

tinually engaged in contests with the Afghans, the most violent enemies of the Sikhs, till he at length succeeded in getting possession of Peshawar, through the treachery of the brother of Dost Mahomed, whom he bribed with the promise of an annual pension of two lacs.

Two French officers, Captains Ventura and Allard, who, after the fall of Napoleon, had in vain sought an honourable employment in Persia, repaired to the court of Lahore, in the year 1822. They met with a friendly and brilliant reception, and were employed by Runjeet to organize his army on the French footing. Four years afterwards they were followed by Generals Court and Avitabile. By the aid of these officers, on whom Runjeet Singh conferred the rank of generals, the Maharaja succeeded in forming a well-armed and tolerably disciplined army of 50,000 men, besides 100,000 irregular troops; cannon founderies, powder magazines, and manufactories of arms are established in Lahore and Amritsir.

Runjeet Singh required the Europeans, who entered his service, to engage not to eat beef, not to shave their beards, and not to smoke tobacco. The latter, however, was allowed them, on their declaring themselves ready to comply with the first two conditions. These officers were respectively placed at the head of a brigade or division; Ventura and Allard were the founders of his regular cavalry; General Avitabile was distinguished as an infantry officer, and to the chivalrous General Court, Runjeet is indebted for his artillery. But notwithstanding this great confidence which the Maharaja placed in them, with this honourable and extensive sphere of action and princely recompenses in lands and money, they were not ap-

plied to in any affair relative to the court and the government; they were not allowed to sit down in the presence of the Maharaja, and were often obliged to petition for their high pay, from 2000 to 3000 rupees a month.

When Sir Alexander Burnes, the bearer of presents from the King of England to Runjeet Singh, arrived in Lahore, in July 1831, he found the Maharaja at the height of his power, dreaded by his enemies, and respected by the British. The veteran hero was flattered by so distinguished a mark of honour from a nation which he highly venerated, and whose superiority he acknowledged in every respect. The splendid reception which he gave to Sir Alexander Burnes, as well as the high esteem which he then manifested for the English, led to an interview between him and Lord William Bentinck, then Governor-General of India, at Roopoor, 1835. In consequence of this interview a treaty of navigation and commerce between Runjeet Singh and the English was concluded; by which it was stipulated that the merchants should pay a certain duty, in order to put an end to the arbitrary exactions which had hitherto taken place.

A short time before the opening of the campaign against Afghanistan, in 1838, another interview took place between the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, and Runjeet Singh; on which occasion the Maharaja promised to give the British some assistance, and granted them a free passage through his territory. But Runjeet Singh was at this time in an enfeebled state of health; his dissolute mode of life brought on dropsy, and he died on the 27th of June, 1839, of paralysis, in the fifty-ninth year of his age and the fortieth of his reign.

The Suttee, or the custom of burning the women on the death of their husband, is extremely ancient in India, though no mention is made of it in the laws of Menu; but Diodorus gives a description of it, which is quite correct, even at this day. Though the English have never interfered to hinder the religious usages of the Indians, they, however, permitted neither the Suttee, nor the crushing of the devotees under the wheels of the sacred car of Juggernaut, in the countries subject to their government; and, according to the assurances which I have received from well-informed persons, it appears that as far as control is possible, no Suttee has taken place within the last ten years in Bengal and in the Presidency of Bombay; this cruel custom does not prevail to the south of the river Kishna. Even the relations themselves, now often endeavour to prevent the burning of the widows; and in families of high rank, the prince of the country, in person, undertakes to offer consolation, and, while he is endeavouring to dissuade the widow from her purpose, the corpse is hastily carried away and consumed.

In Bengal it was customary to bind the dead and the living together with ropes to a stake, and to pile up bamboo canes so high around them, that escape was impossible. The widow was led by a string to the pile, accompanied in solemn procession by the nearest relations of her late husband, with a band of music, and attended by young women and relatives, her male descendants going before. In Orissa the pile is made in a pit, into which the wife throws herself as soon as the flames arise; and in the Deccan the woman sits upon the pile, with the head of her husband in her lap, till she is either suffocated, or

crushed by the heavy wooden covering which is placed over it.

When a woman intends to burn herself with her husband, her grief assumes a sublime character; she sheds no tear, she makes no lamentation, she lays aside her veil, and no longer conceals her person from the eyes of men; the thought of entering with her beloved into the blissful state beyond the grave—nay, by this expiatory sacrifice, to have facilitated and prepared the way for him, gives her the incredible energy to dedicate herself to such a martyrdom. Women have been seen to pray and wring their hands in the flames; others overcome by their sufferings, have rushed out of the fire, but were immediately driven back by those around them. An Englishman who was witness of such a scene, took the part of the unhappy woman, and stopped the awful sacrifice; but, what was his surprise, when on the following day she overwhelmed him with the most virulent reproaches, saying that he had robbed her of her salvation, and that she must now be an outcast and a wanderer, neglected and despised by all.

According to the custom of the Sikhs, the dead body of the Maharaja was burnt on the day following his decease, before the gates of the palace Hasuree-Bagh, in the presence of all the great men and the assembled troops. Four of his wives, and seven of his female slaves committed themselves to the flames with his body. An eye-witness told me that nothing had made so deep and lasting an impression on him, as the moment when these female figures issued, in solemn procession, from the palace gate, amid the sound of music and the thunder of the artillery. Almost all the inhabitants of Lahore were present at

this fearful solemnity. The corpse was placed in a sitting posture, between high piles of wood; and as soon as the flames were at their height, the unhappy victims prepared for death.

Two of the wives, who were only sixteen years of age, and possessed of extraordinary beauty, looked as if they were happy in being able, for the first time, to show their charms to the multitude; they took off their most precious jewels, gave them to their relations and friends, asked for a looking-glass, and with a slow and measured step walked towards the pile, sometimes gazing at the glass in their hand, then at the assembly, and anxiously asking if any change were observable in their countenance. They entered the glowing furnace, and in an instant were caught by the flames, and suffocated by the heat and smoke.

The other women seemed less resigned and cheerful; and, when they caught sight of the frightful element, horror was depicted on their countenances; but they knew that escape was impossible, and patiently submitted to their cruel fate. The minister, Dheean Singh, appeared to be about to throw himself into the flames, but the descendants of the Maharaja, particularly Sheer Singh, held him back.

Runjeet Singh, who has not unaptly been called the Porus of our days, was a small, mean-looking, deformed man, and blind with his left eye, in consequence of the small-pox. With all the magnificence which prevailed at his court, he was himself very simple in his attire, and wore but few ornaments; but he loved to see show and splendour in every thing about him. In battle, he was always seen at the head of his troops, and foremost in combat; he twice crossed the Indus with his cavalry, in the very

face of the enemy, and gained the victory. In energy of will, endurance, and craftiness, he was unequalled by any of his people; and though he was a tyrant, in the full extent of the word, he was not destitute of feelings of compassion. When Runjeet Singh conceived a thought, he never delayed carrying it into effect. Thus, having heard of a fine horse, which was in the possession of an Afghan prince, he offered to the owner an ample remuneration, if he would give up this valuable animal; but as this was refused, he suddenly fell upon him with his cavalry, and triumphantly carried off the coveted prize. The want of education was covered by the splendid mental powers with which nature had endowed him; and prudence and knowledge of mankind enabled him to maintain himself in his high station. Even at the latest period of his life, he endeavoured to acquire instruction, loved to speak of his campaigns and plans, and when a happy thought or some pleasure animated him, he uttered, with youthful enthusiasm, his favourite expression, "Barra tamasha," fine fun.

By means of excessive liberality, he attached faithful servants and brave warriors to himself; and, with equally royal munificence, he gave presents to strangers, but could never conceive why the English were obliged to deliver them up to their government. To prevent this he once caused a valuable gift to be carried during the night, into the house of an English general for whom he had conceived a high esteem. His interest in every thing European went so far, that when, on the accession of Queen Victoria, several colonels in the British army were raised to the rank of generals, he nominated an equal number in his army; and to console one who was passed over,

assured him that at some future time he would make him a lord! The character of this great man is darkened by his dissolute life, especially the vice of drunkenness, which, at last increased to such a degree that, in his latter years, he could not exist without the strongest spirituous liquors.

At the beginning of his course, he once saw a common lancer by the side of his elephant, breaking in a vicious horse; the beauty of this young man struck him, and his bold carriage, skill, and courage, made a favourable impression on Runjeet Singh, and the courteous reply to a question put by the Maharaja decided the fate of the impoverished young nobleman. This was the handsome Meer Dheean Singh, who was at that time five-and-twenty years of age, and was the descendant of a noble family in the lower regions of the Himalaya. From the post of porter in the royal palace, he rose to that of minister and first vizier, but with all his apparent submissiveness he attempted to kill his own son, Heera Singh (Diamond Lion), the handsomest boy in the country, because the Maharaja appeared to take a liking to him. Dheean Singh, now the all-powerful minister of the kingdom, is almost the unlimited master of the mountainous country, and has his own troops and his own artillery. In his little forts, built on high rocks, he feels himself secure and independent, and bids defiance to every person or power that attempts to rival him.

No less remarkable and important a person is the Fakir Uzeezoodeen, the chief physician and political adviser of Runjeet Singh; the best encomium that can be pronounced upon him is, that he has been able to maintain his high position, for a period of thirty

years. Every embassy to the British Government was accompanied by Uzeezoodeen; without him no resolution is formed, and every party seeks his counsel or assistance. He is descended from the Ansaris Arabs of the desert, between Bagdad, Damascus, and Aleppo, and, like the whole of his family, belongs to the fakirs of the country.

The fakirs lead a very retired life, quite shut out from the rest of the world; their women are never visible, and but little is known of their domestic arrangements. They intermarry only among each other, and, under a servile and fawning exterior, they make a semblance of extreme poverty, though they have amassed immense riches. Runjeet Singh extorted large sums from them when his coffers were empty.

The younger brother of Uzeezoodeen, Halifi Nurreden, the owner of Gulabhana, where the distilled waters, essences, and medicines are manufactured, is a man of no less influence at court, and has free access to the Maharaja both morning and evening. He has also the superintendence of the buildings, manufactories, and royal magazines. A third brother, the Fakir Imameddin, is blind, and lives in Amritsir. He is represented at court by his son Tageddin, to whom, as commander of the fortress of Goorindgher, the treasure deposited there, to the value of six million sterling, in jewels, gold, silver, and Cashmere shawls, is intrusted. The second son of Uzeezoodeen, the Fakir Errikeddin, is agent of the Maharaja at Ferozpoor.

Runjeet Singh was succeeded by his only son, who was then thirty-seven years of age, by the title of Maharaja Kurruck Singh. Not favoured by nature,

grown up without education, intemperate and effeminate, he sought only his pleasures and the harem; and left the affairs of government to the cruel Ceth Singh. But the latter, having formed the plan of putting Dheean Singh to death at a Durbar, he was cut in pieces at the side of the Maharaja by Dheean Singh and the crown prince, Nou Nehal Singh, who had been sent for from Peshawar. Kurruck Singh was seized with a severe illness soon after his accession, and, it is reported that his only son, the favourite of his grandfather, was not unconcerned in his premature death; for he died, after languishing seven months, of a neglected and improperly treated intermittent fever, on the 6th of November, 1840, and was burnt the same day with one of his wives and two female slaves.

Nou Nehal Singh, a youth of nineteen years of age, ambitious, expert in all warlike exercises, spirited, energetic, and full of great plans, was resolved to show the world what he was capable of. He was a sworn enemy to the English, and formed the bold project of declaring against them on the first favourable opportunity. He could scarcely conceal his joy, even at the immolation of his father's corpse, at finding himself the actual possessor of the throne. Guided by Rajah Meer Udum Singh, his friend and counsellor, he resolved, after the completion of that mournful ceremony, to wash away his sins in the Ravee, but as he was riding through the outer gate of Hasuree-Bagh, a large piece of the archway fell upon them both, from a height of thirty feet, killed his friend on the spot, and wounded the young prince so severely in the head, that he expired in three hours, while only a few of the great men, who accompanied them, were wounded. His death was concealed in the

fortress for three days, in order to give time to his absent mother, the Ranee Chandkaur, and to Prince Shere Singh, who was residing at his country house, to secure the throne. The body was burnt early in the morning of the third day, on the same spot where he was killed, with his two wives in the bloom of youth and beauty. The Ranee Chandkaur arrived in the fortress an hour before Sheer Singh, and occupied the inner part of it, upon which the latter with his adherents took possession of the garden Hasuree-Bagh. The great men of the kingdom, spent several weeks in deliberating which of the two should ascend the throne; till at length on the 30th of November the thunders of the artillery announced to Sheer Singh the painful intelligence, that Chandkaur had been chosen queen. He himself was obliged, according to the custom of the country, to repair to the palace of the sovereign, and, conducted by the ministers, to make the first present of 101 pieces of gold coin, but he left Lahore immediately after.

Chandkaur was the first wife of Kurruck Singh: she was at this time between forty and fifty years of age, rather corpulent, but of a pleasing exterior. She governed the kingdom under the guidance of twenty of the principal men, who called themselves counsellors. She showed herself only to her confidants, among whom the Rajah Gulab Singh, Dheean Singh's elder brother, and the Jemedar Koshal Singh, had the pre-eminence. Full of jealousy and distrust of the dictatorial, imperious Dheean Singh, these two took advantage of his absence, while he was enjoying the diversion of the chase in the forest of Merlebele, to supplant him. They accused him to the sovereign, in the presence of the counsellors, of having issued

orders of his own authority, and obtained a decision, that all ordinances, to be valid, must henceforward be signed by Chandkaur's own hand. Two letters (haha sasa) indicated the royal pleasure: but if they related to grants of money, the seals of the three deceased princes and of the minister were to be added.

This proceeding spread discontent through the country: insurrections broke out in various parts of the kingdom, and there was reason to fear, that there would be a rebellion in the chief city, Lahore. To take advantage of this state of things, Dheean Singh, under pretext of going to hunt in the mountains, repaired, with his younger brother, the Rajah Soochet Singh, to Shere Singh, inviting him to put himself at the head of the movement, and to take possession of the throne. Shere Singh acceded to this proposal; and they advanced with some thousand men against Lahore, and besieged the queen in Hasuree-Bagh. She had shut herself up here with the Rajahs Goolab Singh, Heera Singh, the brothers Itter Singh, and Achet Singh, (sirdars of the Sendooal family, who, as the nearest relations of Rundjeet Singh, had also pretensions to the throne,) and with 4000 men, chiefly mountain troops. The besieged gave up the fortress in five days, on the 28th of January, 1841. The Rajahs Goolab Singh and Heera Singh were allowed to retire with their troops to Chauduree, on the other bank of the river Ravee: the two sirdars fled across the Sutlej to the British possessions, and the queen was guarded as a prisoner in the fortress.

Thus Shere Singh ascended the throne. During his temporary residence at his summer palace, the ex-queen was found in her apartment, mortally wounded. Four of her female slaves had broken her skull with

tiles, and she survived this barbarous treatment only three days. The murderers were sentenced to have their hands, noses, and ears cut off; and were exiled beyond the Ravee. On the day of his coronation, January 27. 1841, Shere Singh, at the intercession of Dheean Singh, pardoned his brother and son, who were invited to be witnesses of the ceremony of the coronation.

The Maharaja was born in the little town of Velatch, in 1807, and, according to the assertion of his reputed father, is said to be the son of a dhoby. Although educated in warlike, stirring times, at the most splendid court in India, he has never been able to attain to personal importance, and, being effeminate, and utterly devoid of firmness of character, he has been led by the current of events and by the most resolute men of the time. Among the latter, Dheean Singh occupies the most prominent position; for Shere Singh, independently of a sense of deference for this extraordinary man, is bound to him by the strongest ties of gratitude, inasmuch as he is indebted to him, not only for the throne but also for his life. A plot had been laid by Chandkaur that he should be murdered in the palace: Dheean Singh gave him timely warning, and defeated the plot. This, together with the immense influence which Dheean Singh possesses in the country, has however made Shere Singh so utterly dependent upon him, that he does not venture to act, even in the smallest matter, without his approbation; nay, he, the Maharaja, the monarch of the land, rises and folds his hands in the presence of his minister! — a token of the deepest submission among the natives! Dheean Singh has nominated creatures of his own to all the highest posts, both in the country and at court. His son Heera Singh, commander-in-

chief of the army, is a vain ignorant young man, twenty-five years of age, who, properly speaking, belongs to no party, but is carried away by the impulse of the moment, and would be quite capable of betraying his own father; he is, besides, disliked by the army on account of his overbearing, tyrannical conduct. It is true that the Maharaja has some adherents, both in the country and in the army; but, like their master, they have not the courage to give vent to their sentiments.

Shere Singh has three wives, but only one son, the crown-prince Perthaub Singh, an intelligent boy twelve years of age, full of life and energy; and, much might be hoped for from him, were he not educated according to the custom of the country. He has been placed with the Generalissimo Heera Singh, in order that he may have the opportunity of ingratiating himself with the army; but his guardian has neither the ability nor the inclination to act the part of tutor assigned to him by the court. The other most influential men about the court of Lahore are Soochet Singh, the sirdars Achet Singh, Sham Singh, Tej Singh, and Itter Singh: Goolab Singh still remains in the mountains, notwithstanding the numerous invitations he has received to appear at court.

So much for this remarkable kingdom, which must soon become a question of life and death for the British power in India. Unless possessed of this, there is no security:—the Indus above Attock, with the mountain chain beyond Peshawur, and the Himalaya mountains, form the true and natural frontier of the immense dominions of the British empire in India.* When once this has been attained, all her powers can

* See note, p. 235.

be concentrated in the interior, and civilisation take root and flourish.

You must now return with me to Ferozpoor. The town itself is a small cheerful place, built of bricks, and surrounded by a wall: it is about two miles from the Sutlej, and lies on an eminence, in a boundless plain. At the north-west end, is the square, old citadel, which commands the town and the environs: it is defended by four pieces, and is occupied by an officer and sixty-eight men. At the northern issue from the town is a very fine bricked pond, with a flight of steps, close to which a small pagoda is embosomed in fig-trees (*Ficus religiosa*) and acacias.

Before the English settled here, Ferozpoor and its environs were desolate and ruinous: now the town increases daily, and the plain is every where brought under cultivation; and, where only a short time ago desolation reigned, and jungle covered the soil, the most luxuriant fields of corn are now flourishing. A dry arm of the Sutlej runs to the south, in many windings, between the town and the cantonment; and many ditches intersect the country, which, as numerous closed wells indicate, must have been formerly highly cultivated. Nothing is here wanted but wells, which, at the depth of thirty feet, supply an abundance of water for irrigation, and the fertile soil yields the richest harvest without manure.

