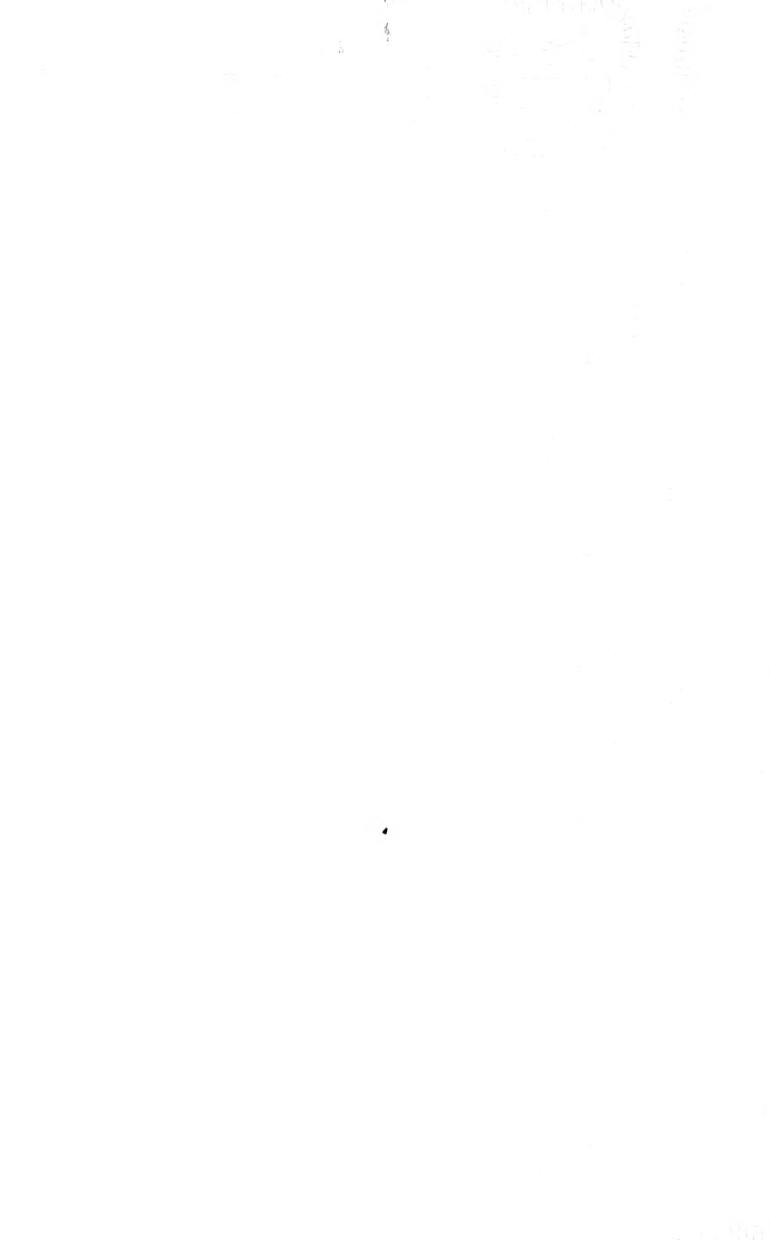


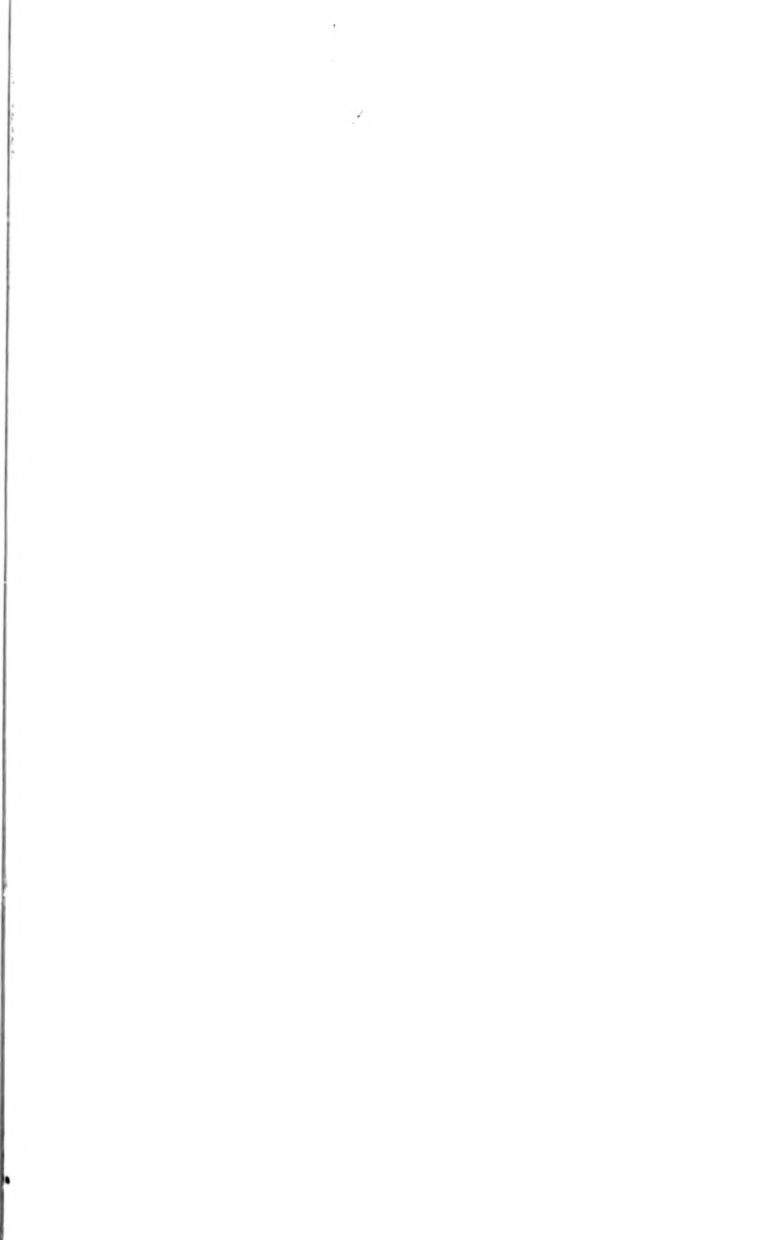
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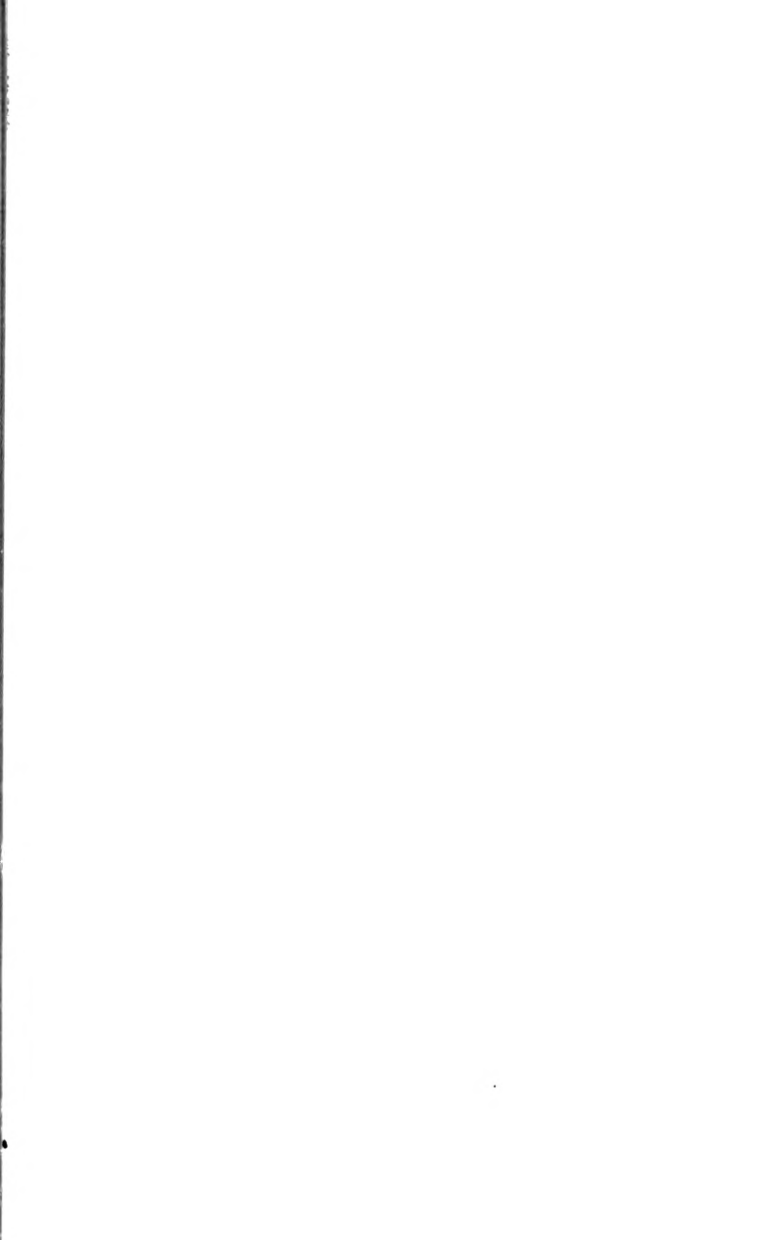
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THACKER'S
GUIDE TO CALCUTTA.

BY

REV. W. K. FIRMINER,
M.A., F.R.G.S.

WITH 14 FULL-PAGE ILLUSTRATIONS.

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TO
THE RIGHT REVEREND FATHER IN GOD

J. E. C. WELLDON, D.D.,
*Canon of Westminster and formerly
Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan of India.*

THIS LITTLE BOOK IS DEDICATED

IN
Grateful acknowledgment of his unfailing kindness

TO
THE AUTHOR.

705144

PREFACE.

IN writing the present work, I have kept in view the needs of Calcutta residents who wish to familiarise themselves with the story of their great city and of visitors who will naturally ask to be shown objects of interest peculiar to the place. It has not seemed worth either my reader's while or my own to enter into descriptions of those commonplace buildings of public utility which may be found in every city, or to send the stranger in search of what he can see every day in his native land. It will be observed that the present book is an humble imitation of the justly famous guide-books of the late Augustus Hare. Following the example of that admirable cicerone, I have, whenever a place or an event has been already well described, preferred to quote the author's words rather than to appropriate his matter and by re-setting his phrases make it appear to be my own.

To many persons I am under a deep obligation for advice and valuable suggestions. It would be difficult to say how deeply I am indebted to Lord Curzon of Kedleston for the kindly interest he has taken in my work. In the midst of his almost overwhelming duties, he found time to read through the bulk of my

proofs, and he has both saved me from repeating many of those time-honoured blunders so dear in local tradition, and also made suggestions which cannot but increase the value of my little book. Lord Curzon's thorough knowledge of the history of our city and his zeal for the preservation of its historic monuments are so well known, that it is unnecessary for me to say how much a work which has had the benefit of his criticism has gained thereby.

To the late Mr. C. R. Wilson, M.A., Doc. Lit. (Oxon), of the Education Department, I am also under a grave obligation, not only on account of the use to which I have placed his valuable writings, but also for information generously bestowed while he was still with us, and for many a stimulating conversation about the past. I have also to express my thanks to Mr. J. Golden Bell, of the Calcutta Police, for opportunities of visiting some obscure places of interest with comfort, and for securing for me the traditions of the oldest native inhabitants. To Mr. E. Madge, of the Imperial Library, and to Mr. Dias, of the Imperial Records Department I also owe a debt of gratitude. To the Hon'ble Mr. Cable, of Messrs. Bird & Co. and Messrs. Birkmyre & Co., I am indebted for their courteous permission to examine ancient leases of their respective properties. To Major Alcock, F. R. S., LL.D., I. M. S., the Director of the Indian Museum, I must offer my cordial thanks for much valuable help. To my friends, Mr. C. F. Hooper, Mr. Edgar Faulkner, and Mr. J. Hart, who accompanied me on my expeditions along the river side, I am also indebted.

After friends I must mention books. The charm of Busted's *Echoes of Old Calcutta* is known to readers in many lands. The works of Sterndale, Hyde, Hunter, Wilson, Hill, Long, and the *Selections from the Calcutta Gazettes* have been of the greatest use to me. I must here acknowledge the generosity of Mr. C. W. McMinn, late I. C. S., who kindly allowed me the use of some exceedingly rare volumes of the *Asiatic Journal*, and of Mr. Ellis, of the Calcutta Detective Service, who presented me with a copy of Sterndale's *History of the Calcutta Collectorate*. Mr. Buckland's *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, and Mr. A. K. Ray's useful sketch of the history of Calcutta (Census report) have been exceedingly useful. The volumes in the *Calcutta Review*, the *Bengal Harkaru*, and Hickey's ill-famed newspaper have been placed under contribution.

WALTER K. FIRMINER.

Royal Societies' Club,

ST. JAMES, LONDON,

14th September, 1905.



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E R R A T A .

- Page 18. 3rd line from bottom, *for* "Roshell" *read* "Roskell."
- „ 27. 12th line from top, *for* "learns" *read* "fails to learn."
- „ 30. 12th „ from bottom, after "July" *add* "1822."
- „ 31. 18th „ from top, *for* "never" *read* "seldom if ever."
- „ 42. 1st „ of 2nd foot-note, *for* "High Court" *read* "Town Hall." Delete "Sir" before Norman Paxton.
- „ 43. 7th line from top, *for* "Sir Martin Grant" *read* "Sir Martin Archer Shee."
2nd line from bottom, *for* "Boroughs" *read* "Burroughs."
- „ 45. 5th line from top, *for* "Knott" *read* "Nott (1782—1845)."
- „ 53. To list of Portraits *add*—
Lord Elgin (Viceroy 1894—9). By Sir G. Reid.
Lord Lansdowne. By Frank Holl and Hugh Riviere.
3rd line from bottom, *for* "Nos. 40 to 44" *read* "46—47."
- „ 66—67. These pages were inserted here by the gentleman who undertook the proof-reading of Mr. Firminger's book to supply some lost pages of the MS.
- „ 69. Last line, *for* "Waiapur" *read* "Waiapu."
- „ 71. 10th line from top, *for* "Apjohn" *read* "Upjohn"
- „ 74. 16th „ „ *for* "16" *read* "61."
- „ 85. 5th „ „ *for* "Hume" *read* "Home"
- „ 87. 2nd „ „ *for* "Dale" *read* "Wale."
- „ 92. 17th „ „ *for* "general or on" *read* "generation."
- „ 94. 7th „ „ *for* "Morrat" *read* "Monat"
- „ 95. 2nd „ „ *for* "1700" *read* "1800."
- „ 104. 7th „ „ *for* "Birjoo" *read* "Birjee."
- „ 104. 18th „ „ *for* "Dacca" *read* "Murshidabad."
- „ 106. 6th „ „ *for* "by no means" *read* "not."
- „ 111. 8th „ „ *for* "Robinson" *read* "Robison."
- „ 119. Delete last sentence on page and quotation on top of p. 120.
- „ 122. 4th line from bottom, *for* "Stewart" *read* "Steuart."
- „ 123. 5th „ top, *for* "John" *read* "James Austin."
- „ 132. 7th „ „ *for* "Partheni" *read* "Parthenio."
3rd „ bottom, *for* "Martin" *read* "Martyn."

- Page 139. About middle of page, *for* "Richard Barwell" *read* "William Barwell."
- „ 143. 12th line from top, *for* "Uidney" *read* "Udney."
18th „ „ *for* "Martyn" *read* "The martyr."
- „ 145. 6th „ bottom, *for* "Mayor" *read* "Nazar."
3rd „ „ *for* "1724" *read* "1734."
- „ 149. In two places, *for* "Stuart" *read* "Steuart."
- „ 179. 13th line from top, *for* "as" *read* "than."
- „ 201. 12th „ „ *for* "Dunn" *read* "Dawn."
- „ 215. 3rd „ bottom, *for* "Tirettes" *read* "Tiretta."
- „ 216. 1st „ top, *for* "robes" *read* "ropes."
10th „ „ *for* "secure" *read* "scour."
- „ 217. 23rd „ „ *for* "Mazagon" *read* "Marazion."
- „ 218. 3rd „ „ *for* "1706" *read* "1806."
- „ 248. 7th „ „ *for* "present" *read* "the original."

The following sentence should read: "In 1632 the Portuguese settlement was sacked, and the Church rased to the ground: but, after some terrible experiences at Agra, the Prior was allowed to return to Bandel and commence the present building."

- „ 254. 9th line from top, *for* "1774" *read* "1747."
10th „ bottom, *for* "Jackariah" *read* "Zachariah."
- „ 260. The hours of the train should be deleted.
- „ 261. 3rd line from bottom, *for* "Kutra" *read* "Ketra."

NOTE TO PART II, CHAPTER III.

Since the publication of this *Guide*, Plassey, Berhampur, and Murshidabad have been brought into direct connection with Calcutta by the Eastern Bengal State Railway, and Paresnath may be visited with greater facility by means of the New Grand Chord Railway (E. I. R.).

GUIDE TO CALCUTTA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

I.—WAS CALCUTTA AT ONE TIME A “HILL STATION?”

THE burden of the complaint against Bengal is the dreary monotony of its vast plain—its absolutely dead level from horizon to horizon. The reaches of the river from Howrah Bridge to Hughli Bridge are famous in Hindu legend, and many a stout fight, 'twixt Mussulman, Anglo-Saxon, Frenchman and Dutchman, has been witnessed from the banks of its rapidly flowing waters. Yet, for all that, the average Calcutta man votes his noble river a very uninteresting affair. The story of Admiral Watson and his siege of Chandernagore is to him even more a matter of ancient history than the conflict of King Alfred with the Danes is to the present-day Hampshire man. The dead level of the scenery defeats the interest of the river. The murky river and often murky sky are parted by but a thin line of bank covered by virulently green jungle, the houses of wealthy babus, factories with tall chimney-stacks, and temples stand out very much like pieces of stage scenery cut out and mounted on canvas. At sunset one feels that, with a good spring and a jump, one could leap over the “the flaming ramparts of the world” into an infinite abyss. Although not exactly “unprofitable,” the river is to the Calcutta man “dull and flat.” If, on a half-holiday, the Calcutta man betakes himself to his steam-launch, it is not to see sights, but to catch a

breath of fresh air, if so it be that a following wind doth not disappoint him of his expectation.

It is certainly hard to conjure up in our imagination a vision of our part of Bengal in the remote time when it was a hilly country. Still harder is it to realise the meaning of a recent discovery, in the very heart of the modern city of Calcutta, of an oyster bed. The average sea-faring man is inclined to smile when informed, of the plain and unadorned truth, that in approaching the Bay of Bengal he is sailing his ship up-hill.* So hard is it for common place individuals to imagine the miracles of nature ! Yet the assurances of scientific men are beyond suspicion. From December 1835 to 1840, a Committee of scientists conducted a series of "bore-hole operations" in the vicinity of Calcutta. The most important conclusions suggested by these operations are thus stated by Blanford :—

"There appears every reason for believing that the beds traversed, from top to bottom of the bore-hole, had been deposited either by fresh water or in the neighbourhood of an estuary. At a depth of thirty feet below the surface, or about ten feet below mean tide-level, and again at three hundred and eighty-two feet, beds of peat with wood were found, and in both cases there can be but little doubt that the deposits proved the existence of ancient land surfaces.

* * * * *

"A peaty layer has been noticed at Canning Town on the Mutlah, thirty-five miles to the south-east, and at Khulna, in Jessore, eighty miles east by north, always at such a depth below the present surface as to be some feet beneath the present mean tide-level. In many of the cases noticed, roots of the *sundri* were found in peaty stratum. This tree grows a little above ordinary high-water mark in ground liable to flooding ; so that in every instance of the roots occurring below the mean tide-level there is conclusive evidence of depression. This evidence is confirmed by the occurrence of pebbles ; for it is extremely improbable that coarse gravel should have been deposited in water eighty fathoms deep, and large fragments could not have been brought to their present position unless the streams, which now traverse the country, had a greater fall formerly, or unless, which is perhaps more probable, *rocky hills existed* which have now been partly removed by denudation and covered up by alluvial deposits. The coarse gravel and sand, which form so considerable a proportion of the beds traversed, can scarcely be deltaic accumulations ; and it is therefore probable that when they were formed the present site of Calcutta was near the margin of the alluvial plain." Blanford and Mendicot : *Manual of the Geology of India*. pt. I, pp. 397-400.

* "So enormous, indeed, is this great projecting mass of the Himalayas, that physicists have shown not only that it draws the plumb line considerably towards it, but that it so attracts the sea as to pull the latter several hundred feet up its sides." Waddell : *Among the Himalayas*, p. 34.

Summarising the evidence supplied by men of science, a recent and very industrious historian of Calcutta, Mr. A. K. Ray, writes :—

“It will thus appear that the description of Lower Bengal (including Calcutta and its neighbourhood) in Barahamihira’s *Brihatsamhita* as “Samatata” or tidal swamp, and the inference that it was gradually raised by alluvial deposits into a habitable kingdom about the seventh century after Christ, are in perfect accord with the trend of modern physical researches, while there is nothing in the social history of Bengal, which commences with King Adisur, between the seventh and the ninth century after Christ, that appears to militate against the inference.

There are, therefore, good reasons to think :—

- (1) That in remote antiquity, gneissic hills stood out from the sea where Calcutta now is.
- (2) That at a later date—probably during the tertiary period—these hills were depressed and a tidal swamp extended up to the foot of the Rajmahal hills.
- (3) That the Lower Gangetic plains below the Rajmahal hills began to be elevated by fluvial deposits about four or five thousand years ago.
- (4) That the extension of the delta was from north and west to the south and east.
- (5) That, near Calcutta, an elevation of the area has alternately been followed by a subsidence.
- (6) That in historical times the extreme south-eastern portion, including the districts of Khulna, Jessore, the Sundarbans and Calcutta, was not fully formed in the seventh century of the Christian era, when East Bengal was sufficiently inhabited to form the nucleus of a kingdom.”

*Census of India, 1901, vol. VII, Pt. I.**

Bengal having, in the course of geological events, ceased to be a hill country, mythology came to rescue it from the dulness of its physical flatness. The legend of ancient Calcutta is thus narrated by Mr. C. R. Wilson :—

“Like other cities Calcutta has its legend. Long, long ago, in the age of truth, Daksha one of the Hindu Patriarchs made a sacrifice to obtain a son, but he omitted to invite the god Siva to come to it. Now Sati, the daughter of Daksha, was married to Siva, and she was indignant that so great an insult should have been offered to her divine husband, and deeply grieved that such a slight should have been passed upon him through her kindred. In vain did she expostulate with her father. ‘Why’, she asked, ‘is my husband not invited?’ ‘Why are no offerings to be made to him?’ ‘Thy husband,’ was the reply, ‘wears a necklace of skulls; how can he be invited to a sacrifice?’ Then in grief and indignation, and shrieking out ‘This father of mine is a villain; what profit have I in this carcase sprung from him?’ she puts an end to her life; and Siva, ‘drunk with loss,’ transfixed her dead body on the point of his trident and rushed hither and thither through the realms of nature. The whole world was threatened with destruction; but Vishnu, the preserver, came to the rescue. He flung his disk at the body of Sati and broke it into pieces which fell scattered over the earth. Every place where any of the ornaments of Sati fell, became a sanctuary, a sacred spot full of the divine spirit of

* See also Fergusson in *Journal of Geological Society of London*, Vol. XIX.

Sati. The names of these sacred places are preserved in the garlands of sanctuaries. Some of them are well-known places of pilgrimage, others are obscure and forgotten; but to-day the most celebrated of them all is Calcutta, or rather, Kalighat, the spot which received the toes of the right foot of Sati, that is, of Kali." C. R. Wilson : *The English in Bengal* Vol. I. pp. 128-9.*

2. THE PORTUGUESE ON THE HUGHLI.

ABOUT the year 1530, twenty years after Albuquerque's conquest of Goa, the Portuguese began to frequent our river. In the East they established their Great Haven or *Porto Grande* at Chittagong. A few miles to the N.-W. of the modern town of Hughli they established their *Porto Pequeno* at Sâtgaón or Saptagram.† The Sarasvati River, now silted up, flowed from Sâtgaón, west of the Hugli river, which it rejoined some few miles below Calcutta. Close to Sâtgaón was Triveni, whither Hindu pilgrims came by thousands to bathe at the confluence of the Sarasvati, the Jamuna and the Ganges. The sea-captains, however, would have been unwilling to take their galiasses beyond the deep pool which now forms the port of Calcutta.

"So far the river was easily navigable by sea-going ships, but beyond this it was considered too shallow for any but country boats. Here, then, in Garden Reach was the great anchoring place of the Portuguese and at Betor, on the western bank, near Sibpur; every year, when the ships arrived from Goa, innumerable thatched houses were erected, markets were opened, and all sorts of provisions and stores brought to the water side. An immense number of galiasses lay at anchor in the deep water waiting, while the small budgerows made their way up the river past Baranagar, Dakshineswar and Agarpara to the *Porto Pequeno* at Sâtgaón, and returned filled with silks and muslin, lac, sugar and rice. During these months the banks on both sides of the river were alive with people and a brisk trade was carried on. But no sooner was the last boat come back from Sâtgaón, and her cargo safely shipped aboard the galiasses, than they set fire to the temporary houses and improvised houses of bamboo and straw, and the place vanished almost as suddenly as Alladin's palace when carried off by the genii. Away sailed the Portuguese back to Goa, leaving apparently no traces of their coming except burnt straw and ruined huts. And yet a careful observer might have noticed more important results, for here we can see being formed the nucleus of the future city of Calcutta." Wilson : *The English in Bengal*, Vol. I. p. 134.

In 1565 Sâtgaón is described by a voyager, whose experiences have been monumentalised by Haklyut, as a "reasonable, fair city;" but, falling a victim to a characteristic

* Mr Wilson here draws from an article by Babu G. D. Bysack in the *Calcutta Review* for April, 1891.

† Not far from the present village of Magra on the railway line to Burdwan.

freak of an Indian river, it was ere long deserted by the waterway to which it had owed its prosperity. The result was the exodus of four families of Bysacks and one of Sets who wisely made their homes close to these deeper waters of the Hughli where they could trade with so much advantage with the Portuguese adventurers at Garden Reach. In the corner of swampy land, formed by the Hughli and the Adi-Ganga (now Tolly's Nalla), they built their village, which, in honour of their tutelary deity, they named Govindpur. North of this, beyond the creek, which ran up where Hastings Street now is, and which is still commemorated by Creek Row, they established Sútánuti Hát or "the Cotton Bale Market."

The story of the Portuguese in Bengal is a melancholy one. Under the patronage of the Emperor Akbar they formed a settlement at Hughli, and by 1599 had provided themselves with a Church and a Fortress. The fall of Portuguese Hughli took place in 1632. The race, so distinguished for its early enterprise and consummate bravery, had sunk in Bengal into a tribe of thieves closely allied, both by blood and habits, to the aboriginal pirates of Arracan, who infested the "Rogues' River"^{*} at the entrance of the Hughli.

3. THE ENGLISH COME TO BENGAL.

THE representatives of the English Company reached the Bay of Bengal a year later than the Dutch who had established themselves at Pipli and Chinsurah. In 1633 a party of our fellow countrymen set forth from Masulipatam to try their fortunes in Orissa. Having founded a factory at Balasore, in 1651, Bridgeman and Stephens were sent in charge of a party to establish a factory at Hughli and purchase saltpetre. In 1658, after a talk at Madras of withdrawal from Bengal, Agents were appointed to Balasore, Cossimbazar and Patna, and a Chief Agent for Hughli. To each Agent three co-adjutors were assigned, and among the co-adjutors to the Agent at Cossimbazar stands out the name of Job Charnock.

^{*} See Yule.—*Hobson Jobson*, "Rogues River."

Coming to Bengal with intentions purely commercial and relying on the goodwill of the Moghul Emperors and their subordinate rulers, these early pioneers were soon taught by local oppression and opposition that they must protect themselves by force. In 1686 the Court despatched an expeditionary force to act under Job Charnock. After some fighting at Hughli, on December 20th, the English withdrew. They attempted first to occupy the malarious island of Hijili, and then Ulubaria, but again returned to Sútánuti, where Charnock, for the time, found himself superseded by a certain Captain Heath. After a brief withdrawal to Madras, Charnock, with his Council, once more returned to Sútánuti. On Sunday, August 24th, 1690, was made the "mid-day halt of Charnock."

"Yet in spite of everything Calcutta grew. When once fortified, its position secured on its three sides from attack; its deep harbour attracted the trade from the Dutch and French settlements, on the shallow reaches higher up to the river, and the native merchants began to crowd the place where they felt safe. It was perceived that a few armed ships in the Calcutta pool could cut off the upper settlements from the sea. But the fever-haunted swamps which stretched behind the river bank exacted a terrible price for its prosperity. The name of Calcutta taken from a neighbouring Hindu shrine was identified by four mariners with Golgotha, the place of skulls.* Within a decade, after Charnock finally landed on the deserted river-bank, in 1690 it had become a busy native mart with 1,250 European inhabitants of whom 450 were buried between the months of August and January in one year. The miseries of the fever-stricken band throughout 1690 and 1691 are not to be told in words." Sir W. Hunter: *The Thackerays in India*. Pp. 49—50.

In an oft-quoted poem, Mr. Rudyard Kipling has turned into current coin an ancient fallacy as to the origin of Calcutta. :

"Once two hundred years ago the trader came meek and tame,
 Where his timid foot first halted there he stayed,
 Till mere trade
 Grew to Empire and he sent his armies forth,
 South and North ;
 Till the country from Peshawar to Ceylon
 Was his own.
 Thus the mid-day halt of Charnock—more's the pity,
 Grew a city ;
 As the fungus sprouts chaotic from its bed,
 So it spread—
 Chance-directed, chance-erected, hid and built
 On the silt.

* This is a picturesque error on Sir W. Hunter's part.

Palace, myre, hovel—poverty and pride
 Side by side ;
 And above the packed and pestilential town
 Death looked down.”

“A Tale of Two Cities.”—*Departmental Ditties*.

We can now see that long before 1690, Sútánuti, with its prosperous colony of native merchants, was a place to be cultivated by a trading Company. Protected from invasion from the Mahommedan power in the north-west by its mighty river, isolated by the Chitpore Creek in the north, the salt lakes—more extensive then now—on the east, and the Adi-Ganga in the south, and commanding the approaches to the European settlements above, it held the key to the situation.* Well and wisely has Mr. Wilson written of old Job Charnock’s choice :

“If the common opinion about these matters were true, if Old Fort William was the work of thoughtless, worthless adventurers, and the Indian Empire the outcome of chance and accident, I, for my part, do not see how such views can be reconciled with scientific theories of history, much less with a belief in an over-ruling Providence rewarding men according to their works. But the truth is far otherwise. There can be no greater mistake than to suppose that the English settlement at Calcutta was fortuitous and ill-considered. Nothing can be further from the facts than the generally accepted picture of ‘the mid-day halt of Charnock’ growing to be a city ‘chance-directed, chance-erected’ spreading chaotic like the fungus. Had the English confined themselves to ‘mere trade,’ had the merchant remained ‘meek and tame where his timid foot first halted,’ there would have been no Calcutta and no British India. On the contrary, the final settlement of the English on the east bank of the Hughli was the fruit of more than half-a-century of efforts, the achievement of a band of able and resolute men, among whom Job Charnock has been rightly given the first place. The end which has crowned their work is the consequence and proof of its original soundness. An empire is not gained like a prize in a lottery.”—*Indian Church Quarterly Review*, Vol. XIII, April, 1901.

4. THE FOUNDER OF CALCUTTA.

JOB CHARNOCK, of whose birth, parentage, and early life, nothing is known, had come to India in either 1655 or 1656. Up to the date of his third and final halt at Calcutta he displayed much ability, pluck, and firmness of resolution, but in his old age his character seems to have rapidly deteriorated. “He loved,” writes Hedges, “that everybody should be at difference, and supported a sergeant that set them to duelling.” *Laisser faire : laisser*

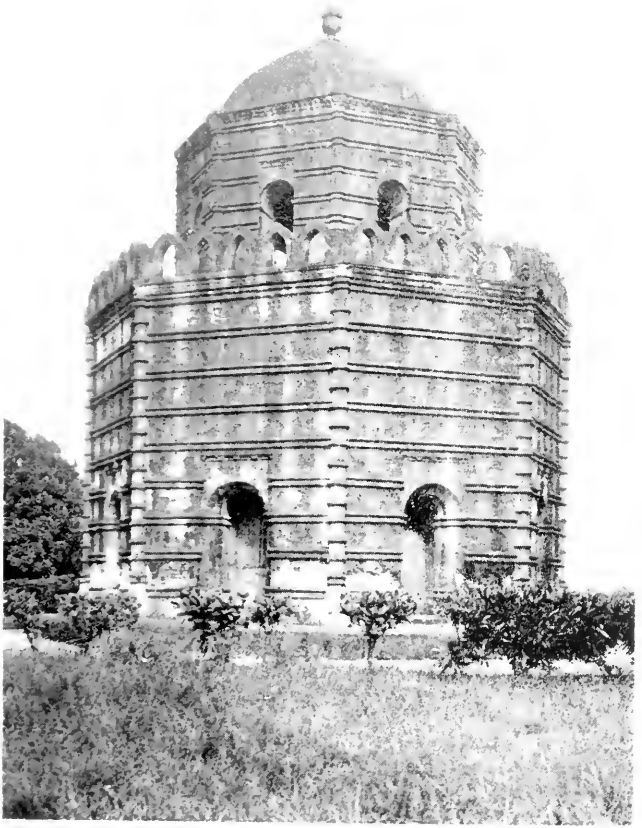
* Had Charnock chosen a site below Hijili, his settlement would certainly have perished in the great tidal waves of 1737 and 1823, W. K. F.

passer, would have been an appropriate motto for his rule. No site was marked out for the factory, and every one was left free to pick out lands, dig tanks, and build houses wheresoever they pleased.* The settlement by the date of Sir John Goldsborough's arrival in August 1693, as Commissary-General and Chief Governor of the Company's settlements, had gained an unenviable reputation on the score of the punch house and billiard table kept by one Hill, the secretary and captain of the soldiers, to whom the aged Charnock entrusted wide powers of indiscretion. Alexander Hamilton, who, by the way, would not have been inclined to take an impartial view of the servants of the Company, tells the yarn of how Charnock, instead of converting his wife to Christianity, was converted by her to the cult of the *Panch Pir* or Five Saints—a sort of mongrel Mahomedan and Hindu devotion emanating from Bihar. "The only part of Christianity that was remarkable in him was burying her decently; and he built a tomb over her, where all his life after her death, he kept the anniversary day by sacrificing a cock on her tomb after the pagan manner."

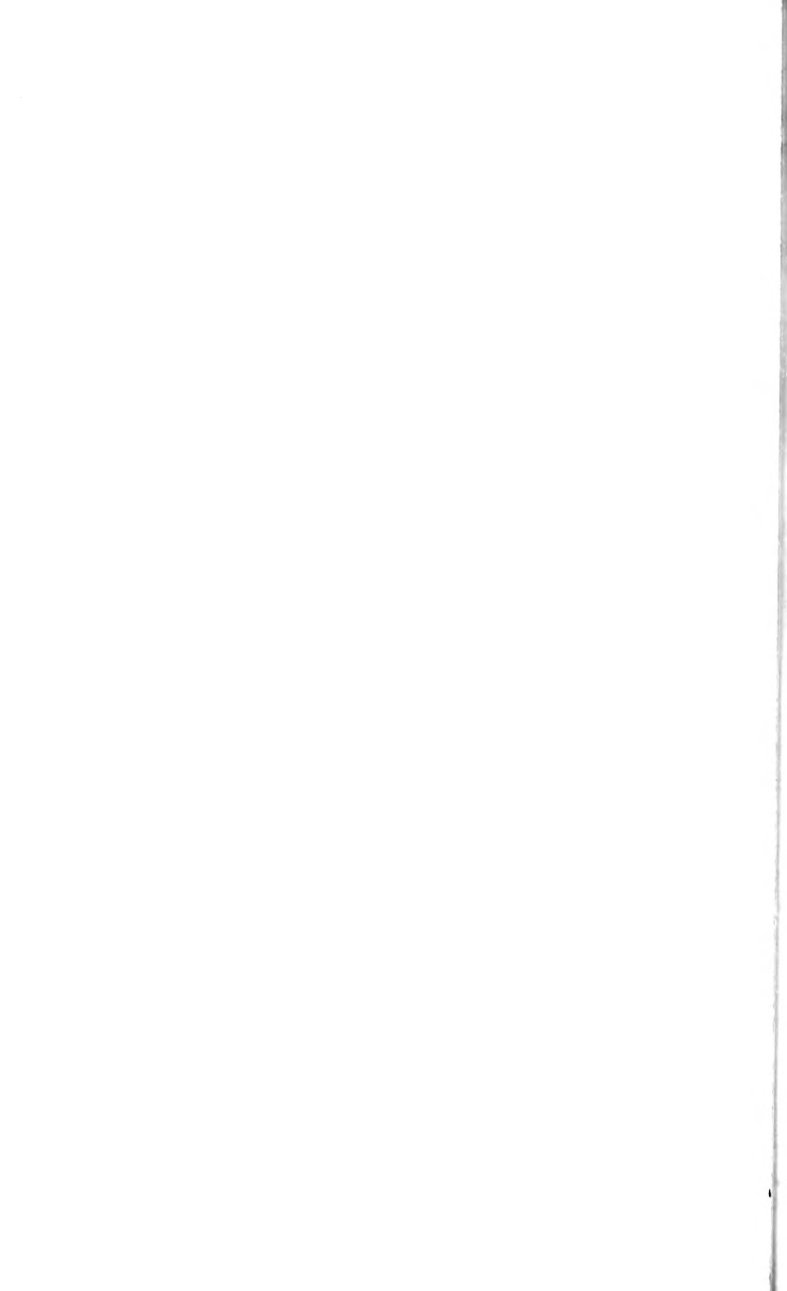
On January the 10th, 1693, Job Charnock breathed his last. Charity will impel the modern reader to distrust the gossip which was dinned into Sir John Goldsborough's ears nearly six months later. After long years of faithful service, having twice endured the bitterness of being unjustly superseded, wearied out by the long delays and the deaf ears of his masters in England, living in an exhausting climate, weakened by constant fevers, far from the influences of his mother Church, it is not surprising that old Job's declining years were spent in indolence and even disorder. The verdict on the Founder of Calcutta has been pronounced—or rather not pronounced—by Mr. Wilson.

"Charnock possessed the one rare but absolutely needful virtue of disinterested honesty,—a virtue which must have been at this time difficult to retain; a virtue which must have raised up against him scores of secret enemies; a virtue which makes us slow to believe evil of one who, in spite of all petty detraction, will always occupy a place among those who have the

* This, as a matter of fact, was not Charnock's fault but his misfortune; for he was not permitted to raise fortifications.



Charnock Mausoleum. St. John's Churchyard



sovereign honour of being founders of states or commonwealths. Coarse and sinful he may well have been, for he seems to have been imperfectly educated, and he passed an unprecedented length of years in Indian service. But for my part I prefer to forget the minor blemishes, and to remember only his resolute determination, his clear-sighted wisdom, his honest, self-devotion, and not leave him to sleep on in the heart of the city which he founded, looking for blessed resurrection and the coming of Him by whom alone he ought to be judged." *The English in Bengal*, Vol. 1, pp. 142-3.

Here is the verdict of Sir W. Hunter :—

"Charnock now stands forth in the manuscript records as a block of rough-hewn British manhood. Not a beautiful person perhaps, for the founders of England's greatness in India were not such as wear soft raiment and dwell in King's houses; but a man who had a great and hard task to do, and who did it—did it with small thought of self, and with a resolute courage which no danger could daunt nor any difficulties turn aside. The masters who treated him so grudgingly knew his worth. He was even in his lifetime an honest Mr. Charnock, no 'prowler' for himself beyond what was just and modest." Sir William Hunter: *Op. Cit.* pp. 51-2.

Of the Charnock Mausoleum in St. John's Churchyard something will be said hereafter. Writing in 1845, Mr. Long tells that at Barrackpore, known to the natives by the name of Achanuk, Charnock established a bungalow and gathered a little bazar round it. The identification of the older Bengali name "Chanuk" with that of Charnock is, however, a popular error.* In 1898 the Calcutta Municipality re-named Tottie's Lane, Charnock Street. Sir John Goldsborough, the strenuous reformer, died in November and lies close to Charnock in an unnamed grave in St. John's Churchyard.

5. THE MOVE FROM SUTANUTI TO CALCUTTA.

When the English returned to Sütanuti on August 24th, 1690, it was to find that the building they had erected in 1688 had been plundered and burnt. Three ruined mud hovels on the river-bank were the sole vestiges of the second halt. A despatch, penned in 1691, describes the restored merchants as still dwelling in "only tents, huts, and boats." Before his death, however, Job had secured possession of the Jagirdar's

* See Yule.—*Hobson-Jobson*, and Yule's Edition of "Hedges' Diary." The cantonment of Secrole near Benares used to be known as Chihota Achannock. In Valentyn's map of 1726 the Barrackpore site is called "Tsjannek." See the letter of the court to Fort St. George, December 12, 1677. "The *Falcon* used to go up the river to Hughly or at the best to Charnock."

pucca catchery. Among the offences laid to the door of Captain Hill had been the indictment that he had "let his wife turn Papist without control." In an atmosphere of "native habits, black wives, and heathenish prayers," the good Portuguese friars had set to work, to convince the denizens of Sútánuti of righteousness and judgment to come. Their activity and success caused Sir John Goldsborough no small regret. "I turned the priest from hence," he writes in 1693, "and their mass-house was to be pulled down in course, to make way for the factory when it shall be built." The site selected by Goldsborough for his Fort was not in Sútánuti but in "Dhee Collecotta." It will be well, at this point, to take a rapid survey of the situation of the future city at the time when Job Charnock made his halt.

Looking at our map we find in the north the village of Chitpur. Here in the 15th Century was the temple of the goddess Sarvamangala, then more esteemed than the shrine of Kali at Kalighat.

The Savarna family, whose traditions are said to go back beyond those of the Bysacks and the Setts, and who were in possession here, ascribe the name Chitpur to their idol Chitreswari (Kali). From Chitpur to Kalighat ran the old pilgrim road, now represented by the Chitpur Road, Bentinck Street, the Chowringhee and Russa Roads, thus forming a string to the bow of the river.

South of the Chitpur creek was Sútánuti. The derivation of this word is a matter of debate. According to the Savarna traditions the daily distribution of alms beneath a "chhatra" or canopy led to the village being called "Chhatealoot" or colloquially "Chuttanutte." Dr. Wilson, on the contrary, holds that the word should be "Sútánuti" and that it means a cotton-bale. The transliteration of *ch* for *sh*, he contends, was borrowed from Portuguese usage.

South of Sútánuti was Kalikatta. Some years ago Calcutta was fearlessly asserted to be derived from Kalighat. It is now recognised that Kalikatta (Collekutta, Kalikata, Calcutta) was from the first quite distinct from the once obscure shrine of Kali in the south. In Kalikatta the English found the Bura Bazar whence they procured their scanty provisions. Bura is said to be of a pet name of Shiva.

South of Sútánuti (where Hastings St. now is) came the Creek marking the site of the future Hastings Street and separating Kalikatta from Govindpur, which in its turn was bound on the south by the old Ganges, now Folly's Nalla.

In 1695 the rebellion of Subha Sing rendered it desirable for the lieutenants of the Mogul empire to court the assistance of the European settlers on the Hughli, and the importunity of the Mohammedan rulers afforded the English the opportunity of getting to work at their fort. Three years later, they, thanks to the friendly assistance

of an Armenian named Surhand, were permitted to purchase for Rs. 1,300 the right to rent the *mauzas* of Calcutta, Sútánuti, and Govindpur. But to make this purchase, the English had to offer Prince Farruckhsya, a gratification of Rs. 16,000. The incident reminds one of the missionary whose servant was executed by an African Chief for removing a boat which his master had purchased. "But I paid you myself," protested the indignant missionary. "Yes," replied the dusky monarch, "I sold you the boat, but not the wood of which it was made." The English thought they were purchasing the proprietary rights to the villages: as a matter of fact they were purchasing only the right to the tenant's rents. The Company had, therefore, to pay each year a rent on the *jagir* or proprietary rights which were declared to be unsaleable. The pith of the whole matter was that Farruckhsya sold to the English the right to purchase of his land owners, but trusted that the latter would decline to sell. As far as the three villages of Sútánuti, Kalikatta, and Govindpur were concerned, the English had been able to arrange with the *jagirdars* and were quite able to protect their traders, brokers, and servants within these boundaries. It was the necessity of extending their protection to the outlying villages which compelled the English to send, in 1717, an embassy to Delhi to procure from the Emperor a confirmation of the privileges acquired by the purchase in 1698, and permission to purchase thirty-eight villages on either bank of the Hughli to the distance of ten miles from the factory. The course of affairs was not permitted to run smoothly, for the Emperor's *firman* was not law to the Nawab, who in the unsettled state of the English, found an opportunity for filling his treasury at Murshedabad.

It would be unfair to the reader to puzzle him with an historical disquisition on the subject of the position at law of the Company in its earlier years at Calcutta. It was not until after the downfall of the English Fort in 1756 and Clive's victorious campaign, that anything like legal security was possessed by the English in their Calcutta settlement. Suffice it to say that in

1758 the Nawab, whom Clive had placed on the throne of Suraj-ud-daula, granted what has been called "the free tenure" of the town of Calcutta—the lands "within the ditch" with a margin of 600 yards beyond, and the zemindari of all lands south of Calcutta as far as Culpi.

6. THE RIVAL COMPANIES AND THE ROTATION GOVERNMENT.

In the meantime, while under Charles Eyre and latterly John Beard, first the Fort and then the Factory were rapidly growing into existence, a new trouble was being created for "the restored merchants." They had long been pestered by "interlopers" or unauthorised traders: they were now to compete with a new Company. On September 5th, 1698, an "English Company trading to East India" was incorporated under charter, and the old Company, henceforth to be known as the "London Company," was granted existence till September 29th, 1701, but no longer. The new Company established at Hughli, however, made a very poor pretence at maintaining its position, while, on the other hand, the progress of the old Company at Calcutta was marked and its influence in England increased. Parliament, in 1700, therefore arranged that a union of the two Companies, instead of the disappearance of one of them, should be effected.

"This same year the rival East India Companies were united by Queen Anne's 'Tripartite Indenture' dated July 22nd. The separate accounts of the old Company at Fort William and the new at Hooghly were ordered to be made up; and a third Joint Council was ordered to be formed at Calcutta to be presided over by a Member of Council of the old Company and a member of the new on alternate weeks. Of this arrangement the Governor of Fort St. George wrote home on the 7th December 1704:— 'For the Rotation Government in Bengal 'tis become the ridicule of all India, both Europeans and Natives.'" Hyde: *Parochial Annals of Bengal*.

The Rotation Government was abolished in 1710, when the office of President of Bengal (first held by Sir Charles Eyre in 1699) was revived. The days of the Rotation Government were remarkable for considerable exertion in the matter of building.

Much light on the social life of the early English settlers in Calcutta may be derived from the pages of Captain Hamilton's *East Indies*. We have to picture members of the Council assembled in quaint garbs. "An old country captain" quoted in the *Indian Gazette* of February 24th, 1781, describes the Council of those early days, as assembling :—

"Dressed in muslin shirts, long drawers and starched white caps, sitting in the consultation room with a case bottle of good old arrack and a goblet of water on the table, which the Secretary, with a skilful hand, converted into punch, as occasion arose."

Hamilton records his impression that life in Calcutta was by no means an unmixed evil :—

"Most gentlemen and ladies in Bengal live both splendidly and pleasantly, the forenoons being dedicated to business and after dinner to rest, and in the evening to recreate themselves in chaises or palankins in the fields, or to gardens, or by water in the budgerows ; which is a convenient boat that goes swiftly with the force of oars. On the river sometimes there is the diversion of fishing and fowling, or both ; and before night they make friendly visits to one another when pride or contention do not spoil society, which too often they do among the ladies, as discord and friction do among the men."

Mr. Wilson, writes :—

"If Dame Fortune's wishing shoes, about which Hans Anderson has so much to tell us, were in existence and could be procured in Calcutta, I do not think the most discontented inhabitant of the modern city would be well advised to wish himself back into the days of the Rotation Government."

We will not carry this introductory sketch any further since the history of Calcutta, so far as it is our duty to re-tell it, will be learned as we wander through its streets and suburbs. It must, however, be remembered that the essential charm of the town depends very largely on the interest we take in the past of the English in India. To the patriotic native this may appear a hard saying, yet the fact remains that, even for the natives, Calcutta is an artificial place of residence. Our native servants, no less than our own wives and children, are one and all looking forward to the time when, with a fair degree of plausibility, they can petition their masters for *chhuti* and permission to go to their own "muluk." No doubt Calcutta has a vast Hindu

population, but the fact that in this city there are no Hindu temples worthy of mention is significant. What pundit in his senses would recommend the tourist, who has Benares and perhaps the stupendous temple of Southern India to visit, to waste even an hour at Kalighat? The Jain temples are certainly worthy of a visit, whether or no the tourist has a chance of seeing Mount Abu, Gwalior and Ahmedabad, but this is rather for the barbaric glitter of these Calcutta gardens of sunshine than for purposes of archæological inquiry. Calcutta is essentially a place of *English* interest.

It must not be forgotten, however, that in the Calcutta Museum stand some of the remains of the great Barahut stupa. The possession of these remains should be joy and glory to every Calcutta citizen who is not an unmitigated philistine.

CHAPTER II.

IN SEARCH OF THE OLD FORT AND BLACK HOLE.

1. THE OLD FORT.

“The first Fort William in Bengal has to-day almost completely vanished from the sight and the memory of the citizens of Calcutta. Few persons know what the Fort was like or where it stood. Fewer still, I believe, know that a fragment is still standing within the compound of the General Post Office. In India frequent changes make short memories.”

So wrote the late Mr. C. R. Wilson in the pamphlet he prepared “under the orders of His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General to serve as a brief guide to the models of the Old Fort and the Church of Saint Anne exhibited in the collection of objects intended to be placed in the Queen Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta, and also as a guide to the memorials erected on the actual site of the Old Fort.” The reader, who wishes to master the subject, should not fail to procure a copy of this pamphlet. He should also, before making a visit to the actual site of the Old Fort, carefully inspect the fine model on exhibition at the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

Old Job Charnock had been refused the right to commence the fortifications he had so long felt to be necessary for any successful factory in Bengal. Permission to commence such buildings was tacitly conceded by the Nawab after the rebellion of Subha Sing in 1696. The dates of importance in the construction of the earlier Fort William are :—

1697. At the north-east angle of the site laid out by Goldsborough only one bastion in existence—a square tower with walls more than six feet thick constructed by Eyre, “to look like a warehouse for fear of exciting the jealousy of the Mogul.” The factory adjoining surrounded by brick walls, the factory store-houses, etc., consisting of mud walls and thatched roofs.

1699. Beard places his house and garden on the site of the future north-west bastion. After Eyre's second return to England, Beard extended the Fort to the south, built a new bastion in the south-east and strengthened Eyre's tower.

1702. Beard begins to build the *pucca* Governor's House in the southern extension of the Fort. "The best and most regular piece of architecture," writes Hamilton, "that I ever saw in India."

1706. The Governor's House completed. "This building formed three sides of a quadrangle. The west and principal face was 245 feet long. In the centre of this face was the main door and from it a colonnade ran down to the watergate and the landing stage. Entering the doorway and turning to your left, you ascended the great flight of stairs which led to the hall and the principal rooms. The south-eastern wings contained the apartments of the Governor. A raised cloister ran down the three sides of the building." The old factory house was now pulled down and in its place was erected a single-storied building which served for the original "Writers' Buildings." This lodging for the writers was completed about 1716.

1704. On the death of the fanatical Aurangzeb, the English ordered their Military Cavalry Master "to see it well performed out of hand and to the end, to take all the materials in the town that are necessary thereto, that it may be quickly erected, for we may not meet with such an opportunity again." The work, executed in haste, as excavations in 1883 attested, was the erection of two bastions on the water side.

1709. The Rotation Government enlarged and deepened the tank which now forms the centre of Dalhousie Square, and which superseded the Hughli as the source whence Calcutta derived its drinking water.

The Church of St. Anne was erected by public subscription and consecrated by commission on June 8th, the Sunday after Ascension Day.

1710. A wharf was commenced before the Fort, faced with brick and with a breast work for cannon.

To realise the proportions of Old Fort William is now, thanks to our present Viceroy, no difficult task. Taking Mr. Wilson's advice, we will start from Koila Ghât Street on the west side and enter the Post Office compound, which lies between the older building and the more recent ones of red-brick. Here we find two tablets:—

(1)

The brass lines in the stone
on the adjacent ground
mark the position and extent
of the South Curtain
of Old Fort William.

(2)

The two lines of twelve arches
to the west of this tablet
are all that now remains above ground
of Old Fort William and
originally formed a portion of the arcade
within the South Curtain.

The Black Hole Prison was a small room formed by bricking up two arches of a similar but smaller arcade within the East Curtain south of the East Gate.

[NOTE.—In order to get a clear notion of the site of the Old Fort, it will be the best for the reader to follow up Lord Curzon's tablets which relate to the Fort first, and afterwards search for the site of the Black Hole.]

The sunken arches, where the Post Office's wagons are now kept, once formed part of the arcade within the South Curtain, the wall line of which is marked out for our instruction by brass lines let into the pavement. The wall of the Curtain, a portion of which was still standing in 1895, backed the old Export and Import Warehouses, and through the arches one would have, in the old days, looked into the Parade Ground within the Fort. The Export and Import Warehouses were built against the South Curtain in 1741 and would have followed the line of Koilaghât Street.

Having inspected what remains above ground of the Old Fort, and having realised the position of the Southern Curtain, we leave by the way by which we entered and ascend the steps of the Post Office. The angle of the South-East Bastion and the thickness of its walls is indicated by brass lines let into the steps. A tablet pointing out this fact will be found on an adjacent wall.

Turning to our left, as we enter Dalhousie Square, we are treading close to where once stood the East Curtain. The entrance to the East Gate is commemorated by a tablet fixed into the red building opposite the Holwell obelisk.

Sixteen feet behind this wall
was the entrance of the East Gate.
etc.

We now must enter the compound of the Customs House. The outhouses on the right stand where stood the "Long Row"—the "Writers' Buildings"—which were erected on the site of the original *kutchā* factory. A tablet records:—

To the west of this tablet
extended the range of buildings,
called the "Long Row",
which contained the lodgings of the Company's writers
and divided the Old Fort
into two sections.

We next find a tablet which marks the spot near to which the West Curtain of the Fort met the "Long Row." Within the Customs House compound the pilgrim will find a tablet and a brass line laid down to define the situation and thickness of the factory—"the principal building in the centre of the Old Fort William."

Leaving the Customs House compound, we next fare to the East Indian Railway House, and on its N.-E. wall we find a tablet which informs us :—

The brass line in the stone,
on the adjacent ground,
marks
the position and extent
of part of
the North-East Bastion
of Old Fort William.

Fairlie Place, down which we turn, represents the north side of the Fort. It must be remembered that the river has retreated leaving, between the site of the Old Fort and the river bank, a broad space of reclaimed land. So the tablet, which commemorates the site of the North-Western Bastion, brings us close to where must once have been the river bank. We have only to go a few more steps and enter the quadrangle of the E. I. Railway Office to find a last tablet which tells us :—

The brass lines
in the stone, on the adjacent ground,
mark the position and extent of the
northern portion of the West Curtain
of Old Fort William.
This tablet marks the position of the
North River Gate through which Suraj-ud-daula entered
the Fort on
the evening of the 20th June 1756.
Behind this gate stood the great Flag-staff
of the Fort.

The thoroughness, with which the difficult task of recovering and marking out the site of the Old Fort, is something for which we have to be grateful to more than one generation of Calcutta antiquarians. First in order of time comes Mr. Roshell Bayne of the E. I. Railway, and then the late Dr. Wilson who for years devoted to the subject a close and patient study. To Mr. Busted's

charming writings must be attributed the public interest which has followed the recondite researches of learned men in a province where popularity is not often met with. To Lord Curzon, who allowed no theory to pass muster until it was converted into fact, and who personally convinced himself of the accuracy with which his co-adjutors in this perplexing undertaking achieved their results, and who has also himself added to the stock of knowledge, the Calcutta citizen, who cares for the past of his city, must ever be under the deepest obligation.

2. THE BLACK HOLE.

Having ascertained the position of the Old Fort, we are in a position to bring home to our imaginations its great tragedy of the night of June 20th, 1756. The reader will do well before his visit to read over once more Lord Macaulay's tale of the disaster:—

From a child Surajah Dowlah hated the English. It was his whim to do so; and his whims were never opposed. He had also formed a very exaggerated notion of the wealth which might be obtained by plundering them; and his feeble and uncultivated mind was incapable of perceiving that the riches of Calcutta, had they been even greater than he imagined, would not compensate him for what he must lose, if the European trade, of which Bengal was a chief seat, should be driven by his violence to some other quarter. Pretexts for a quarrel were readily found. The English, in expectation of a war with France, had begun to fortify their settlement without special permission from the Nabob. A rich native, whom he longed to plunder, had taken refuge at Calcutta, and had not been delivered up. On such grounds as these Surajah Dowlah marched with a great army against Fort William.

The servants of the Company at Madras had been forced by Dupleix to become statesmen and soldiers. Those in Bengal were still mere traders, and were terrified and bewildered by the approaching danger. The Governor, who had heard much of Surajah Dowlah's cruelty, was frightened out of his wits, jumped into a boat, and took refuge in the nearest ship. The military commandant thought that he could not do better than follow so good an example. The Fort was taken after a feeble resistance; and great numbers of the English fell into the hands of the conquerors. The Nabob seated himself with real pomp in the principal hall of the factory and ordered Mr. Holwell, the first in rank among the prisoners, to be brought before him. His Highness abused the insolence of the English, and grumbled at the smallness of the treasure which he had found; but promised to spare their lives, and retired to rest.

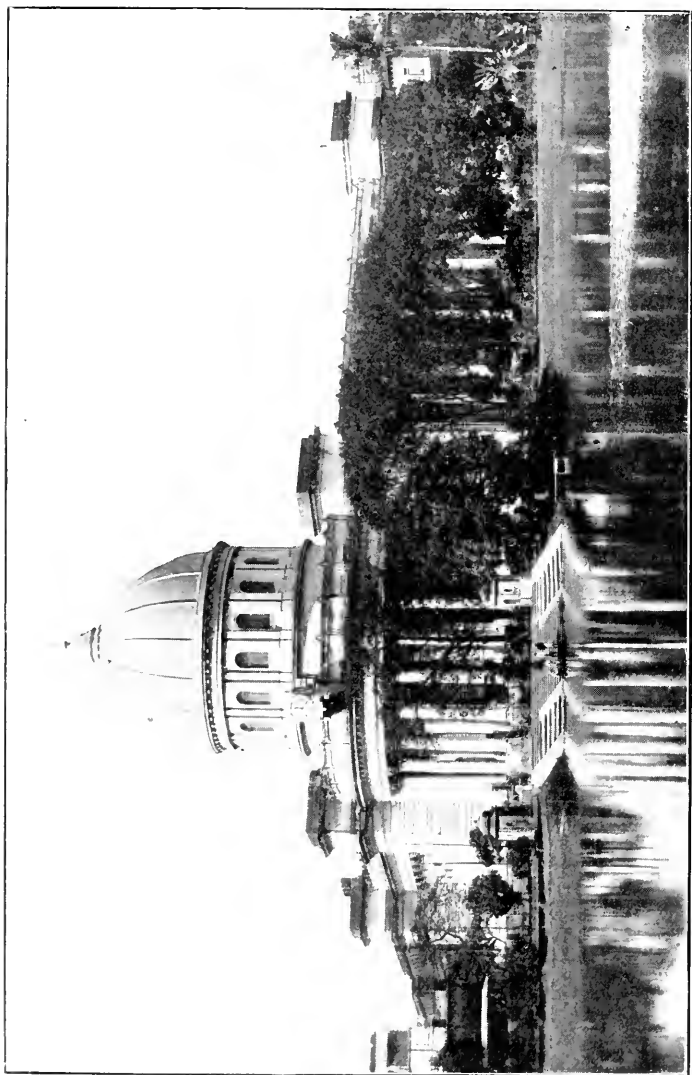
Then was committed that great crime, memorable for its singular atrocity, memorable for the tremendous retribution by which it was followed. The English captives were left to the mercy of the guards and the guards determined to secure them for the night in the prison of the garrison, a chamber known by the fearful name of the Black Hole. Even for a single European malefactor, that dungeon, would, in such a climate, have been too close and

narrow. The space was only twenty feet square. The air-holes were small and obstructed. It was the summer solstice, the season when the fierce heat of Bengal can scarcely be rendered tolerable to natives of England by lofty halls and by constant waving of fans. The number of the prisoners was one hundred and forty-six. When they were ordered to enter the cell, they imagined that the soldiers were joking; and, being in high spirits on account of the promise of the Nabob to spare their lives, they laughed and jested at the absurdity of the notion. They soon discovered their mistake. They expostulated; they entreated but in vain. The guards threatened to cut down all who hesitated. The captives were driven into the cell at the point of the sword, and the door was instantly shut and locked upon them.

Nothing in history or fiction, not even the story which Ugolino told in the sea of everlasting ice, after he had wiped his bloody lips on the scalp of his murderers, approaches the horrors which were recounted by the few survivors of that night. They cried for mercy. They strove to burst the door. Holwell, who, even in that extremity retained some presence of mind, offered large bribes to the gaolers. But the answer was that nothing could be done without the Nabob's orders, that the Nabob was asleep, and that he would be angry if anybody woke him. Then the prisoners went mad with despair. They trampled each other down, fought for the places at the windows, fought for the pittance of water with which the cruel mercy of the murderers mocked their agonies, raved, prayed, blasphemed, implored the guards to fire among them. The gaolers in the meantime held lights to the bars, and shouted with laughter at the frantic struggles of their victims. At length the tumult died away in low gaspings and groanings. The day broke. The Nabob had slept off his debauch, and permitted the door to be opened. But it was some time before the soldiers could make a lane for the survivors by piling up on each side the heap of corpses on which the burning climate had already begun to do its loathsome work. When at length a passage was made, twenty-three ghastly figures, such as their own mothers would not have known, staggered one by one out of the charnel-house. A pit was instantly dug. The dead bodies, a hundred and twenty-three in number, were flung into it promiscuously and covered up.

But these things which, after the lapse of more than eighty years, cannot be told or read without horror, awakened neither remorse nor pity in the bosom of the savage Nabob. He inflicted no punishment on the murderers. He showed no tenderness to the survivors. Some of them indeed, from whom nothing was to be got, were suffered to depart, but those from whom it was thought that anything could be extorted were treated with execrable cruelty. Holwell, unable to walk, was carried before the tyrant, who reproached him, threatened him, and sent him up the country in irons, together with some other gentlemen who were suspected of knowing more than they chose to tell about the treasures of the Company. These persons, still bowed down by the sufferings of that great agony, were lodged in miserable sheds, and fed only with grain and water, till at length the intercessions of the female relations of the Nabob procured their release. One English woman had survived that night. She was placed in the harem of the prince at Moorshidabad."

It would be unwise to attempt to retell a tale that has been told by Lord Macaulay: it is, however, by no means difficult to detect the inaccuracies of that great writer. "The Fort was taken after a feeble resistance" is by no means a truthful account of the facts, and the assertion is probably due to Macaulay's love for picture-drawing.



The Post Office.

Johnston and Hoffmann.



The “mere trader” view of the Company’s servants in Bengal lent itself to picturesque representation; yet, in truth, the Nawab was actually repelled at Chitpore, and a very stout resistance was offered to his forces as he entered Calcutta by the avenue now known as Bow Bazar.

“Of the enemy we killed first and last, by their own confession, 5,000 of their troops, and 80 Jemadars and officers of consequence, exclusive of the wounded.” Holwell : *Letter to the Bombay Government, July.*

It is also gratifying to record that the woman, who Macaulay tells was sent to the harem at Murshedabad, escaped so ignominious a fate. Holwell indeed says that “the rest who survived the fatal night regained their liberty except Mrs. Carey who was too young and handsome.” A later Calcutta antiquarian, “Asiaticus,” forgetful of the fact that Suraj-ud-daula only survived the tragedy caused by his negligence by some twelve months, tells us that the tyrant at once fell in love with his captive and “for seven years kept her in his seraglio.” Dr. Busteed, however, was informed by “a near connection by marriage of a direct lineal descendant of Mr. Carey” :—

“That she was not carried off by ‘the Moors’ at all. On the contrary, she remained in or near Calcutta and before very long married again, her second husband being a military officer of field rank. By this marriage, she had two sons and I believe, one daughter. During her later life she reverted to the name of her first husband. She was buried in the Moorgehatta (Roman Catholic Cathedral) Churchyard, Calcutta; the site of the grave was afterwards, I think, absorbed by some enlargement of a portion of the church. There is in existence still a well executed miniature of her painted on the inside of the lid of a trinket box; it certainly testifies to the truth of what Holwell records about her personal appearance, for the artist has shown her in her comely youth.”

And one thing deserves to be recorded which Macaulay has ignored—one thing which English self-respect will be glad to set against the cowardice of the runaway Governor Drake. Of Leech, the Company’s smith, one of those who perished in the Black Hole, Holwell records an incident which honours alike both him who tells the tale and him of whom it is told :—

“Here I must detain you a little to do honour to the memory of a man to whom I had in many instances been a friend, and who on this occasion

demonstrated his sensibility of it in a degree worthy of a much higher rank. His name was Leech, the Company's smith, as well as clerk of the parish; this man had made his escape when the Moors entered the Fort, and returned just as it was dark to tell me he had provided a boat and would ensure my escape if I would follow him through a passage few were acquainted with, and by which he had then entered. (This might easily have been accomplished, as the guard put over us took but very slight notice of us.) I thanked him in the best terms I was able, but told him it was a step I could not prevail on myself to take, as I should thereby very ill repay the attachment the gentlemen and the garrison had shown to me; and that I resolved to share their fate be it what it would; but pressed him to secure his own escape without loss of time, to which he gallantly replied that then he was resolved to share mine, and would not leave me."

To picture the Black Hole, we must go to the East Gate of the Fort. Entering this gate, by virtue of our historical imagination, we turn to the left (southwards), and mount the verandah. On our right we find a row of arches looking down into the Parade Ground. On our left there is another row of arches measuring 8 ft. 9 in. This inner arcade on our left had been subdivided into five rooms.*

The first nearest the gate is the Court of Guards, and we can (by imagination) see clearly into it as the arches have not been closed in. The next three rooms are Barracks and are separated from the verandah by a small dwarf-wall filling up the lower part of the arches and turning them into windows. The last of the rooms is the Fort Prison known as the Black Hole. Its west side is formed by two brick arches, with a narrow window left in the centre of each arch. To enter it we must pass through the adjacent Barrack Rooms, and we mentally note that the door opens inwards into the Prison—a circumstance which will delay the removal of the survivors when the dead block the way. Beyond the Prison there the verandah continues, but instead of rooms we find a staircase, fifty feet long, leading to the South-East Bastion.

Having fortified ourselves with this information, we return to Dalhousie Square, and visit the site of the tragedy.

* This will all be easily realised if the reader inspects the model on view at the Victoria Memorial Hall Exhibition.

The tablet we find by the gate runs :—

Behind the gateway,
immediately adjoining this spot.
is the site of the Black Hole Prison
in Old Fort William.

Before us now stands a marble replica, but with the improved proportions which the surrounding buildings require, of the Holwell Monument. The old obelisk disappeared in 1821, the legend being that the then Governor-General (Lord Hastings), considering it to be impolitic to preserve in the heart of Calcutta a memorial of so bitter a conflict between the British and the Indians, ordered its removal. It is known, on the other hand, that the old monument had been ruined by a storm, and was much decayed. The present monument is a gift to the city from Lord Curzon, and was unveiled by him on December 19th, 1902. In the original inscription only the few names that Holwell had been able to remember were recorded, but, thanks to the labours of the present Archdeacon of Madras, Mr. S. C. Hill, and his own original researches, Lord Curzon has been enabled to add to Holwell's record of 50, some 30 other names. The inscriptions are as follows :—

I.

This monument
has been erected by
Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India,
in the year 1902.
Upon the site,
and in reproduction of the design,
of the original monument.
To the memory of the 123 persons
who perished, in the Black Hole Prison
Of Old Fort William,
on the night of the 20th June, 1756.
The former memorial was raised by
their surviving fellow-sufferer,
J. Z. Holwell, Governor of Fort William,
on the spot where the bodies of the dead
had been thrown into the ditch of the ravelin.
It was removed in 1821.

II.

To the memory of
 Edward Eyre, William Baillie,
 Revd. Jervas Bellamy,* John Jenks,
 Roger Revely, John Carse, John Law,
 Thomas Coles, James Valicourt,
 John Jebb, Richard Toriano,
 Edward Page, Stephen Page,
 William Grub, John Street,
 Aylmer Harrod, Patrick Johnstone,
 George Ballard, Nathan Drake,
 William Knapton, Francis Gosling,
 Robert Byng, John Dodd,
 Stair Dalrymple, David Clayton,
 John Buchanan, and Lawrence Witherington,
 who perished in the Black Hole Prison.

III.

The names inscribed on the tablet,
 on the reverse side to this,
 are the names of those persons
 who are known to have been killed
 or to have died of their wounds
 during the Siege of Calcutta
 in June, 1756,
 and who either did not survive
 to enter the Black Hole Prison
 or afterwards succumbed to its effect.

IV.

The names of those who perished
 in the Black Hole Prison,
 inscribed upon the reverse side
 of this monument,
 are in excess of the list
 recorded by Governor Holwell
 upon the original monument.
 the additional names, and
 the christian names of the remainder,
 have been recovered from oblivion
 by reference to contemporary documents.

V.

To the memory of
 Peter Smith, Thomas Blagg,
 John Francis Pickard, John Pickering,
 Michael Collings, Thomas Best,
 Ralph Thoresby, Charles Smith,
 Robert Wilkinson, Henry Stopford,
 William Stopford, Thomas Furnell,
 Robert Talbot, William Tidecomb,
 Daniel Macpherson, John Johnson and
 Messrs. Whitby, Surman, Bruce,
 Montroug and Janniko, who perished
 during the Siege of Calcutta.

* Holwell writes: "I found a stupor coming on apace, and laid myself down by that gallant old man, the Reverend Mr. Gervas Bellamy, who lay dead with his son, the lieutenant, hand-in-hand, near the southernmost wall of the prison."

VI.

To the memory of
 Richard Bishop, Francis Hayes,
 Collin Simson, John Bellamy,
 William Scott, Henry Hastings,
 Charles Wedderburn, William Dunbarton,
 Bernard Abraham, William Cartwright,
 Jacob Bleau, Henry Hunt,
 Michael Osborn, Peter Carey,
 Thomas Leach, Francis Stephenson,
 James Guy, James Porter,
 William Parker, Eleanor Weston, and
 Messrs. Cocker, Bendall, Atkinson, Jennings,
 Reid, Bernet, Frere, Wilson,
 Burton, Lyon, Hillier, Tilley, and Alsop,
 who perished in the Black Hole Prison.

Facing the Holwell obelisk there is a red brick building into which a marble tablet, bearing the subjoined inscription has been inserted :

Sixteen feet behind this wall
 was the entrance of the East Gate
 of Old Fort William through which
 the bodies of those who perished
 in the Black Hole were brought and
 thrown into the ditch of the ravelin
 on the 21st June, 1756.

Was the Black Hole tragedy the result of nothing more culpable than stupid negligence on the part of Suraj-ud-daula's officers? The reader who thinks such an explanation impossible, should turn to Bosworth Smith's *Life of Lord Lawrence* (Vol. II, p. 175) for an account of an incident in which a number of refugee mutineers perished in a bastion at Ujainwalla.

"Little expectation was entertained of the real and awful fate which had fallen on the remainder of the mutineers: they had anticipated, by a few short hours, their doom! Unconsciously the tragedy of Holwell's Black Hole had been re-enacted. No cries had been heard during the night, in consequence of the hubbub, tumult, and shouting of the crowds of horsemen, police, tehsil-guards, and excited villagers. Forty-five bodies, dead from fright, exhaustion, fatigue, heat, and partial suffocation, were dragged into light and consigned, in common with all other bodies, into one common pit by the hands of the village sweepers."

CHAPTER III.

THE NEW FORT WILLIAM.

Fort William was not then what it has since become—one of the healthiest stations in India. Quite the contrary. The men were crowded into small badly-ventilated buildings, and the sanitary arrangements were as deplorable as the state of the water-supply. The only efficient scavengers were the huge birds of prey called adjutants, and so great was the dependence placed upon the exertions of these unclean creatures, that young cadets were warned that any injury done to them would be treated as gross misconduct. The inevitable resort of this state of affairs was endemic sickness, and a death-rate of over ten per cent. per annum." Roberts: *Forty-one Years in India*, Vol. I, p. 5.

Having spent a morning in investigating the site of the Old Fort William, we will now devote an afternoon to the new, and, subsequently, by way of refreshment take a drive over a portion of the Fort *glacis*—the famous Calcutta Maidan.

Of the worth of Fort William in modern warfare, we do not profess to be able to form an opinion. It may, however, be safely assumed that no hostile power would nowadays attempt to strike at the British in India by a river attack on Calcutta. From the point of view of an XVIIIth century military architect, however, the present Fort William is, perhaps, one of the finest things of its kind ever built.

When, after the fall of Chandernagore, the decisive victory at Plassey, and the setting up of Mir Jafir on the throne of the murdered Suraj-ud-daula, Clive, in the August of 1757, returned to Calcutta, he found the Council busily employed in discussing a scheme for a new Fort which was to cover a site close to the ruins of the old one. The great man, at once, brushed this scheme aside, and chose for the site of his fortress the village of Govindpur—the native settlement, or "black town" created by the Setts and Bysacks some two hundred years before the day of Plassey. The dislodged descendants of the "Pilgrim

Fathers" from Sâtgáon were compensated, and, taking with them their sacred idol, they moved off south-ward.*

The building of the present Fort was commenced, under the direction of Captain Brohier, in October, 1757. The fortifications were practically completed, under Colonel Watson, in 1781. Many and complicated were the difficulties of the builders: considerable were the fortunes made by some of them. The authorities at home were unfavourable. Captain Brohier, Dr. Wilson tells us, "talked much, but did little" Even Holwell, when he acted as Governor in Clive's absence, proved that a brave man too often learns the hard lessons of old misfortunes. Brohier, in 1760, got himself into serious trouble, and found it necessary to pay a visit to the Danish Settlement at Chinsurah, "where he could not be found." Previous to his flight he had offered to pay Rs. 76,000 to vindicate his character from the aspersions to which, he said, the defalcations of his servants had exposed it. His successor was only a novice at an engineer's work. Reforms were adopted, but alas! the result was a dearth of workmen. Another change was made and Lieutenant Polier succeeded Amphlet as chief architect. Then, in 1764, Captain Heming Martin superseded Polier, and at once condemned all that had already been achieved. It seemed almost inevitable that the river would shortly confirm Martin's view by washing away the works on the West Face. Four years later, Colonel Smith in a minute expressed an unfavourable opinion of the doings of Colonel Martin, with the result that in November, 1768, Martin resigned and "returned to England with a large fortune, as did every one who was concerned in the erection of Fort William."† His successor, Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, R.E., succeeded in bringing order out of chaos. In December 1772, Major James Lillyman, in turn, commenced to struggle

* One famous family dislodged from Govindpur at this time was that of Kandarpa Ghosal. This family removed to the Bhukailas estate still owned by them at Kidderpore. Jay Narayan, the founder of the C. M. S. College at Benares, was a grand-son of Kandarpa.

† *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IX, p. 424. The Court of Directors had chosen Capt. Campbell to supersede Martin, whereupon the Local Government, despite Col. Smith's minute, appointed Martin to command the Artillery with rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, superseding Captain Kindersly, his senior. Yet the Local Government adopted Col. Smith's opinion, and ordered the construction of the ravelins which Martin held to be unnecessary.

with that mysterious power which pessimists call fate but which historians would say is naught else but the natural consequences of constant shoddiness in practical craft. A heavy rain on September 1st, 1773, revealed the hideous fact that "the facing of the rampart is only one foot thick from top to bottom, and as such a wall is capable of supporting little or no pressure of earth, it has an extraordinary slope given, but this is not sufficient to remove the defect of so thin a wall in a country like this subject to such heavy rains. In dry weather the earth has little or no pressure, but in the rains, at this season, the water insinuates itself behind the walls, and swells the earth, and the facing being too thin to bear any extraordinary pressure, down it comes." And down it came.

Lillyman died on Holy Innocents' Day, 1773. His successor was Major Fortham who, with the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, worked hard at the Fort, until he was at length superseded by Colonel Henry Watson. After nearly a quarter of a century the works at the New Fort William were finished at the total cost of two millions sterling. By 1781 the fortifications were in order, and the storehouses fit for use. On the 24th December of that year, there was a general discharge of the guns in honour of the surrender of Negapatam.

