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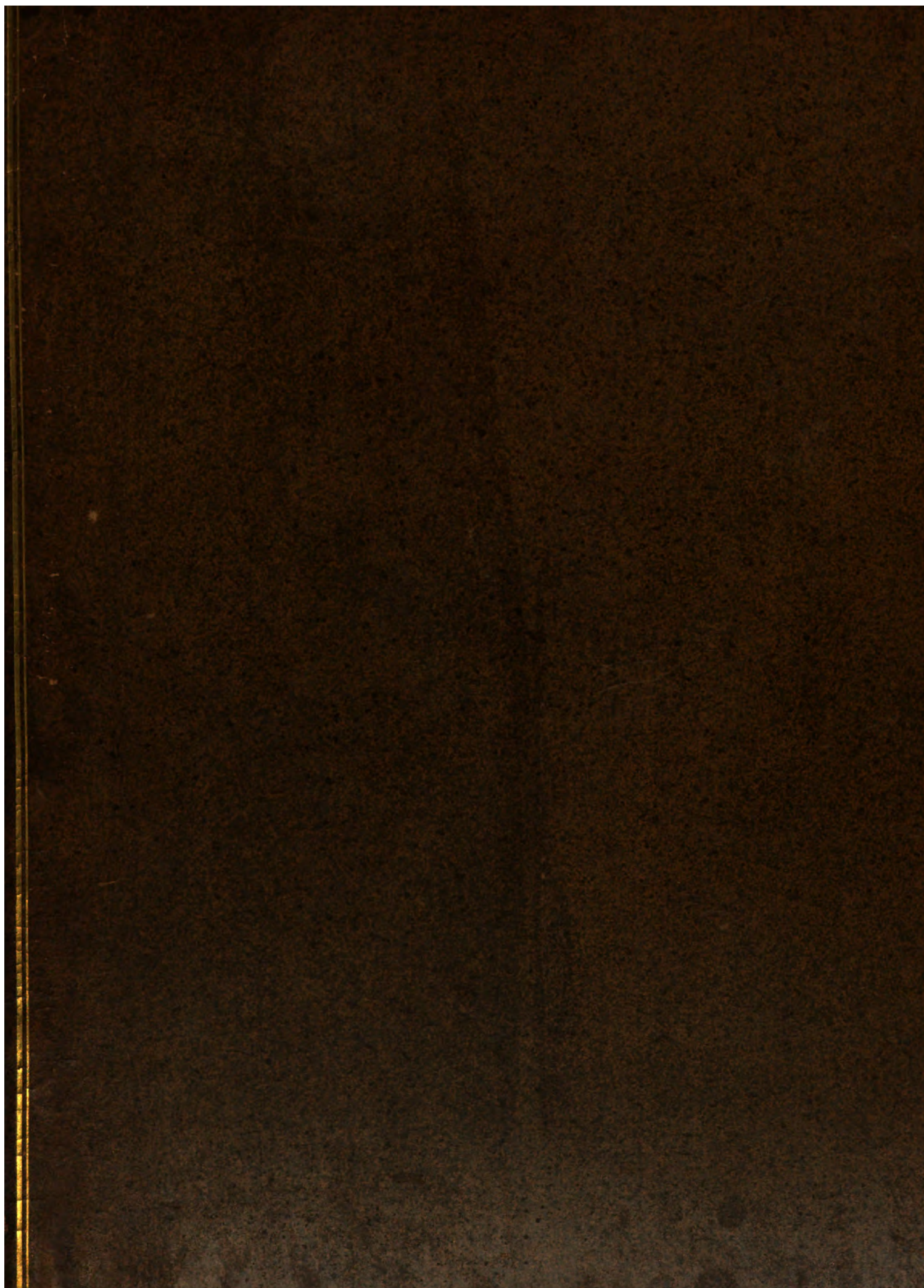
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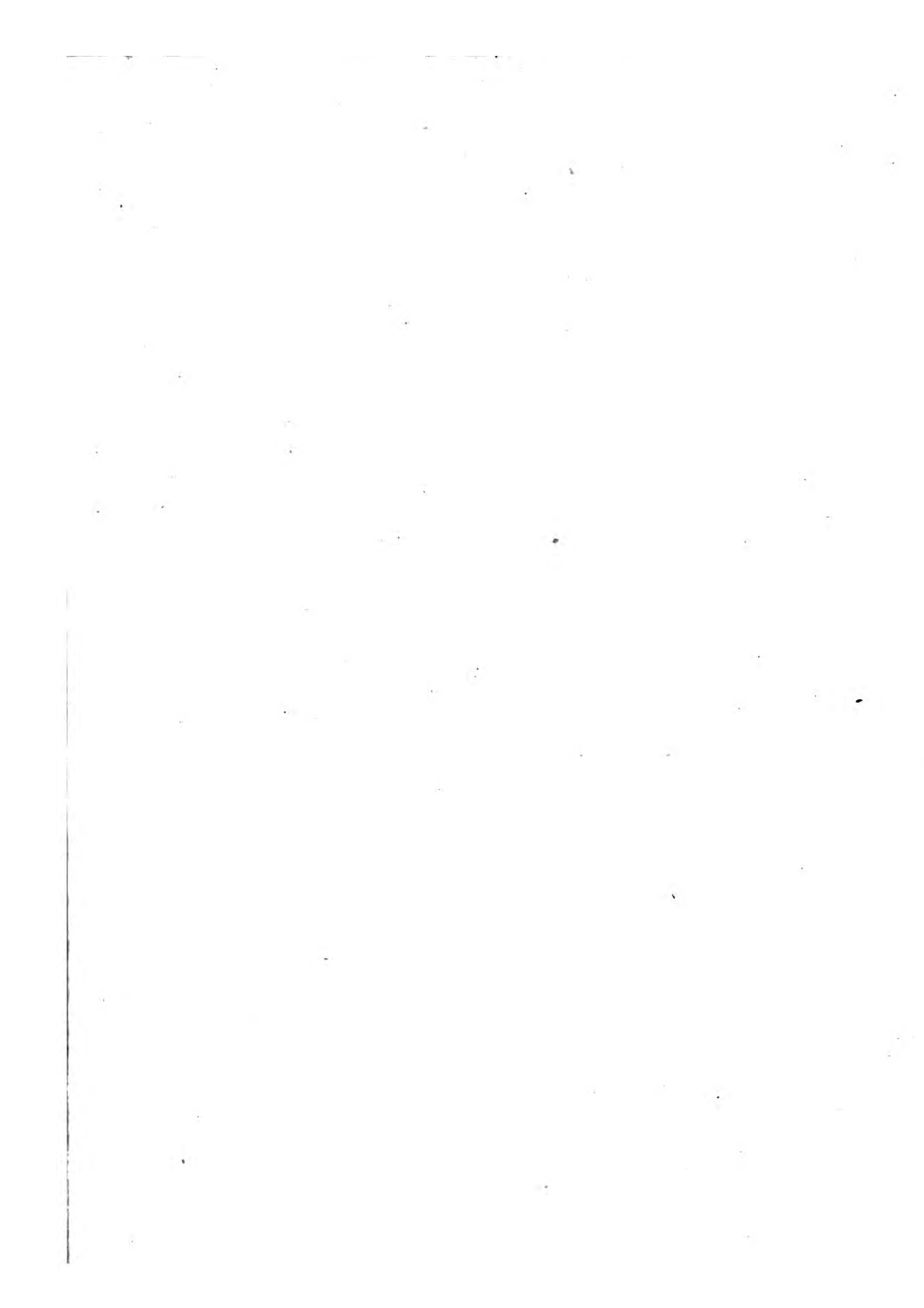
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T R A V E L S

I N

I N D I A,

DURING

THE YEARS

1780, 1781, 1782, & 1783.

BY WILLIAM HODGES, R. A.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR,

AND SOLD BY J. EDWARDS, PALL-MALL.

MDCCKCIII.

P R E F A C E.

THE intimate connexion which has so long subsisted between this country and the continent of India, naturally renders every Englishman deeply interested in all that relates to a quarter of the globe which has been the theatre of scenes highly important to his country; and which, perhaps, at the moment when he peruses the description of it, may be the residence or the grave of some of his dearest friends.

It is only matter of surprize, that, of a country so nearly allied to us, so little should be known. The public is, indeed, greatly indebted to the learned labours of gentlemen, who have resided there, for the information which they have afforded concerning the Laws and the Religion of the Hindoo tribes; as well as for correct and well digested details of the transactions of the Mogul government. But of the

face of the country, of its arts, and natural productions, little has yet been said. Gentlemen who have resided long in India lose the idea of the first impression which that very curious country makes upon an entire stranger: the novelty is soon effaced, and the mind, by a common and natural operation, soon directs its views to more abstract speculation; reasoning assumes the place of observation, and the traveller is lost in the philosopher.

To supply, in some slight degree, this hiatus in the topographical department of literature, is the immediate object of the following pages. It will, I flatter myself, not be disagreeable to my readers to be informed, that they consist of a few plain observations, noted down upon the spot, in the simple garb of truth, without the smallest embellishment from fiction, or from fancy. They were chiefly intended for my own amusement, and to enable me to explain to my friends a number of drawings which I had made during my residence in India, some of which accompany the present publication. The apology is trite; but in this case its truth, and the respectability of the name to which I refer, must plead my excuse.....it was owing entirely to the influence and persuasion of my most justly esteemed friend, Henry James Pye, Esq. Poet Laureat, that these observations have been submitted to a tribunal, which I have ever regarded with awful respect.....THE PUBLIC.

PREFACE.

v.

WHILE I acknowledge my heart-felt obligations to one friend, it is not consistent with my present feelings to omit the kind attentions of another. My learned friend, Dr. Gregory, by his perusal and revision of my manuscript, contributed greatly to lessen my apprehensions of that ordeal to which I was about to commit myself; and though he insists upon my stating, that his corrections were almost entirely verbal, yet I cannot but be conscious, that, without them, the work would have appeared in a still more imperfect state.

AFTER all, I am aware that I stand in need of every candid allowance on the part of my readers. It is evident that the studies absolutely requisite to any degree of proficiency in a liberal art, and the practice of that art afterwards as a profession, can leave but little leisure for the cultivation of literature; and perhaps my engagements have been even more unfavourable to this object than those of most artists. A long circumnavigation, and the professional labour required in completing the works for Captain Cook's second voyage, occupied me for several years; and a voyage to India, with my different excursions in that country, absorbed no inconsiderable portion of my time and attention.

ON another part of this work I can speak with rather more confidence, because I am less personally concerned; and because, as far as I am concerned, I appear in my pro-

per professional character. The drawings, from which the plates for this work are engraved, I have already mentioned were made upon the spot: and, to the utmost of my ability, are fair and accurate representations of the originals. Of the execution of the plates, while I feel that too much cannot be said, my senses sufficiently convince me that it is unnecessary to say any thing. I therefore conclude with shortly returning my thanks to the artists for the care and attention they have bestowed upon them.

QUEEN STREET, May Fair,

Feb. 18, 1793.



T R A V E L S

I N

I N D I A.

C H A P. I.

*General Appearance of the Coast—Of the Town of Madras—
Boats of the Country—First Reception of a Stranger—His
Sensations on entering the Country—War with Hyder Ally—
General Distress—Descriptive Sketch of the Country, Build-
ings, &c.—Indian Temple.*

THE whole extent of the Coast of Coromandel is an even, low, sandy country; and about Madras the land rises so little and so gradually from the sea, that the spectator is scarcely able to mark the distinction, till he is assisted by the appearance of the different objects which present themselves upon the shore.

THE English town, rising from within Fort St. George, has from the sea a rich and beautiful appearance; the

houses being covered with a stucco called chunam, which in itself is nearly as compact as the finest marble, and, as it bears as high a polish, is equally splendid with that elegant material. The stile of the buildings is in general handsome. They consist of long colonades, with open porticoes, and flat roofs, and offer to the eye an appearance similar to what we may conceive of a Grecian city in the age of Alexander. The clear, blue, cloudless sky, the polished white buildings, the bright sandy beach, and the dark green sea, present a combination totally new to the eye of an Englishman, just arrived from London, who, accustomed to the sight of rolling masses of clouds floating in a damp atmosphere, cannot but contemplate the difference with delight: and the eye being thus gratified, the mind soon assumes a gay and tranquil habit, analogous to the pleasing objects with which it is surrounded.

SOME time before the ship arrives at her anchoring ground, she is hailed by the boats of the country filled with people of business, who come in crowds on board. This is the moment in which an European feels the great distinction between Asia and his own country. The rustling of fine linen, and the general hum of unusual conversation, presents to his mind for a moment the idea of an assembly of females. When he ascends upon the deck,

he is struck with the long muslin dresses,* and black faces† adorned with very large gold ear-rings and white turbans. The first salutation he receives from these strangers is by bending their bodies very low, touching the deck with the back of the hand, and the forehead three times.

THE natives first seen in India by an European voyager, are Hindoos, the original inhabitants of the Peninsula. In this part of India they are delicately framed, their hands‡ in particular are more like those of tender females; and do not appear to be, what is considered a proper proportion to the rest of the person, which is usually above the middle size. Correspondent to this deli-

* THIS dress is in India usually worn both by Hindoos and Mahomedans, and is called Jammah; whence the dress well known in England, and worn by children, is usually called a jam.

† THE complexions of the people on the Coast of Coromandel and to the southward, are considerably darker than those to the northward. It is also to be observed, that the native Hindoos are generally darker than the Musfulman, who originally came from Tartary and Persia. The latter may in fact be called a fair people; and I have even seen many of them with red hair and florid complexions. It is a well known fact, that when a Tartar or Persian family has resided in India for a few generations, their complexions have considerably deepened. The Mogul family of the house of Timoor, I understand, are of a deep olive complexion.

‡ IT has been observed of the arms frequently brought to this country, that the gripe of the fabre is too small for most European hands.

cacy of appearance are their manners, mild, tranquil, and sedulously attentive: in this last respect they are indeed remarkable, as they never interrupt any person who is speaking, but wait patiently till he has concluded; and then answer with the most perfect respect and composure.

FROM the ship a stranger is conveyed on shore in a boat of the country, called a Maffoolah boat: a work of curious construction, and well calculated to elude the violent shocks of the surf, that breaks here with great violence: they are formed without a keel, flat bottomed, with the sides raised high, and sewed together with the fibres of the cocoa-nut tree, and caulked with the same material: they are remarkably light, and are managed with great dexterity by the natives: they are usually attended by two kattamarans, (rafts) paddled by one man each, the intention of which is, that, should the boat be overfet by the violence of the surf, the persons in it may be preserved. The boat is driven, as the sailors say, high and dry; and the passengers are landed on a fine, sandy beach: and immediately enter the fort of Madras.

THE appearance of the natives is exceedingly varied, some are wholly naked, and others so clothed, that nothing but the face and neck is to be discovered; besides this, the European is struck at first with many other objects, such as women carried on men's shoulders on pallankeens,

and men riding on horseback clothed in linen dresses like women: which, united with the very different face of the country from all he had ever seen or conceived of, excite the strongest emotions of surprise!

It is impossible to describe the enthusiasm with which I felt myself actuated on this occasion; all that I saw filled my mind with expectations of what was yet unseen. I prepared therefore eagerly for a tour through the country; but my route was scarcely fixed, when I was interrupted by the great scourge of human nature, the great enemy of the arts, war, which, with horrors perhaps unknown to the civilized regions of Europe, descended like a torrent over the whole face of the country, driving the peaceful husbandman from his plow, and the manufacturer from his loom. On the eighteenth day of July, 1780, I was a melancholy witness to its effects, the multitude coming in from all quarters to Madras as a place of refuge, bearing on their shoulders the small remains of their little property, mothers with infants at their breasts, fathers leading their horses burthened with their young families, others sitting on the miserable remains of their fortunes on a hackery,* and dragged through the dust by weary bullocks: every object was marked by confusion and dismay, from the 18th to the 21st, the numbers

* A hackery is a small covered carriage upon two wheels, drawn by bullocks, and used generally for the female part of the family.

daily increasing: and it was supposed that within the space of three days not less than two hundred thousand of the country people were received within the *black town of Madras. Our Government behaved on this melancholy occasion with their usual humanity and liberality; and not only publick, but private relief was afforded them to a considerable amount.

THOSE poor people were soon afterwards distributed to the northward, and into the fircars; which are lands that lay to the northward of Madras, and but of late years ceded to the English Government.

MR. Smith was at this period at the head of the Government of Madras: and the sollicitous attention of his lady, to relieve the private inconvenience of many English families, who were also obliged to take shelter within the walls of the fort, must ever be remembered with respect.

EVERY object that now presented itself to the imagination bore the same threatening and calamitous aspect: the country houses of the English, within one mile of the fort, were stripped of their furniture, by the owners, even

* Adjoining the glacis of Fort St. George, to the northward, is a large town, commonly called the Black town, and which is fortified sufficiently to prevent any surprize by a body of horse.

to the doors and window-blinds; this indeed was no more than necessary, as the enemy extended their depredations even to the walls of Madras; and no security could be found without the fort; until the camp was formed at the Mount, a place about ten English miles west of Madras. Every gentleman now possessing a house within the fort, was happy in accommodating the family of his friend; who before had resided on Choultry plain.*

THE troops being collected from different quarters, with provisions and a proper train of artillery, the vanquished spirits of the people appeared to revive; and the reyot was again seen cultivating his rice fields, or collecting the fruits. Nothing less was expected when the army took the field, but that Hyder Ally would very soon be escorted by a party of our troops into Fort St. George, and there make a public atonement for the miseries he had occasioned. This vision soon vanished, in the unhappy fate of Colonel Baillie's detachment, and the return

* THE country near Madras is a perfect flat, on which is built, at a small distance from the fort, a small Choultry: these are publick buildings found all over Hindostan, and are of Hindoo origin; they are in fact analogous to those buildings called caravanferais, well known through Asia. They have been erected and endowed by the liberality of princes, or the benevolence and piety of individuals. A Bramin generally attends them who administers relief to the poor and distressed, who are frequently supplied also with a matt to lie on, tanks, or reservoirs of water, or wells, are commonly near them.

of the army from a three week's campaign, reduced in its numbers and dispirited by its losses. These circumstances are too strongly marked in the page of history to make it necessary to recount their particulars in a descriptive work like this. The arrival of Sir Eyre Coote from Bengal, with money and other supplies, in September, and the active measures pursued by that gallant officer, restored confidence to the troops; and the most sanguine hopes of the inhabitants from his exertions were not disappointed.

THE opportunities that offer to a painter are few, in a country which is over-run by an active enemy. I made however among others a drawing of Marmalong bridge, which is a very modern work, built, as I am informed, at the private expence of an Armenian merchant. It is over a small river that runs near the mount, and falls into the sea at a little distance before the village of St. Thomá, four miles to the southward of Madras. The Portugueze had formerly a considerable settlement at this village. The church and the dwelling-houses of a few Portugueze families yet remain here. The legendary tale of the Roman Catholic church is, that St. Thomas the apostle, in the course of his mission to India, suffered martyrdom on the spot where the church is built.

THE settlement of Madras was formed by the English at or about the middle of the last century, and was a

place of no real consequence, but for its trade, until the war so ably carried on by General Stringer Lawrence, from the years 1748 to 1752; and which originated from the claims of Chunda Saib, in opposition to our ally Mahomed Ally Cawn, the present Nabob of Arcot; from which period the English may be considered as Sovereigns. In the school of this able officer the late Lord Clive received his military education.

FORT St. George, or Madras, rises, as has been already intimated, from the margin of the sea, and is allowed by the ablest engineers to be a place of considerable strength. It was planned by the ingenious Mr. Robins, the author of Lord Anson's Voyages, who was eminent for his general and philosophical, as well as for his mathematical knowledge. Since his time many works have been added.

IN Fort St. George are many handsome and spacious streets. The houses may be considered as elegant, and particularly so from the beautiful material with which they are finished, the chunam. The inner apartments are not highly decorated, presenting to the eye only white walls; which, however, from the marble-like appearance of the stucco, give a freshness grateful in so hot a country. Ceilings are very uncommon in the rooms. Indeed it is impossible to find any which will resist the ravages of that destructive insect the white ant. These animals are chiefly formidable from

the immensity of their numbers, which are such as to destroy, in one night's time, a ceiling of any dimensions. I saw an instance in the ceiling to the portico of the Admiralty, or Governor's house, which fell in flakes of twenty feet square. It is the wood work which serves for the basis of the ceilings, such as the laths, beams, &c. that these insects attack; and this will serve to explain the circumstance I have just mentioned.

THE houses on Choultry plain are many of them beautiful pieces of architecture, the apartments spacious and magnificent. I know not that I ever felt more delight, than in going on a visit to a family on Choultry plain, soon after my arrival at Madras, in the cool of the evening, after a very hot day. The moon shone in its fullest lustre, not a cloud overcast the sky, and every house on the plain was illuminated. Each family, with their friends, were in the open porticoes, enjoying the breeze. Such a scene appears more like a tale of enchantment than a reality, to the imagination of a stranger just arrived.

THERE are few objects to be met with here, which serve to illustrate the history or characters of the original inhabitants of India. One, however, is too curious to be omitted, and that is a beautiful Hindoo Temple, or Pagoda, at Triplecane, two miles south of Madras. It is of considerable magnitude; and the top of the building rising con-

siderably above the trees, it is seen all over the country. Adjoining to the temple is a large tank, with steps descending to the bottom, filled with water. The whole is of stone, and the masonry excellent. On the surface of the temple are many basso relievos, which I suppose to relate to the religion of the Hindoos; but whether they are connected with the rites and worship of Bramah or not, I am not able to say: for some of them are of the most indecent kind. I made an accurate drawing of this building, which was sent to England, and lost on board the General Barker East Indiaman, when that ship was wrecked on the coast of Holland, in 1781; but as I have made drawings of other Hindoo temples, I less lament the loss. The annexed plate, a view of the great Pagoda at Tanjore, is from a picture which I painted from an accurate drawing made by Mr. Topping, an ingenious friend of mine, now on a survey of the coast of Coromandel for the Hon. the East India Company, and will serve to give the reader a general idea of these efforts of Indian architecture.



A VIEW of the GREAT PAGODA at TANJORE.

*Engraved by T. Medland from a picture Painted by M. Hodges R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings Esq.*

London, Published by J. Edwards Pall Mall, Jan^y 1793.



C H A P. II.

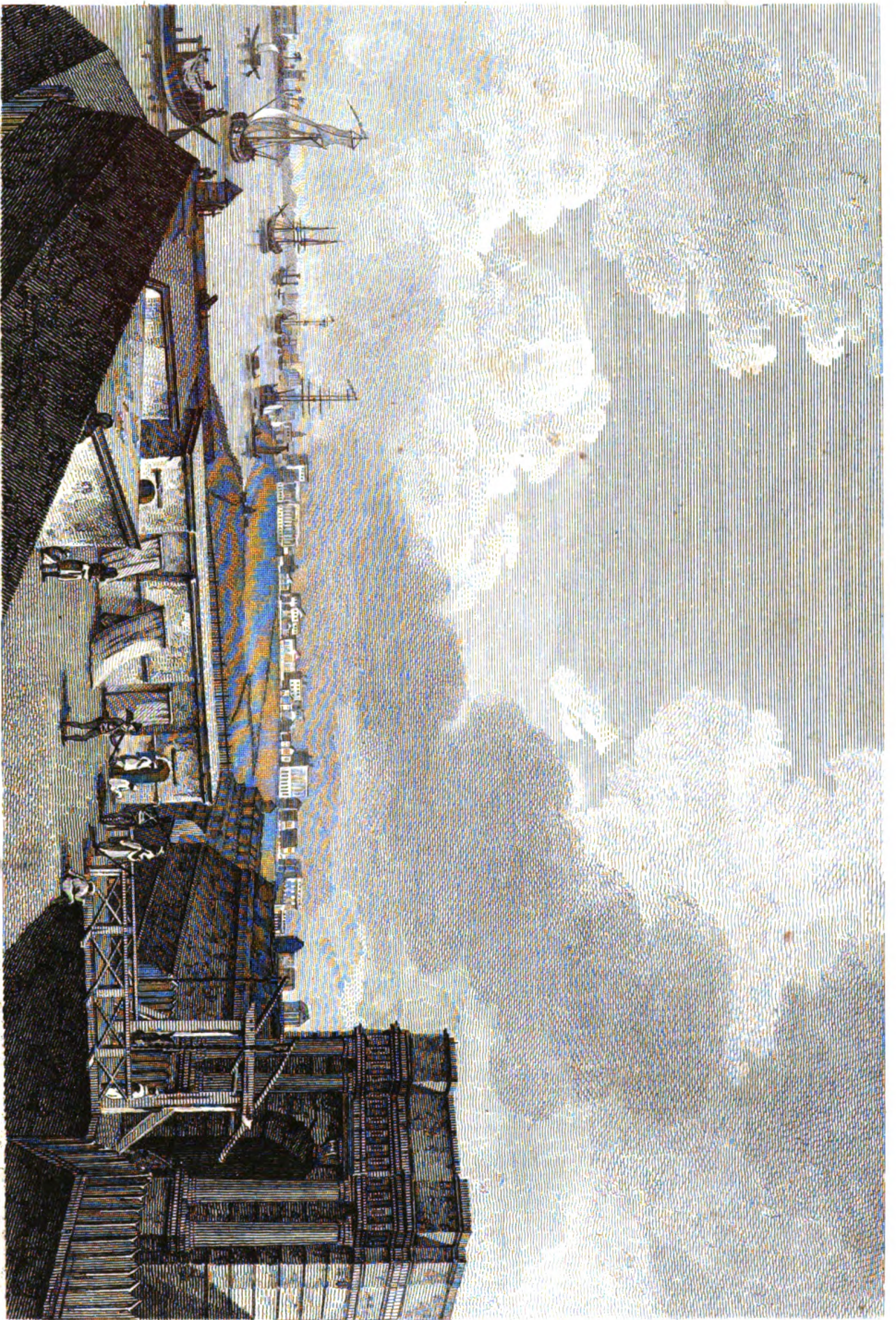
Voyage to Bengal—Description of the Fort and Town of Calcutta—Route from Calcutta to the Plains of Plassey—Description of that memorable Spot—The Author's Progress through the Country—Ruins of a Zananah—Cataract of Mootejerna—Happiness of India—Description of Bauglepoor—Town and Fort of Mongheir—Remarks on the Mode of travelling in India—Voyage back to Calcutta on the Ganges—Temples—Females bathing—Singular Appearance by Night.

AFTER residing a year at Madras, as no prospect presented itself of seeing and making drawings in the interior part of the country, I determined to pursue my voyage to Bengal: and as I found my health on the decline, I entertained thoughts of returning to Europe by the following season. I embarked in February, 1781, and arrived in the Ganges in March. A change of air and a sea voyage frequently produces a happy alteration in the constitutions of valetudinarians in India; and I accordingly found that on my arrival in Bengal my health was perfectly re-established.

THE appearance of the country on the entrance of the Ganges, or Houghly River (this being only a branch of the

Great Ganges) is rather unpromising; a few bushes at the water's edge, forming a dark line, just marking the distinction between sky and water, are the only objects to be seen. As the ship approaches Calcutta the river narrows; that which is called the Garden Reach, presents a view of handsome buildings, on a flat surrounded by gardens: these are villas belonging to the opulent inhabitants of Calcutta. The vessel has no sooner gained one other reach of the river than the whole city of Calcutta bursts upon the eye. This capital of the British dominions in the East is marked by a considerable fortress, on the south side of the river, which is allowed to be, in strength and correctness of design, superior to any in India. On the fore ground of the picture is the water-gate of the fort, which reflects great honour on the talents of the engineer—the ingenious Colonel Polier. The glacis and esplanade are seen in perspective, bounded by a range of beautiful and regular buildings; and a considerable reach of the river, with vessels of various classes and sizes, from the largest Indiamen to the smallest boat of the country, closes the scene. A plate, representing this view, from a picture taken on the spot, and admirably engraved by Mr. Byrne, an artist whose reputation is not to be raised by any eulogium in this place, is annexed.