A road planted with trees leads from the town to the cantonments, which are three miles distant to the south, and are divided into streets, which cross each other at right angles. Here are the magazines, which are built of stone, and the barracks of the Europeans, those of the native regiments, and the bungalows of the officers, surrounded by gardens, in which tamarinds, oranges, bananas, all kinds of flowers, pinks, roses, mig-

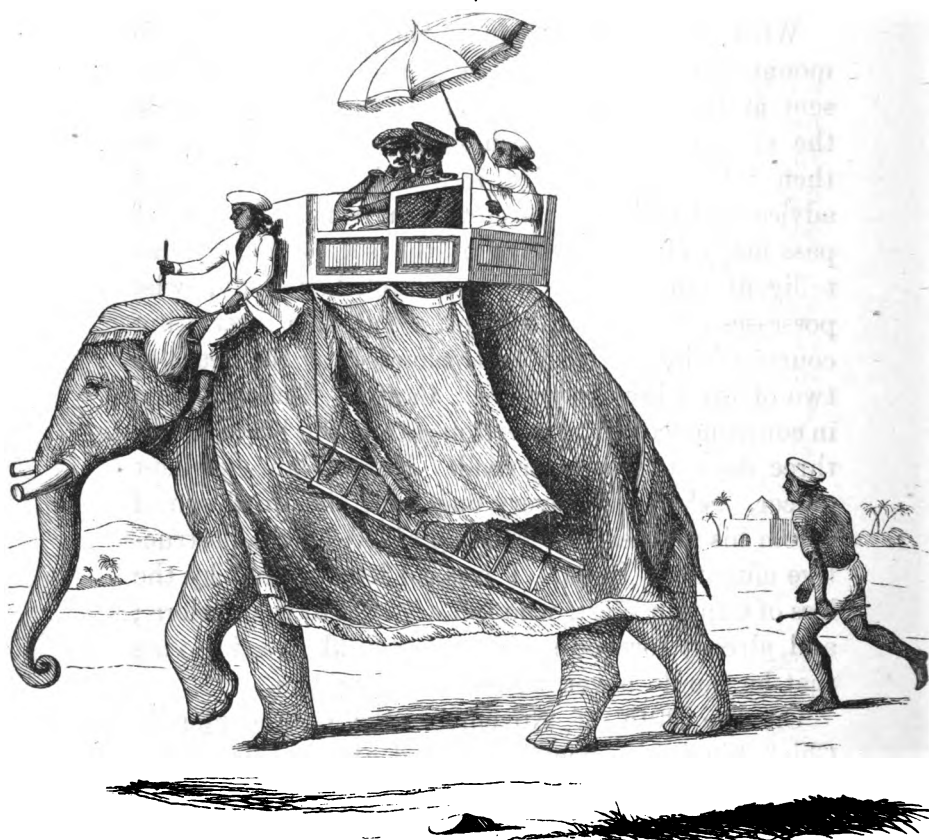
nionette, and European vegetables, flourish in abundance.

Lord Altamont and myself have been obliged to hire a bungalow for 100 rupees a month — for my tent was not calculated to be set up in the magnificent camp of an Indian army. Here we keep house for ourselves, which is expensive enough, as you will see, when I tell you that a fowl costs one rupee, a bottle of wine, five rupees, and a small ham, weighing scarcely eight pounds, thirty-six rupees: other necessities of life are in the same proportion.

When the gun announces the dawn of day, we mount our horses and ride to the camp, to be present at the exercising of the troops, or to witness the entrance of the fresh regiments. Our time is then taken up in visits, in which Captain Ewart's advice and assistance are of great service to me. I pass many cheerful hours in the society of this intelligent officer and his accomplished lady, who possesses great musical talent. But, this interesting course of life has been sadly clouded by the death of two of my fellow-travellers. Captain Nicholson died in consequence of the exertions attending his removal, three days after our arrival. He was an excellent officer, beloved by every one, and the third son of whom his mother had been deprived by the destructive climate of India. I was no less affected by the loss of Captain West, who fell a victim to the cholera; and, already foreboding his fate at Sukkur, said to me that he should never see his country again.

On the 20th of November, the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Jasper Nicolls, arrived at the camp, with 80 elephants, 300 camels, 136 draught oxen, and above 1000 servants. This immense retinue was

merely for his service, and for attendance on the animals, but did not include those domestics and animals which are required for his own person and those of his suite. Sir Jasper Nicolls has two tents, each fifty-six feet long and thirty-two broad; and several smaller ones, enclosed in a linen fence, in which he and his family reside. Opposite to them is the Durbar tent, which consists of several apartments. The floors are covered with shawls and carpets, and the tent is provided with a canopy, tables, chairs,



and furniture of every kind; nay, chandeliers are not wanting, so that in these canvass houses, he is as comfortable as at home. A band of one of the regiments performs every evening in the principal street of the camp.

Sir Jasper Nicolls and his lady render my abode at Ferozpoor very agreeable by their hospitality, and Lady Nicolls has had the goodness to lend me her elephant several times. I felt a singular mixture of curiosity and anxiety when I mounted one of these animals for the first time. A hair cushion is laid upon his back, for this is the most tender part of the animal, and the greatest care must be taken by his keeper to protect it from injury, because any wound there is very difficult to heal. Over this cushion is spread a covering of red cloth, embroidered with gold, which hangs down on both sides; on this rests the howdah, which is fastened by cords and girths round the body of the elephant. The howdah is very much like our sledges, and has seats for two persons and their servants. The Mahout, who guides the elephant with an iron prong, one point of which is bent outwards, sits on the animal's neck, while the driver, with a large club in his hand, runs by his side, inciting him to proceed by words and blows. A ladder is suspended at the side of the elephant to enable the riders to ascend and descend.

As soon as the rider is ready to mount this majestic creature, the Mahout cries, *Beit! beit!* (*Beitna*, i. e. to lie down,) upon which the elephant kneels down; the ladder is set up, and the rider mounts and takes his seat. The motion of some of these sagacious animals is most agreeable, and that of others very fatiguing, for it depends entirely upon his gait. When

he is driven, his step is so long and quick, that a horseman must trot to keep pace with him; but he soon relaxes in his exertion, and I should think could probably not travel more than twenty-four miles in the course of a day. When much heated and covered with dust, he sprinkles himself from time to time, with the water, which he carries in his trunk, for this seeming purpose.

An ordinary elephant costs 1000 rupees, and his keep is about 40 rupees a month; however, the quantity of food which he consumes depends on his size: he receives twice as many seers of baked flour (a seer = 2 lbs.) as he measures feet in height, besides leaves, corn, and hay. This remarkable animal supplies the place of carriages; and here, where the ground is covered with ditches and holes*, I find him most serviceable, for it seems to be an impossibility that an elephant should fall.

On the arrival of the General-in-chief the army of reserve begun to assemble: the cavalry regiments were the last to arrive, because there was a scarcity of grass for the horses. The morning always found me amid the bustle of the camp, or attending the exercises of the troops; and, as most of the corps of officers had invited me to their tables, I generally passed the evenings in the camp. At one of these dinners given by the 16th regiment of Lancers, I met Hindoo Row, the brother of Bacza Bae, the favourite wife of the Maharaja Dowlah Row Scindia: he headed his brother-in-law's army fifteen years ago, and on his death was greatly inclined to possess himself of

* There is a sect of the natives who grovel after a large species of lizard, of which they are very fond, on account of its fat; and it is in consequence of their digging for these reptiles, that the ground is so full of holes.

the vacant throne. He now lives at Delhi, on a pension guaranteed to him by the British government from the state of Gwalior. He is passionately fond of tiger hunting, and a great admirer of the English. He amused himself with sitting in perfect silence at table, admiring our appetite, without touching any thing himself. Not long ago he had addicted himself to drinking; but, happening one day to meet a European soldier in a state of intoxication, and being told by his friends that he conducted himself in a precisely similar manner whenever he had indulged too freely, Hindoo Row vowed that he would never more touch spirituous liquors; and he has kept his word.

At the entertainments given by the General-in-chief, we frequently met the officers who were on their way from Afghanistan, as well as some of the prisoners. Among the former I was especially pleased with making the acquaintance of one of my countrymen, Baron Meyer: this brave young officer was wounded in an action at the Khyber Pass, and has not yet recovered from it. We have passed many an hour in talking over events connected with our beloved country. The camp daily assumed a more motley and lively appearance, by the concourse of persons congregated from different parts of India. Yet we were not without scenes of melancholy and distress: we saw numerous sepoy who had just returned from the scene of slaughter, and who were mutilated, more by the cold than by the enemy, and who had lost not only their limbs, but their caste, the most dreadful loss which a Hindoo can suffer.

On the 4th December, the temperature before sunrise was 44° , and at noon $77\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, Fahrenheit. I rode down to the Sutlej to look at the bridges of boats

erected there. They are 290 feet (yards ?) in length, and are built of Dundy-boats, as is usual, both here and on the Indus, with flat bottoms and broad ends. One of these bridges consists of fifty-nine, and the other of forty-seven, such boats ; and they are so strong that the heaviest weights can be borne over in perfect safety.

On my road thither the mountain chain of the Himalayas, for the first time, rose before me. The impression produced by these snow-clad masses, surrounded by a tropical nature and appearing to cleave the clouds, is quite indescribable. Man in vain seeks for words to give vent to the sensations which such a scene produces on his soul — they are thoughts of its inmost recesses — for which no expression can be found !

Lord Ellenborough, the Governor General, made his entry into Ferozpoor on the 9th of December, with 120 elephants, 700 camels, and numerous waggons. The whole army marched out to receive him, and was drawn up in lines on the road to Lodiana. I rode with my friend Lord Altamont to welcome his Lordship. We met first an endless train of elephants, camels, carriages, palanquins, waggons, horsemen, and servants of all descriptions ; next the escort of the Governor General, the 3d Bengal regiment of cavalry which trotted before him, wearing the Ghuznee medals with which they had been presented the day previously ; and then the king of the country dressed in a civil costume, riding on a splendid Arab, surrounded by his staff. Mr. George Clarke had the kindness to present us to him : we were most kindly received, and invited by his Lordship to reside in the camp as his guests — an offer which we of course very gladly accepted.

In front of the tent of the Governor General is a

road 150 paces broad, along which are pitched tents of the superior civil and military officers, and aide-de-camps, composing the administration: above forty clerks belong to the department of the Secretary of Government alone. At the end of this road or street is the tent which has been put up for me: it is divided into three compartments, with double walls and roofs, thirty feet long, and twenty broad. The Governor General has a body guard of two officers and 120 cavalry soldiers, and hundreds of servants. A regiment of cavalry, another of infantry, and a brigade of artillery, do duty in the camp.



THE CHOWREE BURDAR.

Lord Ellenborough's Durbar tent, consists of three large tents, and is 168 feet long, thirty-two broad, and twenty-eight high. The apartments are covered with the most costly carpets, and are lighted up in the evening with chandeliers; iron stoves impart warmth and cheerfulness; and a canopy, in front of which the standard of England floats on a lofty pole, marks the entrance. From this Durbar tent, a glass door leads through a covered passage to the dwelling and sleeping tents. When we sat down to dinner, which was served on silver, the band of the Governor General struck up "God save the Queen:" a servant in a scarlet livery stood behind the chair of each guest, while two stately Hindoo attendants fanned his Lordship with a chowree, made of the tufted tail of the Hindoo ox, in a slow and measured movement.

A few days after the arrival of Lord Ellenborough, the irregular cavalry made trial of their skill in the presence of his Lordship. The Governor General, as well as all the superior officers, and the ladies, were seated on a long row of elephants, while a number of spectators were ranged on horseback. The riders, dressed in red and yellow, first riding at full gallop, fired their matchlocks at glass bottles, nine of which were struck; then, continuing at their utmost speed, they thrust at the tent pins with the lance—a feat which required great dexterity and bodily strength: all sorts of equestrian exercises concluded the interesting spectacle. Lord Ellenborough presented the victors with handsome arms; such as guns, sabres, and bows.

I looked forward with the greatest possible interest to the entrance of the troops returning home from the war, as these valiant defenders of Jellalabad were

to cross the Sutlej, and were to be received with peculiar honours. General Sale and his brigade had encamped, on the 16th, on the right bank of the river close to the bridges. At an early hour in the morning Lord Altamont and I rode to his camp. We met a number of Afghans, with their wives and children, who had left their native home and had joined the English; many British officers, and interspersed among them, several Afghan prisoners, with their attendants and followers. Nearly all the people wore the Afghan dress, which is the most picturesque, and at the same time the most convenient costume which I have ever seen.

We found Jan Fishan Khan, one of the principal Afghan chiefs, a member of the royal family, and a descendant of the Prophet, in his circular, gaily-striped tent. He is a handsome man, about forty-five years of age, and was sitting without the tent, dressed in a red Shoba*, embroidered with gold, attended by his two little sons, and surrounded by his servants. These were employed in repairing articles of dress, while he was amusing himself in playing with the lively children. His wives were in an adjoining tent; but one of them stood by his side, completely veiled with a long white garment, which concealed not only her face, but her entire person. He spoke with the highest esteem of the English, among whom he said he hoped to find a second country; he, however, seemed much concerned about his wife, who had been robbed of her jewels a few days before; though the loss itself did not appear to affect him.

On the following day General Sale crossed the

* A wide garment falling to the ankles, with full sleeves, a low collar, and wrought with a great diversity of patterns.

Sutlej, and advanced to the camp of the army of reserve: Lord Ellenborough had invited me to ride thither with him upon his elephant. It was perfectly dark when our cavalcade of elephants left the camp; we were, therefore, preceded by torch bearers, while the body-guard followed. The army of reserve lined the road on both sides, and close to the bridges stood 200 elephants richly trapped and painted. On Lord Ellenborough's approach, these sagacious animals saluted him, by kneeling down and raising their trunks in the air, a mark of respect which they had been taught by their Mahouts. The bridges were adorned with flags and streamers; and at the side of one of them a gallery was erected, under which we took our places. Several Indian princes, and many ladies on elephants and on horseback, imparted a picturesque and poetic charm to the scene.

At 8 o'clock General Sale's brigade defiled, the bands playing "God save the Queen," amid the thunder of the artillery and the enthusiastic cheers of the army. A joyous, yet affecting, sensation pervaded the whole assembly, when the officers and soldiers, led by the heroine of the day, Lady Sale, mounted on a magnificent elephant, saluted their friends. The brave warriors who followed showed not a trace either of the privations of a protracted siege, or of the fatigues of a long march. In the rear of the troops came the baggage, the whole presenting the most strange, but most faithful picture, of a march of crusaders. Invalids mounted on elephants and camels, and others, more seriously ill, in palanquins or doolees; camels, oxen, and asses heavily laden; here an Afghan female closely veiled, with trellis embroidery before her eyes, and wrapped in a white

robe, which merely exposed her small feet, covered with gold-embroidered slippers; there a mother with her child on a camel; children on ponies, fondling a cat or a dog, or watching pigeons and fowls in baskets; fettered game-cocks and fighting rams; men, women, and children in the strangest costumes; Afghan chiefs with their families; merchants and servants of the most diverse nations and professions, flocks of sheep and goats, and waggons drawn slowly by oxen.

The passage of this motley train of one brigade, across both the bridges lasted full four hours! We were never tired of looking at this diminutive emigration of the nations, and remained nearly an hour longer lost in contemplation and reflection. We afterwards assembled at breakfast, in a tent, pitched near one of the bridges, where these varied scenes were again brought before us.

In the evening the Governor General gave a most splendid entertainment in his tent to the valiant defenders of Jellalabad, and, according to the English fashion, there was no lack of fine speeches and toasts. Lady Sale was present at this feast: she has passed nearly the whole of her life in India, and is a soldier's wife in every sense of the word; but she has the appearance of a worthy matron rather than of the bold determined heroine of the day.

General Pollock defiled with his corps on the following day; his baggage train was, of course, much more considerable, and it was evening before it reached the camp. Of the cannon which the troops captured at the storming of the Bala-Hissar of Cabool, the Indian government has committed to my charge a large nine-pounder cast under Dost Ma-

homet, for his Majesty the King of Prussia.* The gun will travel by the Indus to Bombay, whence it will be sent by the first opportunity to Europe.

General Nott crossed the Sutlej with his corps on the 23d of December, the anniversary of the murder of Sir William M'Naughten. He brought with him the famous sandle-wood gates of Somnauth, which were covered with red cloth, embroidered with gold, and drawn by twenty-four oxen. It is said that Mahmood the Ghuznevide took these gates with him to Ghuznee, when he destroyed the temple of Somnauth, in 1025; but this splendid Hindoo temple, to which they are to be restored, retains scarcely a trace of its former magnificence, and its remains have been converted into a mosque. The Maharaja, Shere Singh, had not only sent a body guard to receive the gates on British territory, but had given a present of a sum of money to the escort. When I went to examine the gates more closely the next day, I found a number of

* "Camp, Ferozpoor, Dec. 19. 1842.

"The Governor General of India requests L. von Orlich will have the goodness to take measures for the conveyance to Berlin of one of the Afghan guns, brought by the British army from the Bala-Hissar of Cabool, and to express to his Majesty the King of Prussia the earnest hope of the government of India that his Majesty will be pleased to accept the gun as an acknowledgment of his Majesty's friendship for the British nation, and of the gratifying mark of that friendship which his Majesty has given in sending Captain Von Orlich to serve with the British army in Afghanistan.¹

"Capt. L. Von Orlich, of his Majesty's Guards."

¹ This gun was forwarded to Bombay, through the kindness of Major Fraser, but had not reached its destination in October, 1844.

Brahmins, strewing flowers upon them, who assured me there was not the slightest doubt that they were genuine. They are most skilfully carved with stars and arabesques, and bordered with Kufic characters, but unfortunately the gates are so much injured, that scarcely the half of the beautiful work has been preserved.*

* So much interest has been excited by the circumstances relative to these celebrated gates, that the reader will doubtless be gratified by the following extract from the *Archæologia*, vol. xxx, 1844 :—

“ Letter from C. J. Richardson, Esq., F. S. A. to Sir Henry Ellis, K. H., F. R. S., Secretary, accompanying a drawing, with details of the sandal-wood gates of Somnauth.

“ I have the honour of laying before the Society of Antiquaries a drawing of the celebrated sandal-wood gates of Somnauth : it has been made from some elaborate sketches taken by Lieut.-Col. Luard, in the camp of Loodiana, in January last. Independently of the historical interest which these gates possess, they merit consideration from the beauty of their design and execution, proving the high state of art among the Hindoos at the remote period of their construction : they are probably one thousand years old.

“ The temple of Somnauth in Guzerat was considered by the Hindoos as the holiest in India, and ‘it was frequented,’ says Vigne, quoting Ferishta, ‘in the time of the eclipses by from 200,000 to 300,000 people.’ The idol was supplied twice daily, with fresh water from the Ganges, though that river was about a thousand miles distant. The temple is described as being a superb edifice, built of hewn stone, its lofty roof supported by fifty-six pillars, curiously carved, and set with precious stones. In the centre of the hall was the great idol Somnauth, a stone figure five yards in height, two of which were sunk in the ground.