The Fort, which for convenience of description we must enter by the Chowringhi Gate, is an irregular octagon, with five sides towards the land and three towards the river. It is completely surrounded by a deep and wide moat, which is usually quite dry, but can be flooded from the river whenever necessary. The moat is crossed by six draw-bridges, leading to the six gates, which are respectively designated the Chowringhi, Plassey, Calcutta, Water, St. George's, and Treasury Gates. There is also a sally-port between the Water and St. George's Gates. The Water Gate leads to the river, and on the directly opposite side of the Fort, facing the east, is the Chowringhi Gate, the main entrance over which are the quarters of the General Commanding the District. Over the Treasury Gate is the Calcutta residence of the Commanders-in-Chief. The other gates are also surmounted by quarters occupied by the chief officers of the garrison.

For convenience of description we will enter by the Chowringhi Gate. On our left we find the little Roman Catholic Chapel of St. Patrick. Further still to the left is what was until quite recently the Military Prison. It is built on the top of a massive Warehouse, on the front wall of which is a tablet bearing the following inscription:—

“This building contains 51,258 máns of rice and 20,023½ máns of paddy which were deposited by order of the Governor-General and Council, under the charge of John Belli, agent for providing victualling stores to this garrison, in the months of March, April and May, 1782.”

Near this are three large racquet courts. Returning to the Chowringhi Gate, we proceed up a graceful avenue, to the Garrison Church dedicated to St. Peter.

For many years the European troops in Fort William must have assembled for Divine Service either in some Barrack-Room or on the open Parade Ground. The first Garrison Chaplain was the Revd. Thomas Yate, who commenced his duties in this post on January 1st, 1772, on a salary of Rs. 535 a month, and a “hint of favours from the Government and benefactions from the merchants.” The reader will find a deeply interesting account of Yate’s experiences in Archdeacon Hyde’s *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. We discover Yate at one time in a French prison at Mauritius. “The Reverend Mr. Y——,” writes his companion in adversity and confinement, “desired that one of the soldiers might be permitted to shoot him through the head.”

It has been stated that the Government, having so liberally provided for the then small Presbyterian community in Calcutta, were out of common fairness bound to consider the claims of the English soldiery in the Fort. On July 1st, 1817, the erection of a Chapel in Fort William was definitely sanctioned. A year later it was found necessary to revise the plans.

“I have therefore to state to you, Hon’ble Sir, that with a view to ascertain the sufficiency of the proposed site mentioned to his Lordship, viz., the top of the case-mate where the late Vizier Alli was confined, I broke up a small portion of the roof, when to my surprise I found three feet of earth, covered with an eight-inch terrace thrown over the arches rendering it thereby a very unsafe position. Thus disappointed, and believing, as may be naturally supposed, that all the gorges are of the same construction, I was under the necessity of looking out for a site in the interior of the Fort, and in course turned my attention to the grassed plot to the eastward of the Bazar, as a place that

appeared to the Most Hon'ble the Governor-General in Council as well adapted to the purpose, but after investigation I found from the Garrison Store-keeper through the Executive Officer that there are two very large and deep pits sunk in that place, which rendered it totally unavailable, there are pits also in other places, as is pointed out in reference to the accompanying sketch of the Fort, for the deposit of charcoal of which there appears to be some thousand maunds in store. Under these circumstances the only other spot I could think of is that on which the small and generally esteemed ill-contrived Cenotaph stands and as it has never been completed, in so far that none of the commemorative marble slabs have been fixed, and as the pulling it down, (if necessary, rebuilding it cannot cost a great deal, the original cost of it, as it was only Rs. 3,595-15-3, and the estimate for the whole including the marble slabs only Sa. Rs. 4,386-10-2), I took the liberty to propose that site, and I feel happy in saying that Mr. Edmondstone coincided in the opinion that it would be the most appropriate not merely from the circumstances mentioned, and because it is in the centre of the Fort and because it is in the meeting points of all the direct roads from the open gateways, and will form a handsome object of view from all the approaches as also from the Royal Barracks and as may be seen by inspecting the plan it will not interfere with or inconvenience any other buildings." Letter of Colonel G. Fleming, Acting Chief Engineer, to the Hon'ble G. Dowdeswell, Esq., Vice-President. Date Nov. 10th, 1818.

In February 1820, the Military Board were acquainted that—

"His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General is pleased to sanction the estimate submitted by Lieutenant C. Paton, Assistant Superintendent of Public Buildings in the Lower Provinces, for constructing a Chapel in Calcutta to contain six hundred persons, amounting to Sa. Rs. 26,033-2-0."

After many years of patient waiting, Bishop Middleton died before the foundation-stone of St. Peter's could be laid. The foundation-stone was laid by John Pascal Larkins, Deputy Grand Master "in and over the whole of India," on behalf of Lord Hastings the Grand Master, with full Masonic ceremonial, on the 24th of July—thirteen days after the Bishop's burial and sixteen after his death.* The Church was consecrated by Bishop James on March 27th, 1828. It is perhaps the prettiest Garrison Church in India.

The internal arrangements of the Church were considerably improved in the days when the late Bishop of Lahore, Dr. Matthew, was Chaplain of the Fort. There is, behind the High Altar, a stone reredos representing the Last Supper: the arcades on either side are filled with figures of holy Angels. The pulpit and clerks' desks contain some beautiful marbles. The east and western windows

* A full account will be found in my *Early History of Masonry in Bengal*.

are fitted with some well-painted glass, but the ill-effects of the climate will probably demand a restoration very shortly. The monuments are mainly, as might be anticipated, to memory of the brave, and the earliest are connected with the warriors who fell in Afghanistan in 1841-2, Col. W. H. Denne, whose memory and services are commemorated here, is said to have predicted the disaster which befell Elphinstone's army even to the detail of the bringing of the news of Jellalabad by a solitary survivor.

In between the Fort and the Royal Barrack, where are to be found the Officers' Mess-rooms, was erected, some two years ago, the electric-supply house of the Fort. This eyesore is scarcely apologised for by the military ornamentation of its red-brick chimney stack. The Garrison within the Fort at the present day usually consists of one Battalion of British Infantry, one of Native Infantry, and one Battery of Field Artillery.

To the South-East of St. Peter's Church is the Outram Institute. This building was originally intended to be the palace of the Governor-General, but it was never used as such. Here in October 1823, the second Bishop of Calcutta, the poet Reginald Heber, found his first Calcutta residence. A description of the building will be found in Vol. I of the *Bishop's Journal* published by his widow.

The next places of interest to visit are the Arsenal and the Armoury. (Permission to do so must first be obtained from the Commanding Officer.) Here we shall find a perfect museum illustrating military craft for more than a century past.

The *Pattern Room* not only contains samples of almost every conceivable kind of shell and shot from the obsolete "chain shot" to the most recent inventions of the cunningest doctors in arms, but a collection of historical trophies which may, perhaps, some day adorn a more accessible museum in the future Victoria Memorial Hall.

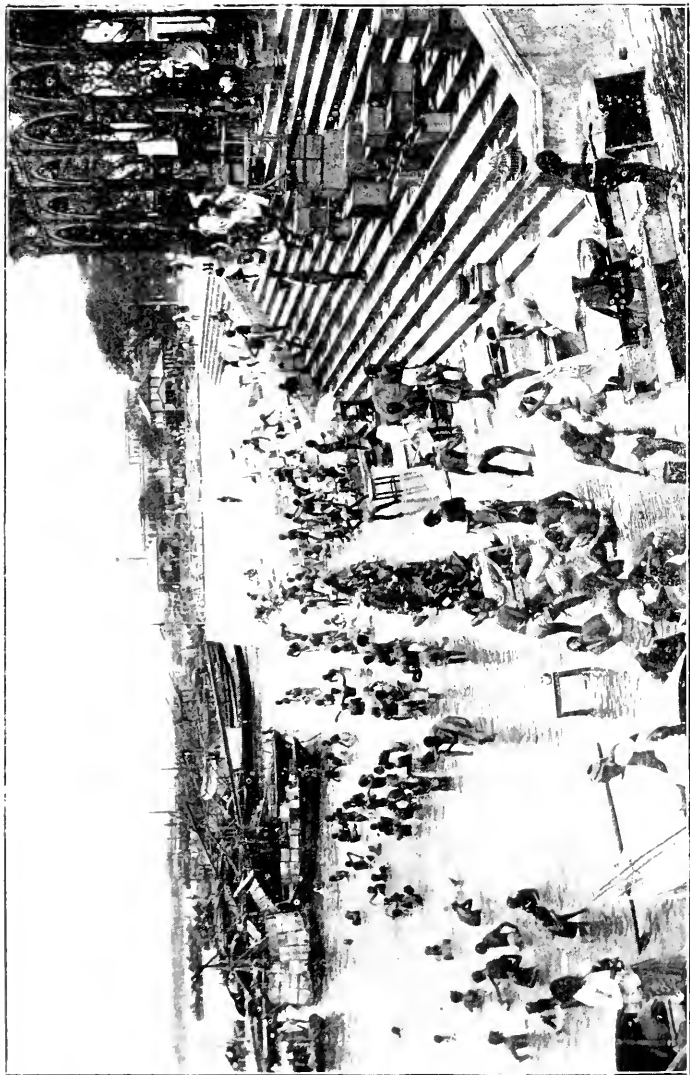
The *Armoury* is a fine hall erected at the order of Warren Hastings. Over the entrance is the following inscription:—

"Anno Domini 1777. These arms were arranged by order and under the auspices of the Hon'ble Warren Hastings, Esq., Governor-General."

Leaving the Arsenal, we will depart from the Fort by the Calcutta Gate. We shall, after we have got outside the Fort Precincts, soon find the white marble statue of that gallant sailor, Captain Sir William Peel.

William was the 3rd son of the famous statesman—Sir Robert Peel. Of him, Col. Malleson has well said :—“ He was successful because he was really great ; and, dying early, he left a reputation without spot, the best inheritance he could bequeath to his countrymen.” He entered the Royal Navy in April 1838, and was present in several operations on the coast of Syria in 1840. After subsequent service in China, he passed in May 1844 an examination with “a brilliance that called forth a public eulogium from Sir Thomas Hastings and a very flattering notice from Sir Charles Napier in the House of Commons.” After varied service on the North American and West Indian Station, he was promoted to be captain on January 10th, 1849. He then planned a journey of exploration into the interior of Africa “with the hope of doing something to ameliorate the condition of the Negro, and of this journey—through Khartoum to El Obeid—he has given an account in his book—*A Ride through the Nubian Desert*. It was in the Crimean War that Peel won his first great distinctions for bravery. On October 18th, 1854, he threw a live shell, the fuse of which was still burning, over the parapet of his battery. Again at Inkerman, and in the assault on the Redan he covered himself with glory. He was, in consequence, made a C. B., and when the Victoria Cross was instituted, he was one of the first to wear that much-coveted decoration. In 1856 he was sent to China, and at Singapore heard the news of the Indian Mutiny. Having taken Lord Elgin up to Hong Kong, Peel’s ship, the *Shannon*, sailed for Calcutta.

“ At Calcutta Peel formed a naval brigade. On 14th August he left the ship with 450 men and ten 8-inch guns. At Allahabad, on 20th October, he was re-inforced by a party of 120 men ; and from that time was present in all the principal operations of the army. The coolness of his bravery was everywhere remarkable, and his formidable battery rendered the most efficient services. The huge guns were, under his orders, manœvered and worked as though they had been light field-pieces. He was nominated a K. C. B. on 21st January, 1858. In the second relief of Lucknow on 9th March 1858 he was severely wounded in the thigh by a musket-bullet which was cut out from the opposite side of the leg. Still very weak, he reached Cawnpore on his way to England, and there, on 20th April, he was attacked by confluent small-pox, of which he died on the 27th.”—Prof. J. K. Laughton :—*Dict. Nat. Biog.*



Bathing Ghat on the Hooghly.



In gone-by-days, the space between the Fort and Old Post Office Street, was known as the "Respondentia Walk." It was the ancient haunt "of those fond of night rambles and of children with their train of servants—as no horses were allowed to go on it." Until 1824, when the Lottery Committee took the matter in hand,

"the Strand Road was—a low sedgy bank, and the river near it was shallow, as the deep channel was formerly on the Howrah side; but owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand (so-called from a ship of that name sunk there, whose wreck formed the nucleus of a case of mud), the deep channel has been thrown to the Calcutta side from the projecting angle at Howrah Ghât." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVII, pp. 306-7.

The road has been so extensively widened at the expansion of the river that, it is on record that, in the days when Lord Hastings ruled in Bengal (1813), nine fathoms of water washed the ground where the railings of the Imperial Library are now erected.

Entering the Strand Road we turn to the North, and on our right we pass the Eden Gardens—the gift of Lord Auckland's sisters to Calcutta. The Burmese Pagoda which so quaintly decorates the scene, and, casting its reflection into the neighbouring lake, offers a fine opportunity to the photographer, was brought from Prome after the war of 1854. Lord Rosebery well and wisely recommended the Eden Gardens for their beauty to Lady Dufferin.

Thirty years ago, the evening walk in the Eden Gardens was sacred to the Calcutta *élite*, and, if not in uniform, one had to assume a top hat and frock-coat in order to mingle there with the great ones of the land. Then came a wave of liberal sentiment, and the pleasure of listening to the military band discoursing sweet music ceased to be a monopoly for Europeans. The hierarchy since that innovation has not patronized the Gardens as in the days of old.

Proceeding up the Strand Road, and fascinating our eyes with the vision of mighty steam vessels lifting up their masts and funnels against the glories of a sky that is now blushing to sunset behind the smoke stacks of Howrah, we pass on our left the Calcutta Rowing Club boat-house and a little further on Babu Ghât, a Doric colonnade headed by this inscription:—

"The Right Hon'ble Lord William Cavendish Bentinck, Governor-General of India, with a view to encourage public munificence to works of public utility,

has been pleased to determine that this Ghât, erected at the expense of Baboo Rajchunder Doss in 1838, shall hereafter be called Baboo Rajchunder Doss' Ghât."

On our right we take note first of the Volunteer Head Quarters, and then the Calcutta Swimming Baths.

On our left we find the Chandpal Ghât. "Tradition," wrote J. C. Marshman in 1845, "connects its appellation with a native name of Chandan Pal—not of the royal dynasty of the Pals—who kept a little grocer's shop in its immediate vicinity."

Writing before the days of Prinsep's Ghât, Mr. Marshman brings out the interest of the Chandpal Ghât.

"This is the port where India welcomes and bids adieu to her rulers. It is here that the Governors-General, the Commanders-in-Chief, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishops, and all who are entitled to the honours of a salute from the ramparts of Fort William, first set foot in the Metropolis. To enumerate all who have landed at these stairs would be to recount the most distinguished men of the last seventy years. It is not noticed in the map of 1756: but we know that it was already in existence in 1774, when Francis and his companions landed here, having had their sweet tempers soured by a five days' voyage from Kedgerie. It was here that the author of *Junius* counted one by one the guns which boomed from the Fort, and found to his mortification that their number did not exceed seventeen, when he had expected nineteen. This circumstance appears to have laid the foundation of the implacable hatred he manifested towards Hastings and which for six years exposed the administration of the country to contempt. It is unreasonable to suppose that if his self-esteem had been gratified by two additional charges of powder, the unseemly and dangerous opposition which brought the empire to the brink of ruin, might have been avoided, and that even the solemn trial in Westminster Hall, so memorable for the rank of the victim, and the splendid genius of his accusers, would never have occurred? Upon what trifles do the most momentous affairs of mankind appear to hang? And it was at this Chandpal Ghât that the first Judges of the Supreme Court, who came out to redress the wrongs of India, but created infinitely more mischief than they remedied, first set foot in India. It was here, at this Ghât, that the Chief Justice, as he contemplated the bare legs and feet of the multitude who crowded to witness their advent, exclaimed to his colleague: 'See, Brother, the wretched victims of tyranny. The Crown Court was not established before it was needed. I trust it will not have been in operation six months before we shall see these poor creatures comfortably clothed in shoes and stockings.'" J. C. Marshman: "Notes on the Left or Calcutta Bank of the Hooghly." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, pp. 432-3 (1845).*

To further explain this we append a note of our own which the reader can digest at his leisure.

"North's Regulating Act was passed in the year 1773. By this Act the authority of the Court of Proprietors and the Court of Directors at Leadenhall Street was preserved. The Governor of Calcutta became Governor-General and to him were subordinated the Governors of Bombay and Madras.

* The story is also told of Chambers.

The supreme authority, however, was vested in a Council of five, in which the Governor-General's superiority was but marked by his right to a casting vote. Warren Hastings became Governor-General, this Council consisted of one experienced Indian civilian official—Richard Barwell, and three members imported from home—Philip Francis, Colonel Monson and General Clavering. By the Charter of March 26th, 1774, a Supreme Court of Judicature was established consisting of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges.

The three Councillors set sail in the *Anson*; the Judges in the *Ashburnham*: at once began a war for precedence. At Madras, complained Sir Philip's secretary and brother-in-law, 'the Supreme Court always takes the lead of us. They sail better than we do, and their charter gives them precedence.'

On October the 12th the vessels arrived at Hijili, where they were met by budgerows to take them from the ships to Calcutta. After six days the fleet anchored three miles below Calcutta, and these six days in all probability improved no one's temper and most certainly not Francis's. On October 19th the new grantees disembarked at Chandpal Ghât, and so says Francis, 'the mean and dishonourable reception we met with at our landing gave Clavering the second shock.' 'I paid them higher honours,' wrote Hastings, 'than had ever been paid to persons of rank in this country, as high even as had been paid to Mr. Vansitart and Lord Clive, when they came in the first station as Governors, men whose names will ever stand foremost in the memoirs of the people of this country and who merited as much from their employers as any who have filled or are likely to fill that situation.'

From the Chandpal Ghât, discontented with the salvo of 17 guns, the grantees were marshalled on foot, not to the Court House as they thought would have been most befitting their dignity, but to the Governor's own house in [the present] Hastings Street. 'The heat, the confusion, not an attempt at regularity. No guards, no person to receive or to show the way, no state. But surely Mr. Hastings might have put on a ruffled shirt.'''

Having satisfied the claims of our imagination at the Chandpal Ghât,—there is not much to be seen—we will turn our carriage round, and now drive down the Strand Road southwards. As we approach the Fort on our left, we find the Gwalior Monument, a brick structure faced with Jeypore marble, and crowned by a metal dome manufactured by Jessop & Co., out of guns taken from the enemy. In the centre of the upper storey is a bronze sarcophagus, on the top of which are inscribed the names of officers, non-commissioned officers, and soldiers of H. M.'s and the Hon'ble Co.'s Service, who fell in the victorious actions of Maharajpore and Panniar on the 29th December, 1843.

Continuing our drive we come to Prinsep's Ghât which is a memorial to one of the ablest and most versatile of English settlers in Bengal. It is much to be desired that some able student will give to the records of the Prinsep family the pains which Sir W. Hunter has given to those of the Thackerays. Prinsep's

Ghât was intended to supersede the Chandpal, as the ceremonial place for the arrival of the Governors-General. Prinsep's Ghât was, we believe, the scene of the pathetic departure of Lord Ellenborough. It now stands over 100 feet away from the river which once touched its now buried stairway. Some of its arches have been filled in with venetians in order to form offices or waiting rooms.

James, born in 1799, was the seventh son of John Prinsep, of whom an account will be found on another page of the present work. An eye-affection prevented him from following the profession of architect, for which he had been studying under the gifted but eccentric Augustus Pugin. He arrived in Calcutta on September 15, 1819, and at the age of twenty became Assistant Assay Master, under Dr. Horace Hayman Wilson, the distinguished Sanscrit Scholar. His eyesight being completely restored, James Prinsep was able to undertake many architectural and engineering tasks of importance in addition to his work at the Mints at Calcutta and Benares. At the latter place, he re-built the famous minarets of Arungzeb, erected a church, and built a fine bridge over the Karamansa. At Calcutta he distinguished himself in the construction of a canal connecting the Hughli with the Sunderbuns. As Assistant Assay Master he himself constructed a balance of such delicacy as to indicate a $\frac{3}{10000}$ part of a grain. It is, however, on his fame as the decipherer of Pali inscription, that the memory of James Prinsep rests. See our Chapter on the Museum. He left India in 1838, and died in London, of softening of the brain, on April 22, 1840.

John Prinsep = A Sister of J. P. Auriol, Secretary to Warren Hastings' Government.

Charles Robert, Advocate- General of Bengal. Died June 8, 1864.	Fourth son, Henry Thoby (1792, 1878). Indian Civilian.	William.	Seventh son, James.
Sir Henry Thoby Prinsep, Judge, High Court, Calcutta. (Recently retired.)	Valentine Cameron, R. A.	Major-General Arthur Hal- demon, K. C. B., Bengal Cavalry.	

Close to the stranded Prinsep's Ghât, we find a bronze equestrian statue of Lord Napier of Magdala, Commander-in-Chief in India, A.D. 1870. Leaving the Napier Statue on our right, we pursue the road which leads from St. George's Gate in the Fort

to the Kidderpore Bridge. We find, on our right, the Barracks of the Transport, Commissariat and Ordnance Departments. In Clyde Row there is the Calcutta Diocesan Seaman's Mission and Institute, once conducted by that well-known Anglo-Catholic friar Father Hopkins. The civil part of this district, still known to the natives as *Cooly Bazár*, is now called Hastings. In the old days Surman's Garden was situated here, and in old maps corresponded to Perrin's Garden in the North.

Surman was the official despatched by the Council at Calcutta in 1717 as head of an embassy to the Emperor at Delhi. It was close to Surman's Garden that the ships were lying at anchor on the fateful day of June, 1756, when the Governor Drake gave the cowardly order to slip the anchor and drift with the tide down the river. After the restoration of the English, a Mr. Edward Hundle (Handle) purchased it at "an outcry" for Rs. 4,000 current per annum for an arrack farm. "Upon a representation some time after," write the local authorities, "that it occasioned much prejudice to the military who were continually intoxicated with liquor, after setting up public shops, we suppressed the license given to Mr. Hundle, and forbid his distilling or selling any more or permitting others to do so." By way of compensation for the loss of his license, Mr. Hundle was appointed Scavenger of Calcutta. In 1767 the Board purchased the garden from Hundle for Arcot Rs. 10,000, it being in their opinion "that a spot so situated in regard to the Fort and river should not fall into the hands of private persons." In 1758, when there were expectations of a French fleet sailing up the river to avenge the fall of Chandernagore, Capt. Brokier had warned the Board "that sinking ships at Culpi would not hinder their coming up as far as Tanna's Reach [*i.e.*, the Botanical Gardens] at Sibpur and landing their troops near Surman's Gardens."

In the dim twilight we have chosen an appropriate time to summon up a memory connected with this spot. Near to this spot on the morning of August 5th, 1775, was hung, after conviction of a forgery, the native magnate whom Francis had used as his tool to embarrass his great rival Warren Hastings—the unfortunate Nanda Kumar, who lives in history as Nuncomar.

"The next morning, before the sun was in his power, an immense concourse assembled round the place where the gallows had been set up. Grief and horror were on every face, and at last the multitude could hardly believe that the English really proposed to take the life of the great Brahmin. At length the mournful procession came through the crowd. Nuncomar sat up in his palanquin, and looked round him with unaltered serenity. He had just parted from those who were most nearly connected with him. Their cries and contortions had appalled the European ministers of justice, but had not produced the smallest effect on the iron stoicism of the prisoner. The only anxiety which he expressed was that men of his own priestly caste might be in attendance to take charge of his corpse. He again

desired to be remembered to his friends in the Council, mounted the scaffold with firmness, and gave the signal to the executioner. The moment that the drop fell, a howl of sorrow and despair rose from the innumerable spectators. Hundreds turned away their faces from the polluting sight, fled with loud wailings towards the Hooghly, and plunged into its holy waters, as if to purify themselves from the guilt of having looked on such a crime. These feelings were not confined to Calcutta. The whole province was greatly excited and the population of Dacca, in particular, gave strong signs of grief and dismay." Lord Macaulay. *Essays*.

The rights and wrongs of Nuncomar's case have been debated by generations of historians, and Lord Macaulay's view of the matter hardly commends itself to those who have sifted the facts. The reader will find a picturesque account of the trial in Dr. Busted's *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, and this will more than compensate him for that loss of colour to which Macaulay's pictures are fated when his statements are compared with a wider range of documentary evidence than his lordship cared to make use of.

For the question of the rights and wrongs of the Nuncomar case, the reader must consult Beveridge's *Trial of Nanda-Kumar* and Stephen's *Nuncomar and Impey*. The deed of charges against this ill-starred man is preserved among the exhibits at the Victoria Memorial Hall. Curiously enough the native writing remains fresh and clear, while the English has almost faded away.

As we reach the junction of the St. George's Gate Road and the Kidderpore Road, we find St. Stephen's School on our right.

"Let us turn hence towards a spot now much changed from its pristine desolate appearance, and known by the name of Coolie Bazar. The pretty church and the little white mansions, which now adorn the spot, were not then to be seen. Small bungalows like so many mounds of straw broke the level prospect of the situation, and were the habitations of invalid soldiers, who had fought at Seringapatam, or helped to drive Sujah from the plains of Plassey. Living upon a rupee a day, these old pensioners smoked and walked, and smoked and slept their time away. One more learned perchance than the rest, opened a school, and while the modest widow taught but the elements of knowledge, the more ambitious pensioner proposed to take them higher up the hill of learning. Let us contemplate him seated in an old-fashioned chair, with his legs resting on a cane *morah*. A long pipe, his most constant companion, projects from his mouth. A pair of loose pyjamahs and a *charkana* banian keep him within the pale of society, and preserve him cool in the trying hot season of this climate. A rattan—his sceptre—is in his hand; and the boys are seated on stools or little *morahs* before his pedagogic majesty. They have already read *three* chapters of the Bible, and have got over the proper names without much spelling; they have written their copies—small round

text and large hands; they have repeated a column of Entick's Dictionary with only two mistakes; and are now employed in working Compound Division and soon expect to arrive at the Rule of Three. Some of the lads' eyes are red with weeping, and others expect to have a taste of the *ferula*. The partner of the pensioner's joys is seated on a low Dinapore matronly chair, picking vegetables and preparing their ingredients for the coming dinner. It strikes twelve o'clock; and the school master shakes himself. Presently the boys bestir themselves: and, for the day, the school is broken up!" *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 443 (1850).

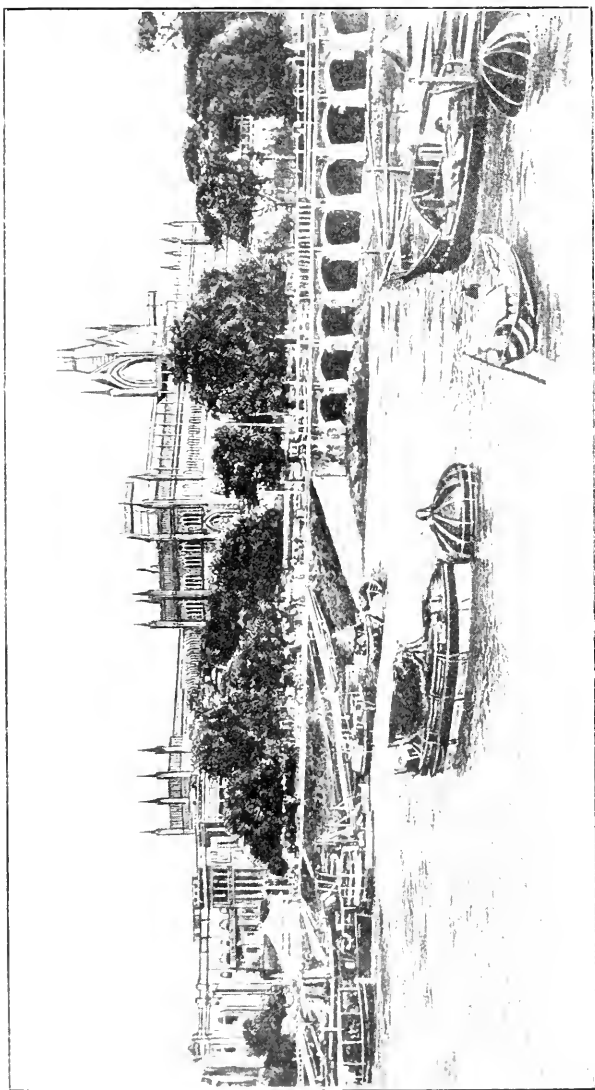
CHAPTER IV.

THE ESPLANADE.

HIGH COURT—TOWN HALL—GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

IN Lieut.-Col. Mark Wood's plan of Calcutta in 1784-5, Esplanade Row, now cut into two halves by the intersection of Government House and its grounds, runs straight up from Chandpal Ghat to Dhurrumtollah. Proceeding along the Row we should have found the new Court House where now stands the High Court, then crossing the street leading to the then Post Office and now known as Old Post Office Street, we should find then (as to-day) the Accountant General's Offices. Crossing Old Council House Street, we should see the newer Council House, and then at last we reach the new Government House, erected to supply the place of the ruined house in Old Fort William which had some time since 1757 been turned into a Banks' hall or Marine yard. The New Government and Council Houses of Hastings' day have in turn disappeared and on their site is the southern compound of the present Government House. The older Council House must have been close to where the Imperial Record Department now carries on its labour. In those times Hastings Street apparently ran up as far (after crossing Council House Street) as Fancy Lane. In 1784 there was no street where Wellesley Place now is, so we should, in order to get from Hastings Street to where the Great Eastern Hotel now is, have to walk up Fancy Lane and Larkins' Lane. The erection of Government House led to the construction of Wellesley Place and the continuation of Hastings Street by the addition of the south side of Government Place to Old Court House Street.

At the same time (i.e., that of the erection of Government House) old landmarks were obliterated, for Hastings Street marks the site of the



View of High Court from River.



creek which once formed the boundary between Kalikatta and Govindpur. At Fancy Lane, the town defences swerved round to the North, as Hyde conjectures, to avoid the *phansi* or gallows tree. According to the same authority the bailey that ran round the whole town within the palisades after leaving the *phansi*, ran up Larkins' Lane, up the present British India Street (Rani Muddi Gully), then to the North, up Baretto's Lane (once Cross St.) and Mango Lane, Mission Row to the Lal Bazár, then along the Radha Bazár, Ezra Street to Amratollah Street where the Greek Church now stands. At this spot the bailey zigzagged riverwards to Armenian Street by a lane which the natives call Hamam-gullee, though the Turkish bath-houses have long ceased to exist in Calcutta. This lane passes near to the Portuguese Church of our 'Lady of the Rosary.' Here, when the old plan was made, the fences seem to have been recently thrown out at an angle by extending the Armenian Street line until they meet the road running past the Portuguese Church. The palisades turned round the burying place of the Armenians within which stood their church of St. Nazareth—much the same as now to look at, except that perhaps the nave had not then been extended to meet the steeple. 'Leaving this, the bailey ran in and out and down to the river by streets named after the sellers of reed mats and scouring-brushes, who traded at the end of the town, and the tail of Old China Bazár. The northernmost limit of the town's river face was in the present Raja Woodman Street.' Hyde: *Parish of Bengal*, pp. 47-8.

Our business this morning, however, will be restricted to the Esplanade.

THE HIGH COURT.

In 1771, after the troubles created by the great famine of the previous year, the Directors of the Company announced to the Government of Bengal that it was their intention "to stand forth as Dewan, and, by the agency of the Company's servants, to take upon themselves the entire care of the management of the revenues." This led to transference not only of the financial but also of the judicial control from Murshidabad to Calcutta. The two principal Mahomedan Courts at the time were:—

1. The Sudder Dewani Adaulut—the fountain of justice in civil concerns.
2. The Sudder Nizamat Adaulut—the criminal court especially associated with the jurisdiction of the Nawab Nazim.

In 1772, under Hastings' administration, it was arranged that the former court should be presided over by the Governor and Council, assisted by learned native lawyers. The proceedings of the second or criminal court were to be conducted by a dispenser of justice appointed by the Nawab himself, who although not directly regulated, was to be carefully watched by the British Government. In 1790 Lord Cornwallis persuaded the Nawab to surrender into the hands of the Company the superintendence of criminal justice throughout the province.

In 1774, by the Charter of March 26th, was established a Court of Chancery and a Court of the King's Bench, consisting of a Chief Justice and three Puisne Judges. The jurisdiction of this body was confined within the limits of Calcutta.

In 1780, the Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, was made sole Judge of the Sudder Dewani Adaulat, thus taking the place of the Governor and Council. Two years later the

Governor and Council again assumed charge of the civil court of appeal. In Lord Cornwallis' plan of reform the same system was introduced into the other court, but Lord Wellesley, objecting to the combination of judicial with legislative and executive functions, introduced a regulation that the Sudder Dewani and Nizamut Adauluts should be selected from the covenanted servants of the Company, not being members of the Supreme Council. In 1862, after many changes, the Supreme Court was united with the Sudder Adaulut, and became the High Court.

The Sudder Dewani Courts were for many years held in the buildings originally intended for and now used as the Military Hospital.

The Court House on the Esplanade must have been built before 1784: the older one,* where the Charity School and Mayor's Court had once existed, having been pulled down in 1792. The present High Court was erected in 1872. It was designed by Mr. Walter Granville, and is supposed to resemble the Town Hall at Ypres. It looks its best as seen from the river: its worst—as seen through gaps between the houses in Old Post Office Street. The South Front is impressive, although the tower has a look as if it could not quite make up its mind whether it ought or ought not to have a clock. The colonnade is well worthy of study: the designs of the Caen stone capitals being especially worthy of attention. Entering beneath the tower we find a noble staircase and Chantrey's statue of Sir Edward Hyde East (Chief Justice, 1813—1822).† The first floor includes seven courts, the Judges' and the Bar Libraries, and sundry offices. On the upper floor are the chambers of the Advocate General, the Legal Remembrancer, etc., etc., into which there is, let us trust, no reason for the reader to intrude himself. But he will not fail to inspect the interesting collection of portraits in the Judges' Library and the Courts.

* On the site now occupied by St. Andrew's Kirk.

† On the steps of the High Court, on September 20, 1871, an assassin stabbed Sir John Paxton Norman, the Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal. From the High Court, Sir John was brought to Messrs. Thacker, Spink's place of business in Government Place, where, after a night of suffering, he died on the morning of the 21st. The murderer was temporarily confined in the room in which the editing of the *Indian Directory* is now done.

JUDGES' LIBRARY.

SIR ROBERT CHAMBERS, CHIEF JUSTICE ... *By R. Home, or perhaps by Davis.*

Half length, a copy hangs in the Dining Hall of University College, Oxford.

SIR LAWRENCE PEEL, CHIEF JUSTICE, 1833, 1842-55. *By Grant.*

SIR EDWARD RYAN, CHIEF JUSTICE ... *By Sir Martin Grant.*

JOHN HERBERT HARRINGTON, I.C.S.

HON'BLE JOHN RUSSELL COLVIN, LIEUT.-GOVERNOR, N.-W. PROVINCES.

HON'BLE C. BINNY TREVOR, I.C.S.

PRINCIPAL COURT, APPELLATE SIDE.

SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, CHIEF JUSTICE ... *By Zoffany.*

Full length, standing. Beneath the picture is "Zoffany—1782." Zoffany, however, did not leave England till 1783, and Impey went home in December of that year. The date is probably wrongly given. There is a portrait of Impey by this Artist in the National Portrait Gallery.

SIR HENRY RUSSELL, CHIEF JUSTICE, 1806. *By Chinnery*

SIR RICHARD GARTH, CHIEF JUSTICE.

SIR JOHN ANSTRUTHER, BART., CHIEF JUSTICE, 1798.

In the Second Branch Court, appellate side (West of the principal staircase).

THE HON'BLE SUMBHOONATH PUNDIT (the first native who actually sat on the bench of the High Court).

In the Principal Court on the Original Side (East).

* SIR ELIJAH IMPEY, CHIEF JUSTICE ... *By K. etc.*

"Shows a very marked double chin. This is probably a faithful likeness, as it has been engraved for Impey's Memoir by his son. In this his full length figure is standing with one hand raised, as though the subject were addressing an audience. In both portraits the face wears a self-satisfied and rather benevolent expression." Busted: *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, p. 95.

SIR WILLIAM BOROUGHS, BART., CHIEF JUSTICE, 1806-15. *By Sir Thomas Lawrence.*

* This picture has been transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall, Calcutta.

SIR FRANCIS WORKMAN MACNAGHTEN ..

By Chinnery.

Sir Francis, a Puisne Judge, was the father of Sir William Hay Macnaghten, who was murdered at Cabul, Dec. 23, 1841.

THE TOWN HALL.

The funds for building the Town Hall were raised by a series of annual lotteries organised under the patronage of the Government of India during the years 1806—1808. The site of the Old Court House, where now stands St. Andrew's Kirk, was at first favoured, but in the end, the present site, despite certain legal defects in the title-deeds, was acquired. The designs were executed by Col. Garstin and Capt. Aubury.

The steps which lead up to the southern portico are chiefly for use on such ceremonial occasions as the proclamation of newly acceding Emperors of India. The ordinary entrance is by the northern portico. Ascending the steps we find ourselves in a noble vestibule with two flights of stairs leading to the upper hall. The marble floors of the lower hall are at the present seldom trodden by the feet of Calcutta folk, and indeed the necessity of underpinning the wooden floor of the upper and more commodious hall has practically rendered the fine lower hall useless. As we enter the lower hall we pass the white marble statue of Maharaja Ramanath Tagore, Bahadur, c.s.i., who died in the year 1871. At the West end is a colossal monument to Lord Cornwallis sculptured by the younger Bacon. The figure, in the guise of a Roman general, does not lend itself to admiration, but the two seated symbolical figures are far too good to be* hidden away in so deserted although yet so noble a hall. The figure of truth, despite her conventional hand-mirror, proves that prettiness, no less than magnificence, can be caught on the wing by the sculptor's craft. A statue of the Marquess of Hastings once graced the eastern end, but has been since removed to Dalhousie Square. In the south vestibule stands Westmacott's marble statue of Warren Hastings—soon to be removed to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

* The Cornwallis Memorial will ultimately be transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall.

Ascending the eastern staircase (on our right as we leave the lower hall) we find on the first landing a marble bust of Sir H. Leland Harrison. On the walls are portraits of

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. KNOTT (born 1872, died 1845).

KESHAB CHUNDER SEN—The founder of the Brahmo Somaj—whose name will be so familiar to readers of Max Müller's writings.

SIR C. METCALFE, who is here commemorated as "the Liberator of the Indian Press."

Reaching the upper floor, in the vestibule, we find portraits of

H. M. THE LATE QUEEN-EMPRESS.

THE PRINCE CONSORT.

SIR H. WYLIE NORMAN, G.C.B., G.C.M., C.I.E.

C. H. CAMERON.

RAJA SIR RADHA KANTA DEB, BAHADUR, K.C.S.I. (a grandson of Raja Nubenkrisen).

RAJA SIR PROSSONO KUMAR TAGORE.

AND MARBLE BURSTS OF—

C. B. GREENLAW, Secretary to the Marine Board. (In commemoration of services rendered in securing communication by steam.)

JOHN PALMER—a noted merchant.

The upper hall, like the lower one, is 162 feet in length and 65 in breadth, and has aisles formed by Doric colonnades. At the East end is a platform, and at the west a musician's gallery. On the South side there is a large room used until quite recently by the Calcutta Corporation for its meetings. The lower hall was, of course, intended as a Dining Saloon, the upper as the Ball-Room and the side rooms as Card Rooms. We will now inspect the collection of paintings.

West Wall.

THE INSTALLATION OF H. R. H. THE DUKE OF EDINBURGH BY HIS EXCELLENCY THE EARL OF MAYO AS A KNIGHT GRAND COMMANDER OF THE STAR OF INDIA ON DECEMBER 30TH, 1869.

North Wall.

THE REV. C. H. A. DALL. A Unitarian minister of note in Calcutta.

JAMES GIBBS, C.S.I., C.I.E., Member of the Supreme Council. Died 1880. A very notable work of art.

ROBERT TURNBULL. Secretary to the Calcutta Corporation, 1887-88. Died 1901.

MANCHERJEE RUSTOMJEE. First Indian Sheriff of Calcutta, 1874. Consul for Persia, 1870-9. Born 1816, died 1891.

SIR WILLIAM GREY, K.C.S.I. Member of the Supreme Council, 1862-67. Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1867-71. Died May 15, 1878. "He was a Bengal whig of the better kind, with a view of administration resting on a toleration of opinions, and even prejudices, and a great kindness to native India; and native India has preserved his portrait as that of a friend." Sir W. Grey was Governor of Jamaica in 1874.

MARCHIONESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA, C.I. By J. J. Shannon, A. R. A. In black dress. This portrait is either intended to be viewed by artificial light or else its pigments have suffered from the effects of the climate. Viewed by daylight it is as blotchy as a piece of stage painting.

MARCHIONESS OF LANSDOWNE, C.I. By J. J. Shannon. The pigments have apparently suffered from the effects of the climate.

SIR RIVERS THOMPSON, K.C.S.I., C.I.E. By James Archer, R. S. A.

THE RT. REVD. BISHOP DANIEL WILSON, D.D. Fifth Bishop of Calcutta and First Metropolitan of India and Ceylon.—*By Marshall Caxton.*

SIR H. LELAND HARRISON. Chairman of the Calcutta Corporation. Died 1892.

South Wall.

MONO MOHAN GHOSE. Born 1844, died 1896. By B. P. Banerjee.

REVD. ALEXANDER DUFF, D.D. Born 1806, died 1878.

COLONEL COLIN MACKENZIE. Governor-General of Madras, 1810-1816. Surveyor General of Calcutta, 1816-1821. Died 1821.

DWARKANATH TAGORE. First Indian Justice of the Peace. Born 1794, died in England in 1846. By F. R. Say.

SIR H. M. DURAND, K.C.S.I., C.B.

THE RT. REVD. BISHOP JOHNSON, D.D. Bishop of Calcutta and Metropolitan (1876—1898).

HENRY LEE, I.C.S. Died 1895.

RAJA KALI KRISHNA DEB, BAHADUR. Born 1809, died 1874.

A learned Sanscrit Scholar and leader of Orthodox Hindoos. Grandson of Nubenkrissen.

F. J. JOHNSTONE, C.I.E., M.I.C.E. Chief Engineer of Bengal, P. W. D.

Descending by the western stairway we notice a portrait of Mr Wilberforce Bird, once of the Supreme Council, and Viscount Lake on horseback.*

GOVERNMENT HOUSE.

In *Hickey's Bengal Gazette*, for January 29th, 1780, the first issue of the first English Newspaper in Bengal, we find Williamson, the auctioneer advertising:—

"The estate of the late Lt.-Col. John Fortnom, the elegant pucca house occupied by the Governor-General, and the godowns, situate to the south of the old burial ground and powder magazine."

* Transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall collection.

The old burial ground and powder magazine are, of course, the site of St. John's Church. It is, therefore, supposed that until about 1780 Warren Hastings' official residence as Governor of Fort William was situated where Messrs. Burn & Co. to-day do business, and that perhaps the very house still stands. In Bailie's series of Calcutta views, to be seen hanging in frames on the staircase walls of the Imperial Library, is a picture which exhibits the Court House and Governor's House as they stood in 1792. Under Lord Wellesley, whose sense of the value of pomp does not warrant Mackintosh's description of him as a "Sultanised Englishman," the present Government House came into existence. The architect was Captain Wyatt of the Corps of Engineers, and, to a limited extent, Kedleston Hall, the home of our present Viceroy, was taken as a pattern. Long records that Rs. 80,000 was spent in acquiring fresh ground, 13 lacs on the building, and half a lac on furniture. The first stone was laid on Feb. 5, 1799, by Mr. Timothy Hickey. On May the 4th, 1802, the anniversary of the fall of Seringapatam, H. E. the Governor General gave a breakfast to "above seven hundred of the principal ladies and gentlemen of the settlement," and "on this occasion, the great apartments of the new Government House were opened for the first time." On August 12th of the same year "H. E. the most noble Governor-General entertained at breakfast, in the new Government House, Major-General Baird and the officers of the army returned from Egypt, together with all the principal ladies and gentlemen of the settlement, and the Governor and several of the principal ladies and gentlemen inhabitants of the Danish settlements of Serampore."

On January the 27th, 1803, a "most splendid entertainment" was given at the new Government House "in honour of the general peace" and perhaps as a fitting display to grace the formal opening of the new palace. Lord Wellesley was at the time dwelling at the Treasury, but this evening he came in state from the Fort where he had been dining with Major Calcroft, the Town Major. It must have been a truly great occasion: the ramparts of Fort William, the shipping in the river, and the Esplanade were all brilliantly illuminated. A full account will be found

in Lord Valentia's Travels or in Pearce's *Memoirs of Lord Wellesley* or in Seton Karr's third volume of *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*. In January 1903, H. E. the present Viceroy marked the anniversary by a great ball at which the guests made their appearance in costumes of Lord Wellesley's time.

The House stands in a garden of about six acres. The grand entrance, with its great ceremonial stairway, faces north, and before it there is an interesting cannounshaped as a dragon, placed here by Lord Ellenborough as a trophy of the Chinese war. There are several other interesting trophies of the kind dotted about the grounds. The length of the building lies between east and west—to secure the south breeze on which Calcutta folk so much rely as the “cold season” becomes humid. The Royal arms in the north pediment and on the north and south sides, as well as the classical urns were all added by Lord Curzon, who also had changed the dirty yellow of the exterior of the house for pure white. The public or ceremonial rooms occupy the main portion of the building: the private accommodation for the Viceroy's family and staff are in the wings. The ordinary entrance is from a passage beneath the ceremonial stairway.

On the first floor to the left on entering by the external stairs, is the Breakfast Room, looking out over Government Place. East of this the Council Room, the Throne Room, where we see the throne of Tippu Sultan, and the Dining Room, with its chunam columns, china marble floor, and busts of the Cæsars, are on this floor.

On the second floor is the great ball-room, the chandeliers, like the busts of the Cæsars below, are said to have been captured from a French ship during one of the wars, but it is more probable that they formed part of the spoil of Chandernagore once housed in the long since vanished Court House.

The collection of paintings contains some very good and some very poor portraits, and one or two landscapes which one would rather not characterise. The collection has been enriched by the transference of the Mysore Collection from Barrackpore House.

LIST OF PORTRAITS,

COUNCIL CHAMBER.

1. VISCOUNT HARDINGE—born 1785, died 1856. Governor-General of India, 1844-48. *By G. F. Clarke after Sir P. Grant, P. R. A.*

Three-quarter length. Dressed in a black coat, with the Star of the Order of the Bath, and dress sword. The background shows a small fort on the right and a gun on the left.

2. EARL OF ELGIN AND KINCARDINE—born 1811, died 1863, $\frac{3}{4}$ length. Viceroy and Governor-General of India, 1862-63. *By G. F. Clarke after Sir P. Grant, P. R. A.*

Diplomatic uniform. Decorations :—Stars of the Thistle and the Bath, China War Medal, and Ribbon of the Bath. County Council Original in possession of Fife.

3. RICHARD, EARL OF MORNINGTON, afterwards Marquess of Wellington, K. G., K. P.—born 1760, died 1842. *Possibly by Home.*

Full length in Peer's robes over Windsor uniform and wearing two Stars, one of which is the Order of St. Patrick, of which he was an original member. The picture rests on two tiger heads between which is a representation of tiger skin supporting a curious wooden panel picture probably depicting the installation of Krishna Raja Wadiar, as Raja of Mysore.

4. ROBERT, FIRST LORD CLIVE, K. B.—born 1725, died 1774. Governor of Bengal, 1758—1760, and 1765—1767. $\frac{1}{2}$ length. Face $\frac{3}{4}$ to the right. In scarlet uniform, buff coloured waist-coat and breeches. *By Dance.*

5. WARREN HASTINGS. Born 1733, died 1818. First Governor-General of Fort William, 1774. *Copy by Miss J. Hawkins of Original by Devis, formerly in the Calcutta Council Chamber but now in the National Portrait Gallery.**

Full length. Face $\frac{2}{3}$ to left, head bald, and face clean shaven. Red-brown coat, black knee-breeches, and blue grey stockings. Motto (above but formerly below) "Mens aequa in arduis."

* The original is very shortly to be brought back to India and will be hung either here or in the Victoria Memorial Hall.

6. MARQUESS OF CORNWALLIS, K.G.—born 1733, died 1805. Governor-General of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief, September 1786—October 1793, and in 1805. *By Davis.*
Full length and standing, wearing over scarlet coat the Garter Ribbon. Cost about £2,166-0-8 raised by public subscription in 1793.
7. EARL OF MINTO—born 1751, died 1814. *By Chinnery.*
Peer's robes over Windsor uniform: full length.

CORRIDOR LEADING TO COUNCIL CHAMBER.

8. VISCOUNT HALIFAX, P.C., G.C.B.—born 1800, died 1889. President of the Board of Control, 1852—55. Secretary of State for India, 1856—1866. $\frac{3}{4}$ length. Wearing over black coat and white waistcoat, the red ribbon of the Bath, and on his left breast the Star. *Copy by A. Mornewick after G. Richmond, R. A.*
9. LORD WILLIAM BENTINCK—born 1774, died 1839. Governor-General of Fort William, 1828—1834 and first Governor of India, 1834-1835. Commander-in-Chief, 1833. $\frac{1}{2}$ length. In red uniform with Ribbon of the Order of Hanover, Stars of the Bath and Hanover, and Badge of the Bath. *A copy of a picture belonging to the Duke of Portland.*
10. EARL OF AUCKLAND—born 1784, died 1849. Governor-General of India, 1836—1842. $\frac{3}{4}$ length in Peer's robes. *By A. Stuart Wortley.*
11. MARQUESS OF RIPON—born 1827. Viceroy and Governor-General, 1880—1884; $\frac{3}{4}$ length, seated. In Peer's robes and diplomatic uniform and insignia of the Star of India. *By E. J. Poynter, R. A.*
12. MARQUESS OF DUFFERIN AND AVA—born 1826, died 1903. Viceroy and Governor-General; $\frac{3}{4}$ length. In overcoat with fur lining. Order of St. Patrick. *Copy by Miss Hawkins of Portrait by F. Holl, R. A.*
13. EARL OF AUCKLAND—born 1784, died 1849. Governor-General of India, 1836—1842. Wearing Ribbon of the Order of the Bath. *Unknown.*
- 14.* *Marquess of Hastings*—born 1754, died 1826. Governor-General of Fort William and Commander-in-Chief, 1813—23. $\frac{3}{4}$ length, seated. In a red military coat, with Star on left breast. *Unknown.*

[When this picture was sent home for repair in 1890 it had pasted on the strainer, a piece of paper with the words "most probably Sir Eyre Coote."]

* This picture is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

The reader should compare this picture with No. 30 and the portrait of the Marquess of Hastings at Freemasons' Hall.]

15. VISCOUNT CANNING—born 1812, died 1862. Governor-General of India, 1856—58: first Viceroy and Governor-General, 1858—1862. Full length seated, and wearing Star of the Order of the Star of India. *By C. A. Mornwick.*
16. JOHN LAWRENCE—First Lord Lawrence—born 1811, died 1879. Viceroy and Governor-General, 1864—1869. $\frac{3}{4}$ length. Ribbon of the Star of India, and Stars of the Orders of the Bath and of India. *By Val. Prinsep, R. A.*
17. EARL OF MAYO—born 1822, died 1872. Viceroy and Governor-General, 1869—72. Full length, standing. In a pale blue mantle. Insignia of Grand Master of the Order of the Star of India. On left breast Star of the Order of St. Patrick. Background shows a view of a portion of Government House. *By George F. Clarke.*
18. LYING-IN-STATE OF THE EARL OF MAYO. The mourners shown are Major the Hon. E. R. Bourke, two children of the deceased and the Countess of Mayo with Aide-de-Camp. *By A. E. Caddy.**

NORTH-EAST STAIRCASE.

[Ground Floor.] ⁹

19. SHEIKH KARIM BAKSH. The Barra Kansamah (Head-butler), 1848—1877. *Unknown.*
- [First Floor.]
20. THE EARL OF LYTTON—born 1831, died 1891. Viceroy and Governor-General, 1876—1880. $\frac{3}{4}$ length in frock coat. *Copy of a portrait by Sir J. E. Millais, Bart., R. A.*
21. THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, $\frac{3}{4}$ length. Seated and in Peer's robes. *By W. W. Ouless, R. A.*

[Between 1st and 2nd Floors.]

- 22.* GOVERNOR J. Z. HOLWELL ... *Probably by Zoffany.*

BREAKFAST ROOM.

{First floor looking over Government Place and to the left of the Entrance from great external stairs.}

23. MARQUESS OF DALHOUSIE—born 1812, died 1860. Governor-General of India, 1848—1856. Full length, sitting. In a black suit: Ribbon and Star of the Thistle. *By Sir J. W. Gordon, P.R.S.A.**

* This picture is now in the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

24. EARL OF ELLENBOROUGH—born 1790, *By J. Hayes*, died 1871. Governor-General of India, 1842—44. Full length, standing bare-headed and wearing Ribbon and Star of the Order of the Bath.
25. CHARLES THEOPHILUS, BARON METCALFE *By J. Hayes*. —born 1785, died 1846. Governor-General of India, 20th March 1835 to 4th March 1836 (pending the arrival of Lord Auckland).
26. JOHN SHORE, BARON TEIGNMOUTH—born 1751, died 1834. Governor-General of Fort William, 1793 to 1798.

THRONE ROOM.

27. KING GEORGE III, 1738—1820.
28. CHARLOTTE SOPHIA OF MECKLENBURG STRELITZ, QUEEN CONSORT OF GEORGE III. These two pictures were painted previous to the Coronation of George III and his Consort. "They became the ambassadorial type and were copied for all Foreign Courts and Representatives of Sovereigns."
29. THE HON'BLE MR. JOHN ADAM. Acting *By Sir Thomas Lawrence*, Governor of Fort William, 1823. The artist never saw his subject in the flesh, but the picture is one of the finest works of art in the collection.
30. MARQUESS OF HASTINGS—born 1754, *By J. Hayes*, died 1826. Full length, standing bare-headed, wearing the Ribbon and Star of the Garter and Badge of the Bath.
31. EARL OF AMBERST—born 1773, died 1857. Full length, life size, standing bareheaded. Background shows what is conjectured to be a view of Hong Kong. *Copied by Geo. F. Clarke after Sir Thomas Lawrence*.
- 32.* MARQUESS OF WELLESLEY—born 1760, *Possibly by Robert Home*, died 1842. Governor-General of Fort William, May 18 1798 to July 31, 1805.

Full length, standing. Red coat with black collar and cuffs. Across shoulder Ribbon of St. Patrick. In background view of a Church—St. John's, Calcutta?

SOUTH-EAST STAIRCASE.

33. THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON—born 1769, *By Robert Home*, died 1852. Full length, bareheaded. Right hand concealed inside coat. Star of Bath on left breast. Painted in 1804 on twilled canvas.

* Transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection. In its place hangs a portrait of King Edward VII by Luke Fildes, K. W.

34. MUHAMMAD ALI, NAWAB OF THE CAR-NATIC, 1754—1795. [Nawab Wala Jah of Arcot.]

[At the door of the Throne Room.]

35. H. R. H. THE DUKE OF CLARENCE AND AVONDALE, K. G.—born 1864, died 1892. (A copy of one painted for presentation to the present Prince of Wales on his marriage in 1894.)
36. LADY WILLIAM BENTINCK. Full length, standing: dressed in white and with white turban: short waist. Open landscape. Painted in 1838.
37. SHER ALI KHAN. Amir of Kabul—1863 to 1879. *Unknown.*
38. JUNG BAHADUR OF NEPAL. 1846—1877. Painted in 1853. Exhibited in the Royal Academy in 1868. *By F. Briqstocke.*
39. JASWANT SINGH. Maharajah of Bharatpur—1853 to 1893. *Unknown.*
- 40.* THE DEPARTURE OF THE TWO SONS OF TIPPU SAHIB FROM THEIR FATHER. *Unknown.*

An exceedingly interesting picture of an event which took place on February 25, 1792. The two lads were received at the British Camp near Seringapatam on the following day.

41. NIZAM OF HYDERABAD. Full length portrait of a child in a green dress.
42. EARL OF BEACONSFIELD—born 1804, died 1881. An unpleasing portrait. *By E. N. Downard.*
43. FATEH ALI, SHAH OF PERSIA. 1798—1834. Painted in 1798. *By Meher Ali.*
44. MOHENDAR SINGH. Maharajah of Patiala, 1862—1872. *Unknown.*
45. SAADAT ALI KHAN. Nawab of Oudh. 1798—1814. *Probably by R. Home.*
46. LOUIS XV. Born 1710. Reigned 1715—1774. *By Carlé Van Loo.*
47. MARIE LECZINSKA, wife of above. *By Carlé Van Loo.*

The official catalogue says "It is said that this and the preceding picture were captured at sea in a vessel bound to Mauritius. An exactly similar picture to this is in the Louvre painted in 1747, and signed on the thickness of the table 'Carlé Van Loo', when the Queen was 44 years of age." Stavrinus, however, writes in 1770, "over the Court House are two handsome Assembly rooms. In one of these are hung up the portraits of the King of France and the late Queen as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore when they took that place." The present writer is informed by H. E. Lord Curzon, that the pictures, Nos. 40 to 44, were captured by Admiral Watson at the famous siege of Chandernagore in 1757.

* Transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

CORRIDOR, S.-E. WING.

Second Floor.

- † 48. PRINCE MUHAMMAD FIROZ SHAH. *Unknown.*
Elders son of H. H. Prince Ghulam
MEHAMMAD, K. C. S. I., and Grandson
of Tippu Sultan.
- † 49. PRINCE GHULAM MUHAMMAD. Died *Unknown.*
1872. Son of Tippu Sultan.
- † 50. YASIN SAHIB. Fifth son of Tippu *By T. Hickey.*
Sultan.
- † 51. MAIZ-UD-DIN. Third son of Tippu *By T. Hickey.*
Sultan.
- † 52. BHUTAN AND SIKIM CHIEF. ... *Unknown.*
- † 53. SULTAN MUHUD DIN. The only legi- *Unknown.*
timate son of Tippu Sultan.

NORTH BALL ROOM.

Second Floor.

- 54.* HER MAJESTY THE LATE QUEEN-EM. *Sir George Hayter.*
PRESS. Painted in 1862.

CORRIDOR, N.-W. WING.

55. THE TAJ MAHAL AT AGRA ... *By Hodges.*
56. CEYX AND ALCYONE. A copy of *FR.*
Wilson's picture engraved by Woollett.
57. LANDSCAPE. *By Sawarendra Chandra*
Deb Burman, Barathokur of
Tipperah, 1887.

NORTH ROOM, N.-W. WING.

First Floor.

58. MAHARAJAH BIR CHANDRA DEB OF HILL *By S. C. Deb Burman.*
TIPPERAH.
59. MUSHKHI ASAN. A Muhammadan beggar *By A. E. Caddy.*

CORRIDOR, S.-W. WING.

First Floor.

- † 60. ABDUL KHALEK. Second son of Tippu *By T. Hickey.*
Sultan, and the elder of the two
boys in No. 40.
- † 61. GHULAM ALI KHAN. A high official *By T. Hickey.*
of Tippu Sultan.
- † 62. SHAIKH HUSEIN. The benefactor of *By T. Hickey.*
the British officers and men im-
prisoned by Tippu Sultan.

* Brought from Barrackpore House.

† Transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection.

- † 63. GHULAM ALI KHAN, VIZIER ... *By T. Hickey.*
- † 64. BUDR-UL-ZAMAN KHAN. Held the Fort at Darwar against a combined force of English and Mahrattas from September, 1790, to its capitulation in March, 1791. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 65. FATEH HAIDAR. Eldest son of Tippu Sultan. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 66. SHUKR-ULLAR. Seventh son of Tippu Sultan. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 67. ALI RAJ KHAN ... *By T. Hickey.*
- † 68. NANDAROY. Maternal Grand-father of Krishna Raja Wadia of Mysore. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 69. RAZA KHAN. A constant attendant of Tippu Sultan, who fell with him in the gateway of Seringapatam. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 70. SUBHAN SAHIB. Sixth son of Tippu Sultan. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 71. KRISHNA RAJA WADIA, RAJA OF MYSORE, 1799—1831. After the fall of Tippu Sultan, the Mysore dynasty was restored in the person of this Prince, then a child of three years. *By T. Hickey.*
- † 72. FIRAZ SUT ... *By T. Hickey.*

SOUTH-EAST WING.

First Floor.

73. A YOUNG CHIEF ... *by T. Hickey.*
74. LANDSCAPE ... *Unknown.*
75. COAST SCENE—MOONLIGHT ... *Unknown.*
76. AKBAR SHAH. EMPEROR OF DELHI, 1806—1837. Formerly in the Garden Reach House of the King of Oude. *Unknown.*
77. LANDSCAPE ... *Unknown.*
78. LANDSCAPE ... *By A. W. Devis?*
79. ORIENTAL DRESSED IN WHITE.
80. A RIVER SCENE.
81. Do.
- 82.* INVESTITURE AT CALCUTTA ON JAN. 1, 1876, OF H. H. THE MAHARAJA OF JODHPUR. *By S. F. Hall.*

The present King, then Prince of Wales, is seated on a dais in the robes of the Order of the Star of India. Behind him, Major-General Sir D. Probyn, C. B., V. C., holds the royal ensign. The other principal figures, besides the Maharaja, are Col. Earle, Major Baring, Lieutenant the Hon. F. Baring, Lord Northbrook (Viceroy), the Maharaja of Kashmir, the Maharaja of Jeypore, Sir H. B. Bartle Frere, Mr. C. U. Aitchison, the Maharaja of Gwalior, Lord Napier

* Brought from Barrackpore House.

† Transferred to the Victoria Memorial Hall Collection

of Magdala, Sir Salar Jung, the Maharaja of Indore, the Maharaja of Rewa, Surgeon-General Fayerer, and the Maharaja of Travancore.

83. LANDSCAPE.

84. NAVAL ENGAGEMENT BETWEEN BRITISH
AND SPANISH MEN-OF-WAR.

85. LANDSCAPE.

86. MARINE VIEW.

GREEN DRAWING ROOM.

87. H. M. THE LATE QUEEN-EMPRESS ... *By Von Angeli.*

DINING ROOM.

Ground Floor.

88. MAHARAJA BIR CHANDRA DEB BURMAN *By himself.*
OF HILL TIPPERAH.

89. A DOCTOR'S VISIT TO AN AGED PATIENT *Unknown.*

S.-W. END OF BALL ROOM.

90. H. H. PERTAB SINGH, MAHARAJA OF *Unknown.*
JAMMU AND KASHMIR.

STEWARD'S ROOM.

Ground Floor.

91. LUCHMEE DASS SETH OF MUTTRA ... *Unknown.*

Leaving Government House by the E. gate, we find ourselves in Old Court House Street—or rather the continuation of Old Court House Street, now a part of Government Place. Turning to our left up this street, we soon come to the Esplanade East—remarkable for the fine buildings of the Foreign Office and the Military Department designed by Mr. W. Banks Gwyther, of the P. W. D. For the present, however, we will drive down the road on the E. side of the Government House. On our left we shall notice a triangular piece of grass-covered ground known as the “cocked hat.” Here stands the bronze equestrian statue of the Viceroy whose clemency after the Mutiny of 1857 atones for many of his errors in statesmanship. The statue is the work of J. H. Foley and T. Brock. The inscription runs:—

Charles John, Earl of Canning, K.G., G.S.I., Governor-General and first Viceroy of India, 1856—62. Born 14th December, 1802. Died 17th June 1862.

Bearing to the right, we find Woolmer's bronze statue of Lord Lawrence, Viceroy, 1864—1869. The statue does justice to the memory of a Governor-General who, to the

horror of his A.-D.-Cs., loved on "the Sawbath" to tuck his Bible under his arm, and unaccompanied by pomp and circumstance stroll across to St. John's. An equestrian statue would have belied Lawrence's reputation.

In Calcutta few Europeans allow themselves to walk on foot. But in the fortnight which passed before the purchase of Lord Elgin's stud, the new Viceroy astonished the inhabitants by showing himself on foot at times and places where he would be least expected. 'He walked,' says his private secretary, 'to the Eden Gardens in the gloom of these January evenings, and, like the Sultan in the Arabian Nights, heard with amusement or with interest remarks about himself as he mingled with the crowd. He walked to the Scotch Church or St. John's on the Sunday morning, throwing down his great white umbrella in the porch, and striding in, to the dismay of the officials, who were expecting him to arrive in full Viceregal state at the grand entrance. He walked across the Maidan at five o'clock in the morning, and on one occasion, when confronted with a bison or buffalo which had escaped from the Agricultural Exhibition then being held at Calcutta, he amused his staff by telling them 'not to run,' although his own pace was being rapidly accelerated and escape from the huge animal, as he bore down upon them, seemed somewhat problematical. He walked to the Bazaar when notice of a fire reached him, and he spent much time during this, his first fortnight in the City of Palaces, in examining the different sites for a Sailors' Home, the first public work he took up, and one to which he devoted himself very assiduously, laying the foundation-stone with his own hand, and heading the subscription list with a large donation. It was on his return from one of these pedestrian excursions, late in the evening, that he met with a personal repulse which was duly published in the newspapers on the following morning, and afforded much amusement to the Calcutta community. The south entrance to the Viceregal Palace is considered sacred to the Governor-General, and ingress after dark is only allowed to those to whom he gives special permission. Just as Sir John had passed through this portal he was challenged by the sentry with a smart 'Hoo eum dar?' (Who comes there?) Not stopping to reply, Sir John pushed on, when his further progress was effectually barred by the sepoy, who brought his weapon with fixed bayonet down to the charge. The members of the staff, who were convulsed with laughter, in vain assured the sentry that it was the Governor-General. He had never heard of, much less seen, the 'great Padishah', or Lord Sahib Bahadur, walking on his own feet; and when he was told that this was 'Jan Larens' of the Punjab, he collapsed with fear, and was only too glad to see him pass on, unruffled, into the house.'" R. Bosworth Smith. *Life of Lord Lawrence*, Vol. II, pp. 399-400.

To the S.-E. of the Lawrence Statue is Frampton's bronze statue of the late Queen-Empress—a disappointing work from the hands of so great an artist. It has, however, to be remembered that the monument is intended for the great stairway of the future Victoria Memorial Hall, and that in its present position it is seen to great disadvantage.

On another triangular piece of Maidan is Foley's equestrian statue of Lord Hardinge, Governor-General. 1844—1848.

Turning back, we will now drive down the Red Road. On our right we shall find an equestrian statue of Lord Roberts and on our left one of Lord Lansdowne (Viceroy, 1888-1894). At the end of the road is the bronze statue of Lord Dufferin (Viceroy, 1884-1888). Turning back to Calcutta by the Dufferin Road on our left, we soon find a bronze equestrian statue of Lord Mayo, the Viceroy who was assassinated (Feb. 18, 1872) on the occasion of his visit to the convict settlement in the Andamans. The unveiling of his statue in December 31, 1875, was one of our present King's public acts on the occasion of his memorable visit to India.

In the plot of ground before the High Court is the full length statue of Lord Northbrook (Viceroy, 1872-1876) and beyond is that of Lord Auckland, Governor-General, 1836-1842) looking towards the gardens which bear his family name. Facing the Town Hall is the bronze statue of Lord William Bentinck (Governor-General, 1828-1834), on the pediment of which is an inscription by the pen of Lord Macaulay. Further on, before the red brick offices of the Accountant-General, stands a somewhat forlorn looking representation* of Sir Steuart Bailey, Officiating Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1879.

* To be removed to Dalhousie Square.

CHAPTER V.

FROM PARK ST., THE JAIN TEMPLES, AND BACK AGAIN.

WE start this afternoon at the corner formed by Park Street and Chowringhi. On a plot of grass, to our left, is Foley's statue of Sir James Outram—the "Bayard of India"—reining in a furious charger with one hand and bearing a drawn sword in the other.

On our right we pass the premises recently occupied by the United Service Club, and passing Kyd Street, named after two great Eurasians, the brothers James and Alexander Kyd, we find the present Club building erected by Messrs. Mackintosh, Burn & Co., in 1904-05. This vast building covers the site of a house which was at one time the residence of a prince of Calcutta merchants, John Palmer, and for some years the dwelling-place of the Commissioner of Police. Old newspapers inform us that the original residence of the Club was "at the extremity of the range of four-storied buildings upon the Esplanade."

"The Bengal United Service Club met for the first time on Friday evening, when upwards of 100 gentlemen sat down to a sumptuous dinner, which did much credit to the culinary talents of Mr. Payne, who is likely to turn out a most formidable rival to Messrs. Gunter and Hooper. The patron of the Club, the Right Honourable Lord Combermere, honoured the meeting with his presence. Col. Finch, President of the Club, had Lord Combermere on his right hand and Sir Charles Grey on his left; and Mr. Trower, the Vice-President, had Sir John Franks on his right and Sir Edward Ryan on his left hand. The venison was most excellent, and the wines admirable and well-cooled. After the removal of the cloth, various loyal toasts were drunk as well as many of local association and interest. A military band, during the intervals, entertained the company with beautiful and appropriate airs. After an evening of the utmost hilarity and most agreeable enjoyment, the company broke up at a late hour, all highly pleased with their entertainment, and the happy auspices and eclat of the first meeting of the Bengal Club." *Ind. Gaz.*, July 16th. *Asiatic Jour.*, January 1825.

After passing the United Service Club we come to a long red brick building erected for the purposes of the Exhibition of 1883-1884, and now occupied by the

Government Art School. This building is doomed to an early disappearance. We now come to the Museum which will require a separate chapter to itself.

THE OCHTERLONY MONUMENT.

We find to our left the Ochterlony Memorial Column—which in ponderous bulk attempts to atone for the injustice done to one of the hardest fighters and soundest statesmen the British Raj has ever produced.

David Ochterlony, the great grandson of the laird of Pitforthly, Angus, was born at Boston, Massachusetts, on February 12th, 1758. He reached Bengal as a cadet in the Company's Army in 1777. After forty-eight years of noble and successful service he died, broken-hearted, at Meerut on July 15th, 1828. He served under Colonel Pearse in the great struggle in the Carnatic [1781-84] and was a prisoner of war until Haider's death in 1784. In 1800 he commanded his regiment, under Lord Lake, and was present at the capture of Sasni, Bejgarh, and Kaehoura in the Doab. After serving as Lord Lake's deputy-adjutant-general in the Maharatta war, he took up the appointment of Resident at the Court of Shah Alam, and when Holkar marched on Delhi, Ochterlony covered himself with glory by a "brave and skilful defence of an almost untenable position" until the arrival of Lord Lake's army effected his relief. In 1806, Ochterlony kept guard against the incursion of Ranjit Singh. In the years 1814, 1815 and 1816 Ochterlony achieved his splendid conquest of Nepal. In 1817, Ochterlony, now a G.C.B., disarmed the Pindaris, and in the following year, succeeding Sir C. T. Metcalfe as Resident in Rajputana, carried out the pacification of Central India. He then was appointed to Delhi with Jaipur annexed. In 1825 Ochterlony gave his support to an heir to the Bhurtpore throne whom the Governor-General (Amherst) subsequently declined to uphold. This reversal of his policy, the veteran regarded as tantamount to a personal disgrace: he resigned the service and, while his resignation was under consideration, died heart-broken. Metcalfe, who they sent to Bhurtpore, found that Ochterlony's policy was the one which was absolutely necessary, and Lord Combermere with an army of 20,000 men was despatched to do what it is believed Ochterlony could have done unaided in a fortnight."

The *Calcutta and Agra Directory* for 1841 gives an interesting account of the erection of the monument:—

"The Committee who were empowered to receive subscriptions on account of it, and to superintend its construction, comprising Sir C. Metcalfe, Sir J. Bryant, Dr. J. T. Grant and others, asked Mr. C. K. Robison, one of the Magistrates of Calcutta, and whose name stands high as a scientific amateur in civil architecture, to give a design after the Moslem style of architecture to mark the preference Sir David shewed always to followers of the Prophet. Mr. Robison gave what now does such honour to his taste and also a design of a Grecian column which Mr. Robison himself would have preferred seeing constructed. The Committee, however, and perhaps properly, preferred the Saracenic one for the reason before stated. The subscriptions received were from all classes in this Presidency, civil, military, and mercantile, and

amounted to nearly Rs. 40,000. A wealthy Calcutta firm were treasurers, but the building had proceeded but a little way when the firm failed, and Rs. 27,000 were lost.

“The person who undertook to build it was to do so for Rs. 33,000 (without the platform and rail round it) a fresh subscription was then set on foot, and Rs. 10,000 were collected, and placed with another Calcutta firm. A portion of this was lost also by the failure of that firm, but the public-spirited contractor, Mr. Parker, of this city, agreed to finish the column, on receiving an assignment of the dividends from both Houses. We will omit the words of the inscription, lest any stranger should be satisfied with them alone, and not go and visit the edifice. The upper part of the column is taken from one in Syria; to this is added a base which is pure Egyptian from Denan. The trouble of the construction, generally, and the hoisting the large stones of the galleries and the Turkish dome on the top, particularly, gave trouble. The view from the top which is reached by a circular staircase is very extensive and grand, extending to Barrackpore (14 miles) on the North, and Fort Gloucester (23 miles) to the South. On the west the whole line of the Hughli is beautifully viewed, and in the East in certain months of the year the Sun is seen to rise on the Saltwater Lake as from molten gold, or silver as the weather determines. In the hottest of our sultry mornings you have a delightfully fanning breeze on the top of the monument which rewards you for the trouble of the ascent. *Apropos* of the ascent, we may here mention that the principle of the construction of the staircase is peculiar and good; the inverse of each step is joggled by means of pieces of cast iron, laid in white lead into the end of those above and below, and the outer ends of the step are secured into the brickwork. The height of the whole is 165 feet.”

North of the Museum is Sudder Street, where the principal Methodist Chapel of the city is to be found. We pass the larger red brick building occupied by the Young Men's Christian Association, and come to Lindsay Street where the New Market and the Opera House are situated. The Grand Hotel and the Theatre Royal are passed on our right, and we then cross Corporation Street (Jaun Bazar) where stand the extensive buildings of the Calcutta Corporation, designed by Mr. W. Banks Gwyther.

Dharamtollah quaintly affords a reminiscence of Buddhist India. The name has been erroneously derived from a “great mosque,” which, Long tells us, once stood where Cook & Co.'s stables are now to be found, and which “by its local sanctity gave the name to the street of the Dharmatala or Holy Street.” Dr. Hœrnle, a far superior authority, however, has pointed out that Dharma is one of the well-known units of the Buddhist Trinity, and that the followers of Dharma, who still have a temple in Jaun Bazar Street, must have named the street by the object of their devotion. In days long gone by, when

the Salt Lakes extended far southward, the creek which flowed where Hastings Street now is, turned to the south and followed the course of Dharamtollah to meet the lakes. To this Creek Row is a still existing witness. The street now possesses a much-frequented Roman Catholic Church of the Sacred Heart (erected by Mrs. Pascoa Baretto DeSouza in 1832), the Union (Congregationalist) Chapel (erected by the London Missionary Society in 1821), and the Chapel of the American Episcopal Methodists. The mosque at the corner of Dharamtollah and Bentinck Street is of some architectural beauty, and it is a thousand pities that it should be blocked up by a squalid row of mean native shops on its western side. An inscription records that :

"This Masjid was erected during the Government of Lord Auckland, G.C.B., by Prince Golam Mahomed, son of the late Tippoo Sultan, in gratitude to God ; and in commemoration of the Honourable Court of Directors granting him arrears of his stipend in 1840."

Bentinck Street is to-day a dangerously narrow and overcrowded thoroughfare, lined mainly by taverns, cigar divans, and the shops of Chinese shoe-makers. It will be observed, however, that the older houses on the right hand stand well back from the road, and that the narrowing of the street, once known as the Broad Street, is mainly due to the shops and godowns intruded in front of the old houses. To gharri wallas Bentinck Street is still known as Cossitollah.

"Cossitola, leading from Dhurruntala into Old Calcutta, was named after the *kasai* or butchers, dealers in goats' and cows' flesh, who formerly occupied it as their quarter. It must, therefore, have been formerly a hateful street for Hindus to pass on their way from Chitpur to Kalighat, as seventy years ago Hindus would not sell an ox when they knew that it was designed for slaughter. . . . In 1754 Cossitola was a mass of jungle, and even as late as 1780 it was almost impassable from mud in the rains. In Apjohn's map only two or three houses are marked in it. . . . In 1788, a Mr. Mackinnon advertises a school to be opened to contain 140 pupils." Long. *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 291.

No. 55, Bentinck Street, will be memorable to many of our readers as the local home of Freemasonry in Calcutta for nearly 44 years.

Grant's Lane is so-called after the Bengal Civilian Charles Grant who played so famous a part in the early

history of Christian Missions in this land, and who purchased Kiernander's Church when its founder became bankrupt. Here in the first house on the right hand side, at the beginning of Grant's Lane, was born the future Lord Glenelg.

Crossing Lall Bazar Street and passing the office of the Commissioner of Police, we pass between the site of C. Weston's town house and the Tiretta Bazar. In Ezra Street is to be found the Parsi Agiarae or Fire Temple, erected by Rustomjee Cowasjee Banajee in the year 1839. The Rustomjee family was one of the many which suffered by the failure of the Union Bank. A turning to the right and then to the left would bring us to the Chinese temple.