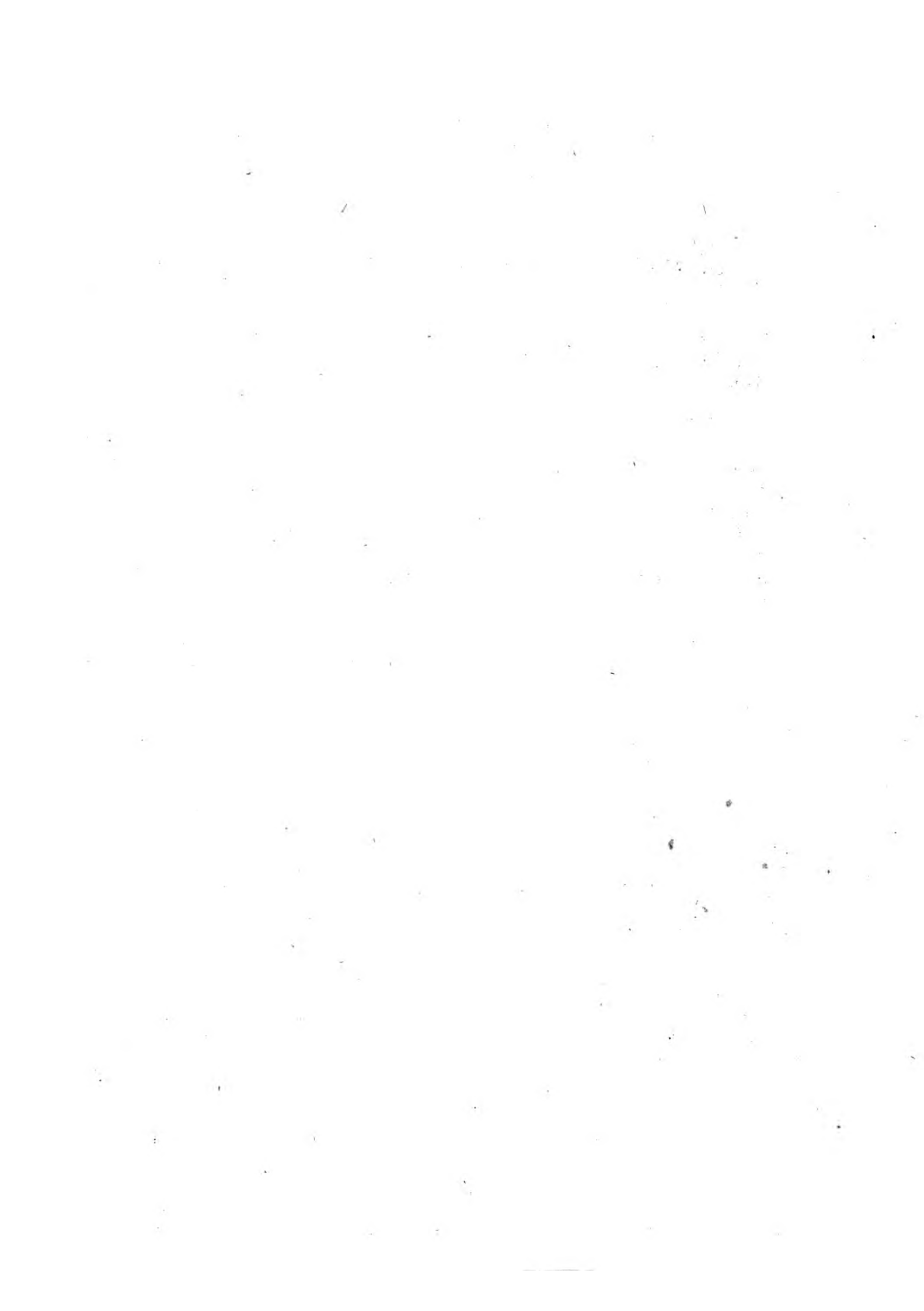
A EUROPEAN lands here in the midst of a great city, without passing the outer draw-bridges of a fort: here are no centinels with the keen eye of suspicion, no stoppage of



A VIEW OF CALCUTTA, taken from FORT WILLIAM.

Engraved by W. Payne, from a Picture Painted by W. Stodger, R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings, Esq.

London, Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan 1st 1783.



baggage. The hospitality which a stranger experiences from the inhabitants, and particularly from those to whom he is recommended, corresponds exactly with the freedom of his admission into the city; and the kindness which I experienced on this occasion from my much lamented friend Henry Davies, Esq. late Advocate General of Bengal, can never be forgotten.

THE city of Calcutta extends from the Western point of Fort William, along the banks of the river, almost to the village of Cossipoor: that is about four and a half English miles. The breadth in many parts is inconsiderable. The streets are broad; the line of buildings, surrounding two sides of the esplanade of the fort, is magnificent; and it adds greatly to the superb appearance, that the houses are detached from each other, and insulated in a great space. The buildings are all on a large scale, from the necessity of having a free circulation of air, in a climate the heat of which is extreme. The general approach to the houses is by a flight of steps, with great projecting porticoes, or surrounded by colonades or arcades, which give them the appearance of Grecian temples; and indeed every house may be considered as a temple dedicated to hospitality.

CALCUTTA, from a small and inconsiderable fort, which yet remains (and in which is the famous black-hole, so fatal to many of our countrymen in 1756), and a few ware-

houses, was soon raised to a great and opulent city, when the government of the kingdom of Bengal fell into the hands of the English. For its magnificence, however, it is indebted solely to the liberal spirit and excellent taste of the late Governor General; and it must be confessed, that the first house was raised by Mr. Hastings which deserves the name of a piece of architecture: in fact, it is even in a purer style than any that has been built since, although it is on a smaller scale than many others.

THE mixture of European and Asiatic manners, which may be observed in Calcutta, is curious:—coaches, phaetons, single horse chaises, with the pallankeens and hackeries of the natives—the passing ceremonies of the Hindoos—the different appearances of the fakirs—form a sight perhaps more novel and extraordinary than any city in the world can present to a stranger. Some views in the city of Calcutta, published by Mr. Daniel, are highly to be commended for their accuracy.

A FEW weeks after my arrival in Bengal, an opportunity offered itself, which I immediately embraced, to make drawings of part of the country, as high as Mongheir, on the Ganges, a distance of three hundred English miles; and I proceeded on this journey in the middle of the month of April following, by dawk bearers (in a pallankeen) or pallankeen carriers. These are persons hired by government,

and fixed at the several stages or posts for facilitating travelling: each stage, on an average, may be ten English miles. The number of persons are usually nine, with two additional men or boys, to carry baggage and lights in the night, called *mossoljees*, from the name of the lights, *mossol*.

FROM the apparent state of a country, a just estimate may generally be formed of the happiness or the misery of a people. Where there is neatness in the cultivation of the land, and that land tilled to the utmost of its boundaries, it may reasonably be supposed that the government is the protector and not the oppressor of the people. Throughout the kingdom of Bengal it appears highly flourishing in tillage of every kind, and abounding in cattle. The villages are neat and clean, and filled with swarms of people.

THERE are few objects to attract the attention of the curious traveller from Calcutta, until he reaches the plains of Plassey. This spot to every reflecting Englishman must be highly interesting, when he considers that on this theatre, in the month of June, 1757, was disputed the existence of his countrymen in Bengal, even as merchants. The great abilities displayed by Lord Clive previous to the battle of Plassey, as well as in that action, both as a general and a politician, undoubtedly entitle him to the high reputation which is attached to his memory; since on that plain was laid the foundation of an empire in India, the influence of

which has extended over a larger tract of country, and greater numbers of people, than have been united under any one government since the time of Aurungzebe.

AT Plassey is a house which was once a hunting seat of the Nabob of Bengal: it is distant from Calcutta about seventy English miles, and somewhat more than thirty from Moorshedabad. In Moorshedabad there are few buildings of note: the most considerable is the remains of the Cutterah. This was formerly a publick seminary for men of learning among the Musselmans; but it has long since gone to decay. It consists of a large square area, each side of which is somewhat more than seventy feet in length, surrounded by a cloyster, divided into single rooms, crowned with a dome, and one window in each. In the center on the side opposite the entrance was a mosque, raised considerably above the buildings on either side: the extreme angles on that side where the mosque was situated are terminated by two towers, rising several feet higher than the rest of the building.

THIS building was erected by Jaffier Cawn, the Nabob of Bengal, in the early part of the present century; who, from the mildness of his manners, his love of learning, and strict attention to justice, was the most popular nobleman who ever held that office in Bengal under the Mogul government. Moorshedabad was the seat of his residence,

and to this place he invited men of talents. On the opposite side of the river is the tomb of Aliverdi Cawn, the grandfather of Suraja Dowlah, so well known for his hatred to the English, and his conduct to his prisoners on the taking of Calcutta in 1756.* This is an oblong building,

* When the fort of Calcutta was closely besieged by Suraja Dowlah, Mr. Drake, the governor, and many others, with several ladies of the settlement, escaped to the English ships then lying off the town, and which ships fell down as low as Fulta, one third of the distance to the mouth of the river, where they remained for seven months in the greatest distress, both for provisions and every other article of necessaries. Mr. Gregory, a gentleman since well known in the political world, and particularly for his knowledge in India affairs, and many years a Director of the East India Company in London, ventured in a very heavy gale of wind, in a country boat, to pass Calcutta, and proceeded to Chardanagore, to solicit assistance from the French governor, who received him with all the personal politeness that is the mark of that nation, but without offering any thing to remove the distress of the English at Fulta. From the French Mr. Gregory proceeded to the Dutch settlement at Chinsurah, where he was received with unaffected good manners and friendliness. After relating the distresses his countrymen laboured under, the Dutch governor prepared for their relief; and his lady went round the settlement and procured linen and other articles, for the accommodation and comfort of the ladies; and, in the course of two days, the governor dispatched a sloop, under the care of Mr. Van Staten, their commander in chief, to the English, loaded with several articles of provisions, many chests of wine, and twenty leaguers of arrack, for the use of the people. At the same time this humanity was shewn to the people on board the ships, the governor's house was so filled with the distressed that had escaped from Calcutta, that he and his family were obliged to sleep on board a budgerow in the river. The name of the Dutch governor, Mr. Adrian Bisdam, must ever be remembered by the English with respect.

crowned with five domes; the center one much larger than the others, and the two extremes less than the intermediate. This pyramidal form is usual in all the buildings of the East, whether Moorish or Hindoo: so minutely attentive have they been to this, that a mosque at Chunar, being tried with a cord stretched from the summit of the center building, the cord has been found to touch the extremes at the outer wall that incloses the building. During the usurpation of Aliverdi Cawn, his wars with the Marhattas, who were continually over-running the country, left him little leisure for the embellishment of the city, however he might have been disposed.

THE road proceeds from Moorshedabad through the villages of Jungepoor and Sooty, to Oodooanullah. This road is crossed by several nullahs,† some of which have ferry boats stationed at them, to accommodate the traveller. At the last mentioned place is a bridge, built by Sultan Sujah, the second son of the Emperor Shah Iehan,* who was appointed Subah of the province of Bengal, one hundred and thirty years ago. This is one of the most elegant specimens in architecture of those times; and it has become famous in ours by the victory obtained over the troops of Meer Cofsim, in the year 1764, by the late Major Adams. This

† Nullahs are small streams, or brooks.

* The Emperor Shah Iehan began his reign in the year 1627, and reigned thirty-two years. He was deposed by his third son, the famous Allumgire; better known in Europe by the name of Aurungzebe.

victory was facilitated by an accident that happened on the bridge: the carriage of one of the enemy's large pieces of artillery broke down, and stopping the retreat, threw them into confusion. Oodooanullah is two miles from Rajemahel; and Rajemahel is nearly eighty miles from Moorshedabad: it lies on the western bank of the Ganges, which is high and bold, and at the foot of a chain of hills. The situation is esteemed unhealthy, from the forests in its neighbourhood. It was the seat of the government of Bengal, under Sultan Sujah, and it continued to be his residence until he fell in the contest for the empire with his brother Aurungzebe. The numberless ruins found at and in the neighbourhood, evinced his passion for building; and the great extent of many of them affords a proof of his splendor and magnificence. There yet remains a part of the palace: which was supported by vast octangular piers, raised from the edge of the river. The great hall yet remains, with some lesser apartments, as well as the principal gate leading to the palace: these are surrounded by immense masses of ruins. This palace, in the time of Sultan Sujah, was nearly destroyed by fire: the zananah, or that part inhabited by the females of his family, was totally destroyed.

A TRADITION prevails in this part of the country, that more than three hundred women fell a sacrifice to modesty on this occasion; none of them daring to save themselves, from the apprehension of being seen by the men. At a lit-

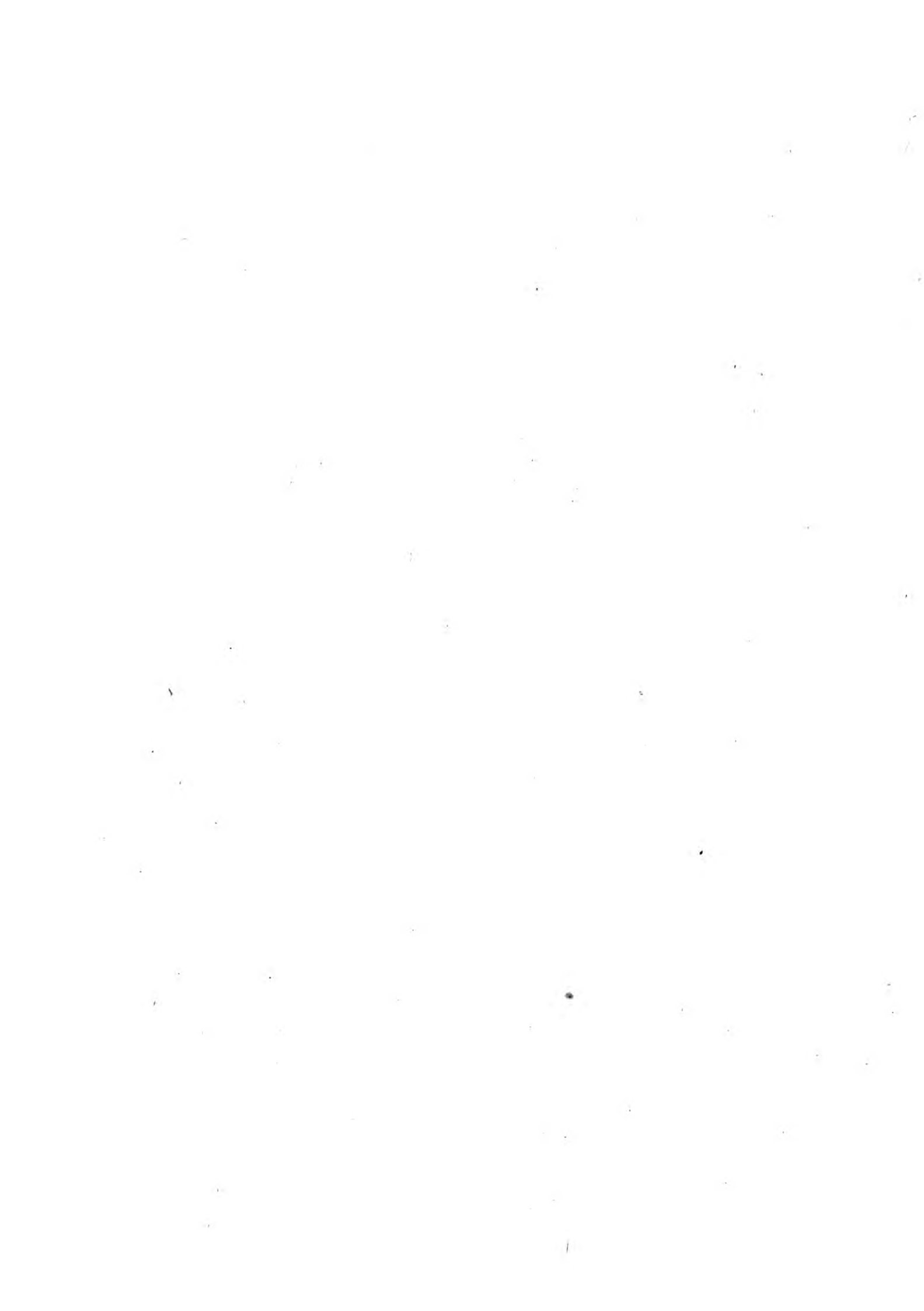
the distance from Rajemahel are the ruins of a zananah, which I went from curiosity to inspect, as they are when inhabited sacred places; and I was gratified extremely to observe the perfect accuracy in the Hindostan pictures which represent them. The annexed plate is from an old picture of one which I met with in India. It may not be improper to remark, while I am upon this subject, that when the Mogul government was in the plenitude of its power, it was an object with the Omrahs, or great Lords of the court, to hold captive in their zananahs even hundreds of females, collected from various quarters of the empire, and particularly so from Cashmire, a country famous for the beauty of its women.* From Rajemahel the publick road continues by the side of the river, at the foot of the hills, to the pass of Sicri Gully, whence it enters the province of Bahar. This pass, in the time of the Hindoo and Mogul governments was the commanding entrance from Bahar into the kingdom of Bengal, and was formerly fortified with a strong wall and gate, the ruins of which yet remain. What must shew the inutility of such fortifications, and the wisdom of the British government in suffering them to go to

* I cannot but here observe that, from the close confinement of the Mahomedan women, there reigns in the zananahs a refined spirit of intrigue unknown in Europe in the present day. Many accounts are to be found of such in the old Spanish novels, which may be accounted for from the Spaniards retaining customs and prejudices established among them by their Moorish conquerors, long after their expulsion in the fifteenth century.



THE PASS OF SICHU GULLY from BERGAL entering into the Province of BAHAR.
*Engraved by W. Shyne from a Picture Painted by W. Hodgkin R.A.
in the Collection of Messrs. Sturtevant & Co.*

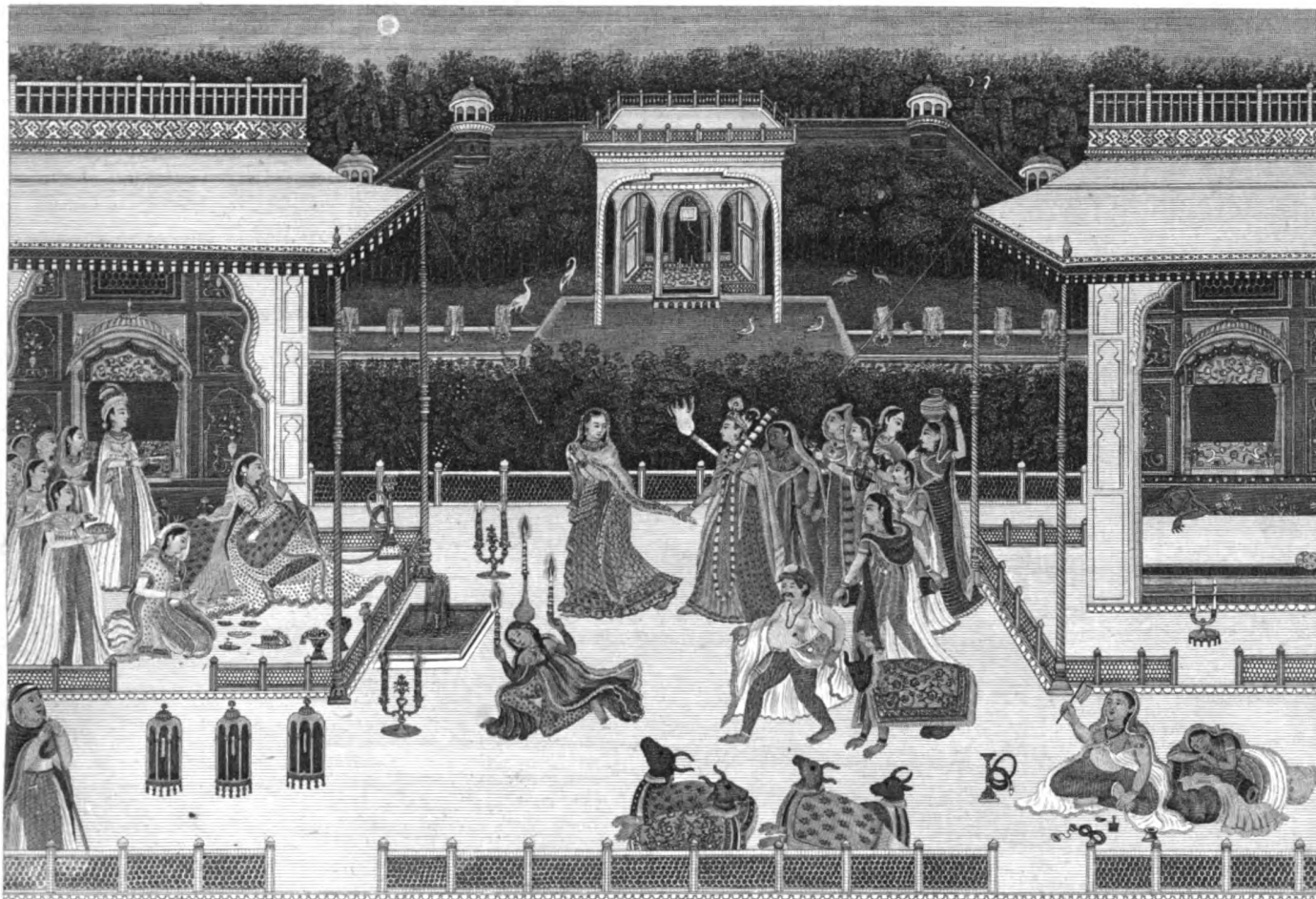
London, Published by J. F. de Ward, Pall Mall, Jan^y 1873.



decay, is the ease with which they are eluded; for, in the year 1742-3, the whole Mahratta army, consisting of fifty thousand men, under Boschow Pundit, passed through the hills above Colgong, and to the south-west of this pass into Bengal. On the top of the hill is a ruined tomb of a Mussulman sirdar, or saint. The whole scene appeared to me highly picturesque; a plate, therefore, is given of this view, as it marks the general character of this part of the country. At this place I was met by a party of seapoys, sent by my much lamented and revered friend, the late Augustus Cleveland, Esq. then collector of the districts of Rajemahel and Bauglepoor, to escort me to the falls of Mootejerna in the hills, about four coss, or eight English miles inland from the river. From the height of the hills, these cascades are clearly seen, in the time of the rains, the river being then near thirty feet higher than in the dry season, and the falls considerably increased. The road, or rather path, is through the jungles, or woods; and when rain has lately fallen in the hills, the noise of the cataract is distinctly heard at the distance of two English miles. It consists of two falls, which taken together, the perpendicular height measures one hundred and five feet. The water, falling over vast masses of rocks, is received in a basin below, and continues running through fragments of the rock, rent from above, until it is lost in the Ganges. At the bottom of the lower fall is a great hollow cave, which is easily entered from either side, and the water is seen from within, forming part of the arc of a great cir-

cle before. In the interior part of this cave, which may be thirty feet from the front of the rock, the base appears to be a mixture of rock and charcoal; that is, the interstices of the rock appear filled with charcoal, and many fragments broken off are composed equally of the two materials. For the satisfaction of others I brought away with me two large pieces, which I afterwards shewed to several ingenious gentlemen in Calcutta. The place itself, it is true, is held in superstitious veneration by the common people of the country; and it is possible some religious ceremonies may have passed here, but it is scarcely probable that any fire used in such ceremonies could have produced such effects.

AFTER returning to Sicri Gully, I continued my route across the pass of Terriagully, from the top of which a beautiful scene opens itself to the view; namely, the meandering of the river Ganges through the flat country, and glittering through an immense plain, highly cultivated, as far as the extent of the horizon, where the eye is almost at a loss to discriminate the termination of sky and land. From the pass of Terriagully the road continues by the river side, opening in extensive glades, covered with a fine turf, and only interspersed with woods, consisting of timber trees of considerable magnitude, which, from the great heat and moisture in this part of India, (like all other vegetable productions of the country) continue verdant through a great part of the year. After this the road skirts the woods, and



A VIEW of the INSIDE of A ZANANAH.

*Engraved by W. Skelton from an Indian Painting
in the possession of William Hodges R.A.*

London, Published by J.E. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan^y 1793.

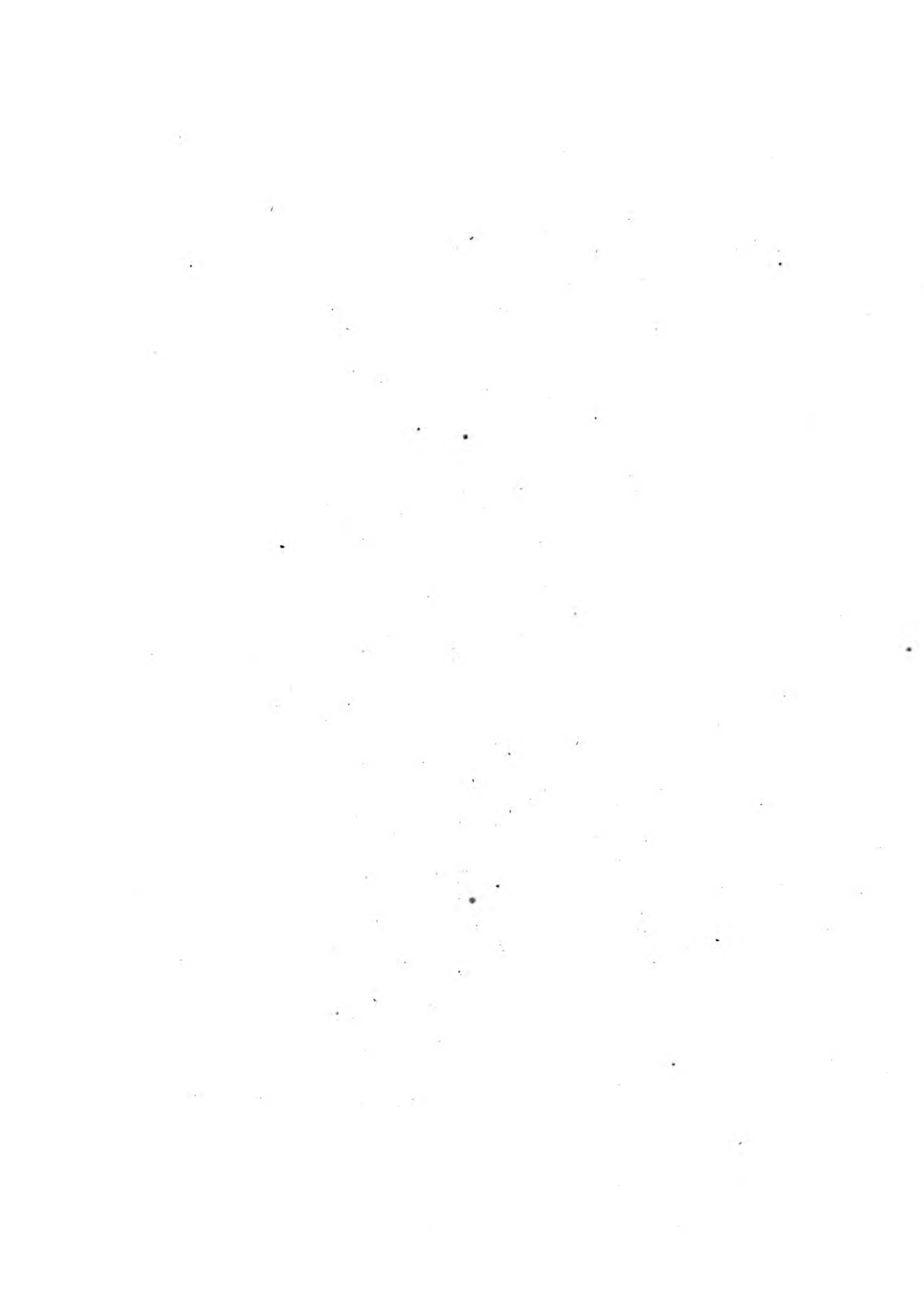


under great trees, which are filled with a variety of birds of beautiful colours, many of them of the parrot tribe; and, amongst others, peacocks in abundance, which sitting on the vast horizontal branches, and displaying their varied plumage to the sun, dazzle the eyes of the traveller as he passes. In this route many inferior rivers are passed, that feed the waters of the Great Ganges, which, at this season of the year, are very low; and the steepness of many of their banks renders the carriage extremely troublesome to the pallankeen bearers. At Colgong there is a considerable stream, that falls into the Ganges, which by its continued force, and particularly in the time of the periodical rains, has detached two large rocks, and formed them into islands, covered with woods, full seventy yards from the shore. There is a passage between the islands and the shore filled with sunken rocks, which form violent eddies. The passage is sometimes only to be effected by small boats; and in the time of the rains is esteemed exceedingly dangerous. I knew an instance in which it had nearly proved fatal.