“ The temple was destroyed by Mahmood of Ghuzni, A. D. 1025. He ordered two pieces of the idol to be broken off, and sent to Ghuzni, that one might be laid at the threshold of the principal mosque, and the other at the gate of his own palace. These identical fragments are mentioned by Mr. Vigne, who visited Ghuzni in 1836, as still to be seen there. Two more fragments

During the night both the bridges were destroyed either by the swelling of the river, or, as was generally suspected, by the unhappy Sikhs who are hovering about. From this day there were 53,000 men in arms, and above 100,000 servants of all descriptions

were reserved to be sent to Mecca and Medina. It is a well-authenticated fact, that when Mahmood was employed in destroying the idol, a crowd of Brahmins petitioned his attendants, and offered a quantity of gold if the king would desist from further mutilation. His officers endeavoured to persuade him to accept of the money; for they said that breaking one idol would not do away with idolatry altogether, but that such a sum given in charity among true believers would be a meritorious act. The king acknowledged there might be reason in what they said, but replied, if he should consent to such a measure his name would be handed down to posterity as 'Mahmood, the idol-seller,' whereas he was desirous of being known as 'Mahmood, the destroyer of idols:' he therefore directed the troops to proceed in their work. The next blow broke open the body of the statue, which was hollow, and discovered a quantity of diamonds, rubies, and pearls, of much greater value than the amount of money offered by the Brahmins.

"After the destruction of the temple, the gates were carried by Mahmood to Ghuzni, where for 800 years they adorned the entrance to his tomb. In October, 1842, they were removed and carried away by Major-General Nott, and crossed the Sutlej with the army on the 23d December; and Lieutenant-Colonel Luard, who writes January 17th, says, 'They are now moving in procession, to be restored to the temple of Somnauth.'

"The gates are eleven feet in height and nine feet in width; the upper portion is still perfect. Surrounding them is the door-case, torn from the tomb of Mahmood. On this portion is an inscription in the Kufic character, which may be thus translated:— 'In the name of the merciful and compassionate God, there is mercy from the habitation of God for the most illustrious Ameer and Surdar (whose ancestors were kings), the right hand of the state, the defender of the faith, and the father of Casim Mahmood, son of Subuktugeen: may the merciful God be with him, and if God have pardoned, there is mercy for him!'"

in the camp: thousands, however, were laid up with the cholera, small-pox, and fevers. Independently of this, Ferozpoor and its environs were incapable of supplying provisions for the countless multitude of elephants, camels, horses, oxen, and mules, so that nearly 200 of these animals perished in a day; and, on the road leading to Lodiana, twenty dead camels might be seen lying in one spot, infecting the air to an immense distance.

In the distinguished society which surrounded me, I had frequent opportunities of coming into contact with many eminent men, among whom I was particularly interested with Generals Pollock, Nott, and Sale. General Nott reminded me, in his personal appearance, of a French marshal of the school of Napoleon. I am indebted to him for many interesting communications respecting the war in Afghanistan. Equally instructive was the acquaintance of several highly accomplished statesmen; for instance, Mr. Maddock of the Supreme Council, and Mr. George Clarke. Both have lived in such important spheres of action, and have rendered such eminent services to their country, that I scarcely know whether most to admire their unassuming manner, or their deep penetration and correct conception of all existing relations.

I have also had the pleasure of becoming acquainted with Captain Boileau, who superintends the Magnetic Observatory at Simla. He entirely coincides with you respecting the snow-line on the Himalaya, namely, that it extends lower on the southern declivity than on the northern. I have proposed to him to open a correspondence with you, since no one can have a stronger claim to be informed of the latest discoveries

in the field of natural history than yourself, and I only hope that he may fulfil his intention.

Among my daily associates are Colonel Ashburnham, Captain Durand, and Captain Hay. With the former I take long walks every day, even at the risk of being looked upon by our Hindoos, on account of this vulgar enjoyment, as belonging to an inferior caste. Our usual walk was to the village of Khanga, where a fakir has fixed his abode among old decayed tombs, under acacias and tamarinds. He resembles a skeleton rather than a living being, and depends on the alms of the pious for his subsistence: his only society consists of three monkies and a dog.

The setting sun is an object of unceasing astonishment and admiration to us; perhaps in no other country in the world does it diffuse such an indescribable magic, and such splendour of colouring over the firmament as in India. This effect is the most beautiful and diversified when light clouds traverse the deep blue sky, for as soon as the sun begins to decline, the beams become fainter and fainter, while the sky in the west is covered with a sea of liquid gold, which glows in ever-varying colours, sometimes changing into purple, then again to crimson and violet, or shining in all the beautiful tints of the rainbow. The little clouds beam like rubies, and the east glitters in a roseate hue from the reflection of the evening red, above which the snowy masses of the Himalaya rise in silver light.

We have also horse races here, an amusement of which the English seem as fond as of billiards. There is a race course and a large stand, as at Ascot; but the chief attraction of that place, namely, the great assemblage of people, was wanting; and, as I have

never taken any pleasure in horse races, I can give you no account of those at Ferozpoor. I must however not forget to tell you that our servants adorned the tents on Christmas day with flowers, and in the morning presented us with cakes and nuts for breakfast: of course in this delicate attention they had an eye to our liberality.

During this military and festive life there were continual negotiations with the court at Lahore. The Maharaja Shere Singh, and more especially his ambitious minister, Dheean Singh, were so fully convinced that this army was destined to take possession of the Punjab, that they assembled an army of 80,000 men and 200 pieces of cannon between Lahore and Amritsir. They appeared to be the more confirmed in this notion, when the Governor-General refused to receive an envoy of Shere Singh in Lodiana, because he had suffered the troops appointed to escort him to wait two hours beyond the time agreed upon, which, as afterwards appeared, had arisen from a mistake. I looked with anxious expectation for the end of these negotiations, which were conducted by Mr. George Clarke, for it depended upon their issue whether I should become acquainted with this remarkable country and people, and visit Kashmir.

The court of Lahore held out the hand of reconciliation. Accordingly the handsome Heera Singh arrived at Ferozpoor on the 28th of December, in the character of ambassador extraordinary, and was invited to an audience at two o'clock in the afternoon in Lord Ellenborough's tent, which, on this occasion, was decorated with the standards taken in China, and with those which were to immortalise the victories of

Afghanistan ; and beneath them was placed the silver chair of state for the Governor-General.

The embassy arrived on richly adorned elephants, with gold and silver howdahs, accompanied by an escort, which presented a most strange medley in their costume and arms. They were all lean, muscular men, with long beards, deep set dark eyes, slightly aquiline noses, and oval countenances. There is something so prominent and marked in the expression of the countenance of a sikh, that, like a Jew, he cannot deny his race.

Heera Singh has a fine countenance, which may almost be pronounced as perfectly noble, yet his features are more expressive of mildness and effeminacy than of gravity and dignity. He wore a rich green shoga, embroidered with gold ; and a red turban, entwined with strings of pearls, and an azure ornament on the forehead, surmounted by a feather fastened by an agraffe of rubies, became him extremely well, and gave him a dashing and coquettish appearance. His companions, the Rajahs Soochet Singh, and Kesry Singh, and the Jemedar Kooshal Singh, were dressed in a similar style ; the latter, who was a Hindoo, and originally a cook to a private soldier, had already become a sikh and an eminent commander in the time of Runjeet Singh.

The cunning old fakir Uzeezoodeen accompanied the ambassador as his counsellor, and, faithful to his order, appeared in a plain and dirty dress. He always calls himself the poor fakir, but everybody knows that he has amassed great treasures. Heera Singh was attended by about thirty officers, each with a shield on his shoulder and a sabre in his hand ; some of them stood, others sat cross-legged at the

feet of their master, and formed the most picturesque groups.

The conversation had scarcely begun, when, according to custom, some bags of money were laid at the feet of the Governor-General: each of the chiefs presented in his open hand some pieces of gold coin, which Lord Ellenborough touched, and his interpreter, Mr. Maddock, received; then the presents sent by Shere Singh to the Governor-General were brought in, consisting of a magnificent sabre set with pearls and diamonds, bows and arrows, precious stones, pearls, Kashmir shawls, silks, and carpets.

These presents, as well as all others of the kind, belong, by law, to the East India Company; the Baboo receives them for the Toshakana*, from which they are afterwards sent to be sold by auction. In less than an hour the Governor-General gave the signal for breaking up, by presenting the betel nut wrapped in gilt leaves, and the ottar of roses. Heera Singh had announced that the Maharaja was prevented by indisposition from offering his salutation in person, but that he would send his son accompanied by Dheean Singh.

Purthaub Singh had passed the Sutlej with 5000 men, and pitched his tents on the banks, four miles from our camp, on the 30th of December. He was invited by the Governor-General to the grand review

* The Toshakana is the collection of all the presents received, and all the valuable articles which the Indian Government buys up for presents in return. It is under the Secretary of the Government, and is superintended by a Baboo, by which name a native is understood who must be acquainted with the English language, and has raised himself by his education and official position above the inferior class.

which was to take place on the following day. Some gentlemen of Lord Ellenborough's suite rode out on elephants to welcome the new guests, who, accompanied by some hundred officers, a body guard of 200 cuirassiers and 500 infantry, appeared in our camp at 10 o'clock, on 25 elephants. Prince Purthaub Singh is a pretty boy; but weak and delicate, and rather disfigured by a very crooked set of teeth. He carried a shield on his shoulder, and a sabre in his hand; he was dressed in yellow silk, and his turban, neck, and ears were lavishly ornamented with pearls and diamonds. Dheean Singh, who led him by the hand into the tent, wore under a blue silk vest a shirt of mail, over that a silver cuirass, light brown leather pantaloons sitting very tight to the leg, and red shoes embroidered with gold, which, according to custom, he put off at the entrance. His silver helmet, wound about with pearls, and yellow and blue silk shawls which floated over his shoulder, was ornamented with a feather, which was fastened by an agraffe of rubies, and gave him an appearance of great haughtiness. When I saw him, who is the handsomest man of his nation, galloping at full speed on his bay horse, with a golden bridle and a panther skin, with a staff in his right hand, I could have fancied that I saw one of the heroes of antiquity. The attendants were dressed in the same style of magnificence, and looked extremely elegant and picturesque; and the Durbar exhibited a scene which carried us all back to remote ages: it seemed as if the warriors had come to life again who had fought under the banner of Porus.

During the audience the band played "God save

the Queen," six bags of money were laid at the feet of the Governor-General, and the chief men presented gold coin; while the cunning fakir, with his dirty turban, acted as usual as the spokesman, and delivered an address in flowery language. In half an hour Lord Ellenborough gave the signal for breaking up; and all pressed forward to obtain a drop of ottar of roses. Most of the company mounted their horses; some of them, however, among whom was the effeminate Shere Singh, chose elephants. As the noble Indians never appear in public without their falconers, grooms, and other attendants, we were surrounded by a motley irregular crowd, which the Governor-General's body guard were obliged to keep at bay with their whips. The young prince, more taken up with his fine ornaments and jewels than with what was passing around him, began to be tired, and twice sent a message to Dheean Singh, requesting permission to change a horse for an elephant; but his request was very positively refused.

The defiling of 22,500 men, and 102 pieces of cannon, (the rest of the troops having remained to guard the camp, or being laid up by sickness,) afforded a very uncommon scene. Behind us was ranged a line of 100 elephants, on which the gayest groups of European ladies and noble Indians were seated enjoying the scene: while many Indians who had not taken their places along this line were mounted on horseback. Among the latter Hindoo Row was an object of great interest: he is said to have made the remarkable observation to an officer, "It is not long since I was in a distinguished situation: and these men, who are now glittering in honour and

splendour, will, in a few years, be in the same situation as I am ; but thus it must be — the progress of civilisation demands it."

In the evening, Lord Ellenborough gave a ball in his tent, to which 800 officers were invited ; but there were only between 30 and 40 ladies. Several of the Indian princes were present, but none of the Sikhs, because their notions of European manners are still so obscure, that the ladies might easily have experienced some unpleasant treatment. It was a carpet dance ; two bands of music played alternately, and the splendid circle was so animated that they did not break up till the morning. Who would have believed, after the unhappy catastrophe at Afghanistan, that within only a twelvemonth such a fête as this would have followed ! so closely allied in the history, both of nations and individuals, are mourning and joy.

Lord Ellenborough promised to return the visit of Prince Purthaub Singh on the 2d of January. Accompanied by the body guard and a squadron of Hussars, we repaired thither, on richly ornamented elephants, at two o'clock in the afternoon. Heera Singh, with some persons of distinction, came to fetch us ; and his father met us half way, accompanied by several Indians of rank mounted on elephants. The Prince's camp consisted of two large and several small tents, surrounded by a canvass wall six feet high. The body guard of the Maharaja, consisting of distinguished veteran soldiers, in shirts of mail and helmets, lined the avenue leading to the tents. In front of the tent of reception there was a handsome canopy elegantly embroidered with flowers and birds, and supported on silver pillars, and the most costly

Kashmir carpets were spread upon the ground. A salute of artillery announced our approach. The Prince awaited the arrival of the Governor-General, at the entrance of the tent, and conducted him to his seat. His Highness and Lord Ellenborough sat down under the canopy, upon golden arm-chairs, and we upon silver seats; opposite to us several hundreds of the principal chiefs and officers were ranged in a semicircle. They were most picturesquely grouped, and their elegant costume, their various arms, their striking countenances, and long beards, formed a most unique picture.

After the customary salutations, the gentlemen accompanying the Governor-General were introduced to the Prince. My uniform, being so different to that of the English, attracted much notice; and Dheean Singh, and his son especially, made many inquiries respecting my king and country. Meanwhile the chief persons brought gold coins in their open hands to the Governor-General. On these occasions the offering of presents is a matter of great importance: it is a formal act of the state, on which every thing depends. With this, too, the old fakir was busying himself, holding a long list in his hand, and reading aloud the names of those who were so fortunate as to be entitled to receive them.

The presents of the Indian princes always consist of horses, sabres, jewels, shawls, and silks. Lord Ellenborough was first presented with a beautiful string of pearls, rings, and bracelets of jewels, and a sabre richly ornamented with pearls and diamonds, and sixteen large salvers, containing Kashmir shawls and silks of every kind: the young prince insisted upon throwing the pearls round his Lordship's neck, and

placing a ring on his finger. The gentlemen about Lord Ellenborough and General Sale next received each a handsome sabre: the attentive fakir seemed also to have included me, but his obsequiousness resulted only in good wishes. However, the whole thing is a mere matter of form. No one can enjoy his handsome present; for the Baboo and his associates lay embargo on it, in the name of the East India Government. All the presents are afterwards sold, and the money pays for the gifts which must be made in return. However necessary such an arrangement may be, there is something extremely disagreeable in it, for it degenerates into a mere barter.

We were then conducted into the large tent, where Champagne, Madeira, and the fruits of Cabool and Kashmir (apples, pears, and grapes), were placed in silver vessels upon a long table. The Prince and Dheean Singh did the honours of the table to admiration; they helped their guests to wine, and requested some of them to accept the silver goblets and vessels, in token of remembrance. A present intended for the Queen of England was next exhibited: it was a perfectly beautiful green Kashmir tent, embroidered with silk, containing a silver bed and morning dresses for ladies, with pearls, jewels, and other ornaments; while the floor was covered with the finest Kashmir shawls. But the Prince seemed to think a great deal more of a wretched portrait of Runjeet Singh, daubed on paper with water colours, which was to accompany the present. The entertainment was concluded by the entrance of about twenty Bayadères, among whom were several Kashmerians. All of them were overladen with jewels, and some of them had

painted, not only their eyelids, but had even dotted their cheeks with antimony. Very few of them had a pleasing exterior: indeed some of them were positively ugly; and we were astonished that the court of Lahore should have retrograded so much in this particular. They were to have entertained us with singing and dancing; but as we were still to witness a review of the Sikh's brigade, Lord Ellenborough remained only a short time, and presented them with 1000 rupees: they, however, seemed very much disappointed at being so summarily dismissed.

We mounted our elephants, and Lord Ellenborough invited the young prince to a seat in his howdah. Dheean Singh, with his son at his side, followed close, in order to give a report to the Maharaja of all that had occurred. The weather had become so cool, being only 57° Fahrenheit, that Dheean Singh very considerably took off his shoba and wrapped it round the Prince.

The Sikh brigade, consisting of two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and two batteries, manœuvred with great precision, under the command of General Court: the manœuvres were evidently executed on a preconceived plan, and the movements of the artillery and cavalry were as rapid as could be desired. The infantry first formed in line, then divided into two bodies with sharpshooters in advance, and then formed columns of attack, supported by the cavalry, which advanced round the wings and attacked. When repulsed, it rallied behind its infantry and artillery, which had formed in squares, and opened a brisk fire. It was quite dark when we took leave, highly gratified by the courtesy and attention of our exalted host.

The Governor-General presented 11,000 rupees to the troops, who had been six hours under arms: this being the custom of India.

The scenes I had witnessed to-day made me wish, more ardently than ever, to become acquainted with the court of Lahore, and the army of the Sikhs; I was, therefore, highly gratified, when Lord Ellenborough proposed to me that I should join the extraordinary embassy, which was going thither under Mr. Maddock; but before setting out, his Lordship invited me to be present at an audience of leave, given to Prince Purthaub and several other princes and ambassadors. With the pomp and magnificence of an Eastern monarch, Prince Purthaub Singh, surrounded by his grandees and officers, and a train of thirty elephants, appeared in our camp on the following day. He, as well as his followers, were to receive the splendid presents from Lord Ellenborough: a star of brilliants, a pearl necklace, and many shawls and silks, borne on twenty-six large salvers, were the gifts of the government; to these Lord Ellenborough added three silver gilt tankards of the time of Henry VIII. Dheean Singh, his son, and sixteen officers, among whom was General Court, likewise received handsome presents; but the gloomy and discontented countenance of the former betrayed that all was not right; nor did it assume a cheerful and animated expression, till the Governor-General presented him with a handsome silver sabre.

On occasions of this kind, it is customary for the Indian nobles to bring the artist attached to the court, to take the portraits of those present: the painter of Shere Singh was, therefore, incessantly

occupied in sketching with a black lead pencil those likenesses which were afterwards to be copied in water colours, in order that they might adorn the walls of the royal palace; and some of them were admirably executed. I was among the honoured few, and the artist was very particular in making a faithful representation of my uniform, and hat and feathers.

Immediately after the reception given to the Sikhs, the ambassador of the Bhawulkhan was admitted. He was a good-humoured, corpulent Mussulman, attended, as counsellor, by an elderly man wearing spectacles, who stood in a most humble attitude, with his hands folded, before the king of the country, and assisted his master in the conversation, by furnishing him with replies. The ambassador delivered a writing and presents from the Bhawulkhan, which consisted chiefly of wrought silks of Bhawulpoor, and received in return, rich gifts of jewels and shawls. Lastly appeared the four Afghan princes, — Jan Fishan Khan, Narib Shurif Kuzzilbash, Saleh Mahomet Azahudeen, and Saleh Mahomet Kuzzilbash: the latter, who is the keeper of the prisoners, has a mean hypocritical countenance; he first deserted from the English, and then defrauded Akbar Khan of a year's pension, which had been promised him, by delivering up his prisoners to Sir Richmond Shakspeare.