We now cross between Canning Street and Colootola Street, a locality named the Fouzdari Balakhana—commemorating the Calcutta Court of Fouzdar of Hughli in the days when the agents of the Nawab of Murshedabad were a power the English had to take cognisance of. In Canning Street we find the principal Synagogue. Proceeding on our way, we pass between Cotton Street and Machua Bazar Street. Burra Bazar is to our left and Chorebagan to our right. The latter name carries us back to the days when the dense jungle afforded a hiding place for dakaits. Some distance down Machua Bazar Street may be found (on the left hand side) Keshub Chunder Sen's meeting house of the Brahma Somaj. Readers of Max Müller's works will perhaps wish to satisfy themselves by inspecting this building, although there is but little which is noteworthy about it. In Chorebagan is the Raja Rajendra Mullick's palace. Further north we come to Jorasanko—so named from two culverts which once crossed a small stream in this locality. Two noteworthy residences of native leaders are to be found here—the house of the late Dwarka Nath Tagore, and the house of Raja Sreekissen Mullick. As we reach Beadon Square, we have on our left Jorabagan, said to commemorate the road which led to the pair of gardens once owned by Omichand and Govindaram at Ultadinghi (place of upset boats). In Nimtolla Street we find the Government Normal School for boys, and the Free Church Institute.

Passing Sobha (the Mohammadan Government or Subur) Bazar, we find on our right and proceed up Raja Nabakissen's Street, constructed by that famous Calcutta worthy, the Munshi of Clive and the Company's Banyan.

We must now direct our driver to turn up Sham Bazar Street, and then turn to the right down the Upper Circular Road to the Halsi Bagan. We shall find on our left a stone pillar directing us to the

JAIN TEMPLES.

Jainism, writes Dr. Hœrnle, "is the only one of the almost primæval monastic orders of India which has survived down to the present day, although until quite recent years its very existence before the middle ages was denied by the learned world."

"Neither Buddhism nor Jainism are religions in the strict sense of that word. They are rather monastic organizations. The old Brahmanic religion ordained man's life to be spent in four consecutive stages, called *Açramas*. A man was to commence life a religious student, then proceed to be a householder, next to go into retirement as an anchorite, and finally to spend the declining years of his life as a wandering *Sanyāsīn* or mendicant. These *Sanyāsīns* or Brahmanic mendicants form the prototype of the great monastic orders that arose in the sixth century, B.C., the only difference apparently being that the Brahmanic mendicants never formed themselves into such large organisations as the Buddhists and Jains." A. F. R. Hœrnle, C. I. E. *Annual Address to the Bengal Asiatic Society*, 1888.

It is a still popular error that Buddhism and Jainism originated in a revolt against the Brahmanic caste: but the formation of the non-Brahmanic monastic orders must have been promoted by the tendency of Brahmins to confine the mendicant stage of religious perfection to members of their own caste. On becoming a Jain caste is not renounced, and, in the old times the Jain layman, while choosing a Jain monk as his spiritual director, would have repaired to a Brahmin priest for the performance of religious ceremonies.

The founder of Jainism was Vardhamana, the son of Siddhartha, the head of a Kshatriya class called the *Nātas* or *Nāyas* who had settled at Kollaja, one of the three remaining portions of the once powerful city of Vesali. The reader who is making no long stay in India will probably be unaware of the fact that the Kshatriyas were the noble caste who claimed descent from the leaders of the Aryan invaders, but even the average Anglo-Indian does not realise that in the olden time the Brahmins (*i. e.*, the priestly class claiming descent from the families of Rishrus who composed the Vedic

hymns,) had developed no claim to precedence as a caste. "When," writes Sir W. Hunter, "the Brāhmins put forward their claim to the highest rank, the warriors or Kshatriyas were slow to admit it; and when the Brāhmins went a step further, and declared that only members of their families could be priests, or gain admission into the priestly caste, the warriors disputed their pretensions. In later ages, the Brāhmins having the exclusive keeping of the sacred writings effaced from them, as far as possible, all traces of the struggle." The term "caste" is derived from a Portuguese word and is only misleading when applied to conditions of life in India in the days when Buddha preached the doctrine of the threefold noble path.

Vardhamana or Mahavira was born about 599 and died about 527 B. C. Buddha, his greater rival, lived between 557 and 477 B. C. Both were sons of petty princes, and both commenced their mission amid the Kshatriyas, and both laboured within very much the same geographical area. At the age of thirty Mahavira became a monk, but as he had adopted absolute nudity as an essential practice in the saving faith, he parted from the monastic home of his clan, and wandered through North and South Bihar. After many years of preaching, he was at length acknowledged as Mahavira the "Great Hero" and Jina "the spiritual conqueror." Hence the name Jain. In company with the Buddhists, the Jains reject the Vedas of Brahminism. It is their belief that by unremitting discipline holy men can be perfected, as was their founder, into Jinas or spiritual conquerors. Time, for them, proceeds from two eternally recurring cycles of immeasurable duration—an "ascending" and a "descending" cycle, each being broken up into six stages of bad-bad, bad, bad-good, good-bad, good, good-good. At present (or at least until quite recently), we are in the bad stage, although even in this stage twenty-four Jinas have been deified. The world is formed of eternal atoms, and includes various hells and heavens. The principal ethical maxims are : 1. Do not kill or injure. 2. Do not tell lies. 3. Steal not. 4. Be chaste and temperate. 5. Desire nothing immoderately. The Buddhists, as keen missionaries, prize "three jewels"—the Buddha, the Law, and the Order: the Jains, more contemplative and inert, seek likewise three jewel—right faith, right cognition, right conduct. The Jain layman participates in the spiritual benefits emanating from the monastic order: the Buddhist layman is not in communion with the monastic body, and in fact may also attach himself to other organisations without losing what the Buddhist order has to offer. It is not hard to see that here we have one of the causes of the survival of Jainism and the disappearance of Buddhism in the motherland of the two systems. When the Mohammedan conquest burst over India, the Buddhist monasteries, already thinned out under Brahmanic pressure, disappeared, and the monks once gone, lay-Buddhism remained very much as in *Alice in Wonderland* the Cheshire cat's smile remained after the departure of the Cheshire cat. An account of "caricatured survivals of Buddhism in Bengal" by the learned Pandit Hara Prasād Shāstri will be found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1895.

It only remains to be said on the score of Jainism in the abstract, that the founder's practice of absolute nudity, which about 82 A. D., led to a great schism between the "white clothed" and the "shyad" or unclothed monks, and is now honoured in the breach rather than the observance thereof. The two sects of Jains exist, but their differences chiefly concern the clothing or absence of clothing on images, the number of heavens, etc.

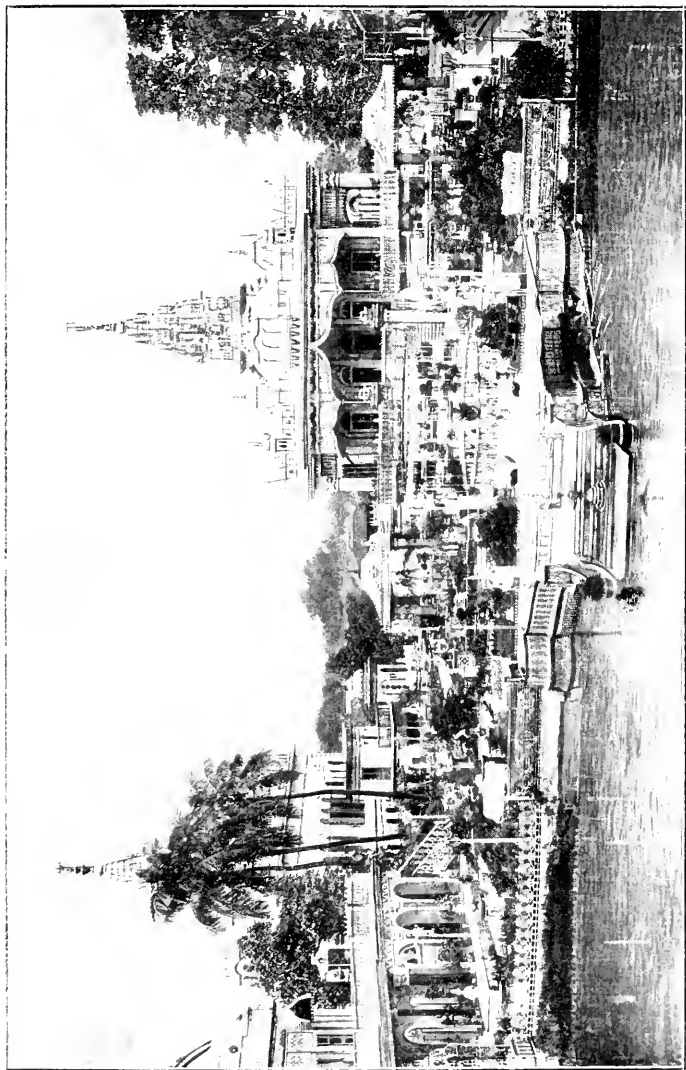
THE JAIN TEMPLE OF RAI BUDDREE DASS BAHADOOR.

No visit to Calcutta is considered complete without seeing the Jain Temple at Manicktola, founded in 1867 by

Rai Buddree Dass Bahadoor, Mookim and Court Jeweller to the Government of India, and the pride and ornament of the Jain community. The Calcutta Jains are mostly traders ; and the wealth of their community gives them a social importance greater than would result from their mere numbers. Like the magnificent series of temples and shrines on Mount Abu, the Manicktola Temple is one of the many striking outward signs of the wealth and importance of the community. The Temple is dedicated to Sitalnathjee, the tenth of the twenty-four Jain Trithankars or prophets.

From Rai Buddree Dass Bahadoor's Temple Street the traveller enters the Temple by a magnificent porch. Inside the grounds the scene is fairy-like. At one end stands the Temple, the great centre of attraction. It is built in the Jain style of Northern India. The principal part of the Temple is reached by a flight of wide marble steps. The landing is canopied by a triple-arched light roof of variegated glass of great artistic design. The Temple is flanked on three sides by a beautiful verandah. The walls are decorated on the outside with mosaic and other ornamental work. The Sanctuary is in three sections, in the innermost of which is placed the sacred image of the Trithankara. The outer sections of the Sanctuary are exquisitely ornamented from the floor to the ceiling. They are paved with marble and decorated in the centre with beautiful mosaic work. The ceilings and columns are all richly ornamented and gilded. The walls of the Sanctuary and its two aisles are tessellated and decorated with mosaic in pietroduro and with glass and stone work of a special kind. In the middle section of the Sanctuary there is a magnificent chandelier with over a hundred branches. The whole interior of the Temple is magnificently ornamented. Tourists from every quarter of the globe, who have visited the Temple, have pronounced it to be the finest of its kind in the East.

In the front of the temple lies the garden, in the centre of which is a beautiful fountain. All round are paved walks and pretty flower-beds. Indian as well as exotic plants are tastefully intermingled everywhere in the garden. Pavilions and statuary adorn the grounds.



Jain Temple. Manicktola.



Over against the Temple, on the further side of the garden, is a piece of ornamental water stocked with innumerable fish, which come to the surface at the call of the visitor. As the Jains do not destroy life, this is by no means a singular phenomenon.

Within the grounds there are buildings for holding receptions, for guests, pilgrims, etc. Also there is a magnificent Drawing Room which should be seen.

The Temple with its garden was designed by the founder himself, and bears testimony to his architectural and artistic taste.

The grounds are open to the public from sunrise to a late hour in the evening. But the best time to view them is in the morning and in the evening before dusk. The temple should also be viewed by moonlight when it presents a most romantic appearance.

The traveller should not fail also to visit the palatial residence of Rai Buddree Dass Bahadoor, the prince of jewellers in Calcutta at 152, Harrison Road, where a large collection of rare and valuable jewellery, as well as some of the priceless historic gems of India can be seen.

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

Leaving the Jain Temple, we turn up Beadon Street and enter Cornwallis Square. Here we find the General Assembly's Institution of the Established Kirk of Scotland. Few Europeans have perhaps ever exercised a more profound moral influence in the East than did the founder of the Institution—the famous missionary, Dr. Duff. Established in 1830, the Institution had several temporary homes, until in January 3rd, 1838, the present building was opened. The foundation-stone had been placed in position on February 23rd, 1838: the builders were Messrs. Mackintosh, Burn & Co., and the cost was between 50 and 60,000 rupees. In 1844 the missionaries seceded to the Free Kirk, and until 1846 it remained for the time closed. From that year, the late Dr. Ogilvy was in charge till his death in 1871. In 1864 the College Department was affiliated to the University of Calcutta, and in consequence became State-aided.

Christ Church, Cornwallis Square, is a centre of the Church Missionary Society's activity.

Driving down Cornwallis Street we pass the gateway of one of the best known community missions in the English Church—the Oxford Mission to Calcutta. This is the Head Quarters of the Brotherhood of the Epiphany who labour here, and at Barisal and Dacca, but chiefly among the University students. On the ground floor is a Chapel; a memorial to the late Canon Liddon. The private Oratory of the Brotherhood is on the second floor.

HOSPITALS.

After crossing Machua Bazár Street, we find on our right in College Street, the Medical College and the Medical College Hospital. The former was founded in 1834 by Lord William Bentinck, and the buildings were erected in the year following. The Hospital, designed and built by Messrs. Bird & Co., was opened in December, 1852: the foundation having been laid with full Masonic honours by a Mason-Viceroy, Lord Dalhousie, on September 30th, 1848. There are in fact five medical institutions within one and the same vicinity—the College, the College Hospital, the Eden Hospital, the Eye Infirmary and the Ezra Hospital. The last named institution erected in 1887, as a gift from Mrs. Ezra to the Jewish community of Calcutta, is on the North side of the compound. The Eden Hospital, for midwifery and diseases of women and children, was erected partly by Government provision and partly by charitable gifts, in 1882, when Sir Ashley Eden was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. The Eye Infirmary is the most recent of these benevolent institutions.

COLLEGES.

In College Street and its vicinity are:—

1. The Presidency College, the foundation of which was laid by Sir George Campbell in 1872. It is conducted by the Education Department of Bengal, and prepares candidates from all classes of the community for the Arts Examinations of the University.
2. The Hare School (South of the Presidency College).
3. The Sanscrit College is to the North of the square. It was founded in 1824, far back in the times when Oriental learning had not fallen under the discouragement of Lord Macaulay's famous Minute.

4. The University Senate House.

The University of Calcutta was founded by the Government of India in 1875. It is an examining rather than a teaching body.

Continuing our drive, we pass along the West side of Wellington Square.

“Excavated in 1822, it was one of the good works of the Lottery Committee. Its site was formerly occupied by wretched huts inhabited by lascars who made the place a mass of filth and dirt. The banks have several times fallen in, owing to the old creek called Channel Creek having formerly flowed through it.” Long : *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 296.

Crossing Dharamtollah and Jaun Bazár (Corporation Street), we enter Wellesley Square. On the North side is the Calcutta Madrasa, founded in 1781 by Warren Hastings, for the encouragement of Arabic learning and the study of Mohammedan Law. The present buildings were erected in 1820. At the north-west corner of the Square is the Free Kirk of Scotland, completed, after grave architectural disasters, in 1846. The spire is graceful. On the East side of the Square is St. Saviour’s, where on Sundays, the services of the English Church may be heard in at least three Indian languages.

THE FREE SCHOOL AND ST. THOMAS’ CHURCH.

We turn to the right down Marquis Street into Free School Street and then to the right once more. On our right we see the Girls’ Free School, made conspicuous by the figure of Charity on its roof. Then comes St. Thomas’ Church. The foundation-stone was laid by Lady W. Bentinck on April 13th, 1830, and the Church (completed November 20th, 1831) was consecrated by Bishop Wilson on February 2nd, 1833. The Church cost the Free School Institution Rs. 33,641.

“A clumsy steeple of the sugar-loaf pattern was added at the cost of about Rs. 5,000 raised by subscription. This was found too heavy for the foundations, it weighed 115 tons, and after it had been attended to several times it was removed by the Revd. S. B. Taylor in 1878, and the present “handsome light Italian Tower” as Mr. Taylor called it, was substituted at the small cost to the school of Rs. 1,000. It is interesting to note that the present tower is a fac-simile of that designed by Sir Christopher Wren for St. Mildred’s, Bread Street, London.” Archdeacon Kitchin : *Indian Church Quart. Review*, 1898, pp. 465—66.

The pulpit in the Church was the gift of the Revd. E. C. Stewart, afterwards Bishop of Waiapur, New Zealand.

To the North of the Church is the Boys' Free School. The first Charity School in Calcutta was founded somewhere between 1726 and 1731. This institution after 1757 had its Head Quarters in a house in Tank Place which also served as the Court House. Ultimately the Charity School Fund was merged into the Free School Fund. On December 21st, 1789, the Free School Society was founded at a public meeting presided over by Lord Cornwallis, and shortly afterwards the children commenced their labours at a house which still stands—No. 8, Mission Row. The present property—where once stood the house of Impey's colleague, Mr. Justice Le Maistre—was purchased in 1795, and for some years to come the School profited much from the proceedings of the annual Calcutta lotteries. In 1841 Free School Street was made by the Lottery Committee, and the Governors of the School were enabled to extend and define their boundaries of the School grounds. A great storm in 1852 played serious havoc with the already decayed buildings, and so in the following year, a New Boys' School was commenced by Messrs. Mackintosh, Burn & Co. from designs prepared by Col. W. Forbes. Since that time two considerable additions have been made. In the Mutiny year (and until July 1858), the Boys' School was placed at the disposal of the British troops, and among the records is preserved the following letter from the then Head Master to the then Secretary :—

“ Dear Sir,

“ As I was kept awake four hours last night by the noise of the guard beneath my window, I consider myself amply justified in deducting four hours from our school time to-day to complete my sleep.”

It may perhaps be pointed out that the Calcutta Free School is one of the most deserving of our Calcutta charities, but between 1872 and 1904, with one considerable exception, no benefactions of importance have been made. Should any wealthy visitor to Calcutta wish to memorialise his visit to the place he could not do better than send a gift for the school to the Secretary (St. Thomas' Parsonage, Free School Street), by whom it will be thankfully received and faithfully applied. The School must have saved many and many a piece of human wreckage from drifting down the stream named “ no purpose” to sure and certain misery.

CHAPTER VI.

THE VILLAGE OF CHOWRINGHI.

CHOWRINGHI* is, at the present day, practically the name of a road only—the road which from Dharamtollah in the North to Lower Circular Road in the South fringes the eastern boundary of the great Maidan. This road is, of course, a portion of the ancient Hindu pilgrim road from Chitpore to Kalighât, and even in 1794, in the proclamation defining the limits of the town, it is named “Chowringhi High Road.” But, historically, Chowringhi is a village or township rather than a road or street. In Apjohn’s map, prepared in 1792, the district of “Chowringhi” is placed immediately North of the present Park Street, and is separated from Dharamtollah by a number of native bazárs. So far back as 1714 “Cherangy” is named among the townships neighbourhood within the Pergunnah of Calcutta either possessed or desired by the Company. Bit by bit the name was extended from the village North of Park Street, or the “Burying Ground Road,” to cover the whole south-east part of Calcutta. In 1802 Lord Valentia writes: “Chowringhee, an entire village, runs for a considerable length at right angles with it (the Esplanade) and altogether forms the finest view I ever beheld in any city.”

In October 1824, Bishop Heber writes, “Chowringhee, lately a mere scattered suburb, but now almost as closely built as, and a very little less extensive than Calcutta.” † In the *Memoir of Bishop James*, Heber’s immediate successor, Chowringhi is described as a suburb “separated

* Derived perhaps from Cherani or Khali as cut to pieces by Vishnu’s disc, or from an ascetic named Charaunga Swami.

† Heber included the present Military Hospital, then the Sudder Dewan Court, within “Chowringhi.”

from Calcutta by an ancient bazār.*” Bishop Wilson, in his first appeal, on behalf of the Building Fund of St. Paul’s Cathedral, gives the year 1824 as the time at which a Church for the Europeans in Chowringhi was first felt to be desirable.

Remembering then, that the name Chowringhi originates in a village *North* of the present Park Street, we will, for the purposes of this Chapter, employ it to denote what, socially but not geographically, may be described as the “West End” of Calcutta—a district bounded by Park Street on the North, Lower Circular Road on the East and South, and the Maidan on the West. †

Writing in 1852, the Revd. J. Long records that : “There is a lady still living who recollects when there were only two houses in Chowringhi—to wit, the Palace of the first Chief Justice, Sir Elijah Impey, and the present St. Paul’s School.” We wonder whether the lady referred to was the famous Mrs. Ellerton, ‡ who in the year of the great Mutiny, was wont to recount how she had seen the body of Sir Philip Francis carried in a palanquin over Tolly’s Nullah “all bloody from the duel.”§ Claud Martin’s map of 1768, however, shows at least three European houses South of Park Street, and in Apjohn’s map of 1794, nearly 40 European residences are shown between Jaun Bazār and Park Street, and nearly forty southwards. This map also shows (but without names of course) Russell Street, Harrington Street, Camac Street, Theatre Road, London Street, Wood Street and Elysium Row. I am therefore inclined to accept the statement of the Revd. J. Long’s friend in the sense that I have accepted the statement of a lady who assured me that she was so very much interested in Mr. Hyde’s lectures on Old Calcutta for her mother had a cousin who was “thrown down the Black Hole.” The old lady’s memory must

* Doubtless the Jain (Jaun) bazār.

† In 1792 this district would have been known as the northern portion of Dhee Birjee.

‡ Mrs. Ellerton, the mother-in-law of Bishop Corrie, came to live with Bishop Wilson and his family at the Palace in 1855. “She jokes with me,” writes the Bishop, “and calls me twice seven (77). I keep four bearers for her exclusive use.” She died just three weeks after Bishop Wilson’s death in 1857, when she was not quite 86 years of age.

§ Francis was not conveyed across Tolly’s Nullah after the duel.

have been unduly tinged by her imagination, yet we may perhaps take her word for it that the two houses she mentions were the oldest in the Chowringhi suburb in 1848. Of Sir Elijah Impey's house something will be said later on under the heading of the Bishop's Palace.

"The present St. Paul's School"* was a fine old building standing where the Government Art School (soon to disappear) now stands. The School was founded in 1847, but in 1864 it was transferred to Darjeeling by Bishop Cotton. The building was purchased by Government and, after for a time sheltering the Bengal Secretariat, it was dismantled.

ST. PAUL'S CATHEDRAL.

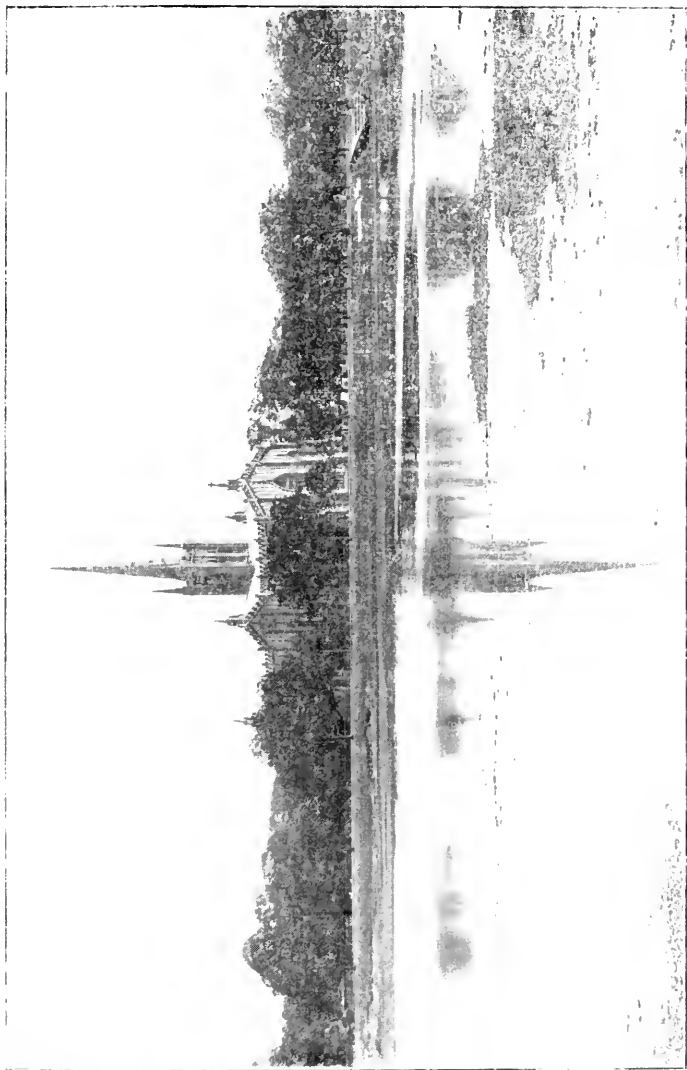
In the year 1819, plans for a magnificent Cathedral and Episcopal residence were drawn up, at the command of the Marquess of Hastings, by Major W. M. Forbes, the architect, who twenty years later designed the present building. The heavy cost of the Burmese War, however, necessitated retrenchment, and the idea of a Cathedral more pretentious than the Old Church of St. John, hung fire until at last the arrival of Chantrey's colossal statue of Bishop Heber necessitated more suitable accommodation than could be found for it at St. John's. From an isolated village Chowringhi had become the "Mayfair" of Calcutta, and a Church was now much needed for the magnates of the Company who had established their residences in this locality. The site assigned by Lord Auckland's government is described as "a waste space between Elliot's Tank and the Fives Court, and is in part occupied by the cross road from Chowringhi to the Prison." It was hoped that when the expense of building the Cathedral had been defrayed, money would be provided for removing the unsightly Fives Court. Unfortunately the money for that purpose has never come in, and the Fives (or rather the Racket Court) has been made still more unsightly!

* St. Paul's School took the place of "the Calcutta High School" founded in 1830 with the Revd. McQueen as first Head Master. For early history of the Calcutta European Educational Establishments, see the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XIII.

To the Building Fund Bishop Wilson himself contributed £10,000. The Hon'ble Company gave £15,000 and the site; the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge £5,000; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel £5,000; and the Revd. John Natt, Vicar of St. Sepulchre's, London, £4,000. In an early list of subscribers are to be found the names of John Henry Newman and Dr. Pusey. Indian subscriptions amounted to £12,000 and donations from home to £13,000. The Bishop subsequently gave another £10,000 to endow canonries, but this endowment has since been transferred to other objects. On October the 8th, 1839, the foundation-stone was laid by the munificent founder.

The building consists of a Choir, the Transept, and two bays of a nave which was originally intended to stretch very much further westward. The Choir measures internally 127 x 16 feet—dimensions very similar to those of Manchester. It was the founder's intention that the Organ should be placed in the eastern arch of the Lantern Tower, and the seats were for many years arranged East and West after the fashion prevalent in Cathedral Choirs in England. The demand for seats, however, has rendered this plan impracticable. The extreme length of the building is 242 feet; its width 81, and at the Transept 114. The Spire—described in the appeal for funds as an improvement on that of Norwich Cathedral—is the only part of the building which can be candidly described as graceful. It is 201 feet high.

The original East Window depicted the Crucifixion, and was the work of Benjamin West. It was originally intended to be a gift from King George III to St. George's Chapel, Windsor, but for some unknown cause it was never erected there. It was set up here in 1847, but completely wrecked by a cyclone in 1864. The present somewhat insipid window, procured by local subscription, is the work of Messrs. Clayton and Bell. To the right of it is a window presented by the Government of India in memory of Bishop Milman. To the left is a more satisfactory window—the gift of Sir Montague C. Turner. Beneath these windows are panel pictures set in alabaster framework. These pictures depicting scenes in the career



St. Paul's Cathedral.



of St. Paul, are in so-called Florentine mosaic and were designed by Sir Arthur Blomfield. The artist who designed the magnificent mosaics in the modern façade of the Duomo at Florence might reasonably protest against the description of Sir Arthur Blomfield's Cross-and-Blackwell potted-meat-label type of art as "Florentine," but the Calcutta Cathedral mosaics, erected at different dates as memorials to persons of distinguished merit, at least show that their designer's taste improved with years. On the North side of the sanctuary rest the mortal remains of Bishop Wilson. On the South side is the handsome Episcopal Throne recently erected, as a memorial of Bishop Johnson's episcopate, and designed by Mr. Thornton.

In memory of the Right Revd. DANIEL, fifth Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan in India; eight years Vicar of Islington, and twenty-five Bishop of this Diocese.

Born July 2nd, 1778.

Died January 2nd, 1858.

Ο Θ Ε Ο Σ Ι Α Α Σ Θ Η Τ Ι

Μ Ο Ι Τ Ω Α Μ Α Ρ Τ Ω Α Ω .*

This tablet is erected by the Bishop's Executors in conformity with his will.

The pride of the Cathedral is undoubtedly its great West Window erected in 1880 by the Government of India as a memorial to Lord Mayo. It is one of the masterpieces of the late Sir E. Burne Jones. To examine its lower lights, the visitor must ascend to the Cathedral Library over the Western Porch. The Library is perhaps the oldest extant free Public Library in India and contains many works of great value. It is scarcely up-to-date even in its theological department, and funds are wanting for the printing of a satisfactory catalogue. Next to the Western Window, the Cathedral may pride itself on its noble Organ—one of the finest ever built by Willis & Sons. The original Organ, erected in

* God be propitiated to me a sinner.

July 1897, cost £1,500. The present Organ, which has since been enlarged, was opened in January, 1881, and excluding its case, cost Rs. 25,000.

The southern portion of the Transept is much blocked up by the handsome marble tomb originally erected over Lady Canning's grave in Barrackpore Park, but brought here for protection against the effects of the rains. Chantrey's colossal statue of Bishop Heber (kneeling) was brought from the West Porch of St. John's where it had been subject to the injurious effects of the climate.

The monuments in the detruncated nave and the transept are full of interest to the student of Anglo-Indian history. The inscription on the monument of William Ritchie is by the pen of his relative—the novelist W. M. Thackeray. That on the monument to P. Vans Agnew and W. Anderson is worth quoting here, as although it is said to have been written by Macaulay, it is not given in the collected edition of that author's writings :

“Not near this stone nor in any consecrated ground, but on the extreme frontier of the British Indian Empire, lie the remains of Patrick Alexander Vans Agnew, of the Bengal Civil Service, and William Anderson, Lieutenant, 1st Bombay Fusilier Regiment, Assistants to the Resident at Lahore; whom being deputed by the Government to relieve, at his own request, Dewan Moolraj, Viceroy of Mooltan, of the fortress and authority which he held, were attacked and wounded by the Garrison on the 9th April, 1848, and being treacherously deserted by the Sikh escort, were on the following day, in flagrant breach of national faith and hospitality, barbarously murdered in the Edgah, under the walls of Mooltan. Thus fell these two young public servants at the age of 25 and 28 years, full of high hopes, rare talents, and promise of future usefulness; even in their deaths doing their country honour: wounded and forsaken they could offer no resistance; but hand-in-hand calmly awaited the onset of their assailants; nobly they refused to yield, foretelling the day when thousands of Englishmen should come to avenge their death, and destroy Moolraj, his army and fortress. History records how the prediction was fulfilled. They were buried with Military Honours on the summit of the captured citadel on the 26th January, 1849.

“The annexation of the Punjab to the British Empire was the result of the war, of which their assassination was the commencement.

“The Assistants to the Resident at Lahore have erected this monument to the memory of their friends.”

The inscription and verse on the memorial to the Volunteers from India who fell in the last South African

War was written by H. E. Lord Curzon, whose gift the monument is. It reads as follows :—

THIS TABLET

Has been placed in this Cathedral by
Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Govr.-Genl. of India,
Honorary Colonel of Lumsden's Horse,
In honour of those Members of the
First Corps of British Volunteers from India
Who have fought and died for the Empire.

Lumsden's Horse, raised by Lt.-Col. D. M. Lumsden,
From British subjects of the Queen in India,
Left Calcutta, 250 strong, in February, 1900,
To take part in the South African War
Under the Command of Field Marshall Lord Roberts.

They lost by death in action

Major Eden Charles Showers at Montnek 30 April 1900
Trooper Robert James Clayton Daubeney " "
Trooper Henry Charles Lumsden " "
Trooper Robert Upton Case " "
Trooper Arthur Fred. Franks " "
Trooper Arthur King Mears at Vet River, 6 May "
Sergt. Walter Larkins Walker at Boxburg, 26 Dec. "

By death from sickness

Trooper Montagu Beadon Follett at Johannesburg, 7 July 1900.
Lt.-Col. John Martin Halliday McLaine at Pretoria, 29 Aug. 1900.

These sons of Britain in the East
Fought not for praise or fame,
They died for England, and the least
Made greater her great name.

Opposite is the Woodburn Memorial erected by members of his own service.

The clock and the chimes were the work of Valliamy. "The chimes of Valliamy's clock in the Cathedral," writes Bishop Wilson in 1847. "are beginning to delight all Calcutta. The inscription on the great bell—'its sound is gone out into all lands'—is to be gilded. This with 'the arrow of the Lord's deliverance' will, I hope, prove an augury and pledge of the salvation of India." The arrow here so quaintly described was a gilded shaft of copper, nine feet long, set up on the summit of the spire on April 26th, 1845. The Bishop called it "a pledge of the arrow of the Lord's deliverance for India and of the Messiah's doctrine, being, like arrows, sharp in the heart of the King's enemies, so that the people may fall under it in penitence, faith, and allegiance." In 1869, the

workmen engaged on the repairs appropriated the copper arrow, and subsequently one of iron-gilt was set up in its place.

The handsome Communion Vessels were presented to the Cathedral by the late Queen-Empress.

During the last few years many improvements in the building have been carried out under the watchful eye of the present Senior Chaplain, the Revd. Canon A. G. Luckman. The roof of the Chancel, described in the *Eastern Star*, of February 26th, 1848, as "an iron-trussed roof which is highly ornamental, though a variation from the Gothic" and "next to that of Westminster Hall, one of the largest roofs in Christendom," has been redeemed from its former railway-station appearance * by a discreet and tasteful system of colouring. The former hideous gas lighting has been removed, and graceful electroliers substituted: electric fans have replaced the cumbrous punkahs, and the sanctuary relieved of the bellows of the Organ by the provision of a special chamber, fitted up with the most approved electrical machinery outside the wall of the Cathedral.

Before leaving the Cathedral, it is worth while to recall the fine record of its Bishops. Middleton, 1814-1823; Heber, 1823-1826; James, 1827-1828; Turner, 1829-1831; Wilson, 1832-1858; Cotton, 1858-1866; Milman, 1866-1876; have all died in the land of their adoption, and the first Bishop to resign the See (Johnson, 1876-1898) served strenuously for twenty-two years when past the prime of a busy life. Bishop Welldon came to India in 1899, after a serious but apparently not very successful operation, and in 1902 was compelled by constant attacks of fever to resign. The present Metropolitan has served the Church in the East since 1875, when he was consecrated to the See of Colombo. It may be worth while to add that until 1835, when the See of Bombay was created, there was only one Anglican Bishop for the whole of India, and his jurisdiction, extended not only over the Straits Settlements, but Australasia, and even partially to Cape Town. On St. Luke's day, 1855, the first consecration of an English Colonial

* The comparison is made by Lady Dufferin in *Our Viceregal Life in India*.

bishop out of England took place in Calcutta Cathedral, when "brave Macdougall," of Kingsley's poem,* was consecrated Bishop of Labuan by Bishop Wilson, assisted by Bishop Dealtry of Madras and Bishop Smith of Victoria.

THE BISHOP'S PALACE AND SOME OTHER HOUSES IN CHOWRINGHI.

The Calcutta residence of the Metropolitan of India is situated in Chowringhi Road, almost immediately facing the Cathedral. It is a fine house with a spacious verandah running round its West and southern sides. Close to the gateway there is a massive Chinese bell. The following is a translation of the inscription:—

BELL AT LIMBO AND PLACED IN THE SAINT'S CHURCH.

With joy and gladness we place this bell in the Church, so that the sound of its peals may not only be heard close by but afar.

The saints have their dwelling place everywhere.

If you believe, you will follow God's way and will find easy access to him.

On hearing the sound of the bell, you will be brought to a recollection of your sins.

Even the dead on hearing the sound of the bell will ascend to heaven.

We on this earth are burning in fire, on hearing the sound of this bell, will escape out of its heat to a cooler place.

Those who believe in God shall all become saints.

Chan Lung [Viceroy of] Thai-Chin in his 4th year,† on a lucky day in November, made this bell.

Quong-Si [Viceroy of] Thai-Chin in his 17th year made this inscription.

The present Palace was once the property of the Hon'ble Mr. Wilberforce Bird. It was purchased in 1849 by Bishop Daniel Wilson for Rs. 55,000, and on its improvements the same Prelate spent Rs. 24,000. The first Bishop of Calcutta, Dr. T. F. Middleton, who was denied the privilege of a Government provided episcopal residence seems to have lived in a house situated where the Alliance Bank of Simla now stands, close to the Old Cathedral and in the

* A famous context:—

"Do the work that's nearest,
Though it be dull at whiles,
Helping when you see them
Lame dogs over stiles."

† The fourth year of Chand Lung is said to be 1720 A. D.

heart of the City. At a later date, Middleton moved into Chowringhi, but his residence there has not been identified. Heber, who before leaving England, was careful to secure the promise of a free residence, was first accommodated in the house originally built for the Governors-General in Fort William and now the Outram Institute. Heber's next Calcutta residence was No. 3, Harrington Street, which he complained was "decidedly too small for the comfortable accommodation of my family and books, and at so considerable a distance from the Cathedral, the Free School and other scenes of my duty, as to render my removal to a more central situation an object of great importance." So the good Bishop was packed off to the former palace of Sir E. Impey which in the days of that much-abused individual had a park stretching from Chowringhi Road almost to Camac Street. The present Middleton Row (named after the Police Magistrate, S. Middleton) was its central drive. "It was surrounded," writes Mr. Long, "by a fine wall, a large tank was in front, and plenty of room for a deer park, a guard of *sipahis* was allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night, and occasionally firing off their guns and muskets to keep off the dakaits." I believe that the park and perhaps some of the house existed at the time Calcutta was besieged by Suraj-ud-Daula. This house is the present Loretto Convent in Middleton Row. Heber found it so large as to exclude all ideas of comfort. "I feel," he writes, "almost lost in a dining-room, sixty-seven feet long, a drawing-room of the same dimensions, a study supported by arcades, and though low in proportion to its size, forty-five feet square." He was, therefore, removed to No. 5, Russell Street, "in Dhee Birjee and Chowharbar, otherwise now called Chowringhee." It was in this house Bishop James spent his few months in Calcutta, and here, on July 7th, 1831, Bishop Turner breathed his last. Russell Street, we may remark in passing, is derived from Sir Henry Russell, who was appointed a Puisne Judge of the High Court in 1797. His house is said to have been the first built in this street, and here, on March 2nd, 1800, died the fair Rose Aylmer, who had come to India as Lady Russell's guest.

Walking from the Cathedral down Chowringhi Road, we may remember that the first footpath made in Calcutta is the one on which we are walking, and that it is not yet fifty years old. It was constructed in 1858, on the site of an open drain. We pass the vast depôt of the Army and Navy Stores which will perhaps be scarcely dwarfed even when the marble walls of the Victoria Memorial Hall have sprung up on the Maidan westward of the Cathedral. It is a pity that so fine a building, as the Army and Navy Stores undoubtedly is, should have been defaced by the untidy erections on its roof.

No. 33, Chowringhi Road, the present Bengal Club, was, in a much altered condition, the residence of Lord Macaulay in the days (1834) when he was Legal Member of the Supreme Council. Here he wrote for the *Edinburgh* some of his most famous *Essays* and sent them to be set up in type at the *Englishman Press*.* And here he conceived that Educational policy which the late Sir J. Seeley has so vigorously censured in his *Expansion of England*.

Lord Macaulay's view is well expressed in a letter of 1838 :—

“ Our English schools are flourishing wonderfully. We find it difficult—indeed, in some places, impossible—to provide instruction for all who want it. At the single town of Hooghly fourteen hundred boys are learning English. The effect of this education is prodigious. No Hindoo who has received an English education ever remains sincerely attached to his religion. Some continue to profess it as a matter of policy, but many profess themselves pure deists, and some embrace Christianity. It is my firm belief that if our plans of education are followed up, there will not be a single idolator among the respectable classes in Bengal thirty years hence. And this will be effected without any efforts to proselytise, without the smallest interference with religious liberty, merely by the natural operation of knowledge and reflection. I heartily rejoice in the prospect.” *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*. Vol. I. p. 489.

From the *Calcutta Review* of 1848 we cull :—

“ When Mr. Macaulay arrived here, Calcutta—as its wont is—rushed to bow the knee to the new Baal. This sort of idolatry is enough of itself to turn the head of any man, save one of simple manners and noble dignity of character. Macaulay is not a man of simple manners—and we leave it to others to say, what traces of hospitality, benefit, kindness, or large disinterestedness he has

* See Daniel's picture in the Victoria Memorial Collection.

left behind him. The Scotch next crowded to his levée and bo-hood—and begged of him to preside at their St. Andrew's feast. He came accordingly and made one grand artificial sounding brass and tinkling cymbal kind of speech. How the ears of these Caledonians must have tingled, when thrice in the course of that memorable evening (thrice the brindled cat hath mewed) Mr. Macaulay assured them he was *not* a Scotchman."

We now turn into *Park Street*, named the "Burial Ground Road" in Apjohn's map of 1794 :

Park Street so-called because it led to Sir E. Impey's Park. Being *out of town* last [*i.e.*, the XVIIIth] century, it was the route for burials from town (*i.e.*, the part north of Tank Square) to the Circular Road burial-ground, hence it was dreaded as a residence. "All funeral processions are concealed as much as possible from the sight of the ladies, that the vivacity of their tempers may not be wounded"—death and dancing did not harmonise together.* We find in the *India Gazette* of 1788 a notice from T. Maundesley, undertaker advertising for work, 'having regularly followed that profession in England.† He states that, on account of the great distance of the burial-ground, he has built a hearse and is fitting up a mourning coach—previous to that what a gloomy scene in Park Street, a funeral procession continuing one hour or more. The coffins, covered with a rich black velvet pall, were carried on men's shoulders and the European pall-bearers arranged (5) a little before they came to the ground.' "The Rev. J. Long in the *Calcutta Review*. Vol. XVIII, p. 288.

THE BENGAL ASIATIC SOCIETY.

At the corner of Park Street, No. 57, is the house of the ASIATIC SOCIETY OF BENGAL. This distinguished Society was founded on January 18th, 1784. Its first President was Sir William Jones, and its earliest patron Warren Hastings.

"In the terms of the original resolution, the object of the Society was 'enquiry into the history and antiquities, arts, sciences, and literature of Asia.' Dilating on this definition, Sir William Jones remarked : 'You will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous falsic nature ; will correct the geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries ; will trace the annals and even traditions of those nations who, from time to time, have peopled or desolated it ; and will bring to light their various forms of Government with their institutions civil and religious. You will examine their improvements and methods in arithmetic and geometry—in trigonometry, mensuration, mechanics,

* Lord Valentia [1802]. "Consumptions are very frequent amongst the ladies which I attribute in a great measure to their incessant dancing, even during the hottest weather. After such violent exercise they go into the verandahs, and expose themselves to a cool breeze and damp atmosphere." *Travels*, Vol. I, p. 195.

† At Madras, in 1789, the famous educationalist, Dr. Bell, was "Superintendent of the undertaker's office." About this time in a course of lectures "he performed the experiment of making ice, which was the first time it had been exhibited in India." He also, by an accident, constructed the first hot air balloon made in India. Southey's *Life of Dr. Bell* is one of the thousand deeply interesting books which Anglo-Indian readers have lost sight of.

optics, astronomy and general physics; their systems of morality, grammar, rhetoric and dialectics; their skill in surgery and medicine, and their advancement, whatever it may be, in anatomy and chemistry. To this you will add researches into their agriculture, manufacture, and trade; and whilst you enquire into their music, architecture, painting, and poetry, will not neglect those inferior arts, by which comforts and even elegances of social life are supplied or improved.' To give emphasis to these details Sir William Jones added: 'If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our enquiries within these spacious limits, we answer MAN AND NATURE: whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other.' *Centenary Review of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.* From 1784 to 1885. Pp. 4—5.

The Society originally met at the Grand Jury Rooms of the Supreme Court once in every week. In 1796 the project of providing a suitable house for the Society was first mooted, but it was not until July 1804 that the spot of land at the corner of Park Street, formerly a Riding School, was granted by the Government, and even until 1849 the Society had to put up with the existence of "the establishment of a Police Thannah and Fire Engine" on what is now the lawn before their portico. The present house was originally designed by Captain Lock of the Bengal Engineers in 1805. It was completed in 1806 by a French builder, Jean Jacques Pichar, at the total cost of Rs. 30,000. The Society has never stinted the use of its rooms to the public. In 1822 the Baptist Missionaries from Serampore were permitted to give a course of lectures here on phrenology! For thirty years the Medical and Physical Society of Calcutta held their meetings and had an office within these hospitable walls. The Photographic Society of India, until quite recently, had their Head Quarters in the basement, and the Staunton Chess Club used to foregather at No. 57, Park Street, even more frequently than the true and lawful proprietors. To Lord Curzon, who has always taken a very active interest in the Society and attended its meetings, the Society is indebted for the recent repair of its buildings.

A few years ago a proposal was mooted to resolve the Asiatic Society into a "Royal Society of India." When the Royal Asiatic Society was founded in London in 1829 it condescendingly offered its great-grandmother the high and sublime privilege of affiliation. A similar privilege had been offered to a literary society in Bombay and eagerly accepted, but in Calcutta the Society preferred

for many years to remain *The Asiatic Society*. Society's library, very imperfectly catalogued, contains at least :

English Books and MSS.	..	19,842	Vols.
Arabic do.	..	1,161	„
Persian do.	..	1,506	„
Urdu do.	..	300	„
Sanscrit do.	..	3,378	„
Do. Ms. (Govt. Property)	..	2,507	„
Tibetan Xylographs	..	256	„
Chinese „	..	350	„
Burmese, Siamesc, etc., do. MSS. on palm leaves	..	125	„
Total		..	29,425

“ The early history of the Oriental library is very much the same as that of the European one. The Society depended mainly on casual gifts from members, and they were not numerous. The first accession of any importance was a gift from the Seringapatam Prize Committee (February 3rd, 1808). It included a selection from the Library taken in *loot* from the palace of Tipu Sultan. There were among them many old and rare works, including a great number of beautifully illuminated manuscripts of the Quran, and of that part of it called *Pansurah*. An exceedingly well written old text of the Gulistan, said to be the first copy from the original manuscript of the author, and a codex of the *Pidshânîmâh* bearing an autograph of the Emperor Shah Jehan, were amongst them. On the abolition of the College of Fort William, the whole of its Sanscrit, Arabian, Persian, and Urdu works, mostly in manuscript, collected at great expense and trouble under the superintendence of Gladwin, Carey, Gilchrist, and other distinguished Oriental scholars, were placed under the custody of the Society.” *Review*, etc.

The publications of the Society alone constitute a library of importance, and the names of distinguished members—Jones, Colebrooke, Wilkins, Davis, H. H. Wilson, James Prinsep, D. H. Mill, Brian Hodgson, Wallich, McLelland,—to mention only the ancients, would be sufficient in themselves to render the Society important in the annals of British learning.

The Zoological, Ethnological, and Archæological collections had by 1866 outgrown the accommodation the Society could provide for them. The Government, therefore, took them over for its then New Museum, offering the Society free rooms at the Chowringhi Museum in which to hold its meetings. Unable to keep to this promise, the Government gave a lac and a half of rupees to compensate the Society.

The visitor should certainly not fail to inspect the Society's collection of oil paintings and busts. Some of the

most important of these have been transferred on permanent loan to the Victoria Memorial Hall exhibition.

“Many of the paintings are also memorials, which the members secured, of their distinguished collaborateurs; the others are of a miscellaneous character, and most of them belonged at one time to the studio of Mr. Hume. That gentleman was an artist, and at the beginning of this century lived for several years in Calcutta, and took an active interest in the affairs of the Society. Subsequently he went up to Lucknow and made a fortune in the service of Gháziudin Hyder, the then King of Oudh. During his tour in Europe he collected many rare pictures, and on his death his two sons, who were then in active service as officers in the Bengal Army, deposited them with the Society on the condition that should they not be able to remove the collection within a reasonable time, it should become the property of the Society. The sons died about forty years ago [written in 1885], and the pictures accordingly now belong to the Society.”

FREEMASONS' HALL.

Continuing our way up Park Street we pass, on the left at No. 56, the new Freemasons' Hall. In remote times the Provincial Grand Lodge met at the Town Hall or Assembly Rooms. In 1786 it moved into a habitation prepared for its reception by a firm of auctioneers, Messrs. Gould & Burrell, over their place of business in Lall Bazar, just opposite the present Police Station and next door to a once popular tavern known (by the name of a fashionable musical society it displaced) as the Harmonic. From 1840 to 1904 the Masonic Head Quarters were at No. 55, Bentinck Street. In the Banqueting Hall there is an interesting portrait of the Marquess of Hastings, who was the first and only “Grand Master of all India.”

At the corner formed on the left by Free School Street and Park Street, we pass the Doveton College for boys. In the library there is an oil painting of the founder—Captain John Doveton, of H. H. the Nizam's Army.

“Doveton is an illustrious name, often mentioned in the history of the campaigns in Afghanistan, Mysore, and Central India. Although neglected by his relatives, John belonged to this house. One of his uncles, however, on making enquiries after a dead brother, found that brother's son, a poor friendless orphan in a charity school at Madras! He succeeded in obtaining for his nephew a commission in the Army of the Nizam of Hyderabad. John's service dated from 21st March, 1817, and, in the 7th Regiment of Infantry, he rose to be ‘Captain and Commandant’—a rank second only to that of Brigadier. The uncle, who had taken so kindly an interest in him, died, and when Captain Doveton inherited from him a large fortune, he forthwith resigned his commission and proceeded to London, where he passed away on the 15th October, 1853. He belonged to the Baptist persuasion, and in his political views was

an ultra-radical. Being an Eurasian by birth, he took an interest in the education of his community and bequeathed his fortune of nearly £50,000 for that purpose. This sum was equally divided between the Parental Academy at Calcutta (the name of which was thereupon changed to *Doveton College*, and to the *Doveton Protestant College* which was soon after founded at Madras."—Stark & Madge : *East Indian Worthies*, p. 34.

The founder and first honorary secretary of the "Parental Academic Institution" was J. W. Ricketts, a son of Ensign John Ricketts of the Bengal Engineers and a ward of the Upper Military Orphanage at Kidderpore. He was for some years Secretary to the Board of Customs, and at the time of his death (July 28th, 1835) was Additional Principal Sudder Amin of Gya. On March 31st he was examined at the bar of the House of Lords by a Select Committee on the affairs of India. His portrait by Charles Pote will be found in the College Library. Kyd, the founder of the Kidderpore Dockyard, was another of the Anglo-Indian or Eurasian community interested in the early fortunes of the *Doveton College*. Beside the Parental Institution this remarkable body of Anglo-Indians had a scheme for the reclamation of Sangor Island and the establishment there of a fine sanitarium.

Camac Street which meets Park Street on our right commemorates a Calcutta worthy in the days of Warren Hastings—William Camac. Wood Street and Upper Wood Street we are succinctly told by a Mr. A. K. Ray in the *Census of India*, 1901 (Vol. VIII, Part I), are named after Mr. Henry Wood, who, on the 13th July, 1818, brought to the notice of the Lottery Committee "the inadequate manner in which the establishment entertained for the purpose performed its duty in removing the filth."

We now find on our right the portico of St. Xavier's College—originally part and parcel of the Sans Souci Theatre,* Nos. 10 and 11 form the College, and No. 12 is the Palace of His Grace, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Calcutta. No. 46 is the New Club. In this house, once occupied by the Surveyor-General's Office, Mr. William Meadows Farrell, a distinguished Bengal Freemason, kept a school

* In 1843 a sad fate befel the famous Calcutta actress Mrs. Leach when playing at the *Sans Souci*. Some of her draperies came in contact with a lamp, and the unfortunate woman was burned to death.

for boys one hundred years ago. Among his pupils was a Eurasian lad, Dale Byrne, who in 1834 proposed in the *Christian Intelligence* a scheme for a "Church Building Society." That Society, embodied in the "Board of Church Extension," still exists. Dale Byrne was buried in the South Park Street Cemetery in a nameless grave, but a tablet to his memory is to be found in the Old Mission Church.

LOUDON STREET, which is passed on the right, commemorates the Marchioness of Hastings who was Countess of Loudon in her own right. In Wood Street, in olden times "Hindu Stuart," an eccentric Englishman who professed himself a devotee of Indian gods, and carried his idols about with him, had his museum.

Proceeding on our way, we find on our left Tiretta's Burial Ground opened in the year 1796.

"Tiretta was, I believe, an architect and land surveyor, and also I think registrar of leases in Calcutta; he was wealthy. His name is still preserved in that of a bazaar in Calcutta.* There is a quaint letter from him to Hastings introducing a young lady who came from England to Calcutta: Miss Roselyn de Carrion, 'sister of that unfortunate and lovely consort which for the space of three years has made my happiness, and which six months ago I had the misfortune of losing for ever, leaving me a little babe as a pledge of her friendship.' His wife died in 1796 and was buried in the Portuguese burying-ground, but nearly two years afterwards, 'owing to circumstances too painful to relate,' the widower had the remains exhumed and transferred to a grave in a cemetery which he bought for the purpose, and where her tomb is still standing. Tiretta presented the new cemetery called after him (in Park Street) to all the Catholic Europeans, or their immediate descendants dying in this settlement. On the tomb she is described as *Uxor Edwardi de Treviso*. It may be worth noting that 'le jeune Comte Tiretta de Treviso' is the name of one of the many boon companions whose unsavoury exploits in the service of Venus Casanova tells of in his extraordinary memoirs. More noteworthy still he says, he afterwards went to Bengal and was there in 1788 well off."—Busteed: *Echoes of Old Calcutta*. Note on pages 297-8.

THE SOUTH PARK STREET CEMETERY.

We now come to the South Park Street Cemetery, the great Burial Ground opened on August the 25th, 1767.

Most mournful of graveyards are those walled-up ghastly settlements, desolate spaces of brick ruins, and blotched plaster, reproachful of forget-

* In the Chitpur Road, established by Tiretta in about 1788. "It yielded," writes Long "a monthly rent of Rs. 3,800. It was valued then at two lakhs, and Tiretta, having become bankrupt, his creditors offered it at that sum as a prize in a Lottery." *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 293. The advertisement of the Lottery will be found in Seton-Karr's *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. I, pp. 292-3. In 1793 Tiretta was Senior Warden of Lodge *Industry with Perseverance*.

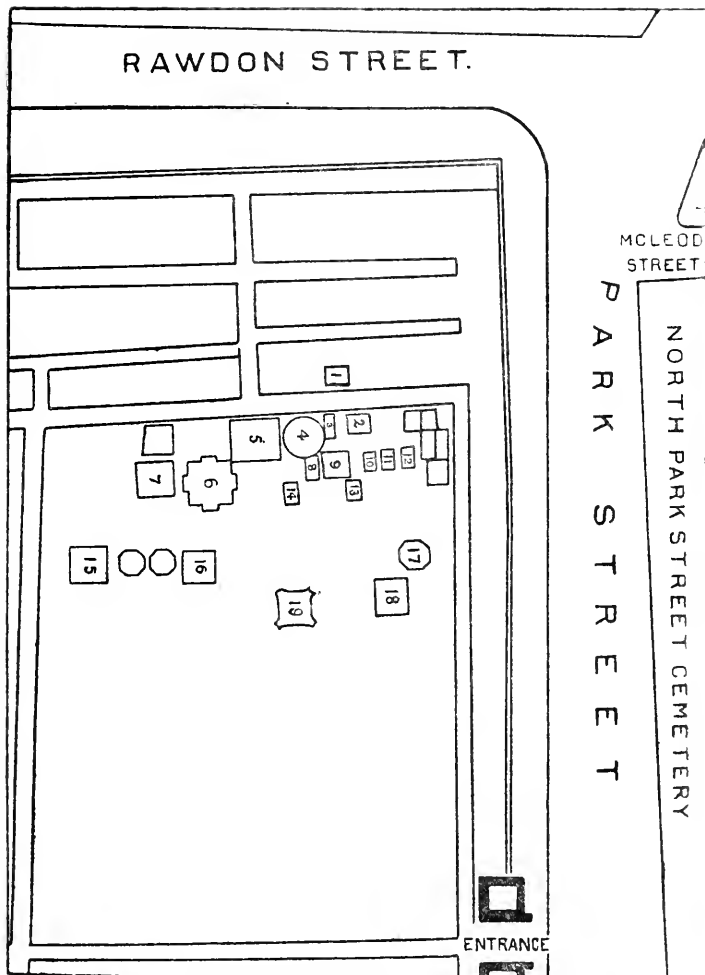
fulness and neglect. It was difficult to restrain some retrospective pity for the inmates of those squalid tenements—for their hard, hot lives more than a hundred years ago, solaced by none of the alleviations which have become necessities of our modern Indian existence; with few airy verandahs or lofty ceilings, without punkabs, without ice, without possibilities of change to the hills, or respite to their exile by visits home. The mental stagnation of a small society given to arrack and heavy dinners in the heat of the tropical day, and dependent for their news of the outer world on three or four shipments a year, produced a *tedium vite* even harder to bear. 'The waste of spirits in this cursed country,' cried Sir Philip Francis, the man of all others best fitted to bear up against the malady, 'is a disease unconquerable, or misery unutterable.' If the world dealt hardly with them in life, it has made no amends to their memory. As I thought of how much they achieved, and how little they have been honoured, I found myself involuntarily composing an apology for the dead."—Sir W. Hunter: *The Thackerays in India*, pp. 10—11.

Sir W. Hunter has pointed out that the South Park Street Burial Ground, 'that Aeldama of ancient animosities' supplies the necrology of the first or Calcutta Act of the long Drama of the feud between Hastings and Francis which resulted from the blundering folly which, in appointing Hastings to rule in the joint interest of the Crown and Company, sent out a Council to override him by a majority of votes. Sir John Clavering, the new Commander-in-Chief, Colonel Monson, and Sir P. Francis, as we have described elsewhere, arrived in Calcutta in October 1774. The Colonel lost his wife in September, 1776, and he himself, unable from the first to bear up against the climate, was carried hither a year later.

"The Lady Anne Monson felt that she was much too good for Indian Society, being in fact a daughter of the Earl of Darlington, and a great granddaughter of Charles II. by Barbara Villiers. But she consoled herself for her uncourtly surroundings by whist parties that led the fashion in Calcutta. She was herself a superior player, and it was at her house Francis began his whist winnings, which, as he tells a friend in 1776, 'on one blessed day of the present year of our Lord' amounted to £20,000. It was Lady Anne, too, who set afloat the story that Warren Hastings* was the natural son of a steward of her father."—Sir W. Hunter: *op. cit.*, pp. 18—19.

The Colonel died at Hooghly just seven months after his wife. Monson had served bravely both in the wars in the Carnatic and in Draper's expedition against Manila. He and his wife lie in nameless graves near the path, West of the grave of General Clavering.

* Sir Wm. Hunter well says "Nor was her slander more audacious than the falsehood to which Macaulay has put the seal of history." Macaulay informs us that Hastings' father, "an idle worthless boy, married before he was sixteen, lost his wife in two years, and died in the West Indies."



N.-W. Corner South Park Street Cemetery.

- | | |
|---|----------------------------------|
| 1. Mrs. M. KINSEY | 10. Mrs. A. WEDDERBURN. |
| 2. Col. GEORGE MONSON (unnamed). | 11. JOHN SAMPSON. |
| 3. Lady ANNE VANE MONSON (unnamed). | 12. Dr. ROWLAND JACKSON. |
| 4. ANN, HENRIETTA, EDWARD COLLINS
and JANE MARRIOTT CHAMBERS. | 13. WARREN HASTINGS LARKINS. |
| 5. EDWARD WHELER. | 14. Capt. ROBERT SAMUEL FIELDER. |
| 6. Mrs. ELIZABETH BARWELL (unnamed). | 15. AUGUSTUS CLEVELAND. |
| 7. GEORGE HURST. | 16. Sir ALEXANDER SETON, BAR. |
| 8. Sir JOHN CLAVERING, K.C.B. | 17. Major-General JOHN GARSTIN. |
| 9. CHARLES STAFFORD PLAYDELL
(1st Commissioner of Police, 1779.) | 18. Col. THOMAS DEANE PEARSE. |
| | 19. (Nameless Grave.) |



The General followed his colleague to the shades scarcely a year later. "Clavering was the real hero of Guadelope," wrote Horace Walpole, "he has come home with more laurels than a boar's head." A recently published letter of Charles Grant's gives a memorable illustration of the General's temper: this letter will be found in our account of the Budge Budge Road. Before departing for India, he had challenged even the great Duke of Richmond, and the challenge had produced an apology which satisfied even the pugnacious Clavering.

"To the memory of SIR JOHN CLAVERING, Knight of the Most Hon'ble Order of the Bath, Lieutenant-General in His Britannic Majesty's Service, and Colonel of the 52nd Regiment of Foot; Second in the Supreme Council of Fort William in Bengal: and Commander-in-Chief of all the Company's Forces in India. Died August 30th, 1777, in the 55th year of his age, and was interred here."

A tablet of black marble set beneath a white fluted column bears the inscription:—

In memory of The Honorable ROSE WHITWORTH AYLNER, who departed this life, March the 2nd, A. D. 1800; aged 20 years.

What was her fate? Long long before her hour,
 Death called her tender soul, by break or bliss,
 From the first blossoms, from the buds of joy:
 Those few our noxious fate unblasted leaves:
 In this inclement clime of human life.*

The friendship between Walter Savage Landor and Rose Aylmer commenced when, after his brief and troubled career at Oxford, the young poet met with, and was received on intimate terms, by Lord Aylmer and his family at a secluded village on the Welsh Coast. Landor was then but twenty-one, and Rose then but sixteen.

"When the buds began to burst
 Long ago with Rose the first,
 I was walking joyous then,
 Far above all other men,
 Till before us up there stood
 Britonferry's oaken wood
 Whispering happy as thou art
 Happiness and thou must part."
 Landor: *The Three Roses*.

After the second marriage of her mother, Rose left England to stay with her Aunt Lady Russell, wife of Sir

* Young's *Night Thoughts*.

Henry Russell, then one of the Puisne Judges and afterwards Chief Justice. Wrote Landor—

“Where is she now? Called far away
By one she dared not disobey,
To those proud halls for youth unfit,
Where princes stand and judges sit,
Where Ganges rolls his widest wave
She dropped her blossom in the grave;
Her noble name she never changed
Nor was her nobler heart estranged.”

During an hour of sleeplessness Landor wrote the elegy which enshrines in a casket of pearl the name of Rose Aylmer.

“Ah! what avails the sceptred race!
Ah! what the form divine!
What every virtue, every grace!
Rose Aylmer, all were thine.
Rose Aylmer, whom these wakeful eyes
May weep, but never see.
A night of memories and of sighs,
I consecrate to thee.”*

Twelve years later the body of James Thomas Aylmer, Rose's brother, was consigned to a Calcutta tomb.

No grave in the South Park Street Cemetery should be more revered than the one in which rest the mortal remains of that great and good man—Sir William Jones. When he and his wife† arrived in Calcutta in September 1783, his reputation as an orientalist had preceded him, and he at once took the leadership of the scholars whose visions of what Oriental learning might have in store for them was still undimmed by the disappointments awaiting later inquirers. From 1783 to his death in 1794 he was a Puisne Judge of the Supreme Court.

“During the sittings of the Court, he lived at Garden Reach. He walked every morning from his house to his chambers,‡ a distance of three or four miles, so as to reach the latter place before the first appearance of the sun. There he spent three or four hours in close study before the opening of the

* “I have just seen Charles and Mary Lamb living in absolute solitude at Enfield. I found your poems lying open before Lamb.” He is ever muttering “Rose Aylmer.” *Crabbe Robinson*.

† A daughter of Bishop Shipley of St. Asaph, and consequently the aunt of Bishop Heber's wife, who was a daughter of Dean Shipley, the Bishop's son.

‡ In the “new Court House” on the site of the present High Court. The Garden Reach House of Sir W. Jones is probably one of those which have recently been destroyed to admit of the extension of the Docks.

Court. After his labours on the bench were over he seems regularly to have retired with his Pandits* for the furtherance of his great work on Hindu law and the evening he spent in the reading with Lady Jones of books in all modern European languages and in playing chess. Every third month, however, this plan was suspended by the necessity of spending his evenings in the Loll Bazaar in order to be in readiness to issue warrants for the apprehension of drunkards! The Court sat for eight months in the year, and the other four, with the exception of this month of duty as Justice of the Peace in the Loll Bazaar, he spent the first year in a trip to Benares, the second on a visit to Chittagong, and the subsequent years at a cottage in the District of Krishnagur, in the neighbourhood of Nudiya. Here, away from the strife of plaintiff and defendant, his mind went forth unrestrained on the pursuits that were dearest to it. The earnest investigation of Sanscrit lore, the study of botany and the conduct of literary and scientific correspondence never left him a vacant hour and frequently called forth from him the acknowledgement that but for one abatement, he was as happy as it was possible or perhaps proper, for any man to be in this world."—*Calcutta Review*, Vol. VI, pp. 207—8.

Sir William had hoped to rejoin his wife, who after constant illness, had been invalided home, but the conscientious desire to complete his work on Hindu Law, which required the co-operation of his Pandits, kept him in Calcutta until it was too late.

"On the 20th April 1794, he called on the Governor-General, Sir John Shore (Lord Teignmouth), and told him that he felt indisposed, and was returning home to take some medicine. He seems to have been more severely affected than he supposed (a thrice-told tale in Indian biography) and his medical attendant was not called for several days. On the 27th, Sir John Shore was sent for, and reached his home just in time to see him die. He was lying on his bed in a posture of meditation; and the only symptom of remaining life was a small degree of motion in the heart which, after a few seconds ceased, and he expired without a pang or groan."—*Ibid.*

An early occupant of the Bench of the Supreme Court, in fact one of the first to be appointed, lies here also—Sir John Hyde. The Judges of the Supreme Court were, as we have seen, also justices of the peace—"an objectionable arrangement," Dr. Busteed well remarks, "which involved the eventual trial of a prisoner at the assizes by a judge who had already come to a conclusion as to his guilt." Thus Mr. Justice Le Maistre, on May 6th, 1775, as sitting Magistrate, with the assistance of Hyde heard the evidence and committed Nuncomar for trial, and both of them sat with the Chief Justice,

* To Pundit Ram Lochan, a Vaidya, he paid Rs. 500 a month for lessons in Sanskrit.

Sir Elijah Impey, and Justice Chambers, when this famous case came up at the Assizes, Hyde died in office after 21 years' service at the age of 39. He and his wife were noted for the hospitality which they dispensed from a house, rented at Rs. 1,200 a month, where the Town Hall now stands.

Sir Robert and Lady Chambers are best known to us from certain oft-quoted passages in Boswell's *Life of Johnson*. Two of their infant children are buried here, and a little son who perished in the shipwreck of the *Grosvenor* off the West Coast of Africa in August 1782.

"In the Calcutta cemeteries, as in our station graveyards throughout Bengal, the tiny graves rise close. The price has always been paid in the lives of little children. To many of the early fathers of Calcutta the curse on the re-builder of Jericho came literally home. 'He shall lay the foundation thereof on his first born and in his youngest son shall be set up the gates of it.' In the same South Park Street graveyard each general or one of the Balleys during the first half of the century laid a child, one of them burying two infant sons within two years."—Sir W. Hunter, *op. cit.*, pp. 61 and 62.*

The tomb of Richard Becher is worthy of a visit. He has been described "as the only Englishman who, amid calamity and misrepresentation, really strove to grapple with the great famine of 1770." Two of his sons came out to Bengal in 1781 to join the Civil Service, and the daughter of one of these sons—John—became the wife of Richmond Thackeray and mother of William Makepeace Thackeray. The inscription on the grave of Thackeray's great-grandfather at least suggests that from the grand sorrow-broken Civil Servant the novelist derived the insight which produced Colonel Newcome :

"Sacred to the memory of an honest man! This humble stone records ye name and Fate (the latter alas how unequal to his worth!) of Richard Becher, Esq., late member of ye Board of Trade, and once of ye Council of this Presidency. Thro' a long life pass'd in the service of ye Company, what his conduct was the annals of ye Company will show. On this tablet sorrowing friendship tells, that having reach'd, in a modest independence, what he deem'd the honorable reward of a life of service, to enjoy it. He return'd, in ye year 1771, to his Native Land where private esteem and public confidence awaited, but where Misfortune also overtook him. By Nature open, liberal and compassionate, Unpractised in Guile himself, and not suspecting it in others. To prop ye declining credit of a friend, He was

* * There is a pathetic interest in this passage for all those who have read Sir W. Hunter's *Life* and recall the loss in India of his little child Brian.

led to put his all to hazard, and fell the Victim of his own benevolence. After a short Pause and agonizing Conflict Roused by domestic Claims to fresh exertions in 1781, he returned to ye Scene of his earlier Efforts. But ye vigour of life was passed, and seeing thro' ye Calamity of ye Times, his prospects darken in ye hopeless efforts to re-erect ye Fortunes of his Family, Under ye pang of Disappointment and ye Pressure of ye Climate, a worn Mind and debilitated Body, Sunk to Rest. Unerring Wisdom ordained that his reward should not be of this World, and removed him to an Eternity of Happiness." 17th November, 1782. *Etatis Sux.* 61.

Augustus Cleveland is a name remembered by but a few of his countrymen, but for a century and more the memory of the just administrator who, to borrow the words of the epitaph, "accomplished, by a system of conciliation" what could never be accomplished by coercion was revered by the half-savage hillmen of Rajmahal. At the early age of 29 he died, January 12th on board the *Atlas*,* when proceeding to the Cape for the recovery of his health. "His remains," says the inscription, "preserved in spirits, were brought up to town in the pilot sloop."

"Within sight of the room he occupied in Mr. Nesbit's house, stood the Hindu *mut*, erected to the memory of Mr. Cleveland (*sic*)—a monument, at once recording the popularity that amiable man had acquired, and the grateful feelings the native population were eager to evince for the kind consideration with which he treated them." [At Bhaghulpur].—*Brief Memoirs of Bishop James*, p. 166.

On his left, as he wanders up the pathway from the entrance to the Cemetery, the reader will find the tomb of one whom Burke described as Hastings' "supple, worn down, beaten, cowed, and, I am afraid, bribed colleague," Mr. Wheler. Appointed by the Directors to take Hastings' place in 1777 when the great Pro-Consul's resignation was expected, Wheler succeeded the pugnacious Clavering on that worthy's death. On April the 8th, 1784, Wheler "gave a public breakfast at the Old Court House," after which, the Governor-General being absent at Manickpoor, the party proceeded to the site of St. John's Church, where the first stone was laid in solemn form.†

Among other eminent Civil Servants lie here Henry Vansitart (died October 1, 1786), the "ubiquitous" William

* Mrs. Warren Hastings was on board.

† Cf. Seton-Karr: *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. 1, p. 12 and p. 27.

Archibald Edmondstone (died 1803), George Richard Foley, Robert Ker, Sir John Hadley, D'Oyly and Henry Davenport Shakespeare.

Here lie, distinguished for valour or arduous service, Lt.-Col. Robert Bruce, Major Peter Lewis Grant. Lt.-Genl. Sir John Macdonald, Col. Sir James Morrat, Col. Thos. Bruce, Major-Genl. John Garstin, R.E., and Col. Thomas Dunne Pearse, known to fame as Hastings' second in the duel with Francis, but worthier of wider and more enduring renown as "the Father of the Bengal Artillery." To Col. Pearse's memory stands a tall column—much needing the attention of the P. W. D—in the compound of Dum Dum Church.

Close to the entrance lie the remains of the "Patriarch" of the "Five Evangelical Chaplains"—David Brown, a name which must occupy a conspicuous place in the history of Christian missions in Bengal.

Alexander Colvin, buried here in 1818, about 1778 established in Calcutta a business later known as Colvin, Ainslie and Cowie. To his memory brother merchants placed a marble monument executed by Westmacott, in St. John's Church. A younger brother, James, joined him some years later. John Russell Colvin, the last Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces under the Company, was the son of James. In a life of his father, John Russell Colvin, Sir Auckland Colvin, K.C.S.I., K.C.M.G., C.I.E., lately Lieutenant-Governor of the N.-W. Provinces, has sketched the life of his family in their house in Hastings Street a century and more ago.

A tomb modelled from a Hindu temple covers the remains of Major-General Stuart (died March 31, 1828) otherwise known as "Hindu Stuart."

THE NORTH PARK STREET CEMETERY.

On leaving the South Park Street Burial Ground we cross over the road and enter the North Park Street Cemetery which dates from the year 1796 or 1797.

The graves most perhaps worthy of attention are these :

Thomas Henry Graham, "who fell gloriously in an action between the Hon'ble E. I. Company's ship *Kent*

and a French Privateer in the mouth of the Ganges on the 7th October, 1700, the day on which he completed his sixteenth year.”

Lieut.-Genl. James Achilles Kirkpatrick.—Died at Calcutta, 1805, aged 41 years.

“The soldier political who negotiated Lord Wellesley’s treaty with the Nizam, which demolished the French power and made our own supreme in Southern India.”—C. R. Wilson: *List of Inscriptions or Monuments in Bengal*, p. 92.

Richmond Thackeray.—Expired on Sept. 13th, 1815.

His son, William Makepeace, born in Calcutta on the 18th July, 1811, when Richmond Thackeray was Secretary to the Board of Revenue. The inscription is as follows :—

“To the memory of Richmond Thackeray, Esq., late on the Bengal Establishment of the Honourable East India Company, who expired on the 13th September 1805, at the premature age of 32 years 10 months and 23 days.

To the best endowments of the understanding and to the purest principles in public life, he united all the social and tender affections under the influence of these moral and intellectual qualities he ever maintained the character of a public officer with the highest degree of credit to himself and discharged in a manner not less exemplary the duties which devolved upon him in the several relations of private life. To transmit to prosperity a memorial of these virtues the present monument has been erected by those who had the best means of contemplating the habitual exercise of them in the varied character of a son, a brother, a husband, a father, and a friend.”

William Pitt Muston, Surgeon of the Bengal Establishment and Apothecary to the Hon’ble East India Co., died July 30, 1837. “The Inventor of the Army dooly, who after a life of noble humanity, obtained a slow redress against local injustice from the Court of Directors, but he returned to India only to hear of the fall of his son, and to sink into the grave.” His wife followed him to the same grave two years later.

Leaving the two old graveyards, we soon find ourselves in the Circular Road. It will be convenient to give here the history of this road which forms a bow-shaped boundary to Calcutta proper with the river as its string. During the early forties of the eighteenth century the good folk of Calcutta, natives as well as Europeans, were living in a constant state of panic on the score of a possible raid of the Mahrattas. To protect themselves,

in 1742, the inhabitants, aided by a grant of Rs. 25,000 from the Council, dug out a long ditch known as the Mahratta Ditch. Starting at Chitpur—"Perrin's Point"—the ditch wound its way in a circular direction southward, making a detour to protect the garden houses of two wealthy natives (Omichund and Govindra Mitra). The panic wore off before the ditch was completed, which is now approximately represented by the Circular Canal.* An old writer informs us that "the earth excavated in forming the ditch, was so disposed on the inner or townward side, as to form a tolerably high road, along the margin of which was planted a row of trees, and this constituted the most frequent and fashionable part about the town." In Apjohn's map of 1794 the present Circular Road is clearly defined, and the ditch also appears as far to the South as Lall Bazár Street. Southwards to Park Street the ditch seems to have been "chiefly filled up by depositing the filth of the town into it."

To save ourselves another journey, we will turn to the left on leaving Park Street and pay a brief visit to

THE LOWER CIRCULAR ROAD CEMETERY.

The contrast between the ambitious pyramids and columns of the old graveyards and the modest crosses and tombstones of the present public Burial Ground represents a chapter in the religious history of our race. As we step across Circular Road we transfer ourselves into a new religious atmosphere. The Lower Circular Burial Ground was opened on April 29th, 1840. Despite a recent extension the space will soon be exhausted, and the Corporation accordingly decided to provide a new Burial Ground at a considerable distance from the town—a measure, which, if justified by sanitary science, will certainly prove an untold hardship for the poor.

The Lower Circular Road Cemetery contains some graves of interest :

Sir W. H. Macnaghten, Bart., of the Bengal Civil Service, Envoy to the Court of Cabul and Governor of

* Begun in 1824 finished in 1834, at a cost of Rs. 1,443,407.

Bombay, who fell by the hand of an assassin in the insurrection of Cabul on the 23rd day of December 1841, in the 48th year of his age.

James Charles Colebrook Sutherland.—Died February 1st, 1844, aged 51 years. A man great in Oriental studies. "I should be sorry to say anything disrespectful of that liberal and generous enthusiasm for Oriental literature which appears in Mr. Sutherland's Minute" was Macaulay's polite sneer.

James Wilson.—Died August 11th, 1860 A distinguished Financier.

John Paxton Norman.—Officiating Chief Justice of Bengal. Assassinated by a Wahabee on the steps of the Town Hall on September 21st, 1871.

John Blessington Roberts.—Died May 5th, 1880. He rose from a Police Constable to Presidency Magistrate, from Tyler to District Grand Master.

Sir John Woodburn.—Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal. We will now, on leaving the Lower Circular Road Cemetery, turn to our left, and wander down the Lower Circular Road.