THE country about Colgong is, I think, the most beautiful I have seen in India. The waving appearance of the land, its fine turf and detached woods, backed by the extensive forests on the hills, brought to my mind many of the fine parks in England; and its overlooking the Ganges, which has more the appearance of an ocean at this place

than of a river, gives the prospect inexpressible grandeur.

FROM this place my route was continued to the village of Sultungunge; opposite to which, in the river, is the small island of Jangerah, or, according to some authors, Jehanguery. This island is a rock, with a few trees growing from its interstices, and on the top is a small hermitage, inhabited by a Hindoo monk. The situation this holy father has chosen is certainly a proof of his taste and of his judgment; for, from the top, he has a most extensive prospect of the country and river; and in the summer heats it must be cooler than any situation in its neighbourhood. This rock is considered by the Hindoos as a sacred place; and on many parts of it are pieces of sculpture relative to their mythology. I am concerned I cannot pay so high a compliment to the art of sculpture among the Hindoos as is usually paid by many ingenious authors who write on the religion of Bramah. Considering these works, as I do, with the eyes of an artist, they are only to be paralleled with the rude essays of the ingenious Indians I have met with in Otaheite, and on other islands in the South Seas. The time when these sculptures were produced I believe is not easy to ascertain; but thus much is certain, that the more modern works in sculpture of human figures, by the Hindoos, lay claim to very little more merit than the ancient productions. Some ornaments, however, that I have seen on





BANYAN TREE.

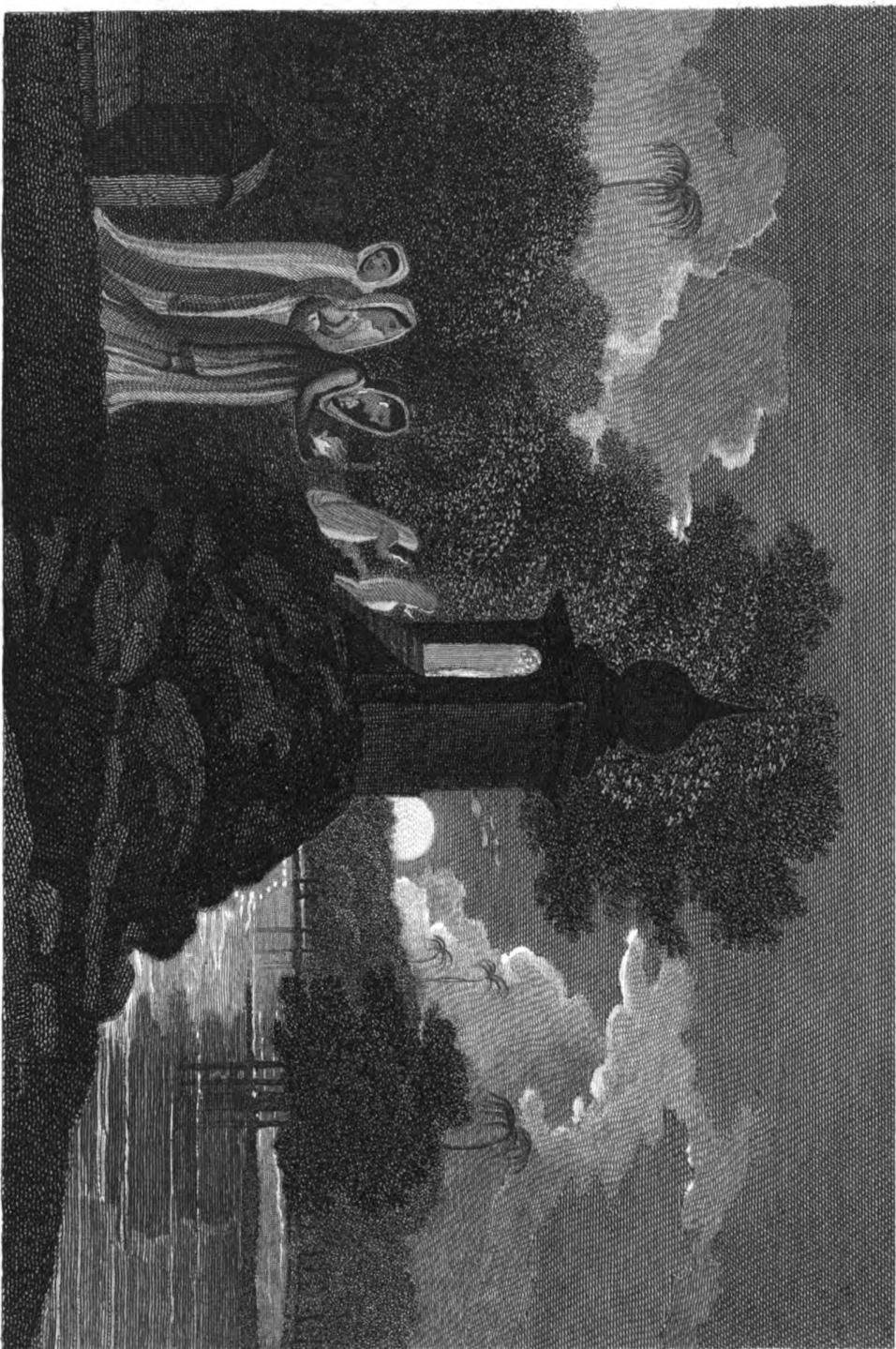
*Engraved by B. T. Pouncy from a Picture Painted by M. Hodges R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings Esq.*

Hindoo temples are beautifully carved: but of this I shall have occasion to speak hereafter, when I treat of the subject of Hindoo architecture.

I PROCEEDED from Sultungunge to Bauglepoor, where my pursuits were promoted with a degree of liberality that peculiarly marked the mind of the gentleman who then governed this district; and of whom, in common gratitude, I must ever speak with veneration and esteem. At the entrance of the town of Bauglepoor, I made a drawing of a banyan tree, of which a plate is annexed. This is one of those curious productions in nature which cannot fail to excite the attention of the traveller. The branches of this tree having shoots depending from them, and taking root, again produce, and become the parents of others. These trees, in many instances, cover such an extent of ground, that hundreds of people may take shelter under one of them from the scorching rays of the sun. The care that was taken in the government, and the minute attention to the happiness of the people, rendered this district, at this time, (1781) a perfect paradise. It was not uncommon to see the manufacturer at his loom, in the cool shade, attended by his friend softening his labour by the tender strains of music. There are to be met with in India many old pictures representing similar subjects, in the happy times of the Mogul government.

THE situation of the Resident's house, built by Mr. Cleveland, is on a very elevated spot: it is on the banks of a nullah, forming a large island, bounded by the Ganges on one side, and the nullah encircling the other: the island is about four miles across. On the other side is a beautiful park-like country, with clumps of great trees, separated by glades; the whole bounded by wood. This place owes its principal beauty to the good taste of Mr. Cleveland.

FROM Bauglepoor to Mongheir, is between thirty and forty English miles. The roads are good, the country highly cultivated, and the villages neat. Along the side of the road are the burial places of the Mussulmans; for they, like the ancient Greeks, always bury by or near the highways: those of the common people are mounds of earth, covering the whole length of the body, with a small square column at the head, about three feet high, and another, not more than eighteen inches, at the feet: those of superior rank have mausoleums, decorated in proportion to the wealth or munificence of the family. It is a custom with the women of the family to attend these tombs of their friends, or nearest and most valued relations, after funerals; and it is both affecting and curious to see them proceeding in groups, carrying lamps in their hands, which they place at the head of the tomb: the effect, considered in a picturesque light, is highly beautiful; with that of sentiment, it is delightful. A print of this subject is subjoined.



MAHOMMEDAN WOMEN attending the TOMBS of their Parents, Relatives, or Friends, at NIGHT.

*Engraved by William Skelton from a Picture
Painted by William Hodges R.S.*

London, Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall Jan^y 1798.



MONGHEIR is a large Indian town, with an old fort. One side of the fort is flanked by the Ganges, and that to the land by a wide and deep ditch. There are three principal gates; one on the side next the river, another on the east side, and another on the south. That to the east appears to have been very strong: the walls are flanked with square towers, in the old stile of castles; many similar ruins being now to be found in England. The fort was built in the middle of the last century, by Sultan Sujah; but the place is famous for being a military station many centuries back.* The area within the walls of the fort is very considerable; it is generally made a station for a part of the English troops; and there is a house here for the commanding officer, built by the late General Goddard.

FROM Calcutta to Mongheir the face of the country is extremely varied. Bengal, however, to the entrance into the province of Bahar, is almost a perfect flat, or the rise is so gentle as not to be perceived. The soil is rich, consisting chiefly of a black earth, intermixt with fine sand. From Rajemahel it assumes a different character; hills are seen rising in many parts into mountains, and covered with immense forests of timber: the soil here is also more arid, and the air drier, than in the lower parts of Bengal. The heat

* On this spot was found, a few years back, a brass plate, with a Sanschrite inscription of a grant, as early as the first century of Christianity.

in the months of March, April, and May, is immoderate; and, until it becomes tempered by the rains that constantly fall in June and July, it is dreadful to the bearers of the pallankeens to travel in the middle of the day: the dust and heat are then, indeed, so intolerable, that they are frequently under the necessity of putting down their burthens, and sheltering themselves beneath the shade of the banyan trees, many of which are found on the road, particularly by the side of wells, or some little choultry on the borders of a tank. The number of these rural accommodations for travellers reflect the highest credit on the care of the old Hindoo and Moorish governments. It is particularly mentioned in the life of the Emperor Shere Shah, that, although a usurper who obtained the empire by the most atrocious acts, he paid the most humane attention to the comforts and accommodations of his people. He caused wells to be dug at every cof, (or two miles) and trees to be planted on the road side. At many of these wells have I halted in my journies. They are, in general, from ten to fourteen feet in diameter, and lined with stone: the masonry excellent; and they are raised from the surface of the ground by a little wall two feet high. I should have remarked that, throughout Bengal and Bahar, the water is excellent. It is extremely pleasant to observe the variety of travellers that are to be met with on the road; either passing along in groups, under the shade of some spreading tree, by the side of the wells or tanks. In one part may be seen the native soldiers, their half pikes sticking



W. Hodges R.A. del.



P.W. Tom

A PEASANT WOMAN
of
HINDOSTAN.

A SEPOY MATCHLOCK MAN
in the Service of the native
PRINCES of HINDOSTAN.

Drawn from the Life by W. Hodges R.A.

London, Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan^y 1793.

by their side, and their shields lying by them, with their sabres and matchlocks; in another part is, perhaps, a company of merchants, engaged in calculation, or of devotees in the act of social worship; and in another, the common Hindoo pallankeen bearers baking their bread. This operation is performed in an easy and expeditious manner by these people: they make a small hole in the earth of about a foot in diameter, in which they light a fire, and on the top of the fire they place a flat iron plate, which they always carry with them, and which they support with stones; they mix their flour with a little water, and bake their cakes, which are soon dressed, are very wholesome, and I think not unpalatable. On the whole, I must say, that the simplicity and primitive appearance of these groups delighted me.

It is not uncommon also, in excursions through these parts of the country, to meet with various fakirs, with a more than savage appearance. Sometimes whole families may be seen travelling up and down the country, forming most beautiful picturesque groups; sometimes with camels loaded with goods; some of the party riding on bullocks, the females in hackeries, and the younger part of the company on small horses, brought from the mountains bordering the eastern side of Bengal. These horses are called tanyans, and are mostly pye-bald. The men march on foot, armed with spears and matchlocks: their sabres and shields are slung across their backs. These are certainly valuable subjects for

the painter. The lodgings of the traveller in India are the *ferais*, or *caravanferais*, (or places for the caravans) as they are called in Europe. Many of these are in the great roads, and have been erected either by charitable persons, or at the public expence. The Emperor, whom I have already mentioned for his attention to the public accommodation, built many, from the extremity of Bengal to Lahore. There is a noble building of this kind remaining at Rajemahel, built by Sultan Sujah, when Subah of Bengal. The form is a square of equal sides; the entrance from the Bengal road is through a large and highly ornamented gate, which also possesses military strength no less than beauty. Round the four sides is a wall about twenty feet high; attached to the wall round the sides are separate apartments, covered on the top, and open to the center of the area within. In these places the traveller lodges his goods, and sleeps; the area within the square is for the beasts. Attendant on these *ferais* are poor people, who furnish a small bedstead for the traveller to sleep on, and who are rewarded by a trifling sum, amounting to perhaps a penny English. The Mahomedan is, in general, a generous man compared with the Hindoo on these occasions. Opposite the Bengal gate is another in this *ferai*; which, however, is nothing more than merely an opening through the wall.

FROM Mongheir I embarked, and returned by water to Calcutta; and here I had an opportunity of observing a fe-

ries of scenery perfectly new; the different boats of the country, and the varied shores of the Ganges. This immense current of water suggests rather the idea of an ocean than of a river, the general breadth of it being from two to five miles, and in some places more. The largest boats sailing up or passing down, appear, when in the middle of the stream, as mere points, and the eastern shore only as a dark line marking the horizon. The rivers I have seen in Europe, even the Rhine, appear as rivulets in comparison with this enormous mass of water. I do not know a more pleasant amusement than sailing down the Ganges in the warm season: the air, passing over the great reaches of the river many miles in length, is so tempered as to feel delightfully refreshing. After sun-set the boats are generally moored close to the banks, where the shore is bold, and near a gunge or market, for the accommodation of the people. It is common, on the banks of the river, to see small Hindoo temples, with gauts or passages, and flights of steps to the river. In the mornings, at or after sun-rise, the women bathe in the river; and the younger part, in particular, continue a considerable time in the water, sporting and playing like Naiads or Syrens. To a painter's mind, the fine antique figures never fail to present themselves, when he observes a beautiful female form ascending these steps from the river, with wet drapery, which perfectly displays the whole person, and with vases on their heads, carrying water to the temples. A sight no less novel or extraordinary, is the Bra-

mins at their oraisons; perfectly abstracted, for the time, to every passing object, however attractive. These devotees are generally naked, except a small piece of drapery round the middle. A surprizing spirit of cleanliness is to be observed among the Hindoos: the streets of their villages are commonly swept and watered, and sand is frequently strewed before the doors of the houses. The simplicity, and perfectly modest character, of the Hindoo women, cannot but arrest the attention of a stranger. With downcast eye, and equal step, they proceed along, and scarcely turn to the right or to the left to observe a foreigner as he passes, however new or singular his appearance. The men are no less remarkable for their hospitality, and are constantly attentive to accommodate the traveller in his wants. During the whole of the journey in my pallankeen, whatever I wanted, as boiling water for my tea, milk, eggs, &c. &c. I never met with imposition or delay, but always experienced an uncommon readiness to oblige, and that accompanied with manners the most simple and accommodating. In perfect opposition is the Mussulman character;—haughty, not to say insolent; irritable, and ferocious. I beg, however, to be understood of the lower classes; for a Moorish gentleman may be considered as a perfect model of a well bred man. The Hindoos are chiefly husbandmen, manufacturers, and merchants, except two tribes—the Rajapoots, who are military, and the Bramins, who are ecclesiastics. The Mussulmans may be classed as entirely military, as few of them exercise

any other employment, except collecting the revenues, which under the Moorish governments have been always done by military force.

AT this season of the year it is not uncommon, towards the evening, to see a small black cloud rising in the eastern part of the horizon, and afterwards spreading itself to the north-west. This phenomenon is always attended with a violent storm of wind, and flashes of the strongest and most vivid lightning and heavy thunder, which is followed by rain. These storms sometimes last for half an hour or more; and when they disperse they leave the air greatly freshened, and the sky of a deep, clear, and transparent blue. When they occur near the full moon, the whole atmosphere is illuminated by a soft but brilliant silver light, attended with gentle airs, as Shakespeare has expressed—

“ When the sweet wind did gently kiss the trees,

“ And they did make no noise.”

PASSING by the city of Moorshedabad, on the evening of a Muffulman holiday, I was much entertained to see the river covered with innumerable lights, just floating above the surface of the water. Such an uncommon appearance was, at first, difficult to account for; but I found, upon enquiry, that upon these occasions they fabricate a number of small lamps, which they light and set afloat on the river: the stream constantly running down, they are carried to a

considerable distance, and last for many hours. After a passage of a few days from Mongheir, I arrived at Calcutta. Several of the subjects I had collected in my journey were painted for the Honourable the then Governor General; two of them on a large scale, viz. the Falls of Mootejerna, and the Ruins of Rajemahel.

C H A P. III.

Embark in the Train of the Governor General—Boats of the Country described—Remarks on those of the South Sea—Views on the River—Dutch, French, and Danish Settlements—Sir Eyre Cooté's—Coffimbuzen—Sir John D'Oyley's—Patna—Reception of the Governor there—Mosque of Moonhier—Arrive at Buxar—Gazipoor—Curious Ruins—Benares—Arrest of the Rajah—Insurrection at Benares—Principal Events of the War—Flight from Benares, and Return thither.

I DID not remain long in the capital of Bengal, on my return from Mongheir, before a new opportunity was presented to me of again indulging the curiosity which I felt both as an artist and a man, to enlarge my acquaintance with a country so fertile in the beauties of nature at least. It being determined by the Bengal Government that it was expedient, for the public utility, that the Governor General should make a tour through a part of the country, Mr. Hastings, with that liberality and attention to the arts which has ever characterized his conduct, acceded to my request, and permitted me to accompany him.

ON the 25th of June, 1781, therefore, I embarked in a budgerow for this expedition. The periodical rains had now commenced, and every natural object presented a new face, with such a freshness of verdure, and with such vigour and fulness of foliage, that all nature appeared in the utmost luxuriance. From the number of gentlemen who necessarily attended the Governor General, the fleet was very large, and consisted of every variety of the boats of the country, except those which are called burs, and of which we met with several in our course. These vessels are large rude barks, the sides of which are raised very high, and sewed together with the fibres of the cocoa nut tree. They have only a single mast, with a large square sail, and the bottoms of them are nearly flat. They take in a great quantity of water from their sides and bottoms, which compels the crew to employ some people continually in bailing. They are used for the carriage of cotton, and other very bulky materials, the weight of which cannot bear any proportion to their size. Indeed, it would be impracticable to employ boats which were calculated to draw any considerable quantity of water on this river, as the navigation is extremely dangerous, from the sands being constantly shifting. I have known an island, four miles in length, and containing some villages, wholly swept away in one season; in the mean time, at a little distance, other islands were formed, from the sands being thrown up. This phenomenon took place off the point of Rajemahel, in the year 1782.

THE boats used by the natives for travelling, and also by Europeans, are the budgerows, which both sail and row: they have in general from twelve to twenty oars. These boats vary in their size according to the condition of their owners; some may be about sixty feet in length, having very high sterns; many of them twelve feet from the water's edge, and quite sharp at the upper point: in the center they are broad, having a considerable bearing in the water, and quite sharp forward. They are steered with a large paddle or oar, extending ten feet from the stern; and there is generally one mast in the center, on which is hoisted a large square sail: they have likewise a topmast, on which is a square sail for fine weather. These boats are ill calculated to go near the wind, and indeed are dangerous, from the great weight abaft; they are, however, extremely commodious, having in the center a small veranda, or open portico, opening by a door into a handsome room, lighted by a range of windows on each side. This is the dining or sitting room, within which is a convenient bed chamber, generally containing a small closet: the height of the sitting room is usually from seven to nine feet. Besides this boat, a gentleman is usually attended by two others; a pulwah, for the accommodation of the kitchen, and a smaller boat, a paunchway, which is destined to convey him either on shore or on board, as it frequently happens that the budgerow cannot come close to the shores, where he might wish to land. These boats sail more expeditiously than the budgerows; but the paunchways are

nearly of the same general construction, with this difference, that the greatest breadth is somewhat farther aft, and the sterns lower: the pulwahs are a broad boat, and not so sharp forward or aft as the other two. The English gentlemen have made great improvements on the budgerow in Bengal, by introducing a broad flat floor, square sterns, and broad bows. These boats are much safer, sail near and keep their wind, and there is no danger attending their taking the ground; they are, besides, calculated for carrying a greater quantity of sail. Another boat of this country, which is very curiously constructed, is called a Moor-punky: these are very long and narrow, sometimes extending to upwards of an hundred feet in length, and not more than eight feet in breadth; they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which rises either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal. The persons employed to paddle are directed by a man who stands up, and sometimes he makes use of a branch of a plant to direct their motions. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, in which are seated the owner and his friends, who partake together of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments, which are highly varnished, and exhibit a very considerable degree of taste. It was curious to me to observe the perfect similitude in manners between the inhabitants of this country and the people of Otaheite in these

water excursions. The pleasure boats of the South Sea islanders are, in many instances, similar to these: working in an ocean, they found the necessity of applying an outrigger, or of lashing two vessels together, to prevent overfetting. Like the boats I am speaking of, they are worked by paddles, and are also directed by a man holding a branch, who, in common with the person in the Moor-punky, uses much gesticulation, and tells his story to excite either laughter or exertion. My former passage down the river to Calcutta was too rapid to allow of more observation than what related to the general appearance of the villages and towns on its banks. The stream is usually calculated to run at the rate of five miles an hour; but the rapidity of the flood, during the rainy season, is increased, and round some of the points in the river it is very great. Should it be calm weather when the flood is thus impetuous, the boatmen endure much fatigue in towing round these points against the stream, and particularly so where the banks are very high; and some of them, in the great river, are equal to the top of the mast of a common budgerow.

At a small distance above Calcutta is the Danish settlement of Serampoor, where there is a neat town, which carries on a considerable trade. Both sides of the river are decorated with a few houses belonging to English gentlemen: at Ghiretty, twenty miles from Calcutta, is a very fine seat, which, in the year 1781, was inhabited by the family of the

late Sir Eyre Coote, who at that time was fighting the battles of his country on the plains of the Carnatic; where his health and life fell a sacrifice to his great exertions. With an army of never more than seven thousand effective men, this experienced General kept the whole power of Hyder Ally at bay, and at all times was superior in action to the multitudes of the enemy, who were supported by a most formidable train of artillery, and immense bodies of cavalry.

A LITTLE above this is the French settlement of Chandernagore, and the ruins of the fort evince it to have been considerable. The fort was destroyed by Commodore Watson in 1758, in a severe action, which was particularly distinguished by the gallantry of Captain Speke, who lost his son on the quarter-deck of his own ship during the engagement. Near to this is the town of Chinsurah, the Dutch settlement, on the banks of the river: this town is very distinguishable at a considerable distance, and has a handsome appearance. It contains several good houses, and a church, with a little mole projecting into the river. Chinsurah lies nearly midway between Chandernagore and the old town of Hoogly, which is now nearly in ruins, but possesses many vestiges of its former greatness. In the beginning of this century it was the great mart for the export trade of Bengal to Europe. From this place we pass by Culna and Nuddea, (both considerable towns) in our way to Cutwa, which was

made famous by the retreat of Aliverdy Cawn, in the face of a large Marhatta army, in May 1742. After passing Plassy, which has been already mentioned, is the great military station, in Bengal, Burhampoor, where there are barracks for ten thousand men; and a little above is the island of Coffimbuzar, in which is a factory belonging to the English company, where a commercial resident is constantly stationed: the gentleman then resident was Mr. S. Droz, whose polite attentions to me I shall always remember with pleasure. On this island there is likewise a Dutch factory. At a short distance from Coffimbuzar is the city of Moorhedabad, where, at the period of which I am speaking, resided Sir John D'Oyley, then engaged in a political department. The liberality and attentions of this gentleman to every person travelling this road are well known; and in his house, I may truly say, reigned the very spirit of old English hospitality. From Moorhedabad the Hoogly river continues to Sooty, where is the entrance into the Ganges. From this place to Mongheir it is usual to keep on the western shore, and nearly all the way to Patna, unless a leading breeze from the southward and eastward should enable the boatmen to steer as nearly from point to point as the shoals will admit. Every where on either side of the river there are collections of villages, and the country is in high cultivation.

WHEN the fleet arrived at the city of Patna the shores were lined with people, the windows in the houses on the

banks of the river were filled, even the tops of the buildings and every wall was crowded, so that when the Governor General went on shore, it was scarcely possible to proceed, from the multitude, which pressed on every side, to salute him. When he had passed them, all appeared struck with the simplicity of his appearance, and his ready and constant attention to prevent any injury to the meanest individual from the irascibility of his Chubdars, or other servants, who endeavoured to keep them from pressing in. They could not but contrast this appearance and conduct with that of their Nabobs, whom they had never seen except mounted on lofty elephants, and glittering in splendor with their train, followed by the soldiery to keep off the multitude from offending their arrogance and pride.

THE city of Patna, the principal seat of the province and government of Bahar, is long and narrow, containing a great number of inhabitants: this is the residence of the political and commercial chiefs, and the courts of justice of the province. It has been famous for ages. Major Rennel, whose judgement is scarcely to be disputed, places the ancient city of Palebothra upon the site of Patna. The buildings are high, and the streets narrow and far from clean. Patna contains a fort, in which were confined the prisoners taken by Meer Cossim, Nabob of Bengal, in the war of 1764, by whose order they were massacred. The execution of this most atrocious act was committed to Sum-

maroo, a French renegado in the service of the Nabob. The consequence of this scene of horror was, the expulsion of the Nabob, who afterwards drew the late Sujah ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oude, into a war with the English, which terminated so favourably and so honourably to the British character at the battle of Buxar; when a peace was made, leaving the conquerors in the undisturbed possession of Bengal, Bahar, and part of Orixia. Meer Cossim became afterwards, from his crimes, an outcast from society, and is reported to have died of want under the walls of Delhi, being prohibited from entering the city.

FROM Patna I made an excursion inland, about five cofs, to view the mosque of Moonhier, on the river Soane. This building, though not large, is certainly very beautiful: it is a square, with pavilions rising from the angles; and in the center is a majestic dome, the top of which is finished by what the Indian architects call a cullus: the line of the curve of the dome is not broken, but is continued by an inverted curve until it finishes in a crescent. I cannot but greatly prefer this to the manner in which all great domes are finished in Europe, by erecting a small building on the top, which, at the point of contact with the dome, has a sharp angle. The outer surface of this dome is ornamented by plantane leaves cut in stone, covering the whole; the lines intersect each other in great lozenges, and form altogether a beautiful ornament. The great entrance to the mosque is

similar to many of the doors to our large Gothic cathedrals, having columns diminishing as it were in perspective to the inner door. There is a large tank belonging to it, with several buildings rising from the water, containing pavilions. The whole, however, is much decayed.

THE river Soane falls into the Ganges a little above Patna: at a small distance from Patna is Bankepour, where are the residences of the English gentlemen, and near to which is the military station of Dinapour.

FROM Patna I followed the fleet, and passed the mouth of the river Caramnassa, the boundary of Bahar, and on the 12th of August arrived at Buxar. This is a fort and small military station, and was, at the time I was there, commanded by Major Eaton. We proceeded from this place to Gazipoor, on the eastern shore of the Ganges. At this place are the ruins of a fine palace, built in the beginning of this century. It is raised on a high bank, and on a point commanding two great reaches of the river, up and down. From the bank, which is full thirty feet from the water, is raised another basement of brick and masonry fifteen feet high, in which are some apartments: on this is the building, which is an oblong square, with great pavilions at the angles, and in the center of each side: the whole is an open space, supported by colonades surrounding it. Within, on the floor of the building, is a channel for water about four

feet wide ; it encircles the floor, and, at equal spaces, there were formerly fountains. In the center of the building is a space sufficient to contain twenty people.

NEARLY adjoining to this palace is a building for the purpose of raising water for the fountains, and supplying them by the means of pipes, which communicate with each other.

ABOUT two miles inland from the river are the remains of a serai ; and, nearly adjoining, tombs, built at the same period as the palace. These buildings are in a fine taste of Moorish architecture, and in very good repair. Views of both the palace and tombs are exhibited to the public in a work which I published, containing Views in India.

FROM Gazipoor I proceeded to Benares, a distance of twenty English miles, and arrived there the day after the Governor General with his suite.

I FELT a real pleasure on my arrival at this place, from being able to contemplate the pure Hindoo manners, arts, buildings, and customs, undepraved by any intermixture with the Mahomedans ; and laid my plans for observing with the utmost attention whatever came within the sphere of a painter's notice. The unhappy events that immediately succeeded frustrated, for the present, those designs.

It would give me pleasure to satisfy the curiosity of the reader concerning the circumstances of that war, but it would be foreign to the object of these pages to enter upon a minute detail; and the public is already in possession of the great outline of the facts. Some notes, however, which I made on the spot, and at the time, may prove not quite uninteresting, and I flatter myself will contain something of original information.