The Governor-General, attended by his body guard, one regiment of cavalry, two of infantry, and six pieces of artillery, broke up on the 5th of January for Delhi; and within a few hours after the extraordinary embassy, consisting of Mr. Maddock, Lord Ellenborough's military secretary, Captain Somerset, myself (I name the persons according to the prescribed

etiquette), Lord Althamont, General Churchill, the Secretary of Legation, Mr. Greathead, and several other gentlemen, crossed the Sutlej.

Our escort, under Major Skinner, consisting of a squadron of lancers, a squadron of light cavalry, and two pieces of artillery, together with our attendants, elephants, and baggage, had been sent forward two days in advance. The escort had orders to wait for us ten miles south of Lahore. Two carriages, several officers, and some cavalry of the Maharaja, were in waiting on the opposite bank of the river, to conduct us to Lahore. Both the carriages, each drawn by four horses, were presents from the British government; but they were in such a wretched condition, that we lost one of the doors half way, and were obliged to leave it at a village.

The country immediately adjoining the Sutlej, consists of corn fields, and resembles a luxuriant valley without trees; the fresh young green crops, contrasted with the incomparable blue of the sky, had a most soothing, yet enlivening, effect upon my mind. But this fine cultivation continued for about three miles only; the soil soon presented immense tracts of jungle, interspersed with tamarinds, stunted tamarisks, and bushes, amid the ruins of old mosques and tombs, till the eye became perfectly wearied of the monotony of the scene.

A short distance before Kussoor, we crossed the ridge that encloses the valley of the Sutlej, where the ruins of a large city lie scattered about in wild confusion. Some mosques, with handsome domes and a few columns, indicate that they belonged to an age when the arts flourished. The road led be-

tween the citadel and the town ; the former, which is about 500 feet distant, lies to the left of the road, on a small eminence, and commands the place ; it consists of a low wall, narrow ditches, and projecting bulwarks, and is not capable of making much defence. The town is surrounded by high walls and towers, and is closely built of brick. A salute was fired from the citadel, to which the attending officer particularly directed our attention. As we had to change horses here, crowds of people had collected in the streets, and upon the walls and houses, and we were assailed by numbers of beggars, who implored our compassion with loud cries, and to whom the ambassador threw some handfuls of rupees.

At four o'clock we had reached Lulleana, thirty-four miles from Ferozpoor, where our tents were already pitched. Lulleana is a large village, surrounded with clay walls ; on one side lie corn fields, and on the other jungle. The Maharaja had caused a splendid tent, of richly embroidered green Kashmir, to be prepared for the ambassador. A lofty canopy of the same material, resting upon silver columns, was placed in front of the entrance, and most valuable Kashmir carpets were spread on the ground. Within the tent was a handsome silver bedstead with silk bedding. The following morning the sun poured down its invigorating rays, and we, therefore, breakfasted under this canopy. Our little circle was extremely cheerful, and we were all in anxious expectation of seeing the celebrated Lahore, the most brilliant court in India, before the evening set in.

We found our escort and our elephants at Lakpatery Kakote, ten miles from Lahore. We were

scarcely mounted when we were welcomed by a handsome old man, the Raja Fateringh Khan, attended by fifty horsemen, who were to form our body guard. We passed several ruins, and our road lay between the most luxuriant corn fields: we had soon the delight of beholding Lahore, which extended far from east to west, and the camp of the army covered the ground on our right hand. At some distance from the camp, we struck across to the west end of the city; and, near the ruins of a large mosque, quite undermined by an arm of the Ravee, and of which nothing remained but three high octagonal columns, we were received by Dheean Singh, who was accompanied by a squadron of cuirassiers and several great men, who escorted us to the house of General Ventura, which the Maharaja had caused to be prepared for our reception.

This house lies without the city on an arm of the Ravee: it is connected with an ancient sepulchral tower, and is built in the French style, though due regard has been paid both to the climate and to the manners of the country. It is surrounded by a small flower-garden: there is a harem attached to the villa! and the tower not very long since was assigned to a celebrated beauty of Kashmir. In front of the house is a large court-yard, on the east side of which were the one-storied barracks, built by Runjeet Singh.

This court-yard was appropriated to the camp of our escort, and five large tents, which were furnished with silk beds, had been put up by command of the Maharaja. The apartments were very luxuriously furnished with carpets and beds; and it was the first time since I quitted Bombay that I again slept in a house, and in a silver bedstead with silken hangings.

The balcony and platform were likewise covered with valuable carpets, and a sleeping tent, hung with Kashmir shawls, was erected on the latter.

We had a fine view of the city and its environs from the platform; the minarets, the winter palace, and the glittering blue domes of some mosques, of the time of the Emperor Jehangir, were particularly striking, bounded in the far distance by the bold outline of the snow-capped mountains of the Himalaya. To the south of the city are hills of débris, formed of the ruins of the ancient Lahore; and these again are joined by a town lying in ruins, interspersed with decayed caravansaries, sepulchral towers and mosques, of which I counted no less than forty. These once splendid mosques call to mind a wealthy and religious age, fond of the arts! A few buildings, surrounded with beautiful gardens and overshadowed by the crowns of the date palm, impart increased charms to this image of the past.

A melancholy impression was made on my mind by the sight of a red striped tent at the extreme south corner of the barracks, in which the once mighty, dreaded Afghan princes, King Fateh Khan, and the unfortunate blinded Zeman Shah, are now residing, and in consequence of the withdrawal of their pension are reduced to extreme poverty. There is probably no country in the world which can produce such sudden changes of fortune as India. A fence of linen fastened between two of the barracks concealed their harem and their children.

After Dhecan Singh had made us acquainted with the various localities, and endeavoured to ascertain the wishes of the ambassador, he took leave in order to inform his master of our safe arrival. Shere Singh

had already sent us several hundred baskets, filled with the fruits of Kashmir and Cabool, and sweetmeats of every kind ; likewise 1500 gold coins (of four rupees each) for the ambassador, 800 rupees for the military secretary and General Churchill, and 500 rupees for me and each of the other gentlemen. Similar presents in money were sent several times during our stay here. From the moment of our arrival, not only we, but our escort and all our attendants, amounting to about 5000 men, were his Highness's guests. The steward of the household of the Maharaja had great difficulty in procuring a sufficient supply of fowls ; his assistants were sent about in the neighbourhood, to lay their hands on all they could find, and even the Europeans in the service of the Maharaja were dealt with in the same summary manner, except, indeed, that they received payment for what was taken away ; but the provisions which were daily sent, and which consisted of rice, confectionary, and game, served in China-silvered dishes and in leaves, were not suited to our European palates, and we merely tasted them from curiosity.

The presentation audience was fixed to take place as early as the following morning at ten o'clock, because, as it was said, " his Highness could scarcely await the moment to salute his exalted guests." Accordingly, on the 7th of January, an hour before the appointed time, the Rajah Soohet Singh, the Sirdars, Fateh Singh and Ghanda Singh, the Khiladar (commandant of Lahore) Mur Singh, and the Kalifa Nur-eddin, seated on elephants, came to fetch us. The moment of our mounting the elephants was announced by a salute of artillery, and the squadron of lancers placed itself at the head of the procession.

We rode round the walls on the west side of the town and then turned towards the banks of the Ravee on the north side. On the opposite bank was a battery and regiment of regular cavalry, who presented arms and fired a salute.

Immediately outside the gate of the Hasuree Bagh the spot was pointed out to us where Runjeet Singh, his son, and his grandson, together with their wives and slaves, were burnt on the funeral pyre; a marble monument in the Arabic style, erected by Shere Singh, covers their ashes, and priests were standing about it with flowers, tapers, and fans. We then rode through two colossal arched gates into the Hasuree Bagh; through the innermost of which Nehal Singh was passing intoxicated with joy, when he was killed by the falling of a ponderous mass.

Hasuree Bagh was formerly the residence of the Mogul emperors, and consists of three large quadrangles; the first is 500 paces in length, and is surrounded by vaulted buildings, which are now used as magazines; the western side is occupied by a red sandstone mosque, built by the Emperor Aurungzebe, while a minaret 150 feet in height towers above each of the four angles. This quadrangle leads to the garden court, or the Hasuree Bagh, likewise surrounded by vaulted, though decayed, open halls, with a pavilion of white marble in the centre. A ponderous gate leads to the third quadrangle or citadel, which is surrounded by numerous buildings, among which the winter palace of the Maharaja, on its northern side, with a winding staircase rising above the highest platform, has a very original appearance. Every where we saw traces of the destruction caused by

the cannonade of Shere Singh, when he ascended the throne.

His Highness received us in the garden of the Hasuree Bagh, on the west side of which a broad white marble flight of steps led to a large open gallery. The approach was most tastefully draped with carpets, and the gallery with Kashmir shawls. Shere Singh, surrounded by several hundred of his great men, had taken his place in this gallery. Prince Perthaub Singh and Dheean Singh received the ambassador at the marble pavilion, and conducted us between a line of cuirassiers and officers to the Maharaja, who, on our being presented to him, shook hands, and cordially saluting us, invited us to be seated. Shere Singh, the prince, and the ambassador took their seats on gold arm-chairs, and we on silver ones ; the grandees standing behind us, and Dheean Singh behind the Maharaja.

Shere Singh is rather above the middle height ; he is very corpulent and strongly built, but is light in all his movements ; his features are expressive of good-nature and a love of pleasure, and his fine dark eye beamed with kindness and affection ; his black beard was very carefully dressed. He was attired in a yellow silk garment and turban, which was ornamented with pearls and jewels. Nearly all the attendants were dressed in a similar manner, yellow being the favourite colour of the court. After the delivery of the credentials*,

* From the Right Honourable the Governor-General of India to his Highness the Maharaja Shere Singh.

Dated Camp, Ferozpoor, 4th Jan. 1843.

MAHARAJA,

It has been a subject of much regret to me that circumstances should have prevented my having the interview with your

with which his Highness touched his forehead, and then handed them to his minister, 11,000 rupees were laid down for the Perwannah.

During the conversation, which was almost confined to interrogations and questions of etiquette, and inquiries respecting ourselves, Dheean Singh always took the lead, and when we could not understand each other (for the Sikhs speak only a corruption of the Hindoostanee), the Fakir Uzeezoodeen came to our assistance. We broke up in the course of half an hour, and his Highness conducted us to the lowest step; a salute of nineteen guns was at the same time

Highness, so much desired by us both. Hereafter circumstances will be more favourable. In the mean time, I have had much satisfaction in becoming acquainted with Koonwur Perthaub Singh. I congratulate your Highness on having a son so amiable and well disposed. I shall transmit by the hands of an officer of the garrison of Jellalabad the splendid presents your Highness has tendered for the acceptance of the Queen, my most gracious mistress. I doubt not that this proof of your Highness's attention will be grateful to her Majesty. I have directed Mr. Maddock, the secretary of the government of India, who will soon have a seat in the Supreme Council of India, to wait upon your Highness and express the true sentiments of friendship personally, as well as on the part of the British Government, I shall continue to entertain towards your Highness. He will be accompanied by Captain Somerset, my military secretary, and other gentlemen, and likewise by Captain Von Orlich, of the guards of his Majesty the King of Prussia, whom his Majesty had sent to witness the campaign in Afghanistan; but by God's aid, the war was finished gloriously before he reached India, and he has only witnessed the victorious return of the armies. He has been a witness also to the recent evidences of the mutual friendship of the two allied governments; and I rejoice that he will be enabled to report to his sovereign that our alliance endures for ever. I pray for your Highness's welfare, and the prosperity of your government.

(Signed) ELLENBOROUGH.



AKALEES.

fired by the troops stationed on the other side of the river.

On our return several Akalees jeered at us, at the same time giving us a specimen of their dexterity in the use of their quoit. We were received in front of our house by a band of Bayaderes and musicians from Kashmir, who displayed great adroitness in the Derwish dance.

An unceasing communication was kept up between our residence and the palace; sometimes mutual inquiries respecting health were made, and sometimes desires to be informed of our wishes. Nay, writers were actually seated in the vestibule, who sent never-ending reports to court, detailing all that we said and did; and whoever was the happy bearer of some agreeable message was rewarded by the Maharaja with a shawl or a present of money!

As Shere Singh had prepared daily festivities for us, I made use of the intermediate time to visit the town and its environs. According to etiquette I could only go to the former on an elephant. Lahore lies close to the Ravee, and contains 80,000 inhabitants; it is about eight miles in circumference, and is surrounded by a rampart with indifferent bastions, and a broad moat. Besides Hasuree Bagh, the tomb of Semat, and the handsome, but dirty and decayed, mosques of Padshah and Vizier Khan, the city contains nothing worth seeing. The streets are narrow and dirty; the houses are high and built of brick, with flat roofs. They have a mean appearance, and the only thing that attracts the eye is the very elegant carving of the wood balconies and low windows. A kennel runs down the middle of the unpaved streets, and renders them almost impassable in rainy weather.

The bazars are the most animated part of the city, though nothing remarkable is to be found there; they furnish little beyond eatables, to which our elephant very unceremoniously helped himself with his trunk as he went along. The people ran to the windows and the platforms to look at the strangers; even the women and girls appeared without their veils, so that we could readily distinguish the women of Kashmir, by their fair complexion, from the natives of India. Very few of them could be called pretty, but they all had fine bright eyes; they had, however, blackened their eye-brows, and had even painted little patches of antimony on their cheeks, and were covered with a superfluity of jewels and rings. They laughed and made sportive remarks upon us, which seemed to be provoked by my friend's eye-glass, held fast by the eyelid.

Next morning we again proceeded to Hasuree Bagh, where the ambassador intended to deliver to the Maharaja the presents which he had brought. His Highness received us surrounded by an equally numerous circle of civil and military officers, but the Prince and Heera Singh were absent; we were told that they were with the troops in the camp. The Maharaja was dressed in red and white, and still more richly adorned with jewels than yesterday, and strings of most costly and rare pearls were twisted round his yellow silk turban.

Immediately after the first salutation, the presents were delivered; they consisted, as usual, of jewels, Kashmir shawls, silks, weapons, chandeliers, telescopes, and, lastly, a costly sabre and a silver shield, on which the Goddess of Victory, surrounded by sunbeams, was displayed in high relief. This was so

greatly admired, that Dheean Singh gave orders that it should be shown to every person present. We then went into the quadrangle, where the four horses which we had brought were led out. His Highness then showed us 20 horses of his stud, all with the most costly bridles, and some so richly adorned with gold and jewels that they might be estimated at 90,000 rupees. The horses themselves, with the exception of one Afghan horse, were of ordinary breed, large, bony, and too well fed.

On the same afternoon General Churchill, Captain Somerset, and myself rode to the camp of the Sikh army. The way led us through the ruined city I have before spoken of, past old castles, mosques, and a large caravansary. The camp was pitched at right angles, and perfect order was every where observable, and the discipline was so over strict, that they would not even allow us to ride along the front. In the evening, while we were at table, some Bayaderes were announced, who danced and sung for an hour in front of our tents.

On the following day his Highness was to give an evening fête at his winter palace. We therefore employed the forenoon in visiting the tomb of Shah-Dura, beyond the Ravee, where the Emperor Jehangir (*i.e.* the hand of the world) reposes. The morning proved very misty, but at eight o'clock, accompanied by an escort under Colonel Seth Singh, we quitted our encampment on elephants: almost immediately a crowd of Akalees, who were standing by the road side, so grossly insulted us, that the anxious Colonel and his horsemen were obliged to disperse these fanatics in order to make way for us to pass. Our elephants were taken over the Ravee:

we were rowed across in a small boat to Shah-Dura. The fog had dispersed, and the sun-beams illumined the fertile valley and Lahore, which presents a strikingly fine appearance from this place. In a quarter of an hour we landed near the garden walls which are already undermined by the Ravee.

Shah-Dura consists, properly speaking, of three large buildings, the principal of which is the tomb, which is built of white marble and red sandstone, and lies in the middle of a garden which is traversed by four bricked canals proceeding from the centre, and in which innumerable fountains were introduced; but the whole is in ruins. The tomb itself is a large square building, surrounded with a piazza, and ornamented with the most elegant mosaic, of precious stones, in white marble, of which the rosettes and arabesques over the arches, which are executed with extraordinary skill and taste, and are in a perfect state of preservation, are particularly striking. Two rows of black letters inlaid in white marble, over the entrance, contain the name and titles of the emperor, and in many places the word "Allah!" is inscribed in Persian and Arabic characters. The white marble sarcophagus with Arabic and Persian inscriptions stands in the centre, under a dome which Shah Bahadur caused to be destroyed in order that the rain and dew might fall on the tomb of his ancestor.

Salthyn Mahomet Khan, brother of Dost Mahomet, has taken up his quarters with his Afghans in the apartments of this fine monument, and has so completely ruined it, by kindling fires in the halls, that in many places the colour of the stone cannot be distinguished. Salthyn Mahomet sent one of his

servants, expressing his wish to pay his respects to us, to which we agreed, on condition that it should be without any ceremony and without delay. On quitting the tomb, we found Mahomet under the verandah on the side next the water. His Afghans had hastily spread some Kashmir shawls on the floor, on which he and his attendants awaited our arrival. He had been afflicted with fever for two months and looked very ill, but had a very striking resemblance to his brother Dost Mahomet, who, as I was informed, has never forgiven him for surrendering Peshawar.

Adjoining the garden is the caravansary which is attached to every grave of an emperor; it is a quadrangular building 500 paces in length, with an interior court of 400 paces, containing 400 dwellings. This caravansary is joined by an equally large quadrangular court, surrounded by an immense wall twenty feet high, and contains a mosque and dwellings for the priests. Near it is the tomb of Nourjehan (*i. e.* the light of the world), the consort of Jehangir, whose life is equally romantic and eventful.

Nourjehan was the nursling of poverty, born in misfortune and under the most melancholy circumstance. Her grandfather, a Persian of Teheran, filled an eminent post in that country; but his son Meerza Gheis was induced by the deepest poverty to emigrate with his wife and children to India. Followed by misfortune on this long journey, he had parted with the last remains of his property, when the caravan, which he had joined, reached Candahar. Immediately after his arrival his wife gave birth to the celebrated Nourjehan; but, in their destitution, the parents despairing of being able to bring up the

infant, exposed it early in the morning on the road by which the caravan must pass. One of the richest merchants in the caravan was the first who saw the abandoned child ; full of compassion, and struck by the beauty of the little babe, he took it up and resolved to bring it up as his own. There is a tradition that her own mother filled the place of nurse, and that thus an interest in the infant's family was excited in the breast of the rich merchant. He befriended them, and recommended them to the Emperor Akbar. Meerza and his sons obtained place, and by their wisdom and prudence soon rose to a higher station.