The *Kurria Road* on the left leads to the little *Scotch Cemetery* or "Dissenters' Burial-Ground." At least two distinguished officers lie buried there—Lt.-Col. Mactier, C. B., and Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, Political Agent at Gwalior, who "through years of sickness and under extraordinary difficulties, induced many of the Khond Tribes of Orissa to abandon the rite of human sacrifice." To Macpherson's influence the loyalty of that important chief, the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior in the critical year of 1857 is attributed. The Cemetery contains a monument to, but not the remains of, Sir George Welsh Kellner, Finance Minister in Cyprus.

The turning into Theatre Road* is reached on our right. This road is marked but not named, in Apjohn's map

* For the congested state of Theatre Road and Alipore we have to be grateful to the Municipality who allow the natural extension of European Calcutta to be blocked by the careful preservation of filthy bazars, open drains, stagnant pools, in a district which, as it is in the South, should be one of the lungs of Calcutta

of 1794. The name is derived from a private Theatre established here for an Amateur Dramatic Society by the famous Sanscrit scholar, Horace Hayman Wilson. In the course of the last three or four years, the native huts in Theatre Road have been gradually swept away, and in their places have sprung up a number of Calcutta "palaces" clearly intended to be "let in flats." These grand new houses are built much too closely together, few of them are graced by gardens, and in some cases the curve allowed for the drive is so sharp that a faint-hearted Jehu would prefer to leave his vehicle in the street. Cyclists should beware of Theatre Road and its adjuncts in the dark, for syces leading their horses (and on the wrong side of them) abound, and the street lighting is inadequate.

BISHOP'S COLLEGE.

On our left, where the Lower Circular Road bends to the west, in the corner we find Bishop's College. Of the early history of this Institution, and the magnificent designs of its founder, we have spoken on another page. The present buildings consist of—

1. The Chapel—planned as a small basilica. It has a fine marble Altar erected as a thank-offering for the work of the present Bishop of Madras (Dr. Whitehead) in the days when he was Principal of the College. The Altar is situated at the end of the Apse. The Chapel was dedicated by Bishop Welldon in 1900 during the session of the Episcopal Synod.
2. The Principal's and Professor's House. In the central Sitting Room there is an interesting portrait of Dr. Mill, the greatest scholar, who was the first Principal.
3. The Library and Lecture Rooms. The Library presents the sad spectacle of a really fine collection of books and manuscripts falling into a complete condition of ruin.
4. The Students' Quarters.
5. A Day School.

Bishop's College is bounded on the West by Ballygunge Circular Road. To follow up this road would be to find ourselves in the suburb of Ballygunge. Cool and pleasant residences for Europeans fringe an open maidan, but the jungle on the South has not been sufficiently controlled to render Ballygunge as desirable as it might doubtless be made. In the maidan are the lines of the Viceroy's Body-Guard. In the Ballygunge Circular Road



Martiniere Boys' School.

there is an excellent Industrial School conducted by the Brethren of the Oxford Mission.

THE MARTINIÈRE.

We now find on our right two of the principal English educational institutions of Bengal—the Boys' and the Girls' Martinière Colleges. A brief account of the founder will be expected in this place. Until quite recently it has been the general belief that Claud Martin was a young French soldier who deserted from Lally's Body-Guard during the Siege of Pondicherry in 1760. Mr. S. C. Hill in his *Life of Claud Martin*, a work of profound research, has shown that Martin was a very common name in the French Army, and that historians, serious or gossiping, have hitherto confused our Claud Martin with two other Martins, who had been "very badly treated by Mr. Lally," were received by Eyre Coote and granted commissions. Claud Martin, it seems, came to the English, not as a deserter, but as prisoner of war. He was temporarily placed in charge of a detachment of his fellow-prisoners, but on the condition that he would not be required to fight against his own countrymen if the ship conveying the detachment to Mauritius were attacked. Owing to foul weather, the ship came back to port.

"Peace came to put an end to all hopes of distinction in the French Service in India, realising that his *roturier* birth would always drag him down if he returned to France, this man, who if born a quarter of a century later, might have been one of the heroes of the French Revolution, saw that his wisest course was to take service with the English. An officer of birth might have objected to such a course, but his objection would have been one of sentiment and not of honour. Martin came to the English from a gallant regiment, with unblemished character, with a personal reputation for coolness and resource, and was soon found to possess more than the education of a mere runaway school-boy."—S. C. Hill: *op. cit.*, pp. 20—22.

In 1764, Martin, having remained loyal during a European Mutiny, was sent to Calcutta, and there, on April 18th, received his commission as a Lieutenant. For an account of Martin's career as a soldier and an assistant to the first Surveyor-General of Bengal, Major Rennell, and for his doings in the service of the Nawab's Wazir at Lucknow, the reader must consult Mr. Hill's

biography. Mr. Hill also recounts the several ways in which his hero acquired a vast fortune. "Considering his influence at Court and among natives," Mr. Hill concludes, "if he (Martin) thought about the matter at all, it must have been, like Clive when he remembered the Treasury at Murshidabad, to marvel at his own moderation."

Martin was a man of many parts. He was a skilled surveyor, and we still have a map of Calcutta, dated 1760 or 1764, which is ascribed to his hand. He is said to have possessed a library of 4,000 books and a fine collection of manuscripts. He was a patron of the exiled painter Zoffany, and minting, gun-making, indigo-farming, cock-fighting, horse-breeding, botany, and balloon-flying were among his most notorious hobbies. In the vault of the Lucknow La Martinière is an immense bell which he cast, and in the grounds of the same Institution is to be seen an immense bronze 18-pounder which is said to have been used at Seringapatam. His palace tomb, the "Constantia," commemorating either the girl he left behind him or his motto *constantia et labore*, represents his taste for experimenting in architecture.

Lord Valentia has left us a portrait of Claud Martin quite as black as the devil is painted red. It cannot be denied that Martin had four "wives." Of these ladies he says in his will—

"The four women undermentioned, as also the young one named Sally, to whom I bequeath legacies, I have acquired them, not as we term slaves though paid a consideration for, but the sum I paid was a present to the relations, that I might have had a right on them as not to be claimed by anybody: and those I acquired for to be the companion of my good or bad fortune, and they were to be with me for life. I had them when in their childhood, and I had them educated as virtuously as I could, they have fulfilled my intention to my great satisfaction."

The fact, divested of Lord Valentia's gratuitous malice, is that the "wives" in question were really orphan girls—natives on the mother's side—who had been deserted by their European fathers. His favourite "Boulone, surnamed Lisa, he bought at the age of nine from one Caviriere, a Frenchman, who had acquired her by purchase from a cruel and inhuman father and mother."

Sally was the daughter of Colonel Harper. The relationship of Martin to the helpless orphan girls he took under his protection was wholly innocent. How, his biographer asks, could he either "drive them into marriage with natives whom they despised or into connections with Europeans whom he himself looked upon with contempt?" The position which they held in his curious house on the Gumti was one which the natives of Lucknow would have regarded as respectable, and that position was formal. He does indeed say of Boulone or Lisa "I have loved her as the most chaste and virtuous wife," but there was never between Martin and his child companions aught but the tie of a life-long affection and sincere mutual respect.

The General died at Lucknow on October 13th, 1800. Writes the *Calcutta Gazette* :—

"The greatest part of the immense wealth of which the General did possess amounting, it is said, to nearly forty lakhs of rupees has been left for the support and foundation of Public Establishments, Charitable and Literary. Four lakhs of rupees we understand are appropriated to found an establishment in Calcutta; two for a similar purpose at Lyons, the native place of the General and a donation, which does incite credit to his humanity, a lakh and a-half of rupees, the interest of which is to be applied in equal portion to the relief of the poor of all persuasions, whether Christians, Mussulmans, or Hindoos, inhabitants of Calcutta, Lucknow, Chandernagore. One of the General's houses, it is also said, he has endowed as an Academy, for the purpose of instructing the natives in the English Language and Literature."

For thirty-five years the benevolent purposes of the will were thwarted partly by the inability of the Supreme Court, as official guardian of all charitable bequests, to decide as to the proper course to be pursued, and partly by "a rapid and melancholy succession of deaths in the judges." At last, on October 22nd, the Justices W. O. Russell, John Franks, and Edward Ryan gave a decision in which it was assumed, that from the fact that the testator had "appointed a Protestant Government to carry out his will," had mentioned an "annual sermon," and directed the children to attend the Church in Calcutta, a bias was exhibited in favour of the connection of his school with the Church of England. This led to a tussle, for it was asserted, that being a Roman Catholic, Martin,

despite his phrase "the English language and religion," must have intended his school to have a Roman Catholic complexion. The Presbyterians no doubt dissented from this view, but they joined in a three-cornered duel with the cry "Are we not Protestants too." For a time, Bishop Wilson, with that wonderful tact of his, managed to secure the allegiance of Dr. St. Leger, the Vicar-Apostolic, and the Presbyterian Senior Chaplain, Dr. Charles, to a compromise, but the Vicar-Apostolic was recalled and charged with having conceded fundamental principles and having improperly indulged in social intercourse with an Anglican Bishop, and Dr. Charles found himself confronted by angry critics in his mother land.

At last, however, a beginning was made, and the long delay, during which, at compound interest, the capital available had amounted to £160,000, proved by no means an unmixed evil. The first Head Master of the Boys' School was Canon Christopher, whose venerable figure is so well-known to Oxford men for generations past, whose missionary breakfasts have long been a typical Oxford institution, and whose ear-trumpets which, after having defeated the eloquence of many a minor orator, extorted from Mr. Gladstone, when delivering his Romanes Lecture, a saving clause to his pauegyric of Archbishop Laud quite worthy of the skill of the "old Parliamentary hand."

SOME MAHOMMEDAN TOMBS.

Before the Bamun Bustee Police Thana there is a sward of open ground leading down to a tank, and here we see some decayed and forlorn-looking graves of Mahommedans. This is the Kasia Bagan Burial Ground. Here we may find the tomb of Vizier Ali, whose history was once notorious, but to-day is forgotten. The adopted son of Asuf-ud-Daula, Nawab of Oude, he was, on the death of the old Nawab in 1797, despite the opposition of the Royal Family, placed on the throne: but his foolish intrigues were speedily reported to the Governor-General, and Ali was deposed to make room for Sadut Ali, the late Nawab's brother. The fallen Monarch was granted a pension of two lakhs per annum, but was ordered to repair to Calcutta where

his movements could be carefully watched by the Government. On his way downcountry, he was invited by Mr. Cherry, the Company's resident at Benares, to breakfast : and to Mr. Cherry's house he came attended by a large retinue.

“ It had been previously intimated to Mr. Cherry that his appearance was hostile, and that he ought to be on his guard, but he unfortunately disobeyed the caution. Vizier Ally made many complaints of the Company's treatment of him, and, having continued his strain of reproach against them for some time, he finally gave the dreadful signal to his attendants who rushed in at the moment and literally cut Mr. Cherry to pieces.” *Asiatic Journal*, Feb., 1818, p. 191.

He had evidently plotted a general massacre, but succeeded only in killing Mr. Cherry, Captain Conway, and Mr. Robert Graham, whom he met on the way to the house of Mr. Davis. Mr. Davis' defence of his house until the arrival of the Cavalry from Secrole is one of the finest chapters in the annals of British gallantry.

The account in the *Asiatic Journal* continues :—

“ On the discomfiture, however, of the assassin, he sought refuge with the Rajah of Berar, a powerful and independent chief, who refused to give him up unless under a stipulation of his life being spared. To this it was thought prudent to accede, and being accordingly delivered into our hands, he was brought down to Calcutta, and confined at Fort William in a sort of iron cage, where he died at the age of thirty-six years, after an imprisonment of seventeen years and some odd months.”

The following extract is of additional interest because it records the interment of a royal princeling in the neighbourhood of Vizier Ali :—

“ Vizier Ally, who had been so many years a State prisoner in Fort William for the murder of Mr. Cherry and others at Benares, died on Thursday last. He was thirty-six years of age, and had been nearly half that time in solitary confinement. Arrangements had been completed, by which he was to have been removed to Vellore, where he would have enjoyed comparative liberty and comfort, and the delay was only occasioned by the unfavourableness of the season. The humane intentions of the Government had been communicated to him, and were acknowledged with becoming gratitude. He is said to have died of water in the chest. He was buried at Casse Bagaun, near the Circular Road, not far distant from the grave of one of Tippoo Sultan's sons.” *Calcutta Gazette*, May 22, 1817.

It is said that no less than 30 lacs of rupees were expended on the festivities connected with Vizier Ali's wedding in 1794 : 70 rupees sufficed for his funeral

expenses. Suggested translations of the inscription which has long since disappeared, will be found in Vol. X of the *Asiatic Journal*. [Aug. 1828.]

THE PRESIDENCY JAIL.

After crossing the Chowringhi Road, and passing on our left the residences recently built for the Government officials, and on our right the old tank known as Birjoo Talao, we find on our left the Presidency General Hospital, and on our right the vegetable garden cultivated by the unwilling hands of the native denizens of the Presidency Jail. A turn to our right brings us to the central gateway of the Jail.

In the centre of the Jail compound is a tank, and to the North of it is a huge Barrack which, according to tradition, was once the hunting-box of Suraj-ud-Daula. The basis of this belief is two-fold: (1) The Jail is still called by natives *hurrinbari*—i.e., the deer house; (2) Suraj-ud-Daula is the only name of a Nawab of Dacca familiar to Calcutta ears. *Hurrinbari*, however, was the playful native name for the place, where His Majesty's pets were constrained to dwell, long before the present Jail came into use.

In 1767 Calcutta had two Jails, one in Lall Bazár, "a very clean, wholesome place," the other in the Burra Bazár, "a confined place and must occasion much sickness." Of these two places of incarceration one was the House of Correction for petty offenders committed by the Police Magistrates: the other the Jail proper for convicted felons and debtors. A letter of the Board to the Court of the Hon. East India Company, dated November 30th, 1778, shows that the present Jail must have been erected in this year. The wall round the Jail dated from the end of the year 1783. So far it was only the Jail which had been removed to the maidan, but in 1783 a Mr. Hare, late Sheriff of Calcutta, offered to erect a new House of Correction or "New Hurrinbari" within the precincts of the Jail, in return for the site of the "Old Hurrinbari" and the sum which had been thought necessary for its repairs. The Lall Bazár Jail was converted into the Company's Printing Works in 1787.

The Debtors' Prison was included within the Jail. In the presentment of the Grand Jury in June, 1784, we find the complaint:—

“In every civilized Government the measure of punishment should be ever regulated by the weight of offence, but in the present state of the jail the convicted Felon who is led out to execution, is happier than the unfortunate Debtor, who is left to a lingering destruction, amidst the gloom of a confined and unwholesome prison, in a damp and stagnated air, without a hope of relief, but what depends upon the caprice of a merciless creditor.”
Seton-Karr: *Selections*, Vol. 1, p. 21.

Here, in the “Birjoo Jail,” was imprisoned in 1782 John Augustus Hicky, the founder of the first Indian newspaper—the truculent and slanderous *Bengal Gazette*. For a time the unfortunate debtor was able to maintain his family outside the Jail in “a small brick house,” but as Christmas came round, stern necessity led to the incarceration of his children also. A Report of the House of Commons in 1872 gives us a picture of the Calcutta Jail in Hicky's time. It was “the ruin of a house formerly the residence of some black native.” Natives and Europeans were huddled together promiscuously, and many died for want of the necessities of life.

“In the middle of the Jail enclosure was a tank about thirty yards square, in which the prisoners promiscuously bathed and washed their clothes. Europeans were generally indulged by the gaoler with permission to erect and live in small bamboc and matting huts near this tank; it would be impossible for any European to exist for any length of time within the prison. The stench was dreadful. There was no infirmary or provision for the sick that he ever heard of. Debtors and criminals were not separated, nor men from women (but of this he was not positive). An old woman prisoner who begged of him said, in answer to his question, that she wanted the money to buy water.”

Until 1865 there were, then, two separate institutions within the walls of the present Jail, *viz.* (1) the Great Jail, under the jurisdiction of the Sheriff, where were confined prisoners sentenced by the High Court, military convicts awaiting deportation, and the debtors, and (2) the House of Correction, under the Commissioner of Police for petty offenders. Prisoners from the Great Jail were discharged from the western gate: those from the House of Correction from an exit in the South Wall. In February-1865, a bill was passed which united the two prisons under

a Superintendent, and from that time the Jail has been known as the Presidency Jail. In the year following, the grain riots, which had accompanied the famine in Orissa, was created the necessity of accommodating here convicts from the Mofussil.

The Jail is at the present day by no means insanitary, but its arrangements are scarcely up-to-date. It has long been an eyesore for Calcutta folk who are naturally jealous of the beauty of their maidan. A new Jail is now in course of erection at Alipore, and when that is ready, the Dhee Birjoo Prison will disappear to make way for the white marble Victoria Memorial Hall and its gardens.

CHAPTER VII.

SOUTHERN CALCUTTA.

OUR ramble through south-western Calcutta will commence at the corner near the Hastings Bridge. We here cross over TOLLY'S NULLAH.*

Our readers may deem it incredible, but we have a firm conviction that the Ganges itself which now flows by Bishop's College, once took its course on the site of Tolly's Nala. With the natives, to the south of Calcutta, Tollyganj is a sacred place for cremation, and so is Baripur, where there is now not a drop of water, because they believe the stream of the Ganges rolled here once: the traveller never sees any funeral pyres smoking near the Hughli, south of Calcutta, as the natives have a notion that this is *Khata Ganga*, or a modern channel—the ancient channel, and not merely the water, is accounted sacred by them. Geological observations confirm this. In the borings made at Kidderpur in 1822, it was found, there were no *vegetable remains* or trees, hence there must have been a river or large body of water here." The Revd. J. Long in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 287, Footnote.

In 1775 Captain Tolly was permitted by the Government to excavate this ancient silted up river-bed and open a way into the Sunderbuns. He reimbursed himself for this toil by a bazar or ganj at the place which still bears his name—Tollyganj,—and by tolls on crafts making use of his canal. Tolly, at one time, owned and lived in the house which formed the nucleus of the present palace of the Lieutenant-Governors, and it was to this house the wounded Sir Philip Francis was conveyed after his duel with Warren Hastings.

To the right of us a hydraulic lifting bridge carries the Port Commissioners' trains from the Docks on their way to the Eastern Bengal Railway at Chitpore.† Further

* Frequently called in error the Govindpur Creek.

† The bridge was designed by Mr. W. Duff Bruce and executed by Messrs. Burn & Co. The main girders rest on four columns of Mirzapore stone built on brick abutments 27 ft. 6 in. each in length and 12 ft. 9 in. in breadth at the top, founded on brick cylinders sunk to a depth 9 ft. 6 in. below low watermark. The

down the stream, to the left, is Kidderpore Bridge across which the Tramway Company runs its lines. The approach from Calcutta to Garden Reach in the 18th century went over "Kidderpore or Surman's Bridge;" the junction of Garden Reach with the Strand Road not being carried out till much later times.

Close to Hastings Bridge we find on our right the Royal Indian Marine Dockyard.

"It was here that the enterprising Colonel Henry Watson domesticated the art of shipbuilding in Bengal. It is true that Grose, in speaking of the year 1756, says 'on the other side of the water there were docks for repairing and careening the ships, near which the Armenians had a good garden,' but his statements are generally too loose to command confidence. . . . To Colonel Watson unquestionably belongs the honour of having established the first dockyard in Bengal. His penetration led him to perceive the advantageous situation of the Bay of Bengal in reference to the countries lying to the east and west of it. He felt that if the English Marine was placed on an efficient footing, we must remain masters of the Eastern Seas. He, therefore, obtained a grant of land from Government at Kidderpore, for the establishment of wet and dry docks, and of a marine yard in which every facility should be created for building, repairing and equipping vessels of war and merchantmen. His works were commenced in 1780; and the next year he launched the *Nonsuch** frigate of 36 guns, which was constructed under his own directions by native workmen, and proved remarkable for her speed. He devoted his time and fortune to this national undertaking for eight years, and in 1788 launched another frigate, the *Surprise*, of 36 guns; but his resources were by this time exhausted: and after having sunk ten lakhs of rupees in his dockyard, he was obliged to relinquish it." The Rev. J. Long in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 430.

In the year in which Watson, then the Chief Engineer at Fort William,† established his dockyard in this place, he was called upon by Sir Philip Francis to act as his second in the duel with Warren Hastings. The Colonel seems to have been familiar with precedents. "Watson," writes Francis in his Journal for August 17th, "marks out a distance about fourteen common paces, the same he said at which Mr. Fox and Mr. Adam stood." Watgunge Road which we pass on

moveable platform carries a single line of railway, 5' 6" gauge. The span of the bridge is 116 ft. between the supporting columns, and there is a clear waterway of 110 ft. between the abutments, the weight of the bridge is 195 tons. The cost of the bridge was Rs. 95,000. A full account of it will be found in the *Indian Engineer* of October 16th, 1886.

* The *Nonsuch* was lost in 1801 when hauling into port. She was quite rotten at the time.

† Watson in 1776 superseded Major Fortnam, who had held temporary rank as Lieutenant-Colonel.

our left commemorates the market—Watsonganj—established in proximity to the Colonel's dockyard. "To Watson," writes the late Mr. C. R. Wilson, "Calcutta owes numerous public improvements, and not the least, the completion of her citadel and of the surrounding esplanade."*

In the year 1800, when Mr. Waddell was John Company's mastership-builder, two lads, James and Robert Kyd, the sons, by a native mother, of Colonel Robert Kyd, after learning something of their future profession in England, were apprenticed in the Kidderpore Dock. On the retirement of Waddell, the brothers were able to purchase the Dockyard. Kyd Street, no doubt, derives its name from the Kyd family, but it is quite certain that the name Kidderpore, which goes back to the earliest days of the English in Calcutta, cannot be explained by the name of Kyd.

We now reach the KIDDERPORE DOCKS. In 1870 the body known as the Port Commissioners took over the management of the affairs of the Port from the Government Marine Department. Of this body five are elected by the Bengal Chamber of Commerce, one by the Trades' Association, one by the Calcutta Corporation, one by any such body or bodies or firms as the Local Government may select, and seven (including the Chairman and Vice-Chairman) are appointed by Government. The Docks were commenced in 1884 and cost 284 lakhs of rupees. The first ship entered there in June 1892. By the close of 1900 Rs. 3,34,44,870 had been expended on these docks, and a vast expansion is contemplated in the near future.

After crossing the railway line, we enter GARDEN REACH.

"The map [Charles Joseph's in 1840] commences in the south with that series of splendid mansions at Garden Reach, which surprise and delight the eye of the stranger as he approaches Calcutta, and which form so appropriate an introduction to a city which has justly been denominated the City of

* *Calcutta Review*, July 1904, a last article from Mr. C. R. Wilson's talented pen. Few men have done more to recover the past of our race in Bengal, and few men in Bengal have exhibited more conspicuously that "ornament of a meek and quiet spirit which in the sight of God is of great price." R. I. P.

Palaces. At what precise date after the factory of Calcutta had become the capital of a kingdom these garden houses were erected, we have not been able to discover. Mrs. Kindersley, whose interesting letters, written in 1768, give us a general description of the town, makes no allusion to them, and we naturally conclude that they were not then in existence. She simply says: 'in the country round the town are a number of very pretty houses which are called country-houses belonging to the English gentlemen. A little out of the town is a clear airy spot, free from smoke, or any encumbrances, called the *corse* (because it is a road, the length of a *corse*, or two miles) in a sort of ring, or rather angle, made on purpose to take the air in, which the company frequent in their carriages about sunset, or in the morning before the sun is up. Twelve years after, however, Garden Reach appears to have been in all its glory. Mrs. Fay says: 'the banks of the river are, as one may say, studded with elegant mansions, called here, as at Madras, garden houses. These houses are surrounded with groves and lawns, which descend to the water's edge, and present a constant succession of whatever can delight the eye or bespeak the wealth and elegance in the owners.'

Many of the "garden houses" seem to have been of the nature of rural taverns and a snare and a delusion for the young "writers" in the Company's service. In granting a license for a "garden house" to a certain Mr. William Parkes in 1762, we find the Board expressly stipulating that the house was not to be open in the morning time.

"Garden houses and trips to the country, though coming under the censure of the Court in its sumptuary laws, were great favourites in Calcutta. Lord Clive had a house at Dum Dum, Warren Hastings in the then jungles at Alipore with a place for sea-bathing at Birkal below Kedgri. His example was followed by many who were anxious to get away from the pestiferous ditch, hence perhaps the origin of the order that no inhabitant was to go ten miles out of Calcutta without the Governor's permission." The Rev. J. Long: *Selections from the Unpublished Records of Government, 1748-1767*, Introduction, p. xxix.

Immediately after passing the dock bridges, we find on our right a strip of ground on which but a year ago stood No. 6, Garden Reach. It was a fine old house and at one time belonged to the Prinsep Family. It passed through Messrs. Carr, Tagore & Co., of which William Prinsep was one of the partners, to the Indian General Navigation Co., and for fifty years it was the head-quarters of the Company's fleet. In 1879 the Company acquired a plot of ground known as Rajah Bagan some three miles lower down the river, in 1898 most of their works were removed thither from Nos. 6 and 7, Garden Reach. The old Indian General Steam Navigation Co. went into liquidation in 1899, and a new Company—the India

General Navigation and Railway Co.—was formed to take its place.

No. 8, the (probable) residence of Sir W. Jones, has disappeared.

No. 12, the residence of the Chief of the Bengal-Nagpur Railway Company, was described by J. C. Marshman as “distinguished above all others for its classical elegance. It was erected after a design by Mr. C. K. Robinson, to whose architectural taste the city is indebted for some of its noblest buildings.” In 1845 it was the residence of the Agent of the P. & O. Company, and, off its banks, was the anchorage “of those magnificent steamers which ply monthly between Suez and Calcutta, and bring out passengers in six weeks from England.” The Bengal-Nagpur Railway, the Port Commissioners, the Hughli Mills, the Army Remount Department have not added to the beauty of the scene.

No. 71 on the left is the “Pilots’ Chummary”—the Calcutta home of the younger members of that body of skilled navigators who bring our ships up and down that most treacherous of all river approaches which lies between the Sandheads and Calcutta.

The trade of the English in Bengal first began from Balasore, where they had a factory, as no English vessel would venture to sail up the Hooghly. Down to the middle of the 17th Century only Dutch and Portuguese galliasses could sail up the Hooghly, but not higher than Garden Reach and Betor. In 1650, on the arrival of a ship, the *Lyonesse* from Europe, the English at Madras discussed much the project of sailing up the Hooghly, but they understood the passage to be full of danger. The Court of Directors wished that ships should sail up the Hooghly, and that their “business in the Bay should be brought into some decorum.”* In 1662 they agreed to pay ten shillings per ton extra to the chartered ships for all goods they should take in “within the said Barr of Ganges, and to be at the charge of boats and Pylotts to attend up and down the river and in and out of the Barr.”† Seeing that Dutch ships of 600 tons burthen performed the feat of sailing up and down the river, a Captain Elliot ventured to essay the task, but did not succeed, owing to a want of pilots. In 1668, therefore, the Court renewed the offer of the bonus and directed that ‘divers able persons’ should be instructed as pilots, and that all persons in the vessels up and down the river, from the youngest to the oldest, should be put upon “taking depths, sholdings, setting of tydes, currents, distances, buoyes, and making draffes of the river.”‡ The Hon’ble Court further encouraged ‘the young men to be bredde up’ for the Pilot service, first by fixing their rate of salary at six pounds for the

* Wilson’s *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 47.

† *Ibid.*

‡ *Ibid.*, page 48.

first three years, at seven pounds for the next two, and eight pounds for the last two. These apprentices, we are told, were fed at the Company's expense.*

These offers gave an increased impulse to attempts at the navigation of the Hooghly, and in 1678, the *Falcon*, the first English vessel that ventured to sail up the river, penetrated inland to Hooghly, conveying a cargo of bullion and goods valued at over £40,000.† In the same year the Court directed the enlistment in the Pilot service of any one that might be willing "among the soberest of the young mates for midshipmen."‡

Nos. 51 to 55 represent what was some years ago the palace, garden, and estate of the deposed King of Oudh, and it was due to the alleged lawlessness of his followers that Garden Reach commenced to win an undesirable reputation and so dwindled in popularity as a fashionable settlement.

[June 15th, 1857.] "The Barraekpore sepoys§ whose designs had excited such dread had indeed been disarmed; but it was still probable that the King of Oudh's men would work mischief. The Government had in their hands proofs that some of the King's dependents had tried to corrupt the fidelity of the native sentries at the Fort; and it was impossible to say that their machinations had not spread much further. Canning, therefore, acting on Grant's advice, sent Edmondstone to secure the person of the King and his chief advisers. Starting on his mission in the early morning, Edmondstone entered the palace after posting a strong detachment of soldiers round the walls, to cut off the King's escape. When he had arrested the Prime Minister and the chief courtiers, he sought for admittance to the presence of the King himself. After some delay he was ushered into the royal apartments, and courteously informed the King that the Governor-General having heard that plots were being carried on in his name desired to remove him, by way of precaution to Government House. The King, protesting his innocence with unwonted energy of manner, suffered himself to be led off. For a while he bore himself firmly; but on the way to Fort William he burst into tears, and contrasting the misery of his own lot with the glory of his ancestors, exclaimed that if General Outram had been there, he would have borne witness to the submission with which he had obeyed the British Government. Edmondstone, however, could only carry out his orders; and the King and the ministers who had made him their tool were handed over to the custody of Colonel Cavanagh. Thus deprived of their leaders, the Oudh plotters were rendered powerless." T. Rice Holmes: *History of the Indian Mutiny*, pp. 171-2.

The break up of the Garden Reach establishment of the King of Oudh, after the King's death, has been told by Lady Dufferin.

[January, 1888.] "The King of Oude died in the autumn, and we all went to see his place and his house. I had visited the animals there before, but the

* Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, page 48.

† Sir C. C. Stevens' paper on the Port of Calcutta, in the London Art Society's *Journal*, page 4.

‡ *Ibid.*

§ The reader will scarcely need to be reminded that the kingdom of Oudh was annexed, in Dalhousie's days, on Feb 13th, 1856. For years past the King had been maintained on his throne by British support.

Viceroy had never been able to go to this King's habitation, so it was all new to him. Most of the animals have been sold, and the grounds look tidy and well kept. They are very large, and we drove about for half an hour, winding round bungalows, and bear houses, and tanks for waterfowl, and cages for monkeys, deer, and birds, and sheds for camels and palaces for pigeons. The bungalows all had marble floors, and in every room there was a bed with silver feet, and no other furniture whatever. The walls, however, were covered with pictures—questionable French prints and Scripture subjects mixed indiscriminately. The park is situated on the river, and would be lovely were it a little less zoological. The King died in a room on the ground-floor, opening into a small court which was full of monkeys and pigeons—extremely suggestive of fleas. Upstairs there were some much nicer rooms, and we saw some books of prints which he had coloured himself, they were really very well done. His ladies were nearly as numerous as his animals, and they are now being despatched to their own homes as quickly as possible. They go at the rate of seven or eight a day, but there are still a great number left; and when the Viceroy approached their habitation they collected behind some venetian shutters, and set to work to howl and weep with all their might. The effect was most extraordinary, but did not excite the pity it was intended to evoke. I am sure they will be much happier with their own little income, guaranteed by the British Government, than they ever could have been shut up together, the slaves of a hard-hearted old man who cared more for his cobras and his wild beasts than he did for them. These being my sentiments, I thought the lamentations were more amusing than melancholy." Lady Dufferin: *Our Viceregal Life in India*, Vol. II, pp. 240-41.

We have now reached the district denoted, from its old mud fortress, Mutiabruj (Mettya Bruz). In the early days the Mahomedan Governors protected the river approach by a fort here, and another at Tannah where the Botanical Gardens now flourish. In 1760 the Government ordered a boom to be thrown across the river, between these two forts, to prevent the Mugs—an aboriginal tribe from Chittagong devoted to piracy—coming up to ravage Calcutta.

We must now turn sharply to the left and drive down Garden Reach Circular Road. A practical engineer may perhaps find something to interest him as he passes the engine-rooms of the docks, but the ordinary pilgrim must prepare for a *mauvais quart d'heure*. When Watgunge Road has been passed, and the Kidderpore Bridge is in sight, we must turn sharply to our right and through two bazaars, one moderately filthy and the other extremely filthy, down Diamond Harbour Road.

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH.

On our left we find ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH—the Parish Church of Kidderpore, Hastings (Civil), Garden Reach,

Alipore, and Belvedere. The pleasant garden is in complete contrast to the squalor of the bazārs through which we have just passed. The Church was built in the year 1846, but, for one reason or the other, it was not consecrated until December 1870. As the Parish Church of Kidderpore Docks, it contains most appropriately several memorials to sea-faring men. Of these the most interesting is that—

“In memory of James Henry Johnson, Commander, R.N., Controller of the Steam Department, H. E. I. C. S., who died at sea near the Cape of Good Hope on the 5th of May 1851, aged 63. After twelve years of varied service in the Royal Navy, his career of usefulness in India commenced in 1817. He conducted to Calcutta the first steamship, the *Enterprize*, in 1825, and the River Steamers, Steam-foundry, Dockyard, and School of Engineers, all originated and organized by himself, are lasting monuments of his active talents, fertile resource, public zeal, and unwearied personal energy. His end was perfect peace. ‘Blessed are the dead which die in the Lord from henceforth : Yea, saith the Spirit, that they may rest from their labours.’”

The inscription omits to mention that Johnson fought in the great naval battle off Cape Trafalgar.

Of the *Enterprize's* voyage from Europe, we read :—

“This vessel arrived at Calcutta on the 9th December in 145 days from Falmouth, more than double the time assigned for the reward. The event appears not to have excited such sensation in India as was expected. The passengers voted Captain Johnson a piece of plate. It is stated that his utmost rate of steaming in smooth water was 8 knots an hour, and that the expense of the fuel consumed would not have been covered if all the cabins had been filled with passengers. Yesterday Captain Johnson was honoured by a visit from the Governor-General. The *Enterprize* went down the river as far as Melancholy Point, and returned in the afternoon. Lord Amherst was accompanied by Lady Amherst, the Hon. Miss Amherst, and his suite; the Lord Bishop and Mrs. Heber, Mr. and Mrs. Harrington, Sir C. Gray, Sir A. Buller, the Hon. Mr. Elliot, and several other ladies and gentlemen. The company partook of an excellent collation, and expressed themselves highly gratified with the powers of the vessel and her general arrangements. The *Enterprize* is purchased and taken possession of by the Government. The purchase-money is said to be £40,000. Captain Johnson continues in command of her.” *Beng. Hurkaru*, Dec. 27, 1825.

The handsome marble pulpit is well worthy of attention. Designed by some master in the Gothic revival of the XIXth Century, and courageously true to mediæval ideas, this magnificent pulpit for nearly half a century remained hidden away in an undertaker's shop in Bentinck Street. In 1901 the present writer was fortunate enough to be able to purchase it for

St. Stephen's. The fine brass eagle Lectern was purchased in 1902 mainly by monthly subscriptions. It is an exact reproduction of the Lectern at the Madras Cathedral. The Eastern Window is a memorial to Mrs. Colquhoun Grant whose stately hospitality is so well remembered. St. Stephen's, with its graceful spire, is undoubtedly one of the prettiest churches in Bengal.

KIDDERPORE HOUSE.

A gateway to the South of the principal entrance to the Church leads into the park-like grounds of the Royal Military Orphanage—to-day known as Kidderpore House. This house has a remarkable history; originally it was the residence of Richard Barwell, the councillor who supported Warren Hastings against the cavils of Sir Philip Francis and his allies. Sir Philip's regard for Barwell was by no means increased by the winnings he drew from that youth by high stakes.

"If money be his blood, I feel no trend of remorse in opening his veins: the blood-sucker should bleed and can very well afford it."

In 1775 Sir Philip writes :

"Mr. Barwell in Council supports the Government, but abroad is endeavouring to make a bank apart in order to screen his own iniquities. He is to marry Miss Clavering,* a damnable match, which can produce nothing but misery and dishonour to the lady and her family and disappointment to himself. He is cunning, cruel, rapacious, tyrannical, and profligate beyond all European ideas of these qualities."

Barwell, as a matter of fact, married Miss Elizabeth Jane Sanderson in November 1776. She died two years later, leaving her husband, two infant sons, and was buried beneath a nameless but lofty pyramid in the South Park Street Burial Ground :

"In the enjoyment of such society, which was graced with the ladies of the first fashion and beauty of the settlement, I fell a convert to the charms of the celebrated Miss Sanderson, but in vain with many others did I sacrifice at the shrine. This amiable woman became in 1776 the wife of Mr. Richard

* Maria Margaret Clavering married the seventh Baron Napier of Merchiston, and died at Enfield in 1821. She was the mother of a Governor of Madras. Barwell certainly made very definite advances. See his letter of May 18th, 1775, in Stephen's *Nuncomar and Impey*, Vol. II, pp 289-90.

Barwell, who will long live in the remembrance of his numerous friends who benefited from the means of serving them which his eminent station so amply afforded him, and which, to do justice to his liberal mind, he never neglected the opportunity to evince where the solicitation had with propriety been applied. To this lady's credit also may be recorded that those who had been partial to her were ever treated with esteem and gratitude. Much to their regret the splendour of her situation lasted not long; the pain of child-bearing with the effects of the climate brought on a delicate constitution, a decay which too soon moved this fair flower out of the world. Of all her sex I never observed one who possessed more the art of conciliating her admirers equal to herself. As a proof thereof we sixteen met in her livery one public ball evening, *viz.*, a pea-green French frock trimmed with pink silk and chained lace with spangles, when each of us to whom the secret of her intended dress had been communicated buoyed himself up with the hope of being the favoured happy individual.

The innocent deception which had been practised soon appeared evident, and the man of most sense was the first to laugh at the ridicule which attached to him. I recollect the only revenge which we exacted was for each to have the honour of a dance with her, and as minuets, cotillions, reels, and country dances were then in vogue, with ease to herself she obligingly complied to all concerned, and in reward for such kind complaisance we gravely attended her home, marching by the side of her palankeen regularly marshalled in procession of two and two." *An old writer quoted by Busteed.*

To adopt Barwell's house* to the requirements of an Orphanage many structural changes must have been made, but the old ball-room, with its glittering chandeliers, remains practically untouched.

Perhaps the only room now remaining in Calcutta, in which all this grace and comeliness were often gathered together, is the ball-room of Richard Barwell's garden-house at Alipore. What generations of exiled feet—the gayest and lightest—have not disported on this floor! The very lamps and wall-shades which were lighted in the consulship of Warren Hastings are sometimes lighted still. What stately minuets and cotillions and romping country-dances long obsolete, have those old lustres not looked down on. Who does not wish that they could speak of the past and its faded scenes and tell us stories of the merry 'ladies and gentlemen of the Settlement'—of their frolics and their wooings—their laughter and their love." *Busteed: Echoes of Old Calcutta.*

The Orphan Institution of the "Bengal Military Orphan Society" had a two-fold aim in view, *viz.*, "to educate and settle in life children of both sexes, of officers and soldiers on the Bengal Establishment." The Lower Orphan School, which "was situated at Alipore, and at a considerable distance from Kidderpore House," was intended

* The present house has no southern verandah, but I believe this is because the verandah has been built in, and the original back of the house has been turned into the present front.

for all children, whether orphans or not, of non-commissioned officers and private soldiers belonging to the Honourable Company's Bengal Establishment. This institution disappeared long years ago, but so late as 1902 there were a few wards living in what was originally the hospital of the Upper School.

The Upper School itself was, strictly speaking, a providential and not, as there is now a tendency to assume, a charitable institution. It was founded in August 1782 by Major Kirkpatrick, and its first home, until persistent outbreaks of ophthalmia called for a change, was in a building at Howrah, which in Heber's day became "the Episcopal Chapel," and in later years the Magistrate's Cutchery. In 1786, Daniel Brown, a Cambridge undergraduate who had been promised the post of Superintendent, on condition that before leaving for India he would receive the Sacraments of Holy Marriage and Holy Orders, arrived and assumed charge of the Orphanage, but was dismissed by the Managers in August 1788 on the score of his over-occupation as a Missionary and a Garrison Chaplain. The Boys' Orphanage, situated on the site of the present Army Clothing Establishment in Belvedere Road, was in 1846 amalgamated with St. Paul's School in the Chowringhi Road. The girls are still in possession. After the Mutiny and the consequent change from John Company to the Government of India, the latter took over the Trusteeship of the Bengal Military Orphan Fund. The Mazuchelli Bazār, a good deal of the Zoological Garden and the Meteorological Observatory have also been carved out of the estate. In the present year another long strip of the Orphanage grounds has been added, under Lord Curzon's authority, to the Zoological Gardens.

The southern part of the Kidderpore Park is about to be handed over to the public by Lord Curzon to be added to the grounds of the Zoological Gardens. As soon as the number of orphans (now 15) is reduced to 13, the house and remainder of the grounds will be similarly utilised for the benefit of the community. The surviving inmates being moved to a suitable residence elsewhere.

In the entrance hall there is an interesting picture in which Major Kirkpatrick is introduced.

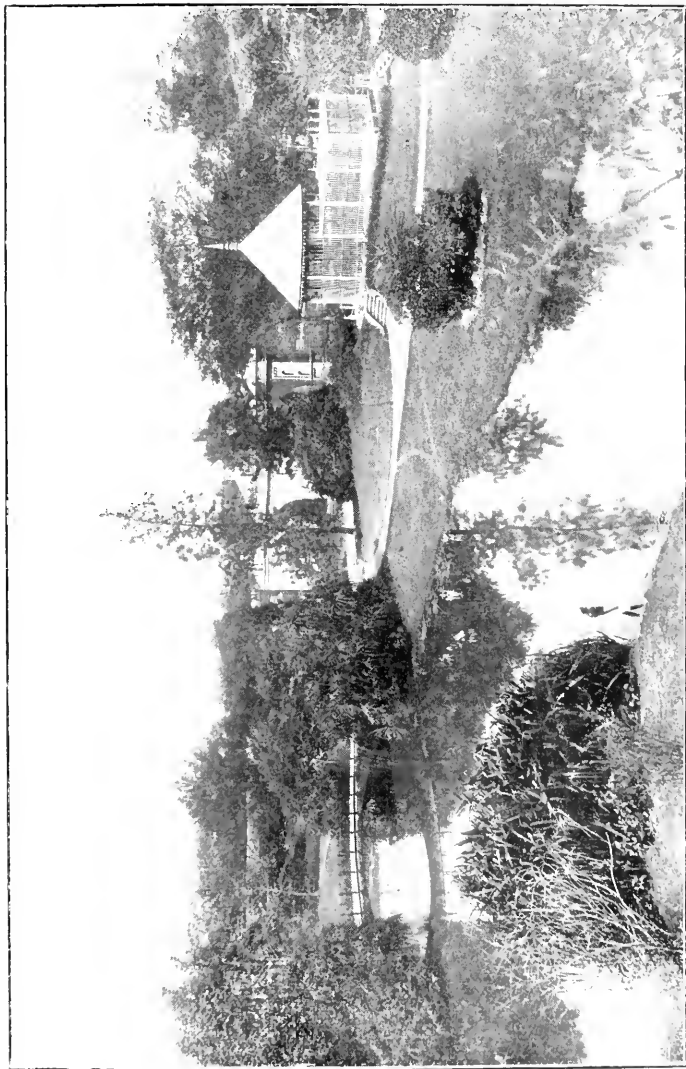
Proceeding on our way down the Diamond Harbour Road, after several turnings to the left we pass the *Budge-Budge Road*. A famous duel was once fought here.

Charles Grant to his Cousin James.

Calcutta, 26th May, 1775.

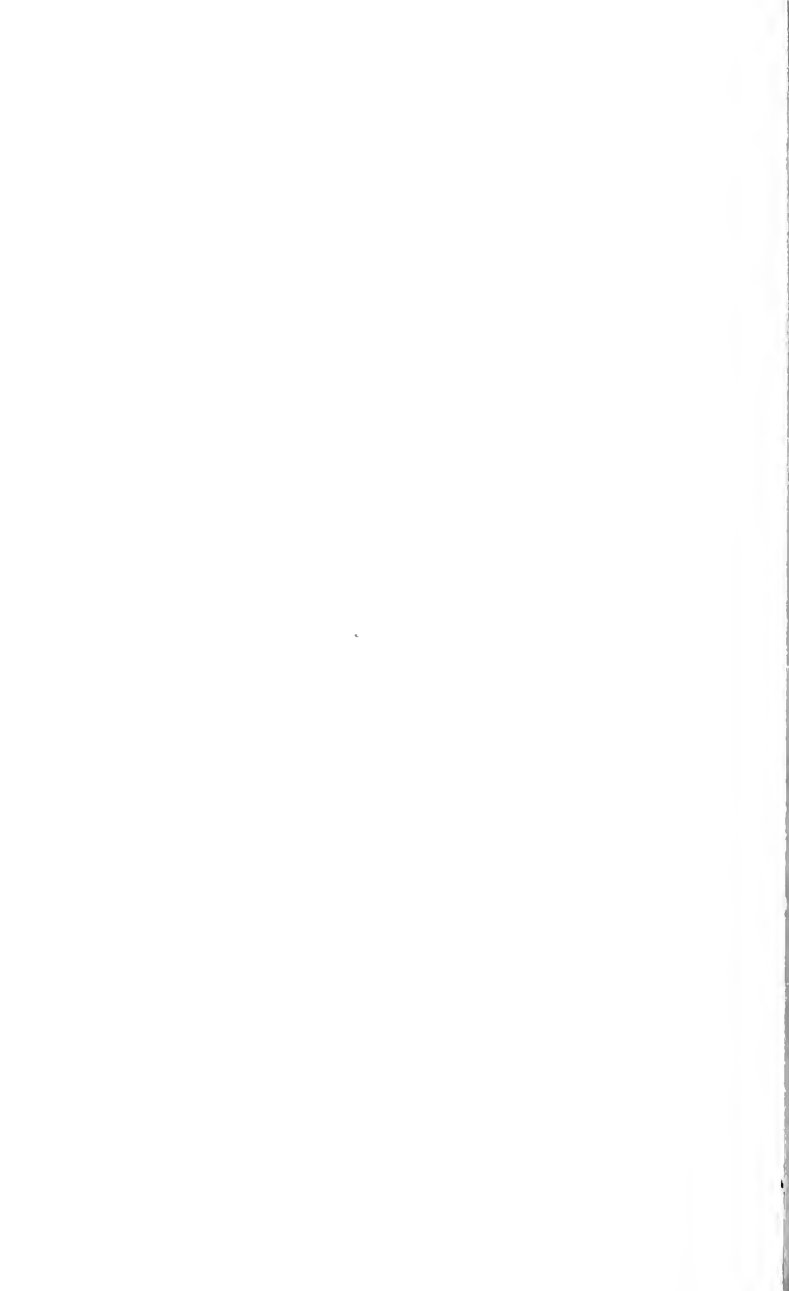
“About a month ago these two gentlemen were arguing at the Revenue Board about the propriety of Mr. Barwell’s holding farms for his own benefit. The General [Clavering] asked: “Well, but, Mr. Barwell, how do you hold this act to be consistent with your oath of fidelity to the Company?” Mr. Barwell, after some recollection, answered: “Whoever says that I have done anything inconsistent with my oath to the Company is a rascal and a scoundrel.” “These are strong terms, Mr. Barwell, very strong,” replied the General. They were then going to put it to the vote, whether he had not broke his oath, but this, after some discourse, was overruled. The town remained long ignorant of the altercation, and even the members were not at first in the secret of what followed. In the evening the General sent Mr. Barwell a message to meet him next morning. Mr. Barwell agreed to the meeting, but desired it might be put off two days until he should settle his affairs. It is said he afterwards asked two days more, finding the first delay not sufficient. The fifth day they met at five in the morning on the new road to Budge-Budge, without seconds. They walked on a good way until they found a convenient place. “What distance do you choose, Sir?” says Mr. Barwell. “The nearer the better.” They stood within eight yards. “Will you fire, Sir?” said the General. “No, Sir, you will please to fire first.” “Is your pistol cock’d, Mr. Barwell?” “Yes, Sir.” “You will give me leave to look, Sir; I did not hear the drawing of the cock.” He advanced, satisfied himself, looked at the priming too, then retired to his stand and fired. The ball passed between Mr. Barwell’s thighs, grazing the inner part of one. “Fire, Sir,” said the General. “No, Sir, you will give me leave to decline that. I came here in obedience to your summons, and think I may now without any imputation to my character declare that I have no enmity, and that I am sorry for what is past.” “Sir, I must insist upon you firing; if you continue to refuse, you will oblige me to fire again.” Mr. Barwell repeated his reluctance to carry the matter further, and his desire to end it by accommodation in such a manner as should be satisfactory to the General. At length the latter yielded so far, with many conditional clauses, as to consent to accept of an apology before the same persons, and in the same place where the affront had been given, stipulating particularly that, if the apology should not be entirely satisfactory, it should pass for nothing. Upon this they returned, the apology was made in the most ample manner, and the affair thus terminated. You will probably hear many accounts, but you may depend upon the substance of this to be genuine.

The reader will not, of course, take the trouble to visit the Budge-Budge Road merely to recall so slight a memory, but will turn up the Alipur Lane, and passing the lines of an Indian Army Regiment—once the old Calcutta Militia Lines—make for ALIPUR, the present day representative of what Garden Reach was in the days of our grand parents.



A View in the Zoological Gardens.

Burns & Shepherd.



THE ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

The Zoological Gardens are on our left as we turn towards the Zeerut Bridge. The scheme for this institution was first mooted in 1867 by Dr. Fayrer, c.s.i. Six years later, Mr. L. Schwendler succeeded in persuading the Asiatic and Agri-Horticultural Societies to take up the matter, and in 1875 the Government of Bengal carried the proposals of the Societies into effect. Disagreeable bustees, which heretofore choked the approach to Belvedere, were removed, and their site together with a large slice of the compound of Kidderpore House, was converted into gardens. The gardens were formally opened by King Edward VII. at that time Prince of Wales, on January 1st, 1876. The reader will prefer to pay "the Zoo" the honour of a special visit or visits, as there is a good deal to be seen there, and an hour or more will be pleasantly spent in inspecting the collection. The tigers are in their classical home land, and are usually in good condition. The lions, however, do not seem to appreciate Calcutta. In the present year the "Zoo" has been still further expanded by the inclusion of another strip of the Orphanage compound.

BELVEDERE.

On leaving the Gardens, we proceed to Belvedere—the palace of the Lieutenant-Governors of Bengal. It is exceedingly difficult to form any opinion as to the origin of this house. Mr. A. K. Ray informs us that it was commenced in 1700 by Prince Azim-us-Shan. The Revd. J. Long, writing of the year 1762, tells us that Warren Hastings, then (1761—4) a member of the Council had "his house in the then jungles of Alipur," and that "his house at Belvedere was then in rural solitude of Alipur." But the Revd. J. Long, as all who have consulted his writings, know so well, is a most provoking authority. A little further on he writes as if Warren Hastings' Garden House was to the west of, and, therefore, distinct from Belvedere. The present writer inclines to the belief that before the advent of the great Proconsul, Belvedere was the garden-house of Mr. Frankland, the official who in 1758 conducted a survey of the South Pergunahs of Calcutta.

“Most certainly the purchasing of Mr. Frankland’s house for, as you mention, the refreshment of the Governor when the multiplicity of business will permit him, to leave the town at the expense of the Company’s Rs. 10,000 is, notwithstanding your allegation to the contrary, a superfluous charge, and must as in reason it ought, be borne by the Governor at his own private expense; this is the more necessary and reasonable, since the noble appointments settled upon the Governor by our directions last season, which are intended to take in all the expenses he may be put to on the Company’s account.”
Court’s Letter, Feb. 19, 1762.

In the proceedings of the Council of June 20, 1763, we find permission given to Hastings to “build a bridge over the Callighaut (Kalighat) Nullah on the road to his Garden House.” I incline to the belief that Hastings’ Garden House at Alipur in 1763 could not have been Belvedere (he was not then Governor), but another old residence still standing in Judge’s Court Road. In 1764 Hastings sold a house for “the entertainment of the Nabab.” Verelst, Governor of Bengal from January 1767 to December 1769, and Cartier, Governor, December 1769 to April 1772, resided at Belvedere, but can we say the present Belvedere? Stavornius, the Dutch Admiral, writes:—

[February 26th, 1770.] “At 6 o’clock in the evening Mr. Cartier came to fetch the Director V, and his company to ride to his country seat Belvedere, about two Dutch miles from Calcutta, where we were entertained with an excellent concert by amateurs and an elegant supper.”

Mrs. Fay who visited Mrs. Hastings at Belvedere House in May 1780, estimated the journey from Calcutta at five miles—“a great distance at this season.”

“The house,” she writes, “is a perfect gem; most superbly fitted up with all that unbounded affluence can display; but still deficient in that simple elegance which the wealthy so seldom attain, from the circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those moderately rich find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out.”

But was the house where Mrs. Fay paid court to “the elegant Marian” the former home of Verelst and Cartier? Apparently not, or only so in part, for Macrabie, Francis’ brother-in-law and secretary, writes in February 1778:

“Colonel Monson dined with us in the country: after dinner we walked over to the Governor’s *new-built* house. ’Tis a pretty thing but very small, tho’ airy and lofty. These milk-white buildings with smooth shiny surface utterly blind one.”

The truth is Hastings had a very lucrative mania for house building and house selling: hence the difficulty of determining his residences in Calcutta and Alipur. In February 1780, he sold Belvedere to Major Tolly, the constructor of the Nala. Tolly, after residing at Belvedere, leased it to W. A. Brooke, and after Tolly's death, subject to a yearly rent of £350 on that lease, it was in 1802 put up for auction "by order of Richard Johnson, Esq., Attorney to the Administrator of the late Colonel William Tolly." The property passed through the hands of John Brereton Birch (1810), Sambhu Chunder Mukerji (1824) and James Mackillop (1841). In 1823 it was occupied by Genl. the Hon^{ble} Sir Edward Paget, K.C.B., Commander-in-Chief in India.

"I reviewed the Artillery (at Dum Dum), which engaged me till 8-0 A.M.after which I returned to Belvedere, and for the first time made up my mosquito-room.My mosquito-room answers admirably, and my housemaids understand their business so well that I have only been disturbed by one villain of a mosquito since I have slept at Belvedere.I had my first *grand dinner* at Belvedere yesterday, and extremely good and well-served it was." *Letters and Memorials of Genl. the Hon^{ble} Sir Edward Paget, K. C. B.*

In a minute dated September 24, 1854, Lord Dalhousie asked the Court of Directors "that a furnished house should be found for the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, as is done for the Governor-General and for the Governors of the Presidencies," adding, "I wish it to be clearly understood that I do so without the knowledge of the Lieutenant-Governor." Belvedere, which had in 1841 come into the hands of Charles Robert Prinsep, the Advocate-General, was therefore purchased. The subsequent additions, alterations and embellishments are authoritatively recorded by Mr. Buckland.

"The house has been enlarged and improved from time to time by successive Lieutenant-Governors. Its architecture is of a free Italian renaissance style, developed on an ordinary Anglo-Indian building. The construction of a verandah on the east side, and the reconstruction of a more commodious west wing, were carried out in 1868-70 by Sir W. Grey. Alterations and additions to other parts of the building were effected, and boundary fences to the new grounds and a guard-room were constructed. Sir A. Eden added the whole of the centre main façade, with the steps, on the north side, Mr. E. J. Martin being the Government architect; he also had the wooden floor put to the centre ball-room. In Sir S. Bayley's time the wooden-glazed dining-room was made on the north-east side of the house. Sir C. Elliot had the rooms on the upper

storey of the west wing constructed, and the archway leading into the drawing-room from the main staircase substituted for a door. Sir A. Mackenzie introduced the electric lighting. Sir W. Grey had the honour of receiving H. R. H. the Duke of Edinburgh at a Ball and Reception at Belvedere in December 1869—January 1870. Sir R. Temple had the honour of entertaining the King Emperor, then H. R. H. the Prince of Wales, at dinner and a garden-party in December 1875, and Sir S. Bayley of giving a Ball to H. R. H. the late Duke of Clarence: Sir C. Elliot entertained the Czarewitch of Russia at a dinner and evening party in January, 1891. It was on this occasion that the sudden explosion of a sodawater bottle created some momentary alarm, which was promptly met by the ready wit of the hostess. The Russian staff were much more alarmed by the incident than the Czarewitch himself." C. E. Buckland: *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*, Vol. II, pp. 10—9—1020.

The reader having inspected the palace of the Lieutenant-Governors, may perhaps welcome a few words about its honoured occupants.

1833. By the Government of India the Governor-General of Bengal became "Governor-General of India and Governor of Bengal." He was authorized, when occasion required, to appoint a Deputy-Governor but on no additional salary. The following have served as Deputies:—

Alexander Ross, Senior	Oct. 20, 1837.
Col. William Morison, C.B., Madras Artillery	Oct. 15, 1838.
Thos. Campbell Robertson	June 17, 1839.
Sir Thos. Herbert Maddock, <i>Kt.</i> , C.B.	Sept. 20, 1845.
	Oct. 11, 1848.
Major-General Sir J. H. Littler, G.C.B.	March 12, 1849.
Hon'ble J. A. Dorin	Dec. 9, 1853.

1853. In renewing the charter of the E. I. Company, Parliament, at the special request of Lord Dalhousie, created the Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal. The Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal has precedence after the Governors of Madras and Bombay and the President of the Governor-General's Council, and, when in his own province, before the Commander-in-Chief. Here is a list of the distinguished men who have held this high office.

1854.	May 1.	Sir Frederick James Halliday, K.C.B.
1859.	May 1.	Sir John Peter Grant, K.C.B., G.C.M.G.
1862.	April 23.	Sir Cecil Beadon, K.C.S.I.
1867.	April 23.	Sir William Grey, K.C.S.I.
1871.	March 1.	Sir George Campbell, M.P., K.C.S.I., D.C.L.
1874.	April 9.	The Right Hon'ble Sir Richard Temple, Bart., M.P., C.S.I., C.I.E., D.C.L., LL.D., F.R.S.
1877.	Jan. 8.	<i>Officiating.</i> } The Hon'ble Sir Ashley Eden, K.C.S.I.
	May 1.	<i>Confirmed.</i> }
1879.	July 15th to Dec. 1.	Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., <i>Officiating.</i>
1882.	April 24.	Sir Augustus Rivers Thompson, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
1885.	Aug. 11 to Sept. 17.	Horace Abel Cockerell, C.S.I., <i>Officiating.</i>
1887.	April 2.	Sir Stewart Colvin Bayley, K.C.S.I., C.I.E.
1890.	Dec. 17.	Sir Charles Alfred Elliott, K.C.S.I.
1893.	May 30. to Nov. 30.	Sir Antony Patrick Macdonnell, G.C.S.I., <i>Officiating.</i>

1895.	Dec. 18 to April 7, 1898.	Sir Alexander Mackenzie, K.C.S.I.
1897.	June 22 to Dec. 1897.	Sir Charles Cecil Stevens, K.C.S.I., <i>Officiating.</i>
1898.		Sir John Woodburn.
1903.		Sir John Bourdillon.
1904.		Sir Andrew Fraser.

This will be the fitting place to recall the memory of the historical duel fought in the early morning of August the 17th, 1780, between Warren Hastings and Sir Philip Francis. At his wits' end for money, dogged by a relentless and unscrupulous opposition, Hastings determined to bring matters to a crisis by penning the celebrated minute of July 3rd in which he wrote of Francis: "I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found void of truth and honour. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made." A duel was the result. Lieut.-Colonel Pearse, Hastings' second, tell us what took place:

"The next morning, Thursday, August 17, I waited on Mr. Hastings in my chariot to carry him to the place of appointment. When we arrived there we found Mr. Francis and Colonel Watson walking together, and therefore soon after we alighted, I looked at my watch and mentioned aloud that it was half-past five, and Francis looked at his and said it was near six. This induced me to tell him that my watch was set by my astronomical clock to solar time. The place they were at was very improper for the business; it was the road leading to Alipore, at the crossing of it through a double row of trees that formerly had been a walk of Belvedere Garden, on the western side of the house. Whilst Colonel Watson went, by the desire of Mr. Francis, to fetch his pistols, that gentleman proposed to go aside from the road into the walk; but Mr. Hastings disapproved of the place, because it was full of weeds and dark. The road itself was next mentioned, but was thought by everybody too public, as it was near riding time, and people might want to pass that way: it was therefore agreed to walk towards Mr. Barwell's house (the present Kidderpore Orphanage Asylum) on an old road that separated his ground from Belvedere (since the official residence of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal), and before he (we?) had gone far, a retired dry spot was chosen as a proper place.

"As soon as the suitable place* was selected, I proceeded to load Mr. Hastings' pistols; those of Mr. Francis were already loaded. When I had delivered one to Mr. Hastings, and Colonel Watson had done the same

* Dr. Busteed writes: "The place originally fixed for the meeting probably corresponds to the second gate (from the western side) leading into Belvedere compound. . . . Unless records or trustworthy tradition point to another locality I am inclined to think that the compound of No. 5, Alipore Road, holds near its northern boundary the site of this memorable duel. Long on the other hand, says that the site was marked by two trees called "the trees of destruction," notorious for the duels fought under their shade. In 1822 a duel was fought between the journalist J. Silk Buckingham and a Mr. Thomas under "the great trees," but that was on the race course.

to Mr. Francis, finding the gentlemen were both unacquainted with the modes usually observed on those occasions, I took the liberty to tell them that if they would fix their distance, it was the business of the seconds to measure it. Colonel Watson immediately mentioned that Fox and Adam had taken fourteen paces, and he recommended the distance. Mr. Hastings observed it was a great distance for pistols; but as no actual objection was made to it, Watson measured and I counted. When the gentleman had got to their ground, Mr. Hastings asked Mr. Francis if he stood before the line or behind it, and being told behind the mark, he said he would do the same, and immediately took his stand. I then told them it was a rule that neither of them were to quit the ground till they had discharged their pistols, and Colonel Watson proposed that both should fire together without taking any advantage. Mr. Hastings asked if he meant they ought to fire by word of command, and was told he only meant they should fire together as nearly as could be. The preliminaries were all agreed to, and both parties presented; but Mr. Francis raised his hand and again came down to the present; he did so a second time, when he came down to his present—which was the third time of doing so—he drew his trigger, but his powder being damp, the pistol did not fire. Mr. Hastings came down from his present to give Mr. Francis time to rectify his priming, and this was done out of a cartridge with which I supplied him upon finding they had no spare powder. Again, the gentlemen took their stands, both presented together, and Mr. Francis fired. Mr. Hastings did the same at the distance of time equal to the counting of one, two, three distinctly, but not greater. His shot took place. Mr. Francis staggered, and, in attempting to sit down, he fell and said he was a dead man. Mr. Hastings hearing this, cried out, ‘Good God! I hope not,’ and immediately went up to him, as did Colonel Watson, but I ran to call the servants.”

When Francis was shot, Colonel Pearse says:—“I ran to call the servants and to order a sheet to be brought to bind up the wound. I was absent about two minutes. On my return I found Mr. Hastings standing by Mr. Francis, but Colonel Watson was gone to fetch a cot or palanquin from Belvedere to carry him to town. When the sheet was brought, Mr. Hastings and myself bound it around his body, and we had the satisfaction to find it (*sic*) was not in a vital part, and Mr. Francis agreed with me in opinion as soon as it was mentioned. I offered to attend him to town in my carriage, and Mr. Hastings urged him to go, as my carriage was remarkably easy. Mr. Francis agreed to go, and therefore, when the cot came, we proceeded towards the chariot, but were stopped by a deep, broad ditch, over which we could not carry the cot; for this reason Mr. Francis was conveyed to Belvedere.”

Leaving Belvedere we will turn once more into Alipore Road. In 1756, after the siege of Calcutta, Suraj-ud-Daula changed the name of the place to Alinagar, and the seat of his principal agent, probably at Belvedere, he named Alipore. Within living memory Alipore included the most productive arrowroot fields in the world.

THE AGRI-HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY.

On our left we find the grounds of the AGRI-HORTICULTURAL SOCIETY in which our readers who love the gentle art of gardening will take a lively interest. These lands

together with the houses north of Judges' Court Road, belonged in 1891 to Sir Charles Imhoff, a descendant of the second Mrs. Hastings. A house in this direction was occupied at one time by Sir C. T. Metcalfe.

"His house at Alipore was surrounded by spacious park-like grounds, and at early morning he might sometimes be seen riding in topboots, an article of equipment in which he always rejoiced, on a plump white horse, with a groom on either side of him."

In 1864 the house which Sir C. Imhoff had sold to the Nawab Nazim of Murshidabad and was known as the "Nabob Shahib ka Kothi," was purchased by Sir Cecil Beadon, who had it dismantled. A portion of the lands were added to Belvedere and the remainder, at one time set apart for an extension of the Alipore Cantonment, became the property of the Agri-Horticultural Society of India, founded in 1820 by the famous Baptist Missionary of Serampore—Dr. Carey.

HASTINGS HOUSE.

Turning to our left after passing the Garden and again to our right when in Judges' Court Road, we find HASTINGS HOUSE, which was Warren Hastings' *private* home at Alipore. The first Mrs. Hastings—Mary, the widow of Capt. John Buchanan, one of the Black Hole victims—lies buried in the quaint old cemetery at Cossim Bazar in close proximity to a [great ?] grand-daughter of the patriot Hampden. Of the second Mrs. Hastings, *née* Anna Maria Appolonia Chappusetin much has been written. In 1777 she was divorced from her husband, and on August 8th, married to Hastings, under her maiden name, at some private residence.

Hastings House and grounds was bought for Government by Lord Curzon in 1901 (being about to be sold for building purposes). The House was converted into a State Guest House, in which the Viceroy entertains the Indian Princes during the winter season. The eldest son and heir of the Amir of Afghanistan was accommodated here as a State Guest in 1904. Lord Curzon also laid out the grounds and built a second bungalow for the convenience of the guests. Hastings House contains a big

pillared durbar-room which is used for the exchange of State visits.

It is curious that the name 'Marian,' by which Mrs. Hastings is best known, was not one of her proper Christian names at all. As she was born in 1747 she was thirty years old at the time of her second marriage. Hastings was fifteen years older. Francis in writing to his wife shortly after the marriage, says of Mrs. Hastings:—"The lady herself is really an accomplished woman. She behaves with perfect propriety in her new station, and deserves every mark of respect. The Governor-General's wife, however, does not seem to have forgotten the humble pie that Mrs. Imhoff had to eat in the matter of that first visit to Lady Impey, for as soon as ever her position is assured she promptly brings the Lady Chief Justice to her bearings." Busted; *Echoes of Old Calcutta*, p. 125.

We now plunge into the Belvedere Road.

"The portion of Belvedere Road south of the Agricultural Gardens was at one time called 'Love Lane,' at the special request (I was informed by the same authority) of a Collector who had wooed and won his wife there. Buckland; *Op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 1021.

We pass in turn the Alipore Cutchery, the Jail, the Army Clothing Department, and at last come to Thackeray Road.

The house of the Collector of the 24-Pergunahs is of considerable interest. In 1775 Sir Philip Francis purchased this spot, and here probably, in what are still the lower rooms of the present house, he "chunmed" with Livius, Collings, and Macrabie. Early in 1776, the indefatigable Macrabie writes in his Diary.

"At the Gardens, being Sunday, we wrote special hard all the morning. Colonel Monson, Mr. Farren and Mr. Thompson dined with us, so did Major Tolly, he is cutting a navigable canal close by."

Towards the end of 1811, Richmond Thackeray was appointed Collector of the 24-Pergunahs and came to reside at what was once Sir P. Francis' "villa inter paludes." His little son, the future novelist, was then just five months old, having been born in Calcutta on July 18th, 1811. There is a tradition that Francis, being a Roman Catholic, built the ecclesiastical-looking erection now used as a stable in the neighbouring compound. Francis was the son of an English clergyman, and I doubt if he ever was sufficiently interested in religious matters to go to the pains of a secession, which would have cost him a seat in Parliament.

We now pass over the Alipore Bridge. On our left we find the Military Burial-ground opened in 1732-3 : on our right the Lady Canning Memorial Home, where dwell the Clewer Sisters who so devotedly watch over the nursing in the Presidency General Hospital. On our left as we turn into the Circular Road, we find the Military Hospital, once the Sudder Adalat Dewani Courts.

CHAPTER VIII.

CALCUTTA'S OLDEST CHRISTIAN CHURCHES, THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF DALHOUSIE SQUARE.

THE earliest building erected in Calcutta as a place for Christian worship must have been the chapel from which Sir J. Gouldsbrough so ruthlessly ousted the proselytising Portuguese friars. This chapel, probably nothing more than a thatched building with walls of wood and mud, must have been situated within the area of the future old Fort William and not, as usually asserted, on the site of the present Roman Catholic Cathedral in Portuguese Church Street (Murghihatta).

On June the 5th, 1709, the Sunday after Ascension Day, the first English Church in Calcutta was consecrated under a commission granted by the Bishop of London within whose jurisdiction the "Parish of Bengal" was then included. It was dedicated to St. Anne, the Mother of the Blessed Virgin—and presumably the patron saint of the then ruling monarch—Queen Anne. A minutely detailed account of this old house of God has been given with loving care by Archdeacon Hyde in his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*,* and, with some modifications, his reconstruction has been adopted by Mr. Wilson in his model of old Fort William. The octagon at the West End of Writers' Buildings marks the site of the Church. In the siege of 1756 St. Anne's was utterly destroyed. On their restoration, the English turned the Portuguese clergy out of the settlement, and for some years the Portuguese Church in Murghihatta—"a brick building dated A.D. 1720, designed in the plainest Iberian style, and lighted by windows high up

* The reader should also consult Archdeacon Hyde's *The Parish of Bengal*, and his *Parochial Annals of Bengal*. These books can be procured at Messrs. Thacker, Spink & Co.

in the walls," was turned to English use. But in March, 1760, the Council reflected upon "the unwholesomeness and dampness of the Church now in use, as well as the injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese." In consequence of these reflections a Chapel was fitted up in the ruins of the Old Fort, South of the East Gate and therefore in close proximity to the site of the Black Hole. The then Governor of Bengal, Holwell, and Mapletoff, one of the Church Wardens, being Freemasons, the Church (probably on June 24th, 1760) was with all Masonic rites, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, who, with St. John the Evangelist, is a Patron Saint of the Craft.

The erection of the present Church of St. John is to be assigned mainly to Warren Hastings and to the then Junior Presidency Chaplain, W. Johnson.

In 1782 the Governor-General suggested "to the Maharaja Nobo Krishna Deb, a wealthy proprietor who then held the *talukdâri* (a sort of manorial lordship) of the great part of the north of the town, to give the gunpowder magazine yard as a site for the Church. The Maharaja at once adopted the suggestion and made over the disused yard, under the form of a purchase to Mr. Warren Hastings, in his private capacity, for the Church. The Company had sold this property some seven or eight years before. It represents the whole of St. John's compound east of the Church together with the public footway beyond the compound wall. It adjoined the old cemetery on the west. Godowns then as now skirted it on the south, while on the north, where now the *Englishman* press incessantly pulsates, was the head hospital-surgeon's garden and a private house. In the centre was the magazine, a massive brick-building of 60 feet diameter, and exactly where the new parsonage house is, was a tank roughly described as a hundred feet square.

Stimulated by this valuable donation, by the end of 1783 Chaplain Johnson had so stirred up the public spirit and, let us hope, the piety of the town, that he had no less than Rs. 35,000 in promises towards the Church building.

On the strength of the progress made, what is described as 'a general meeting of the inhabitants of Calcutta,' assembled in St. John's Chapel on the 18th of December, 1783, and appointed a Building Committee. Mr. Warren Hastings with two members of Council headed this Committee, and several times Mr. Hastings attended its meetings. Four days later he formally reported to the Committee the Maharaja's gift,—but he still retained it in his own hands.

None of the Judges, for reasons now difficult to appreciate, but which are stated by Sir William Jones in an extant letter, contributed towards the Church building fund, though one of them gave his name on the original list of subscribers. After the general meeting the work went on apace." Hyde : *The Parish of Benqal*.

The next stage was alas ! a lottery scheme run with an earnestness which must atone for its want of moral propriety by Bartholomew Harley, one of the Presidency Surgeons. The lottery, which amused Calcutta society

shocked not a few, and invited raillery from the cynics, produced over 36,800 Company's rupees.

The design for St. John's Church* was the work of Lieutenant Agg. A scheme had been devised for bringing stone from the ruins of Gour, and the broken tombs of Bengal's ancient monarchs were to provide blue marble for the flooring. Archdeacon Hyde in his deeply interesting work, *The Parish of Bengal* was unable to tell us how far these undertakings were carried out. The following letter, extracted from Mr. Morris' *Life of Charles Grant*, throws some light on the subject:—

Malda, 9th June, 1784.

"I imagine a number of stones sufficient for the pavement of the new Church may be collected from the ruins of Gour. The stones are of various sizes, many from a foot to two feet long, seven inches to fifteen broad, and seldom less than six inches deep. They are of a blue colour; those I have occasionally viewed have appeared to be hewn on three sides, but not polished. All the remains of Gour are unquestionably the property of Government, which we may dispose of at pleasure, as was the custom of the Subahdars.

It may not be amiss to add that besides the stones which are used in the buildings of Gour, there are among the ruins a few huge masses, which appear to be of blue marble, and have a fine polish. The most remarkable of these covered the tombs of the Kings of Gour, whence they were removed about fifteen years ago (1768—9) by a Major Adams, employed in surveying, who intended to send them to Calcutta; but not being able to weigh them into boats, they still remain on the banks of the river. Some time since I was desired to give my aid in procuring blocks of marble from Gour for a private use, but as I knew not how to comply, unless these masses, which are real curiosities, were broken in parts, I declined. The present occasion is, however, of a different nature. They are already removed from their original situations, and if any use can be made of them entire for the church, they would there be best preserved, as indeed they deserve to be. There are also some smaller stones polished and ornamented with flowers, sculptures, fret-work, etc., and a few freestones of great length."

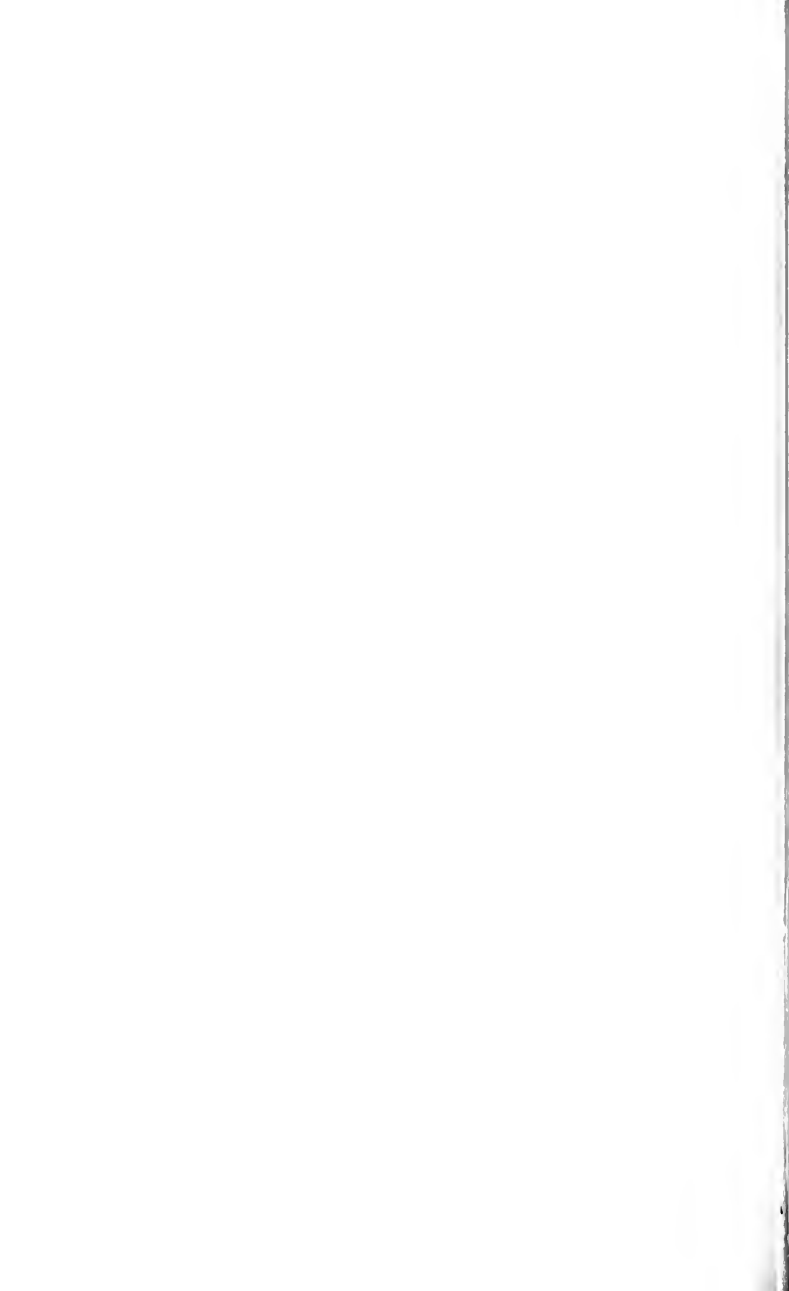
In the days of Lord Cornwallis, the building fund was benefited by a grant of Rs. 7,200 from a sale of captured contraband, and Rs. 5,600 from the melting down of silver which had formerly ornamented a State Pavilion. On St. John the Baptist's Day, 1781, the Church was consecrated under legal documents bearing the seal of the Archbishop of Canterbury and brought out to India by the Governor-General himself. In this year, St. John's must

* The solid stone of the steeple has earned for St. John's, its native name—*Putul Girja*.