It is not my business to enter into the question respecting the rights of the government in different countries and those of the governed. Facts are my object, and such alone as fell within the limited and confined sphere of my notice. On my arrival, the 15th of August, the general conversation turned upon the conduct of Cheyt Sing, the Zemendar of the province. It is necessary in this place to remark, that the word Zemendar implies simply a land-holder, either by a right of inheritance, or as a renter merely; if by right of inheritance, the government, virtually being the proprietors of the soil, if they think proper may possess themselves of it by the laws of Hindostan, paying to the Zemendar ten per cent. out of such Zemendary. Rajah Cheyt Sing had met the Governor General at Buxar, attended with a considerable train, and a large fleet of boats, in which were two thousand armed men, selected from the flower of the military of Benares, and supposed at the time, and reasonably so, to be intended for the purpose of supporting him in the re-

fusal of fuch demands as might be made upon him by the Governor General, and to prevent the exertion of force in support of the British authority.

THE cause of disagreement between the British government and the Zemendar of Benares is well known. It is, however, merely an act of common justice to state, that, during my whole residence in India, I never so much as heard the guilt and perfidy of Cheyt Sing once called in question. It was notorious that he was in the interest of the enemy; and it was equally notorious that he with-held, under the most trifling and false pretences, the assistance which was demanded of him, and which by the nature of his treaty he was bound to furnish: in a word, it was notorious to every person that he wanted only a convenient opportunity to withdraw his allegiance from the company.

AFTER several letters and messages had passed between Cheyt Sing and the Governor General, the Resident, Mr. Markham, received orders to put the Rajah under arrest, at his house at Sewalla Gaut, on the banks of the river, to which he quietly submitted, without any appearance of opposition. This was on the 16th; and about one o'clock in the afternoon we were informed that a large body of the Rajah's people had crossed from Ramnagur to the Benares side of the river, and had surrounded the Rajah's house. A note was at the same time received by the Resident, Mr.

Markham, from Lieutenant Staulker, who had been left with two companies of Major Popham's grenadier seapoys as a guard, saying that the people began to be troublesome, and requesting an immediate supply of ammunition. It was now found that such delicacy had been observed towards the Rajah, in order to prevent any suspicion being entertained of an intention to carry the punishment farther than was really proposed, that the seapoys muskets were not loaded, nor had they (as no serious opposition was expected) any ammunition. To this unfortunate circumstance may be attributed the unhappy fate of three very gallant officers, Lieutenants Staulker, Scott, and Sims, and two complete companies of grenadier seapoys, not more than twenty escaping with their lives, and numbers of those miserably wounded.

As soon as the disturbance became known, Major Popham, who was then at Benares, set off immediately for his camp at Marwaddy, about two cofs (or four miles) from the town, to lead the remainder of his people to the assistance of their fellow soldiers. His utmost exertions enabled them to arrive only in sufficient time to be the melancholy spectators of this horrid slaughter, without the power of revenging it, as the rebels had dispersed, and the Rajah had found means to make his escape.

FORTUNATELY for the English party in Benares, the rebels were satisfied with what they had effected, the liberation

of the Rajah and the massacre of the seapoys ; but had they attacked the Governor General in his then defenceless situation, every person with him must have fallen a sacrifice to their fury.

THE following day every Englishman attended the funeral of Lieutenants Staulker, Scott, and Sims ; and some time after a monument to their memory was raised over their remains. The gloom that succeeded was truly melancholy ; the business of the city was stopped, and it was deserted by great numbers of the inhabitants. In passing through the streets knots of people, all of them armed, were observed secretly consulting. From this situation we were roused by an unhappy affair, arising from the ill-judged ambition of Captain Mayaffer, who commanded the remainder of Major Popham's detachment at Mizapoor, on the opposite side of the river, consisting of a battalion of seapoys, and Captain Doxat's corps of chasseurs, reinforced by Captain Blair's battalion of seapoys from Chunar. This officer, contrary to positive orders, led the troops to the attack of Ramnagur, a fort and town on the opposite side of the river to Benares. The streets of this town are narrow, and every house being built with stone, they became each a fortification, which was filled with the Rajah's people. The consequence of this rash conduct was, the loss of Captain Mayaffer, Captain Doxat, thirty-three of the corps of chasseurs, two guns, one howitzer, and one hundred and three men of all deno-

minations. The news of this check reached us on the 21st. in the morning, and was soon followed by advices of the intentions of the rebels to make an attack on Benares that night; it was therefore thought advisable to leave this place of insecurity for Chunar, a distance of twenty miles. This resolution was taken at seven in the evening, and the whole party was clear of the town by half past eight o'clock. The confusion natural on such an occasion soon subsided; and the party, including servants, &c. with the troops, which amounted to about four hundred men, safely arrived opposite Chunar in the morning at seven o'clock. The night fortunately turned out the most favourable possible; it was light, clear, and cool. As the resolution was suddenly taken, I was under the necessity of leaving behind me the whole of my baggage, excepting my drawings, and a few changes of linen, which I had thrown into my pallankee, and which in the confusion of the night I lost sight of, but found my servants on the following day. In the party was Beneram Pundit, the Berar Vakeel,* and his brother Bissumber Pundit, who, from motives of the strongest personal attachment to Mr. Hastings, left their family in Benares, to attend him, and set what in that country is a very extraordinary example, a native voluntarily sharing in the dangers and distresses of a European, without a view to his own private advantage.

* Vakeel is an Agent from one court to another.

ON this occasion it cannot be improper to mention the handsome and liberal conduct of every gentleman in the garrison of Chunar to those who attended the Governor General. I feel strongly the attentions shewn me at this time by my friend Major, now Colonel Gardner, at whose house, during my stay at Chunar, I received every kind of hospitality.

THE war was now completely commenced, with great disadvantage on the part of the English; their number small, and besieged in a fort, without provision to last a month, or money to pay the few troops, which were already considerably in arrears, owing to the misconduct of the Rajah, who had now fixed his standard on the fort of Lutteefpoor, in the jungles,* and who was recruiting his army. The several orders that had been sent by the Governor General to the commanding officers, who were within a moderate distance, to march to his assistance, were either cut off by the enemy, or, from the fears of the messengers, these orders were secreted, and were never heard of afterwards. One of the Hircarrahs,† however, reached Lieutenant Polhil, then at Allahabad, who immediately marched with his corps of three hundred and eighty men, and reached the opposite shore of Chunar on the 27th. In the mean time, a person in the service of

* Jungles, close woods.

† Hircarrahs are servants, used for carrying orders or messages to any distance.

Cheyt Sing, at Iionpoor, on the river Goomty, had collected a body of two thousand matchlock men, and one hundred and fifty horse, and had taken post at a small fort called Seker, on the opposite side of the river to Chunar. This man Lieutenant Polhil received orders to attack on the following morning, which order he executed with success: he drove the enemy, and took possession of the fort, and secured a considerable quantity of grain. This was a valuable acquisition to the party, for it was now found, from the temper of the people and the complexion of the times, that scarcely as much grain could be procured as would serve the daily consumption of the garrison. The Rajah's force at this time was said to be ten thousand strong, and his ostensible force was daily increasing.

MAJOR Popham's camp lay at two miles distance from the fort; and on the third of September he detached a party, under the command of Captain Blair, with an intention to break up a camp of the enemy which was formed under the walls of Pateeta, and which was carried into execution with great gallantry, though with considerable loss. Pateeta is a large town, surrounded by a rampart, and defended by a fort.

THE news of the insurrection had spread to a considerable distance, and a force was detached from Cawnpoor, and from Lucknow, to the assistance of the Governor General,

under Majors Crab and Roberts, the first of which reached Chunar on the 10th of September, and the latter gentleman on the 13th. Effective measures were then taken to put a final period to the war, by attacking vigorously both the fort of Pateeta and that of Lutteefpoor, and both attacks happily succeeded on the same day, the Rajah flying from Lutteefpoor to take sanctuary in his strong hold of Bidjegur. I should have remarked, that Pateeta lies about four miles north of Chunar, and Lutteefpoor ten miles beyond, in the same direction: Bidjegur is fifty miles from Chunar.

THE cruel and sanguinary disposition of Cheyt Sing was manifested, during his residence in Lutteefpoor, by an action of peculiar atrocity. Some wounded men who were taken prisoners in the camp that was left at Mirzapoor, on the retreat of the troops after the unhappy affair of Captain Mayaffer, had been conveyed to Lutteefpoor, where they were detained as prisoners. Upon hearing of the success of Captain Blair's party, the Rajah ordered the unhappy men to be bound and carried into the woods, and to be there massacred in cold blood. One poor creature only escaped in a very mangled condition into Chunar.

THE fort of Chunar is situated on the Ganges, near twenty miles above the city of Benares: it is built on a rock, which is fortified all round by a wall, and towers at various distances. At that end overlooking the river is situated the

citadel, which has formerly been strong. This fort is said to be of the highest antiquity, and originally built by the Hindoos. In the citadel there is an altar, consisting of a plain black marble slab, on which the tutelary deity of the place is traditionally at all times supposed to be seated, except from sun-rise until nine o'clock in the morning, when he is at Benares, during which time, from the superstition of the Hindoos, attacks may be made with a prospect of success. In various parts of the fort there are old sculptures of the Hindoo divinities, now nearly defaced by time. There are likewise on the gates some old Persian inscriptions, mentioning in whose reign, and by whom, the fort was repaired and strengthened.

THIS has always been considered as a post of great consequence upon the Ganges, from its insulated situation, projecting forwards to a considerable extent, and being of considerable height. It was besieged by the English in the war carried on, during the years 1764 and 1765, against the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah when he joined Meer Coffim, and was gallantly defended by its commandant, an Abyssinian in the service of that prince.

THE first attempt of the English against Chunar was unsuccessful; but afterwards, on the fall of Allahabad, the commandant finding that the whole country had submitted to the English, and that his master's affairs were desperate,

thought it needless to hold out any longer, and on the 7th of February, 1765, he surrendered the Fort to Major, now General Stibbert; it was afterwards restored to the Nabob, when the peace was settled with that Prince; and in 1772, it was formally ceded by him to the English East India Company, in exchange for the Fort of Allahabad. At this place is kept the magazine of ammunition and artillery for the Brigade at Cawnpore.

DURING my stay at Chunar I made several drawings of the Fort, and one of Pateeta. As the war was, however, now concluded, except obtaining possession of Bidjegur (to which place Major Popham proceeded with his whole force), the whole party returned with the Governor General, through Ramnagar, to Benares, and arrived there the 28th of September; after which I had sufficient leisure and opportunity for my particular and professional pursuits.



CHAP. IV.

Description of Benares—Elegant Facade—Hindoo Temples—Dissertation on the Hindoo, Moorish, and Gothic Architecture.

THE city of Benares being the capital of a large district, and particularly marked as the seat of the Bramin learning, it cannot but be considered as an object of particular curiosity, more especially, since the same manners and customs prevail amongst these people at this day, as at the remotest period that can be traced in history: and in no instances of religious or civil life have they admitted of any innovations from foreigners. According to universal report, this is one of the most ancient Hindoo cities; and if the accounts of their own antiquity may be depended upon, it is, perhaps, the oldest in the world. Major Rennell, however, entertains a different opinion on this subject, from its not being mentioned by the Syrian Embassadors soon after the time of Alexander, and from its being unnoticed by Pliny; and I have too great a deference for such an authority, to be at all inclined to dispute it, whatever may be the claims to antiquity which are preferred in favour of this city.

It certainly is curious, and highly entertaining to an inquisitive mind, to associate with a people whose man-

ners are more than three thousand years old ; and to observe in them that attention and polished behaviour which usually marks the most highly civilized state of society.

THE distance of Benares from Calcutta, by the nearest road, according to Major Rennell, is 460 miles ; by water, that distance is greatly increased. This city anciently bore the name of Kasi, but at what period it received its present name the page of history is silent. It is built on the north side of the river, which is here very broad, and the banks of which are very high : from the water, its appearance is extremely beautiful ; the great variety of the buildings strikes the eye, and the whole view is much improved by innumerable flights of stone steps, which are either entrances into the several temples, or to the houses. Several Hindoo temples greatly embellish the banks of the river, and are all ascended to by Gauts, or flights of steps, such as I have already noticed. Many other public and private buildings possess also considerable magnificence. Several of these I have painted, and some on a large scale, such as I conceived the subjects demanded. Many buildings on the banks of the river, which engage the attention, and invite to further observation, prove, on a more minute investigation, to be only embankments, to prevent the overflowing of the water from carrying away the banks at the season of the periodical rains, and for some time after, when the river is high, and the current strong. The most consider-

able of these embankments is called Gelfi Gaut ; the splendor and elegance of which, as a building, I was induced to examine, but found, upon ascending the large flight of steps from the river, nothing behind this beautiful facade but the natural bank, and on the top a planted garden. In the centre of the building, over the river, is a kind of turret, raised and covered, for the purpose of enjoying the freshness of the evening air; and, at the extreme angles, two pavilions crowned with domes, which have the same destination. Most of these buildings have been erected by the charitable contributions of the wealthy, for the benefit of the public.

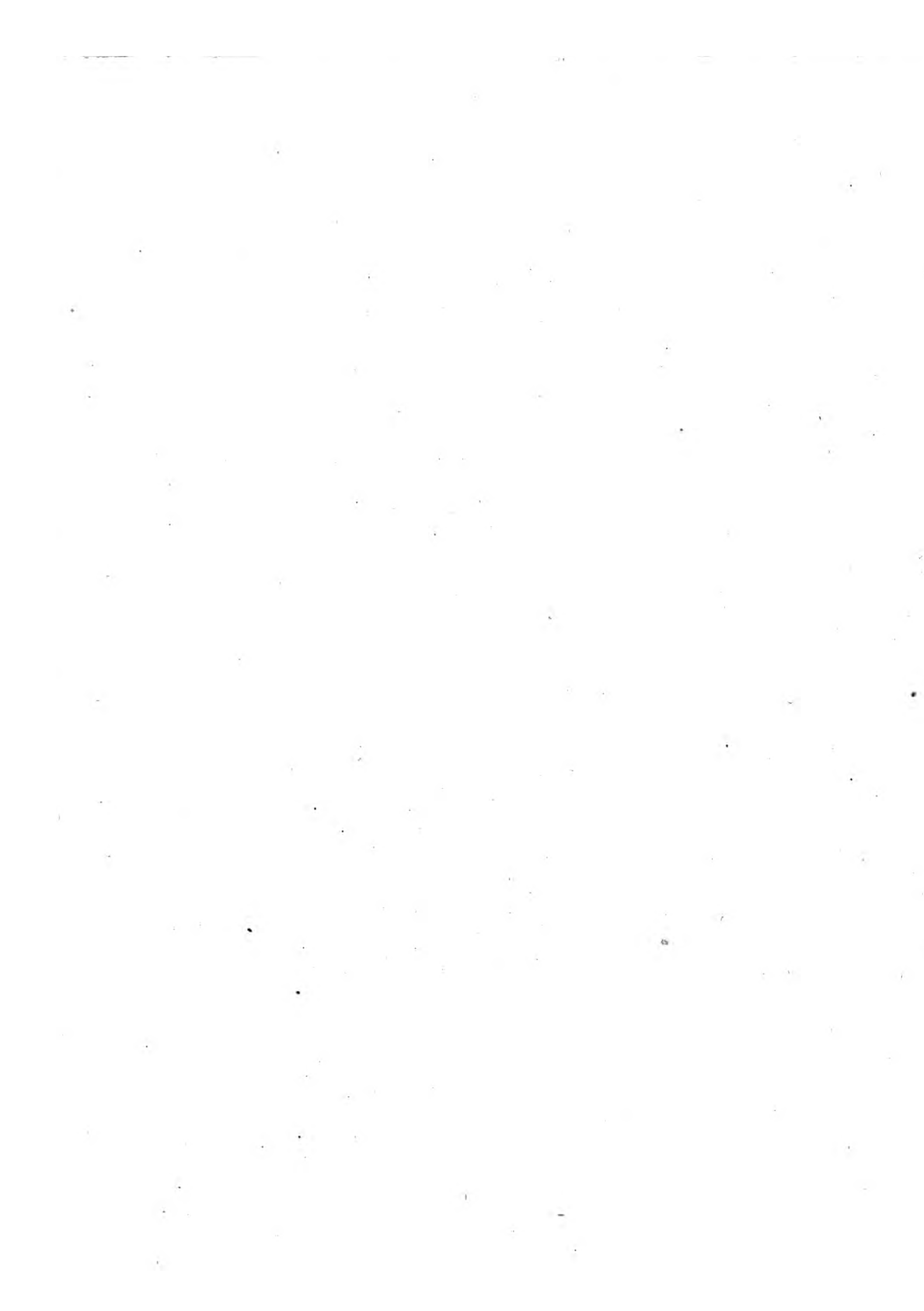
NEARLY in the centre of the city is a considerable Mahomedan mosque, with two minarets: the height from the water to the top of the minarets is 232 feet. This building was raised by that most intolerant and ambitious of human beings, the Emperor Aurungzebe, who destroyed a magnificent temple of the Hindoos on this spot, and built the present mosque, of the same extent and height as the building he destroyed.

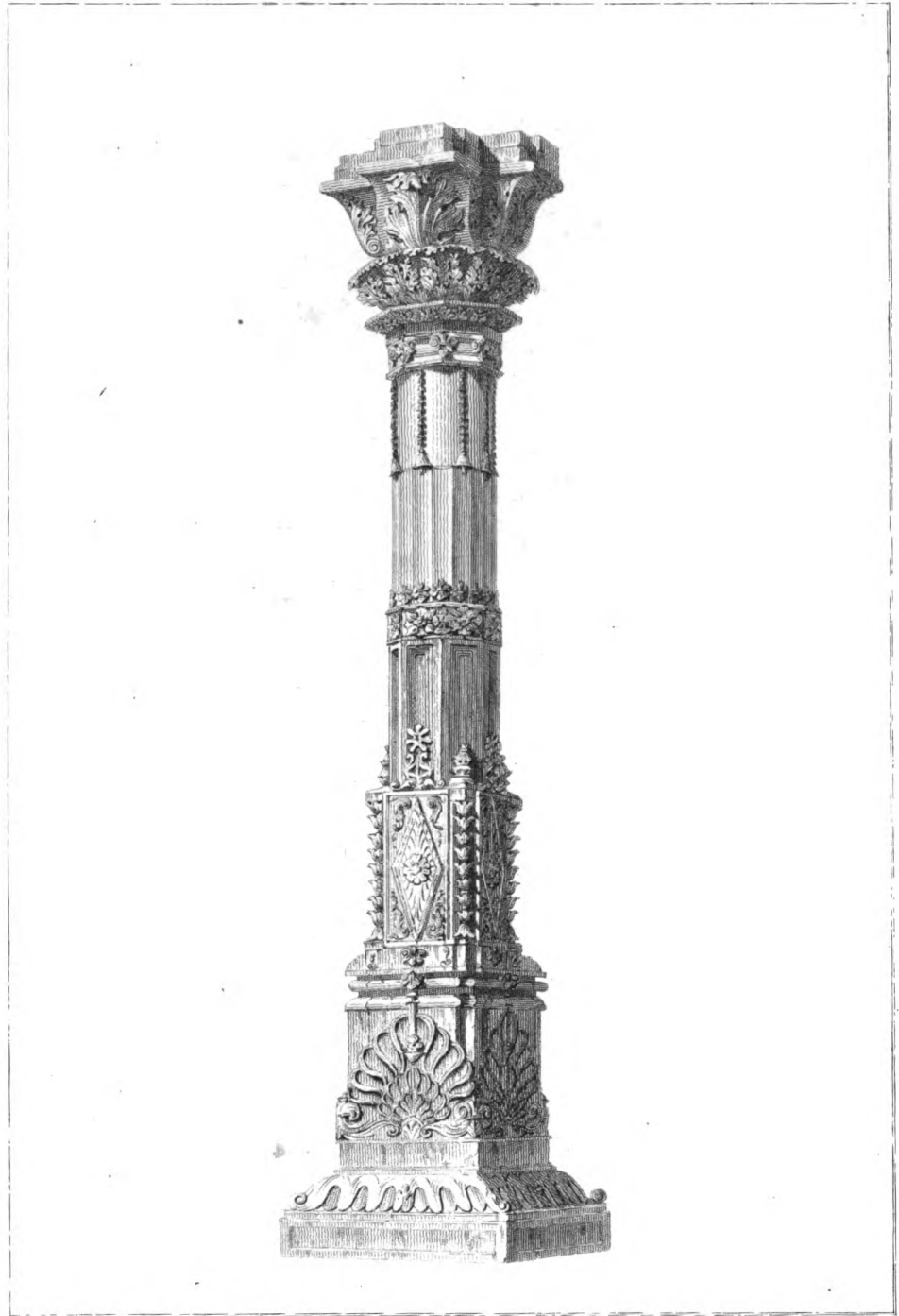
THE streets in the city are narrow, and not kept in such good order as I expected, from some Hindoo villages I had before seen. The houses are very high; I observed some in which I counted five stories, each inhabited by different families. The more wealthy Hindoos, however, live in detached

houses, with open courts, surrounded by a wall. The heat, in this place, is considered as very great in the hot months, not only from its natural situation, but from the houses being all built of free stone, as well as from the narrowness of the streets, which produce double and treble reflections of the sun's rays : from the month of March, therefore, to the usual setting in of the rains in the latter end of June, its heat must be intolerable.

SURROUNDING the city are many ruins of buildings, the effects of Mahomedan intolerance. One is a large circular edifice, having evidently been a Hindoo temple, or part of one; there are still vestiges of some of the ornaments; and on one part I found the Grecian scroll.

DURING my studies at Benares, when I was making drawings of some Bramins, and several other persons who were entering and departing from a temple named *Vish Vissha*, my attention was called to the building itself, and the more I regarded it, the more I was surprized to discover ornaments upon it which were familiar to my eyes. I then determined to make a sketch of the whole, which I executed, as well as a more complete drawing of one of the columns; for on accurately observing the building in all its parts, I found each column to contain the different ornaments which were found in the other parts of the building.





A COLUMN taken from the TEMPLE of VIS VISHA at BENARES.

*Engraved by T. Madland, from a Drawing
made on the Spot by W. Hodges R.A.*

FOR the satisfaction of my readers a very careful engraving is annexed, which was executed from the drawing made upon the spot.

IT is certainly curious to observe most of the ornamental parts of Grecian architecture appearing in a building erected on the plains of Hindostan. I was indeed much struck with this circumstance, and led to reflect upon it so frequently, that I was at length tempted to commit to paper a few thoughts on these different styles of architecture, which, in the form of a pamphlet upon the subject, was accompanied by two large plates engraved from pictures, entitled, *Views of the Gate leading to the Tomb of Acbar at Secundii, and the Mausoleum of the Emperor Shere Shah at Sasseram.* As the essay accompanying these plates was printed on a scale equal to the plates, and as I have since found that it could not on that account be read with any convenience, I determined to introduce the substance of it in this place, as being immediately connected with the subject which is now before us, and I conceive perfectly calculated for a work professedly dedicated, in some measure, to the history and progress of the arts in India.

As I am neither sufficiently qualified, nor willing to lose myself in the unfathomable, and perhaps impenetrable darkness of Eastern antiquities, I shall not, for the present, say any thing on the characteristic difference of the original Hindoo, and the more modern style of Moorish Architecture, in which

all the great monuments are constructed; but I shall confine myself to a few loose remarks on the prototypes, or first models of architecture, as far as it is an art both of taste and convenience.

THAT the Grecian Architecture comprizes all that is excellent in the art, I cannot help considering as a doctrine, which is in itself as erroneous and servile, as in its consequences it is destructive of every hope of improvement. Architecture undoubtedly should, and must be adapted, to all the climates and countries which mankind inhabit, and is variously, more than any other art, influenced and modified by the nature of the climate and materials, as well as by the habits and pursuits of the inhabitants.

I HAVE not read Father Ladola's famous dissertation on the absurdity of the misplaced and unprincipled imitation of Greek architecture; nor am I in the least prejudiced against its very eminent beauties and perfections: but why should we admire it in an exclusive manner; or, blind to the majesty, boldness, and magnificence of the Egyptian, Hindoo, Moorish, and Gothic, as admirable wonders of architecture, unmercifully blame and despise them, because they are more various in their forms, and not reducible to the precise rules of the Greek hut, prototype, and column? or because in smaller parts, perhaps accidentally similar, their proportions are different from those to which we are become familiar by habit.

ALLOWING what must be allowed, that the Greek columns, as they are drawn and applied by genius, are the most beautiful stone representations of the wooden props or supports of their original hut, and that in their general forms, and each subordinate part, they are the *ne plus ultra* of simplicity, strength, and elegance, shall we precipitately determine, that the whole excellence of architecture depends on the column alone, or forget that its great effect depends rather upon the great masses and forms, and upon the symmetry, strength, and conveniency?

HOWEVER partial I must feel, from habit and education, to the Greeks, whose free and unfettered genius, in a long series of ages, improved the original hut of a woody country into the incomparable beauties of a marble temple or palace; yet I freely avow that this by no means prevents my entertaining a similar partiality for countries, where different models have been brought to an equal perfection. The forms of the first habitations have differed, as the respective countries, climates, and manners of the builders, and as the nature, abundance, or scantiness of materials have directed.

CAVERNS, deep vallies, shaggy over-hanging rocks, hollow trees, and the thick impenetrable foliage of the forest, have been equally the natural retreat and occasional habitation of the wild beasts, and of men whom different accidents have left unacquainted with the comforts of society, exposed to the

inclemencies of the seasons, or to the apprehension of dangers from animals of prey, or the no less dangerous enemies of their own species. Men are neither born with tools to build with, nor can be supposed to have intuitively an innate idea of any particular form of habitation, such as bountiful nature has assigned to the beaver, the swallow, or the bee; but man is born with a native sense of his wants, and with judgment and intellectual powers to improve his situation by such means, as the country affords, and as the climate will suggest.

THUS far I can venture to state, not only from what I have read, but likewise by a stronger conviction, from what I have seen in the various climates and parts of the world in which I have beheld mankind, in almost every stage of negative or positive civilization.

THE hollow tree, and the thick foliage of the forest, into which even Kings of Ithaca and Britain have retired, are fitter for occasional than for permanent residence. They appear evidently imitated in the wigwams of the torpid, wretched, unsettled Pecherais on the frozen coast of Terra del Fuego; of the equally independent, but not more fortunate New Hollanders, in a milder climate; and of the more civilized and sagacious hunting savages of North America.

THESE wigwams, nearly the same every where as to form, differ in various countries only in the nature of the materials

they are built with, such as the boughs of trees, shrubs, creeping plants, reeds, fods, and grafs. Now, if any of these wandering families of hunters and fishermen should become stationary, or form into larger societies, they would soon be disposed to give to their habitations as much durability and conveniency as their climates, materials, and manner of life would admit of; nor is it probable they would lose sight of their prototype, the wigwam, or materially deviate from it in the external form of their more capacious erection. For constant residence, these would be improved into the various thatches and huts which I have seen in the South Sea Islands, and which the Negroes on the Coast of Guinea, and the Hottentots, inhabit; high and low, circular or square, open at all sides, inclosed with palifades, matting, or wicker-work hurdles, lattice, or mud walls. They will raise them on piles above the ground, and, as it were, suspend them in the air, in countries where the dampness of the soil, or sudden inundations, would endanger their lives and property; as on the banks of the Marannon, or Oroonoko, in Guiana, and in the inland parts of Surinam: they will keep them low, and, as it were, sink them under ground, in cold climates, where heavy blasts of wind and snow teach them such methods of self-defence. Wandering nations, of herdsmen, fishermen, and warriors, such as the Arabs, Calmucks, Monguls, Tonquefées, Tartars, Esquimeaux, Greenlanders, Laplanders, Samojudes, and Ostiacks, find in the skins of their cattle, of

their flocks, and of their fishes, materials; and in their camels, horses, bullocks, and fishing boats, conveyances of portable huts, and imitations of their original wigwams, huts and tents, which in shape will differ more or less, according to the different materials they are made of. We find them of seal and rein deer skins in the north, of hides, felt, or matting; in Arabia or Tartary, in the form of cones, with square roofs, and open or shut at the sides.