Meantime Nourjehan arrived at womanhood, and by her beauty, grace, and loveliness, caused a great sensation at court ; for she was the constant companion of her mother, who had free access to the harem of the emperor. On one occasion she was seen by Prince Selim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir, who appeared so struck by her beauty that the anxious mother opened her heart to the princess who was used to permit her visits. The affair came to the ears of Akbar, who hastened to remove the dangerous beauty from the sight of his son, and immediately married her to Shere Afghan Khan, a young Persian, who had lately entered his service ; at the same time presenting her with a jaghire in Bengal.

Jehangir had, however, scarcely been a year upon the throne, when he commissioned his foster-brother, who went as viceroy to Bengal, to procure for him the object of his affection. Jehangir seems to have entertained a latent hope that he might accomplish his end by an amicable arrangement ; but Shere

Afghan was most deeply offended and mortified: when compelled to appear before the viceroy, he drew his dagger and stabbed him, and was himself instantly cut to pieces by the swords of the attendants.

Nourjehan was brought as a prisoner to Delhi, where the emperor, with the most tender respect, offered her marriage; but as she was a noble-minded and highly-gifted woman, she rejected his offer, and remained as the companion of the empress-mother. But the passion of Jehangir became more and more ardent, and his attention and love at length awakened kindlier feelings in the bosom of Nourjehan, and she consented to the marriage. Nourjehan attained a position never before enjoyed by the wife of a prince in India. Her beauty and her virtues went hand in hand with her talents and prudence, and procured her great and lasting influence over the emperor and his counsellors.

At the death of Jehangir, this extraordinary woman disappeared from public life. Though she was treated with the profoundest respect and an annual income of 250,000*l.* sterling was assigned to her, she lived in silent retirement, devoted to works of charity, and to the memory of her husband. It is related in the Khafi-Khan, that from the day of her husband's death, she never put on a coloured dress, but always wore white. She died in 1646; and the tomb which she erected for herself, next to that of her husband, now lies entirely in ruins, only the marble sarcophagus is preserved; and the beautiful vaulted rooms are now the abode of cows and oxen!

At five o'clock in the afternoon, one of the chief courtiers arrived, to escort us to the winter palace. We went as usual on our elephants, rode through

Hasuree Bagh, turned to the left through a large double gate into the quadrangle of the citadel, through a passage twenty feet high, northwards through a second gate into a small court-yard, and thence through a third gate into the garden-court. We now alighted from our elephants, and were led by the prince, by a short flight of steps, into a small apartment surrounded by piazzas and covered with carpets and Kashmir shawls.

Here, surrounded by his courtiers, the Maharaja was awaiting our arrival, and invited us to rest ourselves. It was already quite dark, and, from the bright reflection of light, which increased more and more at one side, we inferred that some extraordinary festivity was being prepared for us. A messenger soon announced that all was ready for our reception, and the Maharaja conducted us by a flight of marble steps to the fountain and the state apartments: here a fairy scene, admirably described in the *Thousand-and-One-Nights*, burst upon our view.

A square marble reservoir, containing numerous fountains, in the centre of which stood a colossal silver peacock with outspread tail, and surrounded by parterres of the choicest flowers, formed the refrigeratory. It was enclosed on two sides by lofty walls ornamented with little turrets, while the two others displayed open vaulted marble chambers, supported by angular columns and decorated with draperies of the most splendid and costly Kashmir. The whole was illuminated with innumerable lamps and lights, interspersed with devices, burning suns, mills, wheels, &c. &c., and the most brilliant fireworks.

His Highness was much delighted to see the surprise which we manifested, and then led us through

all the apartments. In some of them were ranged the presents which had been sent to Runjeet Singh and the Maharaja by foreign princes; services of silver, porcelain, and beautiful cut crystal, and a collection of arms, which is probably the most select and the most valuable in India.

While Shere Singh was explaining every thing to the ambassador, Heera Singh joined me; he speaks so much English, that we could readily understand each other. He appeared to take great interest in Europe, but could not form any clear idea of the military power of Prussia, and only expressed his astonishment how it was possible to keep so many soldiers fit for service. He said that he had a great desire to become acquainted with Europe, upon which I offered to accompany him thither if he liked to go, under my protection. "Alas! alas!" replied he, "I dare not leave my country; I am undone if I turn my back upon it."

We were then invited to sit down with his Highness at a long table, which was covered with fruit and champagne. The Maharaja here set us a good example, and showed such dexterity in emptying his glass at one draught that we naturally inferred that this was his daily practice: his Highness was most richly adorned with jewels; he wore on each arm three large golden bracelets: among those on the left arm was the "kohinoor" or "mountain of light," the largest diamond in the world, and round his neck three rows of pearls hanging down to a great length, perhaps the most beautiful and rarest ornament of the kind. While we expressed our admiration of all these treasures, Shere Singh took off all his jewels and made them pass from hand to hand.

The "mountain of light" once adorned the peacock throne of the great Moguls at Delhi, whence it passed into the possession of the Afghan kings, and was at length extorted by Runjeet Singh from Shah Shooja, the ex-king of Cabool, when he was in great distress. It is beautifully cut, of the size of a walnut, and, with the exception of a scarcely perceptible dent on one side, perfectly faultless. It is set between two large diamonds, and this armlet is estimated at a million rupees. While we were admiring this treasure, highly amused at the childish joy of the Maharaja, who made his treasurer bring several caskets of jewels, the cup-bearers took the opportunity of emptying one bottle after another on our account.

At length several Bayaderes appeared, some of a very pleasing exterior, but, for the most part, they were very plain, and one of them so extremely corpulent, that as soon as we heard her voice we could not refrain from laughing. His Highness observed, that indeed she was not pretty, but that she was the best singer at his court. We could not coincide in this opinion, for we thought her voice as disagreeable as her person. In the science of music, however, the taste of the Indians differs very much from ours, for they affirm that the Europeans are superior to them in every thing except in music. These Bayaderes formed, under Runjeet Singh, a special corps of Amazons, but are now replaced in their original position, and are maintained for the amusement of distinguished guests. They are generally the first present that is sent to visitors, at this as well as all the other courts of India; and, accordingly, when one of our party spoke of the beauty of one of them Shere Singh immediately requested that he would

consider her as his property! Attended by many torchbearers, and saluted by a fire of artillery, we returned home at nine o'clock in the evening.

The grand review was fixed for the 10th of January. About two o'clock his Highness appeared before our house to conduct us to the camp, and was dressed entirely in white muslin trimmed with gold lace. Dheean Singh was seated in the howdah behind him, holding an umbrella over his head, a matter of some difficulty, as it was six miles to the place where the troops were assembled. After a full hour's ride we reached the camp, where the Maharaja and the ambassador mounted another elephant, richly caparisoned, and carrying a gold howdah on his back.

The troops, amounting to 60,000 men with 200 pieces of cannon (of which, however, only the half had horses affixed to them), occupied a line of eight miles, and had passed the whole time, from five o'clock in the morning till now, before they could be arranged in this manner. In spite of the remonstrances of the European officers in Shere Singh's service, Heera Singh had chosen this position, in order, as he said, the more clearly to exhibit the great number of the warriors.

The procession was opened by the three carriages of his Highness, among which was the large state carriage, built by Runjeet Singh, drawn by six horses, and surrounded by a verandah in which there is room for twenty Bayaderes, who were obliged to amuse the one-eyed hero during his journeys. The turbaned coachmen were dressed in the manner of English grooms, and looked more like the outriders of troops of equestrian performers than the Whips of a state carriage. Next followed the riding horses,

with gold bridles and saddles and velvet trappings, embroidered in beautiful patterns, with pearls and rubies. Before the elephant of the Maharaja rode the provost of the army, in the uniform of an English officer of the general staff, except that a huge turban took the place of a hat and feathers.

Something more than a third part of the army which was assembled here consisted of regular troops, and of these about 5000 were cavalry. They are divided into divisions and brigades, and are under the immediate command of the European officers. The command is given in the French language, but the tactics differ in the various brigades; those which are under French officers being trained on the French system, while those under British officers, according to the English tactics. Thus unity is wanting, and discipline is defective. A single mishap would cause a complete disruption of these troops, and endanger the lives of their commanders. This, in fact, happened to General Court, who, on the accession of Shere Singh, faithful to his oath, refused to do homage till the ex-regent had absolved him from his allegiance to her; on this, the general was attacked in his house by his own soldiers, and had a most miraculous escape.

These troops are better paid than those of the East India Company, but not so regularly, and two rupees per month are besides deducted from their pay for their maintenance. Their uniform is red and blue: some regiments wear chakos, but most of them turbans; they are armed in the same manner as the English. The cavalry is in general well mounted, and consists of cuirassiers and dragoons. With respect to the artillery, the guns are scarcely inferior to those

of the English, but their horses are very indifferent. Their movements are rapid; their firing very unskilful, for of six shot from six-pounders only one hit the mark at a distance of 800 paces.

The irregular troops consist chiefly of cavalry, who are obliged to furnish their own horses, weapons, and clothing; some are armed with spears, shields, and bows, and the greater part of them have match-lock guns; they are excellent soldiers, brave and vigilant, and are quickly rallied after a defeat. The irregular infantry, armed with guns and spears, can make no resistance in the open field. The most distinguished among them are the Chagaris, led by the Akalees; they are clothed in black and have black standards, with a lion embroidered on them.

We were a party of between forty and fifty elephants, and rode along the front. Generals Ventura's and Court's division was on the right wing; each regiment had its own band of music, and presented arms as we approached. Almost every one of the Sikh officers of these regular troops was dressed according to his own taste; some in English, others in French uniform, or in a mixture of both; some wore turbans, or caps with shawls wrapped round them, and others helmets and chakos: some had high boots with coloured tops, others shoes; some wore white, and others coloured pantaloons. It was altogether a strange medley; General Court wore a French general's uniform, and joined us on his elephant. The irregular cavalry, about 10,000 strong, looked very picturesque, — nay, antique.

As we approached the Akalees, those savage hordes set up a scornful shout; some galloped out of the ranks and, with uplifted hands, abused the Maharaja;

his Highness, however, who appeared quite used to this sort of thing, took no notice whatever, and said he was glad that they had not pelted him with mud, as they had frequently done to Runjeet Singh on similar occasions. My elephant, unfortunately, became tired just at this juncture, which afforded these ruthless clamourers a welcome opportunity to manifest their insolence. I sent my servant to Major Skinner, with the request that he would let me join him on his, but I had scarcely seated myself when the strength of that animal likewise failed. Dheean Singh observed our embarrassment, and immediately despatched an officer to fetch the state carriage, in which we took our seats, and were joined by General Churchill and Captain Somerset. As the review was over, and nothing remained but for the artillery to fire a salute, we returned in Runjeet Singh's Bayadere coach, to our camp.

In the evening the ambassador had invited all the Europeans in Shere Singh's service to dinner: those present on this occasion were General Court, Colonel Munton, Colonel Lefaieux and his son, Colonel Steineck, Captain de la Roche, and Dr. Honigberger, &c.; General Ventura was expected to return from his furlough in Europe, and General Avitabile with Colonel Van Corthaud, and Captains Argoud and Quilette, were in Peshawar. My countryman, Dr. Honigberger, told me that the Maharaja had been very busy this morning in looking out the presents, and had said that he was happy to be able to give them at least to one person who was permitted to retain them.

On the following day, Shere Singh sent in the afternoon to fetch us to the winter palace. We had to pass through the mews, an open piazza supported by

marble pillars, and up a narrow, dark staircase to the apartments looking into the court-yard. We were received, at the entrance, by his Highness, Dheean Singh, Heera Singh, and several great men. We took our seats upon a platform, from which we had a most noble prospect; the city, in its entire extent, lay at our feet, and beyond it the extensive ruins situated amid green corn fields; on the opposite side was the wide-spread fertile valley of the Ravee, with its ruins, villages, and luxuriant fields, while the snow-crowned masses of the Himalaya towering above the clouds, formed a noble background. This incomparable panorama indemnified us for our long and tedious conversation with his Highness and his great men; and we were glad to be able to take our leave at sunset.

Our audience of leave was fixed for the 12th, when the Maharaja contrived a further gratification for his guests. We proceeded at noon on elephants to Hoosuree Bagh, but to our great surprise found him waiting to receive us at the very entrance, opposite the marble sepulchre of Semal. The ambassador had expressed a desire to visit the tomb of the three kings whose remains are interred here. The tombs are situated upon a high, exposed platform, under marble cupolas, which are supported by angular pillars in the Arabic style. As we ascended the flight of steps, priests in white garments came to meet us, with flowers and garlands; others stood before the tomb with censers, praying, singing, and strewing flowers on the marble sarcophagi. We took some of the flowers from the baskets which they presented to us, and followed their example, in honour of the memory of Runjeet Singh.

This ceremony produced a comic, rather than a

solemn impression on the unprejudiced observer ; for as we did not wish to detain the Maharaja, who was watching us from his elephant, we, as well as the priests, proceeded with such undue haste that we completely jostled each other in trying to get first, and the priests had neither time nor room to exhibit their performances. An old greybearded priest, who held in his hands a book, and a cow's tail, which he kept waving before him backwards and forwards, was the only one of the party who did not suffer himself to be disturbed in his devotions. The ambassador rewarded the priests with a present of 1000 rupees.

We next went to the hunt which his Highness had prepared for us, near the Ravee. We tried to force a passage with above forty elephants, through a thick jungle, surrounded by drivers or beaters mounted on horseback, cuirassiers with shields, and lancers, falconers, and other attendants, who could scarcely be seen among the reeds, which were sixteen feet high. So original and attractive a hunting scene could only be produced in the country of the Sikhs. The Maharaja and Dheean Singh possess a cabinet of the finest English fowling-pieces, which we were permitted to use. The chase, however, was very unproductive ; we only met with partridges, hares, foxes, and a few jackals ; Shere Singh and his minister proving the most able sportsmen. The chase ended in an open plain near a battery, which practised in our presence with balls, but for the most part missed the mark.

At sunset we arrived at the summer palace of Shalihmar. A regiment which was stationed before the garden-gate, with two pieces of artillery, presented

arms and fired a salute. Shalibagh or Shalihmar, the garden of the Emperor Shah Jehan, who reigned from 1627 to 1656, bears this inscription: "House of Joy:" and is built in the same style as the Shalihmar in Kashmir. It is an oblong parallelogram, surrounded by a high wall, 1200 paces in length, and 800 in breadth, with three terraces of equal size rising successively ten feet above each other. A canal brought from a great distance crosses this delightful garden, and discharges itself in the middle terrace, into a large marble basin: nearly 500 fountains rise from this basin and from the canal, and cool the air most delightfully.

In the centre of the garden is a small palace of white marble, and other pavilions and structures are scattered about in various places; but they are all going to decay. The garden is full of tall magnificent trees, but we were especially struck with some avenues of oranges which were richly laden with such an abundance of large fruit, that the branches seemed ready to break under the weight. The whole garden, even to the remotest parts, was most tastefully and splendidly illuminated with thousands of small lamps, gay paper lanterns, torches and wheels of fire, and from time to time fireworks diffused the most singular lights and colours by which the garden seemed to float in an ocean of flame.

After strolling about in this magic scene, we assembled in the marble villa round a long table, when we were regaled with fruits and champagne, and some Bayaderes were also there, with the vain hope that they would afford amusement: they were the first handsome women whom his Highness had introduced, and two of them especially were exceedingly beautiful.

They sat at the feet of the Maharaja, caressing sometimes him and sometimes the young Prince, and even extended that favour to any one who looked complacently at them. A person present making a remark on their gracefulness, his Highness requested that they might be courted at pleasure!

The Maharaja rose on a sudden and proposed the health of the Queen of England, a compliment which the ambassador returned by proposing the health of the Maharaja. The presents were now brought. Mine consisted of a horse with a golden bridle and saddle, a sabre, a costly pearl necklace, gold bracelets set with brilliants, an agraffe of rubies, six shawls, Kashmir and silk stuffs, and a robe of honour. I committed them to the decision of the Indian government, which they gave in favour of the Toshakana. His Highness himself girded on my sabre, attached the agraffe to my cap, and hung the pearls round my neck, saying, "May the friendship between the Queen of England and me be as permanent and as blessed, as it is between her Majesty and your Master and King!" At nine o'clock we took leave, amid the most cordial greetings of his Highness and his whole court; and the Maharaja was sensibly affected when he bade Mr. Maddock farewell. Heera Singh likewise seemed to feel very much at parting, and even on the following day sent a few kind words in English to the ambassador. It was nearly ten o'clock before we reached our tent; and midnight has passed while I have endeavoured to delineate a faint sketch of what I have seen within the last few days.

NOTE to p. 179.

THE question, "What is the best boundary for the British empire in India?" is so important and interesting, that it will perhaps be acceptable to the reader to learn the opinion of another German traveller, Baron von Hügel, on this subject. He says, •

"This seems to be a proper place to introduce some observations on the western frontier of British India. This splendid inheritance of the English nation, which was founded by bold adventurers, has natural frontiers in all directions, and only the western boundary is the subject of some doubts. Surrounded towards the south by the ocean, enclosed on the east and north by impenetrable forests and chains of lofty mountains, bounded on the west by the Thuor, or Great Indian desert, there remains only a comparatively narrow stripe in the north-west, which is liable to some difficulties. England, by its perseverance, has acquired such an extensive territory that, in determining its boundaries in Asia, one or two thousand square miles are of little account.

"Any person who glances at the map will at once point out the Indus as the proper boundary. It is certainly very convenient for geographers to take a river for a boundary; but the case is different with respect to a frontier between two nations, and especially with a line of defence (such as the north-western frontier of British India must be) on the only side which is open to the approach of an enemy. A river is undoubtedly a good frontier as a line of defence: whereas between two nations it is not a line of separation, but rather a means of communication; for all over the world, as far as is known, the two banks of a river are inhabited by the same race of men, and the same language is always spoken on both banks. It may, therefore, be worth while to discuss more minutely, the question whether the Indus answers or not, to our preconceived idea as the boundary of the Anglo-Indian empire.

"From the moment when the Attock or the Indus penetrates into the mountains, it rushes, like the Jailum, in continual cataracts over rocks, till it reaches the plain of Cutch, at the end of which, near the confluence of the Kabool with the Indus, Attock is situated. From this point it again enters the mountains, and, after it has broken through the salt mountains, traverses a sandy desert: it flows towards its Delta through a more or less fertile country. From the mountains to the sea, the Indus gives life to the country on its banks—even in the desert there is a

narrow slip of land fit for cultivation ; but the Indus alone animates the country : on its right bank begins the sandy desert which extends far to the west : on the left bank the cultivated slip is rather broader ; but from the Ran, which is itself 150 miles wide, the desert rapidly increases, till, under the 28th degree of latitude, it almost entirely covers a tract 360 miles in breadth.

