hindustan; and from that date down to the present time, a white face and foreign tongue have passed in Native Armies as valid diplomas of efficiency in all the mysteries of "the great arte of Artillerie," and "the shooting of great Ordinance," as the early writers quaintly expressed themselves. The English, when at length admitted to a participation in the benefits of Indian commerce and adventure, did not neglect the advantages to be obtained by the possession of cannon, and of a few Gunners to serve them; though the former were probably confined to heavy ship and garrison pieces, and intended merely for defence, and the Gunners either formed a portion of the ordinary guards or were taken on emergency from the shipping, which, even for many years subsequent, was the source whence the *personnel* of the Indian Artillery was mainly obtained. In Bengal, although the first settlements of the English East India Company professed to be purely mercantile, we find that almost from their commencement, a few Artillerymen formed a portion of the guard maintained for the protection of the Factories. As early as 1661 it is recorded that Shaistah Khan, the Subadar of Bengal, applied to the British Factory at Hugly for the aid of a party of European Gunners, in a war he was then waging against the King of Arracan; and though at first denied, he appears to have gained his object, by the effectual threat of putting a stop to the English traffic in saltpetre. About twenty years after this, when the Company, galled by the avarice and oppression of the various Native rulers and functionaries in Bengal, had determined on the adoption of a bolder policy and the establishment of a strong military position at Chittagong, no less than 200 pieces of Ordnance were sent out in the fleet commanded by Admiral Nicholson, for the defence of the military works; and as six Companies of Infantry were sent out at the same time, there

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

On the breaking out of hostilities with Mír Kassim Khan in

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

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

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

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

proportion of Artillery to Infantry was now much increased, and at Buxar, which may be considered as the most important, as it was also one of the hardest fought actions in the early annals of British conquest in Bengal, there was nearly one gun to every two hundred men,—the number of the former being 28 and of the latter 6084. But admirably as these guns were served and handled, they were far too weak in number and calibre to compete with the heavy battery of the enemy, and that action, like the majority of those that have succeeded it in this country, was mainly won by the indomitable courage and formidable bayonets of the Infantry, with of course the usual and necessary concomitant of very heavy casualties. Another circumstance which also has been repeated in many subsequent actions, is worthy of note; the whole of the enemy's guns, 133 in number, were captured,—their bullock draught not admitting of their being carried off with sufficient celerity. The same evil must of course have resulted on the British side, in the event of a defeat; as then and for many years later, no draught but that of bullocks was employed for field guns. The consequence was that in every campaign, we read of numerous instances of the movements of the Army being delayed on account of the Artillery, and not unfrequently of accidents and contretemps arising from this inefficient and most absurd system, which strange to say, still partially obtains. On the 5th August 1765, Lord Clive who had reassumed the Government of Bengal, formed the Army into three Brigades of equal strength and with fixed establishments, which may be considered the commencement of a regular system in the Bengal Army. Each Brigade consisted of one Battalion of European and (nominally seven but practically) six of Native Infantry, one Russallah of Irregular Cavalry and one Company of European Artillery.

A fourth Company of Artillery was now raised, to admit of one being exclusively employed for the Garrison of Fort William. The first and second Companies were attached to the first and second Brigades, the third Company being in Fort William remained there, and the new or fourth Company was attached to the third Brigade. The whole four Companies appear to have been under the general controul of Major Jennings, who had previously obtained that rank, but he also retained the special command of his own (the 1st) Company, according to the rule and practice then in force in the Infantry, by which all Field Officers held Companies. Accordingly the four Companies appear to have been commanded by Major Jennings, Captains Winwood, Martin and Kindersley.

Each Company consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieuten-

ant, one First Lieutenant, one Second Lieutenant, three Lieutenant Fireworkers, four Sergeants, four Corporals, two Drummers, two Fifers, ten Bombardiers, twenty-two Gunners and sixty Matrosses, giving seven Officers to one hundred and two men; in addition to which an Adjutant and a Quarter-master, both effective, were allowed to each Company, as also two Conductors. The non-commissioned staff were non-effective. Commissaries and Deputy Commissaries of Ordnance were appointed for the charge of Ordnance stores at the different stations and attached to the several Companies according to their localities; these were selected from the Commissioned and Warrant grades and were exclusive of the regular establishment. A Field train or Battery of six 6-pounders and two howitzers was attached to each Company, besides an indefinite number of siege guns according to what was available or likely to be required: each battalion of Infantry had also two field pieces, attached; for some years these were of a motley character, 12, 6 and 3 pounders, 5½ and 4⅘ inch howitzers, some brass and some iron,—in short, whatever were to be had. To assist in working the Field train and siege guns, and also for employment with the Battalion guns, a considerable body of Lascars was attached to each Company, and two European Gunners were also allowed for the guns of each Battalion.

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

Major Jennings died shortly after the organization of the Corps of which he was the first Commandant; he was succeeded in the command by Major Winwood, who had previously obtained that rank by Brevet, consequent on his standing. In 1766 the general and serious mutiny of the Bengal Officers took place; caused by the reduction of their batta, on which occasion, the Artillery did not escape the contagion; three Captain Lieutenants and several Subalterns being actively concerned in it. Captain Lieutenant

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

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

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

The Corps was now formed into a Battalion of five Companies, with a Lieutenant Colonel to command, a Major and an effective Adjutant to the Battalion. Field Officers were no longer allowed to retain the command of Companies, the rank of Second Lieutenant was abolished, and a Deputy Commissary was permanently attached to each Company. The appointments of Adjutant and Quarter Master to the Company were also united in one person. The non-commissioned rank was increased and the staff of that grade made effective. Each Company now consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieutenant, three Lieutenants, three Lieutenant Fireworkers, one Commissioned Adjutant and Quarter Master, one Deputy Commissary, two Conductors, one Sergeant Major, one Quarter Master Sergeant, six Sergeants, six Corporals, three Drums and Fifes, eight Bombardiers, twenty-four Gunners, and fifty-three Matrosses; giving eight Commissioned Officers, exclusive of the staff, to 102 men.

The Field Trains were now enlarged, and fixed at eight 6-pounders and two howitzers each; in addition to which two iron 24-pounders and two 12-pounders were attached to each of the three Brigade Companies for seige purposes. Battalion guns were withdrawn from the European Battalions, but still retained with the Sipahi Corps. From these last, however, the Lascar details were mostly withdrawn, and a portion of the Sipahis of each Regiment were trained to the exercise of the field guns; an European Artilleryman being attached to each piece, which men were extra to the establishment of the Companies

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

The establishments of draught bullocks for each Company was 393 exclusive of 256 attached to the twelve Battalion guns of each Brigade.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

the complement being fixed at four Divisions instead of five to the Field Companies and only one Division to each European Company in Garrison. In 1774 the second Company served with its Brigade in the Rohilla campaign under Colonel Champion, and did most effective service at the battle of St. George. On this occasion the force engaged consisted of one European Regiment and six Battalions of Sipahis, the whole mustering little more than five thousand firelocks, with twenty pieces of Artillery or one to every two hundred men.

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

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

from which, owing to a partial continuance of the evil principle, it has never recovered to the present day. One of the first Acts of this Board was to withdraw the charge of the Ordnance, Stores, Cattle and Lascars attached to each Field Park from the Artillery Officer commanding the Company, whilst in Cantonment, and transferring to the Commissary of Ordnance at the Station, to be issued when the Company marched on service or when any portion might be required. In a word taking the charge from the responsible Captain and making it over to a Subaltern, and this sometimes a Subaltern of Infantry, for the Ordnance Department was now made a portion of the Army Staff and occasionally thrown open to the whole service. The Lascar details attached to each Company were accordingly reduced to two Serangs, four Tindals and 100 Lascars in Cantonment, and increased from the Magazine when proceeding on Service to six Serangs, twelve Tindals, and 325 Lascars. The only object of this arrangement appears to have been to convey a slight to the Artillery and to deprive the Battery Officer proceeding on service, of all knowledge of the condition of the equipments then made over to him, or of the character of the men placed under his command.

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

The strength of these Golundaz Companies was fixed at one Captain Lieutenant, two Subalterns, three Sergeants, one Subadar, three Jemadars, sixteen non-commissioned and Drums and Fifes, and eighty Golundaz. To the three Companies were allowed one Major in Command of the whole, one Adjutant, one Quarter-master, and one Sergeant Major. Major Patrick Duff was nominated to the general Command, and Captain Lieutenants Thomas Harris, Justly Hill and George Sampson obtained the Command of the three Companies, with two Subalterns each Lieutenants Cornelius Davis and Christopher Green were appointed as Adjutant and Quarter Master: six Companies of Lascars were raised and attached, two to each Golundaz Company; and each of the latter was furnished with a Field Train or Battery of two light 12-pounders, six 6-pounders and two howitzers, which was then the equipment of an European Brigade Field Train. This arranga-

ment gave thirty field pieces to three Cavalry and nine Infantry Regiments, or about one gun to two hundred and seventy muskets and sabres.

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

An European Company of Artillery Invalids was also formed, and stationed at Chunar and Fort William.

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

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

The Artillery was no longer considered as forming a portion of the General Brigades, but was organized as an independent Brigade in itself, consisting of one European Regiment, composed of seven Service and one Invalid Company, and three Battalions of Golundaz of eight Companies each. The establishment of Officers was increased to meet this extended organization, and was fixed on the following scale.

One Colonel Commandant, having the general controul of the whole Brigade, with a staff of one Brigade Major, one Aid-de-Camp, and one Head Surgeon, equivalent to a Superintending Surgeon of the present day. The rank of Colonel was however withheld from Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse until every Officer in the Infantry, his Senior in the service, was promoted, which took place in the following year.

The European Regiment consisted of one Lieutenant Colonel, two Majors, one Adjutant, one Quarter-master, one Surgeon, three Assistant Surgeons. and seven effective Non-Commissioned staff.

The Companies retained the same strength of Officers and men as before, but the Company Adjutant and Quarter Master was abolished; the Deputy Commissioners and Conductors had been previously struck off the strength of Companies. To the three Golundaz Battalions, one Major was allowed for the command of the whole, with one Adjutant and Quarter Master, one Surgeon, three Assistant Surgeons, one Sergeant Major and one Quarter Master Sergeant. Gun Lascars were entirely abolished, with exception to three Divisions, which were attached to the first Oude Company, then with Goddard's detachment, and which had marched prior to this new organization. Like the Sipahi Battalions of that detachment it was considered extra to the regular establishment. The Officers attached to it, viz. one Captain, (Brevet Major Baillie), one Captain Lieutenant, and four Subalterns were also borne as supernumeraries. The distribution of the Corps was as follows:—one European and four Golundaz Companies at Futtyghur; one European and four Golundaz Companies at Cawnpore; half the Invalid Company

at Chunar; five European Companies and the remainder of the Invalids, with two Battalions of Golundaz at the Presidency.

The Companies at the Field stations, formed what was designated *the Field Train*, which was placed under the command of a Field Officer, with a staff of one Adjutant, one Quarter Master, one Surgeon, one Assistant Surgeon, one Sergeant Major, one drill Sergeant and one drill Corporal. All expences attending the ordnance, stores and cattle were charged to the Artillery Brigade, on which account a separate Pay-master was also sanctioned.

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

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

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

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

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

Each Battalion was allowed one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, one Adjutant, and one Quarter-master. The strength of Companies in Officers and men remaining as before. Thus exclusive of the Commandant and staff there was an effective complement of forty-two Officers to each Battalion, or nearly double the present *nominal* establishment. The Lascars were also formed into a Regiment of ten Battalions, each Battalion of six Companies, and each Company composed of one Serang, two Tindals, two Cassabs (a new designation derived like the others from the marine service) and fifty Lascars. One of these Battalions, 330 strong, was attached to each Company of Europeans and a Serang Commandant was allowed to each of them. Thus 2700 inefficient Lascars was substituted for 2400 efficient Golundaz. It was, however, ordered that the Lascars should be "instructed in the usual services of Artillery, that of loading and pointing of guns and mortars excepted." They were now for the first time furnished with arms, which were ordered to be "light pikes, so constructed as to form a chevaux de frize occasionally." It was further ordered that this Corps should perform the whole services dependant on the Artillery. Two Companies of Artillery with two Battalions of Lascars were attached to the Brigade on frontier service; and the same to the Brigade next for frontier duty; the remaining six Companies and six Battalions of Lascars were retained at the Presidency, including one Company at Berhampore, and half a Company at Midnapore.

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

Instead of Battalion guns, it was ordered that when Regiment were detached or ordered to march, they were to be supplied with two or more 6-pounders from the Field Park, under a Subaltern of Artillery, with a detail of Europeans and Lascars;—the Field Park to be furnished with 6-pounders to meet this demand at the rate of two pieces for each Battalion of Infantry.

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

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

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

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

Consequent on the mutiny of one Corps and a new organization of the Infantry, this detachment was reformed in five Regiments, each of two Battalions; the sixth Battalion being incorporated with them. But for this force, Colonel Pearse did not consider one Company of Artillery sufficient, and as no more Europeans could be spared, a company of Golundaz was raised from the old material, and attached to his command. The field ordnance he took with him consisted of four 12-pounders, four howitzers and twenty 6-pounders, calculated at two of the latter for each Battalion of Infantry. He had thus 28 guns to 5000 muskets, or about one to 180. These four Companies, thus sent by different routes to Madras, remained on the Coast during the continuance of the campaign, in which they bore a distinguished part. In 1784 they all returned to Bengal.

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

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

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

In May 1786, consequent on the receipt of positive and detailed orders from home, a complete reorganization of the whole army took place, by which the Artillery was formed into a Regiment of three Battalions, each Battalion composed of five weak Companies, and each Company of one Captain, two Lieutenants, two Lieutenant Fireworkers, four Sergeants, four Corporals, two Drums and Fifes, eight Gunners and fifty-six Matrosses,—

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

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

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

Lieutenant Colonel George Deare succeeded him in the command.

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

Madras, consequent on hostilities with Tippoo Sahib; four were attached to the Field Train, and six remained at the Presidency.

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

In 1794, two Companies joined Sir R. Abercrombie's force and were present at the action of Beetorah against the Rohillas, when they lost two Officers. In October of this year a General Order was issued to the effect that "all reports and returns of whatever nature respecting his line of the Service, comprehending that of the Commissary of Ordnance" were to be made through the senior Artillery Officer to the Adjutant General, and all orders respecting the Magazine and Artillery to be issued to him as he was held "solely responsible to the Commander-in-Chief for the management of his Department." In 1795, one Company was again sent to the Coast, and in 1796, another Company was ordered to the Northern Circars, and two proceeded to Ceylon, where operations were commenced against the Dutch. In that year, five Companies were in the field, three on Foreign Service, and seven at the Presidency.

In 1796, a new and important organization of the Army took place, involving a radical change in its general constitution, introducing a greater assimilation to the system in force in the Royal Army, and forming the basis of the existing arrangements. These changes involved a considerable reduction in the Infantry, but gave a greater proportion of Officers to men, and of Field Officers to Captains and Subalterns. The strength of the Artil-

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

The whole force was divided into three Regiments of European Infantry each of one Battalion, and twelve Regiments of Native Infantry each of two Battalions: nominally four, but in reality two Regiments of Cavalry, one Battalion of Engineers and three Battalions of Artillery. Each Battalion of Artillery consisted of five Companies and was allowed one Colonel, one Lieut. Colonel and one Major, with an Adjutant and a Quartermaster, both non-effective, and six Non-Commissioned Staff, likewise non-effective.

Each Company consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieutenant, two Lieutenants, one Lieutenant Fireworker, four Sergeants, four Corporals, eight Gunners, two Drums and Fifes and fifty-six Matrosses: thus affording exactly the same number of Officers and men as before, but substituting a Captain Lieutenant for a Lieutenant Fireworker, which was an advantage to the Officers, who also gained by the addition of the Colonel to each Battalion instead of one to the whole Corps as before.

The senior Colonel was now appointed to the Command, with the title of Colonel Commandant, and his allowances were fixed at Rs. 1000 per mensem. Major General Deare retained the command. The appointment of Aide-de-Camp was abolished, but that of Brigade Major was retained on the previous footing. The establishment of Lascars was continued at thirty Companies as before, each consisting of one Serang, two first and two second Tindals, with fifty-six Lascars.

By this organization one of the great and professed objects,—the equalization of the several arms in the proportionate advantages of rank,—was for the time nearly attained. The proportion of Field Officers to Captains and Subalterns was in the European Infantry as 1 to 7 $\frac{2}{3}$; in the Native Infantry, the Cavalry and Engineers as 1 to 8 and in the Artillery as 1 to 8$\frac{1}{3}$.

The proportions the several arms bore to each other in relative strength was Engineers, 1, Cavalry, 2, Artillery, 3, and Infantry, 15.

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

was this circumstance that practically reduced the strength of Officers in the Artillery; as previously, all Officers on General or Regimental Staff, and in most cases those on Battalion or Company Staff, were effective and extra to the fixed establishment: so also were those on detached employ; whilst Officers on leave to Europe went through the form of temporary resignation and were struck off the rolls of the Corps. These were now all borne on the strength of their respective Battalions or Companies, thereby materially reducing the number of working Officers. No increase of establishment was allowed to meet this drain; whereas in the Infantry this evil was counterbalanced by the number of Officers to each Battalion being more than doubled.

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

But there was another material point in which this organization bore very hardly upon the Artillery. Their entire increase consisted of only two Field Officers, the strength of men remaining the same. Now the Native Infantry, previous to this order, consisted of thirty-six Native Battalions, with an Establishment of six Lieut. Colonels, six Majors, thirty-six Captains and 324 Subalterns, making a total of 372 or 10¼ per Battalion.

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

The whole of the Officers permanently appointed to the Cavalry, were moreover withdrawn from the Infantry. Thus the latter branch had a great increase of promotion; whilst the Artillery, suffering under a practical reduction, all the Staff and absentees being thrown upon the several grades as supernumeraries,—received a great check to promotion. The result was a long list of supernumeraries, and a large portion of each grade holding the Brevet of the next superior rank.

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

cers are as imperatively required as for Companies. The establishment of that Department then consisted of twelve Commissaries and Deputies, in which eight Officers were employed. The opportunity was however neglected, and the omission passed into a precedent, which has been acted upon to the present day.

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

and seventy Matrosses; the Officers remaining as before. By these additions the strength of the Corps was nearly doubled, whilst the establishment of Officers remained unchanged. Whereas during the same period, the Infantry had been increased by five Regiments or ten Battalions, to each of which the full complement of Officers was allowed; whilst the Cavalry, now formed into four Corps, received a full establishment of Officers permanently transferred from the Infantry. Notwithstanding the order of 1797, limiting the Field Artillery to five Companies, seven were in the field all that year, one on the Coast and two at Ceylon. In the following year the Company on the Coast marched to Hydrabad, and one of the Companies at Ceylon proceeded to Madras as did also two Companies from Fort William. In 1799 the three Companies at Madras and the one from Hydrabad joined the Army in Mysore under General Harris, and were employed at the seige and capture of Seringapatam in May of that year; on which occasion Lieutenent Colonel Edward Montague, a highly distinguished, intelligent and experienced Officer, who commanded the Bengal detail, lost his life. In 1800 all the Companies returned from foreign service except two in Ceylon.

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

In 1800 the first instance of the introduction of Horse Draught for Artillery in Bengal occurred; an experimental Brigade of two Horse Artillery guns being organized at Dum-Dum under the command of Lieutenant Clements Brown. For these guns which were light six pounders of 4½ cwt. carriages were purposely prepared, which weighed only 5½ cwt. giving a total of only 10 cwt. to the gun and carriage. The *personnel* consisted of one Subaltern in command, one Sergeant, one Corporal, four Gunners and eight Matrosses,—these being allotted to the guns, and two Native drivers (Troopers) for the waggons; together with a detail of two Tindals and twenty Lascars. The Staff consisted only of one Farrier. The number of horses allowed was twenty, which were allotted four to each Gun and two

to each Tumbril, three for the two Non-Commissioned Officers and the Farrier, and three spare. It would appear that in this experiment the Gunners must have been carried on the carriages. Early in the following year, this detail was increased to one Conductor, four Sergeants, four Corporals, ten Gunners, one Farrier, and twenty-two Matrosses; with two Havildars, two Naicks and twenty-four Golundaz, to which were also added one Jemadar, two Havildars, two Naiks and twenty-two Troopers of the Governor General's Body Guard, to ride the troop horses in harness; a detail of three Tindals and forty Lascars was also attached. With a Battery of four light 6-pounders and two 8-pounder guns, this Detail embarked for Egypt to join the force under General Baird; the number of horses embarked does not appear, nor is the mode of organization known. A Foot Artillery detachment consisting of one Captain, two Subalterns, thirty-eight European Artillery, forty-seven Golundaz and one hundred Lascars also accompanied this expedition.

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

About the same time a Brigade of two 6-pounder guns, generally termed "Gallopers," was authorised for each Regiment of Cavalry, European and Native; the Guns to be worked by Troopers, with an Artillery Sergeant and Corporal to each Brigade, and a small detail of Lascars. In 1802 the Court of Directors, consequent on the probability of hostilities with the Mahrattas and the repeated and urgent representations of the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, as to the inefficient and incomplete state of the Artillery, but above all, alarmed at the intelligence of the formation of the Golundaz "Component parts,"—sent orders to increase the Battalions to seven Companies each, and to reduce the Golundaz details. Six new European Companies were accordingly raised for the purpose and allotted two to each Battalion. The strength of all the Companies was increased by the addition of one Lieutenant Fireworker and ten Matrosses; but no additional proportion of Field Officers was sanctioned; although in the augmentation of the Infantry and Cavalry, which now amounted, since the formation of 1796, to fourteen Battalions of the former and four Regiments of the latter, all received their due proportion of Field Officers. Against this injustice, the Corps memorialized the Court of Directors, who in 1805 sent out orders for the addition of one Lieutenant Colonel and one Major to each Battalion, which once more restored the original proportion, giving one Field Officer to

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

In 1803, the Horse Artillery Detail having returned from Egypt was formed into a Troop, designated "the Experimental Troop," and joined the Army then in the field with Lord Lake; during the whole of which Campaign it did excellent service, under the command of its original founder Captain Lieutenant Clements Brown. The Ordnance establishment of the Troop was six Light, 4½ cwt. 6-pounders, and the establishment consisted of one Captain, two Subalterns, four Sergeants, four Corporals, ten Gunners and forty Matrosses, together with the previous details of Golundaz and Lascars. The complement of horses was only eighty-six, and as the Artillerymen, European and Native, rode upon the carriages, it was rather a Horse Field Battery than a Troop of Horse Artillery. Notwithstanding the light weight of the Ordnance and carriages, this small complement of horses was found quite inadequate to ensure sufficient celerity of movement, and accordingly bullocks were also attached for draught on the line of march, reserving the horses for action; but this double draught equipment being found inefficient and inconvenient in practice, the number of horses was increased in October, 1804 to 120. The attempt was now made to render the Battery really one of Horse Artillery, by mounting some of the Gunners on separate horses, but the establishment being found too limited for this, it was increased to 156 horses in June 1805. In 1806 Captain Pennington succeeded Captain Brown in the command, and two of the 6-pounders were exchanged for Light 5½-inch Howitzers. The Golundaz detail was also replaced by an equivalent establishment of Drivers, and in July, 1808, the horses were augmented to 163.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Had the "Component parts" been composed of good material, kept exclusively to particular Guns by themselves, or employed with the 6-pounders detached with Infantry Battalions, the result might have been very different. Each of the Golundaz Companies now formed was composed of 1 Subadar, 1 Jemadar, 8 Havildars, 8 Naiks and 100 Golundaz. A Subaltern was allowed to each Company, to be taken from the European Companies, no addition being made to the Corps on this account. One Drill Sergeant and one Drill Corporal was also sanctioned. In 1808, three additional Companies were raised, when the whole were placed under the Command of a Captain taken from the Regiment, and a Sergeant Major was granted in addition. Here again, although every addition made to the Infantry and Cavalry involved the increase of a full complement of Officers, a strong Battalion was added to the Artillery, without the grant of a single Officer in addition.

In 1805 Colonel Carnegie succeeded to the command of the Corps on the death of General Greene. Colonel Horsford retaining the command of the Artillery in the Field, with the rank of a Brigadier when employed on service. In 1806-7-8, the whole of the Golundaz, the experimental Troop and twelve Companies of Europeans were attached to the Field Train and frequently employed on active service. In the latter year Colonel Horsford obtained the command of the Regiment, which could not have been in abler hands.

In August 1809 the Governor-General in Council, "adverting to the original establishment of the experimental Troop of Horse Artillery, the success of which on various occasions in the field, had fully confirmed the judgment which was formed of the superior efficacy of a Corps of that description for service in India, determined to make a considerable augmentation to the Corps of Horse Artillery, and to place it on a permanent establishment." Accordingly orders were issued for the formation of a Corps of Horse Artillery consisting of three Brigades or Troops, to be formed on the experimental Troop; the additional Officers and men being drawn from the Foot Artillery. These Troops each consisted of one Captain, one Captain Lieutenant, three Lieutenants, six Sergeants, six Corporals, ten Gunners and eighty Matrosses, two Trumpeters and two Farriers; with a detail of one Serang, two Tindals, and twenty-four Gun Lascars. An effective Riding Master, a Sergeant Major and a Quarter Master Sergeant were allowed to the whole Corps, as also an Adjutant and Quarter Master, a Rough Rider and Drill Ser

eant non-effective. A Battery of six pieces was attached to each roop, composed of two 12-pounders, two 6-pounders and two -inch Howitzers, with ten light Tumbrils.

For the draught of this Battery, 145 Horses were assigned, lotted as follows:—two teams of six Horses each, with one spare er team to the six Guns; five Horses to each of the light umbrils (four being in draught) and the remaining eleven for ie six Sergeants and the Staff.

The organization of these Troops was adopted as one of expe-ency, and was the same that still exists in the Bengal Artillery, ough entirely peculiar to that Corps. It was suggested by olonel Horsford, at a time when the dread of expence was nsidered an insurmountable objection to the introduction of this escription of Artillery, and it was therefore framed upon prin-iples of extreme economy—an economy which Colonel Hors-ord himself represented as detrimental to its efficiency. In separate report on the organization of the Corps, he recom-ended the establishment of a Troop to consist of a *personnel* f 120 and a draught of 185 Horses, and even this establish-ent was calculated for light Waggons, with only a single set of Horses.

The Gunners to work the Ordnance of these Troops were arried on the off Horses, so that each Horse in draught was nounted; to make up for which the second team was allotted to ach Gun. The Waggons being light were not supposed to equire this assistance. In practice, however, their complement vas found insufficient; and, consequently, since it was essen-ial they should keep up with the Guns, that the Horses of the spare teams were partially allotted to their aid. The evil of this economical arrangement was not only present but prospective, as the same principle has been carried out in all subsequent additions to the number of Troops.

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

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

Thus to meet the demands for a force of Artillery proportionate

to the other branches of the service, which had now increased to eight Regiments of Cavalry and fifty-four Battalions of Infantry, *all with their full complement of Officers*, no less than ten Companies of Foot and three Troops of Horse Artillery had been added to the Corps, *without the addition of a single Officer* to meet the drain thus occasioned.

The difficulties and disadvantages attending the system of contracts and the employment of untrained drivers and cattle for the Ordnance, led in 1810 to the establishment of an organized and permanent Corps of Ordnance Drivers, consisting of twenty-six Companies, each Company 5 Sirdars and 105 Drivers, allowing one Driver for every pair of Bullocks required.

These Companies were assimilated as far as practicable to the Lascar establishment; they were placed under the immediate charge of the Artillery Officers to whose Companies they were attached, but were under the general controul of the senior Artillery Officer at the station. They were rendered available for the service of the Siege and Field Trains attached to the Companies of Artillery, and also for the Battalion Guns, and it was with reference to these last that they were fixed at the strength of 105 Drivers and 210 Bullocks, as 1 Sirdar, 21 Drivers and 42Bullocks was the complement required for each Brigade of two Guns; thus each Driver Company was equal to the service of five Brigades of Battalion Guns. Three additional Companies were subsequently added, but soon reduced again.

In 1811 one European Company proceeded with the expedition against the Mauritius; and two European Companies, together with the independant Golundaz from Fort William, joined the expedition to Java; and in the following year, a Native Troop of Horse Artillery was also raised for that expedition; but it was never numbered or brought on the permanent establishment, and when the Force returned from Java in 1815 it was reduced. In 1812 a third, and in 1814 a fourth Company of Independent Golundaz was raised. In the latter year an extra Company of regulars was ordered for the service of posts and out-posts on the frontier, which in 1815 was incorporated into four new Companies of Golundaz that were raised at Cawnpore in consequence of the Nepal war and added to the establishment of the Golundaz Corps. Thus the much-dreaded Golundaz had again increased to sixteen Companies, which together with the three Troops of Horse Artillery gave a numerical total of *more than half the Corps without any establishment of Officers*.

The three Troops and four European Companies were employed during the Nepal Compaigns of 1814-15-16.

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

In 1816 a Rocket Troop was organized, consisting of one Captain and three Subalterns, with eighty-six Non-Commissioned and rank and file. Four light Rocket Cars were attached to this Troop, for which, and for the non-commissioned Staff, twenty Horses were sanctioned; sixty of the men were mounted on camels guided by Suwans and ten reserve camels were allowed. Each Car conveyed sixty Rockets, each mounted camel eight, and each reserve camel twenty-four. After a three years' trial, the camels were found unsuitable to the purpose, and Cars with horses were substituted in 1819.

In 1813, the Company established a Military College of their own at Addiscombe in Surry, for the education of Officers intended for the Indian Artillery and Engineers.

In 1817 the Gallopers with the Cavalry were withdrawn and formed into three Native Troops, the men being composed of such of the Cavalry Troopers as chose to enter the Horse Artillery, completed by a selection from the Golundaz. One Captain and two Subalterns were attached to each of these Troops; but as the Foot Artillery could bear no further reduction of Officers, Government at length authorised an increase to the Corps of twenty-six Officers, being the number actually required for the six Troops of Horse Artillery and the Rocket Troop. This increase in the several grades, was one Major, six Captains, one Captain-Lieutenant, eleven Lieutenants and seven Lieutenant Fire-workers. Here again was an injustice to the Corps, in allowing only one Field Officer to the seven Troops, and the twenty-five Captains and Subalterns, when the due proportion would have been three. The sixteen Companies of Golundaz were still left

quite unprovided for. During this year an addition of two horses per waggon, or twenty per Troop, was allowed to the Horse Artillery. As however the waggon then in use contained little more than half the quantity of ammunition now employed, this increase rendered the Troops more effective than the same establishment does at present. Nearly at the same time, an experimental light 12-pounder Battery, drawn by horses, was organized and placed under the command of Captain Battine. This was the first step towards the important measure, not yet completed, of equiping the whole Field Artillery with horses. The usual dread of expense operated on this as on subsequent occasions, to impair the efficiency of the measure, by the scanty draught establishment allowed; which was limited to ninety-nine horses, allowing six in draught to each gun and waggon, and three for the Staff The Ordnance however were very light, weighing only eight cwt. each, and as four horses were probably found to answer for the waggons, there then remained two spare for each gun and waggon. The seven Troops of Horse and Rocket Artillery, nine European and eight Golundaz Companies were attached to the several Divisions of the Grand Army formed under the command of the Marquis of Hastings in 1817, including one Troop and one Company attached to the Nagpore Force under Colonel Adams. Of these, two Troops of Horse Artillery and the Rocket Troop, six Companies of European and four of Native Artillery were previously employed at the siege of Hattrass, where for the first time, the Ordnance establishment was placed on anything like a liberal footing. Th eadvantages of this change were clearly shown by the speedy and complete success of the operations and the comparative freedom from loss.

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

In July 1818, two additional Companies of Independent Golundaz were raised, but one of these, and two of the Regular Companies were subsequently reduced, and the remaining Companies were formed into one Battalion, in carrying out the operation of a new organization ordered in September of that year.

By this arrangement the whole Corps was formed into one

Brigade of Horse Artillery of seven Troops, including the Rocket Troop; three Battalions of European Foot Artillery of eight Companies each, and one Battalion of Native Artillery of fifteen Companies.

To the Brigade of Horse Artillery the staff allowed was one Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels, and two Majors, with a non-effective Adjutant. One Captain and four First Lieutenants were sanctioned per Troop, the strength in men remaining unaltered, but the Non-Commissioned Staff of the Brigade were rendered effective.

To each European Battalion, one Colonel, two Lieutenant Colonels and two Majors, with a non-effective Adjutant, were attached, and one Captain, two First and two Second Lieutenants to each Company, being a reduction of one Officer, the details of men remaining as before.

The proportion of Officers to the Native Battalion was remarkable, consisting of one Major, thirteen Captains, four First and four Second Lieutenants, with a non-effective Adjutant and an effective European and Native Non-Commissioned Staff.

Each Company of Artillery, European and Native, had a Company of Lascars attached, consisting of one Native Commissioned Officer, two Havildars, two Naiks and seventy Privates. The Native Officer of one Company in each Battalion being a Subadar, in the others Jemadars.

The rank of Captain Lieutenant was abolished, and the designations of Lieutenant and Lieutenant Fireworker changed to First and Second Lieutenant. In the same way the designations of Gunner and Matross were changed to Bombardier and Gunner, and in the Lascar details, the Marine designations of Serang Major, Serang, First and Second Tindals were exchanged for the Military titles of Subadar, Jemadar, Havildar and Naik.