St. John's Church.

Bourne and Shepherd.



have appeared a box-shaped edifice provided with a somewhat stunted steeple. The chief entrance was in the middle of the Eastern Wall, and if there was a Western Porch it was but a small one. The North and South Porticoes and the Sacrarum, the Palanquin Slopes, and Carriage Roads were yet to be provided.

"If you were a person of fashion yet did not choose to go to church in your yellow chariot, you would arrive in a neat sedan-chair gleaming with black lacquer. You brought at least seven servants with you—four chair-bearers, two running footmen, with spears and one parasol bearer. If you had official rank, your silver mace would occupy the services of at least another runner. Alighting at the great eastern staircase of Chunar stone you ascended under the screen of your huge painted parasol to a tile-paved terrace beneath the eastern portico. Here a sentry with a firelock guarded the entrance. Passing him you found yourself in a narrow vestibule and at the back of the curved recess that enclosed the altar; to the right and left were staircases leading up to the doors of the galleries. (This vestibule was abolished in 1811.) Passing beneath one of the staircases into the interior you saw that the altar was set in an apse (not vaulted probably) and on a pavement of white Chinese marble. Above it hung the great picture, and it was protected by a curved railing." Hyde: *Parish of Bengal*. pp. 109—110.

Of the galleries the one in the West alone remains. Here were accommodated the Singers, the Organ, and the Chaplain's family. In the middle of the Northern Gallery were the bowed-out pews of the Governor-General and his Council: in the Southern sat the judges of the Supreme Court. Behind the Governor the ladies of the settlement foregathered, and behind the judges the gentlemen of consequence: but in October 1787 it was decreed that the ladies and gentlemen should change places in order perhaps to save the former the glare of the sun. On the grey or blue stone floor of the Church were the seats free to the general public. The stately columns, which the visitor will not fail to admire, were then in plain Doric, and were converted in 1811 into Corinthian. In 1901 the North and South Galleries were removed—a great gain to the churchgoer, but a loss to conservative sentiment. Those, however, who then deplored the change, were probably not aware of the extent to which the Church had already been altered since the days when the Governor-General and his Council were wont to attend Divine Service here in state.

On the wall above the West Gallery will be seen the huge picture of the Last Supper which the artist Zoffany himself

presented to St. John's and which in the old days hung over the Altar. The cause which led a Royal Academician to emigrate to so undesirable a place as Calcutta must have then been deemed as stated to have been Zoffany's indiscretion in introducing the features of important persons into his pictures. For this picture it is said that the Greek priest, Father Partheni, sat for the figure of our Blessed Lord. According to tradition, the auctioneer Tulloch believed himself to be sitting for St. John, but went to law to avenge the insult of finding himself depicted as Judas Iscariot. One would have been tempted to believe that one of the fair sex must have sat for the St. John depicted, after the wont of the XVIIIth century painters, as a smooth-cheeked and delicate *blonde*. It is stated, however, that the Police Magistrate, William Coates Blaquiere, who came out to India in 1774 and was still living in Bow Bazar in 1854, was the actual model for the St. John of Zoffany's picture.

On the arrival of the first Bishop of Calcutta, St. John's became a Cathedral Church, and retained that dignity until Bishop Wilson's new erection was consecrated in 1847. St. John's is still commonly spoken of as the "Old Cathedral," and the title will not be grudged when we remember that it was here Bishops Middleton, Heber, James, Turner, and for many years Bishop Wilson, administered the Sacrament of Holy Orders, and held their visitations, and delivered their charges.

"[Dec. 26, 1814]. My landing here was without any *éclat*, for fear, I suppose of alarming the prejudices of the natives; who, however, I am assured, begin to entertain a better opinion of the English for venturing to avow that they have some sort of religion. Nothing can exceed the beauty of Calcutta, I mean the European part: in every direction, as I look out of the window, I see a vista of white villas, and trees and tanks. The church is, I think, without exception, the handsomest modern edifice of the kind I ever saw, spacious and airy, supported on handsome Corinthian columns, and paved throughout with blue Chinese marble; there are no pews, but rows of chairs, which have a light and elegant effect: on one side of the pulpit is the chair of the Governor-General, and opposite, that of the Bishop; the judges sit in one gallery, and the Supreme Council opposite." *Le Bas: Life of Bishop Middleton*, Vol. I, p. 71.

Some years before Henry Martin had thundered out the doctrines of Calvin from that lofty pulpit, and in the evening his senior colleague, Dr. Limerick, made the orthodox

reply. On Xmas Day 1814, the Bishop preached here to 1,300 persons.*

"I was heard with mute attention for fifty-five minutes; and, from what I can collect, the churchmen are abundantly well satisfied, while the Methodists are pleased to find that the Bishop is a Christian. I wish, if possible, to bring them together, though it will be a difficult task; here, as elsewhere, we have altar against altar, and people who violate charity and talk very wildly, to say nothing worse. I told them that I came to India, as Titus went to Crete 'to set in order the things that are wanting,' and that in the primitive ages episcopacy was at once the bond of unity and the safeguard of the truth." *Ibid*, p. 7.

Heber was not quite so well pleased with his Cathedral:

"This is a very pretty building, all but the spire, which is short and clumsy. The whole composition, indeed, of the Church, is full of architectural blunders, but still it is, in other respects, handsome. The inside is elegant, paved with marble, and furnished with very large and handsome glass chandeliers, the gift of Mr. M'Clintock, with a light pulpit, with chairs on one side of the chancel for the Governor-General and his family, and on the other for the Bishop and Archdeacon." *Bishop Heber's Journal*, Vol. 1, p. 29.

A small black marble tablet marks the spot in the Chancel where the first Bishop of Calcutta was buried.

T. F. M. D.D., OBIT XIII JULII, 1852.

The school-friend of Charles Lamb and protector of S. T. Coleridge at the Blue Coat School, a deep and indefatigable scholar, warm-hearted and easily pleased, a thorough-going ecclesiastical lawyer, in his early days inclined to liberal theological views, but after the portent of Napoleon swinging back to the old fashioned High Church principles, yet bearing, as Lamb puts it "his mitre high in India, where the *regni novitias* (I dare say) sufficiently justifies the bearing." Middleton's high character and great abilities, after the death of those who knew the facts, were obscured partly by the general acceptance of the miserable caricature drawn of him by Sir W. J. Kaye, and partly by the pompous and irritable style of his biographer.

The Church contains many monuments of interest. The fine white marble Cenotaph to the memory of Alexander Colvin is a work of great beauty—the handicraft of Westmacott. A bust of Lord Cornwallis stands on the stairs

* The collection on this occasion amounted to £750 for the poor, the number of communicants to 160—after a sermon of 55 minutes. It would be deeply interesting to compare this with recent records.

leading to the West Gallery. Among other memorials are inscriptions to—

- John Matthias Turner, D.D., Third Bishop of Calcutta. Died July 7th, 1831. Aged 45 years. In a brief Episcopate he founded the District Charitable Society, the Seaman's Mission, the Church at Howrah, and the High School which ultimately became the St. Paul's School.
- Henry Lloyd Loring, D.D., The first Archdeacon of Calcutta.
- Daniel Gorrie, LL.D., The first Bishop of Madras, and formerly Archdeacon of Calcutta—the friend, predecessor and successor in his missionary labours of Henry Martin.
- George Edward Lynch Cotton, D.D., Fifth Bishop of Calcutta. The friend of Anglo-Indian Education. Drowned at Kooshtea, 1866.
- John Adam, acted as Governor-General from January to August, 1823, famed for his policy of suppressing the English Press in India, but, says Mr. Wilson, "the first English ruler to appropriate a grant of public money for the encouragement of native education."
- Sir Benjamin Heath Malkin. Died 29th September, 1837. The inscription is by Lord Macaulay.
- Andrew Stirling, C.S. Died May 23rd, 1830, aged 36 years. The historian of Orissa.
- John Ludlow, C.B. Distinguished for "his heroic intrepidity in the arduous contest between the British troops and those of the Raja of Nepal in the years 1814—1815.
- James Achilles Kirkpatrick. Died at Calcutta, 18th October, 1805. Aged 41 years.

Leaving the Church itself by the West we enter the large Vestry room on our left. Here, during the incumbency of Chaplain Hyde, a Museum was formed of pictures, records, etc., etc., of interest to those who study the ecclesiastical history of Old Calcutta. The earliest records were destroyed with the Church itself at the sack of Calcutta, but if the visitor can get the chests open he will find registers which will carry him back to the days of Warren Hastings. Here we shall find duly registered (August 8th, 1777), the marriage of the great Pro-consul himself to "Miss Anna Maria Appolonia Chappusettin—the lady who was the divorced wife of Mr. Imhoff, and with whom Hastings had previously maintained an equivocal relationship. Here too, we shall find recorded the marriage of Miss Werlée* of Chandernagore—

* According to the debased custom of the time, Miss Werlée being a Roman Catholic, the marriage was performed first in the Roman Catholic Church at Chandernagore, and afterward by the English Chaplain. The second administration of the Sacrament of Marriage took place at Hughli.

afterwards the mistress of Francis, and finally wife of the great diplomat, the ex-Bishop of Autun, Prince Talleyrand—to Mr. Francis Grand and here, too, the record of the marriage of Richard Barwell with Miss Elizabeth Jane Sanderson.

The portraits are of considerable interest. From a high place on the wall, Bishop Evans of Meath smiles down on us. He was the first of the Company's Chaplains to come to the Bay, and we find him with Hedges at Dacca in 1682. To the work of the ministry he added the zeal of a cunning trader, and he is adversely reported on as "very often in company with the interlopers"—*i.e.*, the Company's unlicensed rivals. "The buisy pollitick *Padre*," say the Madras Presidency Council of the future Bishop of Ireland's premier see. The portrait of Chaplain William Johnson, the founder of the present Church, depicts one who was in his day a very famous Calcutta character. The idle gossip about the *Padre* by gossips of his day has been perhaps too faithfully, incorporated by Dr. Busted in his *Échoes of Old Calcutta*. Johnson, in June 1774, married a lady remarkable "for her longevity, for her influence and popularity in Calcutta Society and for her weddings" and, we may add, for her wealth—"the old Begum"—Mrs. Watts. Mrs. Johnson elected not to accompany her fourth and last husband home to England when he retired in 1788. Some years later, we find Johnson volunteering to take part in a scheme which had been proposed for a mission to Bengal.

The portraits of Dr. Ward, Charles Sealy and Charles Weston will be interesting to those who care to make a deeper study of the history of St. John's Church.

The massive Altar Plate, which, with the exception of two Alms dishes, was presented by the Hon'ble East India Company in 1787, well deserves inspection.

We now pass out into the Graveyard—vulgarly styled the "compound."* In the north-west we find the Charnock Mausoleum erected, probably in 1695, over the grave of the founder of Calcutta by his son-in-law Sir Charles Eyre. Had even the Old Fort been standing, the Mausoleum would

* See Yule's *Hobson Jobson* under "Compound."

still be "the oldest example of British masonry now existing in Calcutta." It is a massive octagonal structure with a small octagon above bearing the dome.

"In the year 1696 we may assume the Mausoleum stood as we see it now and contained within it a table monument bearing on its upper face the slab of black Palavaram granite, now entitled from this specimen *charnockite* with its epitaph, wrought in raised letters at Madras." Hyde: *Parochial Annals*, p. 31.

Mr. Hyde in the work we have just quoted, describes the re-opening of the tomb on November 22nd, 1892.

"The excavation was somewhat smaller than an ordinary grave and lay east and west in the centre of the floor. At the bottom of it the workmen had cleared a level, and the west end of which they were beginning to dig a little deeper when a bone became visible. This bone was left *in situ* undisturbed and the digging had ceased on its discovery. On seeing this bone he [Mr. Hyde] felt sure it could be no other bone than one of the bones of the left forearm of the person buried, which must have laid crossed upon the breast. A little beyond it he observed a small object in the earth which he took at first for a large coffin nail, but on this being handed up to him it was very apparent that it was the largest joint of, probably, a middle finger and judging from its position, of the left hand. This bone was replaced. No more earth was permitted to be removed save only a little above and to the east of the remains, sufficient to reveal a black stratum in the soil which might have been the decayed coffin lid. It was quite evident that a few more strokes of the spade would discover the rest of the skeleton, perhaps perfect after 200 years of burial. There can be no reasonable doubt, but that, arguing from the position of the body and of the depth at which it lay, it was the very one, to enshrine which only, the Mausoleum was originally built, the mortal part of the Father of Calcutta himself." *Ibid*, p. 32.

The Epitaph is as follows:—

D. O. M.
 Jobus Charnock, Armiger.
 Anglus, et nup' in hoc
 Regno Bengalensi dignissim' Anglorum
 Agens, Mortalitatæ suæ exuvias
 Sub hoc marmore deposuit, ut
 in spe beatæ resurrectionis ad
 Christi judicis adventum obdormirent.
 Qui postquam in solo non
 Suo peregrinatus esset diu,
 Reversus est domum suæ æterni-
 nitatis decimo die Januarii 1692.

Beneath is the epitaph to the memory of Mary Eyre, Charnock's daughter, and the wife of Sir Charles Eyre. Close by is a grave-stone (brought hither from her tomb in the churchyard) to the memory of another daughter of old Job—Mrs. Catherine White.

Within the Charnock Memorial is the tombstone of Dr. William Hamilton, "Benefactor of Calcutta." An interesting account of this worthy's career will be found in the *Calcutta Review* of April 1903. The tombstone was found in 1786, when the foundations of the Church steeple were being prepared. Contrary to the intentions of Warren Hastings, who wished it to be placed in the centre niche of the entrance to the Church; it was placed here:—

"Under this stone lies interred the body of William Hamilton, Surgeon, who departed this life the 4th December, 1717.

His memory ought to be dear to this nation, for the Credit he gained English in Curing Farrukseer, the present King of Indostan, of a Malignant Distemper, by which he made his own name famous at the Court of that Great Monarch; and without doubt will perpetuate his Memory, as well in Great Britain as all other Nations in Europe."

Translation of the Persian Inscription.

"William Hamilton, Surgeon, servant of the English Company, who had accompanied the English Ambassador of the illustrious Court, and had raised his name in the four quarters by curing the King of Kings, the protection of the world, Mahammad Farrukhsiyar Ghazi, having, with a thousand difficulties, obtained from the Court, the asylum of the world, permission to go home, died, as decreed, by God, in Calcutta, on the 4th of December, 1717. He lies buried in this place."

In the Churchyard, we shall find the tomb of Admiral Watson whose name will ever be remembered as the Commander-in-Chief of the Naval Forces when Clive came from Madras to avenge the disaster of 1756. Watson has also a monument in Westminster Abbey.

Close to the Admiral lies the tomb of a young midshipman "Billy" Speke, mortally wounded at the siege of Chandernagore, March 24th, 1757. Let Edward Ives, the Surgeon of the good ship *Kent*, tell us the pathetic story of the lad's noble death.

"The behaviour of Captain *Speke* and his son, a youth of 16 years of age, was so truly great and exemplary on this glorious, but melancholy occasion, that I must beg leave to describe it with some of its most interesting circumstances.

When Admiral *Watson* had the unhappiness to see both the father and son fall in the same instant, he immediately went up to them and by the most tender and pathetic expressions tried to alleviate their distress. The Captain who had observed his son's leg to be hanging only by the skin, said to the Admiral "Indeed, Sir, this was a cruel shot, to knock down both the father and the son!" Mr. *Watson's* heart was too full to make the least reply; he only ordered them both to be immediately carried to the surgeon. The Captain was brought down to me in the after-hold where a platform had been made and then told me how dangerously his poor *Billy* was wounded. Presently after the brave youth himself appeared, but had another narrow escape,

the Quarter-master who was bringing him down in his arms after his father, being killed by a cannon ball; his eyes overflowing with tears, not for his own but for his father's fate, I laboured to assure him, that his father's wound was not dangerous, and this assertion was confirmed by the Captain himself. He seemed not to believe either of us until he asked me *upon my honour*, and I had repeated to him my first assurance in the most positive manner. He then immediately became calm; but on my attempting to inquire into the condition of his wound, he solicitously asked me, if I had dressed his father for he could not think of my touching him, before his father's wound had been taken care of. I assured him that the Captain had been already properly attended to. *Then* (replied the generous youth, pointing to a fellow-sufferer) "*Pray, Sir, look to and dress this poor man who is groaning so sadly beside me!*" I told him that he already had taken care of, and begged of him with some importunity that I now might have liberty to examine his wound; he submitted to it, and calmly observed, "*Sir, I fear you must amputate above the joint!*" I replied, my dear, I must!—Upon which he clasped both his hands together, and lifting his eyes in the most devout and fervent manner towards heaven, he offered up the following short, but earnest petition! "*Good God, do thou enable me to behave in my present circumstances worthy my Father's Son!*" When he had ended this ejaculatory prayer he told me that he was all submission. I then performed the operation above the joint of the knee; but during the whole time the intrepid youth never spoke a word or uttered a groan that could be heard at a yard distance.

The reader may easily imagine what, in this dreadful interval the brave but unhappy Captain suffered, who lay just by his unfortunate and darling son. But whatever were his feelings we discovered no other expressions of them, than what the silent, trickling tears declared, though the bare recollection of the scene, even at this distance time, is too painful for me. Both the father and the son, the day after the action were sent with the rest of the wounded back to Calcutta. The father was lodged at the house of *William Mackett, Esq.*, his brother-in-law,* and the son was with me at the hospital. For the first eight or nine days, I gave the father great comfort by carrying him joyful tidings of his boy; and in the same manner I gratified the son in regard to his father. But alas! from that time all the good symptoms which had hitherto attended this unparalleled youth, began to disappear. The Captain easily guessed, by my silence and countenance, the true state his boy was in, nor did he ever ask me more than two questions concerning him; so tender was the subject to us both, and so unwilling was his generous mind to add to my distress. The first was, on the tenth day, in these words, "*How long my friend, do you think my Billy may remain in a state of uncertainty?*" I replied, that "*If he had lived to the 15th day from the operation, there would be the strongest hopes of his recovery. On the 13th, however, he died! and on the 16th the brave man looking me steadfastly in the face said, 'Well, Ives, how fares it with my boy?' I could make him no reply;—and he immediately attributed my silence to the real cause. He cried, bitterly, squeezed me by the hand, and begged me to leave him for the one half hour, when he wished to see me again; and assured me that I should find him with a different countenance from that he troubled me with at present. These were his obliging expressions. I punctually complied with his desire, and when I returned to him, he appeared as he ever after did, perfectly calm and serene.*"

The dear youth had been delirious the evening preceding the day on which he died: and at two o'clock in the morning, in the utmost distress of mind, he sent me an incorrect note written by himself with a pencil, of which the following is an exact copy!—

"*If Mr. Ives will consider the disorder a son must be in when he is told he is dying, and is yet in doubt whether his father is not in as good a state of health. If*

Mr. Ives is not too busy to honour this chitt, which nothing but the greatest uneasiness could draw from me. The boy waits an answer." Immediately on the receipt of this note, I visited him, and he had still sense enough left to know who I was. He then began with me.

"*And is he dead?*" Who my dear, "*My father, Sir.*" No, my love; nor is he in any danger, I assure you; he is almost well. "*Thank God—then why did they tell me so? I am now satisfied, and ready to die.*" At that time he had a locked jaw, and was in great distress but I understood every word he so inarticulately uttered, he begged my pardon, for having (as he obligingly and tenderly expressed himself) disturbed me at so early an hour, and before the day was ended surrendered up a valuable life."

The inscription on the tomb of Charlotte Becher is, in the opinion of Sir W. Hunter, one of the "two most touching stories carved on Calcutta graves of the last century."

Under this stone lyeth the remains of CHARLOTTE BECHER, the affectionate wife of Richard Becher, Esq., in the East India Company's service in Bengal. She died the 14th day of October in the year of our Lord 1759, in the 21st year of her age, after suffering with patience a long illness occasioned by grief for the death of an only daughter, who departed this life at Fulta, the 20th day of November, 1756. This monument is erected to her memory by her afflicted husband.

Among other tombs of interest are those of

Sir Robert Henry Blosset. Chief Justice of Bengal. Died 1823.

Sir Charles Puller. " " Died 1824.

Sir B. H. Malkin.

Bishop Turner.

Elizabeth Barwell, the wife of Richard Barwell.

Richard Shelden, the first Collector of Calcutta, and one of the Chairmen in the Rotation Government, arrived at Calcutta, when only 16 years of age, on June 9, 1688, and died at Hughli on April 25, 1709. Aged 37.

In the north-west angle of the Churchyard is a large Cenotaph in honour of the soldiers who fell in the second Rohilla War (1794). The inscription was added one hundred and one years after the event. St. John's Churchyard was in the year 1903, placed, by Lord Curzon, under the direct control of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and a fixed sum was set apart for its maintenance year in and year out.

Leaving St. John's, we drive along the North side of Government Place, and turn to the left into Old Court House Street. We enter Dalhousie Square, in former years known as "Tank Square," and at one time as "The Park." Keeping straight on we find in front of us

ST. ANDREW'S KIRK.

This building, which with either too little or too much humour, has been styled "an handsome Grecian building," was commenced in 1815, when the foundation-stone was laid on St. Andrew's Day by Lord Hastings—a circumstance which has led to the natives calling it the "Lat Sahib ki Girja." In early times the Presbyterian form of Christianity was not supposed to flourish in Bengal. Writes Alexander Hamilton:

"In Calcutta all religions are freely tolerated, but the Presbyterian, and that they howle at. The Pagans carry their idols in procession through the town. The Roman Catholics have their church to lodge their idols in, and the Mahometan is not discountenanced; but there are no polemics except between our Highchurchmen and our Low, or between the Governor's party and other private merchants on points of trade."

To console some Scotch members of Parliament who had objected to the creation of the English bishopric as an act unfair if not combined with some encouragement to the Scotch, a Presbyterian Chaplain, Dr. Bryce, was despatched to India by the very ship which brought out the first Bishop. On his arrival, Dr. Bryce, finding no building at his disposal, applied without success for an alternative use of St. John's, and when embittered by a disappointment, he delivered his first sermon in the College-Hall, he "contrived almost to identify episcopacy with popery and did not scruple to represent the Church of England as still grievously infected with the corruptions of the Church of Rome." The Doctor, in course of time, added the post of Controller of Government Stationery to his pastoral charge of the Scotch folk of Calcutta.

St. Andrew's Kirk covers, or very nearly covers the site of the vanished Old Court House. In 1727, a Royal Charter bestowed on Calcutta a Municipal Corporation—a Mayor and nine Aldermen. Where these civic worthies first held their Court we know not, but bit by bit they seem to have worked their way into possession of the Charity School which stood on this spot and had been erected by the Vestry of St. Anne's Church in 1731. Ultimately the children were removed elsewhere, and, probably before 1756, the place was known, imply as the Court House. In 1792 the Court House,

or Town Hall as it was frequently called, was demolished. The site, which in 1815 was valued at Rs. 30,000, was together with one lakh of rupees presented to the Kirk Session for their new Kirk, but to this day Government pays to the Calcutta Free School a monthly rent of Rs. 800 for the site.

In addition to the lakh given by Government, Rs. 36,000 were raised by public subscriptions. The building was completed in 1818, but a debt of Rs. 80,000 remained until 1834 when it was wiped out by the Government. The *Mirror* newspaper of March 12th, 1818, which describes the opening of St. Andrew's, is very eloquent on the subject of the beauties of the "Euharmonic Organ" which—no doubt to the dismay of sterner disciples of John Knox—adorned the Kirk.

"It has been usually allowed that the organ has hitherto been an imperfect instrument from the circumstance of its only containing twelve sounds within the octave—this number not being sufficient to satisfy the ear in *any one key*, whereas composers have written in *twenty-four keys* for it. . . . The Euharmonic organ produces *perfect* harmony and melody in thirty keys, and this by introducing as occasion may require, thirty-nine sounds in the octave, by means of pedals, while the keyboard remains the same." H. D. Sandeman: *Selections from Calcutta Gazettes*, Vol. V, 252.

The present Organ was built by Messrs. Gray & Davison in 1858 at the cost of Rs. 10,000.

In the Vestry will be found a portrait of Dr. Bryce by Sir J. W. Gordon, of his colleague and successor Dr. Charles and the Revd. J. Maclister Thomson. The Kirk Session has, by virtue of Act of Parliament, a right to representation in the General Assembly of the Established Kirk.

Turning up Mission Row, we find on our left

THE OLD MISSION CHURCH.

On the 14th of April, 1740, the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge despatched to India on a pay of £50 a year a young Swedish graduate of the University of Halle—John Zachary Kiernander. In 1758 Cuddalore, where he had settled as a missionary, was captured by the French, and at the invitation of Lord Clive, Kiernander, with his wife Wendela came to Calcutta. He at once commenced a school, and in the Old Church of

the Augustinian Friars, at that time used as for the English rite, he delivered his courses of missionary lectures. In the meanwhile the faithful Wendela had died (1761), but, says *Asiaticus*, "the remembrance of all his former sorrows was obliterated in the silken embraces of opulent beauty: the tenth of February 1762 witnessed his union with Mrs. Anne Wolley." The wealth of this lady enabled her husband to expend some Rs. 60,000 on the "Beth Tephillah" or "House of Prayer" which now forms the greater part of the Old Mission Church. It was commenced in 1767 and opened on the Fourth Sunday in Advent, 1770. It is very doubtful whether "the first Protestant Missionary" drew many converts from heathenism. He seems rather to have devoted himself to winning over adherents from the low caste Portuguese. In addition to these he succeeded in inducing no less than five Roman Catholic padres.

In an evil hour old Kiernander set his name on a bill incurred by his spendthrift son Robert, and thus it came about that in his seventy-sixth year, and in the forty-seventh of his mission (1787) he went bankrupt, and the seal of the Sheriff of Calcutta was attached to the door of the "Beth Tephillah." But

"One person stepped forward and saved the temple, where the hymns of truth have been chanted for seventeen years, from being profaned by the humdrum sing-song of an auctioneer." *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, Calcutta 1831, p. 201.

This person was Charles Grant, then the fourth member of the Board of Trade, the father of the future Lord Glenelg. Long years before a pathetic scene had taken place in the study of the old missionary. In a state of "deep concern about the state of my soul," Grant had looked in vain for some person "then living there (Calcutta) from whom I could obtain any information as to the way of a sinner's salvation." He had recourse to Kiernander.

"I found him lying on a couch. My anxious inquiries as to what I should do to be saved appeared to embarrass and confuse him exceedingly; and when I left him, the perspiration was running down his face in consequence, as it appeared to me of his mental distress. He could not answer my question, but he gave me, some good instructive books." Grant quoted by Dr. G. Smith, C.I.E., LL.D., *Conversion of India*, p. 97.

For many years after Grant's purchase the charge of the Old Mission Church was in the keeping of members of that distinguished group of Chaplains known as "the five Evangelical Chaplains" to whom, in a special sense, the origin of Church of England missionary work in India must be assigned. Memories of Buchanan, Brown, Martyn, Thomason, Marmaduke Thompson and Corrie are inseparably connected with this building.

The church is rich in memorials to the great "evangelicals" whose career was cast in India—David Brown, Henry Martyn, Charles Grant, T. T. Thomason, George Uidney (died in Calcutta, October 24th, 1830), Daniel Corrie, Daniel Wilson, J. H. Pratt, Thomas Dealtry (Bishop of Madras who "as senior minister of this Church preached the Gospel of Christ with earnest faithfulness far upwards of seventeen years"—June 1829—January 1847), and Henry Perrott Parker, the predecessor of Martyn Hannington in the See of East Equatorial Africa, and who, when only 35 years of age died at Wusambio near the Victoria Nyanza on March 28th, 1888.

The Sanctuary has been quite recently added.

No. 11, Mission Row is the residence of the incumbent, No. 12 is that of the Local Secretary of the Church Missionary Society.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

In Portuguese Church Street stands the Roman Catholic Cathedral—the Portuguese Church of our Lady of the Rosary. The district in which this building stands is known as Murghihatta.

"With the growth on a heterogeneous population came the necessity of allotting particular areas to particular races. Thus, shortly after the English came the Portuguese who were the only people who kept fowls, the rest of the inhabitants being Hindus to whom fowls are forbidden, were allotted a quarter which came to be designated as Murghihutta, and the Armenians a *tola* or division which was named *Armani-tola*." A. K. Ray: *Census of India*, 1901, Vol. VIII, pt. I, p. 89.

We have seen how in 1693 Sir John Goldsborough ousted the Portuguese Augustinian Friars from their Chapel on the site of the Old Fort. In 1700 a Mrs. Maria Tench, who died twelve years later and whose tomb will be found in the Churchyard, provided the means for

erecting a building of brick. This edifice together with the Armenian Church escaped destruction in the siege of 1756. On January 31st, 1757, the Court wrote home :

“The inconvenience we experienced at the seige of Calcutta from the prodigious number of Portuguese women who are admitted for security into the Fort, the very little or no service that people are to the settlement, added to the prospect of a war with France, in which case we had reason to suppose they would refuse to take up arms against an enemy of their own religion (should we be attacked) induced us, upon our return, to interdict the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion, and forbid the residence of their priests within our bounds.”

For some time, as we have seen, the Portuguese Church in Murghihatta, was used for the celebration of the English Rite. On March 24th, 1760, however, the Court admitted, besides “the unwholesomeness and dampness of the church”—the “injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese.” It was, therefore, restored to Padre Caetano. Thirty-six years later the Portuguese community resolved to replace their Old Church by a new, some Rs. 30,000 being available from the church revenues. The cost of the New Church was Rs. 90,000, and the deficiency in the subscription list was made up for by the two Brothers Joseph and Louis Barretto, a Portuguese family long established in India which has given two Governors and one Patriarch to Portuguese India.

If space permitted, it would be interesting to trace here the story of the Portuguese in Calcutta. In 1826 a well informed writer supposed that “the Portuguese language may perhaps be considered as one favourable medium for the diffusion of the true religion through the maritime provinces of the East.” In Heber’s day the Portuguese tradition was so strong with the good folk of Murghihatta, that Heber in his *Journal* cites them as a proof that climate alone is sufficient “to account for the difference between the negro and European.” A valuable article on “the Portuguese in Northern India” appeared in No. 10 of the *Calcutta Review*. The reader will, however, note that to a certain extent the mind of the writer of this otherwise useful article is unduly affected by religious prejudice.

In 1886 the late Pope, Leo XIII, created Goa into a Patriarchate, and Agra, Bombay, Verapoli, Calcutta,

Madras, Pondicherry and Colombo into Archbishoprics, and all the existing Indian Vicariates Apostolic and the Prefecture Apostolic of Bengal to the rank of Episcopal Sees. This arrangement resulted from a concordat with the Portuguese Crown in respect of what is known as the *Padroada*—the ancient right of the King of Portugal over Bishoprics and benefices in the East, a national claim which in the past has split the Roman Catholic community into two jurisdictions, and is still kept in evidence by the intermingling jurisdictions of the Archbishop of Calcutta and the Bishop of Mylapur.

The Church contains among many monuments one to that distinguished benefactor of Calcutta—Archbishop Patrick Joseph Carew. Here too is buried another great and good man—Archbishop Goethals.

In Amratolla Street is the

GREEK CHURCH OF THE TRANSFIGURATION ON MOUNT TABOR.

The foundations of this picturesque building were laid in June, 1780, and it was consecrated on August 6th, 1781. The subscription list was headed by Warren Hastings with a donation of Rs. 2,000: the cost of the building and the site was Rs. 30,000. English Churchmen will find themselves very well welcomed at the services. The relations between the Greek and Anglican Communion in Calcutta have ever been those of fraternal love and esteem.

To avoid narrow lanes and delays, the pilgrim had better direct his way back to Canning Street, and then turn down China Bazar. Before him he will soon see the dome of the

ARMENIAN CHURCH OF ST. NAZARETH.

This is the oldest Christian Church in Calcutta. It was erected in 1724 by the Mayor family who employed an architect named Cavond—an Armenian from Persia—on the site of the Armenian Burial Ground.

The steeple was added in 1724, in 1790 Catchich Arrakiel built the adjoining clergy house, the surrounding walls, and presented a clock for the steeple. Here

too the sons of the English Church will find themselves welcomed, and priests of the English rite will, as at the Greek Church, be honoured with seats in the chancel.

The traditions of the Armenian Church are followed in a conservative spirit. The music of the Armenian Liturgy has recently been carefully studied by Miss Apar, whose two volumes on the subject are so well known to liturgical scholars. The Church is very well preserved, and its arrangements will be of great interest to all English Churchmen who care to acquaint themselves with the practices of an ancient Christian Church which has always been in closest sympathy with their own.

The Armenian National Church recognises the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Edchmiatzin, under whom a Bishop of India, rules from Ispahan a diocese, including all India and the Far East. The idea is commonly accepted that the Armenian Church is committed to the heresy of Eutyches, but as a matter of fact every Armenian candidate for the priesthood is compelled in express terms to anathematise that heresy.

From remotest times the Armenians found their way into India, and established their peaceful commercial communities under Hindu Kings, Mogul Viceroy, and European Companies. In 1562 they built a Church at Agra, where traces of their sojourning are evident in the inscriptions in the Old Cemetery. They were welcomed at Calcutta by Charnock. On June 22nd, 1688, they received charters of protection from the East India Company

Having visited the oldest Calcutta churches, we will now find our way back to Chowringhi, taking mental notes of the more important localities through which we pass. On reaching the corner of Dalhousie Square, where stands St. Andrew's Kirk, we look over what used to be known as Tank Place. St. Andrew's, as we have said covers the site of the Old Court House. To our left runs Bow Bazar and Lall Bazar Streets in continuation up to Sealdah, where now is the terminus of the Eastern Bengal State Railway. In the map which Apjohn drew in 1791 to show the territory of Calcutta at the time of Surajud-Daula's attack, this long line is called "the avenue

leading to the Eastward," and it was over the Mahratta ditch at the East end of it the Nawab's troops forced their way in June, 1756, against fierce opposition. Where now we see the new buildings of the West End Watch Co., was the old theatre which stood opposite the Cutcherry very much where the present Head Quarters of the Calcutta Police now stand. Further up, to the right, was the Jail, still in use in 1767, when it is described as "very neat and wholesome, only wants a separate apartment for women, to make it completely convenient." In the Burra Bazár there was another prison—a "confined bad place and must occasion much sickness." Bow Bazár is a corruption of *Bahu bazár* or bazár belonging to a *bow* or daughter-in-law. In olden time, the street represented by this name was the Baitakhana Street so named from a famous tree the branches of which afforded a pleasant shaded place for travellers to take a rest. The tree is marked in Apjohn's map of 1794 at a spot in the North-East corner formed by the intersection of Circular Road and Baitakhana Street. If the reader thinks it worth while to spend a half-hour in driving up this street he will find that the street now is mostly occupied by native furniture makers. In years not so very far gone by it was the Wapping of Calcutta—the haunt by no means innocent of the British merchant sailor,—a race which in these days of steam vessels, and lascar seamen, is disappearing. The street was even once known as "Flag street" from the flags of different nationalities waving over the sailors' pet taverns. In Bow Bazár will be found the Church of Nossa Senora de Dolores, and St. Antony's School. A turning to our left will bring us to St. Paul's Mission Church in Scott's Lane where for a quarter of a century now the Rev. Canon Jackson has laboured, and still labours, in a work which all Church-folk in Calcutta admire and which we pray will bear rich fruit for many long years to come. Sealdah, mentioned in 1757 as a "narrow causeway, raised several feet above the level of the country, with a ditch on each side leading from the east," is—

"The site of the house which formed the Jockey Club and refreshment place of the Calcutta sportsmen when, in former days, they went tiger and boar

hunting in the neighbourhood of Dum-Dum." Long. *Calcutta Review*. Vol. XVIII, p. 315.

A portion of this long street from Dalhousie Square to Sealdah is known as Lall Bazár. The old Mission Church is known to the native as *Lall Girja*, and the tank as *Lall Dighi*. The late Mr. Long has suggested that it was the red-brick of the Church which gave the name both to the Church and its neighbourhood, an explanation which will not account for fact that Chandernagore has also its *Lall Dighi*. The more obvious explanation is had from Hindu mythology :

"It was from the annual *Holi* festival of this very Sham Roy and his spouse Radha, during which a vast quantity of red powder (*kumkun*) used to be sold and scattered in and about their cutcherry bank in temporary bazars erected for the occasion that Lal Dighi, Lal Bazar, and Radha Bazar derive their names." A. K. Ray. *Op. cit.*, p. 11.

At the junction of Bow Bazár with the Circular Road we reach the scene of one of Clive's most desperate engagements. In January 1757, after the capture of Budge-Budge, Calcutta was recaptured, but towards the end of the month the Nawab marched once again on the city and with an army outnumbering the forces under Clive—40,000 men to Clive's 1,350 Europeans and 800 sepoys. Skirting round the English camp to the North of Calcutta Suraj-ud-Daula encamped his forces between the Salt Lake and the Mahratta Ditch, and took up his own quarters in the Garden of Omichand within the Ditch itself. After some parleying, Clive determined to strike a sudden blow.

His plan was to make a sudden attack on the flank and the rear of the enemy, spike his artillery, and seize the Nabob by surprise. The movement began at three in the morning. About six o'clock the English entered the enemies' camp through which they fought their way enveloped in mist. By eight they were masters of the position. Had they been able to see, the action would have been decisive. But the fog grew thicker, and they lost their road. They marched on, feeling their way by the Maratha ditch, till they reached the causeway.* Clive, recognizing the spot, ordered the troops to form up in column on the road, intending to attack the barrier at the end of the causeway, re-enter the city, and march up inside the ditch to Amichand's garden, where the Nabob was. In the confusion the artillery on the right fired into the left as it wheeled round and began to march along the road; and the soldiers rushing across the causeway took refuge on the other side. Here Clive again

* The present Gas Street.

attempted to form a column of attack, but a battery to the south of the causeway on the line of the ditch suddenly opened fire on the masses of the English. They therefore again extended their line and continued their march southward, dragging their guns with difficulty over the rice fields. When at last the fog cleared they found that they were nearing the avenue.* The entrance was guarded by a body of troops, but these were easily dispersed, and the English returned along the road to Calcutta after a sharp action in which they had lost two guns and a hundred men. . . . The Nabob, alarmed for his communications, and for his own personal safety, retreated and opened negotiations. On the 9th February he signed a treaty by which he restored to the English the goods and villages he has seized, promised compensation for what was damaged or destroyed, recognized all their former privileges and permitted them to establish a mint, and to build fortifications." Mr. C. R. Wilson. *Indian Church Quarterly Review*. Vol. XIII, pp. 355-6.

Returning, we shall pass on our left the sites of the old Harmonic Tavern and the meeting place of the Provincial Grand Lodge of Bengal. We pass a Baptist Chapel hallowed by memories of Carey and Judson. We are now once more in Dalhousie Square and close to St. Andrew's Kirk. In the northern side of the square lies the long range of Writers' Buildings—the Bengal Secretariat. Facing these buildings is the statue of Sir Ashley Eden, Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, 1877-1882. The statue is very appropriately placed here as the red brick buildings surveyed by Sir Ashley's marble effigy, the work of the sculptor Boehm, were given their present red brick in Sir Ashley's time of office. The statue used to be where the replica of the Holwell memorial now stands, and was unveiled by Sir Stuart Bailey on April 15, 1887, after a speech in which Sir Ashley's part in quelling the Sonthal outbreak, his struggle on behalf of Indian emigrants, his mission to Bhutan, his administration of Bengal finance, the foundation of the Engineering College at Sibpur, the foundation of the Art and Industrial Museum, his work as President of the Army Commission, etc., etc., were all praised.

* A story is on record that when the report of Sir Stuart Bailey's speech appeared in the papers in London, one of Sir A. Eden's colleagues in the Secretary of State's Council, meeting him, remarked laughingly—'Eden, do you see what Bailey has been saying about you. You should be in one perpetual blush.' 'No,' replied Eden, 'what has he been saying?' 'Why, Bailey says you are the most enlightened and the ablest administrator India, or rather Bengal has ever had.' 'Is that all?' said Eden. 'Why, I knew that before

well can't he say anything more "original than that." Buckland: *Bengal under the Lieutenant-Governors*. Vol. II. 758.

The story is worth repeating—the consciousness of administrative ability is just what the marble face expresses. Sir Ashley Eden died suddenly of paralysis on the 9th of July 1887. Of the Holwell memorial, or rather its replica, a description has been given elsewhere.

Behind Writers' Buildings, is Lyons' Range—"Lyons" was the pseudonym under which Barwell was permitted to purchase this invaluable property. Messrs. Mackenzie Lyall & Co., who occupy Nos. 1 & 2, will soon be celebrating the centenary of their firm. In the senior partner's office may be seen the permission granted in 1826 to one of the partners of the firm by the Hon'ble East India Company to land and trade "during the pleasure of the said company."

In 1842-43 Mr. John Hamilton was admitted, but died in 1848, best remembered by his brother George, admitted in 1857-58, who, retiring in 1867, still enjoys a green old age at a romantic spot at Row, on the Gareloch, where any old Indian is heartily welcome, specially if his memory goes back to the *pre* Mutiny days, when Dum-Dum was the Head-Quarters of the Bengal Artillery and where, at the weekly open Mess night, there was no more popular guest than George Hamilton. He had but little hirsute appendage to boast of, and it is of him the story was told of an irate Yankee skipper entering the office, demanding to see Mr. Mackenzie, or Mr. Lyall, "There is no Mackenzie and Lyall now" they told him—"Wal" was the rejoinder, "I want to see the man I saw yesterday;—he looked as if he had passed through (place unmentionable in polite ears) with his hat off!"

In John Hamilton's time was held the celebrated sale of opium in 1846. The general version was to the effect that the Government insisted upon holding the auction, while the native merchants, waiting for news by the China boat then coming up the river, were bent upon frustrating their object, and so ran the price of the first chest of opium up to Rs. 1,30,955, when the sale was stopped, after having lasted all day until the evening, but our esteemed and venerable fellow-townsmen, Mr. Wm. Stalkartt, of Goosery, whose recollections of Calcutta date from 1833, states the whole affair rose from a gambling transaction between two factions of Marwaris betting as to which side should secure the first chest of opium; the magnitude of the wagers can be imagined when either party could afford to go up to Rs. 1,30,955, and yet be prepared to continue. A Babu, still in the employ of the firm of Mackenzie Lyall & Co., well recollects the scene of confusion on that day, both inside the office and outside in Tank Square, as it was then called, but now known as Dalhousie Square. When it came to the rival factions throwing each other into the water, the police had to be sent for to restore peace. The sale was eventually stopped by order of Mr. Torrens, the then Secretary to the Board of Revenue, and fresh conditions of sale eventually compiled, which prevented a recurrence of such a state of affairs.

The Ivory hammer, used upon that occasion, is still to be seen at the office. How it was lost for over 30 years, and subsequently recovered, is, as Rudyard

Kipling, would say, another story. It has engraved upon it, the circumstance of the above sale, the names of the partners and also the then ruling average price, per chest, of Patna opium. *viz.*:—Co.'s Rs. 1,793-5-9." *The History of an old Calcutta Firm.*

At the north-west corner of Lyons' Range at the close of the XVIIIth century stood the play house, erected in 1775 and furnished with wind-sails on the roof "to promote coolness by a free circulation of air." To Mrs. John Bristow is ascribed "the honour of being the first in Calcutta who brought *lady* actresses into fashion." In Mrs. Fay's day the leading Calcutta "actress" was a certain Lieutenant Forfar—a gallant soldier when occasion required, but in piping times of peace somewhat of a *belle*.

Peeping up Clive Street we see on either side of us lines of vast buildings. At the north-east corner of the square is the Customs House, the building of which, in 1820, led to the demolition of the then considerable ruins of the Old Fort. The Royal Exchange faces Fairlie Place and the offices of the East India Railway Company—Mr. Fairlie, here commemorated, was at one time the senior partner of Messrs. Fairlie, Fergusson & Co., Dr. Busted holds to the tradition which places Lord Clive's residence on the site of the Royal Exchange: other authorities maintain that No. 9, Clive Street, now occupied by Messrs. Graham & Co., was the dwelling honoured by the great founder of the Indian Empire of Great Britain. A tablet, erected at Lord Curzon's order, commemorates the fact that No. 1, New China Bazar, was the town-house of Sir Philip Francis.

Driving southward down the western side of Dalhousie Square we have the General Post Office and some magnificent commercial buildings on our left. The dome of the Post Office is one of the most conspicuous landmarks of Calcutta. The building was designed by Mr. W. B. Granville, and completed in 1868. The flight of steps at the corner formed by Koila Ghât Street and Charnock Place (*i.e.*, the western side of Dalhousie Square), and the spacious Corinthian Colonnade scarcely fall short of being impressive.

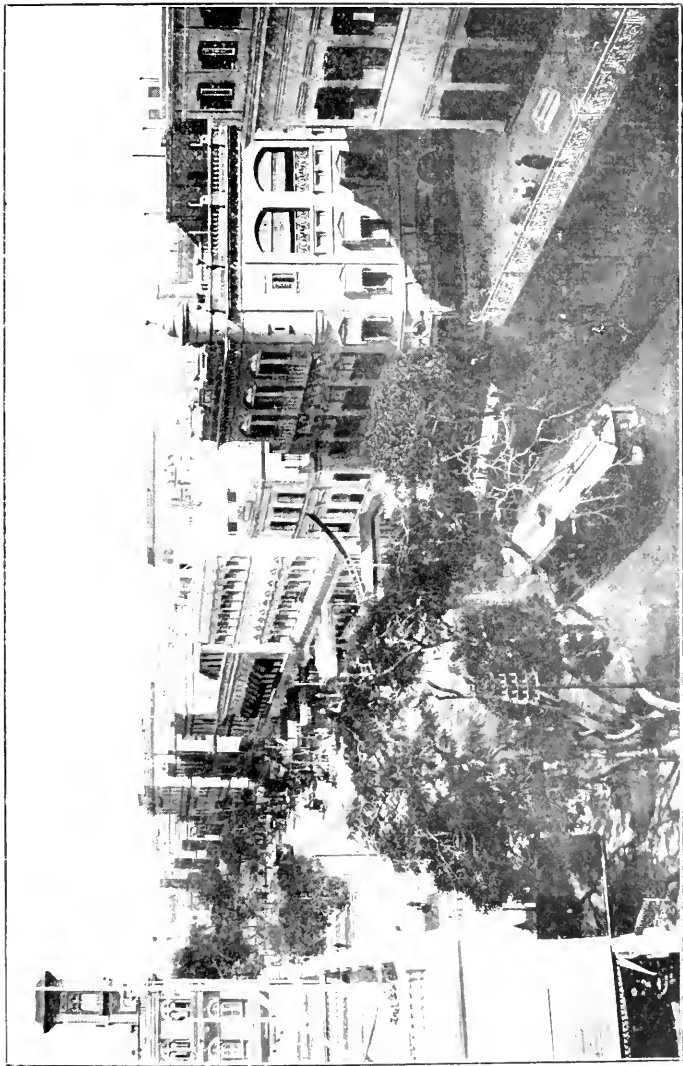
Hare Street meets the southern corner of Dalhousie Square. A tablet in the wall of No. 7, Church Lane, marks

the residence of David Hare (1775-1842) the pioneer in Bengal of the cause of education. This is, we believe, incorrect. David Hare resided in No. 1, Hare Street, now occupied by the offices of *The Indian Field* and Messrs. Innes Watson. The Church Lane house was not many years ago a range of godowns to which a top storey and an entrance from Hare Street were added. Close to the south-west corner of the Tank compound is the Dalhousie Institute. The portico dates from 1824, and contains a statue of Lord Hastings by Flaxman.

“The scite (*sic*) for the monument and statue to be erected in honour of the Marquis of Hastings has been fixed upon by the committee and will be near the iron gate in the enclosure of Tank-square, facing the Government House. It is intended we believe, that the monument shall be in the form of a temple, built of stone, contrived in such a manner as to protect the marble figure from the corroding influence of the season in this climate. Those interested in the subject will be glad to know something of the statue, the sculptor, and the progress that has been made in its execution. The late John Flaxman Esq., Professor of Sculpture in the Royal Academy, was the artist employed. In June 1826, Mr. Flaxman had almost finished two models for selection. He had sometime before waited on Lord Hastings for a sitting, or a cast from his features, but his Lordship was so highly satisfied with the celebrated bust of himself by Nollekins, that he preferred the head of the statue being copied from that. Accordingly the sculptor proceeded in his work, and made two sketches—both excellent; but the one finally approved, was admitted by Mr. Flaxman himself to be the most simple and noble in design. It was a plain figure with a military cloak, and a scroll in one hand. The model stands about three feet high, raised upon a square pedestal, which is adorned with allegorical basso relievos. Happily at the period of Mr. Flaxman’s death, the model of the statue was finished, and the workmen had commenced upon one of the most beautifully pure blocks of marble that we have seen. The same people are completing it who have finished the best efforts of their master, so that there need be no apprehension about its being adequately executed and worthy of the illustrious personage it is intended to honour. The height of the statue is about seven feet, and together with the embellished pedestal will stand about twelve.—*Calcutta Government Gazette*. February 7th 1828.

The Hall, the foundation stone of which was laid with Masonic ceremonial, in the presence of the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir Cecil Beadon) on March 4th, 1865, contains statues or busts of the Marquess of Dalhousie by Steel, Brig.-Genl. J.C. S. Neil. c. B., by Noble, Havelock by Noble, Outram by Foley, Venables by Steel, and Nicholson by Foley. These go to the Victoria Memorial collection.

On our left are the fine buildings of the Standard Life Insurance Co., and a little further on are the Head Quarters



Old Court House Street.



of the Telegraph Department, a gigantic building of red brick, surmounted by a tower, resembling an Italian campanile, 120 feet high. The details of the building especially the iron gates will repay the reader for the trouble of inspection. This building was commenced in 1873.

It is difficult for the present writer to imagine what Dalhousie Square can have looked like in the days when his father was, like himself, a Bengal Chaplain. Crossing over from Howrah in a green boat—there was no bridge in his time—my father would have seen a Dalhousie Square without the present Writers' Buildings, Post Office, Telegraph Office, and without those magnificent commercial buildings which make one wonder why the Strand in London can afford to remain comparatively so humble. I cannot but help feeling that the "Park" of Holwell's time is more within the range of my imagination than is the "Tank Place" through which my parents in their short time in Bengal, must have passed so often. At Lord Curzon's instigation the historical square has been placed under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, and a skilled landscape gardiner, Mr. Lane of the Botanic Gardens, has been entrusted with its beautification.

Before we turn to the right into Old Court House Street, we notice the Currency Office on our left. The Government acquired this noble edifice when the Agra and Masterman's Banks failed. The reader who has an interest in what may be called commercial architecture should not fail to inspect the interior as well as the exterior of this finely proportioned office.

South of the Currency office runs Mango Lane. Mission Row, which leads into the lane, is the old "Rope walk"—a century and-a-half ago the evening promenade of jaded civilians from the then Writers' Buildings. Keeping on our way southwards down Old Court House Street we pass British Indian Street, said by Long and probably said without truth to have been the scene of a fierce struggle in the day of the famous siege.

We have now reached the Great Eastern Hotel. On the South side of that enormous building is Waterloo Street and opposite the Hotel rises the lofty and recently erected Ezra Mansions, which have covered the site of

an old house where, according to Long, once dwelt the pugnacious Commander-in-Chief, General Clavering.

The hour and the place is now reached for tiffin. We can do very well for ourselves at Signor Peliti's restaurant, and, while the waiter busies himself with the necessary preparations, we will, if not too tired, set ourselves once more in the by-gone days and wonder the when, the what and the wherefore of tiffin in years now long past.

In fancy, we are no longer in one of the bathing-machine-like compartments of a modern restaurant, but either in the parlour of Mr. Creighton's Harmonic Tavern in Lal Bazár or at the London Tavern, kept by Messrs. Martin & Parr, close to the Assembly Rooms in Vansitart Row. Perhaps we shall prefer Mr. Creighton's establishment, for in our *Gazette* of November 11, 1784, he boasts of a "new method of preserving and cleansing oysters so as to render them of a fine flavour, and give them a preference above any ever brought to this place," and he also informs us that he has good cask porter. Mr. Creighton will no doubt be able to give us turtle soup, for has he not advertised "any person having Turtle to dispose of, may hear of a purchaser in applying to Mr. Creighton at the New Tavern?" Then, again, rough company is to be expected at the London Tavern. We, on the whole prefer to eat our oysters at Creighton's, especially as it is not Thursday—the day in the week on which Messrs. Martin & Parr fit up their larger and extensive rooms in a rural style," and please our ears with a "band of music, as good as can be provided, consisting of French Horns, Clarionets, etc." In vain the Proprietors of the London Tavern prate to us of "rural walks with several alcoves conveniently interspersed in them where there will always be prepared the best collation." In vain they assure us "the accommodation will be so arranged that a variety of parties may enjoy themselves without mixing with others, or being subject to the intrusion usual at public places of amusement." The lady doth protest too much: Creighton's in our choice.

O admirable Creighton! How is it that we, with your aristocratic *clientele* can eat your oysters and drink your "good cask porter" and not within a few hours be lying where your mortal body is now? Did it not take you whole weeks to bring your oysters from the Oyster River to our far inland city? Have we not to-day "the greyhounds of the East" and swift trains to bring us such luxuries from Diamond Harbour, and even so we have no oysters? You tell us that you have fitted "up two places for the accommodation of gentlemen, and an additional well for the oysters." O, great and glorious Creighton, we hail you not only as one whose dainties we poor plainmen accept without scruple or diffidence but also as a remote prototype of those high celestials who from high hill stations so lovingly adjust the climate of the plains to the skins of their inferiors, and hold that the lot of men in Calcutta has fallen in pleasant places. "Two additional places for the accommodation of gentlemen, and an additional well for the Oysters." *Coquin de sort*, Creighton, you deserve your toast in Vermouth and Bitters.

We have devoured our oysters and sipped our porter, and are now prepared for the turtle soup. The next item on the bill of fare is a highly seasoned Burdwan stew, served up in a silver saucepan and consisting of a mixture of flesh fish, and fowl. Our *menu* is, however, subject to the proviso that we do not prefer "cold ham, cold chickens, cold shubs." We now go in search of a place where to sleep, and as the time we are keeping is vague in the extreme, we may perhaps wake up five years later and dine with my Lord Cornwallis on New Year's Day at the Old Court House, at 3-30 P.M., on turtle and turkey. We shall dance from 9-30 to supper at 12-0 P.M., and then go home with a satisfied feeling that we cannot remember any previous

occasion on which the gentlemen could have danced a minuet after supper, for as our contemporary, the authoress of *Hartly House* has recorded "Every lady, even to your humble servant drink at least a bottle per *diem*, and the gentlemen drink four times as much." But we can't dine with Lord Cornwallis every day so in ordinary we have a light supper about 10 o'clock, a glass or two of wine with a crust and cheese. Our *hookah-burda* brings us the smoking vessel which our great-grandsons will not tolerate at any cost, and then about 11-0 P.M. we shall not turn in, but lie outside.

CHAPTER IX.

DUM DUM.

[To visit Dum Dum, the former home of the illustrious Bengal Artillery and the birth-place of the world-dreaded bullet, one has a choice of routes. The most comfortable plan is to take a first class ghari and drive there and back. A convenient train to Dum Dum Cantonments Station may be caught in the early morning at Sealdah, and the tourist can either return by train in the afternoon or else take a ticca ghari at Dum Dum and drive to meet the electric tram at Belgachia. He should in this case be careful to get into the tram that goes to Calcutta *via* College Street. The cyclist, of course, needs only to study the map.]

IN ancient times the site of Dum Dum seems to have been covered by an ancient forest—a home of buffaloes and tigers. In the XVIIIth century Calcutta sportsmen established their Jockey Club and refreshment room (the “bread and cheese bungalow”) at the South corner of Sealdah, opposite the Baitakhana, and thence went in search of tigers and wild boars at Dum Dum. The neighbourhood of Sealdah was, as we have seen, the site of Clive’s brilliant flank attack on the Nawab on the foggy morning of February 5th, 1757. The consequent treaty was signed at Dum Dum, where Clive erected his country-house.

Dum Dum as an artillery station dates from 1783: but for many years it was only used in the cold weather. It subsequently remained the Head Quarters of the Bengal Artillery until the year 1853. On his way to the station, the reader may perhaps care to peruse these few notes on the origin of the Bengal Artillery.

Although the earliest English settlements were avowedly mercantile, a few Artillerymen were found necessary for their protection. Thus Shaistah Khan, in his Arracan War in 1664, applied to the English at Hughli for the loan of a Company of European gunners. Twenty years later, when the capture of Chittagong was under contemplation 200 pieces of ordnance and six companies of infantry were despatched to the Bay of Bengal, with Admiral Nicholson’s fleet. In the records we find mention of “the Gun-room crew”—“the Gunner and his crew.” In 1748 the Court of Directors ordered regular

Artillery companies to be formed at each of the Presidencies. Roman Catholics, "black Indians," "persons of mixed breed" were under no "pretence to be admitted to set foot in our laboratories or any of the military magazines" or have "a copy or sight of any accounts or papers relating to any military stores whatever." Any officer or soldier who should marry a Papist or whose wife should become one was at once to be transferred to the Infantry!

In 1756 the strength of the Company, exclusive of details at the outposts, was 45 men. In December, Clive brought with him 80 Artillerymen from Madras, and in March 1757, a detachment of Artillery under Robert Barker arrived from Bombay. After his victories, Clive in June 1758 organised these details into an Artillery Company: and in September this Company was subdivided:

1st under Captain Jennings, accompanied Colonel Ford's expedition to the Northern Circars and distinguished itself at the siege of Musulipatam and the battle of Condore. A small detail had been left behind at Patna in 1758, and was nearly annihilated in an engagement with the forces of Shah Allum (1760). The survivors were attached to the 1st Company on its return to the Presidency.

2nd under Captain Broadbridge, did splendid service at Bidderah on November 25, 1759. The whole of this Company perished in the awful massacre at Patna in October 1763.

Consequent upon this disaster, the first Company was first reinforced and then sub-divided, and in September, 1763, a third company was formed. It is needless to add that the artillery contributed to the success of every memorable campaign, and did their work under the greatest difficulties as draught bullocks only—slow to move to attack and certain of capture in case of defeat—could be provided for the guns.

On August 5th, 1765, Clive divided the Bengal Army into three brigades and attached an Artillery Company to each brigade. A fourth Company was raised for the defence of Fort William.

In 1770 a new organisation was effected. A fifth Company having been formed, the Corps was formed into a Battalion, with a Lieutenant-Colonel to command. In the previous year Lieutenant-Colonel Deane Pearse assumed the command, and in the twenty years during which he held it, he won for himself the proud distinction of being "the Father of the Bengal Artillery." How he found things his own words will tell us; "When I first came into the command of the corps, I was astonished at the ignorance of all who composed it. It was a common practice to make any midshipman, who was discontented with the India ships, an Officer of artillery, from a strange idea that a knowledge of navigation would perfect an officer of that corps in the knowledge of artillery. They were almost all of this class, and their ideas consonant to the elegant military education which they had received. But thank God I have got rid of all of them but seven. When I was at practice in 1770, the fuzes burnt from 19 to 48 seconds, though of the same nature. The portfires were continually going out. The tubes would not burn! The powder was infamous. The cartridges were made conical, and if it was necessary to prime with loose powder, a great quantity was required to fill the vacant cavity round the cartridge. The cartridge flew into pieces with common firing in a week. All this, I represented, but my representation was quashed; the contractors still make the cartridges, the laboratory is in the same hands and I have no more to do with it than His Holiness at Rome."

Lieutenant-Colonel Pearse, as a devoted friend of Warren Hastings, naturally and most unfortunately incurred the hostility of the Governor's enemies. His work was therefore constantly thwarted by the high dignitaries

who cared more to snub a foe than to promote the efficiency of the service. But in securing for his officers quicker and more regular promotion, and himself superintending their scientific education, Pearse step by step built up the fame of the Bengal Artillery.

In 1777 the re-organisation of the troops of the Nawab Vizier of Oude necessitated the extension of the sphere of the Bengal Artillery, and also the organisation of "Golundaz" or native companies of artillery for English service. The Mutiny of 1857 proved the danger involved in Pearse's plan, to have been really existant, but in 1778 it certainly seemed a real economy "to convert the inefficient lascars into efficient artillerymen, by the simple process of changing the marine designations of the several grades from serang, tindal and lascar to subadar, jemadar and golundaz, by increasing their pay, placing them on a footing with the Infantry sipahies, giving them a portion of European officers instilling a pride and confidence in themselves and their profession, in a word by raising their condition from that of military pilots to soldiers." At the same time as the Golundaz Companies, European companies of Artillery Invalids were formed for Chunar and Fort William.

In 1786, in accordance with direct orders from England, the whole Army was re-organised, and the Artillery was formed into a Regiment of three Battalions, but a year later it was converted into a Brigade, and on this footing it remained until 1796. In June 1789, Colonel Pearse, after 20 years' service, died in Calcutta at the early age of 47. In 1796 a radical change was made in the organisation of the whole Army, and a year later the arrangement of the Artillery as a Regiment of three Battalions was restored.

In 1800 we meet with the first instance of the introduction of Horse Artillery in Bengal. An experimental Brigade of two Horse Artillery guns was organised at Dum Dum under the command of Lieutenant Clements Brown.

The chief places of interest at Dum Dum are :—

ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH.—Built in 1822 and consecrated in 1823 by Bishop Heber. On the walls are monuments to Officers of the Bengal Artillery. One of these is peculiarly worthy of quoting in this place, for it is an eloquent testimony, not only to the distinguished career of an individual officer, but to the strenuous services of the body to which he was attached :

"Sacred to the memory of Sir Alexander Macleod, Knight Companion of the Most Hon'ble Order of the Bath, Colonel of the 5th Battalion, Bengal Artillery, Brigadier on the Staff of the Army and Commandant of Artillery, who died at Dum-Dum on the 20th August 1831. Aged 64 years, Sir A. Macleod entered the Army as a Cadet of Artillery in 1784, and served with that Army during 47 years of uninterrupted Indian duty. In 1806 he was selected by Viscount Lake (on the death of Captain Hutchinson of the same corps) to succeed as Commandant of the then important advanced post of Ramporah Tonk, and afterwards served at the Sieges of Kamora, Gunnoaree, and Bhowanee. In 1814 he directed the Artillery of Sir D. Ochterloney's Army during the brilliant Campaign of the field movements and sieges against the Ghoorkah Commander-in-Chief, Ummeer Singh Thapa. In 1817 after being present at the siege of Hatras, he commanded the Artillery of Sir R. Donkins, or right division of the grand army under the Marquess of Hastings, in the Mahratta and Pindaree

War. In November 1823 he was appointed Commandant of the Regiment of Artillery, in which capacity, in 1825, he accompanied Viscount Combermere to the field and directed the Artillery in the great siege operations which terminated in the Assault and Capture of Bhurtpore in January 1826. Sir Alexander Macleod died in Command of the Corps, honoured by his Comrades as a gallant Soldier, esteemed as a kind Commander, and beloved as a good man."

In the Churchyard a tall column—sadly in need of attention—commemorates Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse, the trusty friend of Warren Hastings. The Colonel lies buried in the South Park Street Cemetery in Calcutta.

The CANTONMENTS—Close to the South wall of the Small Arms Factory stands a lofty column erected in 1844. We give a portion of the inscription.

"To the memory of Captain THOMAS NICHOLL, Lieutenant CHARLES STEWART, Sergeant-Major MULHALL, and the non-commissioned officers and men of the 1st Troop, 1st Brigade Bengal, Horse Artillery, who fell in the performance of their duty during the insurrection at and retreat from Cabul in the months of November and December 1841 and January 1842, on which occasions of unprecedented trial officers and men upheld in the most noble manner, the character of the regiment to which they belonged. This gallant band formed the oldest Troop in the Bengal Artillery. It had previously been distinguished on numerous occasions, having served in Egypt, the Mahratta and Nepal wars, and in Ava. Also to the memory of the undermentioned officers of the Royal Artillery:—Lieutenant CHARLES ALEXANDER GREEN, who perished in command of a detail of Shah Shuja's mountain train, and whose gallant conduct emulated that of his comrade, Lieutenant RICHARD MAULE, who was killed at the outbreak of the insurrection in November, and Lieutenant ALEXANDER CHRISTIE, killed in the Khybar Pass on the return of the victorious army under the command of Major-General Sir George Pollock, G.C.B., of the Bengal Artillery."

The SMALL ARMS FACTORY.—Permission to visit this most interesting factory must be obtained from the officer in charge some days before the projected visit. The rooms in which the ammunition boxes are constructed will be first visited, and then we shall be shown the various machines casting and filing the separate portions of the brass cartridge tubes, and finally putting them together. After passing through a number of machines, each contributing some detail of perfection to the brass cartridge tubes, the tubes are submitted to clever little boys who, with great rapidity and accuracy, test each case to see whether they will fit into little instruments of the size of the essential part of the regulation rifles. Before entering the explosive department the visitor must make over any matches he may

have in his pockets to the care of a porter, and change his shoes (if they are nailed) for sewn leather slippers. He will then witness the preparation of lyddite and finally its insertion into the cartridge caps. It need hardly be said that the last stages of the process are somewhat dangerous, but accidents are practically unknown. To follow the manufacture of a cartridge through the various departments of the factory will require a whole afternoon.

THE OLD BENGAL ARTILLERY OFFICERS' MESS.—A fine bungalow close to the Church, now used as a Soldiers' club.

LORD CLIVE'S HOUSE.—Described thus by Bishop Heber :—

November, 1824. "The Commandant, General Hardwicke, with whom we spent the day, resides in a large house, built on an artificial mound of considerable height above the neighbouring country, and surrounded by very pretty walks and shrubberies. The house has a venerable appearance, and its lower story, as well as the mound on which it stands, is said to be of some antiquity, at least for Bengal, where so many powerful agents of destruction are always at work, that no architecture can be durable,—and though ruins and buildings of apparently remote date are extremely common, it would perhaps be difficult to find a single edifice 150 years old. This building is of brick, with small windows and enormous buttresses. The upper story, which is of the style usual in Calcutta, was added by Lord Clive, who also laid out the gardens and made this his country-house". *Journal*, Vol. I, p. 43-4.

FAIRLEY HALL.—Close to the Church, was the residence of Henry Lawrence in his early days in India.

Not so many years ago Dum Dum enjoyed an evil reputation on account of cholera—one house in particular being known as "Cholera Hall." Improvements in sanitation and above all a reliable water-supply have removed the reproach, and when the electric tram service has been extended to Dum Dum there can be no doubt that Lord Clive's country-retreat will become a popular and perhaps fashionable suburb of Calcutta.

In addition to the English Church, Dum Dum has a Roman Catholic Church and a Methodist Chapel.

CHAPTER X.

THE UPPER PORTION OF THE STRAND.

*The Bank of Bengal—Imperial Library—Howrah Bridge—
The Royal Mint—Mayo Hospital—Nimtollah Burning
Ghât.*

IN a previous ramble we inspected the Strand Road from the Fort as far as Chandpal Ghât. We will commence this morning at the historic landing place of Sir Philip Francis and his colleagues.

The Strand Road is essentially a piece of *New Calcutta*. Looking at Apjohn's map of 1794 we see the long line of roadway running up the present Clive and Dharmahatta Streets occupying the position of Calcutta's river face. In the year of the Siege, 1756, the river flowed where these streets now are. As the river retreated westwards, land was reclaimed and in 1823 the task of building a "New Strand" was commenced. At one spot, and I think at one spot only, was it necessary to interfere with former arrangements. Chandpal Ghât has apparently not changed its position. Close to it in 1820 was a house occupied by a Mr. Tyler and to the North of the house was a grove of trees—"the beautiful trees of the Respondentia." Contemporary Newspapers bear witness to the heart-burnings which the felling of these trees created. The Respondentia Walk, the ancient haunt "of those fond of moonlight rambles, and of children with their train of servants as no horses were allowed to go on it" was swallowed up in the Strand. Southwards the road was carried on to join with Garden Reach, passing East of where Prinsep's Ghât now stands and along what is now called Napier Road. The continued retreat of the river has left room for a new Strand Road to the West of the old one. Calcutta folk as they drive in the cool of the evening are wont to regret their inability to continue their way further along the river bank.

They do not realise the extent to which the original Strand Road has been deserted by the river.

The Strand Road was not completed until 1831. In 1823 the Respondentia had been cleared away, a site marked out for a New Mint, and the banks of the river from Colvin's Ghât northwards sloped and plotted with grass. Near to the Mint was to have been the Bishop's Palace, but nothing came of this idea. The sordid exigencies of commercial activity have defeated those early schemes for making northern Calcutta beautiful. To drive from Chandpal Ghât to Nimtollah is now-a-days invariably a torture to our nerves.

Leaving the High Court to the right, we soon come to the Bank of Bengal. These buildings were erected in the year 1825 at the cost of Rs. 61,500. In 1900 Nos. 1 & 2 Strand Road and No. 1 Esplanade, West, were acquired under the Land Acquisition Act. The large hall the North and South wings, and the extension towards the Secretary's house were erected by Messrs. Mackintosh, Burn & Co., in 1879.

The original Charter was granted to the Bank of Bengal by Lord Minto and is dated January 2, 1809, the day on which the Directors also held their first meeting. To obviate any chance of the Bank falling into the hands of a clique of shareholders it was provided that not more than a lac of stock should be held by any single shareholder. At the same time a limitation of advances to Government was set at five lacs. "This restriction," writes Mr. Brungate, "was probably borrowed from the constitution of the Bank of England. The statute of 1695 prohibited the Bank from making advances without the express permission of Parliament. The restriction was one limiting the powers of the Crown as much as those of the Bank. Pitt got this provision set aside in 1793, and his constant demands on the Directors for advances involved the Bank in the utmost difficulty and peril. The recollection of this must have been fresh in the minds of the founders of the Bank of Bengal. Again, the Bank of England was prohibited from charging a higher rate of interest than five per cent. till the modification of Usury laws of 1839. Other points of resemblance in the constitution of the two Banks could be referred to." The Bank on its formation took over the affairs, and officers of a provincial Bank of Calcutta opened on May 1, 1806. The first of the numerous Mofussil agencies was established at Mirzapore in 1839, and in the same year the Bank received a new Charter and once again in 1862. Four years later, came the great crisis of 1866, when no less than six banking houses in Calcutta closed their doors. Indeed, the Bank of England itself on May 16th had only five per cent. in reserve for its liabilities, and only 15 per cent. to meet the Banker's balances. The Bank of Bengal came proudly through the year, and with profits so large that the Directors ordered a bonus of one month's pay to be granted to the staff. In 1898 a new agreement was entered into in respect of the conduct of Government business by the Bank.

Passing on our way, we find ourselves before the Imperial Library. The building was designed by the amateur architect, C. K. Robinson, who gave the Ochterlony Memorial to Calcutta, and it is said to represent in plaster and rubble the portico of the Temple of the Winds at Athens. It was erected as a memorial to Sir C. Metcalfe, Governor General in 1836, and "the emancipator of the Indian Press." The entrance is by a staircase under a colonnade on the East side of the building. (Turn up Hare Street.) A few years ago the lower floor was occupied by the Agricultural and Horticultural Society, and the upper floor by the Calcutta Public Library (founded in 1835 established at the Metcalfe Hall in 1844). Some four years ago the building was taken over, and, after a weeding out of unneeded volumes, the Library was amalgamated with the Imperial Library brought hither from Government Place, and under the experienced direction of Mr. Macfarlane of the British Museum, a splendid Library has been provided for the benefit of the Calcutta Public. It was opened on 30th January 1903, by the Viceroy Lord Curzon who had originated and carried out the scheme and who in his speech explained the history and objects of the undertaking. All interested in Old Calcutta will do well to inspect the ancient prints exposed to view on the stair-case walls.

We now, crossing Hare Street, find on our right the Port Commissioners' Offices, the Government Port Offices, erected in 1890 and the Custom House buildings.

No. 13 Strand Road is the Calcutta Sailors' Home. The original home was founded in Bow Bazar in the house which is now the office of the Commissioner of Police. The present building was erected, under Lord Lawrence's special care with funds procured by the sale of the former home.

We pass through a gauntlet of shipping offices on one side and godowns on the other till we reach Harrison Road and the Howrah Bridge.

In the year 1855-56 a committee was appointed to consider proposals for a bridge across the Hughly, at or near Calcutta, but the subject was allowed to drop, until 1868 when the idea was revived. Sir W. Grey, the then Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal, was in favour of a road-bridge

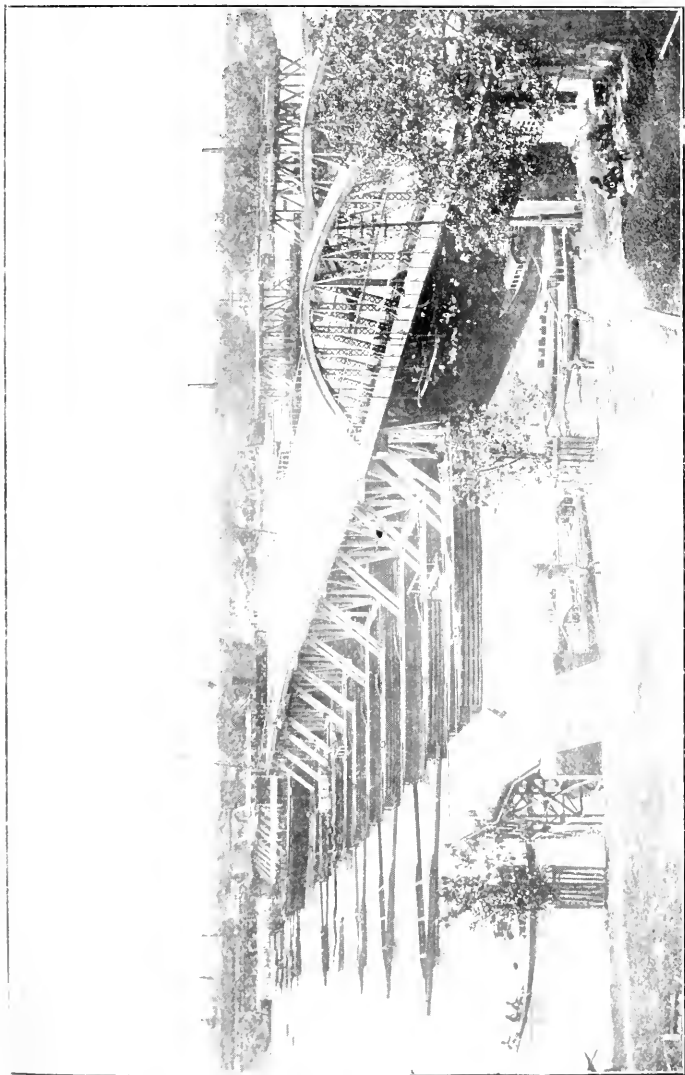
at Armenian Ghât, but suggested a floating-bridge "as a temporary measure." The question of a more permanent structure was, apparently, mixed up with the question of a central railway station for Calcutta. The Government of India concluded that it would be wiser to construct a bridge higher up the river and bring passengers by rail into Sealdah. In the meanwhile they were prepared to give their support to the proposed floating road-bridge. In 1871 an Act was passed to enable the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir G. Campbell) to construct, at the expense of Government, a bridge across the Hughly, to fix tolls, and to appoint the Port Commissioners to carry out the purposes of the Act. In moving for leave to bring in this Bill, the Hon'ble Sir Ashley Eden stated that a contract had been entered into with Sir Bradford Leslie and that it was hoped the bridge would be completed by the beginning of 1873, at a cost not exceeding £150,000. The several portions of the bridge were manufactured in England and put together in Bengal.

The construction of the Calcutta-Howrah floating-bridge over the Hughly was completed in 1874 under the supervision of Mr. (Sir) Bradford Leslie, C.E., K.C.I.E. An unfortunate accident by which two sections of the bridge were destroyed, occurred on the 20th March, 1874. The steamer *Egeria* broke from her moorings in the river, and came into collision with the bridge, damaging and sinking three pontoons, and completely destroying two hundred feet of the superstructure of the bridge, especially the main truss-girders which were twisted and torn to pieces. The sunken pontoons were recovered, but a good deal of expenditure was incurred in clearing the wreck, and great delay was caused. Altogether the cost of repairing the damages caused by this accident was estimated to have been over Rs. 80,000. Had not this accident happened and much valuable time been lost owing to materials not being supplied within contract dates, the bridge would have been completed between 1st January 1873, and June, 1874. It was, however, opened for traffic on the 17th of October, and after that date proved to be of great utility, some 40,000 or 50,000 foot passengers crossing it daily. It was described at the time as a structure of much novelty and originality in its design. Its length was stated to be 1,528 feet between abutments, and its cost to have amounted to about £220,000.

The exaction of tolls has for many years been a matter of the past. Just above Howrah Bridge we notice some large native Bathing Ghâts.

THE ROYAL MINT.

So long ago as 1687, an Assay Master, a Mr. Smith, was sent out from England on a salary of £60 per annum. In



Howrah Bridge.

Bourne & Shepherd.