“ It would be useless to discuss at length, why from its mouth to the junction with the rivers of the Punjab, the Indus cannot be a line of defence nor a military frontier ; because it may be stated in a few words, that an army cannot fall back on its line of operations, which must be beyond the desert, and because an army posted here would leave all Hindoostan exposed to the enemy ; besides, an enemy would scarcely be expected from this side, though the first Mahometans, coming from Kandahar and Ghuznee, penetrated into Guzerat by this route : they, however, came only in detached bodies, while the great armies always cross the Indus at Attock.

“ From the junction of the rivers of the Punjab upwards, the right bank is the last slope, of a rude and steep mountain chain with scanty cultivation, which is inhabited by savage tribes of Afghans, through which solitary caravans made deep paths, but which are scarcely practicable for an army. Here, too, the Indus would be the very worst frontier, because it must be immediately abandoned, in order to unite the troops at the point where the enemy would appear, which must be Attock, 300 miles distant from the confluence of the rivers of the Punjab.

“ The fact that the enemy must appear at Attock is what makes the Indus so inviting as a frontier ; but a frontier is good only when it is difficult for an enemy, and easy for your own troops to reach it. Now it would be easier for a marauding party to approach the Indus from the west than from the east ; that is, from its mouth to Attock : on the Indian side the Indus is, in fact, as good as inaccessible to troops, and, a military force stationed there could maintain its communications with Bombay by means of steam-boats, whence the Indus might certainly be used to make a diversion on the enemy's line of communication ; but a General would hardly send his troops in steam-boats up and down the Indus, and deprive himself of their co-operation in Hindoostan.

“ It is recorded in history as something astonishing, that Alexander the Great, found the way to India, and even the most intelligent modern historians admire his sagacity, in having entered

it at the very point where it was most easy to be assailed. Others wonder how Vasco de Gama found the way from Mozambique on the east coast of Africa to Calicut, on the coast of Malabar. There is, however, nothing more wonderful in this, than in a plain journeyman mechanic finding his way from Vienna to Paris; for even in the time of Alexander, the productions of India were brought to Persia and Greece, and the merchants chose, not merely the easiest, but the only road: in the same manner Vasco de Gama met with a pilot who conducted him from Mozambique to the well known commercial city of Calicut. * * * * * All the subsequent conquerors, Timour, Baber, Nadir Shah, and Achmet Shah, took the same road to India as Alexander. The cause is simply this, — that this is the only road for an army.

“But supposing the Indus to be the frontier of India, it would be extremely rash in a General to risk a decisive engagement there. A finer field of battle than the plain near Attock, which is like a parade, extending 15 or 20 miles in every direction, could hardly be chosen; but what would be the consequence of a victory to the defenders of India? that the enemy would retire to the strong positions in his rear, through a country which cannot easily be exhausted, and where the roads are not rendered impassable by the rain, and where the invading army might remain if it pleased a whole year unmolested, while the rainy season would entirely hinder the arrival of supplies on the other side of the Indus. But if the battle should be lost, what would be the consequence to the English troops? It would be this; the defeated army would be obliged to retreat through a most difficult and barren country, in which a shower of rain would make it impossible to bring the artillery, and even the beasts of burden through the endless ravines: the army would not be able to rally, till it reached the Jailum, and from thence the rivers are so close together, and subject to such dreadful, irregular inundations, that there would be imminent danger, in case of a second disaster, of losing the remainder of the artillery. From the Indus to the Sutlej, all the disadvantages are on the side of the retreating army, and every position may be turned, while the retreat can be only in one direction. What an undertaking it is to cross a river with an Indian army is manifest from the fact, that for every fighting man there are ten unarmed followers.

“Now, compare with this highly extolled natural line of defence of the Indus, the artificial decried line of the Sutlej. The broad

tract of the Indian desert extends along the Indus and the Sutlej to Ferozpoor, which makes it almost impossible for an army to pass through it, and in which small Rajapoot States form advanced posts, Rajapoots, who have been, at all times, distinguished by unequalled bravery and love of liberty, and who are fully equal to oppose any corps that might find it possible to penetrate on this side through the desert. From the end of the desert and arid tract near Ferozpoor to the Himmalaya, the distance is not much more than 100 miles, and an army stationed behind the Sutlej can more easily move from one place to the other, than can be effected by the enemy on the right bank, who cannot turn the position, either through the Himmalaya or through the desert. Whatever may be the frontier of India, the great battle must be fought on the plain of Sirhind, where all the advantages are on the side of the defenders, and where a defeat, exposes the invaders to the same destruction which awaits the former, in case of their losing a battle on the Indus. The most evident proof of this, is afforded by Achmet Shah, who, after losing a battle in the plain of Sirhind, on his first invasion of India, fled, without stopping any where, across the Attock. * * * * *

“Should events (and they will do so) extend the English frontier to the Indus, they must necessarily advance their line of defence further to the west, into the mountains between Kabool and Herat, perhaps as far as Herat itself.” — TRANSLATOR.

LETTER VI.

TO CARL RITTER.

The Anglo-Indian army. — The Sepoys. — The Hindoo and Mussulman. — The European soldier. — Strength and divisions of the army. — Pay. — The corps of officers.

Karnoul, January 25. 1843.

KEPT close prisoner in my tent by increasing torrents of rain, I will employ myself in complying with your request to give you some particulars relative to the Anglo-Indian army: but you must consider these communications merely as a sketch, and not be surprised if many of your questions remain unanswered.

The Anglo-Indian army is unquestionably one of the most experienced in the art of war, because war is its proper and true vocation. Impressed with the recollection of the glorious actions already accomplished, it looks forward, after a short repose, to new combats, full of hope and expectation of performing new deeds of chivalry, and of reaping fresh laurels. The British army in India has never been without opportunities in which soldiers were formed, who, in endurance and resolution, are not exceeded by any army in Europe.

The Hindoos, of whom the greater part of the army is composed, have no *national* basis, either in themselves or in their history. India, under its Hindoo dynasties, was split into a thousand petty states, each of which contended with the others for

the supreme power, and in which some individuals indeed founded kingdoms which were equal to the largest in Europe, but their existence was too transitory to have any influence on the present generation. Those days are entirely forgotten;—the Hindoo of the present day neither knows nor cares to what dynasty his ancestors belonged. He considers himself merely as a part of the great race of the Hindoos.

Religion and the privileges of his caste, on the other hand, are sacred in the estimation of the Hindoo; in them alone lies a separate political existence, with which the British government has never interfered. The tribes, too, which belong to the military profession, are neither original nor particularly distinct from the great body of the Hindoo nation. We find in the ranks of the soldiers, the brahmin, as well as the merchant, the peasant, and the artisan.

They are totally ignorant of the manner in which the country is governed: their life passes away, for the most part, in the camp or in barracks, separated from the great mass of the people. A portion of the Hindoos in the Bengal army belongs to petty tributary states, which might certainly make them accessible to political influence.

The Hindoo sepoy of the Madras army, is still more alien to the great body of the Hindoo people than the sepoy of Bengal: he is in general of very low caste, born and brought up in the field. Thus every regiment is, as it were, a little wandering colony, isolated from the rest of the world: but a large proportion of the soldiers are Mahometans. Hence it has hitherto been easy to send troops of this

army beyond sea, which was done some years ago, to Egypt, and lately to China. The Hindoo of a higher caste would consider this, as a neglect of the precepts of his religion, and he is not permitted to dress any provisions on board a ship.

The greatest punishment that can be inflicted on the sepoy of the Bengal army is to expel him from the ranks. The Hindoo and the Jew of the Bombay army are, on the other hand, nearer to civil life than the Madras soldier ; but even here they are often entirely separated by position, from the greater part of their countrymen. Like the Madras sepoy, he is content with his situation in the army, because advantages are offered him there, which he would not enjoy in any other position.

The Mahometans of India, both in the army and in towns and villages under the British dominion, as well as those of foreign states, are every where the same. They belong to one great family, united by the same religion and the same interests, and will always be ready to defend their national cause with their services and their money. Religion and government are never divided in the mind of the Mahometan, and he will never forget that his supremacy in India has been totally overturned by the English.

The eyes of the whole Mahometan population of India, will be turned upon him who preaches a crusade against the infidels, and the result will be followed and supported with as much anxious expectation and interest in the remotest village of the Deccan, as in Calcutta or Delhi. Symptoms of such a disposition have frequently appeared, even in the

army. Yet it is difficult to determine the impression which it would make on the Mahometans in the ranks of the British army. They are more observed by their officers and their Hindoo comrades, than the inhabitants of the towns can be, and we may be certain that they would be the last of the Mahometan population, to join in any such movements.

At present this is not to be apprehended, nay, it is almost impossible that a general rising of the Mahometans in India can take place; they have lost all hopes of it; and if the Mahometan does not acknowledge it, yet he feels most sensibly that there is now no existing power to which he could attach himself. Besides, the Mahometans of India are already so infected with Hindooism, the customs and manners of which they have imbibed from their childhood, that they have neither energy nor decision enough to divest themselves of it.

The war against the Afghans (the preceding, as well as all the latest combats,) has amply proved the efficiency and capability of the native soldier. The Mussulman is not so effeminate, yet as brave, trustworthy, and enduring as the Hindoo: but he is not so temperate. - Both, however, require to be led by an European officer; if they lose their confidence in him, they give themselves up for lost. They are ready to risk their lives for their officers, of which I have been told many instances: and are filially attached to them.

During our march, officers and privates of the native troops frequently came from the distance of many miles to see their European officer, and to recall the good old times. On these occasions there is no important moment which they do not recall:

no circumstance is forgotten, and they part from their officers like children from their parents. They even exchange letters with them, for the native is very fond of corresponding by letter.

Ornaments and distinctions are highly valued by the natives; their officers are rewarded with gold neck chains and medals; the latter are also given to private soldiers, who never lay them aside, and even fasten them to their white national dress. With still more pride and satisfaction they look upon their well-earned standards, and many a regiment has three such tokens of honourable distinction, inscribed with the name of the battle in which the victory was obtained.

With cries of "Ram, Ram-Mahadeo!" the Hindoo rushes to the battle; "Jai, Jaii-Kar!" they cry, encouraging each other in the combat; and return from the victory in a cheerful, though serious mood, singing "Ramchandre-Kee-jai!"

Soldiers are raised partly by recruiting, for which purpose officers are sent to the districts, or by voluntary application, or by the enlistment of soldiers, children above the age of sixteen. When the native distinguishes himself, he may be promoted to the rank of officer, there being in each company two native officers, a subedar (captain), and a jemedar (lieutenant), and in every regiment a subedar-major (staff officer).

In general, the native serves as long as his bodily strength permits, and many grey-headed officers and subalterns are found among them. Wounds, sickness, and twenty years' service, entitle him to a pension, or to be provided for as an invalid. Corporal punishment is not used towards the native soldier;

if his crime is dishonourable, he is expelled from the ranks. In other cases it is sufficient to maintain discipline among them by a strict enforcement of the duties of the service ; for it may justly be affirmed, that there is no soldier more docile than the Hindoo.

Having said thus much of the native soldier, I will add a few words respecting the European — the English soldier. He forms the real basis of the army in India ; he is the instrument by which the immense power of India has been founded, and by which it is supported. Only 45,000 Europeans ! a mixture of all the lowest classes of Great Britain, but hardy, adventurous men who, in hope of a better situation, have sold their lives for twenty years.

The English soldier knows that he is in a foreign land, that on decisive occasions he must depend upon himself alone : “ to conquer or to die,” is his motto, which is so deeply rooted in him, that it seems to him incredible that he should ever be conquered ; coolness and presence of mind are combined in his character with boldness and perseverance.

In battle the English soldier is generally employed where the hottest combat is expected, and the native takes courage from his valour. On such occasions, there is no want of reciprocal sacrifices, in which no one will be behind the other : and the Hindoo values chivalrous deeds as much as he is grateful for sacrifices made for himself. Thus in the last war, some soldiers of the 13th, or Queen’s regiment, rescued some soldiers of the 34th Bengal regiment from the hands of the Afghans, at the hazard of their lives, for which that regiment was saluted by the other on their meeting, and the privates of the 34th regiment prepared a festive entertainment at Ferozpoor for their

European comrades, in the most affectionate manner, which was afterwards returned by them, with a corresponding feeling.

Unhappily, however, the English soldiers are not temperate; they are addicted to spirituous liquors, by which in this climate, so dangerous to Europeans, death makes fearful ravages among them. It may be assumed, that most of the European regiments lose ten per cent. of their men in the first year of their being here. Thus, to mention only a few examples, 132 men of the 22d regiment died of cholera and fever in the first two months; the 86th lost in eight days, 1 officer and 23 men; the 28th in three weeks, 1 officer and 80 men; the 41st lost in the first three years, 11 officers and 235 men; and the 1st European Bengal regiment of grenadiers was so fearfully visited by fever on its march from Karnoul to Ferozpoor, that of 1000 men not the half were under arms, and 800 palanquins were employed in carrying the sick.

The government does all that is possible to preserve the soldier, the loss of whom is of great importance to them as a pecuniary consideration alone, for the Company loses 1000 rupees for every one that dies. In Bengal only two or three regiments generally remain, exposed to the hot climate; the others are stationed in the northern provinces, or in the mountains; but before they have completed the long march thither, death, in spite of all warning and care, has already thinned their ranks.

The strict maintenance of discipline in the British army is proverbial, but it by no means degenerates into despotism. It has often been contemplated to abolish flogging: but it is affirmed that discipline

would suffer by it; we must not however believe that this is an ordinary punishment, or executed in a summary manner; it cannot be inflicted, except after sentence of a court-martial.

The Company's army consists, according to the presidencies, of three divisions—the Bengal, the Madras, and the Bombay army.

The Bengal army consists of 2 regiments of European light infantry (2000 men); 74 native regiments (81,400 men); 1 Ghurka battalion (1000 men); 11 regiments of cavalry (6600 men); 7 brigades of artillery (7000 men); 1 corps of engineers (without men); 2 divisions of pioneers (1000 men); and 1 regiment of invalids (1000 men).

The Madras army consists of 2 regiments of European light infantry (2000 men); 52 native regiments (52,000 men); 8 regiments of cavalry (2400 men); 4 brigades of artillery (4000 men); 1 corps of engineers (without men); 2 divisions of pioneers (1000 men); and 1 regiment of invalids (1000 men).

The Bombay army consists of 2 European regiments of light infantry (2000 men); 26 native regiments (26,000 men); 3 regiments of cavalry (1800 men); 2 brigades of artillery (2000 men); 1 corps of engineers; 1 division of pioneers (500 men); and 1 regiment of invalids (1000 men).

Besides these, there are, under British officers,—the corps at Hyderabad, the Deccan, Mysore, Oude, Shekawatte, and the Bheel troops in Kandeish and Malwa. There likewise are in Bengal, Mysore, Guzerat, and Sinde, 18 regiments of irregular cavalry.

Of royal troops there are in India 30,000 men, of whom one seventh are cavalry.

Thus it may be assumed that the Anglo-Indian

army is 264,000 men strong, commanded by 820 British general and staff officers, and 5500 subaltern officers, who, according to Major Everest's map, are spread over a kingdom of 1,076,590 square miles, and are to defend a boundary of 707 geographical miles. This includes four Mahometan states:—Hyderabad, 8887 geographical square miles, and ten millions of inhabitants; Oude, 2392 square miles, and 3,000,000 of inhabitants; Bhopal, 677 square miles; and Tonk, $110\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. Eight Maharatta states:—Satarah, 794 square miles; Gwalior, 3294 square miles; Berar, 5673 square miles; Indore, $424\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; Baroda, 552 square miles; Kolapoor, 318 square miles; Dhar, $146\frac{1}{2}$ square miles, and the little Dewas. Nineteen Rajpoot states:—Odeypoor, 1178 square miles; Jyepoor, $1342\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; Jodhpore 3413 square miles; Kotah, $438\frac{3}{4}$ square miles; Bunda, 229 square miles; Alwar, 323 square miles; Beekaneer, 1806 square miles; Jaysulmeer, 978 square miles; Kishungurh, $72\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; Banswara, 144 square miles; Purtaubgur, $145\frac{3}{4}$ square miles; Dongurpur, 200 square miles; Karouly, $187\frac{3}{4}$ square miles; Sirohi, 302 square miles; Cutch, $739\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; Rewah, 1031 square miles, and Dhatten Jhansi. Maharatta and Turrah, 1617 square miles. Six other Hindoo states:—Mysore, 2800 square miles; Travancore, 457 square miles; Cochin, $197\frac{3}{4}$ square miles; Bhurtpoor, $194\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; Dhoolpoor, $162\frac{1}{2}$ square miles; and Sanjore, $93\frac{1}{2}$ square miles. The Sikh states under British protection, 1662 square miles; and those in many small states and jaghires, among which those in Samblepoor and Bundelcund, are the chief. Lastly, the mountain chiefs of Sikkim, Manicpoor, Singboom, Chota Nagpoor, Sirgoojah,

Sumbhulpoor, Oudepore, Tanjore, Curg, the Bareitsh family, Ferozpoor, and the jaghires in the southern Maharatta country. The area of all these states under British protection, is about 45,000 geographical square miles; whereas the countries belonging to the English, comprehend about 62,648 square miles.

There are besides, quite distinct from the regular army, about 300,000 men, who are furnished with matchlocks and shields, and employed in the finance, police, and judicial departments. The greater part of this force is regularly organised and trained, and one twentieth is mounted and armed like the irregular cavalry.

The pay of the officers, as well as that of the privates, is very high, in comparison with that of the European armies; but the considerable expenses to which the European is liable in this country requires such high salaries. The pay of the general in chief is 10,000 rupees per month, that of a lieutenant-general 6000 rupees; of a colonel of infantry in the field 1280, and of a colonel of cavalry 1467; of a captain of infantry 411, and of cavalry 560 rupees; of a lieutenant 254, and of an ensign 200 rupees. The sepoy receives nine rupees monthly, of which one rupee and a half is deducted for his clothing.

The clothing is provided for, under the superintendence of Clothing Boards, for each army. From the surplus funds, each full colonel of a regiment derives an annual revenue of 500*l.* sterling.

A European regiment of cavalry costs, in Bengal, 73,778*l.* sterling per annum; a European regiment of infantry, 51,754*l.*, a native regiment of cavalry, 35,784*l.* sterling, a native regiment of infantry, 24,492*l.* The Bengal army cost in the year 1841, 4,000,000*l.*

sterling (at 40*l.* per man); the Madras army, 2,859,927*l.* sterling (at 45*l.* sterling per man); and the Bombay army 1,547,640*l.* sterling (at 47*l.* sterling per man); consequently the whole army 8,407,567*l.* sterling.

You are aware that the corps of officers decides the value and the capability of an army; that it is the chain which gives unity and character to the great moveable body, and that it gives the stamp to the whole army. Through its medium the general directs the instruments which determine the fate of states, and gives a new bias to the events of the world.