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

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

principles but also calculated and fixed the details. In doing this, they for the first time, acknowledged the propriety of making an allowance in the establishment for the Ordnance Department, and accordingly assigned ten Captains for that purpose. But unfortunately they entirely overlooked the Rocket Troop, and calculated the Golundaz Corps according to the number of Companies on the establishment by the last advices received, when there were sixteen, to each of which they assigned an Officer, dividing the number between the three Grades of Captain and Subalterns. They also allowed one Field Officer to Command. Their plan will be more clearly shewn in the following tabular statement:—

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

In carrying out this arrangement, the Local Government, to rectify the omission of the Rocket Troop, took one Captain from the Ordnance List and four First Lieutenants from the Golundaz Battalion, and considering it necessary to post the remaining nine Ordnance Captains to some part of the Regiment, they attached them all to the Golundaz, thus leaving the incongruous proportion of thirteen Captains and eight Subalterns. This organization increased the proportion of Field Officers to Captains and Subalterns to 1 to $8\frac{2}{3}$, or very nearly the standard of the Regulation of 1796, but the proportion of Officers to men per Company, was now reduced to one to thirty, or exactly one-half of the original scale.

Previous to the publication of this order the Ordnance Commissariat had been remodelled and Officers were now assigned to it. The regulations were those still in force, by which the Department was divided into six Grades above the rank of Conductor, of which the two junior Grades were filled exclusively by Warrant Officers.

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

Battalion Guns, which rendered them a component part of the Infantry Battalion, had been abandoned, in lieu of which, each Corps when detached was supplied with a Brigade of two 6-pounders, which were manned by Artillerymen, either European or Native, according to circumstances, aided by Lascars.

During the late Campaign, although the proportion of two Field pieces per Battalion was retained, when several Corps were Brigaded together, their Guns instead of being invariably divided amongst the Battalions, two to each, were occasionally collected in one Battery; whilst the extra Field pieces of various calibres, forming what was called the Field Train, was always so employed. The advantages of this measure and the example of the Armies of Europe, led at length to the adoption of a permanent system of Field Batteries, and accordingly it was now ordered that all the Battalion Guns should be formed into Field Batteries of mixed calibres of eight pieces each. The number of Batteries was fixed so as to give the old proportion of two guns per Battalion, which were to be still available from the Batteries when a Battalion was detached. The result of this measure was the establishment of seventeen Field Batteries, including the experimental 12-pounder Battery, each of the remaining sixteen being equipped with Bullocks, and composed of two 12-pounders, four 6-pounders and two 5½-inch Howitzers. A Company of Artillery, European or Native, was attached to each Battery. By several orders of 1818-19, three of the 17 Batteries fixed for the establishment were ordered to be horsed; the 12-pounder Experimental Battery was included in these, its ordnance being changed. These Batteries were allowed a complement of ninety-six Horses each, being six to each carriage, viz. eight guns and eight waggons. As four horses were considered sufficient for the Light Waggons, this establishment included all contingencies for spare cattle. None were allowed for the Non-Commissioned Staff, which was a serious defect. These at first were raised as an experiment, but being found to answer even with their limited establishments far better than Bullocks, they were rendered permanent in October 1819. Two were stationed in the Field and one at the Presidency. In July 1820 owing to the establishment of fourteen Bullock Batteries being found inadequate to the supply of Guns for all the detached Corps and posts, especially after Nimuch and Mhow, were occupied by Bengal Troops, an additional Battery was allowed, making a total of eighteen Field Batteries of eight Guns each, and six Troops of six guns each, or 180 pieces of Field Ordnance, besides the Rocket Troop. At that time the Bengal Army consisted of eight Cavalry Regiments, one European and sixty Native Battalions,

which excluding Her Majesty's Regiments gave about 2½ Guns per Battalion. By the returns submitted to Parliament in 1830, we find that the establishment of Regular Troops, Cavalry and Infantry in Bengal, during 1820, including His Majesty's Regiments, gives a total, Officers and all, of 84,393, so that the proportion was about one gun to 470 men.

From 1818 to 1824 the strength of the Regiment itself remained unchanged, but in July 1822 the Lascars attached to European Companies were reduced, in consequence of the introduction of Field Batteries and the abolition of drag rope movements with Field Guns. The details were now fixed at one Havildar, two Naiks and twenty-four Privates per Company, being the same complement allowed to Troops of Horse Artillery. From the Golundaz Companies they were withdrawn altogether, and have never since been restored. The Lascars thus reduced, were formed into sixteen Companies of Store Lascars to serve in Magazines and Depôts and "to provide for the efficient services of the siege equipment of the Army." Each Company consisted of one Subadar, one Jemadar, four Havildars, four Naiks and eighty Privates.

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

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

In May of that year a new organization was ordered, under instructions from the Court of Directors, for the Armies of the three Presidencies. The two Battalions of each Native Infantry Regiment were formed into separate Regiments, and a Colonel allowed to each. The establishment of Regiments or Battalions of all arms was now fixed at one Colonel, one Lieutenant Colonel, one Major, five Captains, ten Lieutenants and five second Lieutenants or Ensigns.

In the Artillery four Companies of Europeans were reduced, and five European Troops of Horse Artillery were raised, making a total of twelve Troops, including the Rocket Troop. These were formed into three Brigades each, consisting of three European and one Native Troop, with their full complement of Officers. The remaining twenty Companies of Europeans were formed into five Battalions of four Companies each. The Golundaz continued to form one Battalion of twenty Companies, with only the regular establishment of Officers for a single Battalion or exactly one-half what was allowed to a similar body of Infantry.

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

Assimilation of the several branches was the object of this arrangement, to insure which, the allotment of Officers to Battalions with reference to the number of Companies was laid aside, and thus the establishment shewed a surplus of eight Captains in the Horse and European Artillery and a deficiency of fifteen in the Golundaz. The distribution of Subalterns was equally inconsistent, and moreover involved a decrease in the Troops and European Companies. The only real benefit obtained by this organization was the improved proportion of Field Officers, which was now fixed at 1 to 6⅔ Subordinates, the same as in the Infantry and Cavalry. The increase of the Horse Artillery, though now sanctioned in orders, can scarcely be considered as one of the advantages of this arrangement, as the manifest necessity for a large increase to the light Field Artillery would have rendered that measure inevitable under any circumstances. The reduction of an equivalent portion of the European Foot Artillery was an ill-judged measure, the evils of which were sensibly experienced within a very short period. One highly beneficial Act of Justice was however accorded to the Corps of Artillery and Engineers by this regulation, which was the restoration of the right and privilege to share in the advantages of the General Staff of the Army, which had been withdrawn by the Court's general letter of 10th February, 1814. It was now distinctly ordered that General Officers of the Artillery and Engineers were to be considered eligible for the General Staff, on which account an additional Divisional Command was added to the establishment of each Presidency. It was further ordered that

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

The number of Field Batteries on the establishment was thirty, viz. twelve Batteries of Horse Artillery of six Guns each and eighteen of Foot Artillery of eight Guns each, giving a total of 216 pieces; a larger establishment and much larger proportion than that of the present day. The number of Regiments and Battalions of Infantry and Cavalry in the Company's service was seventy-seven, affording nearly three Guns per Corps. The Returns already quoted, give a total of the regular force of European and Native Cavalry and Infantry, including the Royal Corps, of 87,769 of all ranks, so that the proportion was about one Gun to every 400 men.

The establishment of Lascars to European Companies was shortly after this increased to forty-eight Privates and the Companies of Store Lascars were gradually reduced. During this year the Burmese war having commenced, one Troop of Horse Artillery and half the Rocket Troop, together with two European Companies and a Field Battery, proceeded to Rangoon to join the force under Sir Archibald Campbell, when they bore their full share of the privations and the honors of that Campaign. The Troop took with it an equipment of the Royal Pattern Block Trail Carriages, which were now first introduced into the service, a measure of great advantage, to which Government and the Corps are chiefly indebted to the late Major C. H. Campbell, who then had the charge of the Gun Carriage Agency at Cossipore.

Three European Companies were also employed with the force in Arracan. But such was still the deficiency of Artillery for general employment, that when it was found necessary to erect Batteries at Chittagong, two or three Companies of Magazine Lascars were sent under a Captain of Artillery to work the Guns.

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

operations, a force of 23,000 Infantry and Cavalry was assembled, to which was attached eight Troops of Horse Artillery, of which however three were incomplete and without Guns, nine European and eight Native Companies of Artillery, with fifty Field Pieces, and a Siege Train of 112 pieces, consisting of forty Guns, twelve Howitzers and sixty Mortars, together with a highly efficient Engineer Park, to which were attached many of the ablest Officers of that highly distinguished branch.

Although every available Officer of the Artillery joined this force, the total number present belonging to the Foot Artillery, was four Field Officers, seven Captains, and twenty Subalterns, which deducting Field Officers and Staff give less than two Officers per Company,—and this too, for the conduct of important siege operations, on the success of which the very safety of the British Empire in India may be said to have depended.

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

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

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

This establishment gave a total of 224 Field-pieces, to a force of 91,597 Regular Cavalry and Infantry (Royal Corps included) or about one Gun to 420 men.

In September of the same year, on the occasion of a Battalion of Officers being granted to the Engineer Corps, the Court of Directors gave their tardy sanction to the formation of the Go-

lundaz into two Battalions, with their full complement of Officers to each. The General Order for this addition states that "by 'the attachment of twenty-three European Commissioned Offi- 'cers per Battalion, the Artillery branch of the force will be 'organized upon the principle which obtains in the Infantry, 'viz., that of assigning the same number of European Com- 'missioned Officers to an European as to a Native Regiment, 'whilst the Companies in each are as one to two." A virtual acknowledgement of the injury and injustice the Corps had so long sustained! It is a remarkable circumstance that though this increase had been recommended by the Local Government to the Court, the Commissions of the Officers promoted, only dated from the Order for the increase; whilst the Commissions of the Officers promoted in the six Extra Infantry Regiments, though the formation of those Corps was twice refused by the Court, were finally antedated to the period of their first temporary formation.

Thus for the first time since the formation of 1796, was the fair proportion of Officers allowed, as compared with the other branches of the service. But still with reference to the duties to be performed, the establishment was much too small. Instead, however, of efficiency and increase, economy and reduction were now the objects of Government, and in May 1828, orders were issued reducing the Cavalry to 400 Troopers and the Infantry to 700 Sipahis per Regiment, but leaving the strength of the Artillery untouched. The Field Batteries were however each reduced from eight to six guns, and what was a greater evil the order for horsing all the Batteries was suspended. Still the extensive reduction of the other arms left the established proportion of Field-pieces to sabres and muskets greater than it was before. Two Batteries which were already horsed were broken up and Bullocks substituted. In May 1829, a further reduction took place; the Regiments of Cavalry were reduced from eight to six Troops, and those of Infantry from ten to eight Companies, in consequence of which three Subalterns were taken away from each Corps. Strong as was the spirit of military economy then existing, it was not considered advisable or safe to effect any reduction in the strength of the Artillery, except in the complement of Officers, from which, *on the principle of assimilation*, thirty Subalterns were struck off, though not a single man was reduced, and at the time scarcely a single post Gun detail had a Subaltern attached. In November 1830, the last blow was struck at the efficiency of the Corps by reducing the three remaining Horse Field Batteries, and substituting Bullocks, which were now established as the draught of all Field Artillery.

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

It should be mentioned that in 1835 a Special Board of Artillery Officers selected from the three Presidencies, was assembled in Calcutta to draw out a plan for the uniform equipment and organization of the several Artillery Corps in India. These Officers, whose sitting lasted two years, placed upon record a mass of valuable information, and submitted a series of plans for the complete organization of the Indian Artillery in all its branches. They recommended a considerable increase to the establishments of Horse Artillery Troops, in men and horses, with the general introduction of the Detachment System, and further that all Field Batteries should be equipped with horses. They drew out elaborate tables for the equipment of Siege Trains, and advocated the adoption of a new description of Field Carriage, with a contracted cheek trail, and also strongly recommended the establishment of a Depot of Instruction at the Head-Quarters of each Corps, for the more perfect training of the Officers and men of Artillery.

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

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

At the close of the year, four Troops and four Companies with the two above mentioned Batteries and a small siege Train formed a portion of the Army of the Indus assembled at Ferozepore; but only two Troops and two Companies with the Camel Battery and the siege Guns accompanied the Division that marched under Sir Willoughby Cotton and joined Sir John Keane's Army. To these were subsequently added two Troops of Native Horse Artillery raised in a very short time and under peculiar difficulties by Captain W. Anderson for the ser-

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

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

weaker Companies, but with a better allotment of the several grades. The new establishment consisted of one Staff Sergeant, six Sergeants, six Corporals, six Bombardiers, two Buglers and sixty Gunners. Such is the strength of the Companies at present, and were they kept complete, it is we think the best arrangement that could be made; since, with reference to the Batteries being composed of six pieces, this hexade formation is particularly convenient. The only objection is, that the proportion of Gunners is small, when the frequent occurrence of casaulties is considered, and the apparent impossibility of keeping a Company complete.

At the close of the Affghanistan Campaign a large Army of Reserve was formed at Ferozepore, and on the return of the Divisions under Generals Pollock and Nott, the whole Force was reviewed before the Governor-General, the Commander-in-Chief, and the Sikh Envoys from Lahore. On this occasion six Troops of Horse and six Batteries of Foot Artillery were assembled, besides Reserve Companies and the Mountain Train, mustering about 100 pieces of Artillery, Siege and Field.

In 1843 a large force of Artillery was again called into the Field for the Gwalior Campaign, on which occasion five Troops of Horse and thirteen Companies of Foot Artillery, with three Field Batteries and a siege train of fifty pieces of ordnance were collected. The greater portion of the heavy Guns were left behind at Dholpore, but some of the heavy Howitzers were taken on and employed. These Troops and Companies were present at the actions either of Maharajpore or Punniar, which were fought on the same day.

At the conclusion of this Campaign, four Companies with Batteries attached were raised for the Gwalior Contingent, and Officered from the Regiment, as also was a Horse Field Battery attached to the Bundelcund Legion, which soon after it was raised proceeded to Sindh, and on its return in 1846 was incorporated in the Corps.

The number of regular Horse Field Batteries had been gradually increased to five. These were at first equipped with eighty-nine Horses, which allowed six Horses each for six Guns and six Waggons, one spare per team and five for the Staff; the Gun teams were subsequently allowed eight Horses each. In 1845 the number of the Batteries was increased to nine and the complement of Horses to each fixed at 120, which gave eight Horses to each Gun and Waggon, and allowed a team for the Forge Cart, with six saddle Horses, including one spare and one spare draught Horse per team. On the Frontier, or on service, ten additional Horses were sanctioned. There are now ten Batteries Horsed.

In July 1845 a new organization of the whole of the Indian Artillery took place, by which the Corps in Bengal received a nominal increase, but a practical decrease except in the establishment of Officers. The five European Battalions of five Companies each were formed into six Battalions of four Companies each, and the two Golundaz Battalions of ten Companies, into three Battalions of six companies each, causing a total reduction of one European and two Native Companies, and this with every probability of an early Campaign being inevitable.

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

This gave an establishment of three Brigades and nine Battalions, each having a complement of Officers similar to the Infantry, with the exception that an additional Captain was allowed to the latter, which has not been accorded to the Artillery, although greatly wanted.

At the close of that year and the commencement of 1846, the Campaign of the Sutlej was carried on; and during that arduous but glorious struggle, eleven out of the thirteen Troops, together with eight European and five Native Companies, with four Batteries and a siege Train, were employed with the Army; whilst one Troop and two Batteries were attached to Sir Charles Napier's Force advancing from Sindh; giving a total of one-half the Corps employed on service, with which were about three-fourths of the Officers then in India, who were ordered to join from all quarters.

During May and June 1847, two European and one Native Company were employed in the severe and trying duties attendant on the operations against the Fort of Kangra.

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

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

The first point that demands notice is the division and allotment of the components of the Corps. These, as already stated, consist at present of thirteen Troops and forty-two Companies of Horse and Foot Artillery, which are formed into twelve Brigades and Battalions.

This arrangement we look upon as a great and radical evil. We have shown the origin of this system in the formation of the first Battalion, and traced its course through the Regiment of two and the Brigade of three, to the Corps of many Battalions; a system which has been persevered in from the desire to assimilate the Artillery as far as practicable to the composition of the other branches, especially that of the Infantry. But this assimilation always was and always must be rather nominal than real. As by the standard regulation of 1796, so at the present moment, the number of Officers in a Battalion of Artillery differs from that in a Regiment of Cavalry and Infantry; the number of Troops and Companies varies also, and the composition of those Troops and Companies is still more dissimilar. The nature of the duties to be performed and the mode of performing them differ widely, as does the relative position and importance of the Troops and Companies.

From time to time, as already shown, efforts have been made to conform or restore the conformation of the several branches, but the exigencies of the service, and their essentially differing circumstances, have invariably led to a speedy deviation from the theoretical plans laid down.

When their several constitutions are so essentially distinct, this Procrustean assimilation is impossible in practice, and even, if practicable, could be productive of no beneficial result.

All that is requisite or desirable, is that the several arms should bear a due proportion towards each other, with reference to the general requirements of the service; that the details should be so regulated in each, as to insure the greatest efficiency at the least cost; and that the advantages of rank and emolument should be apportioned as equally as possible.

The practical working of the existing system, as regards the Artillery, is productive of very great inconvenience and naturally affects its discipline and efficiency. Owing to the limited extent of the Corps and the general demand for its services, the details composing it are of necessity scattered over the whole Presidency; the consequence is, that although the Troops and Companies are formed into Brigades and Battalions, in no single instance is one of these larger bodies held complete at any one station, or even in any one Division of the Army: in several cases no two Companies of the same Battalion are stationed

together; and at the present moment there are two striking instances of the operation of the system, the Head Quarters of a Brigade being stationed at Meerut and of a Battalion at Agra, with the Commanding Officers, Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Staff, and not a single Troop or Company of their several commands at the respective Head Quarter Stations, or even in the same Division of the Army. These facts speak for themselves as to the inutility and absurdity of the system; but unfortunately a more intimate acquaintance with the results will show that it is not only an useless and absurd, but a most prejudicial arrangement.

A Commanding Officer separated by long distance from the greater portion or even the whole of his charge, can have but little personal or practical acquaintance with its condition or economy; whilst great inconvenience must naturally arise, from the necessity that exists for the Officers in charge of detached details, communicating with the Officer in general command. Moreover the decisions of the latter Officer must be matters of form, regulated by the representations and suggestions forwarded to him, or should he act on his own discretion, they are liable to error, from his unavoidable ignorance of many circumstances bearing on the subject upon which he has to give an opinion.

A partial remedy has been already devised for these evils by placing detached details under the temporary and ill-defined authority of the senior Artillery Officer of the Station or Division in which they may be located. This measure naturally tends to produce occasional collision between the local temporary and the absent permanent authority, whilst the influence of both is weakened. The evil of such a division of responsibility and authority is too apparent to need further comment.—Another disadvantage arises from multiplication of official documents and correspondence; a Troop or Company Officer detached, having to make returns and reports to the Divisional, the Brigade or Battalion and the Regimental authorities, exclusive of those for Army Head Quarters.

Even supposing that Battalions and Brigades could be retained together in a complete state, it is very questionable if the system would work well. A Captain of Artillery commanding a Troop or Battery is in a very different position from an Officer commanding a Troop or Company in the Cavalry or Infantry. In this country, a portion of the latter commands are held by Subalterns in their own right, and the majority are so held in practice. They remain collected at their Regimental Head Quarters, are seldom liable to be detached

or to incur individual responsibility. Not so with the Troop or Battery Officer;—on service he is nearly sure to be detached and is generally so in time of peace. He is very generally and ought invariably to be a Captain, and consequently an Officer of some experience. In the field his position is a very responsible one, his command ranking in importance with that of a Regiment, and demanding the exercise of the greatest military judgment and perception in the mode of employing and the selection of a position for his Battery. Moreover his appointment to his command is usually, and should always be of a permanent nature, and his interest in it is naturally great. Under these circumstances it is very desirable that the authority of the Troop or Company Officer should not be too much curtailed, and that as he is responsible for the condition and efficiency of his charge, his controul over its interior economy should be complete and acknowledged.

Lastly we would bring to notice the greatest evil of the system, which is to be found in the false position of the Field Officers of the Regiment. Deprived of any direct or defined command, their authority limited to trifling matters of detail, liable constantly to clash with each other and with their subordinates, having actually no duties to perform that can afford them interest or employment;—they are almost useless in time of peace, and when they do obtain a real command on service, it is not to be wondered at, if the habit of attending chiefly to trivialities should have grown upon them.

There can not be a greater error (though we believe it is not an uncommon one) than to suppose that the Artillery do not require Field Officers;—there is no branch of the service that requires them so much. A Regiment of Cavalry or Infantry in the field may be led by the senior Officer, be his rank what it may, as they are a compact and complete body. But in the Artillery, though two or three Batteries of Horse or Foot Artillery may be nominally Brigaded together, in the field they are almost certain to be divided amongst the Brigades of Cavalry, Infantry and Reserve. Thus separated from each other by considerable intervals, yet requiring to maintain unity of object, the direction of one general Commander is indispensable. No Captain of a Battery can perform this duty; it would withdraw his attention from his own immediate charge and deprive his Battery of careful superintendence and undivided command at the very moment these were most required. Here then is the duty of a Field Officer, a duty that is essentially called for whenever two or more Batteries are Brigaded together, and should therefore always be provided for. In like manner

with a large Army, the Field Officers in charge of Brigades require the general direction and controul of a Senior Officer to command the whole Division.

If these duties are to be effectively performed on service, it is necessary that they should be practised in time of peace, in order that habits of command and controul may be mutually acquired. But if Field Officers are to be confined to the duties of promoting Sergeants and Corporals, of whose qualifications and characters they are probably ignorant, and signing monthly returns, which might be false throughout, for all they could possibly know to the contrary; if they are kept at particular Stations without sufficient men or guns of their own command to form a Subaltern's party, is it not in accordance with human nature that they should feel their position one of slight and degradation, and that with zeal damped, spirits broken, and hopes blighted, they should resign themselves to the listless course chalked out for them. It is true there are some bright exceptions, but as a general rule, the results of the system are most objectionable.

The remedy for these complicated evils is an exceedingly simple one. It is to render each Troop and Company an independent integral body; to designate them numerically as the 1st, 2nd or 3rd Troop, the 8th, 9th or 10th Company, as the case might be; having a separate numbering for the Native Companies should this be considered advisable;—Brigades and Battalions to be abolished, and the Troops or Companies to be placed under the charge of the Field Officer Commanding the Artillery Division, subject of course to the existing or increased controul of Regimental Authority. These Field Officers to have each a distinct and practical command, and to be assisted by the requisite portion of Commissioned and Non-Commissioned Staff.

The present distribution of the Corps would readily admit of an arrangement by which the Government would be put to no extra expense, and the Officers lose no portion of their existing Command and Staff emoluments. On the present establishment there are twelve Brigade and Battalion commands, and three Divisional commands, on the proposed plan there might be an equal number of Divisional Commands on the same scale of allowances, or what would be even preferable,—having the same aggregate amount, but divided into classes according to the extent and responsibility of the several commands. Thus for instance the four most important commands might have an allowance of Rs. 500 each, the four next the present sum of Rs. 400, and the remaining minor commands

Rs. 300 each. Two or three of the Junior commands might be made subordinate to an equal number of the more important Divisions, as for instance at Meerut and at Umballa, two Field Officers being at present allowed at each of those stations; the special charges of the Horse and Foot, or the Field and Reserve Artillery, being severally intrusted to the two Officers, but the Senior to have general controul over the whole. These Divisions should comprehend the smaller stations in the vicinity of their respective Head Quarters, so long as they are within the same Division of the Army, or they might be composed of two or more neighbouring stations. Thus for instance the Meerut Division would naturally embrace Delhi and Bareilly; the Cawnpore Division would take in Lucknow and Allahabad. The three Western Field forces, Mhow, Nímuch and Nusseerabad might form one command, and Dinapore and Benares might constitute another. These however are details which, were the principle once admitted, could be easily arranged by the proper authorities. But it should be clearly laid down that two or more Troops or Companies stationed together, should always have a Field Officer to command; that when there were two or more Troops and two or more Companies together, there should be a Field Officer to each branch, and also that a Field Officer should be stationed wherever there was a Magazine.

In like manner the Staff appointments could be similarly distributed, an Adjutant being allowed wherever there was a Commandant, and an Interpreter and Quarter Master at the more important stations. A portion of these Divisional Commandants and Staff to be borne upon the strength of the Horse Artillery, the number of which might be regulated by the existing allotment, and the appointment conferred on those who have served in that branch, in the junior grades. By this arrangement the Field Officers of Artillery would have responsible and well defined duties to perform, instead of being little better than cyphers as they are at present. It would be their duty to see that the Troops and Companies in their Division, were in efficient order, visiting those detached annually, and getting them to the Head Quarters for the Practice season, when this could be conveniently effected. They should also be responsible for the condition of the Siege Trains and Artillery Parks lodged in the Magazines or Depots within the circle of their commands. These they should inspect periodically and have authority to order all established proportions of Ordnance, carriages, ammunition or stores to be completed, and to object to any articles of inferior quality or obsolete pattern, pending the decision of a qualified special Committee

of survey! It should be their duty to point out to the proper authorities any reduction or increase that they might consider advisable or necessary in the proportions of these Ordnance equipments, and all correspondence on these subjects between the Magazine Officer and the Military Board or Army Head Quarters should pass through them.

In like manner they should exercise a similar controul over, and periodically inspect the condition of the Ordnance draught cattle of the Division, and send in regular reports as to their condition and sufficiency. Thus when ordered to take the Field they would know exactly what they had to depend upon, and be responsible for the efficient equipment of the whole Artillery under their charge.

The services of the Staff would be proportionably and more conveniently divided amongst the whole Corps, instead of being confined to Head Quarter Companies of their own Battalions or Brigades; and the Troop and Company Officers, whilst they had full authority in the internal economy of their own particular charges, would be responsible to, and under the controul of, an Officer of rank and experience on the spot, or in their immediate neighbourhood.

The next point we purpose to consider is the composition and organization of the Troops and Companies with their Batteries; commencing with the Horse Artillery.

In Bengal the *Personnel* of an European Troop consists of one Staff Sergeant, six Sergeants, six Corporals, ten Bombardiers, two Rough Riders, two Farriers, two Trumpeters, two Half Pay Trumpeters and eighty Gunners, to which is to be added one Native Farrier, and a Lascar detail of one Havildar, two Naiks and twenty-four Lascars, giving a total of 111 Europeans and twenty-eight Natives. The Battery consists of five 6-pounder Guns and one 12-pounder Howitzer, with six Waggons drawn by horses, and a Forge Cart, a Store Cart and a spare carriage drawn by bullocks. The complement of horses is 169, of bullocks 14, with a Syce and Grasscutter to each horse, and six Drivers to the bullocks. This establishment is notoriously insufficient as regards both men and horses. As already stated the establishment and organization are nearly the same as recommended in 1809, by Sir John Horsford, *as a temporary expedient*, the only addition since made, being twenty-four horses, not more than sufficient to meet the increased weight of the ammunition Waggons.

The system of exercise is one entirely peculiar to Bengal, which calls for a few remarks. In all other Armies a certain number of drivers and horses are allowed for the draught of

the Guns and Waggons, the Gunners to work them being mounted on separate horses; these form detachments, allotted to each gun, of which a portion dismount in action whilst the remainder hold the horses. This is termed the Detachment system, and is in use at the other Presidencies, in the Royal Horse Artillery, and in the Armies of the Continent. In Bengal, on the contrary, the whole of the gun and four of the waggon horses are ridden, the men from the off horses dismounting to work the gun in action; the Sergeant of each gun is however mounted on a separate horse. Two Lascars seated on the axle of the gun limber also assist in working the gun. As the horses in draught have also to carry the men, and consequently to perform a double duty, a spare set is allowed for each gun, and is requisite, though not allowed on the present establishment, for each waggon. This system is not without its advocates, but they argue that its merits are not fairly tested upon the present limited establishment.

Its alleged advantages are, 1st, its greater economy; 2ndly, its exposing fewer men and horses in action; 3rdly, that a gun is more easily extricated in heavy or difficult ground when all the horses are mounted, than when only the near horses are ridden; and lastly, that after an advance, a Battery can open its fire more rapidly than on any other plan.

Now, the first argument, that of economy, is doubtful. It is true, that a Bengal Troop in its present crippled and inefficient condition, costs less than an efficient Detachment Troop. But this may be anything but real economy; by rendering it less efficient it might be made cheaper still. *All Artillery must be expensive, but inefficient Artillery is the most costly of all.* Were a Troop to be rendered as efficient as the Bengal system admits of, it would require as many men and horses as a Detachment Troop. The second argument that fewer men and horses are exposed in action, must be admitted; but again the question arises, is this smaller complement as efficient to bring the gun into action and work it whilst there, as the larger complement of the other system? We think it is not;—and if this can be proved, the argument then falls to the ground, or by a parity of reasoning, it might be applied to prove that a Troop of Cavalry was better than a Squadron. In regard to the third point, there can be no doubt that in heavy ground, the additional physical weight afforded by mounting all the horses, must occasionally tell for a short distance, on the same principle that a man with another on his back, can pull or push over a man stronger than himself. But if the two men were to be engaged in a struggle, when

strength and activity were both to be employed, we doubt if either would consider it an advantage to have an extra heavy weight to carry the whole time. For the sake of occasionally assisting a horse in a difficulty, it is very doubtful policy to give him the permanent addition of eighteen stone to carry, which is under the average weight of a Horse Artillery Trooper fully equipped. With respect to the last argument, it is to be observed that a Bengal Troop advances at a rapid pace *beyond* the point where it is intended to open fire, turns to the left about, generally at a gallop, and then halts and unlimbers for action; this is a manœuvre not altogether without risk, and rarely unattended with more or less flurry and confusion; if a well dressed line is no object, there is then no doubt that the Bengal Troop will open its fire a few seconds earlier than a Detachment Troop; but so far from considering this as an advantage, we look upon it as a great evil; for it tends to introduce a habit of haste and excitement, instead of the coolness and deliberation requisite to ensure a steady aim and an effective discharge.

There is one other point to be noticed as an argument occasionally adduced in favour of this system, viz. that the spare set of horses admits of a change during the line of march, or what is of more importance, before coming into action. This is a strong point in theory but doubtful in practice; as on service, considerable difficulty would be found in arranging these changes, especially when a Troop formed a portion of the general column of march. The exchange between the off and near horses of a Detachment Troop is a simpler matter, that can always be effected without difficulty.

It is also not unfrequently adduced, that the Bengal Horse Artillery has done frequent and invariably good service, and made marches of extraordinary length and rapidity. This we fully concede. But we would enquire, whether this success has not been attributable to the skill, the zeal, and the energy of the Officers and men, rather than to the excellency of the system: whether in fact these objects and successes have not been obtained in spite of an objectionable system. British soldiers have fought well and successfully under a system of stiff stocks, pipe-clay and pig-tails, but who would attribute their success to that system.

We will now consider the acknowledged disadvantages attending this organization and mode of exercise. In the first place there can be no doubt that the powers and constitution of the horses are more taxed by the alternation of over-work and rest, than by a regular routine of moderate work; and for this reason a Troop on the Bengal system can never be in even com-

paratively good condition after a long march or trying campaign; more especially, if forage is scarce or inferior. This defect was markedly exhibited during the first Affghanistan Campaign, in the different condition of the Bengal and Bombay Troops on their arrival at Kabul in 1839; though it must be admitted, the latter had also the advantage of a larger complement of horses, and lighter though very inefficient carriages. In the second place, on the Bengal system a gun is dependent on its waggon, as one man at least is required from the latter to work the gun. It is true that the near centre rider of the gun might dismount, if his pair of horses are moderately steady, but then a syce must hold the Sergeant's horse; and this is putting a Troop at once to a shift, that ought to be resorted to only in extremity: another arrangement is that the leaders may be detached from the waggon and serve as a small detachment with the gun, leaving the waggon with only four horses. In the third place, the Troop has no means of defending itself on the line of march or when retiring, and must always require the support of Cavalry when detached; and if the spare horses which cannot be always up with the Troop were to be seized by the enemy, the Battery would be completely crippled. Lastly, on a long and difficult march, the horses cannot be so steadily or evenly driven, when each pair of horses is subject to the differing intentions of two riders, as when under the guidance of one mind and one pair of hands.

In pointing out these disadvantages, we have in a great measure exhibited the advantages of the Detachment system. In that, the draught horses have only one rider to be carried by every pair, being an average of nine stone taken from the back of each animal; they are driven with facility and brought into action readily. The Detachment forms a strong and efficient Troop of Cavalry for the defence of the Battery, and renders it independent of that arm, except when required for support in action. The Detachment horses may always be made available to assist the gun or waggon in any difficulty; lastly there is a better division of labour, and the Drivers and Gunners having respectively but one duty to perform, are more likely to do it well.