September 1704, we find the Council complaining "that it would be much better for the Company to coin their own treasure, instead of selling it in chests, but the freedom of the Mint is not allowed them, without the payment of heavy custom dues which they refuse to do." On October 17th, 1709, they write

"The Government having often refused to take the Madras rupees into the King's treasury, has caused their batta to fall from 9 to 7 per cent. Agreed we write to Madras advising them thereof, and that if any of our master's ships should arrive with their belonging to Bengal, they send us down the silver uncoined, which will be a much better account than Madras rupees: and now we have got the Sahib's perwana. We design to coin the company's treasure at Moradabad [Murshedabad], which will be much more advantageous than Madras rupees should they ever rise again to 9 per cent. In 1717 the Mogul Emperor granted the English amongst other favours the free use of the mint at Murshedabad, but, despite the imperial receipts, the Nawab, Ja'far Khan, firstly declined the English agents at Cossimbazar to avail himself of the privilege. The fifth article of the Treaty signed between Clive and Suraj-ud-Daulah provided that siccas be coined at Alenagar [Calcutta] in the same manner as at Murshedabad, that the money struck in Calcutta, be of equal weight and fineness with that of Moorshedabad. The Purwannah for the Calcutta Mint was granted by the Nawab in 1760, but after much opposition on the part of the great native banker—Jaggat Set.

In 1762 the first money was coined in Calcutta with the Mogul's head and a Persian inscription. Copper coin, we are told, was not introduced into Bengal until 1770, and change for a rupee was given in cowries.* For some years the minting was done by contract with John Prinsep at Phalta; in 1784 he handed over his tools to the Government."

In 1791 a Mint was established on the site of the once flourishing ship-building establishment of the Gillets, and here, until 1832, the Government coined its rupees. The Old Mint in 1833 was occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee.

On the last day of March, 1824, the Architect, Major N. W. Forbes, laid the foundation stone "on alluvial ground gained from the the river, at an average depth of 25 feet below the level of Clive Street, or 26½ below the level of (the old) Mint, so that there is more brick work below the ground than above it." The central portico facing the Strand Road, was held to be "a copy,

* So says the Rev. J. Long in the *Calc. Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 303. But I find in Mr Long's own *Selections from the Records* (No. 459) a complaint from Capt. Brohier in April, 1760, that the coolies and art ficers at work on the Fort do not get the real value of the copper money they are paid in the bazars. See No. 105 for the refusal of Capt. Cooke of the *Admiral Vernean* to board ten tons of cowries in 1753.

on half dimensions, of the temple of Minerva at Athens." The building was completed in six years, and was opened in 1831. Up to April 30th, 1833, twenty-four lacs had been expended on the New Mint—eleven for the machinery and thirteen for the buildings. Another three lacs (mainly on building) were expended during the years 1833-1840.

The year 1835 was memorable for the passing of the Act establishing a uniform coinage with a British device for the whole of British India.

The Copper Mint, to the N. E. of the Silver Mint was opened in 1865. In front of it are the residence of the Mint Master, his Offices, the Library, Assay Office and Laboratory, etc.

The following account of the working of the Mint is from *Thacker's Guide Book to Calcutta* (Mitchell):—

"The visitor to the Mint must be provided with a ticket of admission, which may be procured on application to the Mint Master. At the gates are guards and a warder, who assigns an official to act as conductor. The first place visited is the department known as the pre-melting room. Here the silver is received in the shape of bars or coin, such as dollars, from the merchants who have to pay a charge of $2\frac{1}{10}$ per cent. to have the metal converted into rupees. The silver is first weighed, then melted, and a sample taken for the Assay Master. The merchants are thereafter paid according to the fineness of the metal they have tendered. The bullion is next made over to the Mint proper. It goes first to the bullion office where it is weighed and registered by two independent officials. It is then locked in vaults till issued for coining or disposed of outside to purchasers of silver in the uncoined state. When the silver is weighed in this department for the melting room, there is also served out with it, for every pot, the proper amount of alloy, the proportion being eleven parts of silver to one of copper. This process is called, technically, 'alligating' the silver. The melter receives delivery of the two ingredients in pots capable of holding 13,000 tolas in weight, or 13,000 rupees when the metals are fused. Part of the material he will carry away in

each pot will be 'scissel,' or leavings from the punching and other machines. He receives delivery of the bullion in an iron trolley running on rails, each trolley holding four pots in four separate compartments. Each of these is sealed by the bullion room master, and is padlocked by the melter, who is thenceforth responsible for the full amount, so long as the silver remains in his department.

In the melting room are four stacks of chimneys with eight furnaces to each stack. There are also three smaller stacks for gold melting. The crucibles are made of plumbago, and, when charged, are lifted by a travelling crane, swung round and placed in the furnaces. When fused, the metal is stirred to mix together the silver and copper. The crane again hoists up the crucibles, and the molten amalgam is poured into moulds, converting it into bars or ingots, 33 such being formed from every pot of 13,000 tolas. Prior to this a 'muster' has been taken from each pot for assay purposes, this being done by granules of the molten metal being dropped into water. If pronounced up to the required standard the ingots, after being dressed by two beautiful machines, one of which removes the rough edges and the other the irregular top caused by the moulding, are passed on to the rolling mills. But before leaving the melting department, the visitor will be shown some elaborate and beautiful processes for recovering the particles of silver which may have splashed out among the ashes of the furnace during the melting, or may lurk in the charcoal, a layer of which is placed over each crucible to prevent the copper from oxidizing by contact with the air. To show the nicety of these operations, it is sufficient to say that the average working loss in the melting room is only 20 tolas per lakh of rupees, or one five thousandth part of the metal dealt with.

The silver ingots are rolled out cold, passing through successive rollers till they emerge in the form of strips one sixteenth part of an inch thick. These also undergo a process of fine rolling in an adjoining room. A blank called a 'muster' (sample) is then cut out of each strip and weighed; this shows whether the metal has been rolled to the correct standard of thickness.

The strips of silver next go to the punching machines which are ranged round a large circle. Some of the punching machines vary from the standard by the minutest fraction of an inch, and each strip of silver is passed into one or other of these according to the weight of the 'muster' above mentioned, any slight error in rolling being thus rectified without further trouble. In punching, seven per cent. of blanks is obtained from each strip; the rest goes back as 'scissel' for re-melting. The blanks now pass to the weighing room, where they are subjected to one of the most beautiful mechanical processes known to science. The automatic weighing machine is too complex an apparatus to be described here: it will be sufficient to say that it weighs each coin, and drops it into a standard, a heavy or a light box working quite automatically and with mathematical precision. So delicate is the mechanism that it can detect a difference of one three hundredth fraction of a grain! There are 180 grains weight to each rupee, and a margin of $\frac{3}{4}$ of a grain is allowed either way in passing a blank up to standard requirements. Light blanks are re-melted, while the heavy ones are passed through a filing machine which rubs a few particles from one of the surfaces of the blank and fines it down to the required weight.

The blanks are then passed through a machine which gives them the raised edge which may be seen on every coin. They are next annealed, to restore them to their original softness, having become comparatively hard and brittle by the hammering they have just been subjected to. Annealing consists in placing the blanks in iron vessels, making them red hot, and thereafter plunging them into a bath of sulphuric acid and water which softens them as well as cleans the surface by removing the copper oxide which forms on the surface during the process of heating. When softened and blanched by this operation, they are ready for the coining department where the final process in the manufacture, namely, milling and giving the impression on the two faces of the coins, is performed. Each machine strikes 100 coins a minute, and the noise here is deafening.

After they are coined, the rupees are put up by weight in bags of Rs. 2,000. They are then sent to the bullion office to have their weight recorded, after which they are delivered to the ringing department. Here, every rupee is carefully examined on both surfaces and also round the rim, and any that are defective are thrown out. The good coins are next struck against a stone; if they give out a ringing sound they are passed, if dumb they are rejected. They are now ready for issue.

The coining of goldmohurs is performed in exactly the same way as rupees.

The copper mint, however, has some slightly different processes. The metal is received from Australia in slabs of the proper degree of purity. These are made red hot, and in this condition are rolled out to the proper thickness. Then the hot strips are plunged into a cold bath, the sound made resembling the roar of a tiger. The strips are next dipped into a hot sulphuric bath, to remove any oxide, and from a dull iron colour they emerge bright and coppery in hue. The other processes are precisely the same as in the silver mint, except that the process of counting is performed on tables having a number of cavities. Rs. 50 worth of pice, or 3,200 pieces fill up 400 holes in the table. When all the cavities are charged, the bottom of the table is swung down, and the pice drop into a bag held at the end of the shoot. The copper 'scissel,' it may be added, not paying for re-working, is sold to outside purchasers.

In a tour round the Mint the visitor will also have seen the engravers' room, where designs are cut into hard steel dies: the vaults where all coin and bullion is locked up at night and guarded by sentries: the workshops where the machinery is repaired and the boxes for packing up the copper coins are made; and the counting room where the copper coins are finally packed. The counting of the Mint, it may be mentioned, facilitated by several ingenious processes, and tested at every point, is so accurate that the currency office accepts the Mint seals on each box as a guarantee of correctness. It may not be generally known that the Calcutta Mint is the largest in the world. When employed to its full capacity,

it can turn out 800,000 pieces of coin in a working day of seven hours. Besides all Indian coins, it also supplies copper coins to the Governments of Ceylon and the Straits Settlements, and makes medals for the Indian Army or to the order of private individuals."

On leaving the Mint, we proceed still further along the Strand Road, and find on our left the Mayo Hospital, designed by Mr. T. A. Osmond, built by Messrs. Mackintosh, Burn & Co., at the cost of Rs. 2,43,471. The foundation stone was laid by His Excellency the Viceroy on February 3rd, 1873: the building was opened on September 8th, 1874. This hospital, accommodating some 120 native patients, is the modern representative of a hospital in Chitpur Road founded in 1793 by the then Governor, Sir John Shore, and removed in 1796 to Dhurumtollah.

Driving on we come to the Nimtollah Burning Ghât. Higher up the river the tourist will see funeral pyres unprotected from the public eye, and he will, perhaps, have no desire to gratify any morbid curiosity at this present spot. To the sacred waters of the Ganges the Hindus have to bring their dying, and by its banks they cremate the bodies of the dead. Much that is calculated to make one's blood run cold has been written on the subject of the exposure of the sick on the river banks. A good deal, could of course, be urged on behalf of cremation, but in Bengal, in past years, however, the actual cremation was scamped, and the bodies of the dead were cast wholesale into the river. In 1854 proposals were made to prevent the practice, but in deference to the feelings of the Hindu population, they were allowed to drop. The subject came up for consideration once more in the days when Sir Cecil Beadon was Lieutenant-Governor, and was thoroughly discussed by a Committee of Justices who recommended that the bodies of Hindu paupers should be burned at public expense.

CHAPTER XI

HOWRAH AND SIRPUR.

THE RAILWAY STATION.—Calcutta, as the visitor will not fail to note, is provided with quite one of the most dismal and contemptible railway stations in the world. The discomfort to the European is a small evil as compared with the bustling and indignities to which native travellers are exposed. In the eye of the humble pilgrim the uniformed Eurasian Ticket Collector is an incarnation of the British Râj, and he goes back to his obscure village only too often with a tale of harsh treatment and patience ill rewarded. It is not the fault of the Railway Company. The Traffic Manager will do his best to make his subordinates understand that they are the servants of the humblest coolie who has paid for his ticket as well as the Government official in his luxurious special carriage. Philosophy is well enough : but the trains have to start at fixed hours, and the humble coolies, herded together “like a flock of silly sheep,” can be stupid and annoying to such an extent that both the annoyance and the stupidity appear to be a fine art rather than a natural gift. [Since the above was in print, the building of a new station has been commenced.]

The East Indian Railway is a State affair. It is interesting, therefore, to note that when, in the years 1840 and 1841, projects for extending the benefit of railway communication to India were first discussed by private capitalists in England, the Government of India, distrustful of the speculators, were inclined to adopt a hostile attitude. In 1844 a committee was appointed at Bombay with the idea of constructing a line from that Presidency to the foot of the Ghâts, yet, although an ambitious scheme for a “Great Indian Peninsula” Company was launched,

yet for some years the plans, held to be practicable, were confined to Western India.

The despatch of the Honourable Court of Directors to the Government of India, dated 7th May 1845, was the first official recognition of the desirability of building railways in India. Under Lord Hardinge's rule the Council agreed to a free provision of land for an experimental line to a proposed "East Indian Company." In July, 1846, Lord Hardinge, who had been absent during the deliberations of the Council in the previous year, recorded his views in a statesmanlike Minute. The East Indian Railway Company was thus launched on its way. In October 1858 the line to the Agai river was opened; in October 1859 to Rajmahal, in 1861 to Bhagulpur, in February 1862 to Monghyr, and in December 1862 to Benares. In 1866 Calcutta, the capital of modern India, was connected by railway with the old Mogul capital, Delhi.

To Howrah the reader must go if he wishes to travel to Peshawar by the Punjab Mail, if he wishes to go to Bombay either by the Bengal Nagpur route or by Allahabad, or if he wishes to go to Madras. For Darjeeling and Assam he must start from Sealdah.

CHURCHES.

ST. THOMAS.—Built in 1831 and consecrated in 1833. Before this Church was built, services were held in a room fitted up in what was once the original home of the Military Orphan Society and known as the "Episcopalian Chapel". The professors of Bishop's College served the altar. The Church is not without a certain claim to prettiness, and, if only the roof of the nave could be raised a few feet, would be almost entirely satisfactory to the eye. A handsome font has been presented to commemorate John Stalkart of Ghosery, whose hospitality is so well remembered by his friends.

The Roman Catholic Church, conspicuous by its two towers, is dedicated to Our Lady of a Prosperous Voyage.

OLD BISHOP'S COLLEGE.

Driving southwards, at Sibpur on the river bank, we find the Government Engineering College—commenced to

be central as a Theological College for all India by Bishop Middleton. In 1819 the Bishop succeeded in inducing the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to extend its energies to India, and, stimulated by this success, he undertook the task of building a college which here at the gateway of British India should claim the land for Christ. By royal letters of command, collections for the College were made in every parish in England, and the great religious societies, the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge the Church Missionary Society, the British and Foreign Bible Society came forward with liberal donations to assist the venerable Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and the Bishop. The site—then covered by an experimental forest of teak-trees—was given by the Government of India. To the College, Cambridge sent as first principal one of the most accomplished of her sons—Dr. Mill, a man who has been regarded by authorities so competent to form an opinion as were Dean Church and Canon Bright as “the greatest of Cambridge Divines.” The institution was planned on far too large a scale: it too ambitiously aimed at reproducing by the Ganges the College life of its founder’s own university. Heber, on his arrival, failed to appreciate his predecessor’s scheme, and was too much hurried about in the visitation of his vast diocese to be able to grapple with a bewildering mass of details which would perhaps have only been settled by the masterly hand of Middleton. Bishop James, who consecrated the Chapel, felt keenly that a fatal mistake had been made in commencing on so grand a scale. Even after the large sums of money expended in draining the soil, the Government has not succeeded in rendering the place healthy: the Church could never have hoped to find the funds for such work. Accordingly in Bishop Johnson’s episcopate, the Sibpur buildings were vacated, and sold to the Government, a site for the College having been found in the Lower Circular Road. The Chapel is still maintained as a Church, and services are held there.

THE BOTANIC GARDEN.

Passing on to the South, we enter the beautiful Botanic

Garden—the pride of Calcutta. With a river face of nearly one mile in extent the garden covers some 272 acres. It was commenced in 1786, under the auspices of the Company, which General Kyd, of the Royal Engineers, as the first Superintendent. Among the names of Kyd's successors stands that of the great Roxburgh, that of Nathaniel Wallich (Nathan Wolff—a Jew who came to Bengal as a surgeon in the service of the Danish East India Company in 1806), and Falconer. Hooker in 1848 regretted that the garden had fallen into the hands of a learned botanist, but a rather poor landscape gardener. There is certainly no ground for any such complaint at the present day. The avenues of stately palms, the sacred deodars of Bengal, the palm and orchid houses, the picturesque lakes with their water-fowl, will not fail to delight the eye of even the most ignorant in the science of botany and the arts of the horticulturist. The great banyan tree, covering 900 feet in circumference, is of fame in many lands.

Eighty years ago the poet Bishop, Heber, came in Lady Amherst's company to see the garden. "It is," wrote the Bishop in his journal, "not only a curious, but picturesque and most beautiful scene, and more perfectly answers Milton's idea of Paradise, except that it is on a dead flat instead of a hill, than anything I ever saw." The traveller who has visited the beautiful Botanical Garden at Penang will certainly miss here the fine effect which the hill and its cascade give to the Penang garden, but in many ways he will also find that the beauty and interest of the Calcutta garden are in their own way unsurpassed.

CHAPTER XII.

THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

The Asoka Gallery.

IMMEDIATELY behind the Government Art School is the Asoka Gallery, an institution which owes its existence to Sir C. Elliot, and affords to residents in Calcutta a magnificent opportunity for the study of Buddhist India.

In the years 327—324 B. C., the great Macedonian conqueror, Alexander, made himself master of the Punjab. In the June of 323 he died at Babylon. Before two years had passed the Greek power to the East of the Indus was virtually extinct. No sooner had the news of Alexander's death reached beyond the Hindu Koosh than a general native revolt took place. Chandragupta, a native adventurer who assumed the leadership in the rising, was a scion on his father's side of the Royal House of Magadha—(modern Behar), but deriving his caste from a mother of humble birth, the stigma of social inferiority was attached to him. Having recruited an army from the fierce predatory clans on the North-West frontier, he wrested the Punjab from the Greek garrisons, then dethroned the Hindu King of Magadha, slaying him and every member of his family. With an army of 30,000 Cavalry, 9,000 elephants, and 600,000 Infantry, Chandragupta established his dominion over India from the Bay of Bengal to the Arabian Sea. He died in 297 B. C., and was succeeded by his son Bindusara, who set up his throne at Pataliputra (Patna). After a strong reign of twenty-five years, Bindusara passed away, and his son Asoka reigned in his stead. The dynasty to which these first Emperors of India belonged is known as the Mauryan dynasty—possibly because the name of Chandragupta's humble mother is said to have been Maura. In the ninth year of his reign Asoka conquered and annexed the kingdom of Kalinga which stretched along the Bay of Bengal. The southern boundary of his empire may be represented by a line drawn from Pondicherry on the East Coast to Cannanore on the West. From this line northwards all India proper, the valley of Nepal, Kashmir, the Swat Valley, the Yusufzai country, Afghanistan, to the Hindu Koosh, Sind and Paluchistan formed an empire exceeding in area British India, if Burma be excluded.

Modern criticism rejects the account given by Buddhist monastic writers of how Asoka waded to the throne through a sea of blood, securing his position by the massacre of ninety-nine brothers, one brother only, the youngest, being saved alive. The first really historical event in his reign is the conquest of Kalinga in the ninth year. The

XIIIth of the Rock Edicts records Asoka's sense of remorse for "the slaughter, death, and taking away captive" of the hitherto unconquered folk, and his belief that "the chief conquest is the conquest by the law of Piety." Eschewing military fame, Asoka joined the Buddhist community as a lay disciple. In the Minor Rock Edict I, the King writes: "For more than two years and-a-half I was a lay disciple without exerting myself strenuously." Towards the close of the eleventh year of his reign, the Emperor took monastic vows and joined the Order. The extent of the religious propaganda undertaken at Asoka's direct initiative has been divergently estimated by different scholars, but it is clear that Asoka's conversion was the first great step taken in the direction of turning Buddhism, a mere Hindu sect as Gautama had left it, into a world-religion. The death of the Monk-Emperor is dated 232 B. C.

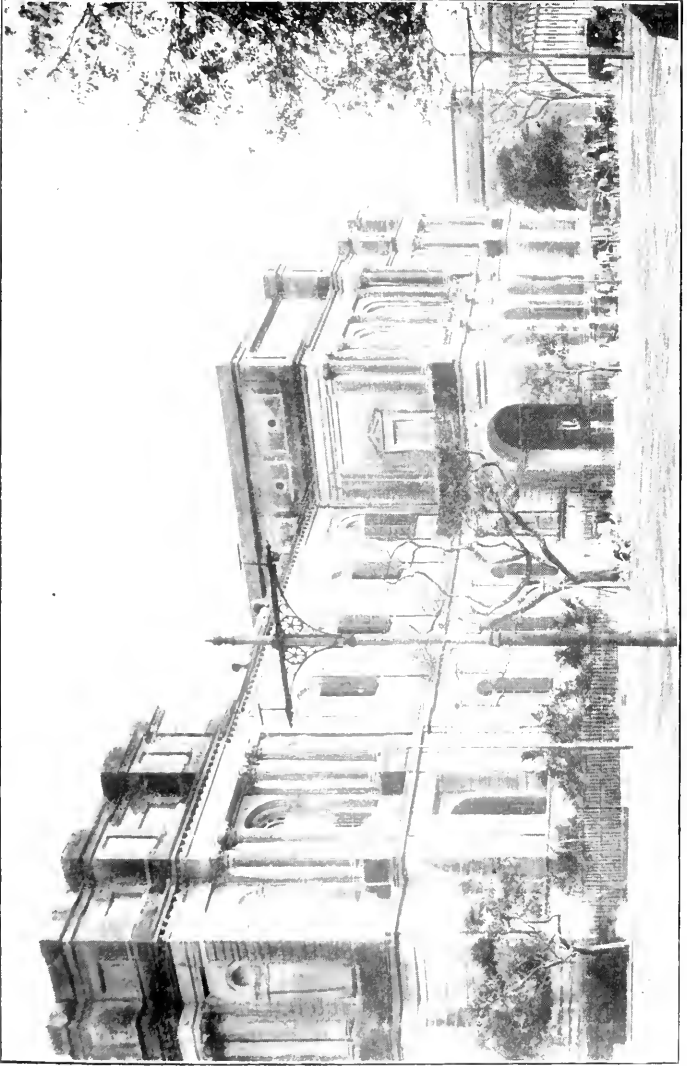
The Gallery contains casts of the great Rock Edicts and Pillar Inscriptions set up by Asoka in different parts of his wide dominions. Close to the casts are hung photographs which show the original inscriptions *in situ*. It will be of use to the reader to give here a classification of the Asoka Edicts according (approximately) to their chronological order.

I. The fourteen Rock Edicts—

1. The inscription at Shahbazgarhi in the Yusufzai country, 40 miles North-East of Peshawar, 24 ft. long by 10 ft. high. The Toleration Edict No. XII was found on a separate rock some fifty yards away. The writing is from left to right and is known as Kharoshthi.
2. At Mansera in the Hazara District of the Punjab. Inscribed on two rocks. The Toleration Edict occupies one whole side. The XIVth is omitted. The text less complete than No. 1 but in same character.
3. At Kalsi on the road from Saharanpur to Chakrata. Text nearly complete, agreeing with No. 2. Character as in all Asoka inscriptions save 1 and 2, an ancient form of the Brahman, the parent of modern Devanagari.
4. Fragment at Sopara in the Thana District, North of Bombay. A few words only of the VIIIth Edict.
5. On Girnar Hill, East of Junagarh in the peninsular of Kathiawar. The earliest discovered.

II. The Kalinga Edicts—

1. On the Aswastama Rock near Dhauli, four miles from Bhuvaneshwar in the Cuttack District.
2. At Jangrada in the Ganjam District, Madras. These last two are almost duplicates: they both omit Edicts XI, XII and XIII, and alone exhibit the Borderer's and Provincial's Edicts.



The Museum.

7

III. The Minor Rock Edicts—

Found at Bairāt in Rājputana, Rūpmāth in the Central Provinces, Sahasrām in Bengal, and Siddāpura in Mysore. They exhibit a single short edict, to which in the Siddāpura groups a summary of the Buddhist moral law is added.

IV. The Bhabra Edict—addressed to the Buddhist clergy. This is inscribed on a reddish-grey stone, discovered in 1837 on a hill top close to Bairāt in Rājputana. It is now preserved at the rooms of the Asiatic Society in Park Street.

V. Three Cave Inscriptions at Barabar in the Gaya district. "They are," writes Mr. V. Smith, "merely brief dedications of costly cave dwellings for the use of a monastic sect known as Agivika, the members of which went about naked, and were noted for ascetic practices of the most rigorous kind. These records are chiefly of interest as a decisive proof that Asoka was sincere in his solemn declaration that he honoured all sects: for the Agivikas had little or nothing in common with the Buddhists, and were intimately connected with the Jains." *Early History of India*, p. 148.

VI. The Tarai Pillar Inscriptions at Nigliva and Rummindai. To lay ourselves once more under obligations to Mr. Smith, we quote: "The two Tarai Pillar inscriptions, although extremely brief, are of interest for many reasons, one of which is that they prove beyond question the truth of the literary tradition that Asoka performed a solemn pilgrimage to the sacred spots of the Buddhist Holy Land. The Rummindai, or Padaria, inscription, which is in absolutely perfect preservation, has the great merit of determining beyond the possibility of doubt, the exact position of the famous Lumbic Garden where, according to the legend, Gautama Buddha first saw the light. This determination either solves or supplies the key to a multitude of problems. The companion record at Nigliva, which is less perfectly preserved, gives the unexpected and interesting information that Asoka's devotion was not confined to Gautama Buddha, but included in its catholic embrace his predecessors, the "former Buddhas."

VII. The Seven Pillar Edicts—issued in complete form in 242 B. C., towards the end of Asoka's reign, form a supplement to the XIVth Rock Edict.

1. Delhi-Topra. Erected on the roof of the Kotilla in the ruined city of Ferozabad, built by Feroz Shah Thughlok, in 1354 A. D. William Finch, who visited Delhi in 1611, describes the pillar as passing through three several stories of the Kotilla, and "rising 24 feet above them all, having on the top a globe surmounted by a crescent." The pillar is a monolith of pink sandstone, and was brought from Topra at the foot of the Siwalik Hills. In addition to the Asoka inscriptions it bears Nagri inscriptions containing the date Sanwat 1581, i.e., 1524 A. D. Contains Pillar Edicts I—VII nearly complete.

2. Delhi-Meerut. Brought from Meerut by Feroz Shah in 1356 and set up in the Kushak Shikar Palace close to where we now find Hindu Kao's House so famous in the siege of Delhi of 1851. Early in the 18th Century it was broken into five pieces when a powder mine exploded. In 1867 it was set up in its present position. Contains Pillar Edicts I—VI.

3. Allahabad. Erected close to the Fort in 1835. Probably brought from Kausambi. Contains Edicts I—VI, the Queen's Edict, the Kausambi Edict, a eulogy of King Sanuchagupta (circa 380 A. D., a Persian inscription of Jehangir, 1615 A. D., and pilgrims inscription. The abacus is ancient, but the capital is Moslem.
4. Lauriya Araroz. Near Gobindgar on the road to Bettia in the Champaran District of Northern Behar. Pillar Edicts I—VI nearly complete.
5. Lauriya Nandangarh in the same district. Famous for its Lion Capital. Pillar Edicts I—VI. (See frontispiece to Smith's *Asoka, the Buddhist Emperor of India.*)
6. Râmpurwa. (In the same district.)
7. Sanchi. At the south entrance to the stupa of Sanchi. Contains a variant of the Kasaumbi Edict.

In these monumental records the name Asoka is not to be found. The author purports to be Piyadesi, or in full, Devanampiya Piyadesi Raja—"King Piyadesi the delight of the gods." The history of the identification of Piyadesi with Asoka has well been described by the present Bishop of Calcutta as "one of the romantic chapters in the history of knowledge." While Charles Turnour in Ceylon was studying the Pali Chronicles—the *Mahawansa*, or "Great History," and the *Dipawansa*, or "History of the island," and was becoming acquainted with the Asoka known to the Ceylonese chroniclers, James Prinsep in Bengal was deciphering the unknown alphabets of the pillar edicts, and publishing the results of his studies in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*.

"Mr. Turnour no sooner saw the proceedings of 'the Asiatic Society of Bengal, than he sprang with a confidence which further inquiry justified to the conclusion that these were inscriptions of the Asoka of the Mahawansa. The evidently vast extent of his rule, the name of Magadha itself, the humane tone of his proclamations, were enough to invite the identification: the statement that he had not always held the same views, but had formerly been regardless of the life of animals, that his conversion occurred some years after his enthronement, and other such coincidences, made it almost a certainty. But when it was further disclosed that in one of the edicts were mentioned certain Greek Kings, Ptolemy, Magas, and others, whose date approximately coincided with that which the Pali Mahawansa ascribed to Asoka; and further still, that Asoka was said, in the chronicle, to have been the son of Chandragupta, while Greek history placed in the same place and date a Sandrakottus (an almost exact transliteration of the same name), the fact that Asoka and the other Piyadesi could not stand in the way of the identification. For what indeed does Asoka mean but 'sorrowless' a Piyadesi but 'beholder of delight?' They were both rather epithets than names, and of kindred meaning. But whatever doubt might remain in the most sceptical mind was soon to be removed. It was soon observed that, although the Mahawansa knew their monarch only as Asoka, its sister chronicle—its elder sister, if not its parent

chronicle—the Dipawansa (history of Ceylon) knew him as Piyadesi. When the lines (Dip. VI, 22-24 Oldenburg's Translation), 'Asoka was anointed King in Mahinda's fourteenth year.' 'Asokadhamma, after his coronation, obtained the miraculous faculties: exceedingly splendid and rich in meritorious works (he was) universal monarch of Jambudipa.' 'They crowned Piyadesi,' etc., were quoted, the question was at an end." Copleston: *Buddhism Past and Present in Magadha and Ceylon*, pp. 261—2.

The castes are so well arranged and so clearly indicated in this gallery that there is no need to catalogue them here. But there is every need to emphasise their interest. These inscriptions speak to us direct from the heart of one who must rank even higher in the history of Buddhism as Constantine does in that of the Christian Church. Of Asoka, one who is not only a Pali scholar, but in turn Bishop of the island so deeply influenced by Asoka's rule, and the Bishop of our own Calcutta has said: "His was an enthusiasm such as was never reached by any of the Antonies. In him Buddhism inspired perhaps the greatest effort, in scale at any rate, on behalf of good, that was ever made by any man, outside of Christianity. The rules and the books are insignificant in his presence. Two hundred years at least had elapsed since the death of the founder to whom the organisation of the moral effort was attributed. A vast change had passed since his day over the face—the political aspect at least—of India. The touch of a strange new civilisation—the civilisation of their distant Aryan brethren of Europe—had been felt by the Aryans of the Ganges. Aided by the Greek invader, a single monarchy had asserted itself, and claimed all India for its own, and had so far succeeded as to give vividness to a new conception—that of a universal monarch. A great man had arisen, representative of that dynasty, who had assimilated much of the new civilisation and felt its stimulating influence. In his person the ideal of the world-monarch was embodied. He was a man of vast ambitions and vast designs. And on this man, Piyadesi Asoka, at first a despot as careless as others of the means he used, the teaching of the ascetic community laid its spell. He became much more than its patron: he was its apostle. As his reign went on he was more and more imbued with its spirit; the desire to serve it and extend it moulded

his magnificent enterprise. He was not merely the Constantine of Buddhism, he was an Alexander with Buddhism for his Mella: an unselfish Napoleon, with '*mettam*' in the place of '*gloire*'. The world was his that he might protect all lives in it; might teach loving-kindness throughout it; might establish in every part of it the community of the disciples of Buddha. Compared with the solid reality of the Asoka Edicts the records which are preserved of Buddha himself are but a shadowy tradition."

THE INDIAN MUSEUM.

Leaving the Asoka Gallery, we must now turn our attention to the Museum itself. In 1866 an Act was passed by the Governor-General in Council to provide a Public Museum "to be devoted in part to collections illustrative of Indian Archæology and of the several branches of Natural History, and in part to the preservation and exhibition of other objects of interest, whether historical or physical, in part to the records and offices of the Geological Survey of India, and in part to the fit accommodation of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and to the reception of their Library, Manuscripts, Maps, Coins, Busts, Pictures, Engravings, and other property." It was subsequently found impossible to find room for the accommodation of the entire collection of the Asiatic Society.

The vast building, facing the *maidan* with a frontage of 300 feet, was designed by Mr. Walter B. Granville, and at a cost of £140,000, was completed in 1875. It is open to the public daily with the exception of Thursdays (open to students) and Fridays from 10 A.M. to 5 P.M.

Ascending a flight of stairs, we turn first to our right and visit the series of archæological galleries. The official catalogues are now, unfortunately, nearly twenty-two years old, and the collections have been considerably added to and to a great extent re-arranged. It cannot be too much regretted that so little has been done to interest the popular world in these magnificent remains of Buddhist India. There is every reason for supposing that even the obsolete catalogues still on sale would not have been procurable had it not been for the fact that, in 1879, Dr. Edwards, the

Zoologist of the Museum, being turned out of his own department by the builders, devoted his leisure to the archæological galleries. The absence of popular guide books is to some extent atoned for by labelling.

The Barahut Stupa is perhaps the most noteworthy object of interest in Calcutta, and it is here that the need of popular explanation is naturally most to be desired. The present writer can only offer his services to the reader as a very amateur cicerone.

The gateway and railing of the Barahut Stupa are the principal contents of this gallery; and it would be no exaggeration to say that they cannot be surpassed in interest. We must first define our terms.

Stupa. From a Sanskrit root meaning "to heap", or "erect"—Engl. "Tape". Applicable to any pile or mound, as to a funeral pile, hence it comes to be applied to a tumulus erected over any of the sacred relics of Buddha, or on spots consecrated as scenes of his acts.*

Toran. A high triumphal gateway.

Thabo. A pillar. (Pali form of *stamba*.)

Suchi. The cross-bars which like needles thread the pillars together.

Jatakas. Birth stories.

Nagās. Snakes—*i.e.*, the demi-gods who in the ancient animistic religion of India resided under the rocks which uphold Mahā Meru, the gigantic mountain more than a million miles high from its basis half-way down at the ocean bed. "Cobras in their ordinary shape, they lived like mermen and mermaids, beneath the waters in great luxury and wealth, more especially of gems, and sometimes—the name is used of the Dryads—the tree-spirits, equally wealthy and powerful. They could at will, and often did, adopt the human form; and though terrible if angered, were kindly and mild by nature. Not mentioned either in the Veda or in the pre-Buddhistic Upanishads, the myth seems to be a strange jumble of beliefs, not altogether pleasant, about a strangely gifted race of actual men; combined with notions derived from previously existing theories of tree worship, and serpent worship, and river worship. But the history of the idea has still to be written. These Nagas are represented on the ancient bas-reliefs as men or women either with cobras' hoods rising from behind their heads or with serpentine forms from the waist downwards." Rhys David: *Buddhist India*, pp. 223—24.*

Barahut is about 6 miles to the south of Sutna station on the line between Allahabad and Jubbulpore. The stupa was discovered by General Cunningham in 1873, and it is fully described in his book on the subject, a copy of which is kept for consultation in the gallery. The stupa itself would be a dome-shaped structure, built of bricks and covered over with fine chunam plaster which (observe the pillars in the ball room of Government House) would give a very fine effect. Beneath the dome there would be a cylindrical

* For the relation of primitive Buddhism to the cults of the sun and serpents, see Major C. F. Oldham's *The Sun and the Serpent*, Chapter IX.

base, in circumference $212\frac{3}{4}$ feet, and pierced with triangular recesses each decorated with five lamps—resembling a “diamond-shaped network of lights.” The dome itself would be crowned by a capital, bearing first a shrine with pillars supporting a roof composed of four flat slabs, each ascending one larger and outflanking the other, and above these would be a sort of double umbrella. A representation of such a stupa will be found carved on the western face of the south corner pillar. Fergusson has suggested that the dome shape was suggested to the stupa-builders by the tents of the Tartars or Kirghiz invaders.

We have before us, partially restored, the gateway which once stood on the East side of the stupa at Barahut, and a portion of the stone railings on either side. Standing with our backs to the Museum windows looking down on Chowringhi, we are inside the enclosure of the stupa. The railing itself stood some 10 feet 4 inch from the stupa, so, in imagination, we are standing on the circular platform that skirted the central building. The gate before us is but one of the four entrances, and we observe that before the gate (as was also the case with the other gates), there is a screen which cuts off the view of the world outside. The four gateways, East, North, West, and South would divide the stone railings into four quadrants. Two quadrants have been here re-erected to give an idea of the nature of the structure; the *dissecta membra* are scattered about the gallery as the necessity of space dictated.

In his book, General Cunningham expressed the belief that these remains date from 250 to 200 B. C., but a more accurate reading of the inscription on the South side of the gateway, led him subsequently to bring the date down to 150 B. C. The physiognomy of the folk here sculptured will remind one of some illustrations from bas-relief in Rudyard Kipling's *Kim*.

“Apart altogether from the immediate light which these sculptures throw on many of the birth stories of Buddhism, and on the period in the history of that remarkable religion to which the stupa owed its origin, a deep interest attaches to them from the insight they give into the habits and domestic and religious life of the people who carved them nearly two centuries before the Christian Era. The railing and the coping are profusely covered with representations of the people who inhabited that part of India two thousand years ago, and who appear to have been a comparatively small race, with rather short, round, and flat faces, differing in these respects from the taller, sharper and larger-featured people who now inhabit the area in which the stupa is situated. In their short compact forms and physiognomy, they recall the leading physical characters of some of the original races of Central India more than those of an Aryan people.” Edwards: *Catalogue and Handbook*, p. 2.

The gateway is formed by two pillars, monoliths with bell-shaped capitals, above which rises a stone fencing of three cross-bars. The capitals, we are told, "are essentially characteristic of the Asokan period of Indian architecture," and "have a distinct resemblance to the ancient Persian capital." Mythology runs wild in the carving which, after more than 2000 years exposure to the air, still stands out in splendid clear-cut relief. The language of the inscription is Pali, and the characters are those that were used in Asoka's time. The available space of the present gallery only admitted of the restoration of one of the gateways, it was necessary to reconstruct the screen before the gateway from pillars which originally occupied a different position in relation to the stupa. The first or corner pillar has three figures of men who were guardians not of this gate but the South and they were placed here to show the character of a gateway in general. The three guardians are :

Wirādha. In attitude of devotion—hands in front of chest and palms opposed. Representation of a stupa above.

Chaka. King of the Nāgas. Notice the five cobra heads. Originally looked North now looks East.

Gangito Yaksha. One foot on tree : other on rock.

Following the inside of the screen. The single cross-bar bears a medallion relief of a man holding a flower-spike. The rim is composed of lotus petals : the radiating parallel ridges representing the stamens of the flower. The second pillar on the inner face has a medallion representation of "the Yava-Majhakiya birth" presented, according to the inscription above, by lay-brother Samaka.

The story is that Upasoka, the lady standing on the King's left hand in the medallion, with the aid of her attendants, managed to get three suitors one after the other locked up into baskets. A fourth suitor, the King's banker, came the same night to the Queen's chamber, but daylight had dawned before the banker could be dealt with as his companions had been. The next day the lady accused the banker of having unlawfully detained monies belonging to her absent Lord, and called upon the household gods said to be in the baskets to give evidence that they had from their baskets heard the banker confess to having the monies. The wretched men packed up in sheets smeared with lamp-black and oil, finding themselves in danger of exposures, cried out that it was as Upasoka stated. The King, thereupon, demanded a sight of the household gods and out of the baskets stepped the miserable culprits "like lumps of darkness." Ridicule and exile were their reward. The story is a primitive anticipation of the *Merry Wives of Windsor*.

Pillar 3 has no sculptures. No. 4 has a central medallion—Lakshmi standing on a partially blown lotus. The semi-medallion above shows four elephants and the lower one four geese.

Following the outside of the screen. Pillar 2 has a representation of a troop of apes engaged, with the assistance of an elephant, in pulling out a tooth from a seated giant. Above, a man and a woman standing on a lotus; below a woman's head peering over a curtain. Pillar [4 the Ajatasatru pillar] originally belonging to the West gate has three pictures on each face.

1. A couple of men sitting round a Bodli tree before which is an altar.
2. The Sankisa ladder—A triple ladder from heaven to earth. "The ladder to the right of the central one, and like it of gold was that by which Sekra (Indra) accompanied Buddha and descended to earth along with him; the ladder on the left was of silver, and on it Brahma descended on the same occasion as one of Buddha's attendants. These ladders were called into existence by Sekra on the occasion when Buddha was returning from the Trayastrimsat heaven to earth, after having preached his doctrines to the dewas and his mother Maha Maya."

3. The visit of Raja Ajatasatru to Buddha in the mango garden of Jiwaka. The sacred trees in these pictures probably represent the different Buddhas or blessed ones. Ajatasatru slowly starved his father Bimbasara to death; remorse for his crime led to his visit to the Buddha.

Second face—1. The Sudhammo: the mote-hall of the gods—a three-storied building with a temple to one side of it. On the altar is seen the chuda or top-knot of Buddha's hair and head-dress which were carried to the Trayastrimsat heavens by the dewas, when the Buddha cut off his hair with a single sword stroke on the banks of Anoma river. Below the buildings there is a representation of male musicians and four dancing women—the Gandharvas and Apsaras as of "Indra's happy heaven." See Rhys David's book where this sculpture is reproduced, Pp. 66 *et seq.*

2. The arrival of the dewas at the Mahavana Widhara to hear the Mahasamaya Sutra. The impression of three human hands on the altar and two footprints at the base. Note the Buddhist wheel and the footprints. The Buddhist wheel has been derived from Sun Worship. The footprint emblem is still worshipped by folk in the Kangra Valley.
3. "Ajatasatru worships the blessed one."

THE NORTHERN RAILING.—Passing round to the window side of the gallery, we will commence studying the northern portion of the railing. Standing with our back to the window, we commence with the pillar No. 5 to the left of the gate. This pillar, originally part of the North gate, has one female and two male figures all

nearly life-size. The male figure is that of Waisrama, the king of the Yakshas, and the inscription records that it was the gift of lay-brother Buddha Rakshita of Satupadana. The head-dress and perforation of the ears are worthy of careful notice. The figure, 4 feet 5 inch high, stands on the head and shoulders of a dwarfed human monster. The female figure is that of "the Yakhini Chandra," who in company with Waisiavana was entrusted with a sharp look out over the northern quarter of Maha Meru. Students of the history of human vanities will take note that the arrangement of the lady's hair suggested to Dr. Anderson the reflection "that cushions and other contrivances, not unknown to the fair sex of the present day" were in vogue two thousand years ago. He will also note "the little rosettes of gold tinsel that are worn on the forehead of native women at the present day." The jewellery, necklaces, etc., with which this semi-nude figure is decked render this particular figure a museum in itself. She stands on the head of a monster half fish and half-goat. The male figure holding a lotus in his left hand is the Yaksha Ajakalaka.

In examining this pillar we have strayed round to the other side of the railing: turning round again, we glance at the medallions on the *suchi*. That on the 11th cross-bar gives us a picture, which we can see in real life to day in the United Provinces of a cart with its draught oxen and driver. The medallion on the 12th cross-bar is chiefly remarkable, in that the physiognomy of the person represented is so contrasted with that depicted elsewhere in the remains of the railing.

The sixth pillar we have passed over as of subordinate interest: the seventh, however, is of great importance, as it represents the re-incarnation of the Buddha. To appreciate this pillar is to appreciate the essence of Buddhism. The sculpture represents the dream of Maha Maya, the mother of the future Buddha. She is lying on her couch and three attendants are in her room: the future Buddha appears as a white elephant. The story of Maya's dream is strikingly represented in a bas-relief from Amravati, which will be found in the Indo-Scythian gallery (A. 1). It may, perhaps, be pointed out that

these sculptured visions of the story do not necessarily afford any early evidence that the sculptors understood the birth of Buddha by Maha Maya to have been from a virgin conception. The wondrous conception of the Buddha is represented here, as in the introduction to the *Jakata* book, as a dream and not as a fact, and it illustrates the transmigration of souls—the elephant being an incarnation of the Buddha.

Noticing the floral decorations of the intermediate *suchi*, we come to the eighth pillar. The medallion, beneath male figures, each standing on a five-headed cobra, depicts the Bodhi Tree of the Buddha Vihasin or the sixth Buddha before Gautama.

“But Fergusson’s explanation of the old monuments as being devoted to the worship requires altogether re-stating. With all his genius he was attempting the impossible when he tried to interpret the work of India’s artists without a knowledge of India’s literature. His mistake was very natural. At first sight such bas-reliefs as those figures here seem most certainly to show men and animals worshipping a tree, that is, the spirit residing in a tree. But on looking further we see that the tree has over it an inscription stating that it is ‘the Bodhi Tree, the tree of wisdom, of Kassapa, the Exalted one.’ Every Buddha is supposed to have attained enlightenment under a tree. The tree differs in accounts of each of them. Our Buddha’s ‘Wisdom Tree,’ for instance, is of the kind called *Assattha* or *Pippal Tree*. Now, while in all the accounts of Gautama’s the attainments of Buddhahood there is no mention of the tree under which he was sitting at the time, yet already in a *Suttanta* it is incidentally mentioned that this event took place under a *Pippal* tree; and this is often referred to in later books. In these old sculptures the Buddha himself is never represented directly, but always by a symbol. What we have here then is reverence paid to the tree, not for its own sake, and not to any soul or spirit supposed to be in it, but to the tree either as the symbol of the master, or because (as in the particular case represented in the figures), it was under a tree of that kind that his followers believed that a venerated teacher of old had become a Buddha. In either case it is a straining of terms, a misrepresentation or at best a misunderstanding, to talk of tree-worship. The *Pippal* was a sacred tree at the date of these sculptures,—sacred, that is, to the memory of the beloved master who had passed away; and it had acquired the epithet of the ‘Tree of Wisdom.’ But the wisdom was the wisdom of the master, not of the tree or of the tree-god, and could not be obtained by eating of its fruit.” Rhys David’s *Op. cit.*, pp. 227—30.

Pillar 9 represents a male Naga, and two half-serpent half-women monsters. The last pillar, No. 10, has the figure of the *Yaksha Supravasm*. He stands on the back of an elephant. We now turn round to our right, and examine the other side of the pillars,

The figure on the side of pillar 10 facing East is that of an *apsaras* or dancing girl, standing on a lotus, and playing a harp. The medallion on the 7th pillar (facing East) represents the birth of a male human child of a doe in the Himalaya forest. The Bodhisat is depicted lifting the child up from the doe. He is accompanied by two fire-worshipping Rishis. The upper half medallion on the 6th pillar crudely represents a boar hunt.

Pillar 11 of the South Railing. Facing West is a sculpture of a procession of elephants carrying a relic casket. "It is interesting to observe that not only the goad but the trappings are also of the same shape as those in use at the present day."

The adjoining *suchi* (2) has a representation of Lakshmi. On the medallion below is the bust of a woman holding a brush or mirror in her left hand, arranging her head-dress with her right.

The central medallion of the 12th pillar depicts the Sâla Bodhi Tree of the Buddha Viswatu—the fourth Buddha before Gâitama. Before the tree is an altar decorated with flowers, and on each side of the altar kneel a man and woman. Another man and woman are standing behind holding up garlands. (This medallion is reproduced on p. 229 of Rhys Davids' book.) The adjoining 25th *suchi* represents a very amusing scene of some monkeys mounted on an elephant.

Pillar 14 has a medallion which represents a typical story repeated by Rhys Davids in his account of the *Jakata Book*.

" 'Follow rather the Banyan Deer.' The master told when at Jetavana about the mother of Kumâra Kassapa, and so on. Then follows the story of this lady, how, after being wrongfully found guilty of immoral conduct, she had been declared innocent through the intervention of the Buddha. Then it is said that the brethren talking this matter over at eventide, the Buddha came there, and learning the subject of their discourse, said: 'Not only has the Tattagata proved a support and protection to these two [the lady and her son]: formerly also he was the same. Then, on request he revealed that matter, concealed by change of birth.

" 'Once upon a time, when Brahmadata was reigning in Benares, the Bodhisatta was re-born as a deer, a king of the deer, by name the Banyan Deer,' and so on.

"This is the *Jataka* proper. It tells how there were two herd of deer shut in the king's park. The king or his cook went daily to hunt for deer and for venison. For each one killed many were wounded or harassed by the chase. So the golden coloured Banyan Deer, king of one of the herd, went to the

king of the other herd, the Branch Deer, and persuaded him to a compact that lots should be cast, and that every day the one deer on whom the lot fell should go voluntarily to the cook's place of execution, and lay his head down on the block. And this was done. And so by the daily death of one the rest were saved from torture and distress. Now one day the lot fell upon a pregnant doe in Branch Deer's herd. She applied to the king of that herd to order that the lot, 'which was not meant to fall on two at once,' should pass by her. But he harshly bade her begone to the block. Then she went to King Banyan Deer and told her piteous tale. He said he would see to it, and he went himself and laid his head upon the block.

Now the king had declared immunity to the two kings of the respective herds. When the cook saw King Banyan Deer lying there with his head on the block, he went hastily and told the king [of the men]. The latter mounted his chariot, and with a great retinue went to the spot, and said: 'My friend, the king of the deer, did I not grant you your life? Why are you here?' Then the king of the deer told him all. And the man-king was greatly touched, and said: 'Rise up! I grant you your lives, both to you and to her!' Then the rejoinder came: 'But though two be thus safe, what shall the rest of the herd do, O king of men?' So they also obtained security. And when the Banyan Deer had similarly procured protection for all the various sort of living things, the king of the deer exhorted the king of men to do justice and mercy, preaching the truth to him 'with the grace of a Buddha.'

And the doe gave birth to a son, beautiful as buds of flowers, and he went playing with the Branch Deer's herd. Then his mother exhorted him in a verse:—

"Follow rather the Banyan Deer:
Cultivate not the Branch!
Death with the Banyan, were better far,
Than, with the Branch, long life."

And the Banyan Deer made a compact with the men that whenever leaves were tied round a field the deer should not trespass, and he made all the deer keep to the bargain. From that time they say, the sign of the tying of leaves was seen in the fields.

'This is the end of the Jātaka proper, the 'Story of the Past.'

Then the Teacher identified the characters in the story as being himself and his contemporaries in a former birth. 'He who was the Branch is now Devadatta, his herd the members of the order who followed Devadatta in his schism, the doe is now Kumara Kassapa's mother, the Deer she gave birth to is now her son Kumara Kassapa, the king of the men is now Ananda, but Banyan, the King of the Deer, was I myself.' Rhys Davids. *Op. cit.*, pp. 190—94.

Pillar 16 is ornamented with a figure of Sirima Devata—either Sirima, the sister of Jivaka, the physician, a famous courtesan, to wit, at the court of Bimbisara or also Srimata ('fortunate mother') of the Buddha.

Turning now to the left, we find on the other front of the 16th pillar, Suchiloma Yaksha, who, in company with Viri-paksha and Devata, were guardians of the western quarter of Mount Mera.

The East face of pillar 14 contains a medallion of great interest to students of Buddhism. It represents Anātha

Pindika's famous gift of the Vetavana Park "to the order of mendicants with the Buddha at their head." To the left is the park which labourers are strewing with gold coins. In the foreground is a cart from which two bullocks are unyoked, while two men are engaged in unloading it of the gold coins. In the centre Antāha Pandika stands, holding in his hands the golden vessel to pour on the teacher's hands as an act of donation—the teacher being represented by a sacred mango tree miraculously sprung from a stone of mango eaten by the Buddha. The two buildings represent (by an anachronism) the Gandha and Kosamba temples.

The 26th *suchi* is a monkey-elephant scene corresponding to the one on its West face. The monkeys are evidently finding their means of locomotion a bit troublesome.

Close to the entrance to the gallery are three pillars in the North-West corner—Nos. 17, 18, 19,—and three in the North-East corner. Of the sculptures of the three pillars to our left as we face the door, the most interesting are the recumbent humped cattle in the upper half medallion of pillar 19 facing South, and the figure of Chulakota Devata on the North face of pillar 17. The reader will notice how, despite the almost modern ornaments, how little the figure resembles a modern Hindu woman. Behind these segregated pillars, according to the official guide, are three medallions fixed into the North wall, these are now arranged on a table in the gallery on the South side of the Museum :

1. A view of a temple with two palms.
2. "The elephant birth."

"In times past, when Raja Brahmadata reigned in Benares, there lived in a certain pond a gigantic crab. Near this pond, which was named after the crab, there lived a herd of elephants under a king or leader of their own. Whenever the herd went down to the pond to feed on the roots of the lotus, the great crab would seize one of them by the hind leg and hold it fast until it died from exhaustion, when the crab would feed on the carcass at its leisure. Now it happened at this time that Bodhisat was conceived in the womb of the Queen Elephant, who retired to a secluded part of the forest, and in due course gave birth to the 'Discoverer of Truth'. When Bodhisat grew up, he chose a large female elephant for his mate, and taking with him his mother and his mate, he proceeded to the neighbourhood of the crab to pay a visit to his father. When Bodhisat heard that the crab was in the habit of killing many of the elephants that went down to the pond, he said to

his parent: 'Father, charge me with the work of destroying this crab.' But his father replied: 'Son, do not ask this—that crab has destroyed many elephants, therefore, you must not go near the pond.' But, arrogating to himself the dangerous task of killing the crab, Bodhisat led a herd of elephants down to the bank of the pond, and going into the water they all fed on the roots of the lotus. On leaving the pond, Bodhisat brought up the rear, when the great crab seized him by the hind leg, and dragged him towards his hole. Then Bodhisat called out for his life—and the herd of elephants roared too and through fear fled away from the pond. Then Bodhisat cried out to his mate: 'O meritorious, spouse-loving, she-elephant! the big bold-eyed crab, who lives in this pond, has seized me by one of the hind legs; why, therefore, do you leave me?' Hearing this the female elephant drew near to him and said, 'Keep up your courage, for even if I were offered ten thousand *yojanas* of [land in] *Dambadiroa*, I would not forsake thee.' Then, turning to the crab, she said: 'O gold-coloured one of great size, the king and chief of all crabs, I pray thee let go of my husband, the king of the elephants.' Then, the crab, moved by her words, and ignorant of his danger, loosened his hold on Bodhisat, who, no sooner than he felt himself free, set his foot on the back of the crab and crushed him. So the crab died, and Bodhisat roared with delight, and the rest of the herd trampling on the crab, his body was crushed to pieces. But the two big claws still remained in the pond from whence they were carried into the Ganges. Here one claw was caught by the *Devata* princes who made it a drum to be used at their festival gathering, while the other claw was carried down to the ocean where it was seized by the *Asuras* who made it into a drum to be played at their festival.

The third medallion represents the Bodhi tree of the fourth Buddha. Returning now to the first of the three pillars and *suchi* in the North-East corner, we find on the one numbered 24, a medallion representing an interview between a monkey and a man, both seated on stools—perhaps the interview between Rama and Sugriva, King of Monkeys.

We will now inspect the four pillars and *suchi* arranged at the South end of the room. On *suchi* No. 55, there is a representation of a Pagoda and a Bodhi tree, recalling the Temple at *Budh Gya* built to commemorate the attainment of Buddhahood by Gautama, beneath a tree growing on that spot.

The 28th pillar has a representation of a private residence: an elephant and its rider are seen issuing from the gate. To the right of the gate four figures, one with hand uplifted, are seen in a hall. Above is a representation of elephants, and a worshipper before the Bodhi tree. On the South side of this pillar there are four scenes which are held by

Cunningham to refer to the story of "the Vidhura (and) Punakha birth."

1. The lowest scene: A courtyard. The figure seated on a cushioned stool may be identified by his ornaments with the man riding in the scene above.
2. (Immediately above the roof depicted in No. 1): A horse and its rider rising in the air from behind the building in No. 1. A man holding another by his heels over a precipice. Two others watching with hands uplifted.
3. The same courtyard as in 1: A Naga (note the cobra head-dress) and his wife seated: a man entering by a gate: two devotees in the foreground.
4. Upper portion of a house: a woman's head peering out from an arched window. To the left rocks and trees with tigers, and a man and a woman standing on each side of a tree.

For the story these sculptures are believed to illustrate we must be content to refer our readers to the official catalogue, part 1, pp. 61-3.

The 29th pillar (originally the corner of the South gate) has three bas-reliefs on its South side.

1. The lowest: The Bodhi tree of Kassapa (*ficus bengalensis*) with worshipping elephants. Before the tree is a throne.
2. Middle: Worship of the Bodhi tree by Nagas. A large-headed cobra is seen rising out of the water(?) and perhaps represents Ariāpata who was condemned to wear the form of a snake until the appearance of the 4th Buddha, *i.e.*, Gautama. The figures are worshipping an invisible Buddha supposed to be seated beneath the tree.
3. King Pasenadi of Kosala in his chariot: The chariot is drawn by four horses with long flowing tails which are apparently fastened to the traces. An attendant in the car holds the reins. Before the car run two footmen preceded by a mounted equestrian. Above the chariot is a building with "the wheel of the Blessed One." The chariot procession is mounting up round the left of this building, and on the right appears with two elephants and their mahouts at its head.

The West face of this pillar has also three distinct bas-reliefs:

1. A stupa—perhaps the Barahut Stupa itself.
2. A man and a woman. } Apparently Vidyadharas—"supernatural beings possessing the knowledge of magic arts and residents in the Himalaya Mountains."
3. The same couple. }

The North face represents "the Bodhi tree of the blessed Sakyamuni." The trunk passes down through the roof of a temple to an altar below. Cunningham conjectures that this sculpture is "an actual representation of the famous Bodhimanda at Buddha Gaya," and adds that, if this be the case, "we have before us a very fine specimen

of Indian architecture of the time of King Asoka, and one of the most sacred objects of Buddhist worship."

Suchi No. 59 illustrates the story of the "Quail birth"—which relates to the times when "Bodhisatta was born as an elephant, and was the leader of 80,000 other elephants."

"A quail had hatched her eggs on a certain pathway: at her request, when the 80,000 passed that way, the leader of the herd stood over the spot where the nest was, and protected them till the herd had passed by. A little after, as the Bodhisat had forewarned the quail, came a furious solitary elephant, who deaf to the passionate entreaties of the bird, trampled on the young and helpless birds with his left foot. "You shall see," piped the quail, "what a weak little bird can do against thy boasted strength." She therefore engaged the services of a crow, a flesh-fly, and a frog. The crow pecked out the elephant's eyes, the flesh-fly laid her eggs in the wounds, the frog stationed himself near a precipice and croaked to make the elephant believe that water was near. Over went the elephant, and soon the quail was seen perched on the carcass of her foe.

Suchi No. 55 has a representation of a portion of a temple or a hall.

The foregoing description of the stone railing of the Barahut Stupa must serve to indicate the exceedingly great interest of these ancient Buddhist monuments. For an elaborately detailed account of the carvings of the architrave the reader must consult the official catalogue.

OUTERSIDE OF ARCHITRAVE (Lotus Ornamentation).

INNERSIDE (of Gate).

- A. 1. A lion.
- A. 2. An elephant.

Beginning on north.

- A. 3—6. Probably represents the murder of two children by their parents.
- A. 7. Two men fighting with a troop of monkeys.
- A. 9. A man and a woman, with a dog, conversing with a priest, carrying an open umbrella and wooden sandals in his right hand, and a staff with a traveller's wallet over his left shoulder. Supposed by Cunningham to be the Durastha Jataka, the priest being Prince Bharata, and the man Rama, and the woman Sita.
- A. 17. A dead ox offered straw by a young man—the *Sujalo-gah ruto Jataka*. The Bodhisat is offering fodder to a dead animal in order to demonstrate to a son bereaved of his father that "it is of no purpose to weep for the dead."
- A. 19. *Biddala Jatara*; *Kukhuta Jataka*. A cock sitting in a tree and a cat watching it from the ground. "In days long past when Brahmadatta reigned in Benares, Bodhisatta was a cock living in the forest with a large brood of fowls. At that time a she cat was living close by who had already eaten many of the fowls, and was now intent on getting hold of the Bodhisatta himself." To secure this dainty prey the cat offered her paw in matrimony to the cock: but the astute bird

spied out her treachery. Having told his tale, the Buddha added, "O priest, had that cock fallen in love and lived with her, his death would have followed. In like manner, if a man falls into the hands of a woman, his life will be in danger. But if he escapes the fascination of woman, as the cock who got rid of the cat, his fate will be happy. At that time Bodhisatta was the cock."

- A. 21. Represents one of the eight Buddhist hells.
 A. 23. Two trees in one of which a woman is seated, and beneath her three jackals, and close by a recumbent man. The story is that of Rama, King of Benares, and Priya, his future wife, both of whom had been stricken with white leprosy, and were cured by the fruit of these trees.
 A. 46. "The Makka Deva Birth." The barber has found a grey hair among the monarch's locks. The monarch had still 84 thousand years of life before him, yet the single grey hair leads him to reflect:—

"These grey hairs that have come upon my head
 Are angel messengers appearing to me,
 Laying stern hands upon the evening of my life!
 'Tis time I should devote myself to holy thought."

"Having thus spoken he laid down his sovereignty, and became a hermit, and living in a mango-grove of Makka Deva, of which he had spoken, he spent 84 thousand years in practising perfect good-will towards all beings, and in constant devotion to meditation." The Buddha explained, "The barber of that time was Ananda.....but Makka Deva, the king, was myself."

- A. 48. A teacher seated on a stone with four male figures before him. The four have their hair dressed in feminine fashion. The teacher is Dirghatapas, a leader of a sect who at all costs insisted on drinking and washing in hot water, "because they thought that in small drops there are small worms, and in large drops there are large worms." Dirghatapas is certainly worthy of public recognition. How quaint to find here in these ancient stones the wisdom which modern men of science are endeavouring to enforce upon East African travellers!
 A. 54. "What is Vaduka thinking of that he attempts to milk water from the leather bag when there are lotus-stalks by which he might obtain it."
 A. 56. "That is even the Jambu tree (the wishing tree of Indru's heaven) is ready to hand."

Architrave of fragments now removed to the table in the centre of the lower South Gallery.

- A. 57. Portion of the coping of a gate-screen. १३३
 A. 60. A man standing near a recumbent ox. A part of the Nandi Visala Jātaka.
 A. 66-67. The wondrous archery feats of Asadisa, the son of Brahmadatta, King of Benares.
 A. 68-69. A Rishi knocked over by a gigantic ram.
 A. 72-73. A Rishi and a five-headed cobra.
 A. 74. Three flying rishis. According to Cunningham an incident in the *Abhineshkrama Sutra* or story of the ploughing match.
 A. 81-83. Illustrating the Jānaka Jātaka. The man and woman standing are respectively Janaka Raja—the beautiful son of Arita Janaka, King of Alithita, and his wife Sivali. In 83 the head and hands of a woman appear out of a huge water vessel. There is a man seated at the corner of a house, and another man pointing to the woman.

- A. 85. Probably represents the four exiled princes appearing before the teacher Kapila. The last Ikshwaku king is said to have had five wives and five sons, one by each of his wives. The mother of the youngest, five days after his birth, "arrayed him in a splendid robe, took him to the king, and placing him in his arms told him to admire his beauty. The king, on seeing him, was much delighted that she had borne him so beautiful a son in his old age, and gave her permission to ask for any thing she might desire. She of course asked that her son might be declared heir to the throne which was then refused." In the end, however, the king gave way, and his four elder sons were sent forth to search for new abodes, and the youngest was declared heir to the throne. Their sisters, cast in their lot with the exiles, and the party set forth for Benares. In the course of their wanderings they chanced upon the holy hermit Kapila, to whom they paid their respect. "The sage then offered them the site of his own hermitage for the building of their city, telling them that if even an outcast had been born there, it would at some future period be honoured by the presence of a *chakravati*, and that from it a being would proceed who would be an assistance to all the intelligences of the world. No other favour did the sage request in return, but that the princes would call the city by his own name Kapila. Unwilling to take their wives from the houses of inferior kings, each half-brother took to wife a half-sister by a mother not his own, the eldest sister remaining single and appointed queen-mother. In time each queen bore her lord eight sons and eight daughters. On hearing this marvellous news the old king exclaimed, "Shakya, Shakya"—"Is it possible? Is it possible?" or "O daring! O daring!" Hence the famous Shakya name.
- A. 98. Inscribed "Chitupâdasita." Perhaps the oldest picture in the world of a gambling scene. Buddha himself, in a previous birth, is seated on a rock, while two figures, probably those of the cheaters, are descending down a sinking rock into hell. The interpretation is conjectural.
- A. 104. "The arrival of Rama, Sita, and Lakshana at the hermitage of the sage Bharadwaja, near the junction of the Ganges and Jumna at Prayaga (Allahabad), or that of Vâlmika near Chitrakuta."
- A. 108. A scene of two men and two monkeys.
- A. 112. The *Kinnara Jâtaka*.
- A. 114 is only a fragment, but Cunningham says that it "would have been one of the most interesting of the whole series." It is a representation of the fire-worshipping Uruvelva Kasyapa.

Having studied the architrave the reader will notice two pillars placed against the south wall of the gallery.

P. 30. The figure of a soldier, bare-headed and with short hair.

P. 31. The Yakshini Sudarsana—one of the divine Apsarases. Notice the earrings.

Our description of the Barahut Stupa must close here: to deal with it exhaustively in a few pages of a guide-book would be impossible: and we cannot pretend to have even given a superficially adequate account of its intrinsic charm. The reader who cares to go as far as we have taken him will, however, be prepared to consult the works

of Cunningham, Edwards, Spence, Hardy, Fausboll, Beal, Hœrnele, and Rhys David.

In the same room as the portions of the Barahut Stupa will be found some casts of the stupa at Sanchi—between the towns of Bhilsa and Bhopal in the Central Provinces. On the hill plateaux of Sanchi there are no less than eleven topes, some of which were excavated in 1822 and the rest in 1851. One of the smaller topes was found to contain part of the ashes from the funeral pyres of two of the Buddha's chief disciples—Sariputta and Moggallāna. The larger tope yielded no discovery of relics. In the opinion of Cunningham, the tope is older and the gates younger than Asoka's time, but the railing belongs to his reign. The south gateway—the oldest—was according to Fergusson (*Tree and Serpent Worship*, p. 99) "being carved while Christ was preaching at Jerusalem."

- S. 1. A dagoba surrounded by three rails. The figures in the foreground are apparently of a race different from the Hindu represented in the other sculptures. Fergusson draws attention to the peculiarity of their musical instruments. Some Himalayan race is probably represented.
- S. 2. The archery feat of Prince Siddhattha.
- S. 3. The Sāma Jātaka.
- S. 4. A chariot procession.
- S. 5. A half medallion from a pillar of the railing of the 2nd tope.
- S. 6. A female figure standing on a lotus throne with two small attendant figures on each side.
- S. 7. A monster—part elephant, part fish.
- S. 8. An elephant coming out of a gate.
- S. 9. A five-headed cobra.
- S. 10. The worship of the wheel.
- S. 12. A woman standing under a *sāl* tree in the usual attitude of Māyā, Gautama's mother, in the Lumbini Garden.

On the eastern wall will be found casts of the friezes of the rock-cut temples of Orissa. These casts were executed at the cost of the Government of Bengal under the direction of the late Mr. H. H. Locke. Dr. Mitra and Mr. Fergusson are in agreement that the caves were excavated between the years 250 and 100 B. C., and were for many centuries the cells of hermits. The art is very similar to that of the Barahut Stupa, but the execution is perhaps somewhat more vigorous. In this gallery will also be found :—

Two statues—one without a head and the other with the head much defaced. These were brought from a field near Patna to the Asiatic Society's

rooms in 1821. The late Mr. A. E. Caddy affected to see in these two figures traces of Greek artistic influence at Asoka's court at Pataliputra. The inscriptions on the back are of the old Pāli type, and furnish the statues with a record of 2,000 years of existence.

In an exhibition case (close to window) are some ancient vases discovered by Mr. Peppé in the Sakiya Tope which contain the oldest inscriptions yet discovered in India. These represent the stage in the development of writing which, until further discovery reveals intermediate stages, ranks before the Asoka inscriptions.

GALLERIES 2 AND 3.

Græco-Buddhist and Indo-Scythian Sculptures.

The empire of Asoka seems to have been broken up very soon after his death, although for many centuries his descendants maintained themselves as local rajas at Magadha. The destruction of the Mauriya imperial dynasty may be dated B. C. 184 when the weak prince, Brihadratha, was treacherously slain by his Commander-in-Chief, Pushyamitra Sunga, who founded the Sunga Dynasty (B. C. 184 to 72). The usurper reigned from Asoka's imperial city of Pataliputra, and it was in his reign the Greek King Meander made a strenuous but unsuccessful attempt to capture India (155-53 B. C.).

"Thus ended the last attempt by a European general to conquer India by land. All subsequent invaders from the western continent have come in ships trusting to their command by the sea, and using it as their base. From the repulse of Menander in 153 B. C., until the bombardment of Calicut by Vasco da Gama in 1502 A. D., India enjoyed immunity from European attack, and it is unlikely that the invasion of India by land will be seriously undertaken ever again." Vincent Smith: *Early History of India*, p. 177.

The Sunga Dynasty was in its turn superseded by the Kanva, and the Kanva in its turn, by the Andhra. But these dynasties which had succeeded to Asoka in the interior of India, failed to grasp Asoka's sway over the lands of the Punjab. These distant lands were the coveted prey of the Hellenised princes of Bactria and Parthia, who had successfully revolted from their Seleucidan lord. The influence of Greek civilisation on the people of the Punjab has been declared by Mr. Vincent Smith to have been but slight.

"The invasions of Alexander, Antiochus the Great, Demetrius, Eukratides, and Menander were in fact, whatever their authors may have intended, merely military incursions, which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India. The prolonged occupation of the Punjab and neighbouring regions by Greek rulers had extremely little effect in Hellenizing the country. Greek political institutions and architecture were rejected, although to a small extent Hellenic example was accepted in the decorative arts, and the Greek language must have been familiar at the king's courts." *Op. cit.*, p. 213.

In the meanwhile on the Mongolian steppes a torrent had been gathering its forces to descend. In the years 165—145 B. C. a tribe known as the Yuchi were compelled to leave their lands in N.-W. China to go in search of fresh pasture grounds. In the course of their wanderings drove another horde named the Sakas southward. In this flood of barbarian invasion the Græco-Bactrian kingdom, already weakened by the growth of the Parthian or Persian power, disappeared for ever. The modern Sistan was inundated by the Sakas,

and yet the stream infiltrated the Indian passes, and under the Persian titles of Satraps, Saka rulers fixed their seats at Taxila and Mathura. In the course of time pressure of population sent the Yueh-chi further afield to the lands of the Punjab. Their chieft, Kadphises I, made himself master of Kashmir and Afghanistan, eliminating the Indo-Greek and Indo-Parthian rulers. After a disastrous attempt to force back the Chinese advance in either Kashgar or Yarkand (A. D. 94) Kadphises II carried his conquests from the Kabul Valley perhaps as far south as Benares, and apparently in 99 A. D. sent an embassy to Rome to announce his conquest of N.-W. India.

The Yueh-chi conquerer was succeeded by Kanishka of the Kusban section of that nation. "He has," writes Mr. Smith, "left a name cherished by tradition and famous far beyond the limits of India. His name, it is true, is unknown in Europe, save to a few students of unfamiliar lore, but it lives in the legends of Tibet, China, Mongolia, and is scarcely less significant to the Buddhists of these lands than that of Asoka himself." Asoka has left us his religious *Apologia pro vita sua* in his rock edicts; the story of Kanishka's conversion—the monastic version is an anæmic reproduction of Asoka's—has to be traced in Kanishka's coins which in early years bears effigies of the sun and moon personified as Helios and Selene, and in both language and script are Greek; these with old Persian language and Greek script, represent Greek, Persian, and Indian, but lastly exhibit the Buddha with his name inscribed in Greek.

To assign a date to Kanishka's reign with any certainty is impossible. Dr. Fleet dates Kanishka's accession 57 B. C., while other learned men have quoted the year 278 A. D. Mr. Smith, on numismatic evidence, infers that the second great monarch of Buddhism was a contemporary of Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius, and came to the throne about 120 or 125 A. D.

The art of Kanishka's period shows that Buddhism has passed into a new stage of existence. "The new Buddhism of his day," writes Mr. Smith, "designated as Mahayana or Great Vehicle, was largely of foreign origin, and developed as the result of the complex interaction of Indian, Zoroastrian, Christian, Gnostic, and Hellenic elements, which was made possible by the conquests of Alexander, the formation of the Maurya empire in India, and, above all, by the unification of the Roman world under the sway of the earlier emperors. In this new Buddhism the sage Gautama became in practice, if not in theory, a god, with his ears open to the prayers of the faithful, and served by a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas and other beings acting as mediators between him and sinful men. Such a Buddha rightly took a place among the gods of the nations comprised in Kanishka's widespread empire, and the monarch even after his 'conversion,' probably continued to honour both the old and the new gods, as, in a later age, Harsha did alternate reverence to Siva and Buddha." *Op. cit.*, p. 233.

The second of the Archæological galleries (occupying the South-West corner of the Museum Buildings) contains a number of beautiful sculptures and fragments of this cosmopolitan Græco-Roman period of Indian art. The exhibits in this gallery, we believe, were mostly brought to Calcutta from the Swat Valley by the late Mr. A. E. Caddy. In the centre of the room is a fine miniature stupa, with incised sculptures of the miraculous birth of the Buddha.

The reader will not fail to admire the fine work of the bas-reliefs arranged round the room, and he will easily detect the remarkable evidences of Hellenic inspiration.

In the early Asoka period, as we have noted, the Buddha is only symbolically represented—as, for instance, by a sacred tree, or by his footsteps. When this reverend feeling of reluctance to depict the great one had passed away, the Buddhist artists seem to have fixed on a traditional type, so that the personal appearance of Buddha is reproduced in art with conservative persistency. The statues of the Buddha generally represent him in three characteristic attitudes—with hands clasped before the breast (teaching), with hands interfolded and resting on sole of right foot (contemplating), touching the earth with tips of fingers, while the left lies in his lap. This last position represent the great one after his struggle beneath the Bodhi trees calling the earth to witness his great renunciation. He is generally represented as dressed in the *sanighati* or vestment which covers the body of a Buddhist monk, reaching to ankles, and leaving only the neck and head bare. Dr. Bloch argues that “whenever we find a Buddhist statue which has the right shoulder bare, this is to be taken as a sign that the statue represents not a Buddha, but a Bodhisatta.” At the time of the struggle beneath the tree, Gautama was a Bodhisatta, and not yet a Buddha.

Passing from the small corner room, we find ourselves in a long gallery forming the south boundary of the Museum. On our right are a series of recesses containing collections of Buddhist remains from various places in India.

In the first recess to the right—

Mathura—On the right bank of the Jumna, 35 miles North-West of Agra. The Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien, records that at the time of his visit, about 401 A. D., there were at Mathura 20 Buddhist monasteries and 3,000 monks.

On either side—

- M. 1. A Bacchanalian scene.
- M. 2. Bases of ten pillars discovered at Mathura in 1860.
- M. 3. Fragment of a pillar of a Buddhist railing. On the front face a representation of the future Buddha leaving the side of his princess, Yasodhara, to go forth as an ascetic.
- M. 4. Vertical half of a Buddhist railing—a woman standing on the head of a dwarf, and legs crossed.
- M. 5. Buddha—feet wanting.

- M. 6. Pedestal of a Colossal human figure.
 M. 7. A slab of Mathura stone. Buddha seated before a cave receiving a prince, who has just alighted from his elephant.
 M. 8. A small figure of Buddha.
 M. 9. The lower two-thirds of an erect figure of a woman.
 M. 10. A woman seated on a lion, with a child lying across her left thigh.
 M. 11 and 12. Fragments.
 M. 13. An erect Buddha in attitude of teaching.
 M. 14. A full-sized capital of red, yellow-spotted sandstone, consisting of four animals, all with human heads and with their hair so curved round their ears as to resemble horns.

In the second recess to the right—

- M. 15. Pillars of a Buddhist railing.
 A. A lady performing her toilet with the assistance of her maid. That the dress is to be taken for granted is clear from the border of an imaginary covering just below the anklets. Another face. Three panels giving scenes forming the story of attempt to destroy Buddha by a mad elephant.
 B. Figure of a woman, and a small scene above. Another face. Three panels. Lowest—Two ogres devouring two human beings. Two mothers nursing children: A gateway. Centre—A flying horse with two children on its back, and one to right fore leg and one to the right hindleg. Top—A tower in which are the preceding four children, and a man trying to scale it from a tree.
 C. Figure of a woman holding a bunch of fruit in her left hand, her right on her girdle.
 Another face—3 panels. Top—A Rajah on his throne. Centre—The Rajah seated in his garden. Bottom—much defaced.

M. 16 A slab with a gigantic human foot-print.

M. 17 Hercules strangling the Nemean lion. In March 1882, General Cunningham found this group at Mathura used as the side of a trough for watering cattle.

Savatthi, the modern Set-Mahet—on the Rapti river, between Bahraich and Gonda, the scene of many episodes in the life of Buddha.

Si. A. A slab with two foot-impressions, on each side of which are small sunken panels.

Si. B. A colossal statue. Dr. Bloch in a paper read before the Asiatic Society, concludes (1) that the statue was erected in the last century B. C., or the first century A. D., and consequently is one of the oldest Buddhist images found in India; (?) that it represents a Bodhisatta and not a Buddha. It was presented by Lord Elgin in March, 1863, to the Asiatic Society.

In the third recess to the right—

Amravati—On the right bank of the Kistna river.

A. 1. A bas-relief giving the story of Buddha's birth.

A. 2. A pillar of the inner rail of the tope. In the upper portion a wheel surrounded by 13 dwarfs.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, and 9th recesses on the right.

Magadha—The Kingdom of Magadha, the classical home of the Buddha and his first disciples, corresponds with the modern Province of Behar.

The tenth recess on the right.

Java.