THE different habitations will retain more or less of their primitive form in proportion as the different builders remain independent and unmixed, unconnected, and in the same state and culture; and as habit reconciles the human mind to almost every thing, each of these nations or tribes will regard their primitive habitations with the same eye of partiality as they are prejudiced in favour of their respective countries; but when encreasing opulence, ambition, or successful oppression, create artificial wants, and the great look for more convenience and distinction, the national primitive hut or tent will be enlarged, and embellished with what is costly among them. When emigrations to foreign countries take place, their prototype will follow the colonist, and genius will at last stretch and improve it to the last degree of perfection of which it is capable. What this is, or may be, in architecture, we see with admiration exemplified in the old Greek and Roman architecture, which is the thatched wooden hut, meta-

morphosed by genius into a marble edifice, and yet expressing its original parts in such proportions as are consistent with the nature of stone and marble. Agreeably to the same principle, the most elegant Chinese buildings are evidently imitations of the tent made of bamboo, where strength and slender tapering form admit of higher proportions and wider intercolumniations, and must, of course, make the Greek marble column and its narrow intercolumniation appear heavy in comparison with the Chinese. The Chinese idea of the beauties of their architecture must differ from that of the Greeks, and the Greek rule of architectural beauty cannot reasonably be applied to the principle and materials of Chinese buildings. How far all the above prototypes of buildings are improveable, must be left to the future exertions of genius.

THE oblong and tapering huts of the people of Easter Island in the Southern Ocean, are hardly improveable in that country, which is almost destitute of timber. An active people, such as its former inhabitants seem to have been, might, indeed, imitate them in stone; but would these huts suggest any idea but that of ribbed oblong arches, tapering on every side? Even the simple wigwam will, under the influence of fortunate circumstances, be adorned by genius with all the pomp of Flora; the rose, the vine, the honey-suckle, and the gourd, will be entwined; they will be formed into cool and shady bowers, like those which the glowing imagination of Milton assigned to our first parents in the Garden of Eden.

THE cavern and grotto, by nature fitted for the safe retreat and habitation of man, has in itself many advantages; in particular, a solidity and durability, which art has never been able successfully to imitate: its impenetrable sides and external form are the mountain itself.

WHEN airy, spacious, and lofty within, on a rising ground, commanding an extensive prospect and a spring, on the banks of rivers, or in the cliffs on the sea shore, how desirable in a burning climate; impenetrable to wind and weather, how acceptable in cold climates, which are deprived of timber. Let us have a nearer view of its gloomy recesses.

THEY are indiscriminately found in every climate; but in mountainous countries only, in which, as the Swiss philosophers tell us, with a particular complacency to themselves, sagacity sooner ripens into genius, and in which the materials for building artificial mountains and caves are obvious at every step. Violence and superior force would soon take possession of those which are fittest for habitation and safety. The bones and remains of the largest and fiercest wild beasts, such as the elephant, rhinoceros, lion, tiger, bear, and wolf, formerly the lords of the wilderness, are still found in many of them, and constitute so many proofs of their exclusive possession. Is it to be wondered at, that the stoutest, fiercest, and craftiest, amongst the lords of the whole creation, should also have laid hold and kept similar possession of them from the remotest antiquity?

A GOOD cavern was then a superb palace; under certain circumstances it is so still. If these great men, or usurpers, became afterwards objects of superstitious adoration, or if they have themselves been the framers of any system of superstition, then we shall no longer be at a loss to account for the almost universal tradition which characterises rocks and caverns as the haunts and sacred habitations of the Gods; and in consequence of which the form and gloom of such caverns have been universally imitated in the oldest temples. Their external form and appearance is the spiry rock, the towering cliff, and the mountain in its immense extent: How various! how grand! Their inner form, their breaks, and masses, how infinitely more various, grand, and majestic, than any thing which the poor wigwam, and its most ingenious imitations, can suggest or boast of, which, compared to them, dwindle into nothing; their wonderful variety, their shape, their structure, combination of parts, and natural ornaments, depend partly on the difference of the causes and circumstances under which they have been formed, and on the nature of the mountains in which they are found. The Granite, which forms the highest masses of the oldest mountains, affects particular forms, and displays a mixture of parts, which are either not found, or are less discernible in other rocks, such as glittering or gold-coloured mica, chrystal, and a more or less hardened basis, in which these are wrapped up and confined. It is found, evidently stratified, in uncouth beds of immense extent, variously

inclined, which furnishes solid masses of almost every size and dimension.

THE largest obelisks of Egypt have been hewn out of them. When shattered or broken by the irresistible shock of earthquakes, the impetuosity of torrents, when worn by the current of rivers, or corroded or mouldered by the slower action of frost, wind, and weather, the horrid crush and downfall of mountains presents the granite blocks and strata in their rude unwieldy immensity, wildly piled upon each other, so as to form, accidentally, huts and caverns beneath. In the same manner, they appear naked and laid bare on the weather-beaten tops and prominences of the highest mountains.

THE fissures and divisions of the masses appear in various directions, agreeably to the force which has acted upon them; and in some cases they are wonderfully equipoised and balanced upon each other.

I HAVE been informed by an ingenious and learned friend of mine, well acquainted with the natural history of Cornwall, that we need not go to Upper Egypt or the Alps for the study of granite mountains; the whole south-westerly end of this island, beginning at Dartmoor in Devonshire, and extending through the whole county of Cornwall, to the remotest cliffs and rocks of the Scilly Islands,

is more or less a mass of granite, almost every where intersected by metallic veins; that this chiefly appears in St. Michael's Mount, in Mount's Bay, on the south coast; that some metallic veins or lodes, in the high towering cliffs on the north coast, corroded and decomposed by the furious battering of the sea, have left stupendous caverns and excavations, of which he mentions one in Wicka Cove, between St. Ives and St. Just, as particularly grand, and worthy the inspection of the artist, as well as of the natural historian.

IN calcareous, mostly stratified mountains, caverns are more various and common: besides the accidental caves produced by the giving way and tumbling down of mountainous masses, and the decomposition of metallic and other lodes, more extensive and singular excavations are found in them, evidently produced by earthquakes, or by the decomposition of parts of the rocky masses, or of the stratified rock salt, which they surrounded and covered. Such are, I am informed, among many others, the caverns near Chudleigh and Plymouth, in Devonshire, and those which are so justly famous near Castleton and Buxton, in Derbyshire. In these last we behold the undeniable prototype of the lofty semi-circular dome, and of the arched vault, of which the hut of the Grecians could not suggest the idea. I describe them, from the accurate observations of the above mentioned ingenious gentleman, as wonderfully regular, and as large conical excavations in the roof of these caverns, which examined

by the light of torches appeared to resemble so many semi-circular or parabolical cupolas, or, to use a less dignified comparison, so many immense bells. The caverns in calcareous, or more modern adventitious mountains, shew in their walls, besides the texture and stratification, petrified marine, or other bodies, which are never found in granite or similar silicious stones; a wonderful variety of glittering spar crystals; and, in particular, incrustations of snow-white spar or stalactite, which either form undulated hangings on their sides, or icicles dripping from their roofs in the shape of columns, pillars, &c. These are the peculiar glories and features of the grotto of Antiparos. I pass over the caverns in slate and the looser grit-stone, to dwell one instant longer on those which are produced by volcanic eruptions, and chiefly by the contraction of cooling lavas. They totally differ in form and features from the preceding: the forms which these assume will resemble the apertures and bubbles which are found in other scoria. Some of them which are found in Iceland will hold numerous flocks of sheep; they are spread hundreds of fathoms in various branches under ground, and have served formerly as strong holds and habitations to the rustic heroes and warriors, whose names are highly celebrated in the traditional history and songs of that country. Fingal's famous and magnificent grotto is a large stratum of columnar basalt, in the isle of Staffa, though probably it never was fit for habitation, and still less what some philosophers have supposed it to be, the prototype of the column. That

caverns in the loofer chalk, grit-ftone, and beds of hardened volcanic afhes, or tufa, are exceedingly improveable; and that caverns have been inhabited and variously improved, is, I think, undeniably evident, from what we fee and read in the monuments and antiquities of every part of the world, and particularly from the immense excavated works in the ifland of Salfett, on the coaft of Malabar, and many others.

THE eafy task of fpecific historical proof I muft leave to others; and request my readers juft to confider, that when enlarged and improved natural caverns in rocks and mountains became infufficient to the increafing numbers of men and families, their improvement and enlargement, whatever it might have been, muft naturally bring on imitations of their forms, by artificial excavations of rocks, or artificial grottos, caverns, and catacombs, by the piling up of loofe and moveable natural ftone; and, laftly, by the compofition of brick, or other artificial imitations of natural ftone, which of courfe would produce walls, huts, and houfes of ftone, mud, or brick, and nearly of the fame form.

ONE natural inference may and ought to be drawn from what has been faid, that the feveral fpecies of ftone buildings, which have been brought more or lefs to perfection, (I mean the Egyptian, Hindoo, Moorifh, and Gothic architecture) inftead of being copies of each other, are actually and effentially the fame; the fpontaneous produce of genius in different countries; the neceffary effects of fimilar neceffity

and materials; older and younger brothers and sisters of the same family, conceived, brought up, and bred to more or less grandeur, elegance and perfection, in the Egyptian, Hindoo, and other artificial grottos and caverns. The pyramid, the obelisk, the spire steeple and minaret, are evidently bold, stupendous imitations of the romantic forms of spiry, towering rocks, which the imitators of humble huts never presumed to attempt. The flat roof hundred pillared Egyptian temple, the Indian pagoda, and choultry, are as evident copies of the numerous caverns, cool grottos, and excavations in the rocky banks of the Nile in Upper Egypt, and in the island of Elephanta and Salfet near Bombay. Gloom and darkness are common and desirable to both; for Fancy works best when involved in the veil of obscurity. The arched vault and lofty dome was not suggested to the Egyptians and oldest Hindoos by the grotto and sacred caverns in granite mountains; they are the natural forms of other caverns, and in particular the boast, the strength, and glory of more modern Moorish and Gothic temples. If the single or grouped pillars, in many of the props and supports of artificial caverns, should appear heavy, they must be regarded as having been originally props to mountains; and such would be retained in common use, till experience found out easier and more pleasing proportions; and till aspiring genius, at the sight of airy and lofty caverns, dared to give them lightness, and all the fanciful forms and graces of the Gothic style.

SUCH are my sentiments on the origin of these different modes of architecture. The Grecian confessedly was suggested by the primitive form of a rural hut in a champaign woody country; and the Oriental and Gothic I conceive has derived its form and its ornaments from those surprizing excavations which are found in rocky and mountainous regions. In India these heterogeneous species of building are seldom found combined; and I mention the instance which gave rise to this discussion as very singular indeed. By what means this unnatural union has taken place it is impossible to determine; and conjecture would only lead us astray from the object of these pages, which is a narrative and description of facts.

C H A P. V.

Ceremony of Widows devoting themselves on the Funeral Pile of their Husbands—Minute Description of the Performance of that horrid Sacrifice—Journey to Bidjegur—Description of the Fort, &c.—Arrival at Bauglepoor—The Author accompanies Mr. Cleveland through a Part of his District—Excellent Conduct of Mr. Cleveland in civilizing the Mountaineers—Curious Sacrifice.

WHILE I was pursuing my professional labours in Benares, I received information of a ceremony which was to take place on the banks of the river, and which greatly excited my curiosity. I had often read and repeatedly heard of that most horrid custom amongst, perhaps, the most mild and gentle of the human race, the Hindoos; the sacrifice of the wife on the death of the husband, and that by a means from which nature seems to shrink with the utmost abhorrence, by burning. Many instances of this practice have been given by travellers; those whom I have met with only mention it as taking place among the highest classes of society, whose vanity united with superstitious prejudices might have dictated the circumstance; and I confess I could not entertain any other ideas, when I observed the theatrical parade that seemed to attend it. Mr. Holwell, in his cu-

rious work entitled Historical Events relative to India, thus accounts for this more than inhuman practice: "At the demise of the mortal part of the Hindoo great law-giver and prophet, Bramah, his wives, inconsolable for his loss, resolved not to survive him, and offered themselves voluntary victims on his funeral pile. The wives of the chief Rajahs, the first officers of the state, being unwilling to have it thought that they were deficient in fidelity and affection, followed the heroic example set them by the wives of Bramah. The Bramins, a tribe then newly established by their great legislator, pronounced and declared, that the spirits of those heroines immediately ceased from their transmigrations, and had entered the first boboon of purification: it followed, that their wives claimed a right of making the same sacrifice of their mortal forms to God, and the manes of their deceased husbands. The wives of every Hindoo caught the enthusiastic (now pious) flame. Thus the heroic acts of a few women brought about a general custom. The Bramins had given it the stamp of religion, and instituted the forms and ceremonials that were to accompany the sacrifice, subject to restriction, which leave it a voluntary act of glory, piety, and fortitude." The author proceeds to state expressly, that he has been present at many of these sacrifices, and particularly and minutely records one that happened on the 4th of February, 1742-3, near to Cossimbuzar, of a young widow between seventeen and eighteen years of age, leaving at so early an age three chil-

dren, two boys and a girl; the eldest he mentions as not then being four years of age. This infatuated heroine was strongly urged to live, for the future care of her infants; but notwithstanding this, though the agonies of death were painted to her in the strongest and most lively terms, she, with a calm and resolved countenance, put her finger into the fire, and held it there a considerable time; she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, sprinkled incense on it, and fumigated the Bramins. She was then given to understand, by some of her friends, that she would not be permitted to burn herself, and this intimation appeared to give her deep affliction for a few moments; after which she resolutely replied, that death was in her own power, and that if she was not allowed to burn, according to the principles of her cast, she would starve herself. Her friends, finding her thus peremptory, were obliged at last to consent to the dreadful sacrifice of this lady, who was of high rank.

The person whom I saw was of the Bhyse (merchant) tribe or cast; a class of people we should naturally suppose exempt from the high and impetuous pride of rank; and in whom the natural desire to preserve life should in general predominate, undiverted from its proper course by a prospect of posthumous fame. I may add, that these motives are greatly strengthened by the exemption of this class from that infamy with which the refusal is inevitably branded in their superiors. Upon my repairing to the spot, on the banks of the river, where the ceremony was to take place, I

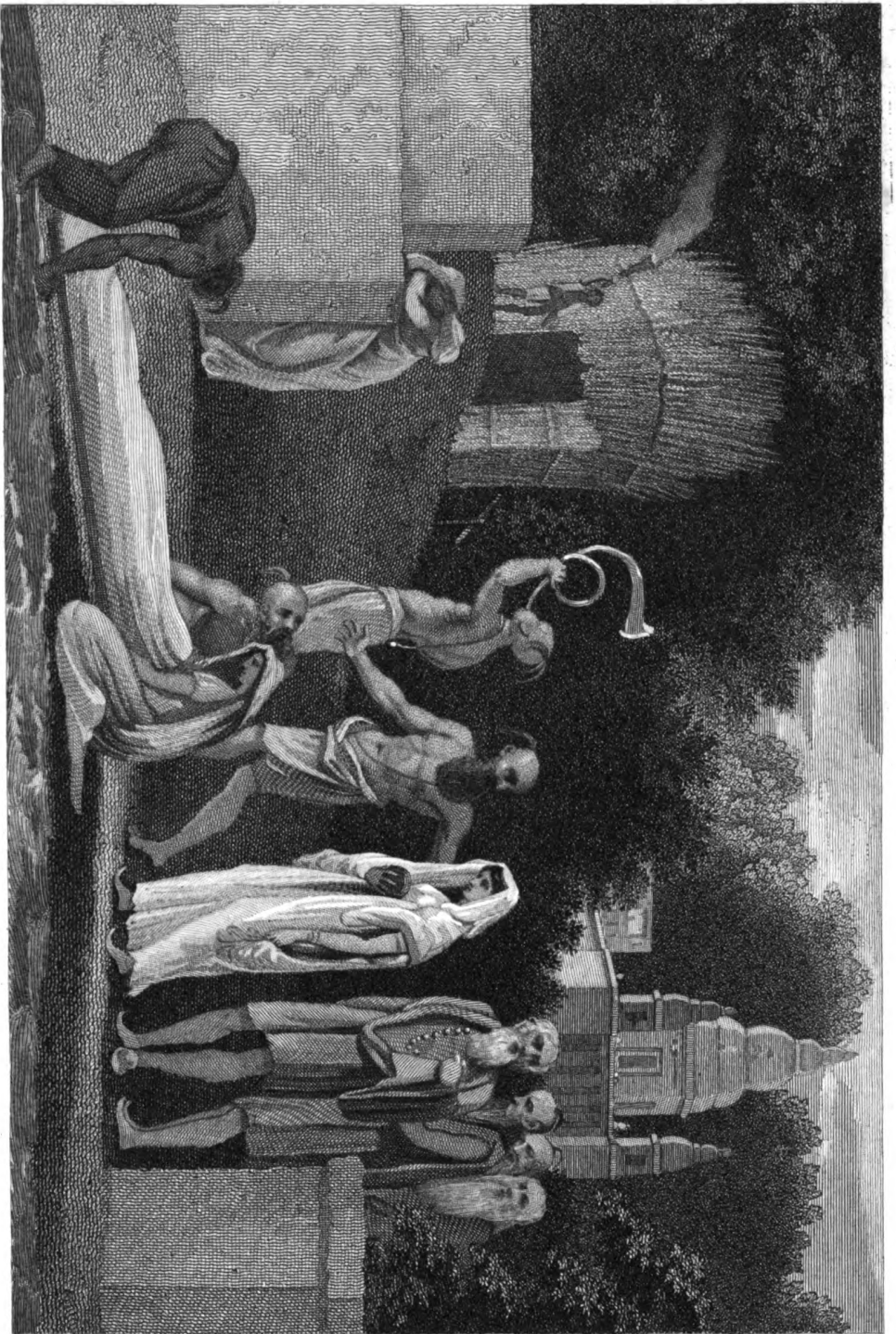
found the body of the man on a bier, and covered with linen, already brought down and laid at the edge of the river. At this time, about ten in the morning, only a few people were assembled, who appeared destitute of feeling at the catastrophe that was to take place; I may even say that they displayed the most perfect apathy and indifference. After waiting a considerable time the wife appeared, attended by the Bramins, and music, with some few relations. The procession was slow and solemn; the victim moved with a steady and firm step; and, apparently with a perfect composure of countenance, approached close to the body of her husband, where for some time they halted. She then addressed those who were near her with composure, and without the least trepidation of voice or change of countenance. She held in her left hand a cocoa nut, in which was a red colour mixed up, and dipping in it the fore-finger of her right hand she marked those near her, to whom she wished to shew the last act of attention. As at this time I stood close to her, she observed me attentively, and with the colour marked me on the forehead. She might be about twenty-four or five years of age, a time of life when the bloom of beauty has generally fled the cheek in India; but still she preserved a sufficient share to prove that she must have been handsome: her figure was small, but elegantly turned; and the form of her hands and arms was particularly beautiful. Her dress was a loose robe of white flowing drapery, that extended from her head to the feet. The place of

sacrifice was higher up on the bank of the river, a hundred yards or more from the spot where we now stood. The pile was composed of dried branches, leaves, and rushes, with a door on one side, and arched and covered on the top: by the side of the door stood a man with a lighted brand. From the time the woman appeared to the taking up of the body to convey it into the pile, might occupy a space of half an hour, which was employed in prayer with the Bramins, in attentions to those who stood near her, and conversation with her relations. When the body was taken up she followed close to it, attended by the chief Bramin; and when it was deposited in the pile, she bowed to all around her, and entered without speaking. The moment she entered, the door was closed; the fire was put to the combustibles, which instantly flamed, and immense quantities of dried wood and other matters were thrown upon it. This last part of the ceremony was accompanied with the shouts of the multitude, who now became numerous, and the whole seemed a mass of confused rejoicing. For my part I felt myself actuated by very different sentiments: the event that I had been witness to was such, that the minutest circumstance attending it could not be erased from my memory; and when the melancholy which had overwhelmed me was somewhat abated, I made a drawing of the subject, and from a picture since painted the annexed plate was engraved.

IN other parts of India, as the Carnatic, this dreadful custom is accompanied in the execution of it with still greater horror. It is asserted, that they dig a pit, in which is deposited a large quantity of combustible matter, which is set on fire, and the body being let down, the victim throws herself into the flaming mass. In other places, a pile is raised extremely high, and the body with the wife is placed upon it, and then the whole is set on fire. Whatever is the means, reason and nature so revolt at the idea, that, were it not a well known and well authenticated circumstance, it would hardly obtain credit. In truth, I cannot but confess, that some degree of incredulity was mingled with curiosity on this occasion; and the desire of ascertaining so extraordinary a fact was my greatest inducement to be a spectator.

THE war which had commenced in this province in August was not completely finished by the month of October, although the Rajah had left the country, and joined the army of the Mahrattas under Madajee Scindia. The strong fortress of Bidjegur yet held out against the troops commanded by Major Popham; and I was happy to receive the commands of Mr. Hastings to proceed to Bidjegur to make drawings of that, and of the fort of Lutteefpoor on the road.

AFTER passing the open country, (the cultivation of which had suffered but in a small degree from the recent



PROCESSION of a HINDOO WOMAN to the Funeral Pile of her HUSBAND.

*Engraved by W. Skelton, from a Picture
painted by M. Hodges, R.A.*

London: Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan'y 23, 1783.

disturbances) the traveller enters the jungles or woods, which surround the fort of Lutteefpoor. The woods are chiefly composed of Bamboos, which come close to the walls of the fort, and are so very thick as in some parts to be impenetrable. The fort is built of stone, with the walls flanked with round towers, and is in a ruinous state. Two miles from the fort is a high and difficult rocky pass, at the top of which the country continues level and flat, until nearly within three or four miles of Bidjegur, when it sinks, and there appears a natural fosse surrounding the extremity of the mountain, and the view is terminated in a low swampy country, which, in the time of the rains, is overflowed. Between Lutteefpoor and Bidjegur are considerable woods, intermixed with cultivated ground, and a few villages. Bidjegur is fifty miles from Benares, and the fort is seated on the top of a high mountain, covered from its base to its summit with wood. This is the last of a long range of mountains, which, at this place, rudely decline to the plain. Here I enjoyed an opportunity which falls to the lot of but few professional men in my line; I mean that of observing the military operations of a siege. The camp was formed nearly four miles from the fort: there was, however, a rock about the height of the top of the mountains, and within gun shot, commanding one face of the fort, which was square. From this station the walls were battered; and, after a practicable breach was made, the garrison thought fit to surrender. In the garrison were found the mother and other female relatives of

Cheyt Sing, to whom every delicate attention was paid. A View of Bidjegur, taken on the spot, is subjoined.

SOON after Bidjegur was taken, preparations were made for the departure of the party attending the Governor General; and towards the end of December we sailed, and arrived at Bauglepoor early in January, 1782. As at this place it was my intention to remain for some time, I took my leave for the present of the gentlemen attending the Governor General, who, in the space of two months out of the six since we had left Calcutta, had been witnesses to a revolt that had nearly shaken the British power in India to its base; but, by the vigorous exertions of the officers, seconded by the courage and perseverance of the troops, under a well regulated plan for the recovery of the power of the East India Company, every thing terminated in a manner that served to impress the powers then at war with the English with the most formidable opinion of the vigour and energy of the British government. The conduct and gallantry of both officers and troops, in the hour of their utmost distress, were not improbably a means of facilitating the permanent peace with the Mahratta powers, and particularly with Madajee Scindia, which immediately followed.

SOON after the departure of the gentlemen, about the end of January, Mr. Cleveland proposed to me to accompany him through a part of the district into the hills, to



A VIEW OF BIDJECUR.

*Engraved by D. S. Parry, from a Picture Painted by W. Hodges R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings Esq. &c.*

London, Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan^y 1783.



which I readily acceded; and early in February we set out on a tour through a part of the country called the Jungle Terry, to the westward of Bauglepoor. This interior part of the country consists of much wood, intermixed with cultivated ground, and many villages, chiefly inhabited by husbandmen. Among others, I could not but notice the village of Barkope, adjacent to which are many hills, rising almost to the consequence of mountains, and every one of them is insulated by the plain country. The appearance of this part of the country is very singular, having immense piles of stone piled one on another; from the interstices of which are very large timber trees growing out, in some places overshadowing the whole of the rocks: the trees are of various kinds. In many of these rocks I found the teek, a timber remarkable for its hardness and size; and this accompanied with the mango, no less remarkable for its softness, and which produces the fine fruit of that name. The tamarind and other trees are also produced here. On some of the highest of these hills I observed durgaws, or burial places, with little chapels annexed, belonging to the Mussulmans.

IN the course of our journey Mr. Cleveland received an invitation from some principal hill chiefs, to the ceremony of an annual sacrifice, which he accepted; and after the business was executed which brought him into this part of his district, we proceeded to the village on the mountain where the ceremony was to take place. The people from

whom Mr. Cleveland had received the invitation reside in a range of hills which lie to the south and to the westward of Bauglepoor, extending south to the back of Rajemahel. It has been conjectured by some (how well founded I know not) that this people are the aboriginal natives of the country. They have manners certainly different from the Hindoos, being neither divided into castes nor tribes, and eating of every species of provision which the followers of Bramah cannot, as they are limited in this article according to their cast. It is extremely difficult to decide on the claims of different tribes to antiquity, I could not help suspecting that these may have been formerly no other than the outcasts from the Hindoos, who forming themselves into a society in the recesses of the country, and posting themselves in the more mountainous parts, to prevent being surprized, occasionally issued to commit depredations on the defenceless people in the plains. On this account, indeed, they became so formidable, that the Hindoo, Moorish, and afterwards the English governments, have at all times been under the necessity of stationing troops, to check their inroads. Like those of all other savages, their incursions have been merely predatory, and what they seize is by surprize. They generally entered the villages at night, and, murdering the husbands, drove off the cattle, and then secured themselves in their fortresses in the hills. As they were only armed with bows and arrows and a sabre, they were unable either to attack or to withstand regular troops with fire arms. By

lying in wait like a tyger in the woods, they frequently cut off the traveller or stragglers, and from parties which had been sent to chastise them—nor could they, at any time, be induced to reform from their horrid practices, by the most vigorous exertions of the military against them, until the time Mr. Cleveland was placed at the head of the district, whose judgment suggested a plan, which a short time afterwards was carried into effect with the happiest success.

IT was the humanity of that gentleman, added to the desire of improving the revenue of this part of his district for the Company's benefit, that induced him to venture into the hills, alone and unarmed, where he convened some of the principal Chiefs; and after the fullest assurance of his most peaceable intentions and good-will towards them, he invited them to visit him at his residence at Bauglepoor. The confidence which he manifested in their honour, by trusting to it for his personal safety, effectually gained their esteem, and some time after a deputation of their Chiefs waited on him. By a variety of attentions, by little presents, and acts of personal kindness, he so subdued their ferocious spirits, that they promised to desist entirely from their usual depredations; and returning to their families and their people, the whole body became earnest to be personally introduced to this humane and benevolent stranger. Mr. Cleveland had by this time digested his plan, which he brought forwards by degrees, and whatever he proposed they instantly agreed to.

He sent presents to their wives, and wherever he saw he caressed their children, decorating them with beads; and to their Chiefs he presented medals, as a mark of his friendship, and as a reward for their improving civilization. At length, when he found them prepared for the accomplishment of his plan, he ordered cloaths to be made, like those of the Seapoys in the Company's service for a few, he furnished them with firelocks, and they became regularly drill'd. Vain of their newly acquired knowledge, these new soldiers soon imparted the enthusiasm to the rest of the nation, who earnestly petitioned for the same distinction. Thus, at their own request, a battalion was formed for the preservation of good order, and in less than two years, he had a fine corps of these people embodied, for the express purpose of preserving from injury the very country that had for centuries before been the scene of their depredations. A camp was formed for a corps of a thousand men, three miles from Bauglepoor, where their families resided with them, and where strict military discipline was observed. Thus the ingenuity, address, and humanity of one man effected, in the space of little more than two years, more than could even have been hoped for from the utmost exertions of military severity.

AFTER leaving the village of Barkope, which is nearly in the centre of the Jungleterry, and travelling through the flat country, crossing a small river, we entered the hills, which are covered with wood, and from the summits of several had beautiful and extensive prospects, mostly diversified by the

meandering of the Ganges, and by the varied face of the country, to a great extent, from the eastern shore.

THOUGH the space which we travelled in this route was not great, the serpentine road, the closeness of the woods, and, in many places, the extreme steepness of the hills occasioned considerable heat and fatigue. On the second day of our journey, we arrived at the village on the hill, where the ceremony was to take place: here Mr. Cleveland was received with every mark of respect and affection by the chiefs who were already assembled, and even the women and the children contended who should be the most forward in expressing their regard.