It is the sound vigorous good sense, and the chivalrous spirit of the corps of officers, which has raised to such a height the power of England in India. High spirits, thirst for glory, conscious independence, self-confidence, a practical mind, and the ability of quickly accommodating himself to every circumstance, are the peculiar characteristics of the English officer, more perhaps than of any corps of officers of the European armies. But these noble qualities are not merely gifts of his nationality — no, he is indebted for them to the manifold important vicissitudes of his life, which lead him to almost every country in the world, whereby he becomes acquainted with the most diverse nations, and is initiated into the most complex of relations.

India is justly considered as the school for English officers. Though the wars in that country may differ in many particulars from those in Europe, yet in the most essential points they are nearly, if not quite, the same, and in other respects they are more difficult. Almost all the distinguished generals of Great Britain have been trained, and have gathered their experience

in India. The Duke of Wellington came from that country to the Spanish peninsula, as an accomplished commander.

The political position of England in India requires, more than any other country in the world, an army inured to war and ready for combat. Ten years' peace might be more detrimental there, than thirty years' peace to an European army, because it might be forgotten that India must be governed on military principles; and, in order to save expense, the unhappy thought might be conceived of reducing the army, diminishing its pay, or otherwise neglecting it.

Though the military officer is sensible that the sphere of action of the civil officer is more extensively important, and his task more difficult, yet, as he feels that the latter works and acts under his protection, a degree of ill-will must ensue. In a government like that of India, the whole cannot prosper, unless both act hand in hand, and both enjoy equal privileges and equal honours. It therefore appears inconceivable how power could have been given to political agents to dispose of the troops at their discretion — nay, even to direct their operations. We have seen times when men, without any experience in the art of war, laid commands upon generals: in such cases the agent should be responsible, but the general was judged according to the result.

A peculiar institution, which, with all its other advantages, is very injurious, is what are called the "staff appointments," *i. e.* appointments for the service of the general staff. These are not merely confined to the troops, but are also appointments in the country. They, indeed, place officers in the most important and most instructive spheres of

action, but they deprive the regiments of their services, and thus draw the officer entirely away from the troops, a system which cannot fail to have an injurious effect upon the regiments which are so scantily provided with European officers. I became acquainted with a captain, who, in twenty years' service, had been only two years with the troops, had left his regiment ever since, had always resided in one spot, and never yet seen the cavalry or artillery! Three years ago Bengal had 406 such staff appointments, Bombay 189, and Madras 301. I must, however, observe that, every one who aims at such an appointment, must first be examined, by a committee, in Persian and Hindostanee.

On the other hand, the association of the officers has great advantages, and has a very beneficial influence. I have had the good fortune to be acquainted with most of the European armies, but I have found in none more genuine cordiality and self-denial than in the English. In this no one will be behind another; in this they consider themselves all as equals; the superior officer is not distant from the younger, whose interests are his own—in joy and in sorrow they are one.

A corps of officers in India is, in the true sense of the word, a large family. There is something hearty, confidential in the manner in which the youngest officer at table challenges the general to drink a glass of wine with him. At the same time, there is the strictest regard to duty in the service, and never a neglect of that respect which the younger owes to the elder.

But the British army in India requires, like most other armies, the vigour and energy of youth at the

head of the troops. Most of the generals and staff officers are too advanced in age, and never find opportunity to arrange and to move great masses. They have passed the greater part of their lives in India; some have not visited their native country since they were seventeen years of age; others, perhaps, only for a short time; the Indian mode of life has become a second nature to them. Even among the captains, young men are seldom found, most of them not having attained that rank till after eighteen years' service, though they obtain the rank of brevet captain after fifteen years' service.

The difficulties with which the general of an Indian army has to contend, exceed all our notions of the mode of making war. He has to provide for the maintenance of two armies: the combatants and the train; the latter being the most numerous, the most irregular, and the most burdensome; not only, because all must live under tents, but, on account of the large number of servants required for attendance, and for conveying all the necessaries of life, and the strict adherence of the Hindoo to his customs. Each sepoy carries his kitchen utensils with him when he goes into camp, erects his own little hearth, surrounds it with a circle, to keep the uninitiated from the food which he prepares for himself alone, and, in this, no caste may mingle with the other.

In a European regiment of infantry, one serjeant, one corporal, and fourteen privates form a society under one tent, served by a clashy (tent-striker), a behitshy (water-carrier), and a dhoby (washerman), and require four camels: in a sepoy regiment, two serjeants, two corporals, and twenty-eight men belong to one tent, with two clashys and two behitshys. In

the cavalry, each soldier has a groom, who dresses and feeds the horses; two soldiers have a water-carrier, and, two horses, have always one grass-cutter. The tents and other necessities follow on camels and waggons.

To every piece of artillery there are four water-carriers, four grass-cutters, four grooms, two washer-men, and a tent-striker. The army of reserve, consisting of five regiments of cavalry, twelve regiments of infantry, and forty-eight guns, was supplied for the conveyance of its baggage, &c., with 164 elephants, 1745 camels, 2000 draught oxen, and 5422 baggage servants.

When the troops, returning from Afghanistan, had joined it at Ferozpoor, there were 36,000 men under arms, with 102 pieces of cannon, 400 elephants, 25,000 camels, 6000 draught oxen, and nearly 100,000 servants of every description. This army, when in camp, occupied a space of about ten miles, and, on an accurate calculation, extended, on its march, along a line of eighty miles!

That relish, for the comfort of life, which the Englishman so greatly enjoys in his own country, accompanies him to India; but here, where nature is so lavish of her bounties, where enjoyments are so various, where the climate, the manners, and the customs provide so profusely for the conveniences of life, these comforts are found in a much higher degree.

The great number of servants required, — a lieutenant having seldom fewer than ten, a captain generally fourteen, and a general above twenty; and, the separation from the natives, with respect to whom he is obliged to conduct himself like a superior being, — compels every one to form his own establishment. Hence, in the cantonments there are as many country

houses, called bungalows, as there are officers, and where new stations are established, the handsomest residences, surrounded with lovely gardens, arise within a short time. Behind the bungalows are the clay-built barracks of the natives, looking like huts, rather than regular buildings, while the barracks of the European regiments, on the contrary, are built with comparative grandeur, and with every possible attention to climate.

Every corps of officers has its own mess bungalow, which consists of a drawing-room, dining-room, billiard-room, and library; a garden supplies the table with the necessary vegetables, fruits, and flowers. The dinners seldom consist of less than ten dishes, served in silver and rich porcelain, which is all carried with them when they travel in this extensive country. The mess alone, costs each officer 60 rupees per month; yet, we must do the English officer the justice to say, that, when called to use the utmost exertion, he also readily submits to the greatest privations; he will not renounce these comforts where they are to be had, but he cheerfully dispenses with them when necessity requires it.

I think I cannot do better than conclude this sketch by briefly describing the life of an English officer in India. If he is born in India, his parents send him to England before he is eight years old, lest he should fall a prey to the climate. Here we find him in the college at Addiscombe, where he is educated for his profession, and, in his eighteenth year, returns to his parents in India. For a few years he is occupied in the service, in learning the native languages; the new sphere of action, the novel impressions made on him by the natural scenery and the

inhabitants, are very attractive to him. But, when this novelty has worn off, his interest in it has disappeared; it becomes indifferent to him, and the more disagreeable, when he is bound to a station, and the climate becomes unsuited to his constitution.

In the morning before sunrise, the troops are exercised, or he takes a ride on horseback, but this must be terminated before the beams of the sun become too powerful. A bath refreshes him after this exertion, and, at nine o'clock, he meets his comrades at breakfast. After this he passes his time till two o'clock at the billiard-table, in reading, working, smoking the hookah, or in a *dolce far niente*. At this hour he is again in the mess-room, to take a second warm breakfast, tiffin as the English here call it. After this the time glides away as before; and it is not till the sun is near setting, that the service again calls upon him, or that he takes bodily exercise, in riding, playing at tennis, or cricket. At eight o'clock dinner is served, which is rarely finished before ten o'clock.

The only interruptions to this monotonous life, are horse-races and hunting parties, especially the chase of the tiger and wild boar; a recreation, and at the same time a danger, which every one desires to enjoy, and spares neither expense nor pains to procure. The Duke of Wellington always looked for such bold lovers of the chase, when some decisive blow was to be struck.

Ten years' service entitles the officer to three years' leave of absence, of which he seldom neglects to avail himself, because in general his health and attachment to his native country lead him to return to Europe; or he seeks for the restoration of his health at one of the five sanatory stations of Mahaba-

leshwur mountains, Neilgherries, Simla, Cherra-Punja (in the Cosseah mountains), and in Darjyling. If he is married and has a family, he probably purchases an estate, and considers India as his second country. Very few of the officers feel themselves actually happy in this extraordinary country : most of them withdraw after five and twenty years' service, hoping to lead a more congenial life at home, but find that they have become estranged from their relations and friends, and cannot attain the sought-for happiness.

LETTER VII.

TO ALEXANDER VON HUMBOLDT.

Return from Lahore to Ferozpoor.—Journey through the protected Sikh states to Samanah.—Chase of the antelope with a leopard.—March with the Governor General to Dathal, Sagun, Keythul, and Karnaul.—Visit to Paniput and view of the town and of the field of battle.—Haunt of elephants.

Delhi, 14th February, 1843.

I SALUTE you and all my dear friends at home from the renowned Delhi, formerly the capital of the Kuru and of the great Moguls. You have, I hope, received my letter from Lahore, and, if so, you will remember that I mentioned that I purposed visiting Kashmir. The British government, and especially Mr. George Clarke, the ambassador at the court of Lahore, were ready to make the necessary arrangements with the Maharaja, but Mr. Maddock seriously urged me to give up my cherished plan. He told me he considered that the state of things in that country was extremely insecure, that the government was very weak, and that if a revolution were to break out while I was in those parts my life would be exposed to the greatest danger. Though the counsel of so judicious a friend would, of itself, have sufficed to induce me to give up my plan, I was still more influenced by the apprehension, that my intention might be disapproved, and it was my first duty to

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act accordingly. The expense, besides, is so considerable, that I feared it would far exceed my ability, and not be compensated by the advantages.

In my last letter I took leave of you at midnight, when I had just returned from Shalimar, and had had a parting audience of leave of the Maharaja. On the following morning, the 13th January, we set out on our return to Ferozpoor, in the same coaches, and attended by the same escort which had accompanied us hither. We breakfasted at Lulleana, under a tent that had been sent before, and then, while the horses were being changed, we were again saluted at Kussore by the guns of the fortress. Our escort, commanded by Colonel Sheth Singh, kept constantly at our side; and the appearance of some of the horse-men was so highly picturesque, that I very much regret not having taken a sketch of them. My attention was particularly attracted by a grey-bearded life-guardsman, who continually kept watching us with his piercing eyes, and, without changing his horse, arrived at the same time with us on the Sutlej. Here we found boats ready to take us across, and on the opposite bank carriage and elephants were in waiting, to convey us to the cantonments at Ferozpoor.

I found the usual hospitable reception in the bungalow of my friend Captain Ewart; we chatted away the evening hours in the company of his amiable wife and of Captain Hay, who listened with much interest to my account of the remarkable court at Lahore. The following day was passed in making preparations for my journey through the protected Sikh states to Sunam, and it was arranged that the same men who had carried Mr. Maddock and Captain

Somerset should convey me thither the next evening. Mr. G. Clarke had the kindness to lend us a dawkh, by means of which we were able to overtake the Governor General at that place.

The Sikh states (14,000 square miles in extent) are governed by 150 Rajahs and Sirdars, of whom those of Patialah, Keythul, Naba, and Jheend are the most considerable, and are under the protection of the British government. With the exception of fifteen, they are Sikhs, and the conquerors of the countries belonging to them ; their subjects are chiefly Musulmans and Hindoos, whom they govern with great despotism. The revenue of all these petty principalities and jaghires is estimated at about fifty lacs per annum, and, it is believed, that they could muster 5000 cavalry and 20,000 infantry.

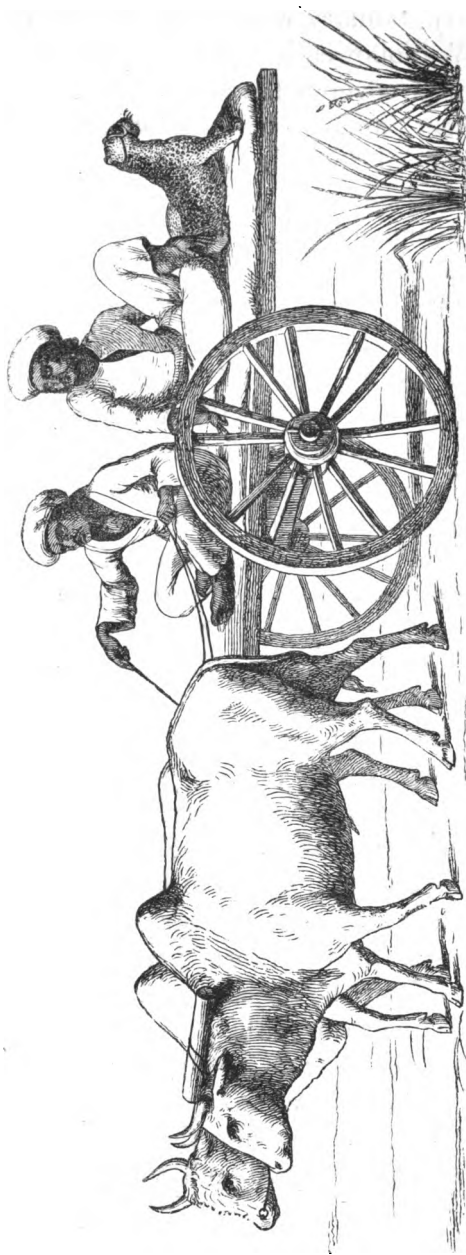
Favoured by the finest weather and bright moonlight, with a temperature of 56° Fahrenheit, I set out at 9 o'clock in the evening. Eight men bore my palanquin alternately, a torchbearer went by my side, and a man mounted on a camel, armed with a sabre and a gun, trotted on before. Till we reached the first station, we proceeded principally through jungles, and the road, which the army had taken, was but too plainly indicated by the immense number of dead camels, which were surrounded by the ravenous jackals, which had been attracted to the spots. This road is never used by palanquin travellers ; and the bearers were wholly unaccustomed to this kind of service, for they had been taken from the villages, but we promised to pay them well, on account of the insecurity of the roads, which do not enjoy the best reputation. English officers have often been attacked here, and a few days before an officer had been robbed

in the night of his horses, camels, and part of his effects. This induced Mr. George Clarke to appoint Suwars (riders on camels) for our protection, to whom the superintendence over the bearers was also entrusted. After passing the village of Malwal, I accordingly found two armed riders, and, in lieu of eight bearers, eighteen. But the men, with all their goodwill, found the unusual work very fatiguing, and, instead of three miles in an hour, they scarcely carried me two; when the Suwars, therefore, proposed to me, at Mudkee, to mount one of their horses, and to let my palanquin follow, I joyfully accepted this offer.

We now proceeded by way of Bhaga-Parana, Patokee, Bhadaur, Ugaikee, Hudaya, and Sangawal to Sunam. The country was more or less cultivated; the soil extremely fruitful; and I was more than once reminded of the middle ages of my own country by the many small forts which lay on the side of the road, like knights' castles.

In four-and-twenty hours I had travelled a hundred miles, and at nine in the evening came in sight of the little town of Sunam, surrounded with walls, and the camp of the Governor General beyond it. Having taken no nourishment, and being much fatigued by the heavy motion of the horses, and the inconvenient saddles, I was so exhausted that I was scarcely able to reach the tent of my friend Durand, to beg him to procure me some refreshment. Colonel Ashburnham, who had taken care of my faithful Werner during my absence, immediately had a bed made up for me in his tent, where I soon fell into a sound sleep, from which I rose quite refreshed the following morning.

On the 17th January we set out for the village of Deerbah. We followed in the rear of the troops and the camp, who covered the whole road of thirteen miles in extent, and we had considerable difficulty, and were obliged to go a good deal about, before we could wend our way amid this vast multitude. We were accompanied by some of the Sikh rajahs, one of whom had an elephant with him, which was only six months old, and which was born in a domestic state; another of the rajahs had a leopard, which had been trained to the chase of antelopes, and we arranged for a hunting party with it immediately after our arrival. On these occasions the leopard is hood-winked as the falcons are; as soon as the huntsman is near enough to the game, the cap is taken off from the leopard, the leader strokes his hands several times over the eyes of the animal, and turns his head towards the antelope. Scarcely does the leopard perceive it, when he immediately springs forward, but, if he does not succeed in overtaking the antelope in two or three leaps, he desists and quietly lies down. His leader again takes him up into the cart and gives him some meat and water to strengthen him. The attempt is then renewed, but, if he fails a second time, he is quite discouraged, and is unfit for the chase for some days. The antelope possesses such elasticity that it makes leaps of thirty to forty paces, and, therefore, easily escapes from the leopard, and hence it is indispensable to get as near to the game as possible. But if the leopard succeeds in catching the antelope, he leaps upon its back, clings to it with his paws; it falls down; he thrusts his fangs into the neck of his hapless victim, and sucks the blood, and then quietly follows his leader.



A CART WITH A LEOPARD FOR THE CHASE.

We were on two carts, drawn by oxen, and the leopard with its leader was on a third. The weather was clear and cool, for we had only $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F. at noon. Two miles from the camp we perceived a herd of antelopes, and we succeeded in getting within fifty paces of them. The leader feared that the antelopes would not stand still any longer, and let the leopard loose, but the ground was too much covered with thorns, and the antelopes made such tremendous leaps, that the leopard, after making two bounds, gave over and lay down. A second attempt was equally fruitless, and we were obliged to return unsuccessful.

On the following morning I joined the Governor General, who is always the first that sets out for the new camp; he is followed by the troops and the baggage, and a gun is fired as the signal of his departure. Accompanied by his staff and a part of his body-guard, Lord Ellenborough generally leaves the camp an hour before sunrise (the temperature to-day was $47\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$), and has torch-bearers to light him on the way till day-break; he is usually joined by Hindoo Row and the Afghan chiefs. At a short distance from the new camp, there are always numerous beggars and fakirs standing along the road-side, who seek to excite the compassion of the passers by, by singing, and thumping on little drums; an old fakir, who had made it his business to remain as a protector at the side of the king of the country, had followed Lord Ellenborough from Calcutta.

The road to Dathal, which is eleven miles distant, leads through a plain, but the country is fertile and richly cultivated, and the scenery is rendered very picturesque by numerous small woods, which lie

embosomed among the corn-fields. My palanquin, which contained many of my effects, pistols, and money, had not yet arrived here, and Mr. Clarke, therefore, had the goodness to send a messenger on horseback to make inquiries respecting it. I had given up all hopes of ever recovering my property, when, to my no small surprise, the palanquin was brought to me, perfectly safe, a couple of days afterwards; even some money, which was lying loose in it, had not been touched, so great is the influence of the English, and particularly the respect paid to Mr. Clarke in these protected states.