Both systems received the careful attention of the Special Board of Artillery Officers, assembled at Calcutta in 1836, who finally gave an unanimous report in favour of the Detachment system; in which report they observed that "the several 'systems of organization as existing at the three Presidencies 'have necessarily undergone minute discussion of their res-'pective details; and the result is, that whatever may be the

'mode adopted for carrying the Artillerymen, whether on 'the off horses as in Bengal, or on separate riding horses as 'at Madras and Bombay, the aggregate number of men and 'horses requisite for a Troop must be fixed by the number 'of carriages to be drawn by horses, and the number of men 'to be mounted; and that whether a Troop be organized 'upon the one system or the other, the number of men and 'horses will be alike."

Upon this principle, they proposed an establishment for a Troop of 130 men, with no Lascars; six guns and six waggons as at present, with a Forge cart and spare carriage, all to be horsed, and 210 horses.

For this establishment, allowance was made for Detachments of twelve men each, owing to the abolition of the Lascars and the objections to placing Europeans on the limbers,—more especially as in the carriages recommended for adoption there were no seats on the axle bed. By retaining the present pattern carriages and the Lascars, the Detachments might be reduced to ten each and afford equal efficiency. Five horses were also allowed for a spare gun carriage, which though an advantage, is one that scarcely warrants the extra expense it entails, and might, we think, be dispensed with, substituting bullocks as at present. Thus a reduction might be effected of seventeen horses, which would bring the establishment down to 193, the number suggested by the Bombay members of the Board, in a very clear and able minute on the subject.

The Bengal members in a separate minute, previously recorded, admitted the necessity for 130 men for their own system, but they expressed their opinion that 184 Horses would be sufficient. In their calculation however they omitted to allow one spare horse to each second set for draught, by which their scale was reduced to the extent of twelve horses. Neither did they allow any spare saddle horses, for which at the usual rate of $\frac{1}{6}$, three would be requisite. On the other hand they did allow five horses for the spare Carriage, which might be deducted, this would leave ten to be added to their calculation, being a total of 194 Horses actually required.

In the Royal Horse Artillery, the establishment laid down by the Sub-Committee assembled in 1819, for a 6-pounder Troop, was 182 men and 186 Horses. In this complement however, seven artificers are included, and the driver detail is increased for stable duty to an extent which in India, where the aid of syces is available, would be unnecessary and expensive. On the other hand, the complement of horses only allows eight for each detachment, as with the quiet Geldings in the British Service, three

men can easily hold eight Horses, leaving five available to dismount and work the Gun. Again, as six horses are allowed for each carriage, whilst only four would ordinarily be in actual draft of the waggons and spare carriages, the total of spare allowed is reduced to $\frac{1}{10}$. This however is compensated by the allowance for spare carriages. Taking then the number actually required, viz. 169, deducting three for Artificers, and adding twelve for detachments, we have a total of 178, to which adding their proportion of spare, viz. eighteen, the full complement would be 196. When we mention the names of the Members of this Sub-Committee, any plan based on their calculations must possess considerable value: these Members were Colonels W. Miller, W. Robe, Sir Augustus Frazer and Sir Alexander Dickson, all well known to the Military world for their knowledge and abilities as practical and experienced Artillerists.

Before proceeding to suggest any scale of equipment, founded upon the foregoing data, it is first requisite to take into consideration the special objects sought to be obtained by the organization of Horse Artillery, and also what peculiarities are attendant upon the employment of that arm in India.

A Horse Artillery Gun once brought into battery, possesses no advantage over a Foot Artillery Gun of equal calibre, efficiently served and equipped; but it is in the celerity with which it can be brought into action at whatever point its services are required, with its Gunners fresh and ready for immediate exertion, that the merits of this arm consist; and as this result is one of great importance, no consideration of false economy should be allowed to intervene or limit the attainment of full efficiency. The late Sir Henry Fane, then Commander-in-Chief, in a minute upon the report of the Bengal Members of the Special Board, observes "The most important point for consideration is *efficiency when called into action.* Economy must be made a secondary consideration, for, when a Government deems it expedient to equip so costly an arm as Horse Artillery, they must not swallow a camel and strain at a gnat!!!"

To insure the attainment of this celerity is the principle on which Horse Artillery must be equipped. Here then we perceive the absolute necessity for a liberal establishment of men and horses, and also an advantage in the Detachment over the Bengal system. If in action the services of a Battery are required at an important point in a distant part of the Field, the one whose horses carry only three men per team, is likely to arrive in shorter time and in fresher condition than

the one whose teams carry six men each. And it must not be forgotten that at a particular crisis, a very few minutes of time may decide the fate of an action or even of a Campaign. On this subject Sir Henry Fane in the minute already quoted, also observes: "All experienced Officers know that it rarely happens that assailants (which I hope our Horse Artillery will always be,) bring their Troops fresh into action. Affairs are generally brought on after a long or rapid march. It is at the end of such, that the active exertions of Horse Artillery are required. Let us then suppose six Horses in a 6-pounder, each with a weight of fifteen or sixteen stone on his back, and having drawn the Gun over ten miles of bad road; take another Gun, with riders on the near horses only, and the off horse free to exert his energies without any pressure on his back or loins; which Gun, I ask, will be most capable of the active exertion I require from it? I cannot doubt the answer."

As regards the number of horses required for draught, it is to be remembered that in India the carriages are heavier, the horses inferior, the roads worse and the forage generally more uncertain and difficult to obtain than in Europe; the exposure and liability to disease are also greater. Lastly there is here no extensive market to resort to on emergency, where Troop horses might be purchased by thousands as in England. Under these circumstances the British service scale of teams of six horses for 6-pounder Carriages and eight horses for 9-Pounder Carriages is the minimum computation that could safely be allowed, with one-half spare for relief and casualties on the Detachment system, and double sets for relief and $\frac{1}{6}$ spare for casualties on the Bengal system. For all out-riders one horse per man and $\frac{1}{6}$ spare is also the lowest complement that prudence could sanction, especially as the loss of a horse involves the loss of the services of the rider, unless spare cattle are available, and in so limited an establishment the loss of any one man is of consequence.

Another point to consider is the necessity of rendering a Troop in action or on the march independent of the aid of Syces; to insure which it is necessary to provide the means of holding the horses of every man who dismounts in action, and to allow at least one man to bring on every pair of spare horses. The horses in India being generally entire and unsteady, one horse holder must be allowed for every pair of horses in the gun Detachments, if that system is adopted. Now by retaining the present plan of putting two Lascars on the gun limber to serve ammunition, five men only are required to dis-

mount and work the gun, which would render ten men and horses necessary for each Detachment.

As regards the number of carriages to be horsed, we consider that if each piece is supplied with one ammunition waggon so equipped, and one Forge Cart to the Battery, this would be ample; the spare ammunition carriages might safely be drawn by bullocks.

Finally with regard to the plan of putting men upon the carriages, we consider that so to employ Europeans would be inexpedient, but as long experience has shown that the measure may be adopted with Lascars without injury, and as their employment in that manner saves two Gunners, two horse-holders and four horses per Gun, it would be unwise and extravagant to depart from the existing practice.

Upon the above data we consider that a Troop of Horse Artillery, with six light Guns and six Waggons, together with a Forge Cart horsed, and the remaining spare carriages drawn by bullocks, would require an establishment of 130 men, exclusive of the Lascar detail, as at present, and 192 horses, whatever system was adopted.

On the Detachment system, which we consider decidedly preferable, and the one that should be generally adopted, the allotment of a Troop would be as follows :—

	Men.	*Horses.*
Six Guns and six Waggons, at six horses each, and one Forge Cart, with four horses	38	76
Half draught spare	19	38
Staff actually required in the Field	8	8
Six Detachments of ten men and horses each	60	60
Spare saddle horses, $\frac{1}{6}$	5	10
Total	130	192

By this allotment every man is mounted and every horse provided either with a rider, or horse holder, when moving spare in pairs. No horse is allowed spare for the Staff, but as one spare would be sufficient for the Forge Cart, the second allotted for that purpose would be available—On the Bengal system the allotment would be :—

	Men.	*Horses.*
Six Guns and Six Waggons in draught	60	72
Second sets for relief	36	72
Spare for casualties $\frac{1}{6}$	12	24
Forge Cart, including spare	3	6
Out-riders, including spare	19	19
Total	130	192

Such an establishment would, we conceive, develope the full efficiency of either system upon any ordinary service. For

a very protracted Campaign or one far removed from the usual sources of supply, additional Horses might be added to the extent likely to be required. But it is only under very peculiar circumstances that such a necessity would be likely to arise.

The composition of the *Personnel* of the Troop we would base upon that recommended by the Special Board, with two slight changes; it should be as follows:—One Troop Sergeant Major, one Quarter Master Sergeant, six Sergeants, six Corporals, twelve Bombardiers, ninety-six Gunners and Drivers, two Rough Riders, three Trumpeters, and three Farriers. In this scale we have omitted the Drill Corporal recommended by the Special Board, as we think the necessity for his appointment was scarcely made out. On service he could hardly be required, and in Cantonment a Drill Corporal to the Division of Artillery would be sufficient. We have also added one Gunner, which we think is requisite if only to preserve the hexade division. We have adopted the change of designation recommended for the senior Staff Sergeant, as more consonant to his duties and to the corresponding position in the European Cavalry. The only Staff additional to the existing establishment are the Quarter Master Sergeant and one Farrier; the latter being a substitute for the Native Farrier allowed at present. The Quarter Master Sergeant we look upon as a very necessary appointment. The one Staff Sergeant now allowed, is over-worked if he does all that is required from him. Were his duties confined to the *Personnel* of the Troop, he would still have ample employment; and the charge of the *Materiel* would leave the Quarter Master Sergeant no sinecure.

The spare carriages we would leave exactly upon their present scale, viz. one Store cart and one Howitzer carriage, which, with the aid of Trunnion boxes, can be made available for either Gun or Howitzer, in the event of an accident: an additional Store Cart to be allowed when marching. The number of spare ammunition carriages to be taken on service should be left to the discretion of the Officer commanding the Artillery Division, and should be regulated by the probable duration and nature of the Campaign, the distance from any Magazine and the extent or capabilities of supply in the Field Park.

The composition of a Native Troop should correspond with that of an European Troop, with the addition of one Subadar, two Jemadars, and retaining the two European Staff Sergeants. Three additional horses would be requisite for the Native Officers, though no provision is made for them in the present establishment of Native Troops. The rank of Bombardier should be allowed to the twelve senior Gunners.

It now only remains to consider the best description of Ordnance for a Horse Artillery Battery. This is debateable ground. Many Officers, whose experience gives weight to their opinions, conceive that the present fixed equipment of 6-pounders is the best and only one suited to Horse Artillery; and that, especially in India, heavier calibres could not be employed with sufficient celerity or without overtaxing the power of the draught Horses. On the other hand, staunch advocates, and practical men too, are to be found for the general use of light 9-pounders, at least with European Troops,—their advocacy being based on the greatly superior effect of the 9-Pounder Gun in action, whilst they consider the difference of weight to be such as not to affect the condition or powers of the Horses to any material extent, beyond what might be compensated by extra draught cattle; more especially as the Indian 9-pounder Gun is three cwt. lighter than the Royal pattern, and the 9-pounder Waggon is only about half a cwt. heavier than that of the 6-pounder. Between these opposite opinions we would suggest a middle course. For general equipment we consider the 6-pounder as the best calculated for the purpose, and we conceive that for a long or distant Campaign, or for one in a trying or difficult country, the 9-pounder is quite unsuitable; as an instance we would point to the Affghanistan Campaigns. Suffering as the cattle did there with 6-pounders, it is not too much to assert that with 9-pounders they must have been completely done up. On the other hand it is very certain that where circumstances would admit of it, the armament of a Troop with 9-pounders would be of the greatest advantage in action; and in a short campaign, where the field of operation is limited and forage moderately abundant, there is no doubt that the Indian ten cwt. 9-pounders might be employed without any serious detriment to the Troop Horses. During the Campaigns of Gwalior and the Sutlej, had the European Troops been armed with 9-pounders, it is reasonable to infer that a very great advantage would have been obtained. It should be remembered that it is not to gallop about with flying Brigades, or as an adjunct to Cavalry Divisions that Horse Artillery are alone or chiefly required; the most important use of this arm is to form Batteries of Reserve, to be moved with rapidity on any required point, to cover an advance, to check one on the part of the enemy, or to concentrate a fire upon any part of the opposing line that it may be an object to break. For such purposes, it is evident that the heavier the calibre the greater the effect.

On this subject we cannot do better than quote the opi-

nion of that experienced and able Artillerist Sir Augustus Frazer:—

"Experience has proved, that what is called harrassing an 'enemy is, in many cases, rather harrassing oneself—and that, 'although great advantages may be gained by the occasional 'fire of Artillery on the flanks of an enemy, the real applica- 'tion of the arm consists in bringing up considerable masses of 'guns, and pouring their fire, as much as possible, on one point.

"In this view of the subject, it is of the greatest conse- 'quence, that guns, brought by whatever means they may 'to the particular point where they are required, should be 'powerful and efficient guns. But whoever will reflect on the 'service of the late war will be sensible, that the guns, on 'whose certain arrival at indicated points the greatest depend- 'ence could be placed, were those of the Horse Artillery; 'whose powers of movement, though short of what they readi- 'ly might be, were yet much superior to those of the rest of 'the field Artillery. Now, as this must ever be the case to 'a certain degree, and as the guns of the Horse Artillery will 'always, on this very account, be more available on emergen- 'cies than any others; it seems peculiarly necessary, that, though 'some troops of Horse Artillery in reference to the duties of 'Light Cavalry may be armed with Light ordnance, the ma- 'jority of this valuable arm should be equipped with powerful 'and efficient calibres, such as may be applied in masses, 'and may do great and unequivocal execution.

"If, then, the real use of Horse Artillery be to move guns 'with rapidity and certainty to the points where they are 'required; and if the men be solely on these accounts placed 'on horseback, there can be no doubt that all guns, of every 'calibre whatever, which the modern habits of war may bring 'into the field, are applicable to Horse Artillery; the men of 'which service, though mounted for the mere sake of expedi- 'tious movement, are neither more nor less than other Artillery- 'men, the moment the guns are brought into action.

"It is essential too, in another point of view, that the guns of 'the Horse Artillery should be good and efficient pieces. It is 'not without very considerable expense that guns of any kind, 'or upon any establishment whatever, are brought into the 'field; but the guns and equipments of the Horse Artillery 'have, besides the expenses common to other field guns, the 'additional ones of the horses and appointments for the 'mounted men. This difference of expense is frequently men- 'tioned in disparagement of the Horse Artillery, by those 'who look no farther than bare expense. But, if the services,

'or at least possible services, of this powerful arm be fairly 'placed in the balance, they will far outweigh these ideal 'objections; and the value and merits of a Corps, which com- 'bines zeal, gallantry, and extraordinary energy, must be 'acknowledged.

"It may here be fairly observed, in support of the arguments 'in favour of arming the Horse Artillery with heavy guns, 'that, adverting to the nature of the service on which they 'were about to be employed, six troops of the ten which were 'engaged at the battle of Waterloo exchanged immediately 'before it their light guns for nine pounders; so that, including 'the howitzers with the remaining troops, there were then in 'the field with the Horse Artillery forty pieces of heavy 'calibre: and whoever will recollect how, almost exclusively, 'for some hours, that battle was one of Artillery, and how 'much necessarily depended upon the efficiency of that arm, 'must admit, that the exchange was opportune and judicious.

"It may not perhaps be too much to say, that had the lighter 'pieces been suffered to remain, it might have had a consider- 'able effect on the fortune of the day, and the state and rela- 'tive utility of such of the troops as retained their lighter 'guns, and were in exposed situations, very strongly corrobo- 'rates this idea.

"At the battle of Waterloo, too, was seen for the first time, 'a troop armed exclusively with Howitzers, and the striking 'effect of their fire near the Chauteau Hougoumont fully 'justified their application and established the value, with 'these pieces, of a species of ammunition of which the utility, 'with field pieces in general, remains at least very doubtful."

Under these circumstances we consider that it is unadvisable to restrict the Horse Artillery to the use of any one calibre. For general service and equipment we would recommend the 6-pounder as at present, but we consider that every Troop ordered on service should be equipped with Ordnance suitable to the probable nature of the expected Campaign. But even in such cases we would limit the heavier calibres to European Troops. With a view to the occasional requisition for heavier Batteries, we would suggest the advisability of keeping up at least two Troops equipped with 9-pounders, which might be stationed at Meerut and Umballah, and the Batteries transferred to relieving Troops, when a general relief took place. Upon the same principle one Howitzer Battery might also be permanently maintained, and if 12-pounders were employed, no extra establishment of horses would be requisite. Such a Battery might be of great service in a general action, and

at close quarters its fire would be most destructive. Batteries equipped with 9-pounder Guns, and 24-pounder Howitzers, would require eighteen extra horses, being two in draught and one spare to each piece.

With the increase proposed to the personnel establishment of a Troop, more assistance might be expected and ought to be exacted from the men in the performance of the Stable duties. This we conceive to be a point of greater importance than is generally supposed. In an Indian climate we cannot calculate upon the same amount of exertion and exposure as in Europe, but still much might be done, especially in the cold season. It is an essential point in the efficiency of a Troop that it should be generally as independent as possible of Syces, and that on emergency it should be completely so. For these reasons the men should be regularly trained and daily employed to groom their own horses, which would admit of a considerable reduction of the number of Syces, thereby rendering the Troop more independent and efficient, causing a considerable saving of expense, and above all lessening the number of Camp followers, which are the curse of our Indian Armies.

The Special Board proposed a reduction of this nature. Their plan was to allow one Syce to each horse for the Staff and Non-Commissioned, the off horses in draught and to the spare horses, with one Syce to every two of the remaining horses; effecting a reduction of 53 out of 210. We would propose even a lower scale, and base it on a slightly differing principle. We would allow a Syce to each Staff, Non-Commissioned and spare horse, but we would expect the Bombardiers and Gunners to look after their own horses, only allowing them the aid of one Syce to each pair of horses, to meet the calls of duty, sickness, or casualties. Thus as there would be 108 Bombardiers and Gunners, we would allow 54 Syces for their horses, and one Syce for each of the remaining eighty-four, making a total of 138 Syces. The saving thus effected would help to meet the increased expense in other respects. With a view to further reduction of the Camp followers, we would suggest that instead of limiting the number of *Jorahwallas*, or Grasscutters furnishing a poney, a double allowance of grass, and receiving double pay, the whole establishment should be of that class; which would reduce eighty-six Grasscutters and leave the Troop more efficient; for the *Jorahwallahs* are generally a better class of men, and will always bring in twice as much grass as the single bundle Grasscutters.

There are several minor points connected with this branch that require some comment, but as they are equally applicable to Field Batteries we will notice them together.

We now come to the consideration of the Foot Artillery, of which there are twenty-four European and eighteen Golundaz Companies. These perform the duties of Field Artillery with nineteen Field Batteries and fourteen Post Guns, and all the reserve duties of Siege and Garrison Artillery. The European Companies each consist of one Staff Sergeant, six Sergeants, six Corporals, six Bombardiers, two Buglers, two Half-pay Buglers and sixty Gunners.

Companies, with Horse Field Batteries attached, have a detail of Lascars, consisting of one Havildar, two Naiks and twenty-four Lascars, similar to that allowed in the Horse Artillery. With Reserve Companies and those having other than Horse Field Batteries attached, the Lascar details consist of one Native Officer, two Havildars, two Naiks and thirty-one Privates.

The Golundaz Companies consist of one Subadar, two Jemadars, six Havildars, six Naiks, two Buglers and eighty-eight Privates. No Lascar details are attached to the Golundaz Companies. These establishments are conveniently divided, and are of just sufficient strength when kept complete; which, however, unfortunately is rarely the case with the Europeans. It is therefore highly desirable either that arrangements should be made for permanently securing complete establishments, or that the nominal establishments should be increased. In the latter case we would recommend the addition to be made to the Gunners, whose complement might be fixed at seventy-two. The present establishment gives thirteen Europeans and four Lascars to each Gun, in a Battery of six Pieces; which even including the Lascars as Artillerymen, is rather below the European scale, allowing for casualties and other duties. In the Native Companies the proportion is under seventeen per Gun, which is also small. A slight addition might be conveniently and advantageously made in these Companies by giving the grade of Bombardiers, an advantage of which the Golundaz are deprived at present. Six Bombardiers and eighty-four Gunners would afford a better distribution of rank, and maintain the convenient division by six. Of the nineteen Batteries attached to these Companies, ten only are equipped with horses, one with Camels, and eight with Bullocks. Six of the Horse and four of the Bullock Batteries, as also the Camel Battery, are attached to European Companies, the remaining four Horse and four Bullock Batteries to the Golundaz Companies.

The Field Batteries all consist of five light 9-pounder Guns and one Light 24-pounder Howitzer, weighing ten cwt. each, with the same number of Carriages as a Troop. The establishment for Horse Field Batteries was fixed by the late Governor-General in 1845, at 120 horses with an addition of ten extra horses on service or on the frontier; but this has been lately reduced, with exception to the Batteries in the Punjab; all the others being fixed at the previous insufficient complement of 98 horses,—with an addition of three horses to Batteries served by Golundaz, for the Native Officers. The Driver detail for these Batteries consists of three Havildars, three Naiks and fifty Syce Drivers. These men are selected from the Syces, and under the same arrangements as to pay, pension, and clothing as the Gun Lascars, and consequently under the same disadvantages of a degraded position, to which may be added an inferior origin, a feeling of insecurity as to their permanency and the absence of Native Officers.

The Camel Battery, the services of which are local, [these animals having been found unfit for general employ,] has an establishment of sixty-five Camels with four Sirdars and sixty-five Sowars, on a footing very similar to that of the Syce Drivers. The Bullock Batteries have each 118 Bullocks, with four Sirdars and fifty-nine Drivers.

This last establishment is too small to afford even so much efficiency as may be derived from Bullock draught, and it requires a very sanguine temperament to expect any great deal. Two Non-Commissioned Staff are allowed to each Horse and one to each Bullock and Camel Battery.

The Post Gun Details are manned by parties from the Golundaz Companies, and are almost invariably, together with the Ordnance and equipments, under the Command of the Adjutant of the Native Infantry Regiment at the same Station, who can be expected to feel little interest in his temporary charge, or to incur any outlay in keeping the carriages and equipments in good order. The consequence is the necessity for frequent renewal of the equipments, and also that the men on these commands lose their discipline and acquire lax habits, which render necessary a course of re-training and instruction on their return to Head Quarters.

In the middle of the Nineteenth Century it would be almost an insult to our readers to maintain the great superiority of Horse over Bullock draught, or to reiterate the oft-repeated assertion of practical men as to the absolute inefficiency of the latter for Field Artillery. But as from a mistaken notion of economy, a certain number of Bullock Batteries are still maintained, it

is necessary to say a few words upon the subject. Foot Artillery Batteries are not required to possess the same celerity as Horse Artillery, but to be efficient, they must possess considerable powers of movement to admit of their change of position on the march or in the Field, from the flanks or centre of the Divisions to which they are attached, and to cover all advances of the Infantry. This requires a speed that even on a smooth parade, with bullocks in the best condition and fresh from their sheds, can never be attained, much less after a long march with jaded cattle on rough ground. It is notorious that under ordinary circumstances bullocks cannot keep up with Infantry on the line of march, that in difficulties they must invariably either cause delay or call for the constant aid of the Infantry to bring them on, and that on a retreat the guns drawn by them must inevitably be sacrificed if the enemy are active. *Such Artillery is rather a burden than an assistance to a force.*

Economy being still the ruling principle, experiments have been made to introduce the use of Camel and Elephant Draught for Field Artillery, but though in particular localities and circumstances, these animals may have been found to answer, they are quite unfitted, from their habits and constitutions, for general employment, and the experiments are acknowledged failures. The only animal suitable to Field Artillery is *the Horse*, and *until every Battery, which it is necessary to maintain, is horsed, the Field Artillery must remain inefficient.*

The result of the past system has been the maintenance of a number of Bullock Batteries at a heavy expence, that were never employed when it was possible to get any other Artillery. During the last twenty years, we believe that only four Bullock Batteries have been employed on service, and these only to a limited extent, whilst the Horse Artillery being the only Field Artillery at all efficient, has been employed on all occasions, its light Batteries doing the work of Foot Artillery heavy Batteries. Within the last three or four years some improvement has taken place in this respect, owing to the gradual introduction of Horse Field Batteries, which it was understood to be the intention of the late Governor-General to extend to the whole arm. This must be done sooner or later; and now is the fitting time, whilst we have an interval of peace and leisure, to carry out the arrangements effectively and without precipitancy.

Convinced of the imperative necessity for this measure, if our Field Artillery is to be efficient, we would suggest the prompt substitution of Horses for the Bullocks now in use;—and further, that the establishment of Horses allowed should

be on a sufficiently liberal scale to insure real efficiency, which the present complement of Horses does not.

Now in calculating the number of Horses required for a Battery, it is necessary to consider what they are expected to do. As already stated it is indispensable that a Battery should possess such facilities of movement as never to cause delay on the line of march to the other arms, and also to admit of occasional rapid movement in changes of position. It is also necessary that on these last occasions, the Gunners should be all conveyed on the Carriages, so as to admit of their coming into action fresh and untired. Now as the Gun Carriage complete weighs thirty-four and half cwt. and as each Carriage, Gun and Ammunition, with the Gunners seated on them, weighs nearly forty cwt. on an average, it is evident that the English service complement of eight Horses per team is indispensable, and moreover that these should be strong, serviceable cattle. That a Forge Cart should always be up with the Battery is as necessary as in the Horse Artillery; for this, four more horses are requisite. The Staff Sergeant of the Company, the two Staff Sergeants of the Battery, and three Buglers (one to attend the Commanding Officer and one to each half Battery) also ought to be mounted, requiring six Horses. To these must be allowed a proportion of spare to replace temporary casualties of not less than one-sixth, which is the usual calculation, and one that must be acknowledged to be a minimum, when the liabilities to accident or disease and the inability to obtain fresh remounts are considered. According to the above plan, the number and allotment of Horses would be as follows:

12 Gun and Waggon teams, at 8 horses each,	96 Horses.
1 Forge Cart	4
Non-Commissariat Staff and Buglers	6
Spare Horses, $\frac{1}{8}$	18
Total	124 Horses.

With this establishment, a Battery would be complete in itself and ready to move on service at an hour's notice. With a smaller complement, though it may manœuvre rapidly enough on a smooth parade, with empty waggons and six horses per carriage, it would not be fit for active service. The spare carriages to be drawn by bullocks, to remain as at present. For Batteries attached to Native Companies, three additional horses would be requisite for the Native Officers.

The next point to consider is the establishment of Drivers.

On the present system the position and character of these men is objectionable; they are neither one thing nor another, neither syces nor soldiers, and being placed in even a more degraded position than the Lascars, cannot be expected to possess much self respect. This should be reformed. The duties of this class are very responsible and important, and their position and remuneration should be commensurate. The designation of *Syce Driver* should be exchanged for that of *Gunner Driver;* for in these cases there *is* much in a name; a Native Officer, (alternately Subadar and Jemadar) should be allowed to each detail, and the pay of all ranks should be increased to a level with that of the Infantry Sipahis, as the duties are more arduous and constant, and necessitate greater exposure to casualties and accidents. A better class of men would then be obtainable and a good selection might always be made. A limit should be fixed as to height and weight, at the same time that none should be admitted without the requisite qualifications of strength and activity. Their uniform should be neat but serviceable, and their arms a light sword; they should receive sufficient drilling and instruction to give them a good carriage and a clear perception of the manœuvres they are liable to be called on to carry out. Their ordinary duties should however be confined to the stables, and these they should be taught to look upon as honorable rather than degrading. One Private should be allowed to each pair of Horses, to be assisted by a Syce, which would give one man to every horse. The Grass-cutters should all be Jorawallahs.

The strength of the Lascar detail to remain as at present.

The designations of the two Battery Non-Commissioned Staff might be changed with advantage to Farrier Sergeant and Rough Rider Sergeant, and their several line of duties should correspond. Two Native Farriers should be allowed, so as to admit of one being detached with a Brigade of guns.

An improvement is also called for in the description of Horses allotted to these Batteries, which require to be of a very superior description to those allowed at present. It is not necessary that they should be of great height, but they ought to be compact, strong animals. Fourteen hands and one inch might be fixed as a minimum height, but a maximum standard should also be established, to prevent the inconvenience, not unfrequent at present, of having extremes of sizes in the same team. Arabs would always be preferable for this work, and an annual supply might be obtained by Government from Bombay. The smaller but compact sturdy Horses from the

Studs might also be allotted to this branch, which however ought never to be made a receptacle for every inefficient Horse rejected by the other Arms.

There is another arrangement which we conceive would be a great benefit to the Field Artillery and to the Corps generally; that is, to separate the Field and Reserve Artillery, and to attach certain Companies permanently to Batteries as in the Horse Artillery;—which branch affords practical experience of the beneficial working of the system. The advantages of the plan are, first, that a better selection of men might be made for the two branches, the lighter and more active being selected for the Field Artillery and heavy powerful men for the Siege and Garrison Companies. Secondly, that, on the great principle of division of labour, were each class ordinarily confined to one particular line of duty, this would be better performed. Thirdly, that Field Companies would thus have the opportunity of learning and constantly practising the more important of their duties on the line of march, during each relief, as the Batteries and Companies would then move together; whereas on the present system, by which only the Companies are relieved and the Battery stands fast, the whole of the former and the establishments of the latter, have no opportunity of learning their duties on the march, until the Battery is ordered upon service. Fourthly, for the same reason, that the Officers would be more permanently attached to the men; on the present system they are nominally attached to the Company, but really to the Battery, and when the former is relieved they are exchanged into the relieving Company, and are thus liable to become fixtures for years at the same Station. On the proposed plan, Batteries and Companies being relieved together, the Officers would always accompany them. This is an important point, as the little possible acquaintance or permanent connection between Officers and men on the present system is a serious evil. Lastly, the men, feeling that they were permanently attached to their Guns, would learn to take a greater interest in them and in the duties connected with them.

On the other hand, it may be argued that the proportion of Foot Artillery being so small in India, the whole should be available for every description of duty, whether of Field, Siege or Garrison.

This we fully admit, but also maintain that practically on the proposed plan this would be quite as much the case as at present. It is true that all the Companies are now liable to have their turn of duty with Field Batteries, but in practice this distribution is unavoidably unequal,—some Companies having a

long tour with one Field Battery, and shortly after a similar tour with another, whilst other Companies may not be attached to a Battery for a series of years. On the proposed plan it is true that the Companies would have ordinarily one special duty to perform, but every Artilleryman should as at present be taught all the duties of every branch, and occasionally practised at them. The Reserve Companies should always be stationed where one or more Field Batteries are available, of which they should have the occasional use for drill and exercise, with an allowance of ammunition to expend on these occasions;—which system prevails at present: and the Annual Practise would afford the Field Artillery regular and sufficient employment in the use of Siege Ordnance. Thus, on emergency, a Field Company would always be available for Siege duties, when its Battery was not required; and, on the other hand, should a heavy demand arise for Field Artillery, the Reserve Companies would be ready to take up a Battery, supposing Equipments, Cattle, and Drivers to be all ready.

Another argument may be urged and one bearing more practical weight, viz. that, by this subdivision, the Seige would be sacrificed to the Field Artillery, as the superior chances of active employment and the greater pecuniary advantages attached to the latter branch, would lead all Officers to seek employment in it, to the neglect of the Reserve Artillery. This, however, which is equally applicable at present, might be guarded against more effectually than can be done on the existing system. A Reserve Company in time of peace does not require the same number of Officers as a Field Company with Guns attached. And, consequently, the absentees on Staff employ, who are generally available for service when required, should, in a great measure, be attached to these Companies, and be expected to join on service; but under ordinary circumstances two Officers to each European and one to each Native Company would be sufficient.

The present details of Lascars attached to Reserve Companies are inconvenient and inconsistent in extent. They are larger than is requisite for Field Batteries, but not large enough for Batteries with drag ropes or for Siege or Garrison purposes. Were they to be increased to an extent sufficient to meet all probable demands for the latter duties, the establishment would become an expensive one, and it would be far better to have Golundaz Companies at once, who could do all the duties required from Lascars, and greater and important duties in addition. We would therefore suggest the reduction of the Lascars, with all European Companies to the same scale, viz.

one Havildar, two Naiks and twenty-four Lascars, allowing a Native Officer to each large Artillery Division.

Before quitting this subject we would say a few words on the material of the Artillery Batteries, Horse and Foot. The most essential articles, Ordnance, carriages, ammunition and small stores, are all excellent of their sort, and capable of but little improvement; moreover all connected with them is on a liberal scale;—but we entertain a considerable doubt whether the Ordnance be sufficiently heavy. The 6-pounder guns and 12-pounder Howitzers are, it is true, of the same weight and pattern as those in the Royal service, but the 9-pounder guns and 24-pounder Howitzers are severally 3½ and 3 cwt. lighter than the English pieces of the same calibre. It should also be remembered, that, though the Indian 6-pounder is the same weight as the Royal light 6-pounder, in the latter service there is also a heavy 6-pounder of 12 cwt. We are fully aware of the great importance of lightening the equipments as much as possible, as a general rule, but there are other considerations of even a paramount nature to be observed—first amongst which is the efficiency of the Ordnance; and we entertain no doubt that an additional weight to each piece would add considerably to the effect in action. It is also of importance to bear in mind that an increase to the Ordnance, involves no addition to the weight of the other equipments, but on the contrary, as the chance of injury to the carriages is lessened, would possibly admit of a reduction of the weight of the latter, or of the proportion of half-wrought materials now required for repair. Under these circumstances we would recommend increasing the two lighter calibres to 7½ cwt. each, and the two heavier pieces to 12 cwt. each, which would give an addition of only ½ cwt. per horse in draught with the guns; The present light 6-pounders might be retained with Native Troops, and the 10 cwt. 9-pounders would answer well for European Horse Artillery when armed with heavier pieces than 6-pounders. The introduction of the new pieces, which should of course be previously submitted to the fullest experiment, might be only prospective and gradual.