THEY had built a small open hut in the village, purposely for his reception, and the following morning every person in the neighbourhood was collected to be present at the annual sacrifice.

THE ceremony took place about nine o'clock. Before a small hut, and about six feet from the ground, was raised a kind of altar made of bamboos. The grand sacrifice was preceded by the decolation of a kid and a cock, the heads of which were thrown upon the altar, and there remained: little attention however was paid to this part of the ceremony by any of the party present. An hour or more afterwards, we were apprised that the principal rite was about to be performed,

and we repaired in consequence, without loss of time, to the place of rendezvous.

THE people had purchased a fine large buffaloe, which they had fattened, and were now dragging with ropes, by the horns, towards the spot where the kid and the cock had been already sacrificed. The animal was brought, with much difficulty, to the place of sacrifice, where the chief of the village attended: he was perfectly naked, except a cloth round his middle, and held a large and bright sabre in his hand. The place round the altar was soon crowded with people; men, women, and children attended, and the young men were all perfectly naked. To prevent the escape of the animal, they first ham-strung him, and then began the dreadful operation. The chief stood on the left side of the animal, and with his sabre striking the upper part of the neck, near to the shoulder, must have given exquisite pain to the poor animal, who expressed it with great violence, by writhing, bellowing, and struggling with those that held him; indeed, their utmost exertions were scarcely sufficient to prevent him from breaking away. This horrid business continued for the space of more than a quarter of an hour, before the spine of the neck was cut through. When the animal fell, the Melchifadeck of the day still continued his work, and it was some time before the head was perfectly separated. Previous to the last stroke, he seemed to pause, and an universal silence reigned: when this

was given, he stood perfectly erect, and, by raising the arm which held the sabre to the utmost extension, seemed to give the signal to the multitude, who rush'd in and began scooping up the blood of the animal, which had liberally flowed from him on the ground. This they drank up, mixed as it was with the dust and loam, and besmeared each other with their hands. Bodies of them rushed over bodies, and rolling in confused heaps, they appeared like an assemblage of demons or bacchanals in their most frantic moments. The body was next cut to pieces, and devoured; the head, however, was reserved, as those of the kid and the cock: so various are men in their conceptions concerning what may be most acceptable to the Deity. After the completion of this sacrifice, they retired to their several habitations in parties, and began the rejoicing of the day, which, indeed, was devoted to universal revelling and intoxication; and I could have wished, for the honour of the fair sex, that these latter excesses had been confined to the men. After the rites of Bacchus had far exceeded the bounds of temperance, those who were capable of sustaining an erect position began dancing, men and women promiscuously; others, in parties, roared out their extravagant joy in such strains, as may be supposed adapted to the present state of the performers; and the night concluded with a dead silence.

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Mr. Cleveland did not remain long after the performance of the ceremony; we therefore proceeded on our journey back.

to Bauglepoor, and on the following day arrived at Deogur, a small village, famous for the resort of Hindoo pilgrims, this being a sacred spot. There are five curious Pagodas here, of perhaps the very oldest construction to be found in India. They are simply pyramids, formed by putting stone on stone, the apex is cut off at about one seventh of the whole height of the complete pyramid, and four of them have small ornamental buildings on the top, evidently of more modern work, which are finished by an ornament made of copper, and gilt, perfectly resembling the trident of the Greek Neptune. These Pagodas have each a small chamber in the center of twelve feet square, with a lamp, hanging over the Lingham*. The passage to it is exactly of a height and width sufficient to admit one person. This chamber can have no light from without, but what enters from the door and through the passage.

At Deogur multitudes of pilgrims are seen, who carry the water of the Ganges to the western side of the peninsula of India. The water is carried in large flasks or bottles, holding nearly five quarts each, suspended at either end of a bamboo, which rests upon the shoulders. A considerable trade is carried on by these people, and the price of the holy water bears a proportion to the distance of the place where it is sold from the river.

* The Lingham is the great object of superstition among the followers of Brahmah, it being the general symbol of renovative nature.

OUR return was so nearly in the direction in which we came, that no opportunity was offered for any new observations; indeed this part of the country does not abound in objects of curiosity. In the great famine which raged through Indostan in the year 1770, and the ravages of which were particularly felt in every part of Bengal, the Jungleterry is said to have suffered greatly. I have understood that it was before this time highly cultivated, and filled with industrious husbandmen and manufacturers, and the population was estimated at more than eighteen thousand people. It is, however, at present reduced to a few hundreds, great numbers having been cut off by famine, and others having emigrated in search of food. The silence that reigns here, owing to this depopulation, spreads a melancholy over the mind of the traveller, and for miles together, nothing is heard but the screams of the cormorant, nor is the trace of any footsteps found but those of the wild elephant. On my return to Bauglepoor, conversing on this subject with my friend, I mentioned the popular impressions that had gone forth at, and after that melancholy period, and expressing my feelings on the subject, not without severity against some leading characters, then in Bengal, and who had been accused of taking advantage of the public distress for the accumulation of large private fortunes; he with his usual candour and regard to justice, explained the conduct of certain gentlemen, who had very unjustly suffered in their character, by malignant insinuations, and shewed me, from the archives

of the district, written documents collected at the time, which convinced me that the gentlemen, who then resided in public characters at Moorshedabad, and at Bauglepoor, and other surrounding districts, where the famine raged in its utmost violence, had taken and employed every means that liberality and benevolence, under the direction of ability, could possibly suggest for the preservation of the poor, and many of them at the expence of their own private fortunes. I should not have touched upon this subject, but from a motive of strict justice, as few persons have had an opportunity of inspecting the proofs and records which Mr. Cleveland indulged me with a sight of.

C H A P. VI.

The Author returns to Calcutta—Seized with a dangerous Illness—Recovery—Proceeds on a new Tour—Route from Calcutta to Allahabad—Description of the Fort and Town—Cawnpore—Lucknow, Description of that City—Palace of the Nabob—Journey to Fyzabad and Oud—Description of the City of Fyzabad—Palace of Sujah ul Dowlah—Oud, &c.

AFTER remaining about four months at Bauglepoor, having completed my business, I proceeded for Calcutta, where I arrived on the 15th of May, 1782, and immediately after proceeded in those works I had undertaken. The extreme heat at this season, however, added to an assiduous application to my profession, threw me into a violent fever; and, after my recovery from the disease, I continued very weak for a long time.

IN this state of debility I had it frequently in contemplation to proceed to Europe; but the cool weather returning towards the end of November, my strength and vigour gradually returned with it. I felt all my curiosity revived; and once more resolved to indulge my inclination to visit other parts of India. With this view, I explained to the Governor

General my wishes to visit Agra, &c. &c. and I had the honour of receiving his sanction, and that of the Council. On the 10th of January, 1783, I began my journey by land, passing once more through Moorshedabad, Bauglepoor, Mongheir, and Patna, to Benares. As I had not stopped at any of the above places, except Bauglepoor, where I remained only one day, I found myself considerably fatigued by a journey of nearly five hundred miles, in a pallankeen; I therefore determined to rest at Benares, and was happy to receive the civilities of Mr. Markham, the Resident, a gentleman universally known for his liberality and accomplishments.

HAVING prolonged my stay four days, and finding myself perfectly recruited, I pursued my journey, and arrived at Allahabad on the second day after I left Benares. This is the point of confluence of the two great rivers Jumna and Ganges; and between the eastern boundaries of the Jumna and the western boundaries of the Ganges is the country known by the name of Dooab, or a country lying between two rivers, the whole of which is esteemed very fertile. Immediately at the point is the fort of Allahabad, built entirely of stone, by the great Emperor Acbar; and commanding, from its situation, the navigation of both rivers; a circumstance which ought to make it a place of consequence, although it is now left to ruin. It is built in the old style of fortification, with walls flanked by round

and square towers; and that which is called the Agra gate, pointing towards Agra, is very handsome, being ornamented with many small pavilions on the top; and having within the exterior gate two other gates, which were formerly secured with portcullies. The fort covers a considerable space of ground, and must have required a great number of men for its protection. Within the walls of the fort are large areas; in one of which I observed a small monument over the tomb of an English officer; the inscription, however, was nearly defaced. These areas are now no more than heaps of ruins, chiefly covered with the dust of the crumbled buildings. This was one of the many fortresses that extended nearly in a line from Lahore to Chunar Gur, on the Ganges, all of which were raised by Acbar, and must have secured the empire from the confines of Persia to the borders of Bengal. Without the fort is what is called the city; consisting, however, merely of thatched huts, and with scarcely a vestige of any considerable house remaining. This place is now in the possession of Asoph ul Dowlah, Nabob of Oud: it was, for some time, the residence of the present Great Mogul, the unfortunate Shah Allum, after his unsuccessful attack, and his loss of the battles of Geriah and Buxar, where he attended the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, and on the loss of which he threw himself on the protection of the English, by whose influence and power Allahabad and the adjoining province of Korah were allotted him for his support.

DURING a stay of three days I made several drawings of the fort, and then proceeded to Cawnpoor, a large military station on the Ganges. This is a cantonment for a brigade, amounting, on the war establishment, to ten thousand men; and may be considered as a great encampment, the men living in huts with their families instead of tents.

CROSSING the Ganges at this place, I continued my progress to Lucknow, where I arrived on the 25th of January. The distance from Calcutta to this place is commonly said to be, by the route through Benares, nearly nine hundred miles; but this estimate is certainly too great. Major Rennell, whose authority must be considered as absolute, determines it to be 650 miles, by the nearest road. It is well known that this city is at present the capital of the province of Oud, and the residence of Afoph ul Dowlah, the Nabob, who is also Vizier of the remaining part of the empire of the Great Mogul. The city is extensive, but meanly built: the houses are chiefly mud walls, covered with thatch, and many consist entirely of mats and bamboos, and are thatched with leaves of the cocoa nut, palm tree, and sometimes with straw. Very few, indeed, of the houses of the natives are built with brick: the streets are crooked, narrow, and the worst I have seen in India. In the dry season the dust and heat are intolerable; in the rainy season the mire is so deep, as to be scarcely passable; and there are a great number of elephants, belonging to the Nabob and the great

men of his court, which are continually passing the streets, either to the palace, or to the river, to the great danger and annoyance of the foot passenger, as well as the inferior class of shopkeepers. The comforts, the convenience, or the property of this class of people are, indeed, little attended to, either by great men or their servants; the elephant himself is frequently known to be infinitely more attentive to them as he passes, and to children in particular.

THE palace of the Nabob is on a high bank, near to the river, and commanding an extensive view both of the Goomty and the country on the eastern side. A small part of it was raised by the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah, the father of Afoph ul Dowlah. It has, however, been greatly extended by the present prince, who has erected large courts within the walls, and a durbar, where he receives publicly all persons that are presented. This durbar is a range of three arcades, parallel to each other, and supported by columns in the Moorish style: the ceiling, and the whole of this, is beautifully gilt, and painted with ornaments and flowers. It is ascended by steps from a flower garden, laid out in the same manner as we see in Indian paintings, which are all in square plats, in which are planted flowers of the strongest scent; so strong, indeed, as to be offensive at first to the nerves of a European. The exterior of the building is not to be commended: it reminded me of what I had imagined might be the style of a Baron's castle in Europe, about the

twelfth century. Close to the palace, divided by a narrow dirty or dusty road, is a garden, lately made by the Nabob, walled round, and at each angle is a grand pavilion, built of brick, and covered with chunam or stucco, and then painted with ornaments, which at a little distance has a rich effect. I have introduced a View of the Palace: on the foreground of the picture is one of the pavilions, and on a high bank is a mosque, with two minarets; and adjoining is a durgaw, or burial place, with a view of the river. The picture from which the print was engraved was painted on the spot.

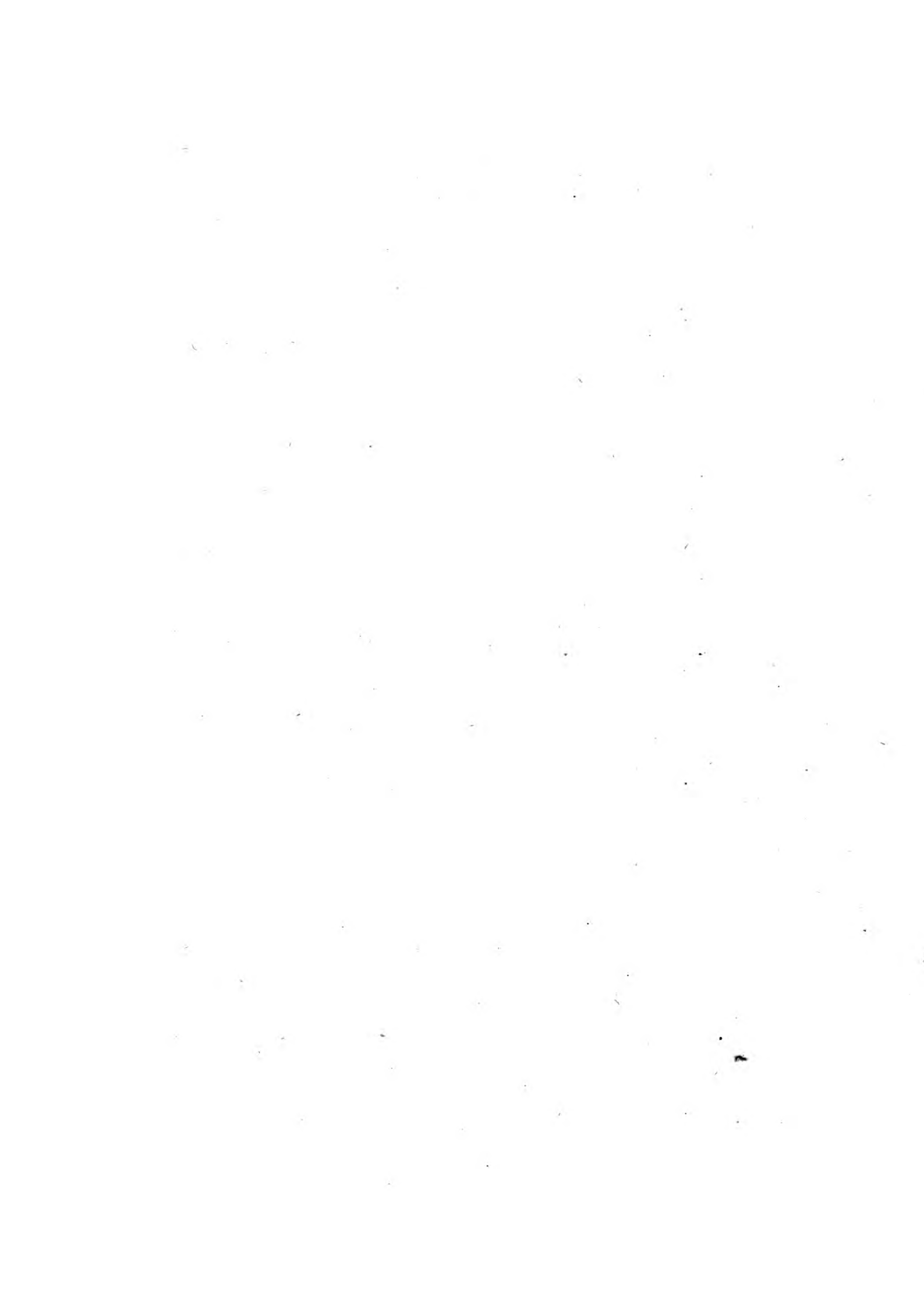
As at this time Major Brown was appointed on an embassy to Mirza Shuffy Khawn, and was to proceed immediately on his mission through a part of the country which I intended to visit, I wrote to that gentleman, signifying my wishes to accompany him; as I knew that under the protection of his public character I should experience no inconvenience from the suspicions of the people with respect to my pursuits; and as in his answer I found he was not to be at Etawah until the ninth of February, I determined, in the interim, to make a journey to Fyzabad and the ancient city of Oud. I was assisted in this by Mr. Bristow, the then Resident at Lucknow; and immediately on the receipt of Major Brown's letter I set out on my journey, and arrived at Fyzabad on the second day; a distance of forty coss, or eighty English miles, in a south-east direction. As the Resident at Lucknow had writ-



A VIEW of the PALACE of the NABOB ASOPH ul DOWLAH at LUCKNOW.

*Engraved by J. T. Fisher, from a picture Painted by W. Hodges, R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings Esq.*

London, Published by I. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan^r. 1793.



ten to an officer in the service of the Nabob, residing at Fyzabad, I was received at my entrance into the city by a person, who was ordered to shew the pallankeen bearers to a small house in a large garden, which was allotted for my accommodation during my stay.

THE city of Fyzabad is of considerable extent, and appears to contain a great number of people, chiefly of the lowest class; for the court being removed to Lucknow, drew after it the great men, and the most eminent of the merchants, bankers, and shroffs, or money-changers. These last are persons in all the towns, and even villages, who make large sums by their knowledge of the exchange, which in India is in a state of constant fluctuation, to the great injury of the poor and the industrious.

THE private luxury and vices of the Mussulman princes too frequently reduce them to a state of real poverty, even with large revenues; and too often they delegate to artful, designing, and avaricious characters, the management and concerns of the state, and become virtually the plunderers instead of the parents of their subjects. These men, eager after their own private gain, and knowing well that their conduct will not bear the blaze of day, connive at any villainy that may be acted by those of inferior degree; many of whom are, indeed, their actual agents. Thus it is that the people at large retain no real regard for their governors,

and the natural consequence is, that the princes are frequently left, in the hour of distress, quite destitute of support, and an easy prey to any invader.

IN the city of Fyzabad there are remains of many handsome brick buildings. That in which I resided has a large and beautiful pavilion over the gateway or principal entrance. The ascent is by a narrow stair-case, which leads to three open rooms, commanding the whole city on the one side, and on the other the garden and a vast extent of country, with a view of the river Gogra, which is not far distant, and which is here a large river. Opposite the gate is a mosque, (built by the late Nabob) with three domes; the center one is very large. The form of these domes is perfectly that of an egg set on its point: the apparent want of firmness at the base has, however, a very unpleasant effect on the spectator; and however difficult it may have been for the architect to produce, the consideration of this circumstance does not make amends for the evident want of elegance, nay almost of propriety.

SOON after my arrival I was waited upon by a person from the mother of the present Nabob, accompanied with a number of dishes of various curries, and pillaws, for my refreshment after the fatigue of my journey, and compliments in the Moorish style; indeed, so high and dignified, that I could have almost fancied myself transformed into an

Indian Nabob. After returning my respects in the humblest style, and having taken my repast, which indeed was excellent, (and would have been better, had it been accompanied with a glass or two of good wine instead of water) I proceeded to view the city and the remains of the palace, built by the late Nabob Sujah ul Dowlah. This is a vast building, covering a great extent of ground, having several areas or courts, and many separate buildings in them. In the inner court are the remains of the durbar, or hall of public audience; an elegant building on the same plan as that already mentioned in the palace at Lucknow, but much richer: the painting and gilding greatly gone to decay. There are many other buildings designed for offices, or other accommodations. Within an interior court is a large extent of building, the principal front of which is on the banks of the river; and when it was first raised must have been very handsome. This was the part designed for the domestic habitation of the Nabob. Adjoining are other buildings, designed for the Zananah, and in which are the remnants of the gardens. The grand entrance to the palace is through a large and handsome gate, the superstructure of which was a place of arms, and there is still a guard kept in it. On the top of the gate was the situation of the nobut, (a great drum) which is an appendage of royalty in India, and when beaten is heard over a great city. The nobut is usually beaten at sun-rise and sun-set. Nearly adjoining Fyzabad are the remains of the very ancient city

of Oud, which is said to have been the first imperial city of Hindostan, and to have been built by their hero Krishen. In Colonel Dowe's translation of Feritsha's history, it is mentioned as the capital of a great kingdom, one thousand two hundred and nine years previous to the Christian Æra; and it is frequently mentioned in the famous Hindoo work in Sanscrit, (the learned language of the Bramins) the Mahabheret, under the name of Adjudea. Whatever may have been its former magnificence, however, no traces are now left. It is seated at present on the banks of the Gogra; but, in all probability, many years back was at a considerable distance from it, it being in a line with Fyzabad; for, not many years since, upon the building of the palace, Sujah ul Dowlah is said to have daily offered up prayers that the river might flow nearer it, which it now compleatly does, washing the walls of the principal front.* At this place and Fyzabad I remained a few days to complete my drawings, and returned to Lucknow by the same route as I came. The country I had passed through from Allahabad to Lucknow, and thence to Fyzabad, has the same general character, and there are very few elevations to be seen in it that are considerable. It is in a moderate state of cultivation; in some parts better than others; but

* Oud is considered as a place of sanctity, and the Hindoos consequently perform pilgrimages thither, continually, from all quarters of India.

where it is neglected, it is evidently more from the want of property in the people, than the natural sterility of the country, which, on the contrary, I believe to be capable of producing the finest crops. The villages, of which there are many, some are comfortable in their appearance, and others apparently distressed. After leaving the flourishing district of Benares, I could not help viewing with a melancholy concern the miserable appearance of all the territories which were under the absolute direction of Mussulman tyrants.

C H A P. VII.

Journey to Etaya—Description of that Place—Jeswontnagur—O' Kraine—Shekoabad—Fyrozabad—Etamadpoor—Shah Dara—Agra—Magnificent Ruins—Arrival at the Camp of the Nabob Mirza Shuffy Khawn—A venerable Chief who had served under Kouli Khawn—Mausoleum of Acbar—Taje Mahael—Futtypoor Sicri—Fortrefs of Gawlior—Return to Lucknow.

ON the 10th of February I fet out on my journey to join Major Brown at Etaya. As I travelled by a fet of pallan-keen bearers to the number of fifteen, and which had no relief beyond their own fet, my stages became short; particularly so, as I was now encumbered with baggage, carrying with me a tent, and all the articles for cooking, &c. the number of servants necessary for dressing provisions, &c. makes the train even of an individual considerable. On the 13th I arrived at the encampment of Major Brown, his tent being pitched close to the town of Etaya. The road to this place runs westward from Lucknow, and the Ganges is crossed nearly midway, and at this season of the year is in many places fordable: there is a fordable stream also to the westward of the Ganges, called Callinuddie, which, however, in the time of the periodical rains is a considerable river. The country

from Lucknow to Etaya is in a moderate state of cultivation, but the villages are poor. Etaya is situated on a very high bank of the river Jumna, the sides of which consist of what in India is called concha, which is originally sand, but the constant action of the sun in the dry season forms it almost into a vitrification. Many parts of the banks are sixty feet high. On the top, near to the river, are the remains of a fort: the town itself is all built on the heights, which, as it approaches the river, is divided into a variety of separate hills by deep ravines, made by the rains. The Jumna is at this place a large river, in which are many islands of sand, that are overflowed in the time of the floods. The town is large, but very wretched, having but two tolerable houses in it.

ON the 15th we moved forward to Jeswontnagur, six coss from Etaya, or near twelve English miles. It should be observed in this place, that the Indian measure of a coss is less than in Bengal, the latter being nearly two English miles; but in the upper parts of Hindostan, scarcely more than one and a half, as may be seen on the scale in the map. The country from Etaya to this place is very little cultivated; the villages are not populous, and the few inhabitants appear very wretched.

ON the 16th we halted at O'Kraine, six coss further, almost at the termination of the Nabob of Oud's country.

THROUGH the whole of the last day's journey I observed scarcely a spot in cultivation; the villages, of which there are several, were in ruins, and the whole presented almost one uninterrupted scene of desolation. On the last day's march we met a few unfortunate people passing down into the provinces, in order actually to avoid being starved, begging their way. The servants we had brought from Bengal with us appearing clean, healthy, and cheerful, perhaps rendered the appearance of these poor people the more wretched.

ON the 17th I arrived at Shekoabad, which takes its name from Dara Sheko, the eldest and most unfortunate son of the Emperor Shah Jehan, who, in the contest for the empire with Aurungzebe, his youngest brother, was defeated, hunted down like a wild beast, and at last taken. When a prisoner, he was stripped and seated on an elephant, for the derision of a conquering army, and was at last unmercifully murdered. From O'Kraine to this place there are some few spots of cultivated ground; and the richness and fulness of the grain sufficiently shew what the whole of the country is capable of producing, were it in cultivation.

DURING this day's march our course lay through two villages, which were better and cleaner than those we had before passed. To the right and the left of our road were many ruined villages; and on every hillock, or rising ground,

are mud forts, or their ruins. This town (for, on the comparison with what we had passed since leaving Etaya, it may be so called) has a considerable number of people, and the adjacent ground is in cultivation. I found here the remains of a hunting seat, built by Dara Sheko, and a tank belonging to it: from the ruins it must have been large. Adjoining the tank is a small grove of palm and other trees; but, except these, there are no trees in the neighbourhood; nor is there any water but from a few wells, and the above-mentioned tank, which was nearly dry when I saw it. There are considerable remains of other buildings, in and about the town, some of them apparently on a large scale.

WE continued our route, for six cofs, to Fyrozabad, which is a considerable village. Between Shekoabad and Fyrozabad are a few spots of cultivated ground. This village takes its name from the Purgunnah, which is a small district within a larger: it was at this time in the hand of a Gofine, or Hindoo Religious; and as the spirit of the Hindoo government is favourable to agriculture in the highest degree, this spot appeared a perfect garden. It must, indeed, be observed, that although the Hindoo governors or proprietors, from the principle of avarice, may sometimes distress, they do not destroy the endeavours of the poor, as the Mussulmans. For his protection, the Gofine had a camp formed in the neighbourhood, amounting to two thousand men, well armed, and a small park of artillery, in which I saw

two fine pieces of battering cannon. The persons of the men, forming this little army, appeared to me remarkable for their manly beauty and stature, most of them being upwards of six feet in height, and their manners, whilst I was in their camp, were extremely modest and attentive. On the following day we reached Etamadpoor, a distance of six cofs, but found in our journey that, upon leaving the Purgunnah of Firozeabad, the line was strongly marked by the wild waste that ensued.

AT Etamadpoor is a small building in the center of a large tank, the sides of which are built up with stone, as is the center building, and a bridge of several arches, which communicates with it from the side of the tank. Around the whole are large mounds of earth, formed from the excavations in making the tank. At this time there was but little water in it.

FROM this place we had a sight of the spires of the once splendid and imperial city of Agra.

ON the 23d, at the distance of five cofs from Etamadpoor, we encamped on the Shah Darah, about a cof on the eastern side of the river Jumna, opposite the city. The whole of this spot, as far as the eye can reach, is one general scene of ruined buildings, long walls, vast arches, parts of domes, and some very large buildings, as the Cuttera, built by

the great Shah Hest Khawn, in the reign of Aurungzebe; here are also several Tombs.

ALONG the western bank of the river are seen the ruined palaces of the great Omrahs, built in the time of Acbar Jehanguire, and Shah Jehan. A little farther, the city of Agra offers itself to the eye, with the great fort and palace, and the prospect is terminated to the south-west by that vast monument of eastern elegance, the Taje Mahel, built by the emperor Shah Jehan.

THIS spot takes its name from Dara, a tent, and Shah, king or sovereign, being the spot where the emperor's tent was first fixed, when he made his progress from Agra to the eastern provinces of the empire. It being the general custom, from the time the dynasty of the Moguls was fixed in India, under Acbar, that the emperor should take the field in the summer months, with a large army, attended by the whole court, the bankers, and the artificers, &c. Thus the camp became a great city under tents, and each trade had its several quarters allotted to them, the emperor's tent being in the center of the whole, surrounded by those of the great officers of state.

ON the 24th Major Brown was waited upon by Arasiab Khawn, an Omrah of high rank, from the Nabob Mirza Shuffeh Khawn, who lay encamped three coss to the north-



A VIEW of AGRA taken from the SOUTH WEST.
*Engraved by J. Walker from a Picture Painted by Mr. Dodge. R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings Esq.*

London, Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan^y 5th 1798.

west of Agra, and to whose camp we proceeded, crossing the Jumna, and passed through a part of the city of Agra. On the following day we pitched our tents to the eastward of the Nabob's encampment, in a garden walled round, and which formerly was adorned with very considerable buildings, now in ruins; this was a work of Acbar for the accommodation of one of his daughters.