Passing out of this long hall, we enter a smaller one described by Dr. Edwards as the Inscription Gallery. Here we find a very miscellaneous collection—mummies from Egypt, Armenian tombstones from Behar, and a number of Mohammedan inscriptions from Gaur and elsewhere. Returning to the long hall, we find in the recesses to our left, first of all Brahmanical sculptures from Java, then a recess devoted to Jain sculptures, and then recesses fitted with Brahmanical figures, and casts from ruined temples from the city of Bhuvaneswar in Orissa.

Hitherto, we have been paying attention to Buddhist archæology. Before turning to the Brahmanic and Hindu monuments, it will be desirable to describe as briefly as possible the various stages in the development of Indian religious thought.

Until quite recently scholars—Max Müller and Hunter in particular—have held that the religious beliefs of the primitive Aryan folk in India are recorded in that ancient work, the Rig Veda. Prof. Rhys Davids, however, tells us that “outside the schools of the priests the curious and interesting beliefs had practically little or no effect.” “The Vedic thaumaturgy and theosophy had indeed never been a popular faith, that is, as we know it. Both its theological hypotheses and its practical magic (in the ritual) show a stage very much advanced beyond the simpler faith which they, in fact, pre-suppose.”

1. *Animism.* The first stage of Indo-Aryan religion is a popular animism, far grosser than the superstitions of the Veda. One of the oldest deities of the non-Vedic pantheon for instance, is the goddess of luck, Siri or Sri. She will be found sculptured as Sirima Devata, on one of the pillars of Barahut railing. On the rear of the northern gate of the Sanchi tope, there is a panel representing her seated between two elephants who are pouring water over her head. At the present day she lives in modern Hinduism as Lakshmi, the consort of Vishnu. The Barahut railings exhibit in full detail the animistic superstitions of the people which failing, to conquer, or reluctantly to attack, the more advanced teachers gave place to in their systems. “The object was to reconcile the people to different ideas. The actual consequence was that the ideas of the people, thus admitted, as it were by the back door, filled the whole mansion, and the ideas it was hoped they would accept were turned out into the desert, there ultimately to pass away.” Hence on the Barahut railings we note the Nagar deities and the Garulas—half men and half birds, etc.

2. *Vedism.* (Vid = to know: Veda = knowledge). The priestly attempt to refine and, so to speak, to re-edict the popular beliefs in the

interests of a more refined faith. In the forefront we meet with a triad of deities :

The fire-god—the earth-born Agni.
 The rain-god—the air-born Indra.
 The sun-god—the sky-born Surya or Savitri.

“All their other principal deities were either modifications of, or associated with, one or other of the members of this Vedic triad. For example, the wind (Vāya) and the storm-gods (Maruts), led by the destroying god (Rudra), were regarded as intimate associates of the rain-god Indra, and were really only forms and modifications of that god. On the other hand, Aryan deities, Varuna and Mitra, with Vishnu, were all mere forms of the Sun (Surya or Savitri, also called Pushan). Of course the Dawn (Ushas) was also connected with the Sun, and two other deities, the Asvins—probably personifications of two luminous points in the sky—were fabled as his two sons, ever young and handsome, travelling in a golden car as precursors of the dawn.

“The early religion of the Indo-Aryans was a development of a still earlier belief in man’s subjection to the powers of nature and his need of conciliating them. It was an unsettled system which, according to one view, assigned all the phenomena of the universe to one cause ; or again, attributed to them to several causes operating independently ; or again supposed the whole visible creation to be a manifestation of one universal all-pervading spirit. It was a belief, which, according to the character of the worshipper, was now mere animism, now monotheism, now tritheism, now polytheism, now pantheism. But it was not yet idolatry.” Monier Williams : *Brahmanism and Hinduism*, pp. 9, 11.

3. *Brahmanism*. From the personification of natural forces, the mind turns to the thought of the Breath of Life (ātman) expanding itself through space, and, although beyond the cognizance of sense, yet permeating through and vivifying all things. This is Brahmā (nom. neut.) from the root *brith*, ‘to expand.’ Sir W. Monier traces four phrases of Brahmanism :

1. *Ritualistic*. Ceremonial acts of sacrifice presided over by Brahmans win admission for the worshipper to Indra’s heaven. Even the gods themselves attained their immortality by sacrifice. Men may also become immortal, but they must first offer their bodies to Death as a sacrifice. This phase is represented in literature by the Brahmānas—treatises added to the Mantras or Hymn portion of each Veda.

2. *Philosophical*. In re-action from an over-elaborated ritual this phase is represented by the writings known as the Upanishads. Here we have a belief in one all-pervading God who is the constituent essence of every human personality. By association with eternal Ignorance and Illusion (Māyā), the impersonal Spirit becomes the personal God (Paramesvara) of the world, Personality is the comedy of human existence. God and man mistake their individualities for realities “just as a rope in a dark night might be mistaken for a snake.” When rid of the illusion that we are personalities Brahmā is reached. Viewed in relation to his activities the one Universal Spirit, when dominated by Activity is Brahmā the creator, by goodness Vishnu, the preserver, by Indifferences, Rudra the Dissolver.

3. *Mythological or Polytheistic*. Represented in literature by the epics—the Mahā-bhārata and Rāmāyana, and in later times by the Purānas. Buddhism and Philosophical Brahmanism are alike re-actions from ceremonial religion, but the blank the Buddhist substituted for God, and the frigid pantheism of the Brahmin rendered both systems unsuited to the masses of men. To meet the need of devotion (bhakti) to personal gods, the Brahmans made use of existing mythologies and local legends. Brahmā (neut. nom), the Universal Spirit, can only be worshipped by internal

meditation, but Brahmā, the personal product of the purely spiritual Brahma when overshadowed by Illusion, could become a popular primeval male god. In alliance with Vishnu, the preserver, and Rudra-Siva, the dissolver, and reproducer Brahmā, is the first of the Hindu triad—the *Tri-murti*. Each of these gods has his spouse. Sarasvati, the goddess of wisdom and science, a fair young woman with four arms, is the wife of Brahmā. Lakshmi or Sri is the wife of Vishnu. Parvati is the wife of Siva. Ganesa (the elephant-headed and four-armed god of wisdom), and Kartikiya, the war god, are sons of Siva. The gods have material bodies, but of an ethereal character.

The need for a mythology was also met by portions of the re-incarnations of Vishnu's essence in Krishna, and Rama, and other popular heroes. Juganath, so familiar to English readers by the tales told of his car at Puri, is in tradition an appearance of Vishnu himself, but is perhaps in origin a local god who has successfully invaded the pantheon of the orthodox.

4. *Hinduism*. The leading feature is that it subordinates the worship of the Spirit Brahma or its first manifestation Brahma to that of either Vishnu or Siva, or their wives or particular forms. Of the worship of Siva and Kali something will be said in our chapter on Kalighat. "What is styled Hinduism," writes Mr. W. E. Slater, "is a vague eclecticism, the amalgam of all the religious ideas and usages of the past; the sum total of manifold shades of belief, and still more, in the present day, of rigid caste laws and accumulated customs, for its one changeless feature is its social order, and wherever caste is, Hinduism exists. We cannot properly speak of the religion of India any more than we can speak of India as a country. It is not a political name, but only a geographical expression, marking the territory of many nations and languages. So almost every phrase of religious thought and philosophical speculation has been represented in India." *Higher Hinduism in Relation to Christianity*.

On leaving the long architectural gallery, we pass to the left into the gallery containing what, from the Natural History point of view, may well be described as the pride of the Indian Museum—its splendid collection of invertebrates. We pass from ancient philosophical speculations as to the origin and meaning of life to the modern scientist's analysis of its processes. For some years past the Museum has had the good fortune to have its Superintendent one of the most learned of Marine Zoologists—Major A. Alcock, LL.D., F.R.S., I.M.S. Under his able administration, this wealthy collection has been most admirably arranged, and the specimens are so clearly indicated by labels that even the merest laymen in matters biological cannot fail to be inspired with an interest in what he might perhaps have been inclined to regard as a very dull subject. Major Alcock was for some years the Surgeon Naturalist on board the *Investigator* of the Marine Survey of India, and those who have read his fascinating book, *A Naturalist in Indian Seas*, will be able to spend

some time in this gallery with the greatest profit. The reader who is almost entirely ignorant of the subject will be startled to find that what he would have with certainty regarded as sea-weeds are in reality animals. The reader would do well to ponder on the wonderful protective colouring of some of the specimens.

After leaving the Gallery of Invertebrates, we enter the gallery to our left and find ourselves in the Mineralogical and Fossil Galleries, and walking through these we find ourselves once more at the entrance hall. Arranged along the cloisters which run round the lower galleries are many archæological monuments of interest. We ascend the broad flight of stairs and reach the upper floor. On the landing there is a white marble statue of the late Queen Empress by M. Wood—the gift of Mahatab Chund Bahadur, Maharaja of Burdwan. The pedestal was the gift of his son.

Behind the statue is the entrance to a series of three rooms now occupied by the collection which is ultimately to find its home in the Victoria Memorial Hall. The room to the left (South) contains an interesting collection of State pictures on its eastern wall, and a collection of engravings of great English heroes in India on its western wall. At the south end is the favourite writing desk and chair of the late Queen-Empress—King Edward's personal gift to the Memorial Hall. In the central room will be found the masnud or throne of the Nawabs of Murshidabad, a splendid model of the Old Fort and St. Anne's Church executed under the guidance of the late Mr. C. R. Wilson, a large number of engravings of Old Calcutta, some of the best portraits from the High Court, the Town Hall and Asiatic Society, a collection of relics of the Delhi Coronation Durbar, and a complete collection of British Indian jewels and badges of distinction. The room to the right (North) contains a collection of Indian arms, the originals of many important State documents, and the cloth of gold screens which Ali Verdi Khan captured from the Maharattas and a number of magnificently illuminated copies of the Koran. It would be premature to attempt to describe this magnificent collection in detail. Many of the exhibits have recently been brought

from various public buildings in Calcutta, and have been mentioned elsewhere. To the patriotic liberality of the present Nawab of Murshidabad the collection, formed under Lord Curzon's direct personal superintendence, is most deeply indebted.

Passing along the South-West corridor, we find to our left the collection of birds. The gallery on the eastern side, devoted to the larger mammals, is the most interesting one from the point of view of the native sightseer. To the north of it is a small room containing specimens of the smaller mammals. Passing through this and ascending a small stairway leading into a red brick building we enter the Art Gallery.

Walking to the back of the throne at the entrance the visitor will come upon a large central show-case wherein on one side is displayed the beautiful ceramic wares of India and Burma, and on the other, the embroideries from Bombay, Madras, Rajputana, Punjab and the United Provinces. Right round this Court or Gallery, lining the walls, are displayed the plain, coloured, stamped and hand-painted fabrics of India, together with those lovely examples of kinkhobs for which Benares has become so famous.

From this Court the visitor enters a room which is assigned to metals. In here we have gold and silver ware, as well as plain and mixed metals. This room looks into another in which are shown the carpets and rugs from the Punjab, Mirzapore and Bikanir. Here are displayed all the art manufactures of India. The visitor on entering will find the marble and stone carvings of Jaipur and Agra on his right and left, together with a beautifully carved screen from the latter place. He will also see the lac wares of Burma, Bombay, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh and the wood-carvings from Peshawar, Nagpur, Nepal, Bombay, Saharanpur, Madras and Burma. Then on his right will be seen a portion of a house front from Bhavnagar richly and elaborately carved, and right in the very middle of the Court the Hlutdaw or Council House Throne of Thebaw, King of Burma, 1878 to 1885. This throne is one of the seven similar thrones at Mandalay whence it was removed in a state of dilapidation and presented to this Museum by His Excellency Lord Curzon.

Returning from the art collections, we find to our right as we pass along the northern upper corridor the palæontological collections. Descending again to the lower court, we must pass round the northern lower corridor, and enter the rooms immediately beneath the Art Galleries. Here we find a most interesting collection illustrating the Ethnology of India—life-sized models of Indian tribesmen, models of houses and villages, of the burning ghât of Calcutta, a Bengal marriage ceremony, and toys, agricultural instruments, boats, fishing tackle, musical instruments, weapons, wearing apparel, etc., etc.

It is understood that a scheme has been originated by Lord Curzon for adding greatly to the buildings of the Museum and for entirely rearranging their contents. The money has been found by the Government of India, but it is anticipated that it will be some years before the new arrangements are completed. It is proposed to pull down the galleries in which the School of Art exhibitions are at present accommodated and to extend the façade of the Museum in a southerly direction so as to constitute, with the School of Art and the existing Museum, a second quadrangle, with a separate entrance from Chowringhi. The collections now in the Museum, which are exceedingly cramped, will then be rearranged, and the Art Ethnological collections, which exceed in popular interest anything in the main body of the Museum, but are apt to escape notice owing to their remote locations, will be transferred to some of the main galleries overlooking the Maidan, where they will be more easily accessible to the public. In this way, too, scope will be given for an expansion of the more important contents of the Museum which is now impossible.

CHAPTER XIII.

KALIGHAT.

IN a previous chapter some account has been given of the development of Hinduism from Animism, through various stages of Brahmanism, through Pantheism, to Polytheism. In a sense, the later stages in the development may be said to lie in the earlier as the oak lies in the acorn: but the truth of the analogy lies in this, that the oak lies in what the acorn will attract to it in the course of its expansion even more than in that which is in the acorn. Brahmanism may be the seed of Hinduism, but in the growth and expansion of the seed it has absorbed elements alien to its original contents. The shrine we are about to visit is perhaps the most striking instance of the incorporation of the fetish and terror worship of the non-Aryan races in the number of the various cults sanctioned by the Brahmans.

The human imagination has, perhaps, never created a more terrible figure than that of the black Kali, the wife of Siva, the all-destroyer and all-reproducer. She is black but certainly not comely. Like her lord, she has a third eye. Her tongue hangs far below her lips as if protruded to lick up the blood of her victims. For earrings she wears on either ear a suspended corpse, round her neck is a chaplet of skulls, her clothing is hands of the slain, and in one of her four hands is the head of a giant. Beneath her feet lies the prostrate body of her husband Siva. Such is the goddess worshipped at Kalighat.

The Siva worship so predominant in Bengal looks to the ninth century teacher, Sankara, as its exponent.

.. In the hand of Sankara's followers and apostolic successors, Siva-worship became one of the two chief religions of India. As at once the Destroyer

and Reproducer, Siva represented profound philosophical doctrines, and was early recognised as being in a special sense the god of the Brahmans. To them he was the symbol of death as merely a change of life. On the other hand, his terrible aspects, preserved in his long list of names from the Roarer (Rudra) of the Veda to the Dread One (Bhina) of the modern Hindu Pantheon, well adapted him to the religion of fear and propitiation prevalent among the ruder non-Aryan races. Siva, in his two-fold character, thus becomes the deity alike of the highest and of the lowest castes. He is the Mahadeva or the Great God of modern Hinduism; and his wife is Devi, pre-eminently the goddess. His universal symbol is the *linga*, a fetish emblem of reproduction, his sacred beast, i. the bull, connected with the same idea; a trident tops his temples. His images partake of his double nature. The Brahmanical conception is represented by his attitude as a fair-skinned man, seated in profound thought, the symbol of the fertilizing Ganges above his head, and the bull (emblem alike of procreation and of Aryan plough-tillage) near at hand. The wilder non-Aryan aspects of his character are signified by his necklace of skulls, his collar of twining serpents, his tiger-skin, and his club with a human head at the end. His five faces and four arms have also their significance. His wife, in like manner, appears in her Aryan form as Umã, 'Light', the type of high born loveliness; in her composite character as Durga, a golden-coloured woman, beautiful but menacing, riding on a tiger; and in her terrible non-Aryan aspects, as Kali, a black fury, of a hideous countenance, dripping with blood, crowned with snakes, and hung round with skulls. . . . Siva-worship preserves in an even more striking way the traces of its double origin. The higher minds still adore the godhead by silent contemplation, as presented by Sankara, without the aid of external rites. The ordinary Brahman hangs a wreath of flowers about the phallic *linga*, or places before it harmless offerings of rice. But the low-castes pour out the lives of countless victims at the feet of the terrible Kali, and until lately, in the time of pestilence and famine, tried in their despair to appease the relentless goddess by human blood. During the famine of 1866, in a temple to Kali within 100 miles of Calcutta, a boy was found with his neck cut, the eyes staring open, and the stiff clotted tongue thrust out between the teeth. In another case at Hughli (a railway station only twenty-five miles from Calcutta) the head was left before the idol, decked with flowers. Such cases are true survivals of the regular system of human sacrifices which we have seen among the non-Aryan tribes. They have nothing to do with the old mystic *purusha-Imedha* or man-offering, whether real or symbolical, of the ancient Aryan faith, but form an essential part of the non-Aryan religion of terror, which demands that the greater the need, the greater shall be the propitiation. Such sacrifices are now forbidden, alike by the Hindu custom and English law." Hunter: *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Vol. IV, pp. 300—302.

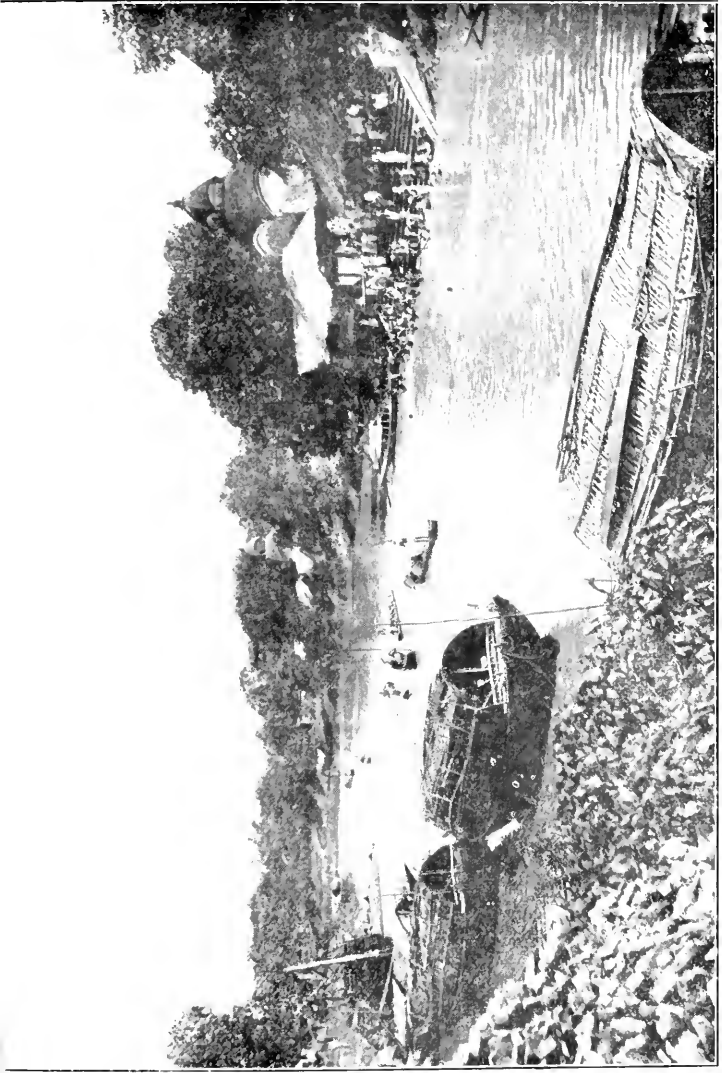
It may perhaps come as somewhat of a shock to Europeans who have entertained the recent craze for esoteric Buddhism to learn that between the Buddhism of ancient Bengal and Southern India and Siva-worship there is a historic connection. Wherever Buddhist relics are most plentifully found in the western districts of Lower Bengal there the worship of Siva is paramount. It would seem to have been the fact that Buddhism as a negative creed won easy victories among the semi-aboriginal peoples of Lower Bengal; the Buddhist kings standing between the

people and the caste-oppression of the Brahmins. How tolerant popular Buddhism could be of the old sun and serpent-worship the sculptures of the Barahut Stupa well show. In the course of time Buddhism became merely monastic, and Brahmanism having learned a lesson in toleration, steadily regained lost ground, by placing in the background the spiritual side of the Sanskrit faith, and spreading the cult and bloody rites of Siva or Rudra, so well beloved of the aboriginals.

The legend of Kalighat has been told in the introductory chapter to the present work. The origin of the shrine is lost in obscurity. As the site of the jungle worship of aboriginal fishermen, hunters, wood-cutters, etc., its antiquity may be immense. In the time when Adisur (between 700—900 A. D.) reigned in Bengal the place could have been of no importance in the eyes of orthodox Hindus, if, indeed, its site had then risen above the tidal swamp. In the time of Vallala Sen of Gaur, the Tantric rites were coming into use among the Brahmins, and, in his reign, the Kalikshetra, or Field of Kali, a triangular island lying between Dakhineswar on the North and Behala on the South, is said to have been presented by the king to a Brahmin family. Kalighat and its goddess are but barely mentioned in Bengali poems in the 15th and 16th centuries. The firm hand of the early Mahomedan rulers no doubt served to compel the Brahmins to fortify their position in out-of-the-way places by an encouragement of the aboriginal cults favoured by the Tantras. So Kalighat comes into fame about the beginning of the eighteenth century.

During the reign of the great Mogul Emperor Akbar, three Tantric Hindus came into prominence in our part of Bengal: to wit (1) Bhalurda, the founder of the Nadia Rajas; Lakshmikanta, the ancestor of the Savana Chandur; Jayganarda, the founder of the Bansberia family. According to tradition, the famous idol Kali, was the property of one of Lakshmikanta's ancestors: to-day it is the property of his descendants who are now known as the Haldar family.

The almost proverbial inability of Orientals to preserve anything approaching to an historical account of their



Kalgihat.

Rowe & Shepherd.

past is perhaps nowhere better instanced than by Raja Binaya Krishna Deb's recent work on the early history and growth of Calcutta. Wherever our Hindu *Guru* has European records to fall back on he is excellent, but just where we should have expected a Hindu writer to help us most, he fails us. His account of Kalighât is derived mainly from a work written nearly a century of years ago by an enthusiastic Baptist Missionary at Serampore. According to Mr. Ward, the Missionary under contribution, not only superstitious European ladies, but the Government itself, were wont to do puja to Kali at Kalighât. "Last week," writes Ward, "a deputation from the Government went in procession to Kalighât and made a thank-offering to this goddess of the Hindus in the name of the Company for the success which the English have lately obtained in this country. Five thousand rupees were offered. Several thousand natives witnessed the English presenting their offerings to this idol."

One has only to recall the names of the actual rulers in Bengal at the time, and the whole legend appears in its true light. Yarns of this kind are very easily spun and very easily credited by those who are, as Ward was, "agin the Government."

The proprietors of the image at Kalighât are, of course, enormously wealthy. It has been adorned with untold wealth in gold and jewels by great Hindu potentates who have visited the shrine from all parts of India.

The Temple itself is squalid in the extreme and absolutely devoid of architectural merit. On sacrificial days the courts flow with the blood of the victims, and the visitor must be cautious where he places his feet. In addition to the central shrine, there are some other Hindu shrines and a sacred tree of importance.

If the reader has not gone to Kalighât by tram, but has a carriage in readiness, he will perhaps drive on to the Tollygunge Club, or regaining the Russa Road turn to the right, and crossing the bridge, return to Calcutta through Alipore. To his left in the Shahpore Road he will pass the house of Tipoo Sultan's descendants.

PART II.

CHAPTER I.

RIVER TRIP No. 1. SERAMPORE AND BARRACKPORE.

THIS morning we have to be up betimes to catch the steamer which leaves Hatkola Ghât for Hughly at 7-30 A.M. We must take with us our breakfast and tiffin: the former we shall be able to have served on board: the latter we shall eat under the shadow of some spreading tree at Barrackpore. There is, however, a good Hotel at Barrackpore (the Charnock) close to the Railway Station, where, if we prefer to sit under a punkah to ward off the flies—the curse of Barrackpore—we may get tiffin and save ourselves some trouble in the matter of transport.

Close to Hatkola Ghât is the Nimtola Ghât—the burning place of the Hindu dead. Nimtola is, of course, the *tala* or shade of the Nim tree. Our attention this morning will be devoted to the bank on our left as we proceed up the river. First we see the village of Sulkea, described by Marshman in 1845, as “the Southwark of Calcutta.” A dock at Sulkea was first established by Mr. Bacon in 1796.

“Sulkea, a densely populated suburb, containing 73,446 inhabitants, in 1835 formed the terminus of the Benares Road, which, by its narrowness and roughness, reminds us of the difficulties dâk travellers must have met with in former days. It was a common practice, however, formerly when travellers were few, for Englishmen to send to the zemindârs along the road for supplies of bearers and food: the zemindârs supplied them, but quietly indemnified themselves by debiting to the expenses of the *revenue* collection, or else making the *ryats* pay for it. It was not until 1785 that a regular dâk was established and that only between Calcutta and Murshidabad; and for a long period after that, travellers had no bungalows, but were obliged to send two sets of tents on before them.”

After passing a long row of red factory buildings, one sees, lying behind a broad patch of maidan recovered from the river, the old white house where for many years John Stalkart of Ghosery kept open house to his many friends. His beautiful gardens and fernery are still preserved with loving care. We soon come in sight of Hindu temples.

“The river banks are covered with fruit trees and villages, with many very handsome pagodas, of which buildings Calcutta only offers some small, mean, and neglected specimens. The general style of these buildings is, a large square court, sometimes merely surrounded by a low wall, with bold balustrades, pilastered as so to resemble stone, or indented at the top, with two or sometimes four towers at the angles, generally, in the present day, of Grecian architecture, and ornament with pilasters, balustrades, and freizes. In the centre of the principal front, is, for the most part, an entrance resembling in its general character, and style of arrangement, the beautiful *Propylæum* at Chester Castle. When the pagoda adjoins the river a noble flight of steps, the whole breadth of the portico, generally leads from the water to this entrance. Sometimes the whole court is surrounded by a number of square towers, detached by a small interval from each other, and looking not unlike tea-canisters, having such a propylæum as I have described in the centre of the principal part. In the middle of the quadrangle, or in the least in the middle of one of its sides, opposite to the main entrance, is the temple of the principal deity, sometimes octagonal, with pinnacles and buttresses, greatly resembling a Gothic Chapter House, but in some instances taller and larger, with three domes, one large in the centre, and a smaller at each side, with the gilded ornaments on the summit of each, extremely like the old churches in Russia. All these buildings are vaulted with brick, and the manner in which Hindus raise their square or oblong domes seems to me simple and ingenious, and applicable to many useful purposes. It is very seldom that anything like a congregation assembles in these temples. A few priests and dancing women live in them, whose business is to keep the shrines clean, to receive the offerings of the individuals who come from time to time to worship, and to beat their gongs in honour of their idols, which is done three or four times in the twenty-four hours.” *Bishop Heber's Journal*, Vol. I, pp. 59-60.

From Hughly to Chitpore, which we have now passed on our right, the river still washes places noted in Hindu mythology. Above Hughly the river has deserted its ancient course, and sacred shrines, which some three hundred years ago or more were reflected in the waters of the sacred Gunga, are now even four or five miles to the west of it. Beneath Calcutta the waters have also left their old bed, now represented by Tolly's Nallah, and scarcely a single Hindu temple rears its dome by the presnet river flowing from Fort William to the sea. We are now, therefore, in a scene rich in legendary reminiscences. Mohesh which we shall come to in about

two hours' time is the place where Jugannath stopped to bathe on his way to dinner at Puri. A poem written in 1495 A.D. by a Bengali author, named Bipradas, describes the voyage of Chand Sadagar, the hater of the serpent goddess, from Bhaghulpur to the sea. Many a spot to be passed by our steamer to-day is mentioned in the ancient verses—Tribeni, Hughly, Kankanara, Ichapur, Nimai Ghât, Khurda, Rishira, Konnagar, Andaha, Ghosery, Chitpur—names which with but one or two exceptions and with very slight change in orthography, are to be found in the most recent "Indian Bradshaw."

BALLY.

As the visitor has finished reading the last paragraph, he finds the village of Bally on his left—once and perhaps even now, despite the Paper and Bone Mills, one of "the most orthodox and holy towns in the neighbourhood of Calcutta. "We have," says Mr. J. C. Marshman, "evidence of its existence three centuries ago in the poem of *Kobi Kunkun*, one of the earliest products now extant in the Bengali language. It was one of the eight places which furnished Bengal with an almanack before the art of printing was introduced into the country." The reader who is not acquainted with Hinduism will perhaps fail to do justice to the last sentence of this quotation. Hinduism is a social system compacted by caste and drawn hither and thither by astrology. Hence the importance of the almanack. Bally has another point of interest. Tradition has it that it was to Bally the pious Brahmins who stood round Nuncomar's scaffold, in the firm conviction that some portent would intervene to save the person of so high a Brahmin from sacrilegious treatment, fled incontinently when Nuncomar was ignominiously hanged.*

We notice the entrance of Bally Khal from the river. Fifty-six years ago a well-informed writer hazarded to say of the bridge over this khal or creek: "There is no bridge in Bengal of so bold and magnificent a character,

* The tradition is confirmed by inquiries made on behalf of Sir A. Lyall. See Stephen: *Nuncomar and Impey*, Vol. I, p. 247.

or which stands in a more picturesque situation." Passing by some uninteresting hamlets and brickfields, we come in sight of a modern villa of red brick which serves to show us where Konnagar is situated. Somewhat to the north of a group of temples is the site of what was probably the old Danish Dockyard. North of this again is the village of Rishra.

"At the northern extremity of this village stands a factory which has existed for half a century, and passed successively through the hands of various European houses of business into those of its late possessor, Bissembhur Sen.* It was one of the oldest and most profitable chintz manufactories in this country having been established not long after Mr. Prinsep had introduced the art." *Calcutta Review*, 1845, p. 486.

RISHRA.

Bissembhur Sen, who is said to have commenced his career with a wage of 8 or 10 rupees a month, "created a large fortune of some £200,000, out of nothing, by dint of economy, skill, and perseverance." Close to Messrs Birkmyre's "Hastings Mills" is the old Rishra House.

"Adjoining the factory, we have Rishra House. Perhaps no place presents more of the appearance of an English country seat than this mansion, as it is viewed on coming down the river, with its green velvet lawn and venerable trees, which may almost be mistaken for the oaks of a park. It has always been a favourite retreat with Calcutta residents. It is surrounded by a brick wall, the western portion of which is lined with a row of ancient mango trees, one of which excites the great admiration for the boldness and grandeur of its branches. The tradition runs that the trees were planted by Mrs. Hastings, when she and Warren Hastings made this villa their temporary residence." *Ibid*, p. 487.

In the advertisements in the *Gazette* for Thursday, Aug. 5, 1784, we find offered for auction, failing private sale :

"That extensive piece of ground belonging to Warren Hastings, Esq., called Rishra, situated on the western bank of the river, two miles below Serampore, consisting of 136 beegahs, 18 of which are Lackherage land, or land paying no rent." Seton Karr : *Selections*, Vol. I.

In Nov. 1784, the great man writes to his wife : "I have sold Rishra for double the sum that was paid for it. This is a riddle, and I leave it to your sagacity to unravel it."

* Bissembhur Sen obtained the property in 1833 for Rs. 10,000.

Messrs. Birkmyre Bros. have most kindly permitted me to inspect the title-deeds of their Rishra property * Warren Hastings, in August 1780, purchased the land from Rajchunder Dutt and Kali Prosad Dutt for Rs. 1,145. He sold it in September 1784 for Rs. 10,000. In December 1787 the property sold for Rs. 20,000. In 1841 it was rented at Rs. 2,400 a year. In 1865 the monthly rent was only Rs. 35. In the village there is an unnamed European grave: local tradition, of course, has it that Warren Hastings buried a child here.

MOHESH.

A little way back from the river bank lies the hamlet of Mohesh, once for devout Bengali Hindus second only to Puri in sanctity as a shrine for the god Jugganath. Here it is said, Jugganath stopped to bathe on his way to his dinner at Puri.

"To commemorate this event, a grand festival is held on the full moon in the month *Joisti*, which falls in May, and occasionally in June. On that high occasion the image is brought out of the temple, wrapped in broadcloth, and hoisted up on a brick stage raised about seven feet from the ground. Just at the time when the conjunction of the planets indicates the most auspicious moment, the officiating priest pours the water of the sacred Ganges on its head from a silver *kalsi*, or water pot. The ground before the stage is a large open area which is densely crowded by devotees at the festival, a hundred and fifty thousand of whom have been known to assemble at one time in front of the image. As the water descends upon the head of the consecrated log one long and deafening shout arises from that vast multitude making the welkin ring; the hands of the worshippers are at the same moment lifted up and clapped together,—and the density of the crowd, forest of hands, the shouts and the clapping, combine to give an idea of superstitious enthusiasm which is rarely presented in any other scene." *Calc. Rev.*

THE MARTYN PAGODA.

The village now possesses two rival Jugganath cars. One of these, of cast iron and elaborately decorated with paintings, was manufactured by Messrs Burn & Co., of Howrah, and prosaically bears their name. It is a significant fact that at the present day the pulling of the car at festival occasions is done by devotees procured by

* A most interesting series of documents exhibiting fine signatures and seals of Warren Hastings, and signatures of W. Larkins, Edward Tirettes, Fairfax Moresby, etc., etc. Towards the close of the XVIIIth century the premises were used as an Indigo Factory.

special contract ! Fifty years ago even to touch the robes was held to be a privilege.

The river now bends to the left along Barrackpore Reach. At the corner stands a famous ruin—the Martyn Pagoda.

Every shrine of any note in India has some miraculous legend attached to it with the design of attracting the confidence of the people. It is believed that about eight generations ago, Roodru Pundit, who was related to a family of distinction at Chatra, a mile to the west of Serampore, was reproved by his uncle for having presumed to secure the sacrificial vessels of the domestic idol, on which he forsook the family mansion, and retired to Bullubpore, which was then a forest, where he began a series of religious austerities, in the hope one day of being able to possess an image and temple of his own. The gods are never indifferent to such acts of devotedness, and Radhabullub himself is said to have appeared to him in the form of a religious mendicant, and given him instructions to proceed to Gour, the capital of Bengal, and obtain a slab of stone which adorned the doorway of the Viceroy's private room, and construct an image out of it. He proceeded to that city and found that the prime minister and favourite of the Viceroy was a devoted Hindu. To him he announced the revelation that he had received and was assured that no effort should be spared to obey the commands of the god. Soon after, the stone began to emit drops of water, and by a singular coincidence, the Viceroy himself happened to pass by at the time. The minister pointed out the circumstance, and asserted that the drops thus distilled were the tears of the stone and that no time should be lost in delivering the palace from so inauspicious an omen by the removal of this object. Permission was immediately given to this effect, and Roodru was blessed with the gratification of his wishes. But he was greatly perplexed about the means of removing his treasure, when the god again appeared, and directed him to return forthwith to Bullubpore, and there await in patience the arrival of the stone. Soon after he had reached his village, it was miraculously conveyed to the river side, and floated down the stream of its own accord to the landing stairs at Bullubpore, where the devotee was in the habit of bathing. Roodru set to work immediately on the stone, and by the aid of the sculptor obtained an image which is much celebrated for its beauty. The mysterious origin of the image soon attached worshippers, and the proprietor was enabled from their help to construct the temple which forms one of the most prominent objects at the entrance of Serampore from the south.

Such is the legendary account of the origin of the Martyn Pagoda. The writer proceeds to explain that the Shastras forbid a Brahmin to receive a gift or a meal within the limit of three hundred feet of the river bank. The river showing a tendency to wander westward it was, therefore, necessary to remove the image "to another spot where a more magnificent temple was built at the expense of the wealthy family of Mullicks of Calcutta." The Raja Nubu Kissen, the Munshi of Lord Clive, it is affirmed, borrowed the mysterious image of Radhabullub

to grace the funeral pyre of his mother. It required the threat of a Brahminical curse, the tears of his wife, and a suit at the Supreme Court to induce him to give it back, but, when he did restore the coveted idol, he graciously bestowed on it the proprietorship of the villages of Bullubpore.

After the removal of the idol, the deserted Pagoda became part and parcel of the grounds of the squat-looking bungalow we see a little beyond it, and which bears the name of Aldeen House. This property was purchased by the Rev. David Brown, the "patriarch" of those forever memorable chaplains who are known to history as "the five evangelical chaplains." Before their day many a strenuous attempt had been made by the Government Chaplains to initiate missionary work in Bengal, yet it is to the zeal of "*the five*" the Anglo-Catholic Church must ever look back as "the hole of the pit" whence her foundations of her Indian missionary work were digged.

To Aldeen House in May, 1806, came the recent Cambridge Senior Wrangler, Henry Martyn, "burning out for God." The story of his hopeless passion for Lydia Grenfell, the puritan Cornish maid of Mazagon, who acknowledged her love for Martyn but either could not or would not join him in India, is an often-told romance. While awaiting his appointment to a military station up-country, Martyn came hither, and finding that the intrusive habits of native servants interfered with his devotions, he obtained the ruined Pagoda as a dwelling. "The ruin which stands can only be a portion of the Pagoda as it stood in Martyn's time, for he describes it as "having so many recesses and cells that I can hardly find my way in and out." Later on, too, we know that Brown found room for an organ in the Pagoda. We can well understand that the place was somewhat weird. "Thither," writes Martyn, "I retired at night, and really felt something like superstitious dread at being in a place once inhabited as it were by devils, but yet felt disposed to be triumphantly joyful that the Temple where they were worshipped was become Christ's Oratory. I prayed aloud to my God, and the echo returned from the

vaulted roof. Oh, may I so pray that the dome of Heaven may so resound."

A very affecting service took place at the Pagoda on Friday, Oct. 10th, 1706 "with a view to commend Martyn to the favour and protection of God in his work." The prayers were commenced by David Brown, continued by Desgranges of the London Missionary Society and Marshman of the Serampore Baptist College, and concluded by the great Carey who earnestly prayed for Brown that "having laboured for many years without encouragement or support, in the evening it might be light." Desgranges himself was married in this queer Oratory.

"The Pagoda was fixed on, and lighted up for the celebration of the wedding; at eight o'clock the parties came from the (Baptist) Mission House attended by most of the family. Mr. Brown commenced with the hymn 'Come Gracious Spirit, Heavenly Dove.' A divine influence seemed to attend us, and most delightful were my sensations. The circumstance of so many being engaged in spreading the glad tidings of salvation,—the temple of an idol converted for the purpose of Christian worship, and the Divine presence, felt among us—filled me with joy unspeakable. After the marriage service of the Church of England, Mr. Brown gave out 'the wedding hymn,' and after signing the certificate of marriage, we adjourned to the house where Mr. Brown had provided supper. Two hymns given out by Mr. Marshman were felt very powerfully." *Memoires of the Right Revd. Daniel Corrie, LL.D., First Bishop of Madras*, pp. 49-50.

In 1806, Dr. Claudius Buchanan, the projector of the English Episcopate in India, was away from Bengal on the first of his famous voyages to the Malabar Coast. Daniel Corrie and Joseph Parson reached Aldeen House on the 21st, a short time before Martyn set out (Oct. 18th) for Cawnpore. Marmaduke Thompson, the Government Chaplain of Cuddalore, happened to be in Bengal in this year. Thompson did not reach India until two years later. But the Synod "which met at Aldeen House on Nov. 29, 1806, practically represented that group of missionary pioneers who, in addition to their labours as Government Chaplains, initiated the vast work now associated more especially with the Church Missionary Society.

After Brown's death the purchase of Aldeen House was suggested to the Church Missionary Society, but being unwilling, even if in appearance only, to be guilty of a breach of missionary comity, the Society declined to

acquire a site for work so close to the field occupied by the famous Baptist Mission of Serampore. About 1845, the Temple of Radhabullub underwent yet another change: it became "the Pagoda Rum Distillery." Aldeen House still stands, and is occasionally inhabited by the Engineers of the Howrah Water Works, which have broken up David Brown's once level lawns into tanks. The Pagoda itself is now under the care of the Public Works Department, and the Water Works folk only occupy the adjacent ground on the understanding that the public have a free access to a memorial of so great an object of historical interest.

SERAMPORE.

The old Danish settlement of Serampore is called by the Danes Fredricksnagar in honour of their King. The Danish East India Company was founded in 1612, but the date of the first appearance of the Danes on the Hughly is a matter of dispute. In the early years of the XVIIIth century they had, a little below the mouth of the Rupnaryan, so Hamilton tells us "a thatcht house, but for what reason they kept an house there I never could learn." By 1712 they had come higher up the river to Gondalpara—to-day known to natives as Danemardanga—the South-East corner of Chandernagore. In 1755, however, thanks to the kindly influence of M. Law, the chief of the French factory at Kasimbazár, the chief of the Danish factory, Soctman by name, obtained from the Nawab Ali Verdi Khan, permission to establish a Factory and to occupy 57 bigas of land at Akna and three bigas at Serampore, because "no ship could lay at Akna though a good Factory could be built there on a large open spot of ground." For this they paid Rs. 1,60,000, and possession was taken on October 8th, 1755.

In 1756 Suraj-ud-Daula, in his march on Calcutta, ordered Soctman to join him with all his troops, Cavalry, Infantry, and Artillery, to which Soctman answered that he had "neither horse, foot, nor guns, but was living in a miserable mud hut with but two and three servants."

During the Seven Years' War, 1757—1763, the Danes seem to have, under the guise of neutrality, evinced a

partiality for the French which was not appreciated by the Board at Calcutta.

“ A few years later came the palmy days of Serampur trade, during the American War (1780). England was at war with the three great maritime nations—France, Holland, and America: English vessels were exposed to the attacks of privateers, especially French privateers from Mauritius and Reunion who captured a good number of Indiamen, and rates of insurance were very heavy. Goods shipped from Serampur went in neutral bottoms, and naturally the Danish ships easily got valuable freights at high rates. No less than 22 ships, with an average tonnage of over 10,000 tons, cleared from Serampur within nine months. The Danish East India Company made large profits, and their factors retired with handsome fortunes, made in a few years' service.” Crawford: *Brief History of the Hooghly District*, p. 52.

A similar period of prosperity was afforded by the Napoleonic wars, when ships of 600 to 800 tons, could lie off the Serampore Wharfs. In 1801, however, Angle and Dane were at war, and Serampore was seized, but handed back after the signature of the Treaty of Amiens on March 27th, 1801. In 1808, war having again broken out a detachment of troops from Fort William, under Lt.-Col. Carey, occupied Serampore on the morning of January 28th, while the Danish shipping was captured by H. M.'s ships *Modeste*, *Terpsichore* and *Dasher*. In 1815 the settlement was restored to the Danes, but the silt formations had already rendered the old maritime prosperity a mere historical tradition.

In 1845 the Danes sold their Indian settlements to the British for the sum of twelve lakhs, and Serampore was finally taken over by the English on October 11th, 1845.

“ The manuscript account of the settlement, drawn up with minute care when we took over the town from the Danes in 1845, sets forth every detail, down to the exact number of hand looms, burial grounds, and liquor shops. But throughout its seventy-seven folio pages I could discover not a word indicating the survival of sea-going trade. Sir W. Hunter: *The India of the Queen and other Essays*, p. 201.

The steamer will bring us close to a landing ghât near to the Church: and here we must step into a “green boat” and be rowed to the shore. A ticca ghari can easily be found and we will drive first to inspect more closely the Martyn Pagoda and Aldeen House which we have already seen from the river. This done we will visit the Baptist College.

William Carey, the founder of the historic Serampore Mission, was born on Aug. 17th, 1761. He was the son of the schoolmaster of Paulersbury in Northamptonshire. In early youth he had been brought up as a strict Churchman, but, while still a lad, he embraced the tenets of the Baptist Community. At the age of fourteen he was apprenticed to a shoemaker at Moulton. At an early age he entered the pulpit, but the £11 a year which he received as Baptist Minister of Moulton, with a grant of another £5 from London, was not sufficient to relieve him of the necessity of walking some eight or ten miles into Northampton with a wallet of shoes on his back. Years after, when dining with Lord Hastings at Barrackpore, Dr. Carey overheard a general officer asking one of his aides-de-camp whether it were not the case that the Viceroy's guest had once plied his hand as shoemaker. "No, sir," was the Doctor's ready interruption, "only as cobbler." In 1793 Carey, who had been accepted as a Missionary by the recently formed (Oct. 2, 1792) Baptist Missionary Society endeavoured to come out to India on board one of the Company's vessels, *The Oxford*, but his companion, the eccentric Medical Missionary Thomas, was heavily in debt, and that circumstance led to the expulsion of the Missionaries from the Indiaman. Ultimately the Missionaries set sail in the Danish vessel *Cron Princessa Maria*. Carey arrived at Calcutta on November the 11th, after enduring great personal distress mainly due to his association with Thomas, and found refuge for five years as an indigo planter under an evangelical civilian at Malda—George Udney. Here, at Malda, he acquired his profound knowledge of the Bengali language, and it is a fact which deserves a far wider recognition than it at present enjoys that it is due mainly to the early Missionaries that the vernacular of Bengal is now a language understood by the rulers of the people. In 1797, however, Udney, after a series of bad seasons, was compelled to abandon the factory at which Carey had laboured.

In the meanwhile, John Ward, born in 1769, and apprenticed as a painter, and John Marshman born on April 20th, 1768, a shop boy at Mr. Cabus' shop in

Holborn, had volunteered for Missionary work in India. After a voyage of four months and a half on board the American ship *Criterion*, Marshman and Ward with two others, on October 13th, 1799, reached the Danish port of Serampore. The attitude of the Government at Calcutta was not likely to be favourable to Missionaries of a sect then so much despised as that of the Anabaptists. Even in England the age of toleration had not yet dawned and to the average English laymen, whose hatred of dissent was by no means the counterpart of his zeal for the Church, dissent was another name for hostility to "establishments" and sympathy for that still active volcano—the French Revolution. Massacres of English folks at isolated Indian stations were still incidents not altogether infrequent in recent memory and what might be expected if any cobbler or journeyman printer should be allowed to excite the fanaticism of the people by their indiscreet denunciations of the native faith? Threatened with deportation by the English authorities, Marshman and Ward elected to remain under the protection of the Danes at Serampore. On January the 10th, 1800, Carey, with his family, "consisting of four sons and wife in a state of hopeless insanity," joined Marshman and Ward at the Danish capital, and so formed that for ever memorable triumvirate of Baptist Missionaries. The baptism of the first convert took place on Sunday, December 20th, 1800.

"The missionaries assembled with the congregation in the chapel, and Mr. Carey walked down to the river with his eldest son, about to be baptised, and Krishna, on either side of him. Mr. Thomas, who was confined to his couch made the air resound with blasphemous ravings; and Mrs. Carey shut up in her own room on the opposite side of the path, poured forth the most painful shrieks. At the ghat, or landing stairs, the Governor and several Europeans, and a large body of Portuguese, and a dense crowd of Hindoos and Mahomedans, were waiting to witness this novel ceremony. To this assembly Mr. Carey explained that they did not believe there was any Divine virtue in the river, but regarded it as the simple element of water; that Krishna was formerly of their creed but professed by the present act to renounce his belief in the gods, and profess his belief in one God, and to become a disciple of Jesus Christ. The most perfect silence and a feeling of deep solemnity pervaded the whole assembly, and the Governor was melted to tears. In the afternoon the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was administered for the first time in the Bengali language. This public celebration of the ordinance of baptism created great excitement through the town and neighbourhood, and the vernacular school was deserted by every lad. The same result has followed at subsequent periods the conversion of native youths in missionary

seminaries; and it is only at the present day [1859], at the end of more than half a century, that the natives of Calcutta, familiarised with desertions from their creed, have ceased to break up the schools on every fresh indication of danger. Thus ended, the first and most eventful year of the Serampore Mission." J. C. Marshman: *The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman, and Ward*, Vol. I. pp. 139-40.

In 1800 the house was purchased for the Mission, and the Press was established in a side building. In February 7th, 1801, the last sheet of the Bengali New Testament was issued from the Press. Two thousand copies were printed at the cost of £612. In 1803 "the missionaries baptised the first Brahmin—Krishna Prasad."

"On the baptism of the first brahmin, Mr. Carey and his colleagues were called to fix the rule of practice on this point at the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and they resolved to exterminate every vestige of caste from the Christian Community they were rearing up, and the brahmin received the bread and the wine after the carpenter Krishna. *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 177.

Entering the compound, we first, by permission of the Principal, visit the Mission House and the room in which Carey died. This done we take our way to the College. Bishop Middleton had chosen the Gothic style of architecture for his "Bishop's College."

"The Serampore Missionaries did not consider this order suited to a tropical climate and temperature. The paramount object in every building in the East is to secure ample ventilation, and this is not compatible with the full development of the beauties of Gothic Architecture. They preferred the Grecian style, and a noble specimen of it did they erect in the grounds appropriated to the college, amounting to ten acres. It was built under the superintendence of Major Wickedie, the second member of the little Council of Serampore. The centre building, intended for the public rooms was a hundred and thirty feet in length, and a hundred and twenty in depth. The hall on the ground floor, supported on arches, and terminated at the south by a bow, was ninety-five feet in length, sixty-six in breadth, and twenty in height. It was originally intended for the library, but is now occupied for the classes. The hall above, of the same dimensions and twenty-six feet in height, was supported by two rows of Ionic columns; it was intended for the annual examinations. Of the twelve side-rooms, above and below, eight were of spacious dimensions, twenty-seven feet by thirty-five. The portico which fronted the river was composed of six columns, more than four feet in diameter at the base. The staircase room was ninety-feet in length, twenty-seven in width, and forty-seven in height, with two staircases of cast iron, of large size and elegant form, prepared at Birmingham. The spacious grounds were surrounded with iron railings, and the front entrance was adorned with a noble gate, likewise cast at Birmingham." J. C. Marshman: *Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward*, Vol. II, pp. 235-6.

The College site was purchased in 1819, and the building commenced in 1821. In 1826 Dr. Marshman visited Copenhagen, and obtained a Royal Charter for the College from the Danish King. In 1845 when Serampore was transferred to the English, the Danes expressly stipulated that the rights conferred under the Charter should be preserved, and, in consequence, Serampore College has still the right to confer degrees—a privilege maintained, but not actually made use of.

The Library is in the long northern side room on the upper floor. Here the reader will with reverence behold some relics of Dr. Carey—his chair, crutches, and the old pulpit from which he was wont to preach in Serampore Church. The portraits of Frederick VI. of Denmark, his wife, and a copy of a Madonna by Raphael are not very praiseworthy works of art, but the reader perhaps will have already heard of the famous Serampore portrait, and will be impatient to examine the alleged picture of the lady who stirred so violently the passions of Sir Philip Francis, and who ultimately became the wife of the ex-bishop of Autun, the profoundest diplomat of modern times, the Prince Talleyrand. But a disappointment is in store, for the old tradition has of late been rudely cut to pieces by a local antiquary in his pamphlet: *The Serampore Portrait. Is it Madam Grand?* It seems now to be established that the picture is a portrait of the Princess Louisa Augusta of Augustenburg, and that a picture hanging close by of a “strikingly handsome noble-looking man wearing a frilled or ruffled breast-front and a broad green riband” is that lady’s husband—Prince Frederick Christian. The mother of the lady in the picture was the unhappy Queen Caroline Matilda, daughter of Frederick, Prince of Wales, and a sister of our own George III. The Princess Louisa Augusta was thus the sister of Frederick the VIth of Denmark—the monarch who bestowed a Charter on the Serampore College. She was born in 1771, and at fifteen married the handsome prince depicted in the neighbouring picture.

Leaving the College, we observe on its northern boundary the India Jute Mill. Here in bygone days, J. C. Marshman, the son of the Missionary, edited the *Friend*

of India, the progenitor of the Calcutta *Statesman*, and here he was succeeded by Mr. Meredith Townsend, and Dr. George Smith, C.I.E. The Mill has also trespassed on the site of Dr. Carey's once famous Botanical Garden.

We turn to the left into the central roadway of the town—an exceedingly pretty avenue leading up between casuarina trees to the Church. On the left is the old Government House of Danish times.

The Church, originally Lutheran, was completed in 1805, and owes its existence to the exertions of the Danish Governor, Col. Bie (1789-1805), who died on May 13th of the very year in which the Church was completed. It cost Rs. 18,000, of which Rs. 8,000 were raised by subscriptions in Calcutta, and Rs. 10,000 was contributed by the Marquess of Wellesley, “who is said to have remarked at the time that nothing was wanting to Barrackpore Park but the distant view of a steeple.” As no Danish minister was provided, the Baptist Missionaries for many years held their services here, and it was in July 1808 that Dr. Carey opened the Church, preaching from the text: “Arise, O Lord God, into Thy resting place, Thou and the ark of Thy strength.” (2 Chron. vi, 41). The Church contains a memorial to Dr. Carey and his two famous associates. The two massive silver candlesticks which used to decorate the old Lutheran altar have, alas! disappeared.

The Roman Catholic Church, which, like the Murghhatta Cathedral at Calcutta, is a monument to the pious liberality of the Baretto family, was erected in 1776 at the cost of Rs. 13,386. It replaced a smaller Church erected in 1764.

We return to the river bank. As the green-boat slowly ferries us across the river, we shall not fail to note the prettiness of the little town with its neat white bungalows lying beneath the shade of pleasant trees. In bygone days, before Simla and Darjeeling were heard of, Calcutta folk used to care a great deal more “for week ends” at river-side bungalows than they do to-day, and at Serampore there was a famous hotel and tavern—“the new upper-roomed house near the Flag-staff at Serampore,

directly facing the Barrackpore Cantonments.”* But Serampore was also “at one time the Alsatia of Calcutta, and afforded refuge to schemers, insolvent debtors and reckless adventurers, who had found it prudent to disappear from the metropolis. It was in consequence a bustling, lively, gay, dissipated place.”†

BARRACKPORE.

It is difficult to realise as we look across the river to Barrackpore that it has proved to be the most unhealthy military station in Bengal. The fact that civilians find the place pleasant enough suggests the belief that there must be something not very sound about the Cantonments. The native name Achanok is, in popular but unfounded tradition, derived from the founder of Calcutta who is supposed to have had a garden house here. Barrackpore, the modern name, has an obvious derivation.

We will proceed at once to the Military Parade-ground. At the present day the military strength of the station is never more than a battery of Mounted Artillery, a battery of Field Artillery, one company of European Troops, and a Native Regiment. In times before the great Mutiny three and even more Native Regiments were frequently stationed here. The Parade-ground has been the scene of two famous mutinies. The earliest of these, and, from a local point of view, the most serious occurred in 1824, and arose under the circumstances created by the first Burmese War. An exaggerated account of a British disaster, the Hindu caste abhorrence to a journey by sea, recent changes in regimental organization, higher pay given to low caste camp-followers, dread of the climate of Arracan, etc., etc., drove the men into a state of “stupid desperation.” Lady Amherst, the wife of the then Governor-General, has left us a record of the tragedy which ensued:—

“November, 1824. On the evening of October 31, General Dalzell informed Lord Amherst that a mutinous spirit had manifested itself among the troops in the cantonment, that the 47th Native Infantry had refused to march

* Seton-Karr: *Selections*, Vol. I, p. 168.

† Thornton *Gazetteer of India*, 1858, p. 872

and had demanded increase of pay, and in short seemed resolved to resist their officers. Early on the morning of the 1st, General Dalzell went up to the Commander-in-Chief, and before 3 o'clock that day himself and all his staff arrived at Barrackpore. Soon after, the bodyguard consisting of 300 men, went up in a boat to overtake General Cotton's regiment. It had proceeded thirty miles up the river, but arrived here at [Barrackpore] as did the Royals from Calcutta, by 11 at night. Some artillery also arrived from Dum-Dum: the house therefore was well guarded on all sides and all the avenues to it, and we then thought ourselves safe from the attack we fully expected from the mutineers. Their numbers had increased during the night: 200 of the 47th had declared their loyalty and determination to be staunch to their duty, but they traitorously joined their companions, as did about 200 of the 62nd Regiment of Native Infantry and about 30 of the 26th Regiment. All the non-commissioned as well as the commissioned native officers to a man went to their colonel and declared they would stand by him. The sequel will show their sincerity. By daybreak on November 1, Sir E. Paget, who had with his staff bivouacked in the green house, put himself at the head of the troops. About 2,000 men proceeded to the cantonment.

"The cannon from Dum-Dum was stationed in the park to fire over the pales on the insurgents, if necessary. Captain Macan and two other officers were sent to them. He addressed the mutineers in their own language in a very conciliatory manner, endeavouring to persuade them of the folly and danger of persisting in their mutiny, and refusal to deliver up their arms. No argument availed. He then told them the dire consequence that must ensue, and that at his return without their laying down their arms, the signal would be given to fire upon them. Their ringleaders laughed at him, and on his report to the Commander-in-Chief, the signal was given. The mutineers instantly fled. The cannon fired several volleys afterwards, as did the musketry, four or five were killed or wounded, and many hundreds were taken prisoners. They fled in all directions, and were instantly dispersed. Above 800 muskets and uniforms were found in the adjacent fields and roads. The Court-Martial sat immediately. The ringleaders (six) were hanged next morning. Many hundreds since have been found guilty and sentenced to death, but this was commuted to hard labour for fourteen years on the public roads. Five other ringleaders were executed afterwards, and one man whom the mutineers regarded as their Commander-in-Chief was hung in chains in front of the lines. Every one of these unfortunate deluded wretches declared that their native officers had instigated them to mutiny by all sorts of means. To the Hindus they told them they would be compelled to eat beef (a sacred animal), and to the Musalmans, pork. All the officers (native) were dismissed the service and their guilt proclaimed at the head of every regiment in their native language.

"Before the troops arrived on the 1st at Barrackpore, we were for twenty-four hours in great danger and entirely at the mercy of the mutineers. Had they had any clever head among them, and seized the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, the mutineers might probably have made their own terms. There was not a single European or person to be depended upon, and our situation was awfully alarming. Lord Amherst resolved not to leave the house, and I determined not to quit him. Sarah behaved heroically, and though ill, declared she would remain, and kept up her spirits as we all did as well as we could.

"The Commander-in-Chief returned his thanks to us both for not quitting the house; but it was a frightful scene. English soldiers firing

on British uniforms, pursuing them in all directions; some of our servants were wounded. We fortunately did not know at the moment that the night the mutiny broke out all the sentries in and about the house belonged to the 47th. The scene of action was not a quarter of a mile from the house. Many shots entered the cook-house and many fell into the water under our windows, and we saw great numbers trying to swim the Ganges. Few reached the opposite shore from the strength of the current.

"Twenty or thirty dead bodies were seen floating down of these unhappy people. The different regiments of British troops remained at Barrackpore about a week, after which the native regiments marched quietly to the eastern frontier, and the British troops returned to their destination. The English regiments encamped in the park, as also the artillery and the bodyguard. Had any cause brought them here but the actual one, we should have enjoyed this beautiful encampment and scenery exceedingly." Quoted in "Rulers of India," *Lord Amherst*, pp. 150—53.

The Parade-ground of Barrackpore is also the first scene in the great tragedy of 1857. The story of the greased cartridges is too well known to need repetition here. The reader who wishes to refresh his memory or inform his brain on the subject of the great Mutiny is referred to Mr. T. Rice Holmes' admirable work.

"[March 29th] * * * * Sergeant-Major Hewson was in his bungalow when a native officer came running in to report that a sepoy named Mungul Pandey had come out of the lines with his musket loaded. Hewson sent to warn the adjutant, Lieutenant Baugh, and walked to the parade-ground. The sepoy was marching up and down in front of the quarter-guard, calling upon his comrades to aid him and strike a blow for their religion. Catching sight of the Englishman, he fired at him, but without effect. Presently the adjutant rode up and cried, 'Where is he, where is he?' 'Ride to the right, sir, for your life,' shouted Hewson. 'the sepoy will fire at you.' The words were hardly uttered when the mutineer fired at the adjutant from behind the shelter of the station gun, and brought his horse to the ground. Baugh sprang unhurt to his feet, advanced on the mutineer, and fired at him, but missed. Then began a desperate hand-to-hand encounter. The mutineer drew his *talwar*, and slashed the Adjutant across his left hand and neck. Hewson rushed to support his officer; but the sepoy was a match for both. Hard by stood the guard of twenty sepoy looking on unconcerned; while their jemadar made no attempt to bring them forward, and even suffered them to strike their helpless officers with the butt-ends of their muskets. One man only, a Mahomedan named Shaikh Palther, came to help the struggling Europeans and held the mutineer while they escaped. Meanwhile other European officers were hurrying to the spot. One of them, Colonel Wheeler of the 34th, ordered the guard to seize the mutineer; but no one obeyed him. Then Grant, the Brigadier of the station, interposed his superior authority; but still the guard paid no heed. The solitary but successful mutineer was still taunting his comrades for allowing him to fight their battles unaided; the British officers, their authority despised were still looking helplessly on, when their chief with his two sons rode up at

a gallop to the ground. Indignantly he asked his officers why they had not arrested the mutineer. They answered that the guard would not obey their orders. 'We'll see to that,' answered Hearsay, and desecring the mutineer he rode towards the quarter-guard. 'His musket is loaded,' cried an officer, 'Damn his musket,' answered Hearsay; and then turning to the jemadar, and significantly shaking his revolver, he said, 'Listen to me: the first man who refuses to march when I give the word is a dead man. Quick march!' Sullenly the guard submitted, and followed their master to arrest Mungul Pandey, but he too saw that the day was lost, and in despair turned his musket against himself. He fell wounded, but he did not save himself from a felon's death."

On March the 19th, the mutinous 19th Regiment were disbanded at Barrackpore, but the far more violently inclined 34th obtained a long spell of grace, thanks to the pedantry of Lord Canning. Mungul Pandey was executed on April the 8th, and the recusant jemadar on the 21st, but the men who had committed an outrage on the persons of their officers escaped unpunished in the disbandment of the 34th five whole weeks after the crime. The story of the Mutiny—the vigour of the experienced officers, the red-tape of the controlling power—lies in a nutshell here.

Leaving the Parade-ground, we will visit the Church. Up to August 11th, 1788, Bengal was a parish, and St John's was its parish Church. On that day, however, the "parish of Bengal" was divided into eight portions—the Presidency, the Garrison of Fort William, Barrackpore, Dinapore, Chunar, Berhampore, Fategarh, and Cawnpore. Since 1788, Barrackpore has, with not a few wide intervals between the links, a succession of Chaplains. In the list stands the honoured name of Claudius Buchanan.

"The Government chaplaincies were therefore the only opportunity in Simeon's hands, and now, having the influence of the Claphamites to support him—powerful persons at the India House, Lord Teignmouth, Thornton and Grant—Simeon was able to find scope for his disciples in Bengal. The earliest of these Anglo-Indian disciples was Claudius Buchanan, whose best monument is the See of Calcutta, which he, more than any other, laboured to found. At the age of seventeen, Buchanan, in imitation of Goldsmith, had wandered from Scotland to England, bent on a tour on foot through Europe, during which his faithful fiddle was to earn the night's rest and refreshment. He got no further than London whence he addressed letters to his mother dated 'From Florence.' He describes his life there as very dissipated, irreligious, but added, 'some gross sins I avoided.' After months of poverty he found employment with a solicitor, and while so employed came under the powerful influence of Newton, the Rector of St. Mary, Woolnoth. It was now

hat he passed through the pangs of 'conversion,' and his mind turned to the idea of taking Holy Orders—not as he had once thought in the Presbyterian Kirk—but in the Church of England. A generous friend, Henry Thornton, well known in the annals of the Clapham Sect, determined to send so promising a candidate to the University of Cambridge, where in due course Buchanan became enrolled among the disciples of Charles Simeon. After election to a fellowship, he was ordained deacon by Bishop Porteous of London, on Sunday, September 20th, 1795, and on March 30th, doubtless through the influence of Charles Grant, was appointed to a chaplaincy of the East India Company. Ordination to the priesthood followed on this appointment, and on August 11th he embarked on board the East Indiaman *Bushridge* bound for Bengal. To describe in detail his work in India—his courageous championship of the missionary cause, his plans for creating an interest in the work at home, his bold protest against laxity even on the part of the highest in the land, his journies to visit the ancient Church of Malabar, his plea for the establishment of an Indian Episcopate, is a task which still needs to be performed." The Rev. W. K. Furringer: "*The Evangelical Chaplains.*"

There is a tradition that the present Church, dedicated to St. Bartholomew, and consecrated on the festival of that Saint by Bishop Wilson in 1847, was originally the Assembly Rooms of the station. The Chancel, Tower, and Western Porch are certainly later additions, and, I believe, date back to 1868. In the year after the Mutiny it was proposed to erect an entirely new Church, for St. Bartholomew's was much too small to be able to accommodate the European Troops then numbering 1,500 in strength, and the parade services for this reason had been held not in the Church, "but in an inconvenient room in the barracks." Several plans were suggested by Mr. Justice Bayley and others, but in the end the existing Church was enlarged and was formally re-opened by the Bishop of Calcutta (Dr. Milman) on 29th December 1868. It appears that down to 1868 the Church had cost Rs. 42,565, of which Rs. 20,000 had been contributed by Government and Rs. 22,565 by Church of England Societies and private subscribers. Since 1868 large sums derived from private sources have been raised and expended in fittings.

In 1872, during the chaplaincy of Mr. Popham-Blyth, now Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, the peal of three bells was set up, the largest bell bearing the inscription, "Tell it out among the heathen that the Lord is King." In the list of Church possessions dated 24th August 1847, the date of the consecration of the Church, there occurs the entry of

“a flute for Psalmody.” In 1848 an Organ was purchased for Rs. 2,000, of which Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, gave Rs. 1,000. This seems to have been sold and an Harmonium purchased in its stead, but in 1870 the present Organ was brought into use, the cost of it being about Rs. 4,000.

The Font in the Transept was the gift of Lord Ellenborough : the handsome Eagle Lectern was the gift of a Native Christian lady and is dedicated to the memory of her husband.

In the compound there is a school-room which represents a generous gift from Lord Ellenborough in 1844, and the further exertions of Mr. Justice Bayley in 1868. Close to it is the Clerk's house.

We now take our way to Barrackpore Park. About 200 yards West of Government House and close to the river, is the hall built by the Earl of Minto in 1813 “to the memory of the brave.” The inscriptions commemorate the officers who fell at the conquest of Java in 1811, the Isle of France, 1810, and Maharajpore and Puniar in 1843.

In the days of Sir John Macpherson (Governor-General of Fort William, 1785—86) and Lord Cornwallis (1786—1793 and 1805), Barrackpore was the Country Seat of the Governor-General. During his term of office (1793—98) Sir John Shore handed over the bungalow to the Commander-in-Chief, receiving from him in return £5,000 per annum and wherewith to rent another residence. In June 1801 we find Lord Wellesley writing : “I have been very well since Henry's arrival, residing almost entirely at Barrackpur, a charming spot, which, in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have filched from the Commander-in-Chief.” The original bungalow had fallen into a state of much disrepair. Lord Wellesley, therefore, had it dismantled, and commenced a great new palace which was to have cost 34 lakhs. At this point the Court of Directors intervened and placed a veto on the expenditure : the building was stopped and in Lord Hastings' days all traces of Wellesley's intended palace were finally removed. In the meanwhile the temporary building, which Wellesley had set up to serve his purpose while the great palace was in course of erection, had been enlarged considerably by

Lord Minto (1807—1813), in Lord Hastings' times it was shaped into the present Government House.

Enthusiastic descriptions of this quiet place of retreat and its noble park will be found in the published lives and letters of successive Viceroys and their wives, but there are still very mingled associations which weigh on our minds as we wander through these cool halls. Here in December 1826 Lady Amherst wrote "this year, full of momentous events, has drawn to a close. Upon the whole the most miserable of my life."

"While Lord Amherst was labouring day and night for his employers, in measures that have since proved to be highly advantageous to their interest, and for the prosperity of the country entrusted to their care, they were listening to base falsehoods, and to the base intrigues to recall him. . . . To this day, December the 31st, 1826, Lord Amherst has not received a line from these gentlemen, notwithstanding all the great and glorious events which have occurred. . . . I used to try to console Lord Amherst by saying so long as it pleases God to grant our children and ourselves tolerable health, we must be thankful. That great luminary, truth, must in time bring all things to light; but the heavy and awful visitation of the sudden and very unexpected removal of our beloved Jeff upset us. This death was the bitterest pang I ever felt and shall continue to feel as long as I live." Quoted in *Lord Amherst* ["Rulers of India" Series.] Pp. 162-3.

The son here mentioned lies buried in the oldest of the Barrackpore cemeteries. He had, as a lad of thirteen, accompanied his father on the embassy to China in 1816, and in 1823, now a Captain in His Majesty's Army, came to India to be Military Secretary to his father.

As we look over the Park southwards we can catch a glimpse of the marble tomb beneath which lie the mortal remains of the Countess of Canning.

Here too we think of poor Lord Minto.

"Grudging every hour of delay which kept him from the wife who was waiting for him in the old Scottish home. He reached England: he left London: but never on earth was the longed-for meeting to be. When in process of time, it became the part of another generation to open the places that were closed, and when to those who did so came the desire to show the image of a voice and make green the flowers that were withered, the last years' letters from Minto to India—so full of hope or joy—were found tied together with a black string, and inscribed 'poor fools'. With these was a note with an unbroken seal, the last written by Lady Minto to her husband." *Lord Amherst*, p. 208.

Of the House the description written by Heber some eighty years ago is still a true account.

The house itself of Barrackpore is handsome, containing three fine sitting rooms, though but few bed-chambers. Indeed, as in this climate no sleeping

rooms are even tolerable, unless they admit the southern breeze, there can be but few in any house. Accordingly, that of Barrackpore barely accommodates Lord Amherst's own family; and his aides-de-camp and visitors sleep in bungalows, built at some little distance from it in the Park." *Journal*, Vol. 1, pp. 35-36.

It was in the Park that the poet-bishop first mounted an elephant—"the motion of which," he confesses, "I thought far from disagreeable, though very different from that of a horse." The Bishop gives an amusing account of the strange animals which, until the Calcutta Zoological Gardens were formed, found congenial homes in Barrackpore Park.

A covered way leads down from the house to the landing stage. In the South corner of the grounds will be found a small spot of railed off ground, in which is buried the noble wife of "Clemency" Canning. Early in March 1862, previous to Lord Canning's departure (March 18), Bishop Cotton consecrated this spot, henceforth to be set apart, as the petition for consecration declared, "for the families of the Governor-Generals of India."

"When all was concluded, Lord Canning kindly greeted the few present; he turned to the Bishop and said, 'I think the ground is large enough to justify consecration,' and then walked slowly and alone to the desolate house hard by." *Memoir of S. E. L. Cotton, D.D.* P. 289.

In the Park there is an excellent golf links much resorted to by Calcutta folk, and closer to the house there is a vast banyan tree beneath whose shade many a viceregal tiffin-party has assembled.

An interesting day's trip may well be concluded by leaving the Park by the South Gate, and driving past a picturesque Hindu Temple to Tittaghur* The Paper Mills here will be of the greatest interest to those who have not before seen paper in course of manufacture. At one end of a long row of machines we see rough material with the bleached ingredients in a beater furnished with revolving blades to cut the material fine: we next see a thin white fluid pouring itself into a machine whence it emerges, if not quite solid, yet nearly as much

* For Tittaghur see the next Chapter

so as a London fog. Ultimately we see what, but a few yards before looked like potato soup, wound off as paper on the last of the series of machines. Nothing comes so near to the famous machine into which decayed horses and masterless dogs are driven at one end, and tins of potted flesh, fish, or fowl, sealed and labelled, are delivered at the other. Dominic Sampson would supply the appropriate word—"prodigious."

The next thing to be done is to catch a convenient train back to Calcutta from Tittaghur Railway Station—it will be a slow train; or else to drive back to Barrackpore, and tiffin, if we have not already done so, at the Charnock Hotel.

CHAPTER II.

RIVER TRIP No. 2. BANDEL, HUGHLI, CHINSURAH, CHANDERNAGORE, ETC., ETC.

WE start once again from the Hatkola Ghât. This morning we will keep a sharp look-out over the river bank to our right. We pass a number of ghâts or landing places each of which would be of interest if only some record had been kept to make us feel quite sure of their identification. Sobha Bazâr Ghât is the landing stage for the old Mahomedan Government (Subah hence Sobha) market. Bonomali Sircar's Ghât [on the map Kumartoli Ghât] recalls the memory of a long vanished family, whose house in the neighbourhood was a proverb to old Calcutta residents:—

“Who does not know Govindram's club,
Or the house of Bonamalce Sirkar,
Or the beard of Omichand?”

Following the street which runs up from the ghât to the Chitpore Road we should once have found the great Chitpore Pagoda—the “five jewels” erected by Govindaram Mittra, the “Black Zemindar” of Calcutta in Holwell's day. The cupola of this Temple for many years “was the most conspicuous object in the city, over which it towered as the dome of St. Paul's does over the City of London.” About 1820, however, the cupola fell in with a sudden crash. Where the Chitpore Road runs into the Strand is the Bag Bazâr and its ghât—once known as Roghoo Mittra's Ghât in memory of a son of Omichand.

We now pass the hydraulic lift-bridge which crosses the Chitpore Canal—the Canal which, as we have said, marks the course of the Mahratta Ditch.

Chitpore represents an ancient Hindu village, and derives its name from Chitreswari or Kali. Here, in bygone days, was the garden-house of the so-called

“Chitpore Nabobs”—the descendants of Mahomed Reza Khan who played so large a part in the story of Warren Hastings.

“The buildings and gardens were magnificent; and the Nawab Reza Khan lived on intimate terms with the *sahib-lok*, inviting them to his palace, and presenting a fine object, mounted on his splendid elephant and attended by a guard of honour. When the foreign governors came down from Serampore, Chandernagore, Chinsurah, they landed at Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House.” Long in the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. XVIII, p. 308.

The *Calcutta Gazette* of September 14th, 1820, gives a somewhat mendacious description of the leave-taking of “H. H. the Nabob Delaiver Jung Bahadoor (generally known as the Nabob of Chitpore),” when “after twenty-eight years of residence at Chitpore, the great man went to bid farewell to Lord Hastings at Government House.”

Chitpore, it may be added, possessed, and perhaps still possesses, a temple once infamous for the frequency of human sacrifices within its courts.

Cossipore, the next village, was once the country residence of Sir R. Chambers, one of the first Puisne Judges appointed to the Supreme Court in 1774. Those who know their Boswell will remember how, on leaving Chambers’ rooms in the Temple, the great Doctor went into such convulsions of laughter that he was compelled to support himself by clutching hold of a post near to the Temple gate, “whence he sent forth peals so loud that in the silence of the night his voice seemed to resound from Temple Bar to Fleet Street.”* If Chambers’ oriental learning and his share in the Nuncomar case were forgotten, his name would live in that touching passage which, as Thackeray has so well said, is a token of Johnson’s “great and wise benevolence and noble mercifulness of heart.”

“Chambers, you find, is gone far, and poor Goldsmith is gone much further. He died of a fever, exasperated, I believe, by the fear of distress. He raised money and squandered it by every artifice of acquisition and folly of expense—but let not his failings be remembered, he was a very great man.”

Chambers became Chief Justice in 1791, and eight years later he died in Paris, 1803: his body was buried in the

* *i.e.*, to Calcutta. Chambers brought with him a letter of introduction to Warren Hastings from Dr. Johnson.

Temple Church. His House at Cossipore became the property of Messrs. Kellsall and Pother.

The river bank is now crowded with picturesque temples and unpicturesque factories, mills, and hydraulic presses. We take it for granted that the reader, unless he be a specialist in engineering, will not care to spend much time in studying in Bengal mechanical inventions which can be easily inspected in England. A visit to a jute mill should not be foregone. To write about Calcutta without saying a word about jute would be as bad as to deprive the lamb of its mint sauce. So long ago as 1795, however, Roxeburgh called attention to the commercial value of the now famous Bengal plant, which he grew in the Botanical Gardens at Sibpur, and named jute after the language of his Oriya malis. But even in 1851, jute was practically unknown, and it was the Crimean War, which cutting off supplies of Russian hemp and flax from the weavers of Forfarshire, created the demand for jute.

In order to give some idea of the extent of the jute industry in Bengal, we make the following quotation from Mr. R. J. Finlow's contribution to a conference of the Board of Agriculture held at Pusa in 1904:—

The area under jute in 1904 was 2,850,000 acres, of which 750,000 acres are in Mymensingh and 400,000 in Rungpore. The normal yield may be taken at 15 maunds per acre and the price at Rs. 5 per maund, so that the annual yield may amount to nearly 1,600,000 (sixteen hundred thousand) tons, and the value to over £14,000,000. The area under jute cultivation has increased by 25 per cent. during the last ten years.

There are practically only two kinds of jute grown, *viz.*, *Corchorus Capsularis* and *Corchorus Olitorius*. *C. Capsularis* stands water-logging better than *C. Olitorius*, and so the former is found in the low-lying lands, while the latter grows in the higher lands, especially where the soil is heavy. It is said that the fibre of *C. Olitorius* is coarser than that of *C. Capsularis*; but there does not appear to be conclusive evidence on this point.

Practically the whole of the land under jute in Bengal is alluvial, being part of the Indo-Gangetic plain. Some of the lands are high, *e.g.*, in Mymensingh and some are low, *e.g.*, in Serajgunj. The lower lands are inundated annually during the rainy season by the rivers Ganges and Brahmaputra, up to a depth of 5 feet or more. They thus receive a yearly deposit of silt, which must tend to keep the soil in a fertile condition. The rainfall is heavy over the whole of the jute-growing area, being from 60—70 in. per annum, and during the growing season, *viz.*, from April to August, temperature is high, a hot moist atmosphere being the result. Altogether there are considerable differences in the textures of the soils upon which jute is grown, some being moderately coarse sand and others exceedingly fine silt: yet there is no land in the jute

districts of a gravelly and rocky nature. The general opinion, based on observation, is that the best jute is obtained from the heavier soils and that the fibre produced on sandy land is apt to become coarse and stunted.