The worst part of the equipment of all Troops and Batteries is the harness and sadlery, in which considerable improvement is required. This, however, can never be obtained until the whole are supplied from England. We have heard that the reason for continuing the use of Country harness, which costs nearly as much, lasts half as long, and is in every respect inferior to the English produce, is, that the Court of Directors are anxious to improve and encourage Indian manufactures. This is

a most liberal feeling, and if the object was attained it would be worth some sacrifice. But the practical result is, that, whilst the Government are put to heavy expense, and the efficiency of the service impaired by the inferiority of the equipment, the supply is furnished almost exclusively at one station of the Army, *by Commissariat Agency*, and the advantages and profits derived, go to one or two Native Contractors, and possibly a portion to a few dishonest Native Officials.

Under the existing regulations, the expenditure and demand is so well defined and easily calculated, that arrangements might be made for annual shipments so as always to insure a sufficient stock in store and no more, and thereby avoid the chances of loss by the effects of insects and climate.

A short time ago we should have recommended a general reduction of the proportion of Shrapnell with Field Guns, and its withdrawal entirely from 6-pounders. But we have recently seen a most ingenious invention by Captain W. Olpherts, of the Bengal Artillery, of a metallic fuze, which possesses the advantage of being carried ready fixed, and the capability of being set in the field for any distance with the greatest facility and expedition. Should this be found to answer, and we can see no reason to doubt it, for the principle is excessively simple, it will tend to render Shrapnell shells most destructive missals, and to restore them to their previous good repute amongst practical Artillerists.

The relative merits of poles and shafts for Artillery draught have greatly divided the opinion of Indian, as they have long done that of European Military men. Several trials have recently been made and various reports obtained from practical and experienced Officers, and the result has been a decision in favor of the Pole. We confess to a leaning towards the shaft, as in the Royal Artillery, but we admit that much may be said on either side, and as the question has now been decided, we should regret to see it re-opened.

The arms and equipments of the men remain to be considered. In the Horse Artillery these are generally good and efficient, but the cloth of the Uniforms might be improved with advantage, and we cannot help considering the old leather breeches and jack boots as better suited for the men than cloth pantaloons.

In the Foot Artillery the equipments are more objectionable. Muskets, cross-belts and heavy pouches are sadly out of place with Artillery and especially Field Artillery. For the latter a good serviceable sword is the only weapon required, but each Company ought to have a few Carbines attached; about

twenty-four would be sufficient. Of these twelve might be carried on the Guns and Waggons to check insult or outrages from skirmishers or marauders, the remainder being used by the guards of the Battery. Each man might have a plain belt and small pouch like that of the Horse Artillery. The uniform, though a minor consideration, requires a change, as at present it is calculated only to make a man feel ridiculous and ashamed of himself. A neat but perfectly plain coat is what is requisite, and a better model could not be obtained than that of the Royal Artillery.

The Reserve Companies might carry fuzils when not actually employed with Ordnance, wearing both sword and bayonet like the French Infantry but in a double frog; so that the latter might be laid aside with the fuzil when not required, and the former be retained on all occasions. The Reserve Companies would then be available as Infantry on any emergency, and cases might occur, when one or two such Companies supporting a Battery, might be exceedingly useful.

The next consideration, and it is one of grave importance, is the amount of Artillery which it is requisite should be maintained, with reference to the proportion of the other arms and the probable demands for this one. We have shown, in the former portion of this article, that the proportion of Field Artillery in the earlier days of our military occupancy of India, averaged from four to five Guns to 1000 firelocks, but that this proportion has gradually decreased, whilst in Europe a contrary practice has obtained and the proportion of Field Guns, employed now chiefly in masses, has increased. Taking the ordinary allotment of two Guns for each Regiment of Infantry and Cavalry, as a guide, we find that for eleven Royal Regiments of Infantry, two of European and seventy-four of Native Infantry in the Company's Service, and twelve that may be designated fighting Local Corps, viz. the Kelat-i-Ghilzi, Shekawatti and Hurrianah Battalions, two Gúrkah Corps, two Oude Regiments and six Sikh Regiments, making altogether 100 Corps of Infantry,—together with three Dragoons, ten Light Cavalry and eighteen Irregular Cavalry Regiments, exclusive of the Body-guard, giving a total of 131 Corps, there would be required 262 Guns, equal to forty-six Batteries, whilst the total of the present establishment is only thirty-two Batteries.

But the better and more preferable mode of calculation is to estimate what Artillery would be required with a Force in the Field, such as may at any time be called for, and the minimum that it would be safe to maintain for the remainder of the Force, and for Siege and Garrison purposes.

Taking the recent Campaigns as a guide, the lowest safe estimate for the total of an Army in the Field, its reserves and detached Corps, would be twelve Regiments of Cavalry and thirty Regiments of Infantry, European and Native, Regular and Irregular included. Supposing them to be formed in Brigades of three Corps each, the smallest allowance of Artillery would be one Battery of Horse or Foot to each Brigade. The regulated proportion of Reserve Artillery would be one-third, but this should be all Horse Artillery, to admit of its moving with celerity in masses when required. This would require five Troops of Horse Artillery. For the remaining force of nineteen Regiments of Cavalry and seventy of Infantry, three Troops of Horse Artillery and fourteen Batteries of Foot Artillery, is the very lowest proportion that could be safely allowed, which would give little more than one Gun per Regiment or half the ordinary complement. This allotment will be more closely understood if put it in a tabular form as follows:—

	Troops.	*Batteries.*
4 Brigades of Cavalry of 3 Regiments each	4	0
10 Brigades of Infantry of 3 Regiments each	0	10
Reserve, one-third	5	0
19 Regiments of Cavalry remaining	3	0
70 Regiments of Infantry ditto	0	14
Total.....	12	24

Here then we have a total of twelve Troops and twenty-four Field Batteries required upon the lowest scale of efficiency,—giving little more than the average of three Guns to two Regiments throughout the whole service. Of siege and Garrison Artillery, were the ordinary rules to be observed, a very large force would be requisite; but adopting a similarly economical calculation, we will suppose a single first-class Train or sixty Pieces to be required in the Field,—for these twelve Companies of the present strength would be requisite and barely allow of a single relief, and twelve Companies in reserve, for Garrison purposes, will be a very limited allowance, when it is remembered, that it would take five times that number alone to man the Guns required for the defence of Fort William, supposing only two Fronts to be attacked—that it would require treble that number for the defence of Allahabad and more than twice that number for the defence of Allyghur or Agra, were any of these Fortresses to be subjected to a regular Siege.

Thus we find that the minimum establishment of Artillery to secure moderate efficiency, on what may be considered a purely defensive system, is twelve Troops of Horse Artillery,

twenty-four Field Batteries and twenty-four Reserve Companies, or a total of sixty Troops and Companies, being five more than there are at present, or two more than there were three years ago, prior to the present increase of the Corps.

The proportion of Europeans to Natives is also a point demanding serious consideration, and for this it is more difficult to lay down a definite rule. Without in the slightest degree partaking in what we conceive to be the most absurd alarm regarding the employment of Native Artillery, we still think that there should be a decided preponderance of Europeans in the Corps, especially when it is remembered that the numerous establishments of Lascars, Drivers, Syces, &c., connected with this Arm, are all Natives. It is the more desirable that as their numerical superiority is so great in the Cavalry and Infantry, there should be one branch of the service in which the proportions should be reversed. It is also advisable, that, whatever proportion is fixed, it should be carried through each branch of the Regiment equally. Under these circumstances we think that the most convenient composition would be two-thirds European and one-third Native. We have heard it suggested, and by those whose experience rendered their suggestion of value, that it would be advisable to carry the principle still further, and make each Companyconsist of two-thirds Europeans and one-third Natives, each being kept exclusively to their own Guns. There are many advantages that would attend this arrangement, but there are also some disadvantages, and the experiment is too hazardous to admit of its being attempted except on a small scale. Putting this aside, the Corps as we propose would consist of eight European and four Native Troops, sixteen European and eight Native Field Companies with Batteries attached, and sixteen European and eight Native Reserve Companies.

To render them efficient, the condition of the reduced establishment of Lascars should be raised, by placing their pay and pension on a footing with that of the Sipahis, and giving them an uniform and equipment that should not serve as a mark of their degradation. It would probably also be advantageous to change their designation from Lascars to Native Artillery, letting the Native Companies retain the distinguishing title of Golundaz.

We now come to another defect in the constitution of the Corps, which is perhaps the most important of the whole. European Recruits of the best description may be sent out from England and the pick of the Native Soldiery entertained to complete the proposed establishments; horses may be allotted on the most liberal scale, and Driver Companies raised and

formed upon the most efficient footing, but all will be of little avail unless some arrangements are made for affording the Artillery Officers and men a proper and efficient system of training, not merely in mechanical drill or the exercise of a Gun, but in the higher and more important duties which constitute the able and efficient Artilleryman.

The Golundaz employed in the armies of Hyder Ali and Tippu, of Scindia and Holkar, and more recently in the Armies of Gwalior and the Punjab, have shown that these points are of easy attainment, and they exhibited their skill in them coupled with the greatest gallantry. But there they stopped. Beyond serving their Guns with rapidity and courage they had no further ideas of duty as Artillerymen.

At present the Officers intended for the Regiment receive a sound mathematical education at Addiscombe, with a tolerable insight into the theory of fortification, but generally speaking very little more; and it is too generally the case, as might be expected, that having no inducement to keep up these studies, they are neglected and gradually forgotten. As for the men, a large proportion of whom receive no education at home, and they have very little opportunity of becoming acquainted with their profession after arrival in this country. They are instructed in the ordinary drills and exercises, and then their education is considered complete; it is true that there are schools in each Battalion and Brigade, where they can learn to read, write and cast accounts, but this tuition is exclusively of a clerkly nature. As regards the training of Officers and men for their manifold duties as efficient Artillerists, there is no provision whatever. The formation of a Depot of training and instruction is we consider the first step necessary to place the Artillery on an efficient footing; and such a Depot to be really beneficial must be placed upon a liberal scale as regards establishment.

The Special Board of Artillery Officers entered very fully upon this subject in their report, and were unanimous and urgent in their recommendation that such a Depot should be established at each of the three Presidencies. But in the plan they submitted, they appear to have had the fear of expense before their eyes, and to have formed their scheme rather with reference to what they were likely to obtain, than what was actually requisite.

Now let us consider what *is* essentially requisite. Until the recruit has passed through his drills and exercises, and has attained whatever is considered the minimum of requisite professional knowledge, he is not an efficient Artilleryman and is useless with his Troop and Company. Moreover he is less

likely to acquire that requisite knowledge with his Company, where the means of instruction are limited, than at a Depot specially organized for the purpose, having a sufficient and qualified training establishment. Lastly, as the European establishments of Troops and Companies are fixed upon the lowest practical scale, it is essential that every man present should be in all respects effective. Under these circumstances it becomes highly expedient that every man should be fully trained and instructed before joining his Troop or Company.

The Special Board submitted a statement deduced from 20 years' practical experience, fixing the average casualties annually at above eleven per cent. And assuming that as the ordinary amount, we find that for the proposed establishment of eight European Troops and thirty-two European Companies, the number of Recruits annually required to keep the Corps complete, would be a fraction more than 400.

Here then we arrive at once at the number of men who would ordinarily be under tuition. At present, as recruits come out they are divided amongst the Companies at Head Quarters, which are thus unduly strengthened, sometimes more than doubled. Here, mixed with the older soldiers, amongst whom must always be a certain proportion of *mauvaises sujets*, the young recruit is speedily indoctrinated in all the vices peculiar to his class in India, whilst, being merely a bird of passage, neither the Officers, who are mostly young lads themselves, nor the Non-Commissioned Officers who naturally view him as an interloper affording much trouble and no remuneration, can be expected to pay further attention to him than is absolutely necessary. Here he goes through a certain portion of drill and exercise, and if time admits of it, he passes through the Laboratory school, which is and must be a mere form until a sufficient establishment is allowed for efficient practical tuition. Thus half trained and prepared, he starts with the first body of Drafts proceeding to the Upper Provinces, and joins his Company with a moderate knowledge of Infantry and gun drills, and an intimate acquaintance with the merits of the various liquors made in the Country, and the best modes of obtaining them. There are many exceptions to this result, but it is unfortunately too common an one, and is exactly what the existing system is calculated to produce.

In amendment of this, we would recommend the establishment of a Depot Troop and three Depot Companies at Head Quarters for the reception of Recruits on their landing, and to which they should remain attached until their professional training was fully completed.

These Troops and Companies should be commanded by Officers of standing and qualifications, with a complement of Non-Commissioned Officers purposely selected for character and fitness. A separate Barrack should be assigned to the Depot, and the men should perform no Station, Regimental or other duty, except as connected with their own body. The advantages of this arrangement would be, that the Recruit would, from the moment of his arrival, be under the constant surveillance and thrown only into the society of those, whose special duty and interest it would be to make him a good soldier; his tuition would be persistent and regulated by a fixed system, would be conducted by persons qualified by character and experience for the duty, and his course of training might be made more agreeable by being varied, as his mechanical and mental discipline could go on at the same time. Moreover his exemption from other duties, and above all from the contamination of idle or vicious habits and example, would leave him more time to attend to his training. The confusion that constantly attends the accounts of the Recruit on his temporary transfer from one Company to another would also be avoided.

But to insure the full benefits of this system, it is necessary that the whole Depot should be under the controul of one responsible head, under whose command the Depot Troop and Company Officers should be specially placed, and to whom they should be assistants in the general course of tuition and training. In like manner the young Officers on joining the Regiment should be attached to this Depot and divided amongst the Troop and Companies to do duty.

As to the ordinary course of training for an Artilleryman, we do not recommend that it should embrace more than is requisite to qualify him for the performance of all the legitimate duties of his profession, and to enable him to know what to do in all those emergent situations in which every Artilleryman is liable to be placed. In addition to the ordinary drills, including the service of Field and Siege Pieces, he should learn to prepare all the ammunition and small stores usually made up in this country. He should have a general knowledge of the range and capabilities of the Ordnance in general use, the best mode of employing the several pieces under different circumstances, and also of all the components of the carriages, the use of all the instruments and implements with Batteries, the mode of packing Field and Siege Battery stores, the various expedients for repairing or replacing disabled Carriages, and surmounting difficulties on the march, the use of the gyn, and the various modes of mounting and dismounting Ordnance.

He should also be thoroughly initiated in all the details of throwing up batteries, making fascines and gabions, laying platforms, &c. These are duties that may, it is true, be considered more peculiarly belonging to the Engineer Department; but when it is remembered that this Corps is a very limited one in India, and that it is more than probable that the Artillery, as they almost invariably have heretofore, would, in future, be generally called upon to assist in siege operations, it is very essential that every Artilleryman should be instructed in at least the groundwork of all such duties. Every Recruit moreover should be taught to read and write, and also the elementary rules of Arithmetic, *without which he cannot be an efficient Artilleryman.*

But in addition to this, a much more extended course of instruction is requisite for the Officers, including a course of practical Gunnery, Military Mechanics, Pyrotechny, Chemistry, in as far as regards the profession and practical Field Fortification. No Officer should be allowed to join a Company until he had passed a defined examination in those branches. This course might advantageously be thrown open to the Non-Commissioned Officers, who, upon receiving a certificate of having passed an examination in the higher, especially in the Mechanical branches, might be considered eligible for the Ordnance Department, which in that case should be restricted to such men as qualified themselves in this manner.

For carrying out such a course of training and instruction, there are many facilities now existing at the Head Quarters of the Regiment. There is an enclosed and covered Riding School, which would answer for the Officers and Horse Artillery Recruits. The present Laboratory School in the Expense Magazine, would, with a little addition to the buildings, answer for the Laboratory course and for carrying on the Ordnance drills under cover during the day. An excellent set of Ordnance Models already exists, for which a room only would be requisite. A room for drawing, and a lecture and examination room would also be necessary; the elementary School room might be established in the Barracks. On the exercising range a couple of fronts of Fortification could be thrown up by the men themselves, opposed to which a series of approaches and Batteries might be annually erected and dismounted.

The success of this most necessary Institution, would however mainly depend upon the character and qualifications of the Officer selected for the charge, especially on its first establishment. The requirements for the office are manifold; character, temper, system, energy, bodily activity, talent and experience, and above all a hearty interest in the duties. The allowances

should be liberal to secure the services of the best men, and the selection should be open from the senior Field Officers to the junior Captains. He should have a complete controul over the whole system of training and instruction and a military command of the Depot. A Medical Officer well acquainted with Chemistry might be stationed at Dum-Dum, and receive an extra allowance for a series of lectures to the higher classes in that branch. In the Laboratory course the Director might have an Assistant, who could also conduct the duties of the Expense Magazine; the charge of the Percussion Cap Manufactory now attached to that office, being separated and made over to an intelligent Warrant Officer. The Officer in charge of the Depot Troop should be a Captain or Subaltern of some standing, selected from the Horse Artillery, and he should have the charge of the Riding School and the horses attached to it. He should also have a couple of guns and waggons, with horses, for purposes of exercise and tuition. An exercising Battery of at least 4 Guns should also be attached to the three Depot Companies and placed under the charge of the senior of the three Officers, who should be a Captain. As all these Officers would be subjected to a loss of allowances by being stationed at Dum-Dum, they should receive a compensation for that and a remuneration for their responsible duties, for such they would be,—in the shape of a Staff allowance; and it must not be forgotten, that, independent of the charge of a large and troublesome Company, they would have to superintend the drills and parades, morning and evening, and would in fact have duties equal in amount and responsibility to those of an Adjutant. The expense attending this arrangement ought not in fairness to be considered as created by the proposed Depot, because to render the men efficient they must be performed by somebody, and it is unfair to the Corps to leave such duties without their due remuneration.

The Director, his Assistant in the Laboratory, the senior Officer of the Depot Companies, and the one in command of the Depot Troop, might be added to the Permanent Select Committee with great advantage, as they would be of necessity well qualified for the duties, and one of the other Depot Company Officers might be the Secretary.

The advantages to the young Officers of having so many of their seniors at the Head Quarters, would be very great—the absence of them being a serious practical evil at present.

The course to be gone through by the young Officers should be clearly defined and strictly enforced. A second and higher course might be voluntarily taken up at any period; a certificate of proficiency in which might be rendered indispensable

for professional Staff Employ. Such a course of training and practical tuition is, we consider, decidedly essential to the efficiency of the Arm, which with it ought to be fully attained. The riding drill is necessary to every Artillery Officer, as there are no circumstances under which he is not compelled to keep a horse for the performance of his duties.

Nearly all the advantages to be obtained by this Depot are already enjoyed by the Royal Artillery in the admirable establishments at Woolwich, where we find no less than nine Officers employed in duties connected with their course of training and education; of these one Colonel is the Director, one Lieutenant Colonel Assistant Director, and one Captain and two Subalterns attached to the Riding Department.

In France even greater pains are taken by the Government to insure a high standard of professional efficiency in the Officers of Artillery of that Army. There the Officers after quitting the *Ecole Polytechnique*, and securing their Commissions, are obliged to go to what is termed the *Ecole d'Application*, a practical school where "the general principles of the 'sciences they have already acquired are taught in their sci-'entific application to the profession to which they are to 'belong." Here they must remain two years, when they are appointed to one of the Regiments into which the Corps is divided; at the Head Quarters of which they remain *under instruction* for three years more. Their rank goes on, and they are allowed to join their Companies on service, but are obliged when the service is over, to return and finish the three years' course. The general instruction at these Regimental Depots is regulated by a Central Committee, and embraces practical and theoretical tuition for both Officers and men.

To show the nature and extent of this course we subjoin two Synoptic Tables, the first exhibiting the practical course of Military exercises and military operations for both Officers and men, the second the theoretical course for Officers alone:—

I.

Tableau des divers genres d'exercices, manœuvres et travaux pratiques qui font l'objet de l'instruction des troupes et des officiers du corps royal de l'artillerie.

GENRE D'EXERCICE, MANOEUVRES ET TRAVAUX.

Monter, démonter et entretenir les effets de grand équipement.
Monter, démonter et entretenir les armes à feu portatives.

Travaux d'instruction spéciale.

- Exercices et manœuvres.
  - .... d'infanterie et tir du fusil à la cible.
  - .... de cavalerie et tir du pistolet à la cible.
  - d'artillerie.
    - des bouches à feu .... { de campagne. / de siége, de place et de cote.
    - de chèvre.
    - de force .... { de campagne, / de siége.
    - de tir des bouches à feu { de campagne. / de siége, de place et de côte.
    - de ponts.
    - de navigation et de flottille.
    - spéciale du train.
    - de batteries d'artillerie de campagne.
- Construction de fascinages.
- Tracé et construction des batteries de toute espèces.
- Construction des cartouches.. { d'infanterie. / à bouches à feu des diverses espèces.
- Confection des artifices de guerre, chargement des caissons, calibrage et empilement des projectiles.
- Ficeler et botteler le fourrage.
- Natation.
- Tracé des objets d'artillerie et attirails de ponts.

SOUS-LIEUTENANS OU LIEUTENANS.

Concourent dans les fonctions de leur grade aux divers exercices, manœuvres et travaux de leurs troupes respectives dont il est fait mention ci-dessus.

Visite des arsenaux et autres établissemens d'artillerie existans dans les lieux où se trouvent les écoles d'artillerie, mémoires et dessins y relatifs.

Tracé sur le terrain du campement d'une batterie ou d'un parc d'artillerie.

Mesurage des distances entre deux points, dont un seul est accessible.

Lever au mètre .... { de bâtiment. / de machine.

II.

DESIGNATION DES COURS ET DES REGLEMENS QUI DOIVENT FAIRE PARTIE DE L'INSTRUCTION.

PROPRE AUX OFFICIERS.

- **Cours d'études d'ordonnances et règlemens.**
  - Reglement sur le service intérieur des troupes d'infanterie et de cavalerie.
  - Code pénal militaire.
  - Règlement sur le service des troupes dans les places.
  - Règlement sur le service des troupes en campagne.
  - Règlement sur le service de l'artillerie dans les siéges.
  - Règlement sur le service de l'artillerie dans les places.
  - Règlement sur le service des arsenaux.
  - Règlement sur l'administration intérieure des corps de troupes.
- **Cours de mathématiques**
  - De géométrie descriptive.
  - De statique.
- **Cours de théorie et de manœuvres.**
  - d'infanterie.
  - de cavalerie.
  - d'artillerie.... { des bouches à feu, de chèvre, de force. / de batteries d'artillerie de campagne.

Cours d'instructions spéciales sur.

- le tracé et la construction des batteries de toute espéce.
- le service et l'emploi de l'artillerie en campagne.
- le passage des rivières et la construction des ponts de toute espèce.
- la construction des bâtimens.
- le tracé, le relief et le défilement de la fortification permanente dans leurs rapports avec le service de l'artillerie.
- l'hippiatrique.
- les principes de construction des bouches á feu.
- la balistique appliquée aux différentes espéces de tir des bouches à feu.
- la mécanique appliquée aux principes de construction des affûts, voitures et autres machines en usage dans le service de l'artillerie et des ponts.
- l'emploi de l'artillerie dans les siéges ainsi que dans la défense des places et des côtes.
- le service des officiers d'artillerie dans les arsenaux, les forges, les poudreries, les raffineries de salpêtre et de soufre, dans les fonderies et dans les manufactures d'armes, ainsi que sur l'application des sciences physiques et mathématiques qui y sont relatives.
- les levers au métre..... de bâtimens. / de machines.
- le meilleur emploi de la force des chevaux de selle, de trait et de bât et des attelages.
- les approvisionnemens nécessaires à une compagnie du train d'artillerie en campagne et sur leur transport.

In addition to this practical course every Officer attends a series of thirteen courses of Lectures entering fully into all professional subjects. We subjoin an abstract of these courses framed by the Special Board and forwarded with their report to Government.

SUBJECT OF THE COURSES.

1.—On the theory of Projectiles	Eight Lectures.
2.—On the construction of Ordnance	Eight Lectures.
3.—On the construction of Gun Carriages and of other Carriages appertaining to the Ordnance	Seven Lectures.
4.—On the construction and employment of the various Machines required in the Arsenals, Laboratories and Manufactories belonging to the Ordnance	Ten Lectures
5.—On the progress adopted in the smelting and forging Iron for its various applications in the service of Ordnance	Eight Lectures.
6.—On the founding of Cannon	Ten Lectures.
7.—On the Manufacture of small arms	Twelve Lectures.
8.—On the Manufacture of Gun-powder.....	Eleven Lectures.
9.—On the Service of Artillery in the field.....	Eight Lectures.
10.—On the Service of Artillery in Sieges.....	Eight Lectures.
11.—On the Service of Artillery in the defence of fortified Towns.....	Nine Lectures.

12.—On the Service of Artillery in the defence of Coasts ..... } Three Lectures.
13.—On the construction of Batteries ..... Six Lectures.

In all the other Armies on the Continent a similar system is now adopted; and we would ask if there is anything peculiar to the service of this Arm in Europe, that renders necessary a more comprehensive or detailed course of training and instruction than is requisite for the same service in India. We think that there is not, but on the contrary, from the isolated position of the Officers in this Country, the absence of all other means of practical tuition, and above all the vital necessity of compensating our numerical deficiencies by securing the greatest possible efficiency in that arm, in which alone completeness can secure a permanent superiority over numbers, such a course is more required in India than elsewhere. If there are any deficiencies in the course of professional training at Woolwich, the Regular Artillery Officers can obviate this evil by a visit to the Continent, and an examination of the courses adopted and practice carried on at Metz, or St. Petersburgh, at Vienna, or Berlin. But where is the Indian Artillery Officer to acquire the information he desires and feels the want of?—Expense is the only possible argument that can be adduced against the introduction of a complete and efficient establishment of this nature at the Head Quarters of each Presidency in India. But after all, with proper arrangement this expense would not be great. The first outlay would consist merely of the building requisite for the models, for drawing, for the office and for lectures; and the horses for the Riding school and the Depot Horse and Foot Artillery Guns. The permanent expense would be the salary of the Director and his establishment, and the contingencies for mechanical and chemical apparatus, and maintaining the horses of the Depot. With this establishment, the drill and instruction staff at the several Divisions might be materially reduced; and the horses of the Department might be supplied from the Troops and Batteries by a limited periodical transfer of such cattle, as, though not so inefficient as to be cast, might yet be of comparative inutility for service.'

But let the expense be what it might, it is not a question that ought for a moment to be placed in competition with efficiency. A large Corps of Artillery cannot be kept up without heavy outlay, and the additional charge created by the establishment of such an institution would add but a fractional per centage to the existing cost of each Artillery Officer and Soldier, whilst their real value and efficiency would be increased to an extent which it would be difficult to define.

The subject of this Depot brings us to the consideration of another point that has recently created much interest and speculation amongst those concerned; we allude to the removal of the Head Quarters of the Regiment from Dum Dum to Meerut. This measure would, we believe, be a popular one generally in the Regiment, and we can perceive several advantages attending it, but on the other hand the disadvantages would we think greatly outweigh them.

The loss of Government property at Dum-Dum resulting from such a charge would be very considerable. The climate of Dum-Dum is remarkably salubrious, more so than almost any Station in India, a character which it has maintained for the thirty-five years it has been a permanent station. As compared with Meerut it will be found tolerably equal by the accompanying statement of sickness and mortality during the seven years from 1840 to 1846 inclusive:—

Stations.	Years.	Monthly average strength of the Artillery.	Annual number of deaths.	Average sick in Hospital on the 1st of each month.	Remarks.
Meerut.....	1840	312	16	25	The admittances into and the discharges from Hospital in the course of the month are not included.
	1841	300	13	23	
	1842	212	14	14	
	1843	380	15	23	
	1844	328	11	20	
	1845	440	24	22	
	1846	178	9	15	
		2150	102	142	
Dum-Dum..	1840	747	31	58	Ditto ditto.
	1841	719	33	48	Two-thirds of the sickness and deaths at Dum-Dum are amongst Recruits after landing.
	1842	606	27	36	
	1843	622	32	23	
	1844	639	26	15	
	1845	314	22	16	
	1846	404	25	22	
		4051	196	218	

Average of Deaths to strength at Meerut as 1 to $21\frac{4}{51}$
Average of Sick to strength at Meerut as 1 to $15\frac{10}{14}$
Average of Deaths to strength at Dum-Dum as 1 to $20\frac{31}{196}$
Average of Sick to strength at Dum-Dum as 1 to $18\frac{27}{218}$

In estimating the value of this average, which, in the propor-

tion of deaths is slightly favourable to Meerut and of sickness to Dum-Dum, it must be borne in mind that a large portion of the annual strength at Dum-Dum consists of Recruits, young lads whose constitutions are unacclimated and who cannot be restrained from constant exposure to the sun, which older Soldiers learn to avoid, and who consequently afford the natural food for disease: liquor is moreover cheap and plentiful in the neighbourhood. In fact considering the class of men and the circumstances, a greater mortality might be expected at Dum-Dum than at any other station, without disparagement to the climate; notwithstanding which, we find it rivalling one of the healthiest stations in Upper India. Another important advantage it possesses, is, the convenience of receiving the young Officers and Recruits at once on their landing, which as regards the Depot of training and instruction would be of great benefit; whilst, on the other hand, had they to be sent to Meerut or any distant Station, this circumstance alone would be productive of much inconvenience. The advantages of the vicinity to the River, to the Arsenal, the Powder Agency and the Gun Foundry are general conveniences as regards the interests of Government, and are of considerable importance when viewed with reference to the proposed Head Quarter Depot. Lastly, were the Head Quarters removed, it would be impossible to diminish the amount of Artillery stationed at the Presidency, which at present forms a very small proportion of the force required for the Garrison of Fort William, independent of the very possible demands for foreign Service, which recent events render it but prudent to be prepared for.

Under these considerations we think the change would not be desirable; at the same time, we fully admit the hardship which places the Head Quarters of the Regiment and of three out of the nine Battalions on *half batta*,—an evil which leads to a general avoidance of the Station by all Officers of standing, and causes a removal to it to be considered in the light of "a mark of displeasure by high authority rather than as one of approbation," as recorded in the Special Board's report.

We have already noticed the false position in which the Field Officers of the Corps are generally placed, but there is one Officer whose position requires special consideration. It is the head of the Corps, the Commandant of Artillery. In former times this was a title that bore reference to the position and duties of the incumbent; but gradually the authority of the Commandant has been contracted till at present his situation in regard to Commanding Officers of Brigades and Battalions corresponds, in a great measure, with that which they hold with respect to Troop and Company Officers

He has the rank of Brigadier and the nominal command of the Regiment, which in its extent and importance is rather a Division than a Brigade; but his real authority is limited and undefined. He is an ex-Officio Member of the Military Board, but residing at Dum-Dum, and Commanding that Station, he has not sufficient leisure to bestow on duties that would fully occupy his whole time, were he able to devote it to them.

As the appointment is one of selection from the higher grades, and not necessarily of seniority, it may be inferred that any Officer nominated to it, must be a person of experience and character, and the services of such a man should not be rendered useless. His position should be defined, that he may neither expect too much himself nor see his privileges encroached upon by others. To attain this important object some decided change in the existing system is urgently called for; but as to the nature of that change it is for the highest Authorities to determine. For our part we humbly conceive that the cause of the existing evil is to be traced to the location of the Commandant at Dum-Dum, where he has no duties to perform that might not be transferred to others without difficulty or inconvenience. His position to be one of importance and responsibility, requires that he should be attached with his Staff to Army Head Quarters, where he would be enabled to give the Commander-in-Chief the benefit of his experience and suggestions upon all points under consideration connected with the Artillery, and where business would be greatly facilitated by his connection and direct communication with the Adjutant and Quarter Master General's Departments. When the Commander-in-Chief makes a tour of the various Stations the Commandant might advantageously be employed in the special inspection of, and report upon his own arm of the service. Here he would occupy a defined and high position, and his designation and duties would once more be in accordance with each other. But as his removal from the Military Board, would render necessary the introduction of some other experienced Officer in that Department, we conceive that the object would be gained by appointing a qualified Field Officer of the Corps as a permanent Member; and as the Officers Commanding Divisions would relieve the Principal Commissary and Inspector of the greater portion of his present duties, the simplest arrangement would be to transfer or absorb his functions, like those of the Commissary General, into the Board: in other words to convert him into an additional Stipendiary Member. That the Military Board would benefit by this arrangement is evident, as it would then be composed of men who would have no other duties to perform and who would naturally

be expected to possess practical experience in the three most important Departments under its charge, viz. the Chief Engineer, the Principal Commissary of Ordnance, and the Commissary General, with the aid of a Secretary in each Department: whilst the fourth Member being selected for general ability, would represent the interests of the miscellaneous department, and act as a check, if necessary, to the undue extension of any Departmental interests.