THE camp of Mirza Shuffeh extended over a great space of ground, and more resembled a great city than a camp, having shops of every denomination, retaining in part the character of the armies of the great emperors, only without their splendor. The camp was said to contain forty thousand men; but it appeared to me that the number was greatly exaggerated. This, however, should be added, that every foldier, and every tradesman and artificer, had his family with him. In the park of artillery were forty-two pieces of cannon of various calibers. Some of the largest guns were French pieces, and very fine on , but the greater number were very indifferent, the metal much corroded, and the carriages rotten. It is not improbable that the tent of the Nabob might have been formerly an imperial one, being of crimson velvet, embroidered in many parts with gold, and lined with silk. It was, however, much torn and moth-eaten, and had therefore no very splendid appearance.

A FEW days after our arrival, I attended Major Brown to the Durbar of the Nabob, where we found the principal

commanders, amongst whom were several old Persian Chiefs, with beards depending to their girdles, and countenances of great dignity. One of the hoary Chiefs, I found by his conversation, had attended Nadir Shah, or Thomas Kouli Khan, when he made his famous expedition into Hindostan, in the year 1739, and had remained in India since that time. The old soldier's eye appeared in a flame when he mentioned his name, at the recollection of the actions and victories he had assisted at, or been witness to, under his former commander. After the ceremony of reception, which was by touching the turban with the right hand, without rising from their seats, we were desired to sit, for which purpose there were old fashioned chairs brought, which had formerly been rich in carved work and velvet, but were now greatly injured by the hand of time; otter and rose-water were handed round, as a mark of distinction. The Nabob Mirza Shuffeh sat in the center of a semicircle, surrounded by his Chiefs, with an innumerable crowd of servants standing behind. After remaining about half an hour, we retired. This was a visit of ceremony, and the business of Major Brown's mission was not entered upon for many days afterwards, for, amongst these people, delay seems a settled principle of etiquette.

WHILST we lay encamped at this place, I made daily excursions to Agra and the neighbourhood, the weather at this season greatly favouring my pursuits. Our journeys were short, and were begun frequently between five and six in the

morning, sometimes earlier. I had the whole day for my studies. The climate at this season is delightful, the mornings clear and very cold, frequently frosty, in so much, that I have seen several tanks frozen entirely over; but in the middle of the day we generally found it very hot. I passed most of my days at Agra, making drawings either of the great fort or other buildings, most of which lay in ruins.

THE city of Agra is situated on the south side of the river Jumna, which at this place is not fordable, and rises immediately from the water, extending in a vast semicircle. It is supposed to be a place of high antiquity. The present city, however, was raised by the emperor Acbar, about 1566, and named from him Acbarabad, and was the principal seat of his government. The fort, in which is included the imperial palace, is of vast extent. A view of the fort is given, and is such as will afford a general idea of the building and its situation. It is constructed of a red free stone, and it would appear to have been very strong, when first raised. It originally had a double wet ditch, of great width and depth, and well supplied from the river. The fort was an island, formed by three ditches; one face of it, that to the eastward, was washed to the foot of the walls by the river. The outer ditch is now totally ruined, the high road going through it, as may be observed in the Plate. The inner ditch is very bad in many places, and in several is quite dry. The city was encircled by a wall and towers at a bow-shot distance from each other,

SHAH JEHAN, the grandson of Acbar, disliking the situation of Agra, from the excessive heats to which it was exposed in the summer months, and desirous to raise a metropolis which should bear his own name, built a great city adjoining the old one of Dehli, and named it Jehanabad; but the name, like the empire, is now nearly lost. To people his new city, he is said to have transported thither one half of the people of Agra, to the amount of upwards of five hundred thousand. The ruins that immediately ensued in Agra, rendered it necessary to erect, for the security of the people, another wall, forming a part of a circle within the old one; and this wall was built by Joy Singh, a Hindoo Raja in the service of the emperor Aurungzebe.

THE whole space between these two walls is one mass of ruins. The inner wall is but in indifferent repair, and within it is easy to discern that it is chiefly composed from the ruined buildings, except, indeed, towards the Dehli gate of the fort, where is the great Musjüd or Mosque, built of red stone, but greatly gone to decay. Adjacent to this spot is the Choke, or Exchange, which is now a mere ruin; and even the fort itself, from its having frequently changed its masters, in the course of the last seventy years, is going rapidly to desolation. It was taken by Colonel Polier, when that gentleman was in the service of the Nabob Zoofeccar ul Dowlah, better known by the name of Nedjif Khawn. In the eastern front of the fort was the imperial residence, built of white marble, covered on

the top with plates of copper gilt, which to this day retain their full lustre, and at no great distance there is a Mosque, built of the same beautiful materials, with copper ornaments and gilt. It was impossible to contemplate the ruins of this grand and venerable city, without feeling the deepest impressions of melancholy. I am, indeed, well informed, that the ruins extend, along the banks of the river, not less than fourteen English miles.

THE palace of Dara Sheko, built by that prince, includes an extent of ground not less than the square of Lincoln's-inn fields. It is dangerous even to walk among these ruins; for at every step, unless great care is taken, the passenger is liable to sink through holes into the covered vaults, which are now the habitation of dangerous reptiles. The streets in this city are very narrow, and evidently not laid out on any well directed plan. I went once to a Hummaum, or bath, which had formerly belonged to the palace of one of the great men of the court, as was plain from the expences that had been laid out on it; being lined with the finest coloured marbles, with many pieces of lapis lazuli introduced amongst the ornaments, which were very beautiful, in the Moorish style, composed of mosaic and flowers; the imitations of the latter, I must add, were remarkably good.

AT the distance of three coss, or a little more, from Agra, on the great high road leading to Dehli, at a place called

Secundrii, stands the tomb of the emperor Acbar. This enormous building is seated in a garden, regularly planted both with forest and fruit-trees, and many flowering shrubs, and walled round, which is supposed to contain a space of upwards of twenty English acres. The monument is raised in the center of the garden; it is a square building, with gates in the center on each side, and great pavilions at the angles and over the gates: it consists of five several stories, which gradually diminish with pavilions at each angle. The domes of the several pavilions are of white marble, the rest of the building is of red stone, in parts intermixed with white marble. The fifth or upper story is entirely of white marble, and has a range of windows running round each side, which are fret work, cut out of the solid slab. The pavilions that finish this story are likewise of marble; these have been greatly damaged, as I was told, by lightning, and by an earthquake. One of the pavilions is quite gone, and the domes of the others are greatly injured. The inside of this upper story is curiously inlaid with black marble, expressive of certain passages from the Koran; and I was informed by a critic in Persian writing, that it is in the most perfect style. On each story of this building are large terraces, which, in the times of the emperors Jehanguire and Jehan, had coverings of gold cloth, supported by pillars of silver. Under the shade of these awnings the mollahs or priests of the religion of Mahommed conversed with men of learning.

THE principal entrance is by a grand gate leading to the garden; the front highly ornamented with mosaics of different coloured marbles, inlaid in compartments. On either side the center are two stories of pointed arches, and large recesses; in the upper story is a door in the center, and a window over it, with a ballustrade in front; the lower recesses have one window in each. In the center is one vast pointed arch; and this part of the building rises very considerably above the side over the two stories which have been just described. On the top, and somewhat behind the front of this part of the building, raised on square columns, are two sarcophagi of black marble; and two others immediately behind the back front of the gate, answering to those in the principal front. At each angle of the gate (this building being an oblong square) are minarets of white marble, rising to a great height, in part fluted; above the flutes, half way up the minarets, are ballustrades; and there is likewise one near the top. These minarets were formerly crowned with open pavilions, and finished with domes, which have long since been destroyed. In these minarets are staircases, leading to the two balconies that surround them. A large print, by that excellent artist Mr. Brown, has been engraved and published from a picture of this gate, which gives a more perfect idea of the grandeur of it than words are able to express. Through this gate we pass into a vast open hall, which rises in a dome nearly to the top of the building. This hall was, by the order of the Emperor

Jehanguire, the son of Acbar, highly decorated with painting and gilding; but in the lapse of time it was found to be gone greatly to decay; and the Emperor Aurungzebe, either from superstition or avarice, ordered it to be entirely defaced, and the walls whitened. From this hall, through a similar arch to that in the front, we descend into the garden; and the whole of the tomb displays itself through an avenue of lofty trees. This avenue is paved with stone: in the center is a large square basin, which was formerly filled with water, but was quite dry when I saw it. In the center of the basin was a fountain, the pipe only remaining: the supply of water, indeed, had apparently been considerable here, for all through the middle of the avenue, and on either side, we observed channels, which must have been designed for aqueducts, but which were then dry. At some small distance from the principal building rises a high open gate, entirely of white marble, of exquisite beauty.

A BLAZING eastern sun shining full on this building, composed of such varied materials, produces a glare of splendour almost beyond the imagination of an inhabitant of these northern climates to conceive; and the present solitude that reigns over the whole of the neglected garden, excites involuntarily a melancholy pensiveness. After viewing this monument of an Emperor, whose great actions have resounded through the world, and whose liberality and humanity were his highest praise, I became desirous of seeing even that stone

which contained his crumbling remains. There was an old Mollah who attended, and had the keys of the interior of the building, (which is still held in veneration) and who obtains a precarious subsistence by shewing it to the curious traveller. The inside of the tomb is a vast hall, occupying the whole space of the interior of the building, which terminates in a dome; a few windows at the top admit a "dim religious" light, and the whole is lined with white marble. In the center the body is deposited in a sarcophagus of plain white marble, on which is written, in black marble inlaid, simply the name of

A C B A R.

FROM the summit of the minarets in the front a spectator's eye may range over a prodigious circuit of country, not less than thirty miles in a direct line, the whole of which is flat, and filled with ruins of ancient grandeur: the river Jumna is seen at some distance, and the glittering towers of Agra. This fine country exhibits, in its present state, a melancholy proof of the consequences of a bad government, of wild ambition, and the horrors attending civil dissensions; for when the governors of this country were in plenitude of power, and exercised their rights with wisdom, from the excellence of its climate, with some degree of industry, it must have been a perfect garden; but now all is desolation and silence. Surrounding the monument of Acbar are many

tombs; some of them very beautiful: most probably they cover the remains of certain branches of his family. The traditional report is here, that they are the tombs of his wives.

ON the high road from Agra to Dehli there are many small buildings, the form of which is a square pedestal, upon which rises a cone, to the height of about eight feet. In this cone there are a great number of square niches, in which were placed the heads of malefactors, in terrorem. These likewise served the purpose of marking the various distances on the road: many of them are now broken down and covered in the dust.

To the south-east of the city of Agra is a beautiful monument, raised by the Emperor Shah Jehan for his beloved wife Taje Mahel, whose name it bears, and is called, by way of eminence, the Taje Mahel. It now stands two miles from the city, though formerly it joined it. Adjacent to this monument there was a great bazar, or market for the richest manufactures of India, and of foreign countries,* composed of six courts, and encompassed with great open porticoes; but scarcely a vestige of this building is now remaining. The Taje Mahel rises immediately from the river, founded on a base of red free-stone, at the extremity of which are octagon pavilions, consisting of

* See Tavernier

three stories each. On the same base are two large buildings, one on either side, and perfectly similar, each crowned with three domes of white marble; the center dome considerably larger than the others. One of these buildings is a musjiid, or mosque; the other was designed for the repose of any great personage, who might come either on a pilgrimage to the tomb, or to satisfy a well-directed curiosity. On this base of free-stone (having a platform at least of twenty-five feet in breadth) another rests of white marble, of a square form, and which is about fourteen feet high; the angles are octagon, from which rise minarets, or vast columns tapering upwards, having three several galleries running round them, and on the top of each an open pavilion, crowned with a dome. These minarets too, I should have remarked, are of white marble, and contain stair-cases which lead to the top. From this magnificent base, like those already described, rises the body of the building, which has a platform similar to the above. The plan of this is octagon; the four principal sides opposed to the cardinal points of the compass. In the center of each of the four sides there is raised a vast and pointed arch, like that described in the gate of the tomb of Acbar; and the top above this arch rises considerably higher than the other parts of the building. Those faces of the building which form the octagon on either side the great arches, have two stories of pointed arches, with recesses, and a low ballustrade in front; the spandels above the arches are greatly enriched with different coloured marble inlaid: the

heads of the arches within the recesses are likewise most highly enriched in the same manner: within the several arches running round the building are windows, formed by an open fret-work in the solid slab, to give light to the interior of the building. From behind this octagon front, and rising considerably higher, are four octangular pavilions, with domes. From the center of the whole, rising as high as the domes of the pavilions, is a cone, whence springs the great dome, swelling from its base outwards considerably, and with a beautiful curve finishing in the upper point of the cullus, on which rest two balls of copper gilt, one above the other: above the balls is a crescent, from the center of which a spear head terminates the whole. Each face of this building is a counterpart to the other, and all are equally finished.

WHEN this building is viewed from the opposite side of the river, it possesses a degree of beauty, from the perfection of the materials and from the excellence of the workmanship, which is only surpassed by its grandeur, extent, and general magnificence. The basest material that enters into this center part of it is white marble, and the ornaments are of various coloured marbles, in which there is no glitter: the whole together appears like a most perfect pearl on an azure ground. The effect is such as, I confess, I never experienced from any work of art. The fine materials, the beauti-

ful forms, and the fymmetry of the whole, with the judicious choice of situation, far furpaffes any thing I ever beheld.

IT was the intention of the royal founder to have erected on the oppofite fide a fimilar building, for his own interment, and to have joined them by a marble bridge. This magnificent idea was fruflrated by ficknefs, and by the fubfequent difputes concerning the fucceffion between his fons, and at laft by his own imprifonment by Aurungzebe.

THE garden, in which the Taje Mahel is fituated, is entered from the oppofite fide, through a large and handsome gate of red free-ftone, whence proceeds a large flight of fteps into the garden. From the top of the fteps the center part of the middle building is viewed through an avenue of cyprefs and other trees mixed: the avenue is paved with ftone, in the middle there are copartments, or beds of flowers, with fountains at equal diftances; four of the moft magnificent of which are fituated about half way up the avenue, and rife from a fquare bafe of white marble. Thefe, as well as the others, are fupplied by a refervoir without the building, which is filled from the river by pumps. The fountains are yet in tolerable repair; they were played whilft I was there; and the garden is ftill kept in decent order, the lands allotted for the fupport of the building not being wholly difmembered from it. The center building is in a perfect ftate; but all thofe which furround it bear ftrong marks of decay. Several Mol-

lahs attend the mosque here at the hours of prayer, and appear the most orderly and decent that I have seen among the Mahomedans; extremely attentive to strangers, and assiduous to shew and explain every part of it. The inside of the great building is of white marble, with many ornaments of flowers beautifully carved. The tomb is in a chamber below, and the body of Taje Mahel lies in a sarcophagus of white marble, under the center of the building. Close to it is a similar one, containing the body of her husband Shah Iehan. These sarcophagi are perfectly similar to those in the tomb of Acbar.

THE garden and the surrounding buildings cannot occupy a space more than equal to one half of that of the Emperor Acbar, at Secundrii. Tavernier mentions, that he was witness to the beginning and the finishing of this building, which employed upwards of twenty thousand men constantly at work for a term of twenty-two years. The free-stone was obtained in the neighbourhood, but the marble was brought from Kandahar, the eastern province of Persia, by land carriage, a distance of not less than six hundred miles by the road. The expence is said to have amounted to little less than one million sterling.

ON the third of March the Nabob's camp moved close to Secundrii, where we remained until the fifteenth, when we removed to Gougaut, seven cofs from Agra. Here the



A WOMAN of HINDOSTAN .

MULLAH or MUSSELMAN PRIEST .

*Engraved by P. W. Tomkins, from a Drawing
made from the Life, by W. Hodges R.A.*

London, Published by J. Edwards, Pall Mall, Jan. 1. 1793.



water was very bad, being strongly impregnated with nitre, and the surface of the ground was covered with that salt. On the twenty-second we encamped near the small village of Krowley, five cofs to the westward of Gougaut, on a very extensive plain, which was poorly decorated with a few scattered trees, and bounded by some low hills stretching to the eastward. In these hills I found considerable quarries of red free-stone, the same with that of which the fort of Agra is built. The ground was very little cultivated in these parts: the soil is loose and light.

I FOUND the heat about this time excessive, and it was soon much increased by the setting in of the hot winds from the westward. The water through the whole of this part of the country is very bad, from the salt-petre.

ON the 23d we encamped near the town of Futtypoor Sicri. The country here resembled, in most respects, that which we had just past. It is an immense plain, bounded to the southward by a range of hills; not a shrub was to be seen; and the heat still continued to increase. The soil, I observed was light, and almost as fine as hair-powder. It is impossible to describe the disagreeable effects which this circumstance produces, when this fine dust is taken up by the hot winds from the westward: the indifferent water too, with which the whole country abounds, must necessarily render the situation unhealthy.

I WAS much entertained, during our several marches, by the variety of characters I saw; the people of the bazar (the market) with their wives and children; the cavalry, who were continually manifesting their dexterity, in the oriental manner, by setting off their horses in full speed, firing behind, as if pursued by an enemy, and then instantaneously stopping, and flying back with the same velocity as they advanced, to the great terror of the poor people in their way. Their adroitness in the management of their horses is, indeed, wonderful; though, from the appearance of the animals, one would doubt whether they were able to move five miles.

To these I may add the majestic movements of the elephants; not only of those which carried the great men, but of those with the heavy baggage. The appearance, indeed, of the whole army, with the camels, artillery and baggage cattle, formed a scene highly gratifying to the mind, entirely new to a European, of singular variety, and even sublime. I could not, however, but observe the great apparent want of order in the line of march; not that my knowledge of the military art was sufficient to qualify me for passing a decided judgment; but the order I had seen in the camp under Sir Eyre Coote, in the Carnatic, and when those troops marched towards the enemy, gave me very different impressions from that which was now before me.

THE town of Futtypoor Sicri, which lay under the hills I have before mentioned, is considerable, and the country immediately near it is in tolerable cultivation. On the summit of the highest hill is a large mosque, which was built by Acbar. The building is in a high style of Moorish architecture. The ascent from the foot of the hill is by a flight of broad steps, extending to the principal entrance, which is through a portal of great magnificence. After this we enter a large square, paved throughout, in which is the mosque, and round the sides are apartments for the different priests. At the foot of the hill on which the mosque is situated are the remains of the palace, occupying a great extent of ground. The palace is in total ruin, not a single apartment remaining; and the only part which serves to give any idea of its former beauty is the principal gate. At the back of the hills on which the mosque and palace are built, was a lake, formed by great mounds of earth, artificially raised to keep in the water, on which, when the palace was inhabited, a number of fine boats were kept of every description, for the entertainment of the Imperial Family. The boundaries and banks of the lake are now only to be traced, many parts of it being not only quite dry, but in actual cultivation. Throughout this part of the country the water is very bad, except at the mosque, where it is quite the contrary, the wells being sunk considerably lower than usual, in fact, below the depth where the salt-petre is generated. While we continued here our feelings informed us of a considerable increase in the heat of the weather, in the course of a few days.

WE remained at Futtypoor Sicri until the twenty-sixth, when the camp moved to Siedpoor, about seven cofs, or a little more. Here we found the face of the country greatly altered; we marched through a territory in many parts well cultivated: to the S. W. of the village it is, indeed, extremely beautiful, being varied with hills, the vallies and plains between which were in fine cultivation. The village itself had been but a few months before plundered and burnt, and all the inhabitants massacred, by Mahommed Beg Khawn, one of those chiefs who disputed for the sovereignty under the Great Mogul, on the death of Nudjiif Khawn, and who, a short time after, assassinated with his own hand, in a friendly meeting, the chief of this army, Mirza Shuffy Khawn; and for these and many similar crimes suffered death, by the order of Madajee Scindia, the Mahratta chief.

WE experienced great inconvenience about this time from the hot winds, as the reader may well conceive, when he is informed that, in the middle of the day, Farenheit's thermometer stood in the shade at 106. The great quantities of sand also raised by the wind prevented us from seeing the sun set for many days, the atmosphere for many degrees above the horizon being totally obscured by the floating masses of sand. During my stay at Siedpoor there were several storms of wind only; arising in the north-east quarter, and veering about until it settled in the south-west. The country people call them aundees, and typhawns; but

while they rage they may well be called hurricanes; destroying every thing in their course, and being accompanied with such quantities of dust, as to have the appearance of a moving cavern approaching to overwhelm the affrighted spectators. In one of these storms of wind not a single tent in the whole camp was left standing. The dust raised by the storm approaches with a wave-like motion, and affords a clear idea of those tempests which are said to happen on the plains of Arabia and in Africa, and which are so admirably described by Lucan; and after him by Mr. Addison:

Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,
 Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
 Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away.
 The helpless traveller, with wild surprize,
 Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
 And, smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies.

THE reader will perhaps have pleasure in comparing these with the following lines of Thomson:

Strait the sands,
 Commov'd around, in gathering eddies play:
 Nearer and nearer, still they dark'ning come;
 Till, with the general all-involving storm
 Swept up, the whole continuous wilds arise:
 And, by their noon-day fount dejected thrown,
 Or sunk at night in sad disastrous sleep
 Beneath descending hills, the caravan
 Is buried deep.

My intentions of visiting Dehli were frustrated by the movements of the army under Mirza Shuffy Khawn; and as no probability appeared of reaching that capital under the sanction of Major Brown's embassy, and the country being over-run by two hostile armies, as well as by marauding parties from each, and invaded by the Sciks from the province of Lahore, I was obliged in prudence to direct my course towards Gwalior. I therefore sent off all my baggage under the escort of a party of seapoys, and took my leave of Major Brown on the 28th of April, at night. Added to the evils which I intimated above, the whole country was at this time infested by bands of robbers; and during the march of my small party they were attacked by a considerable body of horsemen, but by the good conduct of the havildar every thing was preserved. On the 29th I arrived at the village of Dohlpoor, and on the following day crossed the river Chumbull, and marched three cofs, in a north-west direction, through the worst country I ever saw; full of ravines and deep hollow-ways. As soon as I reached the plain I encamped under the walls of a large mud fort, which had been lately taken from the Rana of Ghod, by Madajee Scindia, the Mahratta chief. The Killidar, or governor, treated my people extremely well, and permitted them to purchase grain and vegetables within the fort, but would not suffer me to enter it.

THE country through which I had lately passed was most dreary and desolate, not a blade of verdure to be any where seen, and the sun most intensely hot. On the 1st of May I arrived at Nurabad. This is a small town, with an old stone fort in it, and a stone bridge over a small nullah, (a branch of the Chumbull) consisting of seven tall and narrow pointed arches: at the extreme of the three center arches are two open pavilions, raised upon the bridge, crowned with domes on each side; and at the extremes of the other two arches are small cones, all built of the same stone as the bridge, and finished with little domes: the remaining part of the bridge abuts against the banks. On the following day I arrived at Gwalior.

I SHOULD have remarked, that throughout the whole of the above country, which I passed in my way from Dohlpour, there did not appear the smallest trace of cultivation, nor was there even a hut to be seen. The season, it is true, was the worst in the year for the appearance of the country, and the hot winds had set in with uncommon violence, which destroy every thing in their course, like the Angel of Desolation. Besides all these unfavourable circumstances, it must also be remembered, that this is the bordering country, which lies between the fine province of Malwa and that country yet remaining under the dominion of the Great Mogul; and it has consequently been, ever since the estab-

lishment of the Mahratta power, the scene of perpetual wars.

THE fort of Gwalior is seated on the top of a considerable mountain, rising from a perfect flat country. To the west are some considerable hills, among which is the pass of Narwah, leading to Ougion, the capital of the Malwah country, at present possessed by Madajee Scindia. The rock on which the fort is situated is on every side perpendicular, either by nature or art. At the north-west end is the citadel and a palace, and a chain of seven gates leading to the town at the foot of the mountain. The town, and indeed the whole base of the mountain, is surrounded by a wall; and the place has been generally considered, by Europeans, as the Gibraltar of the East, as well for its natural situation as for the works that have been constructed for its security. The town is large, and contains some few remains of good houses, and a mosque.

DURING the time of the Mogul government this place was the state prison, where the obnoxious branches of the Royal Family were always confined, and where they were allowed, for their amusement, a large menagerie of beasts, such as lions, tigers, &c. On the top of the mountain, I am told, there are considerable cultivated plains, and a good supply of water; insomuch, that a vigilant and active governor might defend it against almost any number of enemies, who could only attack it from below.

THIS ancient and celebrated fortress is situated in the heart of Hindostan Proper, being about eighty miles to the south of Agra, the ancient capital of the empire, and one hundred and thirty from the nearest part of the Ganges. From Calcutta it is, by the nearest route, upwards of eight hundred miles; nine hundred and ten by the ordinary road; and about two hundred and eighty from the British frontiers. In the ancient division of the empire it is classed in the subah of Agra, and is often mentioned in history as the capital of a district which produced a large revenue. We first read of it in the History of Hindostan, in the year 1008; and, during the two following centuries, it was twice reduced by famine. It is probable that it must, in all ages, have been a military post of the utmost consequence, both from its situation in respect to the capital, and from the peculiarity of its site, which was generally deemed impregnable. With respect to its relative position, it must be considered, that it stands on the principal road, leading from Agra to Malwa, Guzerat, and the Decan; and that near the place where it enters the hilly tract, which advances from Bundelcund, Malwa, and Agimere, to a parallel with the river Jumna, throughout the greatest part of its course. From these circumstances, as well as from its natural and acquired advantages as a fortress, the possession of it was deemed as necessary to the ruling emperors of Hindostan, as Dover Castle might be to the Saxon and Norman Kings of England.

ON the dismemberment of the Mogul empire, Gwalior appears to have fallen to the lot of a Rajah of the Jaut tribe of Hindoos, who assumed the government of the district in which it is immediately situated, under the title of Rana of Gohud or Gohd. Since that period it has changed masters more than once: the Maharattas, whose dominions extend to the neighbourhood of it, having sometimes possessed it, and, at other times, the Rana; but the means of transfer were always either by famine or treachery.

GWALIOR was in the possession of Madajee Scindia in the year 1779; at the close of which year the Governor General and Council of Bengal concluded an alliance with the Rana of Gohd; in consequence of which, four battalions of Seapoys, of five hundred men each, and some pieces of artillery, were sent to his assistance, his district being over-run by the Maharattas, and he himself shut up in his fortrefs of Gohd. The grand object of this alliance was to penetrate into Scindia's country, and finally to draw him from the western side of India, where he then was, attending the motions of General Goddard, who was employed in the reduction of Guzerat. In adopting this measure, the idea of Mr. Hastings was, that when Scindia found his own dominions in danger, he would detach himself from the confederacy, of which he was the principal member, and thus leave matters open for an accommodation with the court of Poonah, the principal

feat of the Maharatta government ; and the event was answerable to this expectation. Major, now Colonel Popham, was appointed to the command of this little army, sent to the Rana's assistance, and was very successful, as well in clearing the country of the enemy, as in expelling them from one of their most valuable districts, and keeping possession of it. Mr. Hastings, who justly concluded that the capture of Gwalior, if practicable, would not only open the way into Scindia's country, but would also add to the reputation of the British arms, in a degree much beyond the risk and expence of the undertaking, repeatedly expressed his opinion to Major Popham, together with a wish that it might be attempted ; and founding his hopes of success on the confidence that the garrison would probably have in the natural strength of the place, it was determined that it should be attacked. As the success, therefore, of this enterprize is only generally known, I have added the following account of the manner of obtaining possession of it, from a letter written by Captain Jonathan Scott, at that time Persian interpreter to Major Popham, to his brother Major John Scott, who has obligingly permitted the insertion of it in this work :

“ THE fortress of Gwalior stands on a vast rock of about four miles in length ; but narrow, and of unequal breadth, and nearly flat on the top. The sides are so steep, as to appear almost perpendicular in every part ; for where it was

not naturally so, it has been scraped away; and the height, from the plain below, is from two hundred to three hundred feet. The rampart conforms to the edge of the precipice all round, and the only entrance is by steps running up the side of the rock, defended on the side next the country by a wall and bastions, and farther guarded by seven stone gateways, at certain distances from each other. The area within is full of noble buildings, reservoirs of water, wells, and cultivated land; so that it is really a little district in itself. At the north-west foot of the mountain is the town, pretty large, well built, the houses all of stone. To have besieged this place would have been vain; for nothing but a surprize or blockade could have carried it.

“ A TRIBE of banditti, from the district of the Rana, had been accustomed to rob about this town, and once in the dead of night had climbed up the rock, and got into the fort. This intelligence they had communicated to the Rana, who often thought of availing himself of it, but was fearful of undertaking an enterprize of such moment with his own troops. At length he informed Major Popham of it, who sent a party of the robbers to conduct some of his own spies to the spot: they accordingly climbed up in the night, and found that the guards generally went to sleep after their rounds. Major Popham now ordered ladders to be made, but with so much secrecy, that, until

the night of the surprize, only myself and a few others knew of it.