On the 19th January, I rode on an elephant to Sagun, which is ten miles distant. The country is rather overgrown with low bushes, and not well cultivated, but the road is excellent. Shortly before reaching this place, we passed through the Gagger river, which is enclosed by steep banks twenty feet high. At this time it was scarcely two feet deep, but after heavy rains it is so much swollen that it is impossible to cross it, and Lord Auckland was compelled to stop on the bank three days, till the water had subsided. On the following day, on the way to the last Sikh town, Keythul (twelve miles distant), we crossed the Sursetee, an affluent of the Gagger. It was a cool foggy morning, the temperature was only $42\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ F., and the road was generally cultivated and very fertile.

Near the entrance of Keythul, the brother of the Rajah was waiting to receive the Governor General; four small mortars were placed by the roadside, and he was attended by several hundred Suwars on camels and on horseback, who were all dressed in yellow garments. The Rajah himself had been con-

fined for years by illness. I had gone in advance of Lord Ellenborough on my elephant, and had, therefore, the opportunity of witnessing the ceremony of his reception. The gunners in their zeal mistook us for their exalted guests, and instantly discharged their mortars, but they soon perceived their error, and stopped after firing two shots. According to the custom of the country, the Rajah sent to the Governor General, flowers, fruits, confectionary, and provisions of all kinds, and his Suwars remained near our camp the whole day.

Keythul is one of the most beautiful localities in these states. A very pretty piece of water, resembling a lake rather than a pond, for such it is, lies in a semicircle, from south to south-east, round the base of the gentle eminence on which the town is built. At the eastern end is a stone citadel, with two round bulwarks fifty feet in height, which project into the water. The palace of the Rajah lies on the same side, and a bridge is thrown across to the other bank, to his summer villa, which is built in the pure Italian style; the palace and the villa are surrounded by beautiful gardens, full of flowers, fruits, and palm trees, which stretch along the banks of the pond: and lofty tamarinds, mango, neems (*Melia azadirachta*) and fig-trees, bend over the water, and their graceful boughs, which were laden with blossom, were agitated by the slightest breeze, and were reflected on the smooth mirror. Under the shade of the luxuriant foliage of these trees, are walled tanks, with a gradation of steps, for the convenience of bathing. From some spots, especially the platform of the villa, the eye comprehends at one view the magic charm which is diffused over this delicious landscape. The palace and the harem of

the Rajah is on one of the bulwarks, and we observed several female figures, in white dresses, toying with flowers, but they instantly disappeared, when we directed our telescopes towards them. We rode through the town on elephants: the streets are narrow and the houses are built of clay and brick; the bazars were full of animation; silks and shawls from Mooltan and Kashmir were exposed for sale in them, but the latter were of very inferior quality.

As I observed before, the Rajah is extremely ill, and, he sent a message to the Governor General, begging for a physician, a proof that he thought his end was approaching. When he dies, his beautiful little country, with a revenue of five lacs, falls to the British government, because he has no children, nor relations that have any title to it. We were told that his wives look forward to this painful event with much anxiety.

From the charming and richly cultivated Keythul, we came, on the 21st, to Futtehpoor ($11\frac{1}{2}$ miles), through a country mostly covered with thickets, for we saw only one village on the road. Futtehpoor is a large but dirty village, and is surrounded with ponds and fine bananas and tamarinds. Our Hindoos were bathing all day long in the dirty green sedgy water, and they even drank of it. There are, perhaps, no people more cleanly, and at the same time more dirty, than the Indians. They perform continual ablutions, always dress in neat white garments, but, the very same water in which they have bathed, frequently serves them for drinking and cooking.

The road to Nisang (fifteen miles) led us on the following day through a fertile country. Towards the east we beheld, in all their magnificence and

beauty, the mighty masses of the Himalaya mountains, whose snowy summits (six peaks about 20,000 * feet high), seemed to reach the vault of heaven. The Jamnotri peak was especially distinguished. It is a place of pilgrimage for the Hindoos, from which, however, no one dares to return, because the Brahmins say, that, whoever undertakes a journey thither, is conducted by the gods, into the paradise beyond, but if he returns he loses his caste and is looked upon as a reprobate. Of course it stands to reason that every one who undertakes the pilgrimage perishes with hunger and cold. An immoral and artful Hindoo, whose course of life had given great offence, resolved to clear himself from reproach, and to obtain the reputation of sanctity. He took leave of his wife and children, received the benediction of the Brahmins, and, was accompanied by some of them, to the height of 5000 feet, where they left him, and he proceeded alone. But he found the cold intolerable, and his friends were not a little surprised to see him return a few days after. Full of indignation the Brahmins asked how he had dared to return. "I had pursued my way," he replied, "and was preparing myself to go into the presence of God, when he appeared to me and commanded me to turn back. The more I implored him to allow me to execute my purpose, the more earnestly did he command me to give it up. 'Thou hast a wife and children,' said God, 'who require thy assistance; announce my decree to the Brahmins, and they will take the will for the deed.'" The Brahmins were completely foiled; they could not

* The cone is 21,178 feet high; the Jamnotri peak, 21,155; the Gangotri, 22,798; the Budrinath, 23,441; the Moira, 22,062; and the Lewahir, 25,749.

answer this address, and the cunning Hindoo obtained his object.

On the 23d we encamped four miles from Karnaul; on the way thither we met a great many antelopes in the jungle: they were so tame that they were not alarmed at the unusual sight of an elephant, and even accompanied us for a long time. In the afternoon the western sky (77° Fahr.) was covered with black thunder clouds, and, while on that side, the landscape was illuminated by flashes of lightning, on the other the beams of the sun silvered the snowy mountains of the Himalaya. A slight indisposition obliged me to drive to Karnaul on the following morning; before we reached it, we were overtaken by the thunder clouds, and a tropical rain fell without interruption the whole day, by which not only we and the troops were wet through and through, but our tents, too, were so completely soaked, that we were compelled to halt for five days. When the ground is thoroughly saturated the camels can scarcely move, and in such weather the weakest animals are often lost, for in falling their hinder feet slip sideways, by which they break the sinews and cannot rise again. It is most melancholy to see these useful, patient animals perish in this manner.

Our camp lay to the east of the cantonments, on a plain, near the church; several tents, and mine among the rest, were so surrounded with rain water, that they stood as in an island, and we could only get to them by means of small dams. The cantonments extend in a semicircle three miles about the town; besides the barracks they include hundreds of villas and bungalows, many constructed with much skill and taste, and all surrounded by pretty gardens or little parks.

Karnaul has unfortunately ceased to be a sanatory

station for the English, for, within the last half year the most destructive fevers have raged among the European troops, and it was found necessary to abandon a great portion of the villas and bungalows. It is still uncertain whether this is to be attributed to the clearing of the canal, which extends from this place towards Delhi, to the Jumna; or whether, as is the opinion of good judges, it is a transitory evil, confined to a certain locality, precisely where the barracks of the European troops are situated. The town itself is built for the most part of bricks, and is surrounded by an old wall; it is confined and dirty, and contains scarcely 8000 inhabitants. The cantonments are traversed in all directions by roads planted with trees.

The sky did not clear up till the evening of the 26th, till which time we were kept close prisoners in our tents. We now indemnified ourselves by making excursions on every side, and by contemplating the sublime prospect of the Himalaya, whose colossal, mighty forms, had never appeared so clearly relieved by the dark blue of the sky. Lord Ellenborough gave entertainments in his tent almost every day, and likewise a ball, which, however, from want of ladies was not very animated, and obliged the gentlemen who loved dancing to enjoy it among themselves. On Sunday divine service was performed in the church; hitherto we had assembled to thank and praise God in the tent of the Governor General. This was the first church with a belfry that I saw in India, and it forcibly reminded me of my own country. The punças (hanging fans) rather interrupt one's devotions in the church, but the climate renders them indispensable.

On Monday the 30th, the camp broke up to proceed to Garaunda (twelve miles). The road thither was, however, so soaked, that several waggons and camels fell, and evening approached before we had collected all our baggage. On the road from Karnaul the minarets which Akbar the Great caused to be erected, instead of milestones, from Delhi to Kashmir, at the distance of a coss (a coss is two miles) from each other, are still preserved. They are tapering, round, stone towers, twenty feet high, and some of them had been repaired by the inhabitants as an act of devotion. Half way to Garaunda there was a handsome, lofty arched bridge, built by the Emperor Humaioon over the canal to Delhi; a remarkably large cotton tree near it seems to be also of that age.

Garaunda is a small place with an old caravansary, the best preserved parts of which are the large, handsome, turreted gates, on the north and south sides. Taking a walk in the evening through the camp with Mr. Maddock, we saw a woman performing the most singular feats. She had suspended herself to a high tree, by her hair, and thus hanging in the air she executed all possible manœuvres with her body and limbs. Though this spectacle was any thing but attractive to us, it very much delighted the crowd, who were kept in good-humour by the comical explanations of a buffoon, who succeeded in extracting a few coppers from their pockets, by no means an easy matter with the natives, and supposes the receiver to be possessed of great powers of persuasion.

On the following day we marched to Paniput (ten miles). The country is in a high state of cultivation, and the wheat and barley were extremely fine. Paniput is a small cheerful place: it is built of brick,

is environed by a wall, and contains 6000 inhabitants; the bazars are clean and spacious, and are well supplied with goods from Delhi. On the western side there are small hills, formed by the ruins of deserted houses, mosques, and caravansaries; indeed, throughout India, and especially in the northern parts, the towns and even the villages are encompassed by such ruins.

The town is in some repute among the Mahometans, inasmuch as it contains the tomb of one of their saints, Shah Ali Callandas; and in the history of India those fields which lie towards the south have been the scenes of bloodshed and victory. Three battles have here been fought; in the last (in 1761) no less than 200,000 of the Maharatta cavalry are said to have combated here.

The Governor General, accompanied by his staff, &c., went thither on elephants, attended by an old Mussulman, who acted as our guide, and gave his explanations according to the information which he had received from his father, who at that time was actively employed on the scene of action. Men, women, and children, dressed in their holyday clothes, crowded the streets and the platforms of the houses, and very respectfully saluted the great lord as he passed along; but, in front of the tomb of Callandas, and in the marble court-yard, which is enclosed with a wall, there was so dense a throng that we had great difficulty in passing through it. The people shouted and cried for joy, and drums and pipes resounded as soon as the Governor General appeared. The saint lies in a white marble sarcophagus, with Arabic inscriptions, surrounded by a curiously carved wooden lattice-work. As Lord Ellenborough returned from

the sepulchre, an old fakir threw himself on the ground, and stroked his feet in token of his gratitude.

From the tomb we proceeded, through the bazar, and around the town to the battle-field. It is an immense plain, admirably adapted for cavalry; a well overshadowed by trees is said to mark the spot where the artillery gave a decisive turn to the issue of the battle. Our guide affirmed that 100,000 men perished here!! For several days the temperature has been pretty equal, not below 47° F. before sunrise, at noon not above 74° F., and in the evening generally 63° F.

On the first of February, we marched fourteen miles to Sumalka, on a fine broad road, through a cultivated country, every where sprinkled with hamlets and villages. The peasantry formed the most picturesque groups, as they stood along the roadside and in the villages, to see us pass; in the early part of the morning, when it was still chilly, they had thrown their gay-coloured covering about the upper part of the body, or wrapped it round their head, while the lower part of the body was enveloped in the usual white garments, and the feet were bare. Sumalka lies under the shade of fine umbrageous tamarinds, fig-trees, and acacias.

At no great distance from Sumalka is the camp of our 120 elephants, which I am very fond of visiting, for the purpose of observing this sagacious animal. In consequence of the persecution it has suffered from man, especially by the chase and by taming him, either for the purpose of adding to the splendours of the courts, as a beast of burden, or as an instrument of war, the elephant has almost entirely disappeared from the interior of India, and is now to be found

wild only in the lower ranges of the Himalaya, namely, in the Dshemna forest, in Nepal, in some parts of the Ghauts, in Tarrai, in the kingdom of Ava, and in Ceylon. On the Upper Indus near Attock, where Alexander the Great first chased the elephant, in the Punjab, and on the banks of the Jumna, near Kalpy, where the Emperor Baber annually enjoyed the pleasures of the chase, no trace of that royal animal is now to be found.

The first taming of the elephant is not recorded either in the mythology, or in the sculptured representations at Allora; like all the commencements of Indian civilisation, it is assumed to be already existing: however, the manner of taming it, appears to have differed in different places, for, when Jumaway, the king of the Avacenses (1306—1330 B. C.), was driven into Hindostan, he is said to have taught the Hindoos the best method of catching the elephant. Though this one-handed animal (Hastin or Karin, as it is called in Sanscrit from Hasta or Kara, the hand), was employed in war, in the most early times, and rendered thorough obedience, yet it was not possible to rear it in a domestic state. There have certainly been some instances, where the animals have had young ones in a tame state, and we in fact saw an elephant ten months old which belonged to a Sikh Rajah; but I will not pretend to say whether it is feared that the animal will become degenerate, or whether it is thought preferable to be satisfied with those that are taken in a wild state.

It is said that the elephant in its natural state attains the age of 200 years, and, when tamed, 120 years and upwards. Those of Ceylon and of Tarrai

are of the smaller races, and seldom have tusks: a very experienced elephant hunter assured me, that in Ceylon scarcely two elephants in a hundred have tusks. If they catch one of the latter, they saw off his tusks within one or two feet, and the extremity is tipped with gold or silver. The largest I have seen belonged to the Governor General, the Maharaja of Lahore, the King of Oude, and the Rajahs of Bhurt-poor and Alwar, and were scarcely eleven feet high, but they were more lively, quick, hardy, and sagacious, than the generality. Such an elephant costs 5000 rupees or more, whereas an elephant of middling size, about seven feet high, may be had for 1000 rupees. In general the elephant can carry five times as much as the camel, and is employed in the army, not only to carry the principal persons and the sick, but likewise to convey the large tents and carpets. The elephant might be employed for draught, with equal, if not greater advantage, for he draws, with the utmost ease, burdens which ten horses can scarcely move; hence he has lately been employed by the English with the greatest success in the artillery. On the other hand, there is some difficulty in employing him in passing large rivers, because he resolves upon it with so much reluctance; it is difficult to guide him when in it, and he sinks so deep in the water, that only the extremity of his trunk, which he then holds aloft, is visible. Whenever he passes over a pontoon bridge, or over a marshy soil, or crosses the river in a boat, he tries its firmness with his trunk, and then steps carefully with one foot, to examine the ground that is to bear his weight.

It is a sign of joy and satisfaction, when the elephant raises his trunk perpendicularly in the air, and

his Mahout takes advantage of this, and teaches him to show this demonstration of joy and respect, by dropping on his knees at the same time, on the approach of his master or superior. The Hindoos affirm that on moonlight nights he turns towards that luminary, which probably has given rise to the notion that he worships it.

The elephant is particularly useful in hunting the tiger, both to carry and to protect the sportsman. This chase is generally in the thick intricate jungle, where a person on foot or on horseback would scarcely make his way upon the marshy ground, among thickets and reeds, which are sixteen feet high. The months of April and May are the most favourable for tiger hunting, because at this season the tiger goes out more frequently in search of food, approaches the villages, plunders the flocks, and is then far more easily captured. The huntsman has generally two tiger guns of larger calibre than ordinary in his houdah, and his assistant takes the place of the driver who usually sits there. Several hunters usually join in the chase, and they always endeavour to manage that some of the elephants whom they employ are experienced and accustomed to the exertion.

As soon as the tiger is traced, he endeavours to slink away, but on the first shot puts himself on his defence, and, if wounded, raises a dreadful howl, and gnashes his teeth. In this moment of excitement all depends on the elephant; if he turns his back on his enemy, all is lost; but if he give the huntsman time to fire a second shot, by keeping the tiger at bay with his trunk, in which most elephants show great dexterity, the huntsman makes sure of his prize. As soon as the tiger is killed, the elephant expresses

his joy; and, experienced sportsmen have assured me that he becomes bolder and more persevering with every new victory. But should it happen that the huntsman must fly from his elephant, and leave him to maintain the combat with the tiger alone, it is difficult ever to induce him to go upon another expedition of the same kind.

As soon as the elephant is freed from his load, a stake is driven into the ground, to which he is fastened by a chain attached to one of his forelegs; and though it would be easy for him to free himself, he never attempts it except in the rutting season. On festive occasions the Mahouts take great pains in painting his head and trunk with arabesques, in white, red, yellow, or blue. The sort of reason which he shows in his actions has caused the Indians to choose him as the symbol of the highest knowledge; Ganesa, the god of the arts and sciences, being represented with an elephant's head. But this animal is especially honoured by the Hindoos, because they consider him the companion of the gods, the guardian of the vestibules of the temples, and the caryatide and ornament of their architecture. They believe, that the souls of penitent princes and brahmins are in the bodies of elephants, and a Hindoo of the lower caste may perhaps even consider him as superior to himself. According to the law of Menu a bride is to have the graceful step of a flamingo, or of a young elephant; therefore even now the princes and princesses of the ancient Hindoo dynasties are instructed in the paces of the elephant!

The Mahouts take the greatest possible care of the animals entrusted to their charge, and it is remarkable that they are themselves extremely dull and stupid.

A Mahout will not venture to defraud an elephant of his food, and still less to starve him. His tent, in which he resides with his wife and children, is close to the elephant, so that the animal lives as it were with the family. First of all the Mahout roasts, on an iron plate, the kneaded flour for the elephant, and the animal stands by, and waits very patiently till the chipatos or cakes laid before him are cooled, and then he receives his food from the hands of the Mahout and of the family. The elephant is passionately fond of sugar-cane and millet. While the elephants were being fed with it to-day, one of them lost his patience because he saw his neighbour enjoying this favourite food, while his Mahout seemed to have forgotten him. Like a froward child, who stamps with his foot when his wishes are not attended to, this creature vehemently struck the earth with his trunk, but was perfectly quiet as soon as ever he saw the Mahout bringing his food. The elephant is very fond of throwing earth and leaves on his back with his trunk, and this he is constantly amusing himself with, when he is at leisure; but he takes greater pleasure still in splashing about for hours in the water. When his keeper washes him, he lies quietly down on his knees, or on his side.

Near the village of Burke-Choky, where we encamped the following day, we saw a *Ficus indica* near a well, which spread its luxuriant dark foliage over a grave; its descending branches had struck root, and again formed new stems. This wonderfully beautiful tree was more than eighty feet in circumference, and forms such a thick and extensive arbour, that several hundred persons can take shelter under it. On the road to Barota, we passed the little town of Sompath,

which lies on hills eighty feet high, which are formed of the débris of decayed buildings, and we saw on every side the ruins of mosques and caravansaries, among which we could recognise the grand style and the beautiful arches of the gates and cupolas. The nearer we approached Delhi, the more numerous were the ruins ; we were especially struck with the picturesque appearance of a mosque, close by the road leading to Near-Allipur, which was most gracefully interwoven and encircled with the roots and branches of a banyan tree.

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