The employment of the Artillery Officers in the various Staff Departments—Civil and Military—is another subject demanding a few words. Their right to such employment has been long conceded and sufficient precedents exist, but in practice they are almost excluded, except in the Political Department. The advantages that the Artillery Officers possess in a Military education are surely claims rather than disqualifications for Staff employ, yet we find that although five Officers are allowed for each Regiment of Cavalry and Infantry to be so employed, a number which is barely sufficient to meet the demands of the service, the Artillery instead of sixty Officers which would be their proportion, have only twenty absent from the Corps on Staff employ, and of these, six are attached to Local Artillery, six in the Survey and Department of Public Works, six in Political employ, one Assistant Adjutant General of the Regiment, and one a Brigadier in the Nizam's Army, to which rank he rose from the Nizam's Artillery. It is true that in addition to these, there are seventeen Officers in the Ordnance Department, including the three Agencies and the Ordnance Assistant in the Military Board; but these are professional duties, and Regimental rather than General Staff employment; as a set-off to which, nine of the Brigades and Battalions are without Interpreters and Quarter Masters. But in calculating all as General Staff, the total would be only thirty-seven, which taking the Regimental Staff deficiencies, leave the Corps with less than half its proportionate share of Staff employ.

This should not be! A Corps that consists of educated Officers, who incur heavy expense and lose time and service by their preparation at Addiscombe, who receive their commissions as a professed reward for their conduct and proficiency, and are distinctly informed that they are about to join a superior and more advantageous service, ought not in common justice to be practically excluded from the benefits of Staff employ, for which so many of its members are eminently qualified. Moreover, at the present time when selection from the Line is very limited, consequent on the great majority of Corps having got their full complement of Staff or more than their complement, it

must be highly advantageous to Government to be able to select from a large and qualified body like the Artillery.

It now remains to consider the establishment of Officers requisite to render the Corps complete and efficient, which is a simple matter of calculation. The present establishment of Field Officers is we conceive already sufficient, and we will therefore confine our consideration to the Captains and Subalterns. One Officer cannot do more than manage two Guns, and it is indispensable to efficiency, that every two Guns should be so provided. Three Brigades of two Guns form a Battery and require an Officer to command. Thus four Officers per Battery, of which one should be a Captain are absolutely necessary. On service an equal number of Officers would be requisite for the Reserve Companies, but as these could be always then obtained from amongst the Staff employés, it will be sufficient to allow the number required in Cantonment, which ought not to be less than two Officers to each European and one to each Native Company, of whom a proportion should be Captains. Regimental Staff, including fifteen Adjutants of Division, five Officers of the Depot and four Interpreters and Quarter Masters would give twenty-four more, the ordinary allowance to twelve Battalions. The present proportion of twelve Battalions of General Staff, including the Ordnance Commissariat would take sixty more, and the proportion of Furloughs would be below the ordinary average, if fixed at seven and a half per cent. By this scale there would be required for

36 Batteries of Horse and Foot each	144
24 Reserve Companies at 2 per European and 1 per Native Company	40
Regimental Staff	24
General Staff, including the Ordnance Department, Local Artillery and all other Professional and Civil Employ	60
Absentees on Furlough at 7½ per Cent	20
Total of Captains and Subalterns required	288

—rendering necessary an increase to the present establishment of forty-eight Officers. This increase would be most effectually met by the introduction of the grade of Second Captain as in the Royal Artillery, which rank is very much required in the Indian service. We would, therefore, propose an increase of forty-eight Second Captains to the Regiment, which as they would not all be required immediately, might be added by degrees by monthly promotions. We have already stated that the number of Field Officers is sufficient, but as it is desirable to equalize the advantages in this respect in the several branches, and as according to the existing proportions,

an addition of forty-eight subordinate Officers would give a proportion of seven Field Officers, some equivalent advantage ought to be granted; this would also be conveniently and appropriately attained by carrying out the Royal Artillery system completely, abolishing the rank of Major and substituting that of Lieutenant Colonel. The Corps would then consist of twelve Colonels, twenty-four Lieutenant Colonels, sixty Captains, forty-eight Second Captains, one hundred and twenty First Lieutenants, and sixty Second Lieutenants. This establishment would just provide for the Regimental details, and a fair proportion of Staff and absentees, without adding one unnecessary Officer. According to the Royal Artillery scale, the proportions for eight Brigades and Battalions, the nearest estimate for sixty Troops and Companies, would be eight Colonels Commandant, sixteen Colonels, thirty-two Lieutenant Colonels, sixty Captains, sixty Second Captains, one hundred and thirty-two First Lieutenants, and forty-eight Second Lieutenants —*exclusive of all Regimental and General Staff.*

Another measure which is only one of justice should be adopted. Every Artillery Officer, whether attached to a Field or Siege Train, absolutely requires and always employs a horse in the performance of his duty; but as only those attached to Troops and Horse Batteries draw horse allowance, the result is that a number of Officers keep horses for the benefit of the state, at their own expense. On this account every Officer, *doing Regimental duty*, in whatever branch, should draw the horse allowance of his rank; this would possess the further benefit of equalizing the advantages of the Field and Reserve Companies, and would afford some compensation to the Corps at large for its undue share of the disadvantage of Half Batta.

We have only one more suggestion to offer, and that is to afford certain advantages to the Non-Commissioned Ranks, with a view of holding out a premium as an inducement to good conduct and to the introduction of a better class of men. To each Division, where a large body of Horse Artillery was assembled, we would allow a Riding Master to be selected from the Corps and to receive a Commission of *Sub Lieutenant*, which need involve no claim to further rise; and to afford a similar benefit to the Foot Artillery, we would suggest the appointment of a limited number of Quarter Masters, to be stationed at Divisions where there was no Interpreter and Quarter Master, to hold similar Commissions. These appointments to be only given to men qualified to do them justice by moderate education and acquirements, and to be the reward of good conduct without regard to seniority. Lastly, but not the least in importance, we would strongly recommend

that a limited number of Non-Commissioned Officers should be allowed a moderate Furlough to Europe, proceeding home with Invalids and joining the Depot at Warley on the expiration of their leave, where they could do duty until the opportunity offered of sending them back to India with recruits. We feel convinced that the advantages attending this arrangement would amply compensate Government for any expense it might create.

Our task is now accomplished. We have traced the history of the Bengal Artillery from its origin to the present time. We have pointed out what we consider to be defects in its existing constitution, and we have suggested such remedies as appears to us most expedient.

We have endeavoured to do so in an honest spirit and in a temperate manner. We have recommended measures that necessarily involve additional expence, but as certainly would receive an ample equivalent in increased efficiency; and which if carried out with care and judgment would place the Corps in the position it ought to hold. The adoption of these measures would improve the condition of the Officers and men, and render the service a most desirable one, which it ought to be made. In considering the measures proposed and the expense involved in carrying them out, let the following golden rules be borne in mind:—

"All guns are necessarily expensive and complicated machines; but if, either from the want of the powers of movement to bring them to the desired point, or from want of skill, or from any other defect in their management when they shall have reached it, they fail in doing execution, their expense becomes a dead loss. Whoever will estimate the probable value of a gun and its attendant equipment, by the time it is brought into the field, will be convinced, that it is bad economy to stop short of any thing which will ensure efficiency.

"Something may be made of bad Cavalry, or indifferent Infantry; but bad Artillery is good for nothing. Artillery is a source of constant and serious expense; and, unless a powerful arm of assistance, is a clog and embarrassment to the movements of an army.

"The strength of the arm, therefore, is not to be estimated by the number of the guns, but by their efficiency of movement, and by the skill of the men who work them."

If the treasury of the State will not bear the expenses of the Army, the latter must be reduced in extent, and the Artillery of course should share in its due proportion; but to whatever limit such reduction is carried out, that portion which remains should be left perfectly efficient, so that the excellence of the quality may in some measure compensate the deficiency in quantity.

Take away any number of Troops, Batteries or Reserve Companies, and only that portion of the Corps reduced is affected; but small reductions from each, of men, horses, or guns, injures *the whole Corps.*

One well equipped Battery, served by educated Officers and well trained Artillerymen, is worth two Batteries ill-equipped and unskilfully served.

Thirty years ago an able and experienced Officer, from whose work we have largely quoted, pointed out the then existing defects in the Royal Artillery, and offered a series of excellent suggestions for the improvement of that arm. His treatise excited attention and other writers followed in his wake. The result was that the majority of the measures he advocated were finally adopted. Without aspiring to the same success, we earnestly hope that our humble endeavours may at least arouse attention to the subject, which must result in some reform, however different may be the course adopted from that which we recommend. In concluding this article we feel we cannot do better than adopt the parting words of the gallant and able Officer in question, which are singularly applicable in the present case:—

"The author begs, in conclusion, to remark, that if he has 'ventured to point out what appear to him to be the defects, 'he is not insensible to the many excellencies of the Corps, to 'which he considers it an honour to belong. He is convinced, 'that, among those to whose gallantry and zeal England has 'confided her cause in the hour of danger, none have been 'more devoted to her service than the Officers of Artillery. 'It is in the hope that their abilities and talents may be more 'called forth, that he wishes at this time to direct, to the consideration of a most important arm, the attention of those, 'who alone have the power to apply the remedies, which mature reflection may determine to be practically available.

"It is because these remedies appear to be little likely to 'present themselves with equal force to the minds of any as 'to those of the Officers of the Corps of Artillery, that the 'author has suggested what it will give him sincere pleasure 'to abandon if better shall be pointed out.

"He considers, that the time of peace, after an arduous war, 'which has severely proved the advantages or defects of all 'the military establishments of the country, is the season 'best suited to remodel a Corps, in which the necessities of 'the empire are understood to require considerable reductions; and it is on this very account, that prudence and 'foresight seem peculiarly necessary—'*Ne quid res publica detrimenti capiat.*'"

ART. VI.—*A History of the Reigning Family of Lahore, with some Account of the Jammú Rajahs, the Sikh Soldiers and their Sirdars: edited by Major G. Carmichael Smyth, third Bengal Light Cavalry; with Notes on Malcolm, Prinsep, Lawrence, Steinbach, McGregor, and the Calcutta Review. Calcutta: W. Thacker and Co., St. Andrew's Library*, 1847.

THIS book professes to contain "*the* secret history of the Lahore Durbar." It is, to use a somewhat vulgar but expressive word, a "*hash*" got up between Major G. C. Smyth of the 3d Bengal Light Cavalry and a Mr. Gardner, late of the Sikh service, and is of the school of "the memoirs of a Lady of quality," the secret history of Josephine, and such like works concocted to suit the prurient appetites of a particular class of readers. Mr. Gardner seems to have supplied most of the facts and Major Smyth many of the opinions. The book is dedicated to the memory of Major Broadfoot, who, could he rise from the grave, would be astonished at the compliment paid to him by a man, who, in almost so many words, declares that he forced on the Sikh War. The book is, indeed, in all parts, a mass of contradictions. Nothing stops Mr. Gardner, or his Editor, Major Smyth; both rush headlong into the midst of matters of which they knew little or nothing, except from idle gossip and hearsay; and one and other contradicts himself almost in every page, often in many successive paragraphs. From internal evidence, and the orthography of the native words they use, it is clear that neither editor nor informer is an oriental scholar, and yet we are told that the volume is compiled "partly from native manuscripts,"* and again that "various old Sanscrit manuscripts"† have contributed their treasures to enrich the work.

Mr. Gardner *traces* the history of "the Lords of the Hills" from the days of Cyrus, and is scarcely more precise in his narratives of particular portions of the recent history of the Punjab, being those connected with the butcheries of the Chiefs and the obscenities of the rulers, male and female, though in some of the former he has himself figured. Perhaps the most striking feature of the book is the minute acquaintance that Mr. Gardner professes to possess with tales of blood and bestiality that have left no witnesses, or that never had any but the immediate actors. For instance, where forty-six men withstood fifteen thousand and "broke through or drove back four entire batta-

* Page 1 Introduction. † Page 219.

lions,"* the story is minutely told, and how, until the last moment, "*Suchet Sing and his followers remained composedly in the mosque, hearing some passages of their holy book* read to them." This, be it remembered, was while fifty-six guns and 3000 or 4000 horse as well as the 15,000 Infantry were surrounding them. According to Mr. Gardner only *one* man of the devoted band escaped with life, and must therefore be *the* authority for "the history." The name of the "*holy book*" that he and his *Rajpút* companions so devoutly listened to, is not mentioned. More extraordinary still is the intimate knowledge that Mr. Gardner seems to have had of the several individual murders that were about to be perpetrated at Lahore. The murderers were no ordinary villains. They made no secret of their intentions and often gave and took written orders for the work to be done. This is so unlike the usual method of doing these matters of business that on no less authority than Major Smyth and Mr. Gardner would we have credited their narratives. Sirdar Ajit Singh, who murdered Mahrajah Sher Singh and Rajah Dehan Singh, was an especially candid person. He not only went from one of his intended victims to the other and told each of the fate designed for him, but actually informed Major Smyth himself, some months before the tragedy occurred, that "The Lord Sahib, (Governor-General) has done nothing, but I will do something," meaning, that as the British authorities would take up the quarrel of his faction, he would cut the knot of the difficulty. Major Smyth is convinced he had fully made up his mind to take his "wild justice" when he thus spoke, and the Major is moreover of opinion that "had it not been for his too hasty proceeding, he would, in all probability, have been Minister at Lahore." We are not favored with the grounds of this *sequitur*, but offer it as a specimen of the style of reasoning that pervades the book under notice.

It is not however with "the secret history of the Lahore Durbar" that we propose here to deal, but with the portion of Major Smyth's book for which he is more directly responsible, viz. the introduction, containing fourteen pages, which professes to be his own, and the Chapter on "the War with the British" of eighteen pages, for which, as an eye-witness as well as Editor, he is more fully answerable, than for the rest of the extraordinary matter he has, with such brave defiance of all ordinary prudence, been pleased to endorse. We had hoped to have found in this Chapter the Sikh version of the invasion of India, but have been disappointed. It is rather a Frenchified version, disparaging every

* Page 111.

one, aspersing the Sikh leaders and giving as little as possible credit to the English ones. Mr. Gardner is understood to have talent, and to be quite competent to have sat down and questioned the long bearded heroes of the fight, and, from some score of their narratives, to have concocted a very readable narrative in praise of Sikh valor and in dispraise of British doings. This would have been an intelligible and a legitimate course, and in every way more creditable than the one he has pursued; but he has done nothing of the kind: and Major Smyth, instead of correcting errors palpable to the meanest understanding, appears to have overloaded them with erroneous facts and crotchety opinions of his own. Indeed, however grieved to do so, truth compels us to say that we conceive the book to be, in all respects, discreditable to Major Smyth as a British Officer and as a servant of the Indian Government. He cannot be ignorant of the character of the man whose lucubrations he has condescended to edit; indeed our own pages* must have informed him of one act of Mr. Gardner's life which alone should have disqualified him for any sort of fellowship with gentlemen. The stigma of that atrocious act has never been removed, and the youngest Officer of the Garrison of Lahore, during the last two years, could have informed Major Smyth that not only is Mr. Gardner, in general estimation, a disreputable person, but that he had no access to the Durbar of Lahore—was in no sense recognized there as a gentleman—and, as regarded any of its transactions, could only report the idle rumours of hangers on and low Adventurers like himself.

In proof of Mr. Gardner's capabilities, Major Smyth says in a note to his first page:—

"To give an idea of Captain Gardner's knowledge of Sikh affairs, I may mention that Major Lawrence in writing to me from Katmandoo observed, "If I was in Broadfoot's place I should like to have Gardner at my elbow."

In our mind, to give a proper "*idea*" of this matter we should have Lieutenant Colonel Lawrence's opinion of Mr. Gardner from Lahore and not from Katmandoo. It is no secret,—not one but a score or more of officers are aware—that Colonel Lawrence *never* had any opinion of Mr. Gardner's character, and that, for a year or more before he caused him to be discharged from the Sikh service, he had ceased to place the slightest reliance on his reports. We observe that Mr. Gardner's name has been carefully kept back in the narratives of various scenes in which he took a prominent part, such as the first great murder, viz., that of Cheyt Singh, the favourite of Khuruk Singh, and in the account of the

* Sikh War, No. XI. Art. VI.

defence of the Fort of Lahore under Rajah Golab Singh, against Sher Singh. During the early part of the year 1846, when little of Mr. Gardner was known except that he commanded ten or twelve guns and was called a Colonel, he was pretty freely invited to British Messes until his extraordinary conduct and language unmasked the American Irishman.* He fought his battles freely enough on those days, and talked largely of what he had done and could do, but we cannot ascertain that he ever told the tale of the Brahman's nose and ears, which deserved a separate Chapter in "the secret history" quite as much at least as the career of Mungla, Futteh Khan, &c. The Brahman, Joda Ram by name, is at this very time to be seen at Lahore ready to tell the curious how a Ferringi was found to do the deed, that the vilest of Lahore refused to do.

We consider it only just to our readers to tell so much of the tale of Major Smyth's chief authority to enable them the better to judge of the value of his lucubrations and opinions, as well as to warn those who have not subscribed to the book against throwing away a gold mohur on its purchase. These preliminary remarks may appear harsh, but we are sure that no one, in the least cognizant of facts, after reading the book, will think so. Indeed it deserves no quarter, furnishing as it does a handle for the enemies of England and the calumniators of our noble army, to asperse the one and the other. A twelvemonth or more ago, when Col. Monton put forward an offensive pamphlet as a feeler or precursor of a large volume, he had the excuse of being an enemy. It was therefore of little consequence that he doubled our numbers in the field, as well as of our killed and wounded, and that he declared that an order of the day for no quarter had been given at Sobraon. All this might have been expected from a disingenuous enemy; but from the ranks of the Indian army comes the present blow. Without further preface we shall run through the Introduction, as also the Chapter on the war, offering a few remarks as we proceed. The Introduction thus opens:—

"The following pages have been compiled partly from native manuscripts, and partly from information collected from Sikh Sirdars, and European officers in the Sikh service; but chiefly from the notes of a Captain Gardner of the Sikh Artillery, who has for several years past supplied important information to the British Government without betraying his own, as all the intrigues he brought to light were those of the Jummoo family, and their Coadjutor the Pundit; and there is every reason to believe Captain Gardner could give further information, and prove that the Dogra chiefs were at the bottom of the Cabul insurrection!"

* He has registered himself in his list of Lahore officials as an American; but we understand that this speech betrayeth him to be Irish.

The reader will doubtless wonder at Mr. Gardner's skill in giving "important information to the British Government without betraying his own," especially when they hear that, during the "several years" he was so employed, he was to all intents and purposes the servant of the Jammú family, which he now more especially asperses: moreover, that when he was turned out of the Lahore service, the wish of his heart was to join the "*monster*" Golab Singh, whose tool and instrument he had been, even while he was calumniating him! We do not understand how a spy can at any time be faithful to *both* parties, and believe that, in the present instance, it would be more correct to say that Mr. Gardner affected to supply *all* parties with information, and virtually betrayed *all*, by keeping them on a wrong scent, or by pretending to know what he was entirely ignorant of. The notion that Mr. Gardner could "*prove* that the Dogra Chiefs were at the bottom of the Kabul insurrection," is only one of many *proofs* given in the book of what, to use the mildest terms, may be designated Major Smyth's extreme gullibility. Heretofore we had believed that the British authorities in Affghanistan owed to themselves *the small spark* of disaffection that was eventually kindled by gross Military mismanagement into general insurrection. Because Rajah Golab Singh may have been wise enough to *anticipate* what hundreds of Europeans in India foresaw; he is not on that account to be put down as the *cause* of the commotion. Nor is the slowness of his movements, nor even the unwillingness with which he gave his assistance, any stronger proof of overt hostility. If Major Smyth had been better acquainted with oriental and especially with Indian history, he would have learnt that Indian allies seldom help a weak cause, and generally desert a losing one. Had Golab Singh been a less able man than he is, he would never have stirred a step in aid of Sir George Pollock; and had he not been a very wise one he never would have entered the Khybur Pass on the General's behalf: but the fact is notorious that he helped to win the pass, made all the arrangements for holding it, and even himself remained at Peshawar some time after he had been aware of the destruction of his own army beyond Ladak. Mr. Gardner is here doubly a deceiver; for, unless the information current in the best informed circles be utterly fallacious, no one knows better than he does that Golab Singh had only to have held up his finger to have induced the Sikh army to attack General Pollock instead of assisting him.

At page 18, Major Smyth says:

"Our connection with the Lahore Government, it is supposed, was much the same as our connection with Bhurtpore, the Rajah was independent, but we were bound to support the reigning family."

There is no *supposition* in the matter. The treaty of 1809 is extant, and in no way refers to the support of the reigning family, but the *supposition* that it does so has enabled Major Smyth to make a gratuitous comparison between Lahore and Bhurtpore affairs, as also between Louis Philippe and Sher Singh.

At page 21, Major Smyth is pleased to observe:

"Regarding the Punjab war; I am neither of opinion, that the Sikhs made an *unprovoked attack*, nor that we have acted towards them with *great forbearance*."

This is very unfortunate for the British Government and will doubtless affect its reputation! In charity to Major Smyth we must hope that he is unaware of the force of the words he uses. The only person who *could* have provoked the attack was the lamented officer to whom this book is dedicated; if he had done so, however "great" he might have been or "greater he would have been," our pages should have execrated as much as it has endeavoured to honour his name.

Major Smyth informs his readers at page 23, in the teeth of ample evidence to the contrary, and *in the face* of the 10,400 men with whom he himself served at Ferozepore, that when "the Sikhs came we were quite unprepared to receive them." We wonder what Major Smyth *would* consider to be preparation, and whether he would *now* keep up an army at Gorrukpore and Segowli to watch the Gúrkhas, and another at Arracan and Tenasserim to guard against the Burmahs. It was well for British India that Major Smyth did not command at Ferozepore, when, in spite of its efficient garrison, he could pen such lines as the following:—

"The first great fault the Sikhs committed was in not attacking Ferozepore and destroying that place; and when Runjoor Singh found he was allowed quietly to cross the Sutlej near Loodiana—turn our right flank—and get in our rear, he ought certainly to have marched direct upon Delhi instead of entrenching himself, first at Buddawal, and afterwards on the banks of the river; his Cavalry might have laid waste the country, and his army would have increased like a snowball, and easily have got possession of a portion of the siege train, which was on the road without proper ammunition, and unprotected."

The paragraph contains almost as many errors as lines. The Sikhs could *not* have destroyed Ferozepore, and dared not even attempt it, when repeatedly challenged by the gallant Littler and his heroic train. Runjore Singh *did not* get into our rear, and had not the means of effectually doing so. His plundering Horsemen might have done so; as, where may not bold marauders push forward: but it is sheer stuff pretending

that Runjore Singh's *nine* Battalions, five of them irregulars, could have done more than get themselves into an inextricable mess by an attempt on the train in the face of Sir Harry Smith's force, which was little inferior in numbers to his own, and contained two European Regiments, while a third (H. M. 53rd) which eventually joined him in time for Aliwal was in front of the siege train throughout its march to Bussean, and one and a half Native Regiments, as well as a detachment of Irregular Horse, accompanied its progress. How then the siege train came up without "proper ammunition and unprotected" is beyond our comprehension, considering it was protected as above noticed, and brought ammunition for all arms of the Army. Had Runjore Singh's whole force, much less his Cavalry, attacked it, *he ought* to have been not only repulsed, but well punished.

In a note to the paragraph under notice, it is observed:

"Had General Grey been permitted to march when he was first *ordered*, he might have been present at Ferozshah or at Moodkee, and would have superceded the necessity of bringing Brigadier Wheler's force away from Loodiana; or, had General Grey been ordered to Loodiana when he *did march*, he would have prevented Runjoor Singh from crossing the River."

The real circumstances of General Grey's march from Meerut were fully explained in a former number* of this work. It *was* intended that he should move on Lúdiana, but having resorted to Army Head Quarters *via* Umbala, no one knew where he was until he had passed Bussean, the point at which he ought to have turned off.

It would be difficult to understand what Major Smyth means by the following passage:

"But while *we* had a contempt for the Sikhs, it is evident the native army had a great idea of their prowess; it was, therefore, most fortunate that with this army there was a large body of Europeans: for after the war was over a Foreign officer in the Sikh service observed to a friend of mine, "If it had not been for your European soldiers, we would have driven you from Ferozepore into the sea;—and I must confess, I could only painfully acknowledge to myself, the truth of his remark; for, as it was, the troops under their excellencies Sir Hugh Gough and Sir Henry Hardinge had but dearly gained a victory over a portion of the Sikh army when Sir John Littler *came to their rescue!*—and, *after his arrival*, from all that I can learn, the Europeans had almost formed as high an opinion of the Sikh soldiers as the natives: and it was long undecided whether we were to be the victors or the vanquished."

If he means anything, it is, that the Sepoys were always afraid of the Sikhs and that latterly the Europeans became so. Neither assumption is correct. The whole army, officers as well as Soldiers were indeed surprised at the hardihood displayed by the

* No XVI. Art. VI,

Sikhs, and like the British army in the Peninsula, the same discipline and pluck were not displayed at the beginning as at the end of the Campaign; but this goes against rather than in favour of Major Smyth's argument. During the first two years of Wellington's Campaigns very many more imputations might have been laid at the door of the British Troops—the best Infantry in the world,—than now against those of Bengal. In those days, however, as well as now, officers were to be found, who, for notoriety's sake, or other motives were, not ashamed to befoul their own nests. But, as it was in the latter battles of the Peninsula and at Waterloo, so was it at Sobraon that discipline and conduct vastly improved with experience. At Sobraon many Regiments, European and Native, were, in the first instance, repulsed with heavy loss, but they rallied *under fire*, and returned to carry the Enemy's works at the point of the bayonet Seldom do the Troops of any Army so rally or so devote themselves. It would have been more creditable to Major Smyth's *esprit d' Armie* to have remembered some such *truthful* facts, rather than by hints and implications to give handle to the many who are always ready, on the slightest pretext, to run down the Indian Army. Considering, however, how often and absurdly Major Smyth contradicts himself, it is not very material what he says. For instance, in the very next page (xxvi) to the one we are now noticing, he calls the Sikhs "but a contemptible Enemy," though only six lines further on he commends "The way the Khalsa Troops fought;" and at page 179 writes, on the "desperate resistance" they offered at Sobraon.

We are constantly *hearing* in India of combinations of Native powers that are to drive us into the Sea; but it so happens that we have almost invariably fought our enemies single-handed. Major Smyth appears to us to be an especial alarmist; according to him, the Jammu Rajah only wanted opportunity to join the "Wallace of Kabul, Akbar Khan, which it is well known he intended doing." The uninitiated would say that he *had* opportunity enough in the imbecility displayed at Kabul, and the even greater imbecility that was evinced in India on the occasion of the Kabul catastrophe. Had Golab Singh on that occasion attacked General Pollock, Major Smyth pronounces that he "must have been destroyed with his whole army:"

"Dehan Singh, with the army at Lahore, would be too much for the force under Sir Jasper Nicolls; and without the special interference of Providence, the Sikhs would even have destroyed "the Army of Reserve," though headed by "the Brumegem Napoleon" himself."

All this we must simply pronounce, on the other hand, to be as inaccurate as it is impertinent.

So much for Major Smyth's general politics in regard to the Sikhs: we must now have a few words with him regarding the conduct of the war.

Lest we should do the Major injustice we give in full his, or rather, his protegée's account of the actions of Múdkí and Ferozshah. More miserable and more contradictory balderdash in all respects we have seldom read. Every body is aspersed, and Sikhs as well as British, Lal Singh and Tej Singh as well as "the enemy's" commanders, are all found wanting in the eyes of the writer, who it will be observed in two places calls the British troops "the Enemy:"

"The question of an attack on Ferozepore was now mooted. Both Teja Sing and Lall Sing were in favor of an attempt on the place, but the troops were irresolute. They had imbibed a belief that the fort was mined to a considerable distance all round, and would be blown up on their taking possession of it. They believed in short that it was a huge trap, baited for their destruction with some lakhs of treasure; and they regarded the exhortations of their chiefs to proceed to the assault as evidence of a desire for their slaughter and ruin. Moreover the British garrison put on a bold front and astonished the Sikhs with the sight of a handful of men with fortifications at their command, turning out to offer battle to overwhelming numbers in the open field.

Thus Ferozepore and its garrison remained unmolested by the Khalsa force, which lay encamped in the neighbourhood for several days. Early on the morning of the 17th December, however, news reached Lall Sing's camp of the approach of a British force of no great strength, with the intention of joining that already at Ferozepore. On this the entire body of Gorechars immediately prepared to advance, supported by sixteen horse artillery guns, ordered from the camp of Teja Sing, those with Lall Sing being all heavy ordnance, drawn by bullocks. Thus the cavalry and artillery advanced some ten on twelve coss, and again came to a halt in the forenoon of 17th December. Lall Sing evidently had much difficulty in making up his mind to attack the British force that was approaching his position; and it was not until the Sikhs had reproached him with cowardice, and declared their determination to fight whether he led them or not, that he advanced to meet the British column, which was then drawing near to Moodkee, about five coss in his front. In the afternoon of the 18th as the Sikhs came within two coss of the main body of the enemy, they stumbled on a picquet of about a hundred horse, which retreated before them with great coolness and regularity, although attacked by the Gorechars with much impetuosity and vigorously followed in their retreat. The Sikh cavalry was thus lured on until it came close to the main body of the British when the picquet which acted as a decoy galloped forward and joined the advancing ranks. On finding himself in front of the enemy, Lall Sing commenced a fire of round shot from fourteen of his guns, the other two having been left on the road. The British troops then formed in columns with their artillery in front, and first slowly and then at a rapid pace advanced upon the Sikh line, which by order of Lall Sing, awaited their attack. Presently however, the British began to fire shells, which did great execution; and caused much confusion in the ranks of the Gorechars. The Sikh artillery now began to fire grape, but without the expected effect of checking the onward progress of the enemy, who still continued steadily

and rapidly to advance. On coming within range of small arms, the Gorechars commenced a desultory fire, but on the fierce attack of the British they gave way and fled, leaving most of their guns behind them.—Lall Sing, their leader, being one of the first to turn his horse's head towards the Sutlej. The British force did not pursue the fugitive Sikhs, but encamped on the ground. During the whole of that night, the Gorechars came dropping into their camp from the different directions in which they had fled. Lall Sing himself did not make his appearance till after day break the next morning, having, it was reported, been hid in a bush for some time.

The next day, the 10th, the gallant Rajah sent to Teja Sing for a reinforcement of twelve battalions, whereupon the French division (late General Ventura's) was ordered to join him, as also those of Matthaub Sing and the Misser, or in all the required twelve battalions, with fifty-two guns.

By the 21st December, Lall Sing had again screwed up his courage for another attempt to arrest the progress of the British force. He therefore advanced in front of his entrenched camp at Ferozshah for nearly a mile, but thinking better of the matter, he then, partly by command, and partly by persuasion, induced the troops to turn back and re-enter the camp. On arriving within their entrenchments again the soldiers got leave to take off their regimentals and accoutrements, and to cook and eat their victuals. While thus engaged and thus unprepared, the British force was seen coming down upon them in column from the right. On this the drums beat to arms and the troops were promptly in line. They were scarcely in their ranks, however, when the enemy opened a murderous fire upon them, and immediately bore down upon and broke the French Squares, the Ventura division being on the right, and unsupported by their comrades. The Gorechars were on the left, and were furiously attacked by the British cavalry which turned their flank and completely routed them. The artillery was thus left unprotected and such of the artillerymen as had not sought safety in flight were cut down at their guns. Soon after this the divisions of Mathaub Sing and the Misser retreated, and thus only the French division, which had re-formed, was left to keep up a desultory fire, which continued throughout a great part of the night.

Before day light, however, even this division, finding itself unsupported, and in fact deserted, deemed it best to retire after the others, so that by sunrise not a man that could get away was to be seen in the Sikh Camp. The British, who it was said, had also retreated during the night, now, hearing that the Sikhs had fled to the river, advanced and took possession of their Camp and Artillery. At this moment Sirdar Teja Sing, with some twenty-five or thirty thousand fresh troops, arrived from the camp at Ferozepore, and presented himself before the British force, which, tired and exhausted with its previous exertions, was unable to attack him, and would, in all likelihood, have been found unable to repel a vigorous assault from an army of fresh men, in overpowering numbers, like that led by him. The usual good fortune of the British prevailed however, and instead of seeing the Sikh reserve advance to the attack, they had the satisfaction of beholding them turn back without firing a shot and follow their defeated comrades towards the Sutlej. The British force was thus left in undisputed possession of the field of Ferozshah, with the entrenched camp of the Sikhs and all their artillery."