“ ON the 3d of August, in the evening, a party was ordered to be in readiness to march, under the command of Captain William Bruce; and Major Popham put himself at the head of two battalions, which were immediately to follow the storming party. To prevent, as much as possible; any noise in approaching or ascending the rock, a kind of shoes, of woollen cloth, were made for the Seapoys, and stuffed with cotton. At eleven o'clock the whole detachment moved from the camp at Reypoor, eight miles from Gwalior, through unfrequented paths, and reached it a little before day-break. Just as Capt. Bruce arrived at the foot of the rock, he saw the lights which accompanied the rounds moving along the ramparts, and heard the centinels cough (the mode of signifying that all is well in an Indian camp or garrison), which might have damped the spirits of many men, but served only to inspire him with more confidence, as the moment for action, that is, the interval between the passing of the rounds was now ascertained: accordingly, when the lights were gone, the wooden ladders were placed against the rock, and one of the robbers first mounted, and returned with an account that the guard was retired to sleep. Lieutenant Cameron, our engineer, next mounted, and tied a rope ladder to the battlement of the wall; this kind of

ladder being the only one adapted to the purpose of scaling the wall in a body (the wooden ones only serving to ascend the crag of the rock, and to assist in fixing the rope ladder). When all was ready, Captain Bruce, with twenty Seapoy grenadiers, assembled without being discovered, and squatted down under the parapet; but, before a reinforcement arrived, three of the party had so little recollection as to fire on some of the garrison, who happened to be lying asleep near them; this had nearly ruined the whole plan: the garrison were of course alarmed, and ran in great numbers towards the place; but, ignorant of the strength of the assailants (as the men fired on had been killed outright), they suffered themselves to be stopped by the warm fire kept up by the small party of grenadiers, until Major Popham himself, with a considerable reinforcement, came to their aid. The garrison then retreated to the inner buildings, and discharged a few rockets, but soon afterwards retreated precipitately through the gate; whilst the principal officers, thus deserted, assembled together in one house, and hung out a white flag. Major Popham sent an officer to give them assurance of quarter and protection; and thus, in the space of two hours, this important and astonishing fortress was completely in our possession: we had only twenty men wounded, and none killed. On the side of the enemy, Bapogee, the Governor, was killed, and most of the principal officers were wounded."



A VIEW of the FORT of GWALIOR.

*Engraved by W. Byrne from a picture Painted by W. Hodges R.A.
in the Collection of Warren Hastings Esq^r.*

London, Published by J. E. Edwards, Pall Mall Jan^y. 1793.



It is necessary to add to this account, that some time after, the fort was given up to the Rana of Gohd, who kept possession of it until the time of which I am now speaking; the peace being agreed on between the British Government and Scindia, although not finally settled, that chief found himself at leisure to invest it once more, and was at this time before the place with seventy thousand men: he, however, only effected its reduction by the treachery of one of the Rana's officers, who admitted a party of the Maharatta troops. A view of Gwalior is given, taken on that side where the English troops escaladed, which was near the centre of the length of the mountain.

It would be the height of ingratitude not to make my acknowledgments, in this place, to Messrs. Andersons, who were then in Scindia's camp, forming the treaty of peace and alliance between the English Company and Madajee Scindia, and which was afterwards so ably concluded by those gentlemen, for the uncommon attentions I there received. Mr. Anderson had sent an escort of Maharatta horse to Dohlpoor for my protection, which was absolutely necessary, from the then state of the country.

From the fatigue I had undergone, from the violent heats and exposure to the sun, in making my drawings, I found myself about this time, as indeed I had been for some time

back, in a very indifferent state of health ; nor was I able to stir abroad for many days after my arrival at Gwalior : in short, when I was, I was prevented from visiting the camp of the Maharattas, since the peace not being fully adjusted, many suspicions might have arisen to retard what was now so ardently desired, these people not having the remotest idea of any person visiting countries for scientific information, in any line whatsoever. After remaining ten days, I therefore determined to pursue my journey, with all expedition, to Lucknow ; and accordingly proceeded by Dak Bearers, and left my servants, with my baggage, to follow at leisure.

I SET off on the 12th, at night, and reached Gohd on the following day, where I stopped a few hours to refresh myself : here I found an Englishman, who was a watchmaker, but at this time commanded two battalions of the Rana's infantry ; he expressed himself heartily tired of his military career, and a wish to return within the British territory, to his former occupation, as he had made some little property in the Rana's service, which he wished to retreat with, but had no means to convey it, not being suffered to depart ; he therefore requested I would take charge of a casket for him to Lucknow, which I readily did, and delivered it to his friend. Had I, however, foreseen the dismal country I was to pass through, I should have been extremely averse to this undertaking ; for, from the town of Gohd, it is hardly possible for

the imagination to figure any thing so dismal, dusky, and barren. There were no villages, and scarcely a human being to be found, until I arrived near the river Chumbull, the banks of which are very high, and descending through deep ravines, in some of which are huts : in this part, as a stranger passes, every now and then a savage-like being starts out, completely armed in their way ; fortunately, however, the countenance of an European is, in the present day, a passport. I was two days and a night on this journey from Gwalior to Etaya. The heats, in the middle of the day were extreme, and the bearers, having one day missed their way in this ocean of sand, they set me down, and left me, while they went some distance to a hut to enquire the road. In this situation I was for upwards of two hours, when some of them returned ; and heartily rejoiced I was at the sight of a human being : it was impossible, indeed, to be angry at their long stay, when I considered what they must have suffered. On my arrival at Etaya, the sight of a few green herbs made me consider it as almost a very Eden.

ON the 16th, I finished this journey at Lucknow, when the heats and fatigue I had suffered brought on a violent dysentery, and a palpitation at the heart, from which I was long in recovering. Colonel Polier received me with his wonted hospitality ; and I remained with that gentleman about ten days : my indisposition, however, rather increasing than

abating, his house being a large bungalow, * was consequently very hot, and therefore Colonel Martin, who had a large brick house, had the goodness to invite me to his, where, by his great and most friendly care, and the administering of proper remedies, I gradually recovered; to him, therefore, I may now say I owe the life I at present enjoy.

I CANNOT but add, that, independent of this circumstance, I feel a weight of obligations to that gentleman, for the many and repeated instances of his kind and friendly attention. During my stay in his house I painted several pictures, among others a large one, a View of the Palace of the Nabob, from which a print has been engraved, which is annexed.

* Bungalows are buildings in India, generally raised on a base of brick, one, two, or three feet from the ground, and consist only of one story: the plan of them usually is, a large room in the center for an eating and sitting room, and rooms at each corner for sleeping; the whole is covered with one general thatch, which comes low to each side: the space between the angle rooms are viranders, or open porticoes, to sit in during the evenings: the center hall is lighted from the sides with windows, and a large door in the center; sometimes the center viranders, at each end, are converted into rooms.

C H A P. VIII.

*Departure from Lucknow—Voyage down the River Goomty—
Danger from Banditti—Jionpoor—Mausoleum—Safferam—Mau-
soleum of Sbere Shab—Death of Mr. Cleveland—Arrival at Cal-
cutta—Reflections on the State of the Arts in India—A new
Project—Advice to Artists travelling in India.*

FINDING myself tolerably recovered, I now determined to return towards Calcutta, and, instead of travelling the same rout by which I came, I resolved to pass by water down the river Goomty. I left Lucknow, therefore, on the 16th of July; and, from the various windings of the river, I did not enter the Ganges (into which the river falls) until the 1st of August.

THE banks of this river are, in most places, very beautiful, and at this season particularly so, having smooth, sloping banks of vegetable earth, and a fine verdure. There are many villages on its banks, between Lucknow and the town of Jionpoor, but less cultivation, than I should have judged, would have been necessary from the apparent population. It is somewhat dangerous to proceed down this river

without an escort of the military for protection : near the village of Sultanpoor, there appeared a body of about fifty horse belonging to a famous marauder Rah Sing, who had made himself extremely obnoxious by his depredations. His party watched my boats the whole of one night, within fifty yards of us; the alertness of my Seapoys, however, prevented any attack, and at day-break the party marched off.

Not far from where this river enters the Ganges, stands the fort of Jionpoor, a building of considerable extent, on a high bank commanding the bridge. It is now chiefly in ruins, though formerly, from strength and natural situation, it commanded the country from the Ganges quite to Lucknow : It was built by Sultan Feroz Shah, about the year 1102, and this place at one time was the seat of an empire. Chaja Jehan, Vizier to Sultan Mahummud Shah, during the minority of his son, Sultan Mamood Shah, assumed the title of Sultan Shirki (or king of the East), and took possession of Bahar, and fixed his residence at Jionpoor, where he built the great musjüd or mausoleum, which is still remaining, for the interment of himself and his family. This ruin is a great pyramid in the front, blunt at the top, the apex being cut off; the front is covered with ornaments. Over the center of the building in which are the remains of the tombs, rises a dome, but much below the front of the building which is seen from without; there has also been a square of buildings in the front, as appears by the foundations, which now only remain.

THE bridge of stone crossing the Goomty at this place is in tolerable repair, and consists of sixteen pointed arches; on the top of the bridge are many little shops on both sides built of stone. From a Persian inscription on the bridge, we find it was founded by Khan Khannah, Vizier to the Emperor Acbar, and Subah of the province of Oud, in the year 1567. The sound principles upon which this bridge is built, are proved by its having withstood, for such a length of time, the force of the stream, which in the time of the rains is very great. The inundations have been frequently known to rise even over the bridge, inasmuch, that in the year 1774, a whole brigade of the British forces passed over it in boats. *

THE river Goomty falls into the Ganges at a small distance below the city of Benares, whence I proceeded direct to Buxar. At this time I also determined to make a journey to Safferam, twenty coss inland, the birth-place of the Emperor Shere Shah, to visit the mausoleum of that Emperor, and to make drawings of it. This being the season of the rains, it was with difficulty I could pass in my palanquin; in many places the bearers waded above their middle in water, and the whole ground was one continued swamp.

I COULD not but be greatly struck with the grandeur of this monument, rising from the center of a large square lake, each side bounded by masonry, and descending to the water by

* A brigade consists of ten thousand men.

stone steps on every side, now greatly ruined. I judged, by walking round the lake, and measuring it by time, to exceed a mile. The plan of this mausoleum is a square base, rising from the center of the lake, having at each angle pavilions crowned with domes, and finished with a cullus ; from this base was a bridge, that, from the ruins now remaining, must have consisted of six pointed arches, which communicated to the side of the lake, and on two sides are a double flight of steps to the water ; on the base is raised an octagon building, having three pointed arches in each face, and on each angle are pavilions finished like the former. Somewhat behind this runs an octagon with one window in each side, and on the angles, pavilions like the others below ; behind this is likewise an octagon, ninety-two feet in diameter, and from the extremes spring the dome, which is finished on the top by a small pavilion, like those already described. A great part of the building is now covered with shrubs and trees, which have taken root within the stones, and promise a speedy decay, if not a total overthrow, of this grand pile. The country in the neighbourhood is hilly ; and surrounding the lake are hills, formed by the excavations when it was first made ; most of these are now covered with trees. The inside of the building is perfectly plain, nor does it appear ever to have had any decorations. The tomb of the Emperor is still remaining in the center, with several others surrounding it, which are those of his children. The dome, like the rest of the building, is of a fine grey free stone, now discoloured by age and neglect.

ON my return to Buxar, I proceeded to Bauglepoor, where I found my friend Mr. Cleveland on the bed of sickness, which in less than three months deprived the Indian world of his valuable life, a loss irretrievable to his friends, and most severely felt by the public.

A CONSTANT, and indeed an incessant application to public business, without sufficient care of a very delicate frame, and postponing until it became too late, the expedient of trying a more favourable climate, terminated the mortal existence of this inestimable man, who died on board a ship, at the mouth of the Ganges, in which he had embarked for the Cape of Good Hope. His remains were brought back in the pilot vessel that had attended the ship, and were afterwards deposited at Bauglepoor, where a handsome monument was erected to his memory.

I ARRIVED at Calcutta on the 24th of September, after a journey of nine months and fourteen days, through a country which had once been subject to the Moguls; the greatest and the richest empire, perhaps, of which the human annals can produce an instance, and which was adorned by many really great characters in politics and in arms.

I CANNOT look back at the various scenes through which I passed in these excursions, without almost involuntarily indulging a train of reflections relative to the state of the arts,

under this, as well as under the Hindoo government. The amazing monuments which are still to be found in India, prove the Mussulman conquerors, to have been well acquainted with the principles of architecture, and at least to have had a taste for grand composition ; in painting, on the contrary, they have only exercised themselves in miniature, many of which are highly beautiful in composition and in delicacy of colour ; their attempts in this art have also been confined to water-colours ; and they have laboured under a further disadvantage, the religion of Mahommed prohibiting all resemblances of animated nature. Whether the Arabs have ever transgressed the law in this point, I know not ; but probably, on account of the remoteness of India from the original seat of the religion of Mahomed, it may have lost much of its rigour, and may, therefore, have left the princes of India at more liberty to indulge themselves in this elegant art.

IN sculpture there are no instances of excellence among the Moors, except in the Taje Mahael at Agra, upon which there are flowers carved with considerable ability.

THE Hindoos appear to me to rise superior to the Mahomedans in the ornamental parts of architecture. Some of the sculptures in their buildings are very highly to be commended for the beauty of the execution ; they may, indeed, be said to be very finely drawn, and cut with a peculiar sharpness. The instance which is produced in this work of a column from the

temple of Vis Visha, at Benares, will prove it although cut in free-stone. A similar instance cut in black basalt, in the collection of Charles Townley, Esq. (on which are ornaments similar to those which is referred to above) is a striking proof of their power in this art. This column was brought from Gour, an ancient city, (now totally demolished) situated on the eastern shore of the Ganges, nearly opposite to Rajemahel. I have seen many instances of cast metal statues, relative to Hindoo mythology, that prove their perfect knowledge in the art of casting. These works, as they apply to the religion of Bramah, are both curious and valuable; but, as they are purely mythological, the artists have only considered the symbolical character; without the proper attention, and, perhaps, without a power of giving a perfect beautiful form, such as we see in the Grecian statues.

THE paintings of the Hindoos, as they are, like their sculpture, chiefly applied to represent the objects of their religious worship, are certainly not so perfect as the Moorish pictures, which are all portraits. A constant study of simple nature, it is well known, will produce a resemblance which is sometimes astonishing, and which the painter of ideal objects never can arrive at.

I CANNOT close these pages without mentioning an intention which I entertained, after my last journey, of undertaking another from the Ganges, through the Deccan, to

the western coast of India; and which I should recommend to the attention of any artist who may be induced to visit India, in future, with intentions similar to those which drew me from my native country. I meant to have commenced my journey at Benares, and finished at Surat. As this is a part of India untrodden by an artist, much matter might be collected relative to the state of ancient India, as many of the Rajahs in that part of the country possess lands handed down from the earliest period of the Hindoo records. I must think, from what I have seen of the Hindoo character, that such a journey might be carried into execution with perfect safety, and would add greatly to our stock of knowledge relative to the Eastern continent.

It is but too true that the expences would be considerable, from the necessity of being attended by a great number of servants; for, as is justly observed by Mr. Orme, in his second volume, "The different casts of the Indian religion being appropriated to specific and hereditary vocations, many of them are entirely prohibited from servile offices and hard labour; and of those allotted to such occupations, each must abide by that alone to which he was born: the husbandman would be dishonoured by employing his mattock, excepting in the field he is to sow; and even lower races have their distinctions, insomuch, that the cooly, who carries a burden on his head, will not carry it on his shoulder." The reputation, however, that would necessarily at-

tend the completion of such an undertaking, would be more gratifying than whatever wealth might be accumulated in the common track of professional pursuits.

A PAINTER for such pursuits ought necessarily to be endowed with three great qualities; a perfect knowledge of his art, and with powers to execute readily and correctly; judgment to chuse his subjects; and fancy to combine and dispose them to advantage. The first I must suppose him possessed of; in the second is included the choice of subject, with the knowledge of all the parts necessary for such a subject; and in the third is included the combination of all the different parts, so as to produce a general effect; but the imagination must be under the strict guidance of cool judgment, or we shall have fanciful representations instead of the truth, which, above all, must be the object of such researches. Every thing has a particular character, and certainly it is the finding out the real and natural character which is required; for should a painter be possessed of the talents of a Raphael, and were he to represent a Chinese with the beauty of a Grecian character and form, however excellent his work might be, it would still have no pretensions to reputation as characteristical of that nation.

MANY other tours in that interesting country might be undertaken by the enterprising artist. We know that the whole coast of Malabar possesses picturesque beauty equal to

any country on earth; and how valuable would be the representation of that scenery, whether as a natural object, or as connected with the history of the country, and the manners of the people? Pictures are collected from their value as specimens of human excellence and genius exercised in a fine art; and justly are they so: but I cannot help thinking, that they would rise still higher in estimation, were they connected with the history of the various countries, and did they faithfully represent the manners of mankind.



FINIS.

TABLE of the PLATES,

WITH

DIRECTIONS TO THE BINDER.

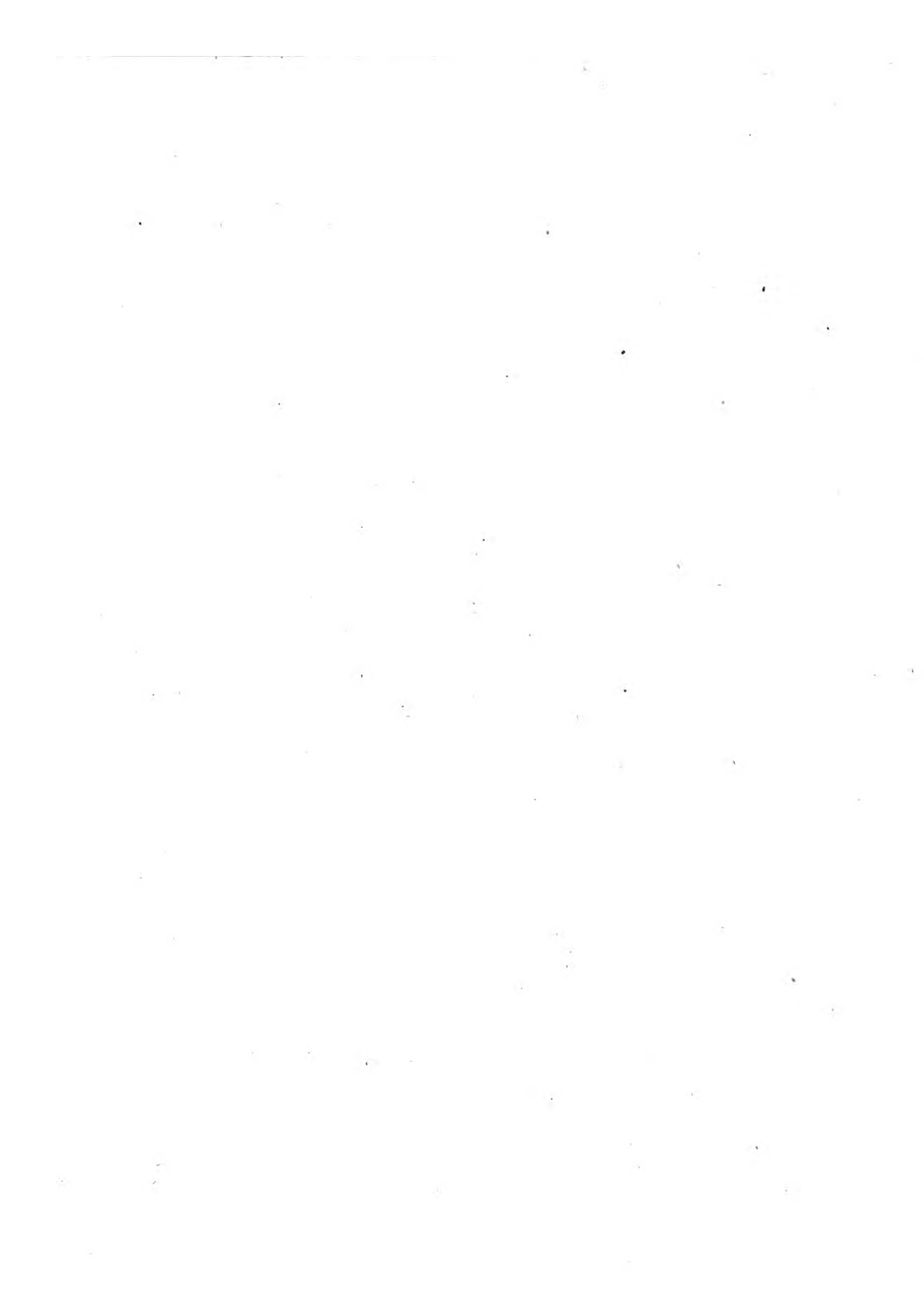
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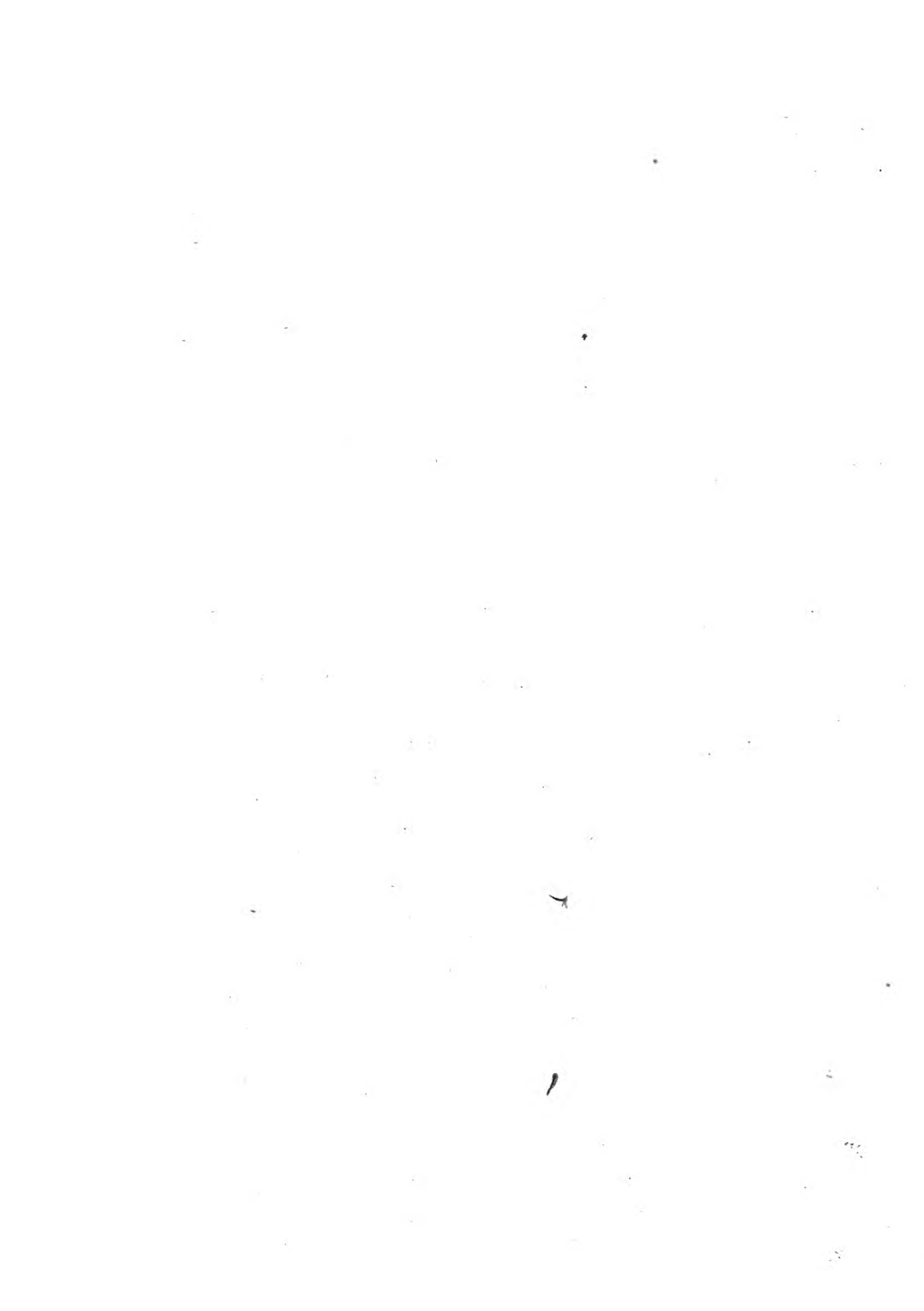
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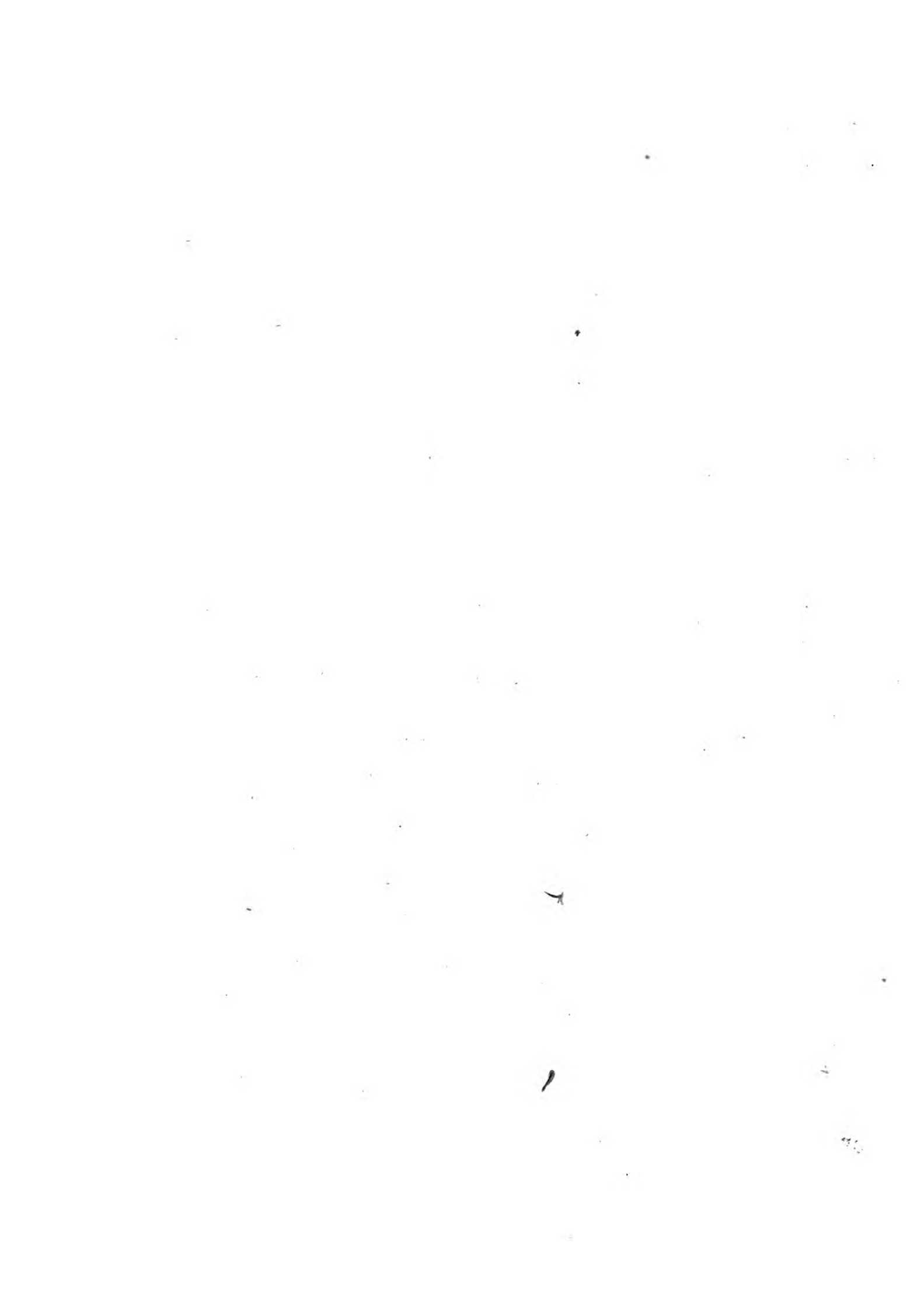
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