The village of Barnagore [Barnagur, Barnagar] is a place where Hamilton in 1706 found that the Dutch possessed a house and garden. "The Dutch shipping anchors there sometimes to take in their cargoes for Batavia." He describes the village as a "school of vice." Streynsham Master in 1767 found here a Dutch establishment for killing and salting hogs. About this time, the Mahommedan rulers seem to have ousted the European pork-butchers from Barnagore, for after the skirmish between Charnock's troops and those of the Governor at Hughli, the Nabob, to concentrate hostile forces against the English, re-instated the Dutch. "Northward to near Barnagore, eastward to the Lake and southward to Kidderpore" and "the shore on the side of the river opposite to this place" were the extended bounds the English sought to obtain, through Khojah Sarhard from the Mogul in 1713.* Barnagore is, therefore, an historical landmark. The noteworthy cluster of temples, built by Joy Narayan Mitra, are familiarly known as "the twelve apostles."

"It is easy to understand... why in Bengal the trabeate style was never in vogue. The country is practically without stone, or any suitable material for forming either pillars or beams. Having nothing but brick, it was almost of necessity that they employed arches everywhere, and in every building that had any pretensions to permanency. The Bengal style being, however, the only one wholly of brick in India proper, has a local individuality of its own, which is curious and interesting, though from the nature of the materials deficient in many of the higher qualities of art which characterise the buildings constructed with larger and better materials. Besides elaborating a pointed-arched brick style of their own, the Bengalis introduced a new form of roof, which has had a most important influence on both the Mahomedan and Hindu styles in more modern times. As already mentioned in describing the Chuttrie at Alwar, the Bengalis, taking advantage of the elasticity of the bamboo, universally employ in their dwellings a curvilinear form of roof, which has become so familiar to their eyes that they consider it beautiful. It is so in fact when bamboo and thatch are the materials employed, but when translated into stone or brick architecture, its taste is more questionable. There is, however, so much that is conventional in architecture, and beauty depends to such an extent on association, that strangers are hardly fair judges in cases of this sort. Be this as it may, certain it is, at all events that after being elaborated into a

* Wilson: *The English in Bengal*, Vol. II, p. 158.

feature of prominent architecture in Bengal, this curvilinear form found its way in the 17th century to Delhi, and in the 18th to Lahore, and all the intermediate buildings from, say A. D. 1650, betray its presence to a greater less extent. It is a curious illustration, however, of how much there is in architecture that is conventional and how far familiarity may render that beautiful which is not so abstractedly, that while to the European eye this form always remains unpleasing, to the native eye—Hindu or Mahomedan—it is the most elegant of modern inventions." Fergusson: *History of Modern and Eastern Architecture*. pp. 545-6.

The village of Dakhineshar (Dakshinagar), where the Nabobs of Chitpore once hunted tigers, is passed and to the north of it we note a powder magazine. The white walls of a Christian Church tell us that we are passing Agarpara—a centre of the zenana work of the Church Missionary Society. The Mission House, the Church, and the School owe their existence to a famous Lady Missionary—Mrs. Wilson. The Church lost its tower in the earthquake of 1897.

The names of the riverside villages recall the times when the great tidal swamp was retreating and leaving habitable places in Bengal. Sooksagar far up the river—where Warren Hastings had a bungalow*—is the "dried-up sea." Ariyadar (Agarpara) is "the island of Aryans," near Barnagore, the "place of wild boars." Khardaha, or Khurdah, to which we are just coming, is the "spear-shaped island." To Hindus Khurdah is eminent for its *Rass* temple, built by the Gossains, the descendants of Nityanundu, a disciple of Caitanya, the founder of one of the six principal sects of Vaishnavism. The chief image here—that of Samsunder—is or was said to be a portion of the famous stone brought by Roodra from Gour. Half a mile higher up the river we pass a cluster of twenty-four temples, erected by the Biswas family, and dedicated to Siva.

It will hardly be credited, yet it is a fact, that Tittaghur was once the site of a busy dockyard. Here in 1801, Messrs. Hamilton and Alexander launched a vessel of 1,445 tons—*The Countess of Sutherland*. Years ago Titaghur was the scene of the Company's experimental garden and comprised 300 bighas of land carefully tended by a distinguished botanist, Dr. Nathaniel Wallich.

* Submerged by the river about 1861. A picture of it will be found in *Rural Life in Bengal*.

In this garden were four houses; one of these was once occupied by Sir J. P. Grant; another, the furthest to the north, is named Combermere Lodge in honour of the conqueror of Bhurtpore. Heber for a time lived in the house that belonged to Dr. Wallich. Bishop Wilson occupied another known as "the Hive."

"A stone's throw from the site of the old dockyard is a ghât with some old dilapidated temples above it, which will long be remembered as the place where for thirty years Dr. Carey landed and embarked as he went down to Calcutta and returned from it twice a week to deliver lectures in Fort William College. A zigzag road connects the ghât with the great Barrackpore road, which the Doctor was obliged to traverse, and on the west of it, a little over the bridge, stands a *pucka* house, which he said he seldom passed without a feeling of horror. It was built by a family who were hereditary *phassegars*, as they were then called, and whose wealth had been accumulated by murder. He often described the mode in which they assassinated their victims by means of a rope, many years before Colonel Sleeman had laid bare the practices and the ramifications of the Thug confederacy or had entered on the duty of breaking it up. The family to whom the house belonged were known and dreaded as Thugs." J. C. Marshman: *Calcutta Review*, Vol. III, p. 495.

Barrackpore has been dealt with in a previous chapter. We shortly, as the river bends eastward, pass the Phulta water-works which supply Calcutta with drinking water. Close to the works is the village of Monirampur. Here dwelt John Prinsep—the founder of a family which has had an important place in the history of British Bengal. Brought up to the cloth trade, John Prinsep in 1769 received the thanks of the H. E. I. Co. for the information he had supplied relative to the improvement of their fabrics. In 1771 he arrived as a cadet in Bengal, but soon resigned the service: two years later he became one of the Aldermen of the Mayor's Court. For some years he was Assistant Superintendent of Investments. Here Sir Philip Francis was a frequent guest.

"During his residence of seventeen years in India he (Prinsep) was employed in the most active and useful undertakings. He was for ten years contractor for the chintz investment of the Company; and if he did not originate the manufacture, he contributed in no small degree to its improvement. It was by the workmen drawn from the establishment he had set up at Muncerampore [Monirampur], that the wooden blocks with which Dr. Marshman printed the first edition of the Chinese New Testament were engraved. But that which renders his name particularly memorable in India, is the manufacture of indigo, which he introduced into Bengal. . . . Latterly he turned his fertile mind to the coinage, and contracted with Government for the supply of the first copper coinage ever struck in Bengal." Marshman: *Op. cit.*, pp. 461-2.

This Mint was at Phulta, the next village to the north. Prinsep handed over his tools to the Government in 1784, receiving in return an indemnity "two-thirds short of his real disbursement." In a house at the North of Monirampur once lived old General Marley, who arrived in India in 1771, and died here in 1842.

At Ishapore there is a Powder Factory. The residence of the officer in charge was at one time the home of John Farquhar of Font Hill (died July 6, 1826, aged 72,) who, according to tradition, amassed a fortune of eighty lakhs of rupees, and yet "contracted with the solitary servant of his house to supply his table for two annas a day." It is also stated that "this prince of Indian misers" offered £100,000 to a Scotch University as an endowment for a Professor of Atheism. Despite his parsimony, Farquhar was a liberal supporter of his relatives, and, the professorship yarn apart, a benefactor of the Marischal College, Aberdeen. He came to India as a Cadet in the Bombay Army and ultimately was appointed Agent for Gunpowder in Bengal.

"A little below Ishapore House is the ferry, well known to most persons coming from the city as Pulta Ghât, the terminus, generally speaking, of carriage or buggy journeyings from Calcutta, as travellers here cross the river in order to get into the great public north-west dâk roads. The opposite shore of the ferry is marked by two tombs, one of which is said to have been erected to the memory of an Englishman who was murdered. Here I believe will be found the first of the dâk bungalows, erected for the convenience of travellers." *Rural Life in Bengal*, 1860.

A little above Ishapore we pass the site of—

"an ancient German settlement, Bankipur,* the scene of an enterprise on which the eyes of European statesmen were once malevolently fixed. No trace of it now survives, its very name has disappeared from the maps, and can only be found in a chart of the last century. Carlyle, with picturesque inaccuracy, describes that enterprise as the Third Shadow Hunt of Emperor Karl the Sixth. 'The Kaiser's Imperial Ostend East India Company, he says, which convulsed the diplomatic mind for seven years to come, and made Europe lurch from side to side in a terrific manner, proved a mere paper company, never sent ships, only produced diplomacies, and had the *honour to be*'. As a matter of fact, the company not only sent ships, but paid dividends, and founded settlements which stirred up the fiercest jealousy in India. Although sacrificed in Europe by the Emperor to obtain the Pragmatic Sanction in 1727, the Ostend Company went on with its business for many years, and became finally bankrupt in 1784. Its settlement on the Hughli, deserted by the

* Bankibazar.

Vienna Court, was destroyed in 1783 by a Muhammadan general, whom the rival European traders stirred up against it. The despairing garrison and their brave chief, who lost an arm by a cannon-ball, little thought that they would appear in history as mere paper persons and diplomatic shades who had 'only the honour to be.' The European companies were in those days as deadly to each other as the river was destructive to their settlements. When Frederick the Great sent a later expedition, the native Viceroy of Bengal warned the other Europeans against the coming of the German ships. 'God forbid that they should come this way' was the pious response of the President of the English Council, 'but should this be the case, I am in hopes that through your uprightness they will be either sunk, broke, or destroyed.'" Sir W. Hunter. *India of the Queen and Other Essays*, pp. 201-2.

Turning a bend in the river, Shamnagar is reached. Some little way back from the river bank may be seen the remains of fortifications said to have been raised by the Raja of Burdwan in the time of the Mahratta invasion. The moat and the inner moat can easily be traced. I am tempted to believe that the Fort may in reality be the remains of the Ostend Company's fortified Factory. The land it covers has been recently acquired by the Shamnagar Land Co., and the last traces of the ancient Ramparts will in due course disappear. The stone work was utilised in the construction of the Eastern Bengal State Railway, and one tunnel alone remains of brickwork. The property passed from the Burdwan Maharajas to the Tagore family, and from them to its present owners. The cluster of Temples on the bank led early English navigators to name this part of the River "Devil's Reach."

In the meanwhile, after passing between Barrackpore and Serampore, we have been keeping a watch towards our left as well as our right. North of Serampore is the village of Chatra, then Sheoraphuli, where the East Indian Railway comes close to the river, and a local line breaks off to the Hindu pilgrimage shrine of Tarkeshwar. Then comes Baidyabati, once famed as the village of native medicine-men: then Nimaitirthi's Ghât where Caitanya, himself held to be a re-incarnation of Krishna, reposed under the shade of a Nim tree when on his famous journey to the shrine of Jagannath at Puri. The sanctity of this ghât is, it is said, for Orissa travellers: for resident Bengalis the sacred stream suffices.

Champdani, made conspicuous by its mills, was in olden days the Hounslow Heath of Bengal. Here travellers by

the Grand Trunk Road through Barrackpore, having crossed the ferry at Pulta, would land, and not infrequently, be pounced upon by highwaymen. The estate covered by the modern mill was presented by the Nawab of Murshedabad to Sir Eyre Coote. At least so said both Warren Hastings and the General: Sir Philip Francis professed scepticism.

GHIRETY.

A large strip of ground lying between the Grand Trunk Road and the river belongs to the French, and is known to history as Ghirety and to the native as Farashganj. At the North end of this strip are the ruins of the Garden Palace of the French Governors of Chandernagore. The French estate here, to be accurate, consists of 120 bigahs between the Trunk Road and the Hughli, and a small plot on the West of the Grand Trunk Road.

"If there be any one place in Bengal, after Gour with its ruined palaces and mosques, which presents an air of the most melancholy desolation, heightened by the remembrance of its former beauty and cheerfulness, it is this country house of the French Governors of Chandernagore. Whether we pass it from the river side, or look at it from the road, it wears the appearance of the thickest jungle of the Soondurbuns, where the imagination pictures to itself the footmarks of the tiger and wild deer. At the northern extremity of the grounds are the remains of its once splendid mansion, which has become so entirely dilapidated as to be scarcely even picturesque. In this house, seventy years ago, were assembled the beauty and fashion of Chinsurah, Chandernagore, Serampore, and Calcutta. The walls of the saloon, which was thirty-six feet in height and of proportionate width and length, were adorned with paintings and when in all its splendour, and filled with company, must have carried the mind to some of the public rooms in the Château of Versailles. Here the Governor of Chandernagore entertained Clive and Verelst and Hastings and Sir William Jones, with a degree of magnificence little inferior to that exhibited in the Old Government House in Calcutta. The long alley of magnificent trees to the north of the house was formerly filled with the carriages of guests to the number, it is said, of more than fifty. Captain Stavosinus tells us that, on the 22nd of February 1770, the Dutch paid a national visit to the French Governor, and as these visits were accompanied with much ceremony, when the guests were received at the chief factory, the Dutch Director preferred paying it at the country seat of Ghirety. The party set off from Chinsurah at four o'clock in six carriages, and reached the Château at six, where they were received at the bottom of the steps and conducted into a large saloon, in which the principal ladies and gentlemen of Chandernagore were assembled. At seven, the Dutch guests were invited to witness a play in a slight building, which had been erected for the purpose. The play was over at ten, when they were led into a large room, in which a hundred ladies and gentlemen sat down to an elegant supper. The party broke up at one, and returned to Chinsurah."

J. C. Marshman *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, 1845.

In the June of 1824 Bishop Heber visited Ghirety, and it is well worth while to cite here his description of what he saw :—

“There is a large ruined building a few miles to the south of Chandernagore, which was the country house of the Governor during the golden days of that settlement, and of the French influence in this part of India. It was suffered to fall to decay when Chandernagore was seized by us; but when Mr. Corrie came to India, was, though abandoned, still entire, and very magnificent with a noble staircase, painted ceilings, etc.; and altogether, in his opinion, the finest building of the kind in this country. It has at present a very melancholy aspect, and in some degree reminded me of Moreton-Corbet [a ruined building in Shropshire, Heber's Edition], having like that, the remains of Grecian pillars and ornaments, with a high carved pediment. In beauty of decoration, however, it falls far short of Moreton-Corbet in its present condition. This is the only sign of declining prosperity in this part of the country.”

To-day Ghirety House is but a few crumbling heaps of stones lost in thick jungle, and it is no longer visible from the river bank. To visit it we should either have to go to Baidyabati by train and then walk or ride by bicycle, or else take a *ticca ghari* from either Serampore or Chandernagore.

Badreswar [Bhuddeshur] on the side of the river opposite to Shamnagar, is an important rural market as its numerous brick buildings indicate. Here also is a shrine of Siva dating from time immemorial and much frequented by female Hindu devotees.

We cannot fail to note Gondalpara, the original Danish Settlement, as the name has been laid out in large letters on a grass lawn beneath a Jute Mill on the river bank. We are now skirting French territory and, passing a bend of the river, we find ourselves at Chandernagore—Chandan-nagar, the sandalwood city. We must, however, postpone our inspection of the French settlement to the return journey. But in passing we may as well take a few notes from the river. Along the river bank runs the neatly kept *Quai Dupleix*. Close to the principal landing place we note the Convent, the Governor's House, the Prison, and the Hotel de France (recently “The Thistle”). The 18th Century Chandernagore lay north of these buildings. If our skipper (the Serang) can point out to us Kooti Ghât we shall be able to note the old landing place of Fort Orleans, commenced in 1691, completed in 1693,

and sacked by Clive in 1757. All vestiges of the Fort have long since disappeared. It lay between the Company's Tank (Lal Dighi) and the river, and contained within its walls the Governor's House, the Parish Church of St. Louis, the house for the Company's servants, etc. To the west of the Tank was, and still is, the Cemetery.

We proceed on our way upstream, and soon the white walls of the College at Chinsurah, and then those of the Barracks, and the Commissioner's House come in sight.

HUGHLI JUBILEE BRIDGE.

A very full account of the Hughli Bridge and its construction will be found in a paper read by Sir Bradford Leslie before the Institution of Civil Engineers on January 24th, 1888, but the average reader would find that account somewhat too technical to be easily intelligible. In Mr. G. W. MacGeorge's *Ways and Works in India* the essential facts are stated with lucidity.

"At the site of the Jubilee Bridge the Hooghly Channel is 1,200 feet wide at low water, the selection of the precise point of crossing having, among other considerations, been largely influenced by the relative narrowness of the river immediately opposite the town of Hooghly. On the town—or right side of the river,—the bed is 66 feet deep below mean sea-level, and the bank is defined and well above the highest floods. On the left side the water is comparatively shallow, and there is a low bank, with a wide stretch of low-lying ground beyond, inundated during high floods. The height of the tide varies from a short distance between mean sea-level to 20 feet above, with a maximum velocity of $4\frac{1}{2}$ miles an hour when the flood-tide enters with a strong bore, and nearly 6 miles an hour on the ebb-tide in freshets. There is a very large navigation, consisting of unwieldy country sailing-boats, little under control, and steamers and flats of 500 to 600 tons burden belonging to the Inland Navigation Companies, together with passenger steamers plying between Calcutta and Kulna."

"The bridge is constructed for a double line of railway, both lines being carried between the main girders. It consists essentially of two large openings, each 524 feet of clear span, with a central smaller opening of $106\frac{1}{2}$ feet, between two piers supporting a pair of cantilever girders; the total length of the bridge proper being $1,213\frac{1}{4}$ feet. The approach to the main structure in the Hooghly side of the river is by a masonry viaduct 3,278 feet in total length, consisting of 112 arches of spans varying from $10\frac{3}{4}$ to 48 feet. On the Naihati, or left side of the river, the approach is also by a masonry viaduct, in this case 441 feet long, consisting of 29 arched openings of $10\frac{3}{4}$ feet. From end to end of the viaducts, therefore, and across the river, the total length of the structure is 4,932 feet, or not far short of a mile. The height of the main bridge from the bottom of the foundations of the central piers to the underside of the girders is $193\frac{1}{2}$ feet, the foundations being $98\frac{1}{2}$ feet below the lowest water." MacGeorge: *Op. cit.*, pp., 341-42.

The bridge is from the river bed supported by two piers each 540 feet from the viaduct, on its respective viaduct on the river bank. Between these piers there is an opening of $120\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The piers in the river support the central cantilever $360\frac{1}{2}$ feet in length and the river terminals of the East and West portions of the bridge each 420 feet in length. The present writer can only speak as a layman in matters of engineering science, but he imagines that the reason why Sir Bradford Leslie sacrificed the architectural effect of making the river piers support the terminals of the three sections above the river was a motive of economy. The nearer to the Hughly town side the pier was erected, so much greater the cost of its foundations.

HUGHLI AND BANDEL.

We are now at Hughli where we must effect a landing.

“The Portuguese, as is well-known, were the first European nation to visit and settle in India. On 8th January, 1454, Pope Nicholas V. granted to Alfonso V. of Portugal an exclusive right to all countries which might be discovered in Africa and Eastwards, including India. Bartholomew Diaz doubled the Cape for the first time early in 1487. The first explorer to reach India was Vasco da Gama, who arrived at Calicut on 26th August, 1498 . . . Goa was captured by the Portuguese in 1510. The first Portuguese explorer to visit Bengal was João da Silveira in the year 1518. Portuguese traders began to frequent Bengal about 1530.” Lt.-Col. D. G. Crawford: *A Brief History of the Hughli District*, pp. 3-4.

As we have seen elsewhere the Portuguese vessels were in olden times wont to anchor off Betor close to where the present Botanical Gardens are situated, and thence despatched boats to trade at Satgaon some three miles to the north-west of Hughli. It has been stated that the Portuguese commenced their Fort at Hughly in 1537 or 1538, but it was not until the time of the Emperor Akbar that permission was granted for a permanent town. In 1599, it would seem, they built their Fort and their Church.

“The Portuguese in Bengal,” writes a traveller in 1595, “live like wild men and untamed horses. Every man there doth what he will, and every man is lord and master. They pay no regard to justice, and in this way certain Portuguese dwell among them, some here, some there, and are for the most part such as dare not stay in India [*i.e.*, Goa] for some wickedness by them committed. Nevertheless there is great traffic used in those parts by divers ships and merchants.” Van Linschoten: *Hakluyt Society's Edn.*, Vol. I, p. 95.

The Portuguese had been granted the right to settle on the express condition that they would keep the river clear of pirates. Failing to perform this duty, the Emperor Shah Jehan in 1632

“First exacted by threats or persuasion large sums of money from the Portuguese, and when they refused to comply with his ultimate demands, he besieged and took possession of their town, and commanded that the whole population should be transferred as slaves to Agra.” Bernier : *Travels*.

At low-tide the foundations of two walls of the old Portuguese Fort may be seen jutting out from the river-bank immediately in front of the present Hughli Jail.

In 1633 the English traders had come up from the Coromandel Coast to Balasore in Orissa. In 1651 two factors were sent to establish a factory at Hughli. For the story of this the first English settlement and a picture of its social life, the reader is referred to the late Mr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*. The most available landmark to enable us to recover the approximate site of the old English factory is the Ghol Ghât originally a small indentation forming a tiny whirlpool. The factory stood close to this ghât. The house of the Mogul Governor would be found in the angle where now the road to Bandel, after passing the Imambarah, turns eastwards—the Rashmoni Ghât representing that great man's stairs down to the river.

On October the 28th, 1686, the English had a serious skirmish with the Mogul soldiery in which a Captain Arbuthnot distinguished himself, capturing the enemy's battery, spiking the guns, driving all before him, and carrying the battle beyond the Governor's house. The old factory, however, was burned down, and so, on December 20th, the English, under Job Charnock, set out on that series of wanderings which was to end with Charnock's midday halt at Sutannatti.

Having landed, we must despatch a servant to find a *ticca ghari* for us. In a crazy little conveyance with swift but diminutive ponies, we set out for Bandel. Bandel—a corruption of *bundar*,—means nothing more than wharf. About half a mile beyond the Church is the circuit-house, which approximately marks the northern boundary, as the

present Hughli Jail does the southern. of the old Portuguese settlement.

The old Augustinian Church and its Convent lies in between the road and the river with Bandel Creek on its northern side. We enter by a gate on the river-side. A stone in the archway bears the date 1599—the date of present building. The Prior was permitted to return and rebuild the Church, but, in 1540, it made way for the foundation of the original Church which was destroyed in 1632. The Church itself is dedicated to Nossa Senhora de Rozario. and forms the western side (thus lying between North and South with the high altar in the North) of the Convent. It was erected in 1661, as a tablet records, by Gomes de Soto. Another inscription runs :

Este Altar
Do Convento d' Ugolyn
He
Privilegiado ao Saiado
Pello Sumo Pontifice
Benedicto XII
Anno de MDCCXXVI.

This tablet is of importance in view of a remark of Stewart in his *History of Bengal*, where it is stated “as a circumstance worthy of remark, that the name of Hughli is never mentioned in Faria de Souza’s *History of the Portuguese*, although he acknowledges that they lost a large town in Bengal in the year 1633, which he calls Golin.” It seems obvious to identify the Ugolyn of the tablet with the Golin of Faria.

Ascending to the tower we see in a niche the statue of the Madonna and the Holy Child. The ecclesiastical Cicerone, who has probably attached himself to our party, will narrate to us how on one occasion this celebrated image bowed its head, and how the elephant who had been ordered to tread under foot the priests who had been placed on the ground to be crushed to death between criminals, used a miraculous discrimination in favour of the holy missionaries. A tablet above the statue records the rebuilding of the tower after the earthquake of June 12, 1897: beneath is the votive offering of a model of a full-rigged ship. In the compound below

stands the mast of an old Portuguese ship; it is said to have been placed here in 1655 as a thank-offering on the part of a captain who had escaped the perils of a storm. In each successive November, the Convent and Church are crowded by pilgrims who come hither to celebrate the Novena of *Our Lady of a Prosperous Voyage*. It is perhaps in the irony of things that such an occasion should be chiefly graced by those who least often go on a voyage. The Convent has long since been without its monks: but the parish priest is still known as the Prior.

Some 380 bigas—Shah Jehan granted 777—of rent-free land belong to the Church. It is hard, as we look out from the towers, to imagine the existence of a “health resort” in its neighbourhood. Yet such Bandel was supposed to be at the close of the 18th Century. Hamilton gives the place a bad name:—

“The *Bandel*, at present, deals in no sort of commodities, but what are in request at the Court of Venus, and they have a church, where the owners of such goods and merchandise are to be met with, and the buyer may be conducted to proper shops, where the commodities may be seen and felt, and a priest to be surety for the soundness of the goods.”

If the reader can spare a separate day for Chandernagore, he can now return to the road and drive northward and visit Bansberia where there is a magnificent Hindu temple with 13 pinnacles. Few Calcutta folk have viewed this really imposing building.

Tribeni Ghât—a great ghât held sacred as the legendary meeting place of the Ganges, Sarasvati and Jamuna rivers.

It may be said that there is not very much to see at Chandernagore beyond what may be seen from the river, and it is generally possible to visit Bandel, Hughli and Chinsurah, and to catch the return boat at the latter place and so return by river, which is far preferable to the railway journey.

We now drive back to Hughli and visit the Imambarah, the great mosque we have already noted close to the river bank. Before entering, however, we notice the old Imambarah built in 1777. A marble tablet in the western corner marks the burial place of Karamat Ali,


the companion of Arthur Connolly and the builder of the new Imambarah. The history of the latter building is as follows: In 1814 died Haji Mahommed Mohsin, the proprietor of the great Saidyapore estate in the Jessore district. Leaving no heirs, he bequeathed property to the value of about £ 4,500 a year to be expended in pious works. As in the case of the La Martiniere at Calcutta, the legacy for many years, owing to litigation, was allowed to accumulate. With the surplus funds the College of Mahomed Mohsin was founded and opened on August 1st, 1836.

The western façade of the Imambarah measures 277 ft. × 36 ft. The clock tower, 114 ft. high, contains some fine chiming bells. Passing through the great gateway, we find ourselves in a noble courtyard, in the centre of which there is a tank. Next to the western gate in deep recesses we see the tinsel-decked shrines carried in Mohurrum processions. The mosque proper extends along the eastern side of the quadrangle. European visitors will not, of course, enter the railed-in space, but they can ascend to a gallery whence a good view may be obtained. The walls are adorned with texts from the Koran in elegantly coloured chunam work: the floor is of marble; and the effect of the great chandeliers is on the whole good. The silver pulpit should be noticed.

CHINSURAH.

We now drive into Chinsurah—once the Dutch Head-Quarters in Bengal.

Very little is known about the origin of this Dutch settlement. According to Orme, the Dutch, who sent their first fleet to India in 1595, reached Bengal in 1625. Mr. Wilson is of opinion that the first Dutch factory must have been formed very soon after the expulsion of the Portuguese in 1632. In the Church, which we shall shortly visit are the escutcheons of the Danish Governors, and one of these, Marshman says, refers to a Governor who died in 1665. The same authority states that "Fort Gustavus, before it was entirely demolished eighteen years ago [written in 1845] bore the date of 1687 on its northern, and 1692 on its southern gate." When the present writer was Chaplain of Chinsurah in 1900 there was an

old granite slab lying in the tennis court engraved with the monogram  (i.e., OSTINDICHE VEREENIGDE COMPANIE) and the date 1687. This stone is now set up in the Commissioner's House. A similar stone is to be found in the Calcutta Museum. In 1676 Streynsham Master writes :

“ Less than two miles short of Hughly we passed by the Dutch garden, and a little further on a large spot of ground which the FRENCH had laid out in a factory, the gate to which was standing, but which was now in possession of the Dutch. Then we came by the DUTCH factory which is a large built house standing by itself, much like to a county seat in England.” *Hedges' Diary*, Vol. II, p. 233.

Hamilton's account brings us to 1704.

“ About half a league further up is the Chinsurah, where the Dutch emporium stands. It is a large factory, walled high with brick. And the factors have a great many good houses standing pleasantly on the river side, and all of them have pretty gardens to their houses. The Chinsurah is wholly under the Dutch Company's Government. It is about a mile long, and about the same breadth, well inhabited by Armenians and the Natives. It is contiguous to Hughly, and affords sanctuary for many poor Natives, when they are in danger of being oppressed by the Mogul's Governor and his harpies.”

In the year of Suraj-ud-Daula's march on Calcutta, the Dutch staved off their immediate ruin by a payment of $4\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees. Two years later the Nawab, while pretending immense friendship for the English, urged on the Dutch to enter into a life and death struggle with the English under Clive. The issue was firstly decided by a battle on the river in which three English ships with 30 guns apiece at the most tackled four Dutch ships of 36 guns, two of twenty-six, and one of 16. For a while Captain Forrester fought unaided, but when the other two ships, under Captains Wilson and Sampson, arrived, after a brief fight, six of the Dutch ships struck, and the seventh was captured off Kulpi by two English ships entering the river. Then, conjointly, Colonel Forde, who had left Calcutta on November 19th, and had encamped at Ghirety on the 23rd, attacked the Dutch amid the ruins of Chandernagore on the morning of the 24th, captured their four guns and sent them flying back to Chinsurah. Still expecting the Dutch fleet to land forces, and ignorant of the result of the river battle, Forde wrote to Clive at Calcutta for express orders

The despatch found Clive seated at the card table. On the back of it, Clive wrote :—

Dear Forde,

Fight them immediately. I will send you the order in council to-morrow.

On November 25th, the Dutch, led by Roussell, a French soldier of fortune, advanced across a treeless plain against the English who were well covered by a pond and deep ditch, as well as protected by a mango grove on the left.

“The action was short, bloody, and decisive. In half an hour the enemy were completely defeated and put to flight, leaving 120 Europeans and 200 Malays dead on the field. 150 Europeans and as many Malays wounded, whilst Colonel Roussell and 14 other officers, 350 Europeans, and 200 Malays, were made prisoners. The troop of horse and the Nawab’s cavalry which latter did nothing during the action—were very useful in pursuing the fugitives afterwards, which they did with such effect that only 14 of the enemy escaped and reached Chinsurah. The loss of the English on this occasion was comparatively trifling.” Broome: *History of the Bengal Army*, p. 270.

It is a striking instance of the rapidity with which landmarks disappear in Bengal that it is by no means easy to fix the scene of the village of Biddera on which Forde’s right rested on this memorable occasion.

“In Renell’s map a drawn sword is shown on the east bank of the Saraswati, a little north-west of Chandernagore with the date 1759. This must refer to the battle of Biddera. The map is dated 1781, only 22 years after the battle, and no doubt the spot so shown is the actual field of the battle. Probably the Saraswati itself was the broad and deep ditch, which threw the Dutch into confusion.” Lieutenant-Colonel Crawford: *Op. cit.*, p. 34.

It is worth noting that the *Buddery* of the old pilot’s maps is the later *Biddera*, and Buddery is identified by Colonel Yule with the modern Bhadrewsar.

After having been more than once seized and again restored, Chinsurah was finally ceded to England, in return for Fort Marlborough and Sumatra, under the treaty dated London, March 17, 1824, the English withdrawing their protest against the Dutch occupation of Bencoolen and the Dutch theirs against the English occupation of Singapore.

“The Old Fort and Government House at Chinsurah were soon after demolished to make room for a splendid range of barracks capable of

accommodating a thousand men, and no token remains to tell that the settlement once belonged to the Dutch, but the escutcheons of the Governors which still continue to adorn the walls of the Church." J. C. Marshman: *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, p. 519.

For some years Chinsurah, with a good reputation to its credit as a healthy station, became the military depôt for Bengal. In 1850, however, the troops were removed and the barracks are now turned into a cutchery. The places most worthy of notice are:

(1) The foundations of the old English factory in the river bed in front of the jail. These, however, we have noted from the river.

(2) The Armenian Church of St. John the Baptist, commenced in 1695, completed in 1697, and thus the second oldest Christian Church in Bengal. The steeple which we doubtless noted from the steamer, and which guides us on our way in search of the Church, was erected by a pious Armenian lady early in the last century. The Church itself was built by the Margar family, the founder of whose fortunes in Bengal "the famous Kharib Khojah Johanness" lies buried in the adjoining churchyard. The Church is very well looked after, and a great Armenian pilgrimage is supposed to take place to this national sanctuary each successive St. John the Baptist's day.

(3) Chinsurah Church—This quaint old pile built by Sir G. L. Vernet in 1767, was handed over to the care of Bishop Heber when Chinsurah passed into English hands. Externally it has something of the appearance of a market place: internally, with the addition of a fine reredos to the altar, it would have a somewhat imposing sanctuary. Round the walls are the lozenge-shaped hatchments of the Dutch Governors, but these are too high up to be easily studied. The oldest commemorates "W. A." who died on August 13, 1662. The most interesting to us is that of Sir G. L. Vernet—a former page of Louis XV and a relation of the famous painter, but above all a good friend to the English of Calcutta in their distress in 1756. Freemasons will, perhaps, take note of the hatchment of Governor Pieter Brueys, who was Grand Master of the Chinsurah Grand Lodge some time before the year 1774. Stavorinus has left us an account of the magni-

ficent Masonic Temple, "the Concordia," at Serampore, of the convivialities of the Chinsurah masons, and the anxiety of every good Dutch housewife that her husband should be enrolled and thereby entitle her to wear the ribbons of the Craft at the next Masonic ball. The steeple of the Church is older than the Church itself.

"The Church at Chinsurah which stands immediately above the ghât at the entrance of the town from the south, was the joint gift of Mr. Sichteiman and Mr. Vernet. Sichteiman erected the steeple with the chime clock in 1774, and Vernet added the Church twenty-four years afterwards; thus reminding us of the popular remark that the Frenchman invented the frill, and the Englishman added the shirt. But the Dutch appear to have been very indifferent in matters of religion. For many years after the Church was erected there was no clergyman; service was performed by a *zichenticoster* or 'comforter of the sick,' who was not in holy orders. When children were to be christened the Dutch were obliged to send for a clergyman from Calcutta, who was liberally paid for his trouble.'" J. C. Marshman : *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, p. 515.

3. The College was formerly an important educational centre, but to-day is little more than a mere boys' school. The building is said to have been erected by Perron "one of the French Generals who accumulated large fortunes in the Mahratta service." The gardens of the College were at one time famous, and even to this day show tokens of the care bestowed on them in days gone by. Previous to the Mutiny of 1857, the College provided for a "military class."

4. The old Dutch Cemeteries—about one mile to the west.

There are some memories of English folk at Chinsurah we should not fail to recall while we are on the spot. To Chinsurah, after his bankruptcy and the sale of his Mission Church, came old Jackariah Kiernander, and here until July 1795, he officiated as *padre* to the Dutch Settlement. In that year Chinsurah was captured by the English and "the first Protestant Missionary" to Bengal became a prisoner of war and compelled to subsist on

"a small pittance of fifty rupees a month, which was all he now possessed—though not equal to a fifth of the interest of the money he had expended on pious and charitable objects. He closed his career at Calcutta in April, 1799, at the age of eighty-eight, after a residence of more than sixty years in India." J. C. Marshman : *Calcutta Review*, Vol. IV, p. 516.

Another memory is that of Charles Weston whose name occurs so frequently in Archdeacon Hyde's fascinating writings. It is related that on the first day of each month he was wont to distribute alms to the amount of Rs. 1,600 "with his own venerable hand" to a crowd of unfortunates who flocked to Chinsurah to receive a share in this princely largess.

A third memory is that of Bishop Heber.

Early in 1826 the Bishop, accompanied by Mr. Robinson,* visited Chinsurah, about twenty miles from Calcutta, the station which, as has been mentioned, was ceded to the English by the Dutch, and of which the spiritual concerns were placed by Government in his hands. Mr. Morton who was appointed to the Mission, had been performing the duties for some months, and was living on terms of perfect amity with Mr. De La Croix, the Dutch Missionary, who did not appear to entertain any jealous or hostile feelings towards the person who now occupied his situation in the mission. The Bishop preached on the Sunday which he passed at Chinsurah, both morning and evening, and was occupied the following morning in looking over an old house which had long been the abode of bats and snakes, for the purpose of deciding on its capability of forming a permanent residence for the clergyman, and for the establishment of a school. He here caught a fever, which confined him to his room several days after his return to Calcutta. There was one peculiarity attending his illness, which the editor would not have mentioned, but for the belief that it had some connection with, and threw some light on the cause of the last fatal event at Trichinopoly." *The Life of Reginald Heber*. By his Widow: Vol. II, pp. 364-5.

The Bishop in a letter as yet unpublished, says that this house was "about two miles from the Church."

A fourth memory is that of pretty Mrs. Fenton whose *Journal* was published some three years ago. In that book the reader will find an interesting description of Chinsurah as it stood in January 1827—the old Dutch quarter a "city of silence and decay," the Commandant's house, flooded in the last rains by the intrusive river, the delightful shady walk to the Church, and the neighbouring palace of "Pran Kisson Holdar." A last memory, dear perhaps to myself more than others, but yet dear to all Indian horticulturalists, is that at Chinsurah my beloved father completed his standard work on Indian Gardening. R. I. P.

We must now take one of Mrs. Fenton's favourite drives—to Chandernagore about five miles off.

* Afterwards—first Archdeacon of Madras; then Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and latterly the late Dean Vaughan's immediate predecessor as Master of the Temple.

CHANDERNAGORE.

The first endeavour of the French to reach India was unfortunate. In 1503 two ships set sail from Havre, but were never again heard of. The story of the four French Companies, 1604, 1642, 1664 (Colbert's), 1719 (Law's) would be too long to tell here, were it even relevant.* When the French first came to Bengal is not known for certain: Yule gives the date 1673: Streynsham Master in 1676, speaks of passing "a large spot of ground which the French laid out in a factory, the gate to which was standing, but which was now in possession of the Dutch."

In 1688, with the permission of Aurungzeb, the French occupied Chandernagore, and in course of time founded factories at Dacca, Kasimbazar, Balasore (where the French Government still has some property), Patna, and Jugdea. The rebellion of Subbha Sing in 1697, which served so well the purposes of the English at Sutannutti and the Dutch at Chinsurah, also served as a justification for the erection of Fort Orleans by the French at Chandernagore. In 1706 or 1704, Hamilton describes the French factors as "for want of money not in a capacity to trade." "They have," he says, "a few private families dwelling near the factory, and a pretty little Church to hear mass in, which is the chief business of the French in Bengal." In 1731, however, the great Dupleix became Intendant or Governor of Chandernagore.

"He remained there for ten years during which he not only made an immense fortune for himself by private trade, but also made the fortune of his charge. He found Chandernagore almost a ruin: he left it the most important settlement in Bengal, with 2,000 brick houses, and extensive trade, and unsurpassed credit. In 1741 he was appointed Governor of Pondicherry, and went to that station. In the following year, 1742, he revisited Chandernagore for the last time."

"We often talk of the pagoda tree and its successful shaking by a bygone generation of Europeans in India. Dupleix expended his great fortune in his ill-fated struggle with the English, and died in poverty at Paris on November 10, 1767. Verelst, his English contemporary, having retired from the Governorship of Bengal, with a fortune

* The reader is referred to Colonel Mallison's *History of the French in India*.

of £70,000, borne down by persecution and scandalous tongues, died in a lodging-house at Boulogne. The gallant Lally was judicially murdered : Clive perished by his own hand.

When Suraj-ud-Daula marched on Calcutta in 1756, it is said, that he received from the French at Chandernagore 250 barrels of gunpowder and a promise of $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs of rupees. French deserters also served his Artillery at the Siege of Calcutta. These considerations blotted out all kindly memories of the reception the French had given to the fugitive English : the utter ruin of the French factories had become a part of Clive's inflexible will. For the story of how Clive's will was carried into effect, the sufferings of the gallant chiefs of Chandernagore, Cossim Bazár, and Dacca, the reader must consult Mr. S. C. Hill's recent work *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*.

The site of the Old Fort is easily found, for if we station ourselves on the East side of the Lal Dighi Tank, the Fort would have been between where we are now standing and the river. It was almost square in shape, built of brick, and flanked with four bastions, with six guns each, but without ramparts or glacés.

“The southern curtain, about four feet thick, not raised to its full height, was provided only with a battery of three guns ; there was a similar battery to the west, but the rest of the west curtain was only a wall of mud and brick, about a foot and-a-half thick, and eight or ten feet high, there were warehouses ranged against the east curtain which faced the Ganges, and which was still in process of construction ; the whole of this side had no ditch, and that round the other sides was dry, only four feet in depth, and a mere ravine. The walls of the Fort up to the ramparts were fifteen feet high, and the houses on the edge of the counterscarp, which commanded it, were as much as thirty feet.” Renault quoted by S. C. Hill : *Three Frenchmen in Bengal*, pp. 18, 19.

Such was the condition of the Chandernagore Citadel when the webs of Clive and Watson gathered round it in 1757. It was practically the ruin of a Fort that had never been completed. The garrison consisted of 273 soldiers, 117 of whom were deserters from Clive's camp, 120 sailors, 70 half-caste and European civilians, 167 sepoys and topasses and 100 others. To protect their river front, the French sunk four ships in a narrow passage, a little below the town, but the masts of the sunken vessels

remained above water. Surgeon Ives, an eye-witness, may tell the story:—

“The Admiral the same evening ordered lights to be placed on the masts of the vessel that had sunk with blinds towards the Fort, that we might see how to pass between them a little before daylight, and without being discovered by the enemy.

“At length the glorious morning of the 23rd of March arrived [Clive’s men gallantly stormed the battery covering the narrow pass,] and upon the ships getting under sail the Colonel’s battery which had been finished behind a dead wall [to take off the fire of the Fort when the ships passed up, began firing away, and had almost battered down the corner of the south-east bastion before the ships arrived within shot of the Fort]. The *Tyger* with Admiral Pocock’s flag flying, took the lead, and about 6 o’clock in the morning got very well into her station against the north-east bastion. The *Kent*, with Admiral Watson’s flag flying, quickly followed her, but before she could reach her proper station, the tide of the ebb unfortunately made down the river, which occasioned her anchor to drag, so that before she brought up, she had fallen abreast of the south-east bastion, the place where the *Salisbury* should have been, and from her main mast aft she was exposed to the flank guns of the south-west bastion also. The accident of the *Kent*’s anchor not holding fast, and her driving down into the *Salisbury*’s station, threw this last ship out of action, to the great mortification of the captain, officers, and crew, for she never had it in her power to fire a gun, unless it was now and then, when she could steer on the tide. The French during the whole time of the *Kent* and *Tyger*’s approach towards the Fort, kept up a terrible cannonade upon them without any resistance on their part; but as soon as the ships came properly to an anchor they returned it with such fury as astonished their adversaries. Colonel Clive’s troops at the same time got into those houses which were nearest the Fort, and from thence greatly annoyed the enemy with their musketry. Our ships lay so near to the Fort that the musket balls fired from their tops by striking against the chunam walls of the Governor’s palace, which was in the very centre of the Fort, were beaten as flat as a half-crown. The fire now became general on both sides, and was kept up with extraordinary spirit. The flank guns of the south-west bastion galled the *Kent* very much, and the Admiral’s aides-de-camp being all wounded, Mr. Watson went down himself to Lieutenant William Brereton, who commanded the lower deck battery, and ordered him particularly to direct his fire against those guns, and they were accordingly soon afterwards silenced. At eight in the morning several of the enemy’s shot struck the *Kent* at the same time; one entered near the foremast and set fire to two or three 32-pound cartridges of gunpowder, as the boys held them in their hands ready to charge the guns. By the explosion, the wadnets and other loose things took fire between decks, and the whole ship was so filled with smoke that the men, in their confusion, cried out she was on fire in the gunner’s store room, imagining from the shock they had felt from the balls that a shell had actually fallen into her. This notion struck a panic into the greater part of the crew, and 70 or 80 jumped out of their port-holes into the boats that were alongside the ship. The French presently saw this confusion on board the *Kent*, and, resolving to take the advantage, kept up as hot a fire as possible upon her during the whole time, Lieutenant Brereton however with the assistance of some other brave men, soon extinguished the fire, and then running to the ports, he begged the seamen to come in again, upbraiding them for deserting their quarters, but finding this had no effect upon them, he thought the more certain method

of succeeding would be to strike them with a sense of shame, and therefore loudly exclaimed, 'Are you Britons? You Englishmen, and fly from danger? For shame! For shame!' This reproach had the desired effect: to a man they immediately returned into the ship, repaired to their quarters, and renewed a spirited fire on the enemy.

"In about three hours from the commencement of the attack the parapets of the north and south bastions were almost beaten down; the guns were mostly dismantled, and we could plainly see from the main top of the *Kent* that the ruins from the parapets and merlons had entirely blocked up those few guns which otherwise might have been fit for service. We could easily discern, too, that there had been a great slaughter among the enemy, who finding that our fire against them rather increased, hung out the white flag, whereupon a cessation of hostilities took place, and the Admiral sent Lieutenant Brereton (the only commissioned officer on board the *Kent* that was not killed or wounded) and Captain Coote of the King's Regiment with a flag of truce to the Fort, who soon returned, accompanied by the French Governor's son, with articles of capitulation, which being settled by the Admiral and Colonel, we soon after took possession of the place."

It is melancholy to record that, after having distinguished himself by his stout defence, Renault, on April 1760, made so miserable a surrender of the French settlement at Karikal, that he was court-marshalled and cashiered. Yet, writes Mr. Hill:—

"It speaks highly for the respect in which he had been held by both nations that none of the various reports and accounts of the siege mention him by name. Even Lally, who hated the French civilians, though he says he deserved death, only refers to him indirectly as being the same officer of the Company who had surrendered Chandernagore to Clive." *Op. Cit.* p. 63.

In 1763, after the treaty of Versailles, Chandernagore was restored to the French, but, as Stavornius reminds us, on condition "that the Fort should not be rebuilt, nor that they should be allowed to fortify themselves in any way." Some firmness was apparently exhibited, for Stavornius adds (about 1770) "it was not long ago that they enforced their right in this respect without any ceremony." From 1778 to 1783 Chandernagore was once more an English possession, and in 1781, Sir R. Chambers was its special Judge. Restored to the French, Chandernagore simply quivered in response to the political cyclone passing over France.

CHAPTER III.

TRIPS FROM CALCUTTA.

1. DARJEELING.—The Mail Train must be caught at Sealdah at 4-30 P.M. (Calcutta time). (The traveller should telegraph in advance for a berth to be reserved for him at Sara Ghât.) At Boogoola time is allowed for the passengers to take tea. Damookdia Ghât is reached at 4-48 (Madras time) and here the traveller must leave the train and go on board the steamer. Dinner is served on board while the Pudda is being crossed. At Sara Ghât a train is found waiting, Siliguri is reached at 6-28 (Madras time), and after having secured his seat and seen his luggage on board the light mountain train, the traveller will find he has ample time to make a substantial breakfast. Leaving Siliguri the train runs for some miles through rice fields and tea gardens until at Sukna it abruptly meets the foot of the hills. The journey now becomes, at least for those making it for the first time, most delightful. The changes in the vegetation as the train creeps up higher and higher will excite the interest of the naturalist. The ingenuity with which the ascent is negotiated will not escape attention. In one place the lines make a figure eight: and another one can see through the window at one glance the engine and the guard's van. Nothing can be more beautiful than the vast view, which lies below, of the great plain of Bengal. Kurseong will be reached in time for tiffin. Here most probably the traveller will find the need of his great-coat. Darjeeling is reached early in the afternoon. It would be out of place to attempt to describe Darjeeling in a Calcutta guide book: we here merely mention it as a place accessible to the tourist who has at least some four days at his disposal and who is anxious to have a view of the eternal snows of the Himalayas. The

vision is only too often withheld when the rains are about. The highest peak visible from Darjeeling is Kinchenjunga, 28,156 feet. From Senchal a view may sometimes be obtained of Everest, 29,000 feet.

2. MOORSLEDABAD.—This place, so famous in the history of our fellow countrymen in Bengal, will shortly become more accessible when the new line has been opened. The traveller at present must go from Howrah to Nalhati, where he will change for Azimganj. From Azimganj (a village with some Jain Temples) he will cross the river by boat to Moorshedabad. The principal sights here are :

The Nawab's Palace.—Built in 1837 by General Macleod as its architect. There is an interesting collection of pictures some of which, however, have suffered at the hands of an amateur restorer. The armoury, the library and the jewels are worthy of inspection. The most valuable articles in this collection have been presented by the Nawab to the Victoria Memorial Hall and are now on view in Calcutta.

The Nizamut Imambarah.—Parallel to the North Façade of the Palace, built in 1847 to replace the Imambara built by Suraj-ud-Daula.

The Charck Masjid.—Built in 1767 by the wife of Mir Jaffir.

The Motijhil or Pearl Lake.—Most of the old palaces have vanished, but the spot remains peculiarly beautiful.

The Cemetery of Jaffragunge.—The burial place of the Nawabs Nazim appointed under English influence. Opposite the Cemetery is the Jaffragunge Deori—Mir Jaffir's residence. Tradition, as opposed to the historian Orme, has it that in the compound of this house, Suraj-ud-Daula was murdered.

The Khush Bagh.—On the side of the river opposite to the Motijhil. Contains the tombs of the Nawabs Ali Verdi Khan and Suraj-ud-Daula.

The Roshni Bagh.

The Kutra Mosque.

The Old Artillery Park (Tope Khana).—A huge gun, 17½ feet long, and known as Jahan Kosha or "destroyer

of the world," has become firmly imbedded in the trunk of a great tree which now carries the gun some 5 feet above the ground.

3. **BERHAMPUR.**—Once a large Military Station. Here, after Plassey, Clive built the present Barracks. Here on February 25th, 1857, the 19th Regiment refused to receive the famous cartridges, and were marched down to Barrackpore to be disbanded. In 1859 the 5th European Regiment, nick-named "the Dumpies," mutinied and seized the Barracks. The Dumpies were easily quelled on the arrival of a royal regiment.

4. **COSSIM BAZAR.**—One of the earliest settlements of the English in Bengal. In the Cemetery are buried under a quaint canopy the first wife of Warren Hastings and her daughter Elizabeth. Close by lies "the wife of Colonel John Muttock, died 1777, great-granddaughter of the famous John Hampden." Nothing remains of the old factory save some crumbling stones. The old disused Armenian Church is worth a visit.

5. **PURI.**—Special arrangements are made by the Bengal-Nagpur Railway to enable Calcutta folk to take "week-end" holidays at this sea-side place. Puri is celebrated for its famous Temple of Juggernath.

6. **BURDWAN.**—May be easily visited in a single day by train from Howrah. Places of interest:—

1. The palace and grounds of the Maharaja.
2. **THE "SIVALAYA."**—A collection of 108 temples arranged in two circles.
3. The Church Missionary Society's station famous in the history of Christian missions.

7. **PARASNATH.**—This expedition requires a good deal of previous arranging. From Howrah the traveller will go to Madhupore and there change for Giridih. From Giridih to the foot of the mountains he must travel by road to Madhubund (18 miles) where he must have arranged to meet bearers for the ascent. The hill, 4,488 feet above sea-level, is sacred in the Jain religion to Parasnath who is said to have been buried here after a life of 100 years spent at Benares. The picturesque Temples, with

their white domes bursting through gorgeous vegetation, the rocky peaks, a fine view from the ridge, are the inducements held out to encourage one to make a pilgrimage not often made by Europeans.

Short River Trips.

OOLOOBERIA.—A pleasant trip down the river. Materials for tiffin should be taken. It is a pity that the boat brings one back to Calcutta rather too early in the afternoon to escape the heat of the day. The canal by which travellers in times past journeyed to Midnapore commences at Oolooberia. Budge Budge is passed on the way. Here the remains of the Old Fort, captured by Clive in 1757, may be traced. The Oil-tin Factory is quite worth visiting by those who are fascinated by machinery at work.

Longer Trips.—A trip of greater or less length is easily arranged. The traveller may spend a whole three weeks in leisurely floating up on the steamer through the Sunderbuns to Goalundo, and on, through Gowhati, Tezpur, to Dibrugurh, or through the Sunderbuns to Naraingunge or on to the Cachar district. The trip may be curtailed at pleasure by transshipment to a home returning steamer when met on its way. For messing the traveller will pay Rs. 4 a day to the Clerk of the ship or the Khansamah.



LISTS OF BANKS, FIRMS, ETC.

BANKS.

Bank of Bengal	...	3, <i>Strand Road.</i>
Allahabad Bank, Ld.	... 101-1,	<i>Clive Street.</i>
Alliance Bank of Simla, Ld.	...	8, <i>Council House Street.</i>
Bank of Calcutta, Ld.	...	7, <i>Clive Row.</i>
Chartered Bank of India, Australia & China	...	5, <i>Council House Street.</i>
Commercial Bank of India, Ld.	...	5, <i>Fairlie Place.</i>
Delhi & London Bank, Ld.	...	4, <i>Council House Street.</i>
Deutsch-Asiatische Bank	...	32, <i>Dalhousie Square.</i>
Hongkong & Shanghai Bank	...	31, <i>Dalhousie Square.</i>
International Banking Corporation	...	26, <i>Dalhousie Square.</i>
Mercantile Bank of India, Ld.	...	28, <i>Dalhousie Square.</i>
National Bank of India, Ld.	...	104, <i>Clive Street.</i>
Russo-Chinese Bank	...	1, <i>Council House Street.</i>

BANKERS AND AGENTS.

Cook, Thos., and Son	...	9, <i>Old Court House Street.</i>
Gillanders Arbuthnot & Co.	...	8, <i>Clive Street.</i>
Grindlay & Co.	...	11, <i>Hastings Street.</i>
King, Hamilton & Co.	...	7, <i>Hare Street.</i>
Thacker, Spink & Co.	...	5 & 6, <i>Gort. Place, North.</i>

CHEMISTS.

Bathgate & Co.	...	17, <i>Old Court House Street.</i>
Butto Kristo Paul & Co.	...	7, <i>Bonfield's Lane.</i>
Coondoo, A. C. & Co.	...	167, <i>Dharamtala Street.</i>
R. Scott Thomson & Co., Ld.	...	15, <i>Goct. Place & 14, Russell Street,</i>
Smith, Stanistreet & Co.	...	9, <i>Dalhousie Square, E., & 47, Dharamtala Street.</i>

CHURCHES AND CHAPELS.

Church of England.

St. Paul's Cathedral	...	<i>Chowringhee Road.</i>
Old (or Mission) Church	...	11, <i>Mission Row.</i>

St. James' Church	...	166, Lower Circular Road.
St. John's Church	...	Council House Street.
St. Paul's Mission Church	...	27, Scott's Lane.
St. Peter's Church	...	Fort William.
St. Stephen's Church	...	Kidderpore.
St. Thomas' Church	...	58, Free School Street.
St. Thomas' Church	...	Howrah.

Church of Scotland.

St. Andrew's Church	...	Dalhousie Square, N.
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Dissenting Places of Worship.

United Free Church of Scotland	...	76, Wellesley Street.
London Mission Chapel	...	8, Bridge Road, Hastings.
Methodist Episcopal Church	...	151, Dharamtala Street.
Congregational Union Chapel	...	136, Dharamtala Street.
Wesleyan Methodist Church	...	14-2, Sudder Street.
Baptist Chapel	...	31, Bow Bazar Street.

Roman Catholic Churches.

Cathedral of Our Blessed Lady of the Rosary	...	15, Portuguese Church Street.
Church of Our Lady of the Happy Voyage	...	3, Cullen Place, Howrah.
Church of Our Blessed Lady of Dolours	...	147, Bow Bazaar Street.
Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus	...	3, Dharamtala Street.
St. Patrick's Church	...	Fort William.
St. Teresa's Church	...	92, Lower Circular Road.
St. Thomas' Church	...	7, Middleton Row.

Armenian Church of St. Nazareth	...	2, Armenian Street.
Greek Church	...	8, Amratolla Street.
Jewish Synagogues	...	109, Canning Street, and 9-9, Jackson's Lane.
Parsee Temple	...	26, Ezra Street.

BOARDING HOUSES.

Babonau, Miss	...	28, Camac Street.
Bailey, Mrs.	...	10, Middleton Row.
Campbell, Mrs.	...	1, Theatre Road.
DeBretton, Mrs. E.	...	3, Harrington Street.
Hillier, Mrs.	...	3, Middleton Street.
Monk, Mrs., A.	...	{ 11, Middleton Row; 14, 15, 15-1, Chowringhee Road; 13, Theatre Road; 26, Camac Street; and 8, Harrington Street.

Pell, Mrs.	..	...	...	1, <i>Little Russell Street</i> ; 9, <i>Middleton Row</i> and 1, <i>Camac Street</i> .
Walters, Mrs.	...	...	... }	6, 7, 8, and 9, <i>Russell Street</i> ; 10, <i>Middletton Street</i> ; & 4, <i>Little Russell Street</i> .

SOCIETIES, LITERARY, SCIENTIFIC, &c.

Agricultural and Horticultural Society of India	...	...	...	17, <i>Alipore Road</i> .
Asiatic Society of Bengal	...	...	...	57, <i>Park Street</i> .
Calcutta School Book Society	...	...	...	1, <i>Wellington Square</i> .
Dalhousie Institute	...	...	...	<i>Dalhousie Square</i> .
Government Art Gallery	...	...	...	<i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Imperial Anglo-Indian Association	...	...	...	50, <i>Park Street</i> .
Imperial Library	...	...	...	<i>Metcalf Hall, Hare Street</i> .
Indian Museum	...	...	...	27, <i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Photographic Society of India	...	...	...	<i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Y. M. C. A.	...	...	...	<i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Y. W. C. A.	...	...	...	31, <i>Free School Street</i> .
Zoological Gardens	...	...	...	<i>Alipore</i> .

THEATRES.

Aurora	...	...	...	91, <i>Beadon Street (Native)</i> .
Corinthian	...	...	...	5, <i>Dharamtala Street</i> .
Emerald	...	...	...	58, <i>Beadon Street (Native)</i> .
Minerva	...	...	...	6, <i>Beadon Street (Native)</i> .
Opera House	...	...	...	7, <i>Lindsay Street</i> .
Star	...	...	...	73-3, <i>Cornwallis Street (Native)</i> .
Theatre Royal	...	...	...	16, <i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Tivoli	...	...	...	39, <i>Bentinck Street</i> .

CLUBS.

Bengal Club	...	...	...	33, <i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Bengal United Service Club	...	...	...	29, <i>Chowringhee Road</i> .
Deutscher Verein (German Club)	...	...	...	5, <i>Camac Street</i> .
New Club	...	...	...	46, <i>Park Street</i> .
Saturday Club	...	...	...	7, <i>Wood Street</i> .
Tollygunge Club	...	...	...	<i>Tollygunge</i> .

SPORTING AND ATHLETIC CLUBS.

Calcutta Cricket Club	...	...	...	<i>Eden Garden</i> .
Calcutta Football Club	...	...	...	<i>On the Maidan</i> .
Calcutta Golf Club	...	...	...	<i>Ditto</i> .
Calcutta Rowing Club	...	...	...	<i>Strand Road and Kidderpore</i> .
Calcutta Swimming Bath	...	...	...	<i>Strand Road</i> .

Calcutta Turf Club	...	...	33, <i>Theatre Road.</i>
Ladies' Golf Club	...	...	<i>On the Maidan.</i>

HOSPITALS.

Campbell Hospital	...	...	<i>Sealdah.</i>
Ezra Hospital	...	...	<i>College Street.</i>
Howrah General Hospital	...	...	<i>Telkul Ghaut Road.</i>
Lady Dufferin Victoria Hospital	...	...	1, <i>Amherst Street.</i>
Mayo (Native) Hospital	...	...	67-1, <i>Strand Road, North.</i>
Medical College Hospital	...	...	88, <i>College Street.</i>
Presidency General Hospital	...	...	241, <i>Lower Circular Road.</i>

HOTELS

Bristol Hotel	...	...	1, <i>Chowringhee Road.</i>
Continental Hotel	...	...	9-12, <i>Chowringhee Road.</i>
Grand Hotel	...	...	15-17, <i>Chowringhee Road.</i>
Great Eastern Hotel	...	...	1-3 <i>Old Court House Street.</i>
Hotel de Paris	...	...	27, <i>Dharamtala Street.</i>
Spence's Hotel	...	...	4, <i>Wellestey Place.</i>

OLD HOUSES AND BUILDINGS.

Appended is a List of notable buildings with the inscriptions on the tablets placed on them.

Name of Building.	Place.	Inscriptions.
1. 5, Russell Street...	Calcutta ...	This building was the Episcopal palace from 1826—1849, and was occupied by Bishops Heber, James, Turner and Wilson.
2. 8, Mission Row ...	Do. ...	This is the house in which General Clavering, Member of the Council of Warren Hastings, died.
3. 7, Hastings Street	Do. ..	This building was the town Residence of Warren Hastings, Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, 1774—85.
4. 1, Mission Row ...	Do. ...	Here resided General Monson, Member of the Council of Warren Hastings, 1774—76.
5. Loretto House, 7-1, Middleton Row.	Do. ...	This house was the Garden House of Mr. Henry Vansittart, Governor of Bengal, 1760—64. It was occupied by Sir Elijah Impey, the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, 1774—82, and also by Bishop Heber for a few months in 1824.
6. Bengal Club House	Do. ...	In this house resided Thomas Babington Macaulay, Law Member of the Supreme Council, 1834—38.
7. 113, Northern Circular Road.	Do. ...	From 1814 to 1830 this house was the residence of Raja Ram Mohon Roy, Founder of the Brahmoo Samaj. Born 1772, died 1833.
8. 85, Amherst Street	Do. ...	This house was the family residence of Raja Ram Mohon Roy, Founder of the Brahmoo Samaj. Born 1772, died 1833.

OLD HOUSES AND BUILDINGS—(contd.)

Name of Building.	Place.	Inscriptions.
9. House at the corner of Church Lane and Hare Street.	Calcutta ...	Here resided David Hare. Born 1775, died 1842.
10. 25, Brindaban Mallik's Lane.	Do. ...	Here lived Pundit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, educationalist, reformer, and philanthropist. Born 1820, died 1891.
11. Nabakissen's House, Sobhabazar.	Do. ...	Here lived Maharaja Nabakissen, Dewan of Lord Clive and founder of the several branches of the Sobhabazar family.
12. 59, Bhowani Churn Dutt's Lane.	Do. ...	In this house from 1838 to 1877 resided Babu Keshub Chandra Sen, the religious reformer and Brahma Leader.
13. Lily Cottage, 78, Upper Circular Road.	Do. ...	Here lived Babu Keshub Chandra Sen, religious reformer and Brahma Leader. Born 1838, died 1884.
14. 5, Protap Chandra Chatterjee's Lane.	Do. ...	Here lived Roy Bunkim Chandra Chatterjee Bahadur, C.I.E., the novelist. Born 1838, died 1894.
15. 6, Manicktollah Road.	Do. ...	Here lived Raja Rajendra Lal Mitter, LL.D., C.I.E. Famous for his antiquarian researches. Born 1824, died 1891.
16. Outram Institute, Fort William.	Do. ...	This house was built for the Governor-General and was sometimes occupied by him. Bishop Heber was accommodated in it by Lord Amherst when he first arrived in India in October 1823.
17. Military Hospital	Do. ...	This building was occupied by the Sadar Dewani and Nizami Adawlat between 1854 and 1870.
18. Hastings House ...	Alipore ...	This house known as Hastings' House originally the country seat of Warren Hastings, first Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, 1774—1785, was bought as a State Guest House by Lord Curzon, Viceroy and Governor-General of India in 1901.
19. Magistrate's House	Do. ...	In this house resided Sir Philip Francis, Member of Warren Hastings' Council 1774—1780, A.D. W. M. Thackeray, the novelist, also lived here during his infancy, 1812—1815 A.D.

OLD HOUSES AND BUILDINGS—(contd.)

Name of Building.	Place.	Inscriptions.
20. Dum-Dum House	Dum-Dum	This house was the country house of Lord Clive, 1757—60 and 1765—67.
21. House at Cossipore	Cossipore ...	This house was the residence of Sir Robert Chambers, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Calcutta, 1791—1798.
22. The building now occupied by the "Royal Exchange."	Calcutta ...	This building was the town house of Sir Philip Francis, Member of Council, 1774—1780. Tradition says that this building occupies the site of a house in which Lord Clive once lived, and from which Clive Street derives its name.



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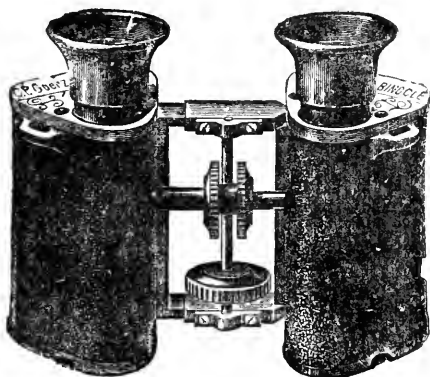
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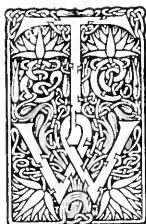
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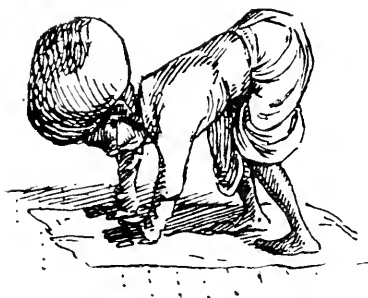
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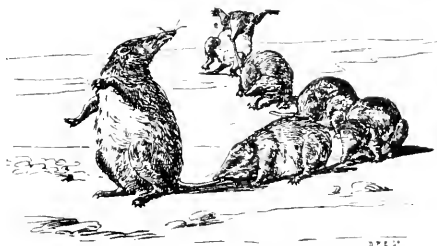
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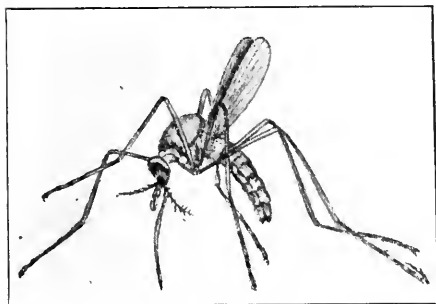
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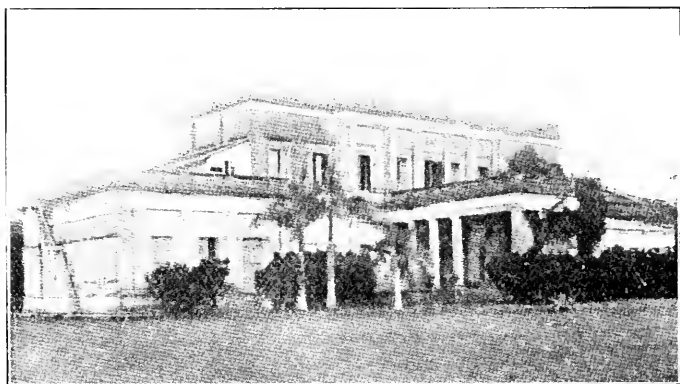
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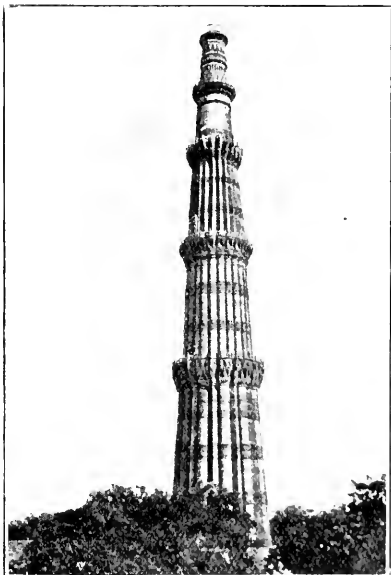
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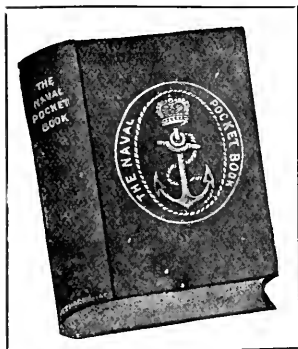
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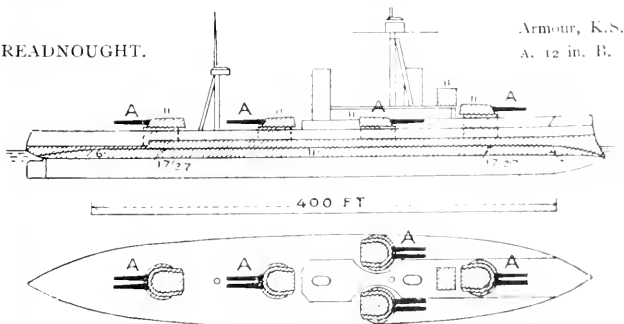
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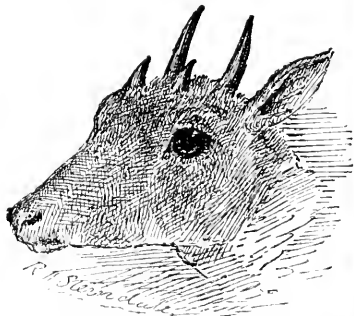
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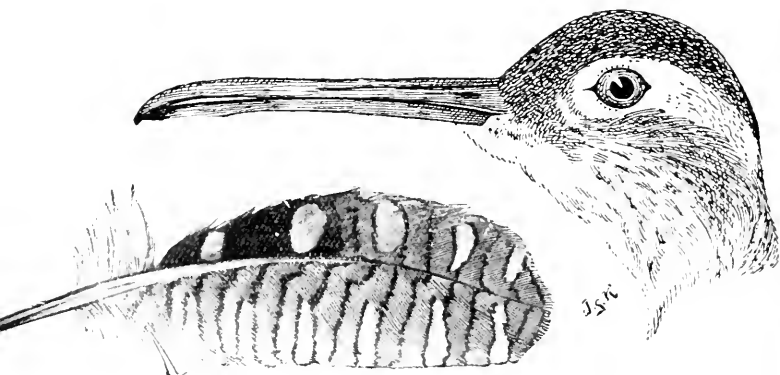
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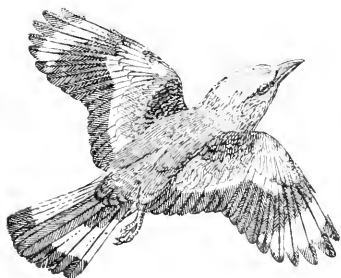
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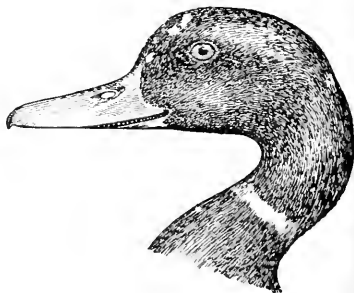
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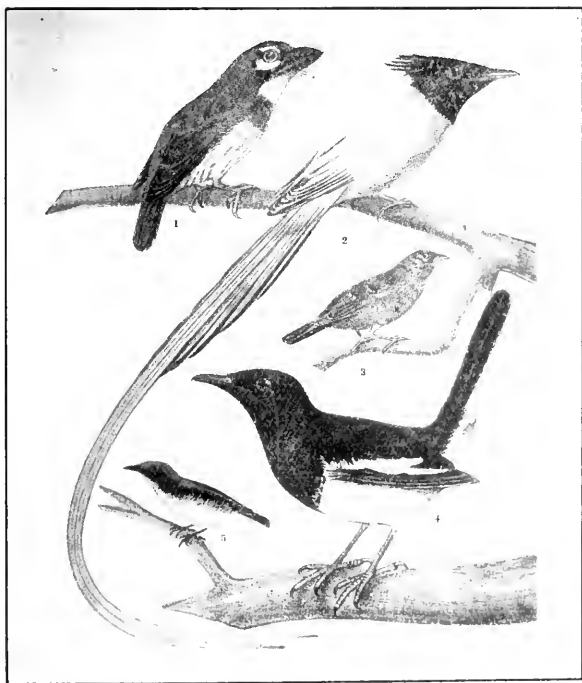
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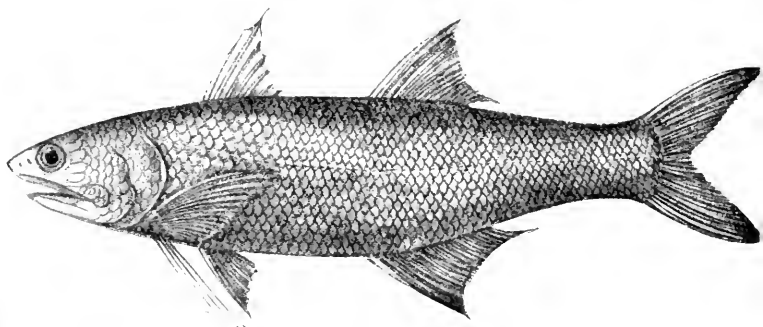
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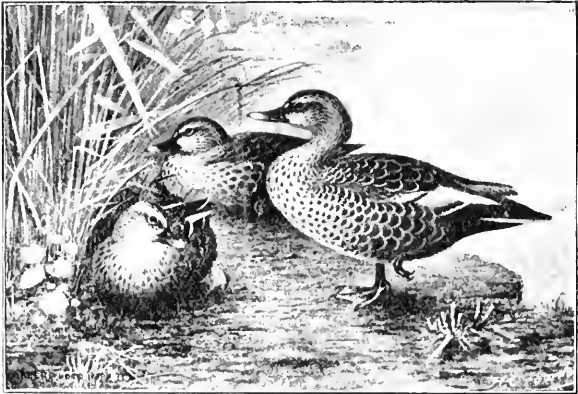
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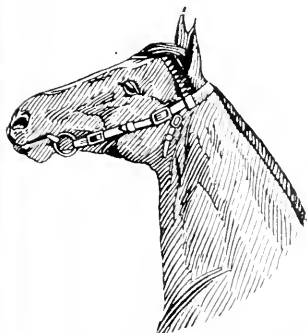
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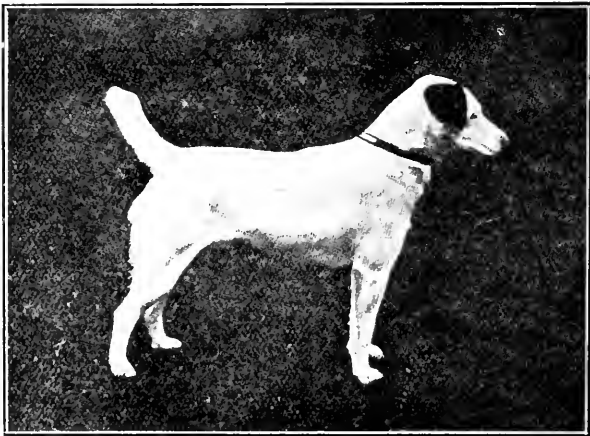
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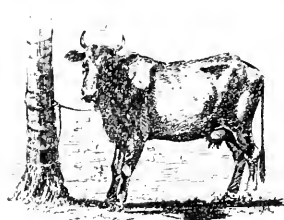


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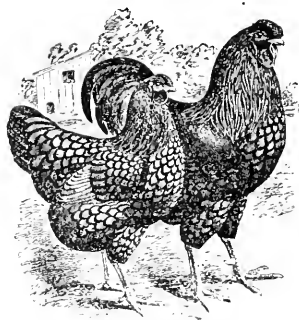
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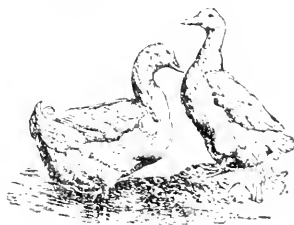
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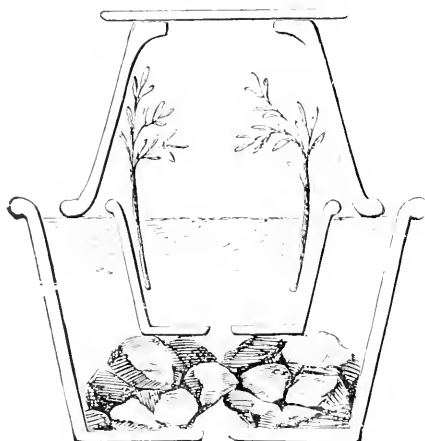
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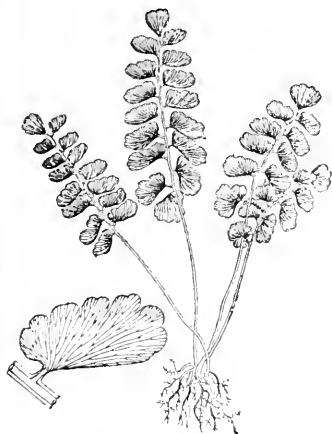
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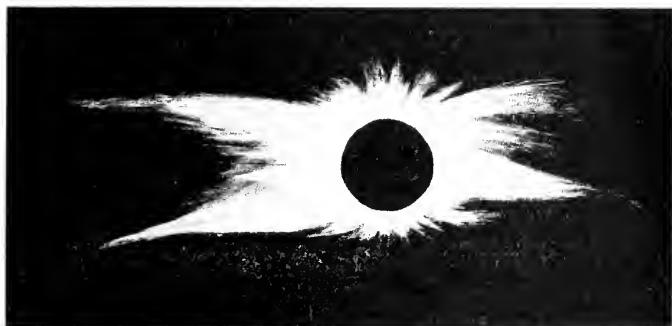
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