Sir John Littler is here made to have "put on a bold front and astonished the Sikhs with the sight *of a handful* of men with fortifications, &c." This *handful*, as already remarked, was 10,400, a number more than double what won most of our

greatest battles. It is not correct to say that the enemy "lay encamped in the neighbourhood for several days," inasmuch as Lal Singh did not join Tej Singh opposite to Ferozepore till the morning of the 16th, and on the 17th the Sikh Army took up their position at Ferozshah. The 16th then is the only day on which the combined Army *could have* attacked Ferozepore. Tej Singh and Lal Singh both, elsewhere described as cravens, are here represented to have been "in favour of an attempt on the place, *but the Troops were irresolute.*" In the next page it was the Sikhs that were valiant and their Commander that was cowardly. The very reverse was the case; for it was chiefly if not solely to Lal Singh's advice that the southward move was made and Ferozepore avoided. Múdkí was not "about five coss in his front;" it was fully ten coss. The whole story of the Sikhs stumbling "on a picquet of about a hundred horse," can only be characterized, in plain language, as nonsense. The Sikhs are made to have engaged at Múdkí with only fourteen guns, "the other two having been left on the road." This is singular considering that *twenty* were captured on the 18th. Not a word here is given in praise of Her Majesty's 13th Light Dragoons, "the Múdkiwalahs," although the Editor is a Cavalry officer.

At page 25 of the introduction, Sir John Littler, as already observed, is made to come to the rescue of the army Head Quarters; but here at page 174, we were told that the doomed Troops, before so rescued, "continued steadily and rapidly to advance" in the face of the fire of grape from the Sikh artillery, and two lines further on is noted "the fierce attack of the British." All this is true, and these are *facts* diametrically opposed to Major Smyth's own reasonings and opinions. The British army is made to have "encamped on the ground;" they did no such thing but returned to Múdkí.

We cannot conceive how an officer who was himself present at Ferozshah could have written that the Sikhs had advanced to give battle that morning, and that they were finally taken by surprize and at disadvantage,—the fact being that the combined force were within three miles of Ferozshah from about twelve o'clock, though the attack was not made till near 4 P. M. The Sikhs must therefore have seen the dust of the advancing columns *hours* before the attack, and they had met with too warm a reception at Múdkí to prefer giving battle in the plain rather than behind their entrenchments. Moreover they had not the means of moving their heavy guns in and out of the works, and they assuredly would not have fought without them.

We now come to one of the most obnoxious passages of this precious narrative :—

"Before daylight however, even this division, finding itself unsupported, and in fact deserted, deemed it best to retire after the others, so that by sunrise not a man that could get away was to be seen in the Sikh camp, &c."

The desertion of the Sikh camp during the night of the 21st, was by no means so general as is stated in the book. The Sikh artillery was manned on the morning of the 22d, and did execution *there* as well as during the previous night. His countrymen, then, according to Major Smyth, only advanced on "hearing that the Sikhs had fled to the river!" Most patriotic, independent, and truthful of Editors! The whole of the succeeding passage regarding Tej Singh is erroneous; but supposing the panic among the Sikhs to have been half what Major Smyth represents it, the more natural way of accounting for his conduct would be to suppose that he too took fright. The real fact of the case, we believe to be that Tej Singh did not advance on the 22d with the purpose of fighting, but solely with the view of covering the retreat of the discomfited Battalions of Ferozshah, in which he succeeded. He did *not* "turn back without firing a shot" as the friends of many a poor fellow who fell on the morning of the 22d can testify. We have here picked out only a few of the blunders and mis-representations of the three pages we have quoted, but a full article would scarcely expose them all.

We commend the following reasoning to our readers, especially the set speech of the indignant soldiery to their leader. It wants the verisimilitude of the writers of romantic history. When Thucydides and Livy put words into men's mouths, they make them say something like what they might be expected to say; but can any one who ever saw a Sikh soldier conceive him holding forth in the following rodomontade :—

"It has been already remarked, that the troops who formed the Sikh army on the Sutlej, strongly suspected that they had been betrayed into the hands of the enemy by their own chiefs, acting under secret instructions from the Ranee. The conduct of those chiefs, and specially that of Teja Sing, was, it must be owned, such as to strengthen, if not confirm, those suspicions. There was but too much reason for them to believe that the whole or nearly the whole of their Sirdars and officers, were combined in a treacherous scheme to entrap them, and deliver them up an easy prey to the British army. Instead of watching for opportunities to employ the force to the best advantage against the enemy, it seemed as if the leaders of the Sikhs were intent only on placing their troops in such a position as might render them an easy and complete conquest to their foes. Notwithstanding, however, that the Sikh soldiery more than suspected these designs and intentions of their chiefs, they were unable to extricate themselves from the

position into which they had been thrown. They gave vent to their alarm and indignation in fierce reproaches on the treachery of their leaders, but that was all they could do. "We know," they said to their leaders, "that you have leagued with the Court to send us against the British and to pen us up here like sheep for them to come and slaughter us at their convenience; but, remember, that in thus acting, you play the part not only of traitors to your country, but of ruthless butchers and murderers. You destroy a whole army, which, whatever its faults and crimes may have been, has always been ready to obey the orders of the state and its officers. We might even now punish you as you deserve, but we will leave you to answer to your Gooroo and your God, while we, deserted and betrayed, as we are, will do what we can to preserve independence of our country."

Not less absurd is the following quotation, which is the last we shall inflict on our readers. We have already accounted for Tej Singh's conduct on the 22d, but we beg to inform Major Smyth that, however "wearied and defenceless" were our Troops on that morning, one-half the force that was on the British side when Tej Singh approached, had served to clear the works of Ferozshah and to capture seventy-five guns. Sir H. Smith and Sir J. Littler's Divisions, which had not fired a shot that day, had come up; and however deficient we may have been in ammunition, the Sikhs knew nothing of it. No, the speech of the "old Sikh horseman," like that just quoted has been concocted since the event:—

"It has been said that the conduct of Teja Sing, in particular, savoured much of treason to the Khalsa. His strange conduct in ordering a retreat before the wearied and almost defenceless British force at Ferozshah, on the morning of the 22d December, is inexplicable on any other supposition than that of treachery. It was on this occasion, while he was haranguing the troops, and persuading them of the necessity for retiring, assuring them that unless they did so, their bridge of boats and the whole line of the river in their rear would be immediately occupied by the British,—while he was thus discoursing, an old Sikh horseman, soldier of the time of Runjeet, galloped up to him, and drawing his sword, strove by threats and fierce invectives to induce the Sirdar to order the advance instead of the retreat of the army. He pointed to the exhausted British forces unable to fire a shot, and asked what was to be feared from them, who he declared, would not be able to stand a victorious charge from the fresh troops now opposed to them. The conduct and language of this brave old trooper induced Teja Sing with joined hands solemnly to protest and swear by the name of God and his Gooroo, that he had no other intent in retiring than that of saving the troops by preventing their retreat from being cut off by the British; but the old horseman, still convinced of the treachery of the Sirdar, cursed him as a traitor and a coward before the whole army, and then quietly returned to his post in the ranks."

All this talk of treachery tends to a wrong impression. No men could have exerted themselves more than did the majority of the Sikh Generals; and even Tej Singh and Lal Singh, once engaged, had no choice but to fight. One proof that the chiefs

did act honestly by their men *then*, is, that *now* they pretend to no credit for treachery; but rather boast of their prowess during the war. But to suspect them and accuse them is quite in keeping with Mr. Gardner's own character. He very naturally judges them by himself. The European character has not shone in the Punjab.

The book of the war, as regards the Sikhs as well as the British, has yet to be written. Many a tale of gallantry and soldierly devotion has yet to be told of friends and of foes. The men who saw how the Sikhs stood to their guns and who witnessed the compact retreat of the two French Battalions through a British Regiment at Sobraon, when the works had long been in our possession, can appreciate the qualities of the Sikh soldier, and can understand that honour is due to those that subdued him. But it is neither by exaggerated nor distorted pictures such as Colonel Monton's or Major Smyth's that credit is to be obtained or truth elicited. In noticing the work of the latter, we have discharged a necessary but painful duty—necessary, as regards the cause of truth and faithfulness—painful, as respects those feelings which we would ever desire to cherish towards a British officer. But Major Smyth has himself entirely to blame. He has, not anonymously, but in his own proper name, published a book, the downright untruthfulness of many of whose details can only be paralleled by the surpassing vileness of some and the surpassing absurdity of others. It is, for the most part, not a "florid" but an ugly deformed romance—a romance which merits the utmost severity of reprehension, not merely on account of its indecencies and puerilities, its wretched fabrications and exhibitions of evil temper, but because, while in reality, to a great extent, no more trustworthy than the *veriest fiction*; it yet pretends to the sober dignity of *authentic history*.

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MISCELLANEOUS NOTICES.

1. *The Sailor's Horn-book for the Law of Storms; being a practical exposition of the Theory of the Law of Storms, and its uses to Mariners of all classes in all parts of the world, shewn by transparent Storm-cards and useful lessons. By Henry Piddington, President of Marine Courts of Enquiry, Calcutta. London*, 1848.
2. *A Fifteenth Memoir with reference to the Law of Storms in India, being the Hurricane of the H. C.'s Steamer Cleopatra, and the Ships Buckinghamshire and others, on the Malabar Coast, 16th and 18th April*, 1847. *With the Hurricane of the H. C. S. Essex in the Arabian Sea, June*, 1811. *With Remarks for Steamers in the Eastern Seas. By Henry Piddington, &c. Calcutta*, 1848.

HAVING very lately* treated, at no inconsiderable length, the highly important class of phenomena whose investigation has resulted in the ascertainment of the "LAW OF STORMS," we must content ourselves now with a brief notice of those fresh contributions which our indefatigable townsman has just made to the practical literature of the subject. We gladly embrace the opportunity afforded by their appearance while we are yet fresh from a somewhat extensive study of the subject, to supplement our former article by a few observations on one or two points, on which, partly from limitation of space, and partly from an unwillingness to violate the "unities," and unduly distract the attention of our readers, we refrained from touching before. These observations we shall offer incidentally, as the topics to which they relate come before us, in the course of our notice of the books whose titles are prefixed.

Mr. Piddington's object in the "Horn-book" is to give a plain and practical digest of all that has hitherto been ascertained regarding Hurricanes or revolving storms, with constant and direct reference to the bearing of the law on the practice of navigation:

"What I propose in this work is, to explain to the seaman, in such language that every man who can work a day's-work can understand it, the Theory and the Practical Use of the LAW OF STORMS for all parts of the world; for this science has now become so essential a part of nautical knowledge that every seaman who conscientiously desires to fulfil his duties, from the Admiral of a great fleet down to the humble Master of a West India or Mediterranean trader, must wish to know at all events what this new science is: of which he hears it said, that it teaches how to *avoid* Storms—teaches how best to *manage in Storms* when they cannot be

* Calcutta Review, No. XV. p. 52.

avoided—and teaches how to *profit by Storms!* A man who thoroughly understands all this, must have as great professional advantages over one who does not, as our fleets and ships of the present day, when scurvy is almost unknown, have, in that respect, over those of the days of ANSON, when whole crews were swept off by it."

Our author first gives us a very brief history of the science, from the first recorded suspicion that certain winds *might* be rotatory, down to the full development of the law in the work of Col. Reid; and then he gives a set of definitions necessary to prevent mistakes on the part of his readers. One new term adopted by our author, we think a decided improvement; or rather, we should say, we think that *some* new term was necessary, and that the one he has coined is as good as any other. The terms *breeze, gale, storm, and hurricane* are generally used very vaguely, but always with reference merely to the *force* of the wind, independently altogether of its *direction.* The only exception that we know to this statement is in the case when the last mentioned term has a certain national epithet prefixed to it; an "Irish Hurricane" meaning, as every one knows, one in which the wind is "even up and down!" The law of Storms having reference chiefly to the direction of the wind, it becomes desirable, and even quite necessary, to have a word that shall denote all revolving winds, without reference to their intensity. The word which our author coins for this end is "CYCLONE," which, as we have said, we think is as good as any other, and indeed rather happily invented. It is to be understood as implying merely that the winds to which it is applied have "a tendency to circularity" in their direction, without dogmatizing as to the precise nature of the curve which any given particle of the air may describe. It seems to us an incidental advantage of this term, that it may be adopted into the French as readily as into the English language, and we may be allowed to express a hope that it will be adopted by the meteorologists of that country, to the supercession, in this application, of the term *tourbillon*, which is not sufficiently definite for the purpose

The next subject that meets us is one of those on which we wish to offer some observations. It relates to "various theories as to the motion of winds in Hurricanes," and to "various theories as to the causes of hurricanes;" in other words, to the questions, *how does the wind blow in a hurricane?* And *why does it blow so?*

The former of those questions we answered didactically in our former article on the subject. We recur to it now, only in order to notice the theory of "Mr. T. P. Espy, of Philadelphia, supported by Professor Hare, and some other American philosophers." This theory is that a hurricane is not a revolving storm, or to use the new nomenclature, *a cyclone*, at all; but that the winds blow in all directions towards a centre, that centre being itself in motion along the *track* of the storm. These winds meeting at the central point are supposed to neutralize each other, and produce the central calm.

As meeting tides and currents smoothe a firth.

Now we can very well imagine causes to operate which should lead to a rush of wind from all quarters towards a central point. A sudden heating, for example, of the air in that point, would cause a rarefaction or partial vacuum there, by the ascent of the rarefied air. To fill this vacuum the colder and denser air would rush in from every side till the equilibrium were restored. We have only to suppose some heated meteor moving along the track of the storm, producing a high degree of rarefaction at every point in succession, and we have all that is necessary to account for the phenomenon supposed. At the first blush, therefore, it must be admitted that Mr Espy's theory seems not improbable. But the question is to be decided by the observation of facts, by the *interpretation* of nature, not by the *anticipation* of nature, by examining what *is*, not imagining what *may be*. Now we have not a doubt that the facts are opposed to the theory. If the theory were correct, we ought to have the centre always in the direction towards which the wind is blowing, and so a ship scudding in such a storm should be driven right into the calm centre. But this does not in reality occur. We regard it as ascertained that when in a hurricane we have, for example, a North wind, the centre is not, as according to this theory it ought to be, to the South of us, but to the East if we are in the Northern hemisphere, and to the West if we are in Southern latitude. Moreover we ought to have, according to this theory, an accumulation of air rapidly taking place at the centre, so that the barometer should immediately begin to rise; whereas we find that not only does it continue for a considerable time at its minimum height, but in some cases the air is too rare to support the birds, which fall down as they would in a vacuum! But we need not dwell upon this theory, which we regard as disproved, while we consider the rotatory theory as established.

The question as to the *cause* of hurricanes, though perhaps of less practical moment than that as to the nature of the phenomena themselves, is one of great speculative interest, and may become at some future time of great practical importance also, according to the Baconian maxim that "what is in observation a cause, becomes in practice a rule." It is not indeed to be expected that a knowledge of the cause or causes of hurricanes should ever enable us to produce them at pleasure, or prevent their occurrence; but it is possible that it may enable us to foresee, and prepare for them.

The theories on this subject we may divide into two great classes, the *chemical* and the *mechanical*. The two great chemical agents, that are perpetually at work in our atmosphere are *heat* and *electricity*. That many atmospheric phenomena are due to these agents is beyond all doubt. As for example, we believe, it is ascertained to the satisfaction of all meteorologists that the meeting and mixing of strata of air at different temperatures, and both saturated with moisture, always causes a deposition of that moisture, and that thus rain is produced; although it does not seem so certain that *all* rain is occasioned

thus, or that, even in cases where this cause acts, it is the *only* cause. So also we think it cannot be doubted that electricity is a powerful agent in the production of wind. Of this we think our Bengal North Westers are a sufficient proof, as it can scarcely be questioned that they are the result of electric agency. That either heat or electricity may be the cause of hurricanes, or that both heat and electricity may co-operate as joint causes in their production, or that electricity may be the primary and heat evolved by electricity the secondary and immediate cause of them, seems not at all improbable, but rather in accordance with the analogy of other meteorological phenomena. But all that we think we are entitled to say on this subject is, that it is not improbable that cyclones are occasioned by a sudden alteration of temperature in a portion of the atmosphere, and that it is equally probable that this alteration is produced by electric agency. To say more than this, in the present state of our knowledge, were to follow the example of too many, who suppose that they have accounted for a phenomenon when they have given a name to it, and who dogmatize upon the correctness of the assignment of the cause, with a confidence that seems ever too directly proportional to the number of syllables in the name!

What we have called the mechanical theories of the production of cyclones are those which try to account for the phenomena merely from the mechanical action of the particles of the atmosphere on each other. The theories of Mr. Thom, and of Sir John Herschell, we may regard as the fairest representatives of this class.

The following extract from Mr. Piddington's Horn-book seems to us to give a fair view of Mr. Thom's theory :—

"Dr. Alex. Thom, H. M. 86th Regt., author of a recent work "On the nature and course of Storms in the Indian Ocean, South of the Equator," &c. is of opinion, with respect to this tract, that the principal cause of the rotatory motion of storms (Cyclones) is, at first, opposing currents of air on the borders of the monsoons and trade winds, which differ widely as to temperature, humidity, specific gravity and electricity. These, he thinks, give rise to a revolving action which originates the storm, which subsequently acquires "an intestine and specific action, involving the neighbouring currents of the atmosphere, and enabling the storms to advance through the trade wind to its opposite limits;" and he gives a diagram to show how this may occur. He farther inclines to believe that "as the external motion is imparted to the interior protion of the mass, and centrifugal action begins to withdraw the air from the centre and form an up-current, the whole will soon be involved in the same vortical action." The up-current he explains as being formed by the pressure being removed from the centre, when the air there "increases in bulk, diminishes in specific gravity, and its upward tendency follows as a matter of course."

Now that the meeting, or grazing on each other of two opposite currents of air, would give rise to a rotatory motion, is readily granted. But then, so far as their merely mechanical action on each other is concerned, mechanical science would lead us to the conclusion that the velocity of the motion in rotation could not be greater than the previous velocity of the motion in progression; so that in point of fact, in order to account for one rotatory storm, we must have recourse to the

supposition of two previously existing rectilineal storms of equal violence with the resulting rotatory one. This supposition, even if it were verified, it is evident, goes but a little way, if any way, towards extricating us from our difficulty. But the supposition, we strongly suspect, is incapable of verification. It is evident indeed that Mr. Thom himself trusts to the "intestine and specific action," much more than to the mere oblique impact of the æreal particles. But what this intestine and specific action is, we are incapable of explaining.

The theory of Sir John Herschell, or rather one of his theories, (for he has two) we borrow at second-hand, or rather at third hand from Mr. Piddington, who copies it from Purdy's memoir of the Atlantic Ocean:

"It seems worth enquiry, whether Hurricanes in tropical climates may not arise from portions of the upper currents prematurely diverted downwards before their relative velocity has been sufficiently reduced by friction on, and gradual mixing with, the lower strata; and so dashing upon the earth with that tremendous velocity, which gives them their destructive character, and of which hardly any rational account has yet been given. Their course, generally speaking, is in opposition to the regular Trade-wind, as it ought to be, in conformity with this idea.—(Young's Lectures, I. 704) but it by no means follows, that this must always be the case. In general, a rapid transfer either way, in latitude, of any mass of air which local or temporary causes might carry above the immediate reach of the friction of the earth's surface, would give a fearful exaggeration to its velocity. Wherever such a mass should strike the earth, a hurricane might arise; and should two such masses encounter in mid-air, a tornado of any degree of intensity on record might easily result from their combination."—*Astronomy*, p. 132.

It appears to us that this hypothesis is greatly recommended by its simplicity, and also by its beautiful analogy to the admitted cause of the greatest of all atmospheric phenomena, the trade-winds. If we adopt the supposition, we have of course still to account for, or to confess that we cannot account for, the transfer itself. This may be produced by electricity or any other agent chemical or mechanical.

Upon the whole it appears that we have advanced but a very little way towards the ascertainment of the agencies which the Creator and Governor of all employs for the production of these stupendous effects.

He moves in a mysterious way
His wonders to perform;
He plants his footsteps in the sea
And rides upon the storm.

There are many other subjects discussed or alluded to in the Horn-book on which we would gladly expatiate; but as the work is doubtless in the hands of many of our readers, and probably of most of those who take an interest in the subjects to which it relates, we with the less reluctance forbear. It is with the most sincere pleasure that we recommend the book to all sailors who have, or may ever have, the command of a ship.

And now for a very brief notice of the "Fifteenth Memoir." This relates, as its title indicates, to two storms, one that occurred last

year, and the other 37 years ago. The former was experienced by several ships, especially the *Buckinghamshire*, one of the largest ships, (we suppose *the* largest) that sail in our Indian seas, commanded by a man of much intelligence,* who is thoroughly conversant with the Law of Storms, and impressed with a sense of the duty of recording all the facts that come under his observation for the purpose of perfecting our knowledge of the law. It is in this hurricane also that the H. C. Steamer *Cleopatra* is supposed to have perished. For the investigation of the facts of this Cyclone, Mr. Piddington derives his information from the following logs, viz.

Ship's Name.	*Dates.*	*Place at first date.*
1. East London	13th—16th April.....	7° 21′ N. 73° 34′ E.
2. Buckinghamshire ...	14th—19th „	8° 18′ „ 72° 56′ „
3. Faize Rubany	14th—19th „	12° 57′ „ 75° 16′ „
4. Mermaid	16th—19th „	12° 50′ „ 74° 56′ „
5. Victoria (Steam)	16th—20th „	12° 50′ „ 74° 56′ „
6. Atiet Rohoman	14th—18th „	Lying at Allepee.
7. Sesostris	16th—19th „	13° 15′ N. 70° 28′ E.
8. Various Coasting Vessels at various places.		

It thus appears that circumstances were peculiarly favorable for observing the details of this hurricane, so many vessels having been placed, as if on purpose, to note the particulars. From a combination of these data, Mr. Piddington deduces the following particulars. That there were probably two cyclones, the one of small extent and little violence, in which the *East London* was involved on the 13th and 14th April, and the other, of tremendous fury, lasting from the 16th to the 19th. We think Mr. Piddington is right in regarding these as separate and distinct cyclones; but we cannot give his reasons for so regarding them, without introducing details which were out of place here. The great storm of the *Buckinghamshire* and the other vessels seems not to have commenced, (or if it had commenced to have been in a region to the south of that from which information has been obtained) till the 16th. Mr. Piddington gives the following as the track and rate of its progress during the two days of its continuance:

	Track.	*Distance.*	*Rate per hour.*
Noon 16th to Noon 17th April,	N. 8° E.	180 miles.	7.5 miles.
—— 17 ——18 ——	N. 15° W.	220 ——	9.2 ——

"This last track (Mr. Piddington admits) does not agree with the shift experienced with the *Buckinghamshire*, which was from the E. S. E. to the W. N. W. and which would give a track of N. 22° E.; but *first*, (he says) ours is an average track for the 24 hours; and *next*, the ship was drifting about for two hours in the calm centre, so that

* Captain McGregor.

we cannot say to what part of it she was carried. We must also take into account her being just dismasted, with both masts hanging to her side and beating under her bottom, which had to be cut away. and when life and death were hanging on the successful execution of this duty, it may fairly be doubted if the direction of the wind was correctly noted, or rightly recollected by any one."

We confess we think it would have been a more natural supposition that the centre of the cyclone at noon on the 17th had been placed a little too far to the Eastward. If it had been then a very few miles to the Westward of the place that Mr. Piddington assigns to it, we should have had its track between the noon of the 17th and that of the 18th agreeing with that indicated by the shift of wind experienced by the *Buckinghamshire* after passing through its centre. As to the reasons assigned by our author for coming to the conclusion to which he has come, we can allow scarcely any force to any except the first. That reason is indeed sound, as it is not to be supposed that the track proceeded in a staight line during the whole 24 hours, and it might very well be moving to the eastward when its centre passed over the *Buckinghamshire*, although during the preceding 24 hours it had followed an average track tending westwardly. As to the other two reasons assigned by our author we cannot allow any weight, as we cannot believe that a ship in the state in which she is described could drift to any considerable distance during two hours of a dead calm; and we are confident, from having had an opportunity of inspecting Capt. Mr. Gregor's logs, that if they are not trustworthy, no ship's logs that were ever kept are so; and thus the whole data of our science were knocked on the head.

We are the more inclined to remark on this, as it seems to be Mr. Piddington's object to establish an identity of track between the present cyclone and that of the H. C. S. *Essex*, 37 years ago. Now we know nothing more dangerous than such a desire existing, however latently, in the mind of an investigator. It is precisely one of the instances that Lord Bacon gives of the *Idola tribus*; that namely in virtue of which the mind is inclined to expect more uniformity in nature than is found to exist.* It does not follow, *because* the hurricane of June 1811 had a westward track, that *therefore* that of April 1847, had a westward track also. It is doubtless very pleasing when we can *discover* uniformity or parallelisms in the operations of nature, but we ruin all if we attempt to *make* them; we are even in a dangerous path when we *seek* to find them.

We cannot doubt that our author will take in perfectly good part this word of caution. Had we entertained a less cordial respect than we do for the patient zeal and truly philosophic acumen that he has hitherto brought to bear on the investigation of this most important subject, we might have been tempted to abate somewhat of the frankness with which we have offered it.

* Nov. Org. I. 45.

Notes on the Cape of Good Hope, by a Bengali. Calcutta, 1847.

THE author of these "Notes" seems to be "a man of incredible facility, facile action, facile elocution, facile thought." He has a word and an ear for every one—and a "jot" for every object painted upon the "optical retina" of his body and mind. In his work there is much useful truth, but not without an intermixture of error. He seems to have fallen in with a certain clique at the Cape—and as is generally the case, to have imbibed their prejudices, spoken their language—and adopted their system. His antipathy to vital religion, and to earnest, right-minded, laborious, religious men, is unmistakeable. In spite, however, of these blemishes, we must do our author the justice of commending his "Notes" to the attentive consideration of that portion of the Indian community, who are about to seek renovation of health and spirits in a country, "the 'climate of which, though sometimes from the rapidity of its changes 'trying and disagreeable, is upon the whole exceedingly equable. The 'thermometer never in the hottest weather, in the vicinity of Cape 'Town, rises above 76° or 80°, and the sun is never too hot for expo-'sure" (we would qualify this assertion by adding, 'with an umbrella;') "while in the winter months there is no frost, and the rain never 'overwhelming or constant." He says truly, "that the Cape climate appears good (*particularly good*, we should say,) for DYSPEPTIC complaints, fever, and hepatitis, but bad for complaints 'of the lungs.'" Here we would warn any Indian with a tendency, even incipient, to a pulmonary affection, on no account to try the Cape. 'The rarity of the air, and sudden changes of temperature,' rapidly hasten the disease to a fatal termination. We have no hesitation in saying that the author's *appendix* is invaluable. For a married family, and a *few* children, from £300 to £350 per annum, should cover every expense incurred by house-keeping, servants, and an equipage: a bachelor can live well, and keep his horse for £15 to £20 per mensem.

The author gives a graphic description of the Cape Dutch Farmer. "They are a remarkably fine, handsome, almost gigantic race: with Saxon features, and perhaps rather too high shoulders for complete symmetry. They are universally stout, lusty, hale men, with whom it is evident that constant exposure to the open air, animal food, and a bracing, clear, equable climate, agree well. They are exceedingly keen and over-reaching in their bargains, and careful of their gains; but, as 70 years ago, so they are still satisfied, if not pleased, with a dull monotonous life, and have no taste whatever for intellectual pleasure, and mental improvements. They display the apathy of their European progenitors without their industry ..... When addressing you, the Cape Dutchman invariably straddles his legs, and sticks his thumbs into the arms of his waistcoat. He never *gesticulates*." But, if the male animal

never *gesticulates*, the female can do so with right good will—and we have seen instances, in which, in loudness of tone, *depth of expression*, and vigour of action, the Dutch farmeress equalled, if not surpassed, the Bengali of the bazar. "The Dutch farmer's dress is 'very uniform, leather trowsers, called "crackers," a straw hat 'with a green veil (for the sand-flies across the sands,) and a low round 'drab duffle jacket with coarse ill-shaped brogues, and no stockings."

The author of these notes seems to have very qualified friendly feelings for Missions and Missionary work. He says that the Moravians alone "appear to cultivate mechanical labours and home manufactures. This sect alone teaches its proselytes the useful arts. The Wesleyan mission has however done much good, and is besides unpretending. There is just now a French Protestant Mission under a M. Arboussy, of whose labours report speaks highly." Well so far—but alas, "The London Dissenting" Missionary Society—a sect styling themselves 'Independents,' has no claim whatever upon his sympathy; it positively exasperates his Indian bile. A Society which for years struggled hard with despotism and colonial mismanagement, and at length triumphed in a signal manner,—a Society which put forth all its strength to burst the shackles of the slave and to give him the right of the freeman, and had the delight of seeing its exertions crowned with complete success,—a Society where pastor talked, and wrote and argued and acted, on behalf of his oppressed and calumniated fellow-men—who felt that it was not an abuse of his spiritual duties and pursuits to make dauntless and unsparing war upon a system so diametrically opposed to all that is generally held to be good and true, and who was abundantly blessed in his deeds. This is the Society, this is the man, the noble, the true-hearted man, whose names stand any thing but high upon the roll of our author. We ourselves can bear testimony to the great amount of good achieved by the Missionaries of various denominations in the Cape Colony, to the holiness and activity of the men engaged in the glorious work of evangelizing the heathen,—to their freedom from political bias and party prejudice—to their earnest desire to elevate the inhabitants of the land in every way,—aye, and not only to inculcate but practically to enforce the scripture mandate—that "if any do not work neither shall he eat." But we must not exceed our limits—and we close these brief remarks with heartily thanking the author for the large amount of useful information which he has communicated to the Indian public.

The New Indian Gardener, and Guide to the Successful Culture of the Kitchen and Fruit Garden. By G. T. F. S. Barlow Speede, M. A. and H. S.

A REALLY good work upon the delightful art of horticulture setting forth the practice most suitable to the climate of India, has long been

a desideratum in our local literature; and, without intending any disparagement of Mr. Barlow Speede's labours, we fear that it is likely long to continue so. The progress of gardening, like that of all other practical and experimental arts, is dependent upon the accumulated experience of many observers, and is necessarily slow. But this consideration should in no wise discourage us when we have, in the great improvement of our market vegetables within the last twenty years, the evidence of the great things which care and skill have effected already, and a reasonable ground of assurance that similar efforts will be crowned with equal rewards henceforward.

Mr. Speede's work commences with an introductory chapter upon the structure of plants, and the functions of their various organs; an extensive and deeply interesting subject, with which it is desirable that every horticulturist should be more or less familiar, but one which can scarcely be handled with advantage in the few pages devoted to it by the author. What little he has said, however, is so superficial, and abounds in so much that is obsolete or erroneous, that we cannot refrain from wishing that Mr. Speede had eschewed the matter altogether. A very little reading and a very little care would, no doubt, have enabled him to avoid many of the errors into which he has fallen; but these have been but too evidently wanting, as a cursory glance at the theoretical part of his work will sufficiently testify. Thus, in describing the process of germination (page 6), he speaks of the connection of the young plant with the cotyledons, of the ascent of the latter, their change of hue, and other properties, as if this were the process of germination and growth common to all vegetable forms, instead of being that of one only of the three great primary groups, the dicotyledons. Again, in speaking of the roots of plants, Mr. S. observes, "although their formation is involved in obscurity, it is apparent that it arises from the elaboration of organisable matter by the leaves, and it is clear that their formation is promoted by the descending sap; whence if a ring of bark be removed from a branch, and the wound be wrapped round with wet clay, moss, or tow, as in Chinese grafting, the roots will *invariably* be projected from the upper lip of the wound;" and, in describing the trunks or stems of plants, he states that "when fully formed the stem of *every* plant comprises the following parts: 1. *Wood*, the older part called the heart wood, and the newer the *alburnum;* 2. *Bark*, the inner part being called *liber;* 3. *Pith*, the centre channel conveying the ascending sap; 4. *Medullary* rays, connecting this last with the bark or rind, and keeping up a communication between the centre and the circumference of the stem." Now, passing over Mr. Speede's notions of the functions of the pith and of the medullary rays, these remarks, so far from being applicable to plants generally, hold good only with regard to the *exogenous* class, as every tyro in botany should know, and are therefore eminently calculated to mislead the uninstructed reader.

In treating of the properties of leaves, Mr. Speede is at some pains to show how their subservience to the perspiration of plants may be established by experiment, and slightly touches upon their faculty of decomposing carbonic acid when exposed to the sun's rays; but to their grand function of absorbing carbon from the atmosphere, and of supplying from that source the whole of this essential element to the growing plant, Mr. Speede makes no allusion whatever. Indeed it is sufficiently apparent that he is himself wholly misinformed upon the subject; for he speaks (page 40) of the supply of carbon being derived from *humin* absorbed by the roots; a theory which will be seen to be quite untenable when we reflect that the most luxuriant vegetation is often seen on soils nearly or altogether destitute of humin, as on the alluvial deposits of the Ganges, or on newly cultivated volcanic soils; and that all soils instead of diminishing, go on augmenting their stock of humin, from the growth and decay of the vegetation they support, as in the great forests of America and elsewhere.

Passing on to the more practical parts of Mr. Speede's work, we come to his chapter upon manures and soils. In connection with this subject Mr. Speede had an excellent opportunity of diffusing some knowledge of the admirable modern researches which have thrown so much light upon a most interesting department of vegetable physiology. But here too, there is such evidence of haste and superficial information, that we cannot help again regretting that Mr. Speede has meddled with the subject at all. He is obviously ignorant of the laws which, as recent investigations have rendered all but certain, govern the nutrition of plants, and is unable to explain on any scientific ground why such a manure is indispensable for one plant, why unnecessary for another; but affirms, without knowing why, that decaying vegetable matter is good as containing much *humin;* fish, as abounding in *gelatine;* bones, because of their *lime* and *oil;* forgetting with regard to the last, that it is the phosphate of lime that constitutes their characteristic value as a manure! But enough upon this head. Speaking of the rotation of crops, Mr. Speede observes that there are few points in horticulture less thought of in this country, although none are more worthy of consideration. "It is well known," says he, "that plants like animals do not appropriate all the food they take, but having the fit organs for separating what they find necessary, that which is useless is rejected; it is further known that besides the water and gases thrown off by the leaves, the roots also eject a sort of excremental slime, differing according to the various plants, but always injurious to those of a similar kind following on any ground; at the same time that the peculiar nutriment required for a particular plant must be weakened by the absorption of this refuse of the plant preceding it. Thus the slime of cabbages will injure cabbages, though harmless to peas, and in like manner with all others."—*(Page 54.)*

This specious theory, the invention we believe of De Candolle, will not stand the test of investigation. In the first place, the excre-

tions of plants bear no analogy whatever to the rejections of animals; did they so, the excreting plant would be the first to suffer, and that in a much greater degree than its successor, as being in more intimate contact with the pernicious matter. But in the next place, the substance thus ejected must soon become completely decomposed and resolved into humin and other products of vegetable decay, and (were these indeed the food of plants) be thus rendered as suitable aliment as ever for the succeeding crop. But surely it is a much simpler and more obvious conclusion that one class of plants abstracts from the soil so much of some peculiar element essential from their nutriment as to leave insufficient for the sustenance of succeeding plants having the same appetites, though there may still be left ample for another class to which the element in question is less essential. And this, indeed, is found by experimental enquiry to be the true solution of the question. Hence crops making different demands upon the alimentary qualities of the soil alternate with each other advantageously, and the soil itself is exalted to recover its wasted energies in the interval. The investigation of this subject—what each plant *demands*, and what the soil is in a condition to *give*—forms the beginning and the end of Agricultural Chemistry, and great is the light already thrown upon it by the brilliant researches of Davy, Liebig, and their numerous disciples who have made this department of science a special pursuit.

As the necessity for a rotation of crops is thus founded upon the removal of some essential ingredient from the soil, it follows that in a well manured garden the practice should be unnecessary. And such generally speaking, is the fertility of our gardens in this country, that this is really the case. When it is otherwise there will generally be found a deficiency of alkalies and phosphates, both of which may be supplied by the wood ashes of our cook-rooms; a manure the value of which is imperfectly understood, but may be inferred from the consideration that it contains, in varying proportions, all those earthy and alkaline constituents which vegetables derive from the soil, and by the removal of which the latter becomes exhausted; and that the restoration of these should restore also the original fertility of the soil. We trust that Mr. Speede will make himself familiar with this important subject, and in a future edition of his work substitute for the present flimsy and superficial sketch, a concise and luminous summary of what science has achieved for it.

The next forty or fifty pages of Mr. Speede's work are filled with a somewhat superfluous account of the various mechanical operations of digging, levelling, ridging, raking, scraping, weeding, sweeping, rolling, and so forth, with lithographic sketches of the instruments employed. Then follows a rather formidable catalogue of the animals noxious to the garden. Under the head *janwur*, are enumerated the hare, the fox, the jackal, the rat, the mouse, the musk-rat, the wild cat (surely this is not a graminivorous animal and might be encouraged as an antagonist to the rats and mice), the wild hog, and the

squirrel; under that of *birds*, the parrot, the flying fox (a species of *vespertilio*, says Mr. Speede, though in what system of Zoology it ranks either as *bird* or *vespertilio*, he saith not), the sparrow, and the crow; among *reptiles*, the snake, the frog, and the lizard; and among *insects*, butterflies, moths, lice, bugs, weevils, beetles, crickets, locusts, flies, spiders, centipedes, ants, white-ants, worms and red beetles! Mr. Speede gives a particular account of the depredations of these intruders and pronounces upon all the unsparing sentence of extermination. Fortunately the luxuriant vegetation of the tropics bids defiance to their efforts, and to many among the least noxious we may well afford to say, "there is room enough in the world for thee and for me."

Next come some 150 pages devoted to the subject of the Kitchen Garden; and though prepared to make very large allowance for any deficiencies in this department of Mr. Speede's labours, we are disposed to regard the mode in which he has treated this subject as, upon the whole, very creditable to the author. Mr. Speede has long been a zealous and observant horticulturist, and is as capable as most men of generalising the results of his own practice and experience. That he has been able to add much to our stock of knowledge, we are not prepared to admit; the progress of improvement in practical and experimental arts is for the most part slow, and dependent, not on the efforts of a single individual, but upon the gradual and accumulated experience of many. Nor can the results of European practice assist us very greatly here, where the all-potent influence of climate is exerted in a manner so different from that under which vegetable physiology has been studied in colder latitudes. To advance the art therefore, is required in the first instance, a grand accumulation of correctly observed facts, which rightly interpreted, shall form the basis of a sound practice. No unusually successful result should be left unrecorded; and, if possible, no remarkable failure unaccounted for. These are appropriate subjects of communication and discussion in the pages of Horticultural Journals, and should occupy more of the attention of practical contributors than they appear to do. In this respect Mr. Speede has oftener than once set an example which we should be glad to see more frequently followed. But returning to his chapter on the Kitchen Garden, we subjoin as a specimen of his mode of treating the subject, the following observations on the cultivation of that valuable esculent, the potatoe.

"POTATOE, *Solanum tuberosum*, *Ooulaeetee aloo*; this is the most useful, and the most generally known of this class of vegetables; when mealy one thousand parts are found to contain two hundred of starch, forty of gluten, and twenty of sugar, the remaining seven hundred and forty being fibre. There are upwards of thirty varieties, few of which are known, or even thought of in India. They are generally procurable of sufficiently good quality in the bazar, at all times of the year, and hence in a small garden it is not generally thought worth while to attempt rearing them; unless, indeed, you desire small crops of very early new potatoes; or for the purpose of propagating any particular description. Very fine potatoes for

seed may be procured from Hobart town, and if loosely packed in barrels, shortly after they have been dug, without washing, will arrive in Calcutta in good order. A specimen of excellent white potatoes was some few years since sent to the Calcutta Horticultural Society, by Dr. J. T. Pearson, from Dorjeeling (vide Horticultural Society's proceedings for August 1840) and there is little doubt that Calcutta, and other parts of India, may soon be supplied with seed from that source.

Much more attention should be bestowed on the selection of seed, than would be readily credited by the casual observer, for on this depends much of the future success of the crop; the late Mr. Knight, in an article of great interest, printed in the London Horticultural Society's Transactions, Vol. VII, says, "the fact that every variety of potatoe when it has been long propagated from parts of its tuberous roots, becomes less productive, is I believe unquestionable. * * * * The propagation of expended varieties, therefore, appears to be one of the causes why the crops of potatoes generally, have been found so much less than those which I have stated to have been produced here." The Futteghur potatoe is considered the best of the Upper Provinces; but they treat it exactly as at home, generally preferring the eyes, to every other mode of planting, although elsewhere the half, or the whole potatoe is found preferable.

Dr. Patrick Neill, in a recent work published in Edinburgh, brings to notice another circumstance with regard to the selection of seed that deserves to be generally made known, "an important fact in the cultivation of the potatoe, was observed about the year 1806 by the late Mr. Thomas Dickson, of Edinburgh, viz. that the most healthy and productive plants were to be obtained, by employing as seed stock, unripe tubers, or even by planting only the wet, or least ripened ends of long shaped potatoes; and he proposed this as a preventive of the well known disease called the curl." This view has been confirmed by Mr. Knight. Such considerations have hitherto been unthought of in this country, but they are of too great importance not to demand the attention of every cultivator, for without a regard to them productive crops cannot be expected, and the cry will still be, that such vegetables cannot be made to reach that perfection in India which they attain in Europe.

Propagation.—This may be done by seed, but it is a mode never resorted to, except with the view of obtaining new varieties; planting out sections of the tubers, containing each two or three eyes, is the most general method pursued, and was long considered the best, or only means of planting this root.

But with reference to the adoption of this system in India, Mr. J. W. Masters, in an article read at a meeting of the Horticultural Society in Calcutta, says, "so "far as my experience goes, a potatoe of a moderate size, having three or four "good eyes, is far better than a part of a large one, and generally produces a better "crop." This is fully borne out, as a general rule, by experiments in England, where the late Mr. Knight suggested (London Horticultural Transactions, vol. vii), that planting whole tubers at greater distances than had usually been adopted, would afford a larger proportionate produce. On this subject, too, another authority gives the following results of experiment:—"We planted out sets of apparent excellence in some drills; and being hard run for seed, we used for some contiguous drills (of precisely similar soil, and with dung from the same heap) the refuse of our potatoes, not larger than walnuts. These have grown luxuriantly and without a single failure; while the cut seed failed altogether in numerous instances, and in no case pushed forth such vigorous stems as those which proceeded from the whole potatoes."—*Practical Husbandry, by Mr. Martin Doyle.*

It is worthy of observation that the eyes near the top end have been found to produce a crop that comes to maturity much earlier than those from the root end of the potatoe, and this is deserving particular attention by those having small gardens, and hence planting this esculent for early production, rather than for quality; the proper time for planting is September and October. They should be put in drills about three feet distant, and from eight to twelve inches apart, being covered with earth from three to five inches in depth.

Soil, &c.—The best is a light, fresh, unmixed loam, in which they will thrive without any manure, and in such land unimproved though it be, they will always possess the finest flavor. In a wet soil the potatoe gets sickly and watery, as well

as infested with insects and worms, fresh unrotted manure gives a disagreeable flavor to the root, and those cultivated in soil tempered with old mellow dung, rotten leaves, or vegetable mould, are, on this account, most esteemed, although what is called littery soil will produce the earliest, and largest crop. After the plants have appeared, a deep hoeing with the pronged hoe, should be given, and when they reach about four inches in height, the earth around them should be brought up to strengthen their growth, and promote increase below, repeating the operation until the original set is at least fifteen inches below the top of the ridge, at the same time carefully eradicating all weeds; until the plants spread sufficiently to be able themselves to keep them down, and lastly, when they appear, pinching off the blossoms to increase the crop; an operation which, trifling as it may appear, Mr. Knight estimated would "add an ounce in weight to the tubers of each plant, or above a ton of produce per acre."—*Vide London Horticultural Society's Transactions, Vol. I.* The drying up of the stalks, or holm, as it is called, is a sign that the crop is fit to take up, and it should not be touched, save to dig a few new potatoes, before this sign appears; the digging is best done with the pronged digging hoe, which is less liable to injure the tubers than the flat kind. The holm makes a good manure.

Before quitting this subject, although perhaps not strictly speaking, a part of horticulture, a few remarks may not be considered misplaced on this root as an article of agricultural produce.

It is but a few years since this most useful esculent was only grown by a few for the supply of European residents alone; its good qualities have, however, now become known to most natives, and there are, consequently, but few bazars in the country where the potatoe is not to be found; this is especially the case in Behar and the Western Provinces, where they may be met with as large, and as good flavoured as the ordinary run in Great Britain; and where they also form a common article of diet among the natives of all classes and castes. Nevertheless much remains to be done with respect to the culture of this article; no attention appears to have been yet paid to the character, or sort of what is cultivated, whether as regards quality or productiveness, nor do we find even that any enquiry has been made as to the most fitting soil to be found in India for its culture; we are told, it is true, and personal experience leads to the same conclusion, that Tirhoot, Arrah, and the neighbourhood of Hooglee yield, as is supposed, the largest proportion of potatoes, but as yet there does not appear to have been any attempt made at accounting for this greater production, nor do we find it any where accurately recorded, what the amount of produce has been from any given portion of land, and we are consequently ignorant of its value as a crop."

There now only remains for us to notice the concluding part of Mr. Speede's work, consisting of a vocabulary, Hindí and English, occupying no fewer than 352 pages, or somewhat more than half the volume! Surely this waste of space is singularly ill-judged. A few names, such as are likely to occur in practice, are all that the case required; for any beyond these the botanist will refer to the proper sources. But we could even excuse the disproportionate length of this vocabulary had the words been selected with ordinary judgment. They seem, however, to have been taken at random, and by far the greater number are such as no malí in the country can be expected to understand. Thus we have اجمود for *parsley*, ارز for *rice*, and عنبة هندی for *papaw*; two of these being Arabic, and one a Persian word, instead of their appropriate vernacular and *horticultural* names alone,—*petersellj*, *dhan*, and *papaya*, or *papita*. This is mere pedantry, and likely to occasion extreme inconvenience to such as are not well enough versed in the language of the country to dispense with the aid of vocabularies. Mr. Speede's mode of spelling oriental words in Roman charaters is also in many cases greatly

objectionable, and should be reformed in future editions. Thus, who would recognize in *oculaeetee* the familiar word *bilati?* Why not at once adopt the classical system of the Asiatic Society? We have pointed out these blemishes in no unfriendly or hypercritical spirit, but in the sincere hope that Mr. Speede may avoid the like in his forthcoming work upon Indian Floriculture; and we conclude by invoking all success to his praise-worthy labors.

Speech at the Annual Examination of the Elphinstone Institution, at Bombay, April 25, 1848. By Sir Erskine Perry, President of the Board of Education.

It is not with the view of discussing the "vexed question" of Government Education, in any of its departments or relationships, that we notice this address. It is characterized by all that manly straight-forward simplicity, alike of thought and language, which distinguishes every product that emanates from the author. Though purposely limited in the range of its objects, the speech contains several excellent sentiments clearly and vigorously expressed. In these days of low grovelling materialistic utilitarianism, it is quite refreshing to meet with an explicit testimony like the following:—

"I desire particularly to guard myself from the supposition that I put forward, or concur in, the sordid arguments which we so often hear as to the objects and end of education. The arguments I allude to for the sake of distinction may be termed the pounds, shillings, and pence, argument. When Sir John Malcolm was endeavouring to promote education in the Deccan, the principal inhabitants flocked round him, and asked him what it was all to lead to, and His Excellency at once opened up to them the largest prospects of Government employment and distinction. We flatter ourselves at the Board of Education that much higher, and nobler, and truer notions of the object and end of good education prevail amongst us. Without entertaining any visionary or Utopian views, we proclaim that the end and result of good education is to make each man fitter for and more contented with that lot of life into which it has pleased God to place him, than if he had remained in brute ignorance. We contemplate that a considerable portion of useful knowledge may be diffused through all ranks of Society, that prudent habits, and moral discipline may be generally inculcated, and that each succeeding generation may be taught to see more clearly than its predecessor that most of the misery which a man has to encounter in this life, is traceable to his own extravagance, or folly, or crime. We never for a moment contemplated that Government employment or high fortune were to be showered upon every successful pupil at a grammar school, or that when every large town contained a good English seminary with as many pupils as this institution now boasts of, they were all to be Judges and Collectors and Magistrates. We do therefore put most prominently forward, that moral improvement, not a greater share of physical enjoyments, and the general amelioration of the whole state of society, not the aggrandisement of a few sharp witted pushing individuals, are the objects aimed at by the Government scheme.

Nor is the argument that the end of education is to put more rupees in a man's pocket, and therefore that what is needful is to teach all the arts of Europe, more sound on views of political economy. A great many of the arts of Europe would be useless in India. The vocation of India is manifestly agricultural, not manufacturing. And who would desire to see factories spreading over the face of the country, and the labor of infants extorted for twelve hours a day, and crowded populations called into existence; and the fierce competition which is now harassing the whole population of Europe, made more gigantic by the new competitor springing up in Asia?"

Note on the External Commerce of Bengal. Calcutta: 1848. *W. Thacker and Co. St. Andrew's Library.*

This is a valuable pamphlet, and contains, in little bulk, much useful information on a subject of no ordinary importance. It is one which we have long intended to discuss and hope in due time to be able to overtake. Meanwhile, we are glad to find that it occupies a portion of the time and attention of such accomplished men as the author of the little work now before us. A subject so wide and comprehensive cannot be grappled with in a brief supplementary notice. We cannot even enter on its very threshold.

There is no doubt a great deal of truth in what our author says as to the tendency of the constant drain in Bengal (to the extent of three millions per annum) to interrupt the regular course of commerce. But, on the other side, may it not be said that this is to a considerable extent already compensated for, by the way in which the resources of the country are brought out by British energy and application? And is there not a fair prospect of still farther compensation in the time to come, by the constantly augmenting ratio in which British capital and energy may be brought to bear on the resources of this land—capital and energy which would be withdrawn were India separated from Britain? May not the tribute be regarded as an indispensable condition of our dependance on Great Britain—but one for which India may well conclude that she has, in an aggregate of advantages, a full equivalent?

Were this country left to itself in the present undeveloped state of the national intellect, would not the natural tendency be for the produce greatly to fall off? In such a probable event, the people would be less able to purchase imports, so that the external commerce would rapidly decline. The produce of a country, after supplying its own wants, and the proportionate command which that extra produce has over the productions of other countries, is what constitutes a principal part of the wealth of nations; if that fall off, by a natural consequence, its external commerce decays. May not India, then, in this view of the case, be said at present to pay 3 millions annually as the price of its increased and still increasing produce?

The author of the "Note" talks of 3 millions having been lost to Britain by the purchase of foreign food during the late famine, and compares the disastrous effects of that drain on the currency of England which is so much larger than that of India, with the annual drain to the same extent here. But we do not think the cases at all parallel. Independently of the amount, which we have seen estimated by the ablest financiers at home, to be 12 millions instead of 3, that was paid not to increase produce but to buy food for ourselves; whereas here, in India, as already stated, the sum annually sent to Britain may be regarded as the price of an increased production.

We cannot however, pursue the subject any farther at present; and simply conclude with thanking the author for his very valuable and instructive "Note."

Supplement to a "Brief View of the French in India" &c., by W. F. B. Laurie, Lieut. Madras Artillery. Calcutta, 1848.

HAVING in our last No. bestowed a notice of considerable length on "the Brief View of the French in India," we deem it unnecessary to do little else than draw the attention of those who have possessed themselves of "the Brief View," to the fact of the existence of a "Supplement." And probably the best way of satisfying the Literary possessors of the Brief View will be to insert here the Advertisement and Notice prefixed to the Supplement. These together will convey all needful information. They are as follows:—

ADVERTISEMENT.

It was during the delay in publishing that very small work, "A Brief View of the French in India," &c., that the idea of bringing out a Supplement started to my mind. The following pages are presented to the Public, as a substitute for a new edition of the "Notes on Pondicherry;" and although matter will be found in the "Notes" which is not in these pages, and, to a less extent, *vice versa*; yet I have endeavoured, through revision, addition, and correction, to improve what I have selected; and I now trust that, should the "Brief View" meet with public favour, and should readers, wishing to extend their glance at the French in India, find themselves unable to obtain the "Notes" all will easily procure the Supplement.

The Chapter, "Political Speculations," has never before been published; and the reflections on "Women of the East" have been considerably enlarged: these papers are the only ones which seem rather foreign to the subject of the French in India: yet they may possess interest for those who muse o'er the fate of nations, and have their own views concerning a moral revolution in India.

Sending forth this "*barque legére*" from the Orissa Mission Press, it may be as well to remark, that any great typographical excellence was hardly to be expected. The press-work done at Cuttack consists almost entirely of Uriya; so there is little occasion for English type. But this pamphlet, even in point of typography, may find favour from readers at home and in India, when they learn that it comes from the press, the identical Orissan Archimedes, which strives to move and better the heathen world, whose publications thunder against the "damnable heresies" of Juggernath—aiding thereby the dawn of intelligence in Orissa. To the manager of the Orissa Mission Press I am indebted for his zeal and attention in the production of this Supplement.

January 1, 1848. W. F. B. L.

Subscribers to the originally projected work at 5 Rs., will receive this Supplement along with the Brief View; or, at least, as shortly after it as possible,—an arrangement to which the Author hopes they will not object. To Subscribers, the price of the "Brief View," &c., with the Supplement, is fixed at Rs. 3-8. Non-Subscribers will be charged Rs. 2-8, and 1-8 respectively, for the "Brief View," and the Supplement.

May be had in CALCUTTA, of *Messrs. Thacker and Co.*, and *Ostell and Lepage*; in MADRAS, of *Messrs. Pharoah and Co.*; and in London, of *Messrs. Smith, Elder and Co.*, 65, *Cornhill.*

We quite agree with the author that the typography is not only

creditable, but more than creditable to the Orissan Mission Press. We hail the march of improvement which the typographical appearance of this pamphlet indicates—issuing as it does from the neighbourhood of Juggernath's throne.

Since our Notice of the "Brief View" was written, events of the most stupendous character have transpired in France and throughout Europe generally. The violent overthrow of the French Monarchy and the equally violent substitution of a republic instead, with the various organic changes which may in consequence be superinduced in the government and relationships of all the foreign dependencies of France—all tend to throw, at the present times, a fresh interest over Lieut. Laurie's laudable endeavours to illustrate the Local, Social, and Political condition of the French in India.

1. *First and second Reports of the Proceedings of the Committee of the Calcutta Anti-Crimp Association: formed by Commanders of British and American merchant vessels sailing between various ports of Great Britain and the United States of America and the port of Calcutta; for the purpose of memorializing the Government of Bengal for a reform of the present inefficient state of the shipping regulations of that port, as they relate to European and American seamen, crimps and the crimping system. From the first meeting of the members, September* 6, *to the last meeting of the Committee on the* 30*th December,* 1848.* *With the correspondence referred to in the proceedings, and notes on the memorial, &c. Calcutta,* 1848.
2. *Supplement to the Reports of the Proceedings of the Committee to the Calcutta Anti-Crimp Association; formed by Commanders of British and American merchant vessels. Containing the Newspaper Reports of the two Anti-Crimp meetings held on the* 11*th February,* 1848. *To which are added, the Ship-masters' Memorial to the Governor-General in Council, for a Reform of the present inefficient state of the shipping regulations of the port of Calcutta as they relate to European, American and Native seamen, crimps and the crimping system; and the addenda of the ship-owners, under-writers, merchants and agents uniting in the prayer of the same memorial; with the appendices prepared under the instructions of the Committee, approved by the public meeting convened by the Secretary under their authority at the Free-Mason's Hall on the morning of the* 11*th February,*

* Query 1847?

1848, *adopted by the public meeting convened by Captain Engledue and other gentlemen at the Town Hall on the afternoon of the same date; and finally presented, by deputation appointed at the Town Hall meeting, to the Right Honorable the Earl of Dalhousie on the afternoon of March the* 11*th*, 1848. *Calcutta*, 1848.

3. *The Nineteenth Report of the Calcutta Seaman's Friend Society*, 1847. *Calcutta*, 1848.

4. *The Seaman's Friend Society; Sailor's Home; Crimps and the Anti-Crimp Association. (Extracted from the Calcutta Christian Advocate.) Calcutta*, 1848.

ALTHOUGH the first two of the prefixed titles be of the longest, we have given them at full length, because this will in great measure supersede the necessity of our detailing the history of the "Anti-Crimp Association." The evil for whose remedy this association was formed is a most serious one, be it viewed economically, morally or religiously. But as very many of our readers may be presumed to be ignorant of what *crimping* is, we must give a brief account of the system, and of the class of persons engaged in it.

Every ship leaving England has her crew engaged for the outward and home voyage, and certain penalties are attached to the crime of leaving the ship, without the consent of the master, before her arrival at some port in Great Britain or Ireland. We believe it is customary for ship-masters on leaving England to grant a note of hand for one or two months' wages. These notes are payable by the owners or agents of the vessel after she has proceeded to sea. When such a vessel arrives in Calcutta after a four-months' voyage, the men have of course two months' wages due to them, but this is not legally claimable until the termination of the return voyage. It is very probable that a ship may, in the course of a long voyage, or during the time that she remains in port, lose some of her crew by death, or be obliged to leave them behind in hospital. The commander of a ship thus situated must make up his complement of men, and this he finds difficult of accomplishment. He is thus obliged to give higher wages than those given in England; sometimes we believe so much higher, that seamen shipping from Calcutta for London will receive more wages for the single voyage than those who shipped from London will receive for the double voyage to Calcutta and back. Hence it is evident that a strong inducement is held out to seamen to desert from other ships; then their places must be supplied in their own ships, and so a regular system of desertion from one ship and re-engagement in another ship goes on from day to day. In point of fact, it appears from the pamphlets before us that very few ships indeed leave Calcutta with the same crew that they brought to it.

As however there are severe penalties attached to desertion, and to the engagement of men in one ship who have deserted from another,

it is evident that the transfer cannot be made immediately or directly. The deserters must remain in concealment until the ships from which they have deserted leave the port; and in point of fact there is perpetually a very large number of men in this species of concealment, waiting until the ships from which they have absconded shall have sailed, when they may safely enter into service aboard of other ships.

Now as the men have no money when they leave their ships, and in general no clothes but those they wear, and perhaps a few that they have managed to bring on shore under the pretext of having them washed, the occupation of the *crimps* takes its rise. These men, to whose character as a body we believe we should do no injustice were we to apply to them far more vituperative epithets than any wherewithal we choose to adorn our pages, receive the sailors on their coming ashore. They supply them with board and lodging at enormous rates of charge during the period that their ships continue in port, encourage in the grossest debauchery those who too generally (alas!) need no encouragement, and then, after their own ships have sailed, have them entered aboard of other ships, and receive their reimbursement in the shape of those "advance notes" to which we have already referred.

Of course it is not only those who come on shore with the purpose formed to desert that fall victims to these harpies. Great multitudes who come on shore "on liberty," with the full purpose of returning at the proper time, are inviegled by them and seduced into the crime of desertion; and a considerable number also obtain their discharge in the hope of procuring situations on shore, or in what is called the country or coasting trade. The evils that arise from this system are manifold, and the system itself has for several years been steadily on the encrease. A few of the evils which are patent and obvious, we may as well specify. In the first place, the ships from which the men have deserted are deprived of their services in unloading and loading their cargoes; but this is not of so great moment in Calcutta as it might be in some other ports, for here the services of coolies can at any time be procured for this purpose. Then the men, that have left their ships in all the bloom and vigor of health, have their places occupied by those whose strength is totally destroyed by the dissipations in which they have indulged during their stay in the dens of the crimps. It may be easily imagined what is too often the consequence, when a ship has to be navigated down such a river as the Hugly, by men whose whole strength and substance has been sucked out of them. It may be too that the desertion takes place on the very eve of the day when the vessel should sail; the commander has engaged a steamer to tug her down the river, she is detained one or two days, before he is able to procure a fresh crew. Meantime he has to pay demurrage for the steamer at the rate of some 200 rupees a day. Such are a few of the *economical* results of the system to owners and under-writers.

But these evils are of no moment at all in comparison with the moral ruin that it works upon many hundreds of our sailors. Hundreds upon hundreds of youths who have left England with the high hopes and the generous enthusiasm of youth in their hearts, have buried all these in the dens of our Lal Bazar. Hundreds of mothers and sisters who have been left behind, and who count the weeks, and at last the days, that must elapse before the good ship's return are doomed to find the cup of happiness dashed from their lips, when he who left them, a fair-haired ruddy boy, with ne'er a secret that could not be confided to a sister's ear, returns with his heart contaminated, his principles perverted, his "body, soul and spirit," but a wreck of their former selves. We speak not of imaginary things: but of things that happen every day, of things that we have seen again and again with our own eyes and heard with our own ears. And are not these mothers and these sisters, our own mothers and sisters, or our own wives and daughters? For in the present extensive state of the commercial relations of the British Empire, how few families there are of the middle classes of whom there is not one member whose "home is on the deep."

As to the spiritual ruin that is the fruit of the system, we feel it impossible for us to speak in any terms even approaching to adequacy. It was of such a system, though probably far less accomplished, far less perfect in evil, that the wise man spoke when he said of a certain class of persons that their "ways take hold on death."

In order to remedy this crying evil, various plans have been suggested, many of them good so far as they go. They are of two kinds, which we may distinguish as moral and legal remedies. The former kind has been tried in Calcutta, and, it is asserted in one of the pamphlets before us, with complete success, so long as the experiment was properly conducted. We allude now to the Sailors' Home, which was founded in 1837, and which at first wrought so well that we are assured by the pamphlet in question, that after it had been in operation for eighteen months, the punch-houses were all, with a solitary exception, shut up, and the remaining one had but one occupant. Now, it is true, the Sailors' Home exists, and punch-houses exist also, by scores, and their occupants or visitors are so numerous that each owner pays three rupees a day out of his profits for his licence from Government. This statement will astonish our extra-Indian readers. We hear of the attorneys in England reclaiming vehemently against the price they have to pay for their licence. What will they say when told that the lowest punch-house keeper in Calcutta, pays 939 rupees, or £93-18s sterling a year for his, and pays it, so far as appears, ungrudgingly.

The evil therefore still existing, notwithstanding the existence of the Sailors' Home, the conclusion that many will be disposed at once to draw is, either that the Institution is not of a nature to counteract the evil, or at all events that it is inadequate to its full counteraction.

But the Demosthenic caution must be applied to this conclusion, the rather that we are forcibly directed to its application by the fact of the Institution's early success. If the Sailors' Home were working well, and yet the evil remained undiminished, the case would be hopeless; but if there be enough in the working of the "Home" to account for its want of success, the evil of the past becomes a ground of hope for the future. Now it was asserted strongly at a meeting in the Town Hall by Mr. Archibald Grant, and it is reiterated with equal strength in the pamphlet before us, that the Home's want of success is easily to be accounted for; that it had great success at first because it was well managed, and that it has little or no success now because it is ill managed, and that it would in all probability have equal success as at first, were a return effected to the original system of management. The author of the pamphlet before us calls loudly for a full and formal investigation of the working of the Home, in order to elucidate the causes of its present failure as contrasted with its former success, and we take this opportunity of humbly supporting his call.

In connection with the means employed for the moral improvement of sailors, and bearing indirectly on the question before us, we take the liberty to notice the operations of the *Seamen's Friend Society*, and especially of directing towards it the attention of our local readers. This is a purely evangelical society, which seeks the good of the Sailors by the preaching to them of the blessed truths of the gospel of grace. It seems to us to be worthy of all encouragement and to have strong claims for assistance upon our Christian merchants and all connected with the shiping interests.

The legal remedy sought to be applied to the clamant evil is set forth in the memorial lately presented to the Governor-General in Council. It consists briefly in the enacting by the Indian Government of a Law similar to the Act 7 and 8 Vict. cap. 112. This act provides such penalties for desertion, harbouring deserters, and what is called crimping, as could scarcely fail to put a stop to the evil, *provided they could be enforced.* But for our own part we do not think they could be enforced here, however they may be in England. The act however may be well worthy of trial here, with such modifications as would adapt it to the circumstances of the port.

Upon the whole we think a vigorous effort should be made for encreasing the efficacy of the Sailors' Home, and strengthening it's hand for carrying on with greater vigor its warfare against the crimps. Even if they could be put down by legal enactment, which we doubt, it would be, at all events, much more pleasing to put them down by depriving them of their occupation, elevating the Sailors above their influence, and providing them in reality and at a reasonable rate with those comforts, for the semblance of which they are fleeced at the punch-houses. If the commanders of vessels would agree, as they would soon find it their interest to agree, to give the preference in the shipping of men, to the inmates of the home, it

would serve all the purposes of a registry without any appearance of infringing the liberty of the sailor. We do not profess to know what the particulars are in which the management of the Home is regarded as having fallen from its original excellence; but we think the mere fact that its success is so much less now than it was formerly calls for investigation.

In conclusion, we must express our conviction that the gentlemen who have moved in this matter have deserved very well of the community. We may mention especially the Rev. Mr. Boaz, who may be regarded as the virtual founder of the Sailors' Home; and who was, up to the period of his quitting Calcutta, Secretary to the Seamans' Friend Society; Sir John Peter Grant, who was, until his recent departure from India, President of the Sailors' Home; Mr. Archibald Grant, whom we have already named as having spoken at the Town Hall, and who is now Secretary of the Seamans' Friend Society; and Mr. H. N. Grant, who seems to have bestowed a vast deal of pains on the discharge of his duties as Honorary Secretary to the Anti-Crimp Association. It may strike some of our readers as remarkable that so many members of the same clan, though all of different families, should be at the head of the various operations, that have been conducted for so good an end. We heartily wish them all success.

Hand-book of Bengal Missions in connexion with the Church of England; together with an account of general educational efforts in North India; by the Rev. James Long, Church Missionary in Calcutta: London, 1848.

It is not often that the title-page of a work so honestly sets forth the real nature of its contents, as does that which we have just transcribed. We have very little faith in title-pages. We have so often found them to be pleasant fictions, reflecting not merely what the author has written, but what he, or somebody else, might have written; we have so often found in the work itself a mere instalment of what we have been promised by the title-page, a part standing disappointingly for the whole, that Mr. Long's descriptive limitations fill us with no little confidence at starting. He promises us merely some account of Bengal Missions, and of but one class of those missions. He limits his literary efforts to his own Presidency and to his own Church. The interest of the work is, therefore, necessarily circumscribed; but what Mr. Long has undertaken to do, he has done effectively and well.

When attempting, in the early part of this number, some account of the personal careers of a few of the most eminent Church of England ministers, who labored antecedently to the Episcopal period in Bengal, we purposely abstained from writing in detail of their connexion with the different societies and institutions whose interests

they so largely promoted. In expectation of the appearance of the volume under review we merely glanced at this important branch of the subject. And we have reason to congratulate ourselves on our forbearance. Mr. Long's work, which is now before us, will enable us to lay before our readers much interesting information relating to the Church of England Missions and educational projects, collected, with no inconsiderable labour, by that able and indefatigable missionary. And in doing so, we shall, in most cases, use Mr. Long's own words. They will be new to our readers; and we desire sometimes really to review a book instead of merely pretending to do so.

Let us then pass its contents in review order before that great general, the public. It is a book as we have said simply of Church of England Missions in Bengal. The first Protestant Mission came from Denmark and its field of labour was Southern India. The first English Society that turned its thoughts to the great work of converting the people of India to Christianity was the Society for promoting Christian Knowledge—a Society which has been precisely a century and a half in existence—and which now circulates annually more than four millions of Bibles, Prayer-books and Tracts.

After briefly alluding to the career of Schwartz in Southern India and to the labours of Ziegenbalg and his associates, Mr. Long goes on to say:—

"To the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge belongs the distinguished honour of having sent the *first* Protestant Missionary to Bengal, the Rev. J. Kiernander, in 1758; and of having, previously to that period, fanned the flame of missionary enterprise. We find that, previous to 1709, the Society found a correspondent in the Rev. S. Briercliffe, chaplain of Calcutta—*the only* chaplain in Bengal at that period: he offered to superintend a school in Calcutta, and mentions the openings presented by a number of natives that had been kidnapped by the Portuguese, who carried on the slave trade extensively at that period in Bengal, gaining numerous proselytes by first enslaving the natives in order to baptize them." The Society sent him a packet of books. In 1709 the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge sent out a circulating library to Calcutta, the first in India; and in 1731 a Charity School was opened in Calcutta, under its auspices. The pupils in it were clothed in the same manner as the boys of the Blue Coat School in London, and were taught by Padre Aquiere, formerly a Franciscan friar at Goa. In 1732, the Rev. G. Bellamy, chaplain, received another supply of books; he was a corresponding member of the Society, and was suffocated in the Black Hole of Calcutta in 1756, when the city was taken by the Musalmans. In 1732, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge offered to contribute to the support of a missionary to Bengal as a number of Dutchmen and Germans interested themselves in the question, but no suitable person could then be found at Halle, though it subsequently became a second Iona, and was the source for supplying missionaries, when there was little zeal in the Anglican clergy to embark on the errand of mercy."—*Pp.* 5-6.

Perhaps, the statement, in this passage, that the Society for Promoting Christian knowledge sent Mr. Kiernander to Bengal is hardly correct. The Society sent him to Madras whence he betook himself to Calcutta—the war with the French, in 1758, having interrupted his labours in Southern Arcot. Mr. Long himself, indeed, says that Kiernander was invited to Bengal by Colonel Clive, who "gave him the use of a dwelling house, and along with Mr. Watts,

a Member of Council, stood sponsor for his son." Of the state of Calcutta at that time Mr. Long gives the following account:—

"We shall take a short review of the state of Calcutta when Mr. Kiernander arrived in it; it was pre-eminently then "the living solitude of a city of idolaters." —The Sati fires were to be seen frequently blazing, while many widows mounted the pyre with the most perfect resignation, assured by the Brahmans that they should be happy in heaven for as many years as their husbands had hairs on their bodies, which were liberally calculated at the number of thirty-five millions.—Fakirs ranged *ad libitum* through the town in a state of complete nudity, with their clotted hair dangling down to the length of two or three feet, and their bodies besmeared with cow-dung, "the most sacred of Indian cosmetics."—A Hindu, after visiting a European, would have his garments washed to free them from the impurity contracted from a mlechha.—The English language was little known, and Europeans resorted chiefly to signs and gesticulations to communicate with the natives.—A proposal to teach a woman to read would have been regarded in the same light as if it had been suggested in London to instruct monkeys in Hullah's system of Singing."—*Pp.* 9-10.

Alluding to a still earlier period Mr. Long writes, "In Calcutta at 'the commencement of last century, there was no Chaplain in the 'city, and the service was read by a merchant who was allowed £50 'per annum for his services. The first Governor of Calcutta, Job 'Charnock, cared so little for religion, that it was said the only 'sign of any regard for Christianity he ever exhibited was that 'when his Hindu wife died, instead of burning, he *buried* her."

The first notice of the performance of Church service by the English in India with which we are acquainted, is to be found in Mandelslo's travels. This writer, whose book was published in 1640, says that the merchants (in Western India) met regularly for divine service twice every week day and thrice every Sabbath!

On bringing his sketch of Kiernander's career* to a close, Mr. Long very opportunely pays a just tribute to that excellent man, Mr. Grant, the father of the present Lord Glenelg, and of the late Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay:—

"Among the individuals who took a prominent part at that time, the name of C. Grant, father to Lord Glenelg, stands conspicuous. His memory will ever be hallowed as one of the benefactors of India. He proceeded to Bengal in 1767, in a very humble capacity; but raised himself by his industry and integrity to a high post under the government; he became Commercial Resident at Malda, and "in his house the voice of prayer and praise was heard, when all was spiritual death around." He retired from India in 1790; but did not, like many other Europeans, forget the land which gave him wealth and influence. In 1792 he published a valuable pamphlet, "Observations on the State of Society among the Asiatic subjects of Great Britain." In 1794 he was elected a Director of the East India Company, where he always advocated the policy, that our empire should be founded rather on character than on force, and particularly on our moral and intellectual superiority. He regarded the consideration of the affairs of India as his peculiar province, and as affording sufficient occupation to his mind. In the House of Commons he stood forth with Wilberforce, Thornton, and Babington, in the rank of Christian statesmen. In the Court of Directors he was very anxious to send out good men as chaplains to

* Mr. Long, alluding to the article on Kiernander in the 13th number of this journal, says that he "examined all the documents in the archives of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, as well as those in Bengal, and fully concurs in the observations of the Reviewer.

Bengal; and he was ever forward to rebut the calumnies uttered against missions; hence, in 1807, when a motion was made in the Court of Directors, to recall Dr. Buchanan from Bengal, he defended his conduct in a speech of two hours' length; he exerted himself also on a similar occasion in 1814, when the Court of Directors were about to pass a resolution, censuring their civil and military servants who encouraged missions."—*Pp.* 19-20 *(Note.)*

As regards the movements of the Christian Knowledge Society in Bengal, the first quarter of the present century was not a period of any great activity. The Calcutta Diocesan Committee was established by Bishop Middleton in 1815; and in 1818 it began seriously to turn its attention to the establishment of native schools. In 1822 the parent society voted the munificent sum of £5,000 for the promotion of native education in India; but, four years later, it abandoned all direct controul over even its own schools, transferring their management to the missionaries of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, but continuing to supply funds for the purpose. The leading object of the Society was and is the diffusion of the Bible, the Prayer-book, and religious tracts, in all the languages of the earth. Depôts for the supply of these works have long been established at the Presidency and many of our principal Mofussil stations. "The society for Promoting Christian Knowledge," writes Mr. Long, "established a circulating library in Calcutta as early 'as 1709, the first of the kind in Bengal. Works of a religious and 'useful nature were in former days very scarce, and the Society has 'therefore rendered eminent service by the various depôts of books 'it formed in different parts of the country, under the superintendence 'of the chaplains." And again, alluding to as recent a period as 1824, Mr. Long observes, "The importance of a depôt may be esti-'mated by the fact that such a work as Scott's commentary on the 'Bible, which now is sold for £5 could not then be procured under '£25. Booksellers made rapid fortunes by the enormous profits 'they gained, whilst in consequence of their dearness books of a 'religious character were almost excluded from sale; the conse-'quence was Calcutta was inundated with the trashy novels of the 'day." We do not quite see the *sequitur*. The case, certainly, is not very logically stated. There appears indeed to be something of the *υστερον—προτερον* in it. Calcutta was not deluged with the trashy novels because religious works were highly priced, but religious works were highly priced because Calcutta was deluged with trashy novels —that is, because the demand for trashy novels was great whilst that for such works as Scott's Commentary was small. We presume that religious works were priced so much more highly, in proportion to the trade price at home, than works of a more trashy character, simply because the risk of importation was so much greater.

Of the work done by the Christian Knowledge Society the following extract from Mr. Long's volume will convey an idea to the mind of the reader:—

"Sellon's Abridgement of Scripture was translated into Urdu, by Archdeacon Corrie; and in 1824, 1000 copies of it were printed at the expense of the Society

for Promoting Christian Knowledge; the same year 14,000 tracts in the vernacular languages of Bengal had been printed; and 18,000 copies of the Discourses, Miracles, and Parables of Christ, as extracted from the New Testament, were printed in Urdu, Hindu, and Bengali, for the use of schools. The Parables have proved of great use, and very acceptable to the natives, as the greater part of the instruction of Eastern nations is conveyed in an allegorical form. An edition of Watts's Catechism in Bengali, was printed in 1828; in 1839, Bishop Porteous's Evidences were printed in Urdu; in 1841, a translation of "The Brief Explanation of the Catechism," in Bengali, was published.

In 1845, the Society agreed to defray the expenses of a translation of the Book of Common Prayer into the Urdu language, for the benefit of the native Christians A volume of Sermons has been written in Bengali, and translations of Bishop Wilson's Tracts on Confirmation and the Lord's Supper, and the Bishop of Sodor and Man's (Wilson) Sacra Privata, have been made by the Rev. K. Banerji, and published at the cost of the Society; he has been for several years translator to the Society. A special fund has been formed lately, for the purpose of defraying the expenses of a series of translations into the Bengali language. In carrying out Bishop Middleton's plan, it granted £5000, in 1820, to Bishop's College, as also £6000 for the endowment of scholarships on the bishop's plan."—*Pp.* 30-31.

The object of Mr. Long being rather to give the present statistics than the past history of the Bengal Missions, we find, in the present volume, but a very general and indistinct account of the origin and first establishment even of the Church Missionary Society to which so large a portion of the work is devoted. In connexion with the history of the English Church in the East it is important that we should briefly touch upon this interesting subject. The first, and for a long time the only protestant missionary in Bengal, labored under the auspices of the Christian Knowledge Society. On the failure of Mr. Kiernander and the seizure of the Mission Church, Messrs. Brown, Grant, and Chambers, who became its trustees, wrote to the Society in England, beseeching them to send out another Missionary to Calcutta. The Society immediately granted their request.

> Anxious," they wrote, "to accomplish this purpose, the committee looked out for a fit person, who was soon recommended to them for the purpose by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln, in the person of the Rev. Abraham Thomas Clark, a clergyman of his Lordship's diocese. The society hereby recommend him to your most friendly attention." The proposal," they added, "for establishing a mission on a more extensive scale, in Bengal and Bahar, which you were so good as to transmit to my hands has been listened to by the Mission Committee, and by the General Board with peculiar satisfaction. They approve its plan and admire the judgment and piety with which it has been drawn up and only lament that it is not in their power to give full effect to your wishes. The hope, however, may be encouraged, that a time is shortly coming when efforts for introducing the knowledge of Christ throughout all parts of India, may generally take place; and whereinsoever the society can be aiding to forward such designs they will not be found wanting." This is but cold encouragement. The Society had not the wealth, that it now enjoys, and its operations were extended over a wide surface. Mr. Clark came out to Calcutta; but he very soon forsook the mission. More pro-

fitable employment was within his reach. The letter, which we have last quoted, was written in 1789. Two years later we find the Society writing to Calcutta, "As there is reason to believe that Mr. Clark 'has quitted the service of the Mission, I am instructed to commu-'nicate to the Rev. Mr. D. Brown and to the Rev. Mr. Owen the 'particulars of a minute made yesterday.....requesting that they 'will have the goodness to render their utmost assistance in supply-'ing the duties of the Mission Church, in case of its being vacated 'by Mr. Clark, until such time as the vacancy can be filled up." A year later the Society wrote lamenting the difficulties experienced in their endeavours to procure a fit successor to Mr. Clark, and assuring Mr. Brown of their resolution to send out "one or more Missionaries to Calcutta, as soon as a fit supply could be obtained." Three years afterwards the Society wrote, "It is extraordinary that no fit person has yet been found, willing to engage in the service of the Mission. We still persevere, however, in the hope that a suitable missionary will ere long be discovered."

And before very long a missionary was found in the person of Mr. Ringeltaube. Of his suitableness we will not say much. After a brief trial, he abandoned the mission on the score of insufficiency of salary. At the end of October, 1797, he seems to have reached Calcutta. On the 24th of July, 1798, Kiernander wrote in his Journal, "The Rev. D. Brown visited me. We had a conference about Mr. Ringeltaube. Conclusion, to leave him to his own will, to act, to stay or go away, as he thinks proper." Before the middle of the following month the missionary had embarked for Europe. This second failure disheartened the Society, and they resolved to leave Bengal to itself as a place thoroughly impracticable. "The Society's efforts for Calcutta," they wrote in 1800 to Mr. Brown, "have so often failed that there is little encouragement to make 'another attempt there. God grant that means may be discovered, 'and attempts still executed to introduce to the natives of Bengal. 'the knowledge of Christ as the world's only saviour." The prayer was heard and the means were discovered. Mr. Brown had, some years before, put himself in communication with Mr, Simeon on the subject of a Mission from the Church of England to Bengal. That most excellent and liberal of men, Charles Grant, had undertaken to support two missionaries at his own expense, and Simeon was requested to nominate them. With characteristic zeal and energy Simeon turned his attention to the great subject thus brought practically before him. But it was not a business to be hastily, unadvisedly despatched. He laboured diligently to enlist the zeal of his friends; and took counsel with Mr. Venn and others. The Eclectic Society, at the suggestion of Mr. Simeon, addressed itself to the consideration of the subject. "By some it was proposed that a memorial on the subject should be presented to the Bishops and the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge;" but that Society was even then after repeated failures, despairing of the possibility

of establishing a chain of Missions throughout India, and contemplating an immediate withdrawal from the field. Many doubts were expressed by Mr. Simeon and his friends; but the question of a Mission to the Heathen was earnestly and prayerfully considered; and in Feb. 1796, at a meeting of the Eclectic Society, the great idea seems to have been grasped with some distinctness. The conversation which then took place, wrote the Rev. Basil Wood, one of the members present, "proved the foundation of the Church Missionary Society."

Three years later, the scheme, which before had been somewhat vague and unsubstantial, began to take shape and to gather substance. In February 1799, we find Mr. Venn writing to Mr. Simeon, that a meeting had been fixed for the purpose of taking into consideration the best means of promoting a mission to the Heathen, and requesting his presence and co-adjutancy. The meeting was held on the 18th of March; "fourteen members were present. Mr. Venn opened the discussion, by insisting upon the duty of *doing something for the conversion of the Heathen.* Mr. Charles Grant urged the founding of a Missionary Seminary. The Rev. Josiah Pratt advocated the adoption of the resolution, as breathing a quiet, humble, dependent spirit." The Rev. Charles Simeon, with characteristic distinctness of purpose and promptitude of zeal proposed three questions '*What can we do?—When shall we do it?—How shall we do it?—What can we do?*' We cannot join the London Missionary Society; yet I bless God that they have stood forth. We must now stand forth. We require something more than resolutions—something ostensible—something held up to the public. Many draw back because we do not stand forward.—*When shall we do it?* Directly. not a moment to be lost. We have been dreaming these four years, while all England, all Europe has been awake. *How shall we do it.* It is hopeless to wait for missionaries. Send out catechists"—Another meeting was held in the following April, when the Society for Missions to Africa and the East was formally established; and in less than half-a-century (under the more comprehensive and distinctive title of the "Church Missionary Society") "it has carried," to use the words of Mr Simeon's biographers, "the knowledge of the unsearchable riches of Christ to Western Africa and New Zealand—to India North and South—to Ceylon and Bombay—to the West Indies, to the shores of the Mediterranean—to the wild Indian in North-West America—and at length has extended its holy efforts to the vast field opened to us among the countless multitudes of China."

But its progress was for some time slow, and it was not until the year 1816, that the Society sent out a missionary to Bengal. Mr. Long writes:—

"The Church Missionary Society was founded at the commencement of this century by the exertions of a few clergymen, and the co-operation of the laity. Its earliest efforts were directed to the coasts of Africa, where the crescent had triumphed

over Paganism, and where religion was the only balm that was presented to the suffering son of Ham. Though Napoleon, with his gigantic armies, menaced an invasion of Britain, and kept the minds of men in suspense as to the fate of their altars and hearths—though, by his Berlin decrees, he had endeavoured to restrict Britain within the narrow limits of her island home—though the din of arms was pealing through Christendom—and though the infidel libertinism, generated by such writings as those of Hume and Chesterfield, had cast a blight on the efforts of philanthropy—yet all these circumstances did not prevent many of the friends of the Church Missionary Society from extending an eye of sympathy to the moral condition of the swarming millions of the East; and notwithstanding the opposition of Europeans and the government to missionary operations was so strong, and the apathy of the natives so great, that when, in 1807, a Corresponding Committee was formed in Calcutta, composed of the honoured names of Browne, Udny, and Buchanan, and a grant of £250 was made, yet no favourable opportunity was offered of employing the money directly in missions, and it was devoted to translations of the Scriptures.* The Church Missionary Society *now* grants £10,000 annually for its Bengal missions, and £5000 raised by local subscriptions in the country itself, yet the sum is quite inadequate."†—*Pp.* 35-36.

"Few English clergymen," says Mr. Long, "were willing to go to India;" and adds in a note—"The *Journal des Debats* of that period remarks, we think the Episcopalians too lordly ever to take up the trade of our Franciscan friars." It seemed, indeed, for some time, to be a work of the greatest difficulty to obtain the services of English churchmen, as *mere* missionaries, though the missionary spirit was strong in many of the chaplains of the day. The Church of England has now outgrown this reproach; and what it has done in the great field of missionary labour from Calcutta to the Himalayas the volume now before us declares.

Mr. Long treats alphabetically of the different Church Mission stations. Speaking of the Agra and also of the Benares Missions he dwells affectionately upon the character and career of Mr. Corrie. With reference to the former place, he says:—

"The Church Mission at Agra was founded by the Rev. D. Corrie, in 1812, when he was chaplain at Agra, and became the scene of his early missionary labours in India. Here he used to be seen walking through the streets with his Bible under his arm, "exposed to the persecuting bigotry of the Musalmans, yet preaching the Gospel;" and Abdul Masih, once a Mahratta trooper, was appointed a Scripture-reader and superintendent of schools under his direction. Abdul was baptized by the Rev. D. Browne, in Calcutta, in 1811, and was soon after removed to Agra. The favourable reception he met with led to the formation of a mission at Agra; for whenever he preached outside the fort of Agra, the very tops of the houses were sometimes covered with Musalmans anxious to hear him. Such misconceptions, however, then prevailed relative to the nature of Christian ordinances, that it was resolved to allow the natives to witness the administration of the sacrament of baptism, as a report was current amongst them, that on the baptism of converts, a piece of beef was given to the Hindu catechumens, and of pork to the Musalmans, and that each of the converts received five hundred rupis."—*Pp.* 45-46.

* Even as late as 1816, an order was issued by the Indian government, "that missionaries were not to preach to the natives, or suffer the native converts to do so; not to distribute religious tracts, or suffer the people to do so; not to send forth converted natives, or to take any step, by conversion or otherwise, to persuade the natives to embrace Christianity."

† The annual grant of the Parent Society to Bengal was in 1807, £250: it was increased in 1809, to £500; in 1822, to £3000; in 1825, to £4000; in 1828, to £5000; in 1836, to £6000; and now to £10,000.

It is curious, in the present state of the Church Missionary Society in India, to read such letters as that from which the following extract is taken—a letter from Mr. Corrie to the Society's Secretary urging upon him the expediency of sending out a missionary to Bengal:—"I feel anxious," wrote Corrie from Agra in December 1813, "to call the attention of the Society of which you are Secretary, 'to this part of the world, and to beg, that, if practicable, a mis-'sionary may be sent over to take charge of this infant church. The 'place of worship and the premises now occupied, should with 'pleasure be made over in perpetuity for the use of the Mission; 'and I think I may affirm that the friends of religion in this country 'would find sufficient support for the person whom you may send, 'without his continuing burdensome to the Society. Among the 'reasons why a missionary should be sent to this country, in pre-'ference to any other, I would beg leave respectfully to suggest two; 'viz., the teeming population of India, and the protection of equit-'able laws, which put it in the power of a missionary to do more 'good with less personal inconvenience here than in any other 'heathen country." By the Church Missionary Society Mr. Corrie's labours were greatly esteemed. Being compelled to leave India for the benefit of his health, a year after the date of this letter, he was invited during his sojourn in England to preach the Society's Anniversary Sermon. He undertook the duty not without some doubts and misgivings, submitting his Sermon to Mr. Simeon before he ventured to preach it. Before his departure from England, he had the satisfaction of attending a Committee of the Society and delivering an address to two Missionaries, who had at last been induced to undertake the voyage to Bengal. These were the Rev. Messrs. Greenwood and Schnarter—"the first Missionaries of the Church Missionary Society to India." "The former," says Mr. Long, "was engaged in conducting schools at Kidderpur; the latter in the first attempt ever made by Protestants to proclaim the truths of Christianity among the tribes bordering on Tibet."

Of the Benares Mission Mr. Long gives the following satisfactory account:—

"Mr. Corrie was no sooner stationed at Benares as a chaplain than he proposed to the Church Missionary Society the establishment of a mission. He stated he was about to form a school for the young drummers and fifers, and for the children of native Christians attached to the three battalions located there, and that he had begun Hindustani worship. A Mr. Adlington, educated by Mr. Corrie, was accordingly sent to Benares, in 1817, to take charge of a school at Sekrole, a place once noted for its jangal, thieves, and Thugs, where premises were purchased, as Mr. Corrie aimed, on the Moravian plan, to secure a territorial settlement. The buildings were well adapted for the purposes of a mission, "being in an airy and healthy place, quiet and retired, removed both from the vicinity of the cantonments and the bustle of the city, without being inconveniently distant from either." They were erected on the very spot where, in former days, the fires of the *sati* blazed. In 1820 the Rev. Mr. Morris arrived here. He formed a congregation of twenty-five native Christians the next year, and a chapel was built. Bishop Heber, in 1825, confirmed fourteen persons. Mr. Morris left Benares in 1826, in consequence of ill health. The commanding officer of the station, in 1827, issued an order that the Christians

South Indian, the China, and New Zealand missions; in the last the progress had been particularly satisfactory, and the ground lost in the previous year had been in a great measure recovered. In conclusion, the report stated that in every mission not only had there been an advance and consolidation of Christianity, but an increase particularly in the number of baptised persons and communicants. At present 138 missionaries are in the field, including 14 native clergymen, a number greater than at any earlier period. The committee were, however, compelled once more to advert to the pecuniary deficiency alluded to at the commencement of the report. The committee felt that, however much they might desire to widen the sphere of the society's usefulness, it was not a point of duty not to contract engagements they could not fulfil; and while they would be discouraged by the falling off in the funds, they would not, until the capital account had been made up again, be able to send out fresh missionaries, except in some special and pressing cases."

There is nothing so high—nothing so low; nothing so good—nothing so bad—as not to have been affected more or less by the general commercial depression of last year. It would be unreasonable to expect our Missions to escape uninjured from a convulsion, which has brought down not only so many individuals, but so many institutions, to the ground.

From the operations of the Church Missionary Society Mr. Long turns to those of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The information contained in this part of the work seems to be derived principally from published reports and indeed mainly consists of extracts from them. This Society has stations at Barripur, Bhagulpur, Cassipur, Taligunj, Tamluk, &c. &c. to the details of all of which Mr. Long devotes considerable space. We can only, however, afford to speak of the general character of the Society's operations. Its labours have been chiefly successful among the peasant classes to the south of Calcutta; Mr. Long observes on this subject:—

"Few of the converts in the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts Mission belong to the respectable or educated class of the Hindus; they are chiefly fishmermen or agriculturists, living in a swampy country in humble huts; native Christians connected with other missionary bodies, are also of the same grade, "to the poor the Gospel is preached." Like the negroes of the West Indies, they have been despised by both Europeans and their own countrymen. "To oppression has been added *insult*; they have been denied to be *men*; or deemed incorrigibly, because *physically*, embruted and immoral. Missionaries have determined that they have dived into that mine, from which, we were often told, no valuable ore or precious stone could be extracted, and they have brought up the gem of an *immortal spirit*, flashing with the light of intellect, and glowing with the hues of Christian graces." In the primitive church, Christianity gained its primary influence in cities, and the villagers or *pagani* were the last who submitted to the yoke of the Gospel: in India the case is reversed, and Barripur, Krishnagar, Tinnevelly, agricultural districts, have afforded the greatest number of converts in Hindustan."—*Page* 78.

On quitting the Propagation Society Mr. Long turns his attention to a number of miscellaneous subjects connected with the state of religion and education in Bengal. We have, in the first place, a chapter entitled "Religious changes in Bengal," from which we

take the following passage relating to Brahmanism and Buddhism; and the superior antiquity of the latter:—

"It is a notion very commonly entertained in Europe, by those who pay any attention to the religion of India, that Brahmanism has been of unfathomable antiquity in Hindustan; that while, in all other parts of the globe, revolutions innumerable have occurred in the religious condition of the people,—in India the religion has been stereotyped,—that the sway of Hinduism has not been subject to change, and is, *therefore*, unchangeable, and that, of consequence, Christianity cannot make a secure lodgment in India. We shall endeavour, by a simple statement of a few facts, to refute this theory, which has met lately with an able defender in Count Bjornsterjna, who writes, "In Europe, everything is variable, transient, full of change: in India, all is stationary, calm, unmovable: there too indeed, time hastens forward on his onward wing, but cannot affect the rigid form: neither the proselyting sword of the Musalman, nor the mild light of Christianity, has had any influence upon it: and the Hindu still worships by the altars of his gods, with the same devotion as when Orpheus charmed the wild beasts by the sound of his lyre and as when Moses ascended Mount Sinai."

And these remarks are made, notwithstanding the overwhelming evidence that has been adduced by French *savans* of late years, showing, on incontestable authority, that Budhhism was once predominant in places which now form the holiest shrines of Brahmanism,—that Budhhism, in times long past, exercised full political and religious ascendency throughout India. Parasnath, to the north of Burdwan, has for ages been a noted scene of Budhhist pilgrimage, while Tamluk, to the south of Calcutta, was, fifteen centuries ago, a Budhhist metropolis of Bengal, from whence *Brahman* merchants traded with China. In the neighbourhood of Hugly, thirty miles from Calcutta, a Budhhist image has been recently dug up, within the precincts of a temple. The researches of Burnouf and Remusat show that Budhhist missionaries from India propagated their faith in China about the second century of the Christian era. Judging, therefore, of the future from the past, since Budhhism in India, has given way to the influence of Brahmanism—even separate from its supernatural power—Christianity, as associated with European civilisation and the progress of humanity, must eventually eclipse Hinduism in India."—*I'p.* 337-338.

We do not think that the conclusion is reached very logically; but if for "must" we were to read "may," we should have nothing to allege against the passage.

A chapter on the "Native Vernacular Press," consisting principally of extracts from the *Hindu Intelligencer* and the *Calcutta Standard* follows next in succession. Then comes a chapter on "St. Paul's Cathedral;" then some account of the "Church Building Society," the "Additional Clergy Society," the "Calcutta Christian Instruction Society," followed by a brief chapter devoted to Christ Church and the Rev. K. M. Banerji, which we transfer to our pages:—

"This is the first Episcopal Church in Bengal that is under the charge of a native clergyman: it was originally designed to be erected in the neighbourhood of the Hindu College, but the managers of that institution apprehensive that it would alarm the bigoted Hindus, and lead them to withdraw their sons from instruction, waited on the Bishop and trustees, and induced them to fix the site in Cornwallis Square. They paid 1800 rupis additional in order to effect this object. The cost of the building, the church, and parsonage, has been defrayed from the Evangelical fund.* Connected with the church is a boarding school for native Christian

* This fund was raised at the commencement of this century for the support of an

boys, and in the neighbourhood an English school for heathen boys, which in 1844 contained 248 pupils. The minister, the Rev. K. M. Banerji, has had the privilege of admitting to baptism, within this church, several well-educated, talented native youth.

The Rev. K. M. Banerji was born in 1813; having studied Bengali in Mr. Hare's school, and having been invested with the *paita*, or Brahmanical thread, at ten years of age, he was entered as a student of English and Sanskrit at the Hindu College. When fifteen years old he lost his father, whose death was hastened by his being carried down to the banks of the Ganges to die. In 1828 he obtained a scholarship in the Hindu College, and the next year became a teacher in Hare's School, and was a thorough sceptic, disbelieving both the being of a God and the immortality of the soul. A spirit of metaphysical investigation spread among the students of the College at that period, which contributed to arouse inquiry on religious subjects. The Rev. Messrs. Duff, Dealtry, and Hill, undertook to deliver a series of Lectures on Christian Evidences, to which they invited these students, but the managers of the Hindu College prohibited their attendance. In 1831 he became editor of the Inquirer newspaper, which engaged in a series of violent phillippics against Hinduism, and caused great excitement; but matters came to an issue, when some of Banerji's friends threw from their house a bone of beef into the adjoining residence of a most bigoted Brahman: this so enraged the Hindus, that they rushed out to avenge the insult, and matters came to blows. Banerji received a beating, and a mob surrounded his house: his relations, in order to free themselves from excommunication, imposed strict restraints on him. These he could not submit to; he was obliged to quit his relations, and wandered about for a day without a home, as no native dared rent him a house: at last, at midnight, he found refuge in the house of a European. His mind was strongly impressed in attending a course of lectures of Dr. Duff's. Several pious laymen of the Anglican Church brought the subject of religion before him; but he remarks on his state at this time, "Religious inquiries, unlike philosophic investigations, are more connected with our moral inclinations than our intellectual faculties, and, therefore, whatever is heard or read does not for a long time produce any practical impression on the mind." A slight attack of illness, however, roused his mind to the subject of religion, and soon after he announced in the Inquirer his intention of becoming a Christian. Many of the educated Hindus, however, thought that "he had escaped one quagmire merely to fall into another." He then became a teacher in the Church Mission school at Mirzapur, Calcutta, and was soon after baptized by Dr. Duff. In 1836 he was ordained by Bishop Wilson; on his becoming a Christian his wife had been taken away from him, but he recovered her through the exertions of Mr. Patton, the magistrate. In 1839 he was appointed minister of Christ Church. He is the author of various works in *English*—A Sermon on the death of Mohesh Chandra; a Sermon on the Missionary duties of the Church; and a Prize Essay on Native Female Education. In Bengali, Translations of the Bishop of Sodor and Man's Sermons; of the Sacra Privata; of Bishop Wilson's Addresses on Confirmation, and the Lord's Supper; Strictures on Tarkapanchanan's Answer; and some Sermons. He is the author, also, of able articles in the *Calcutta Review* on Kulin Brahmanism, and the Transition-states of the Hindu mind."—*Pp.* 379-381.

After giving a variety of details connected with the Calcutta Church Missionary Society, Mr. Long proceeds to notice the different Educational Institutions—the European Female Orphan Asylum, the Native Female Education Society, the Calcutta Free School, Bishop's College, the High School, and the Parental Academy. Some remarks on Sanskrit Education derived from an article

Evangelical ministry in connexion with the Mission Church, Calcutta; in 1808 it amounted to 67,000 rupis.

in this Journal occupy the next place. Then follow some accounts of the Hindu College, the Sanskrit College, the Free Church of Scotland Institution, and the Serampore College. A chapter on "Native Character," borrowed from Mr Johnson's "Stranger in India," forms the concluding portion of the body of the work; but in an appendix are to be found several illustrative extracts from native periodicals, some passages from the Poems of Kasiprasad Ghose, an autobiography of that gentleman, and some statistics of the Church Missionary Society, with a list of all the Clergymen attached to it, who have labored in North India.

It will be gathered from the account which we have given of this work, that it recommends itself to favorable consideration by the number and the accuracy of its details rather than by any other intrinsic qualities. It is not, and it does not pretend to be a work of a high intellectual order, it is a fasciculus of facts—a book to be read with no keen pleasure, but to be referred to with great profit. Let it be placed on a convenient shelf in the Library, and it will often be taken down and consulted. Mr. Long is a matter-of-fact writer—a laborious man of detail. There is nothing eloquent in his manner; nothing philosophic in his matter. He displays no original powers of mind; but has great industry, and has been very successful in antiquarian research. We have endeavored to convey, in this notice, an idea of the contents and the character of the Hand-book. Of the subject itself, to which the volume is devoted, we desire to say nothing in this place, we have laid, by the assistance of Mr. Long, a few facts before the reader which may perhaps enable him to accompany us with a livelier interest, as with a clearer knowledge, when we continue as we purpose to do, the enquiries, which we commenced in the early part of this number, into the labours of the Church of England in the East.

The Picnic Magazine, a Journal of Literature, Science, &c.

THE first four numbers of this monthly Miscellany have reached us in time to enable us to do little else than merely record the fact of their existence. That there was room for such a periodical is undoubted. From the greatly diversified character of the contents, and the marked improvement in each successive number, we trust that this "Magazine" is destined, profitably and creditably, to supply a long felt desideratum in the department of our lighter Literature.

SANDERS, CONES AND CO., TYPS., NO. 7, MISSION ROW, CALCUTTA

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* Query 1847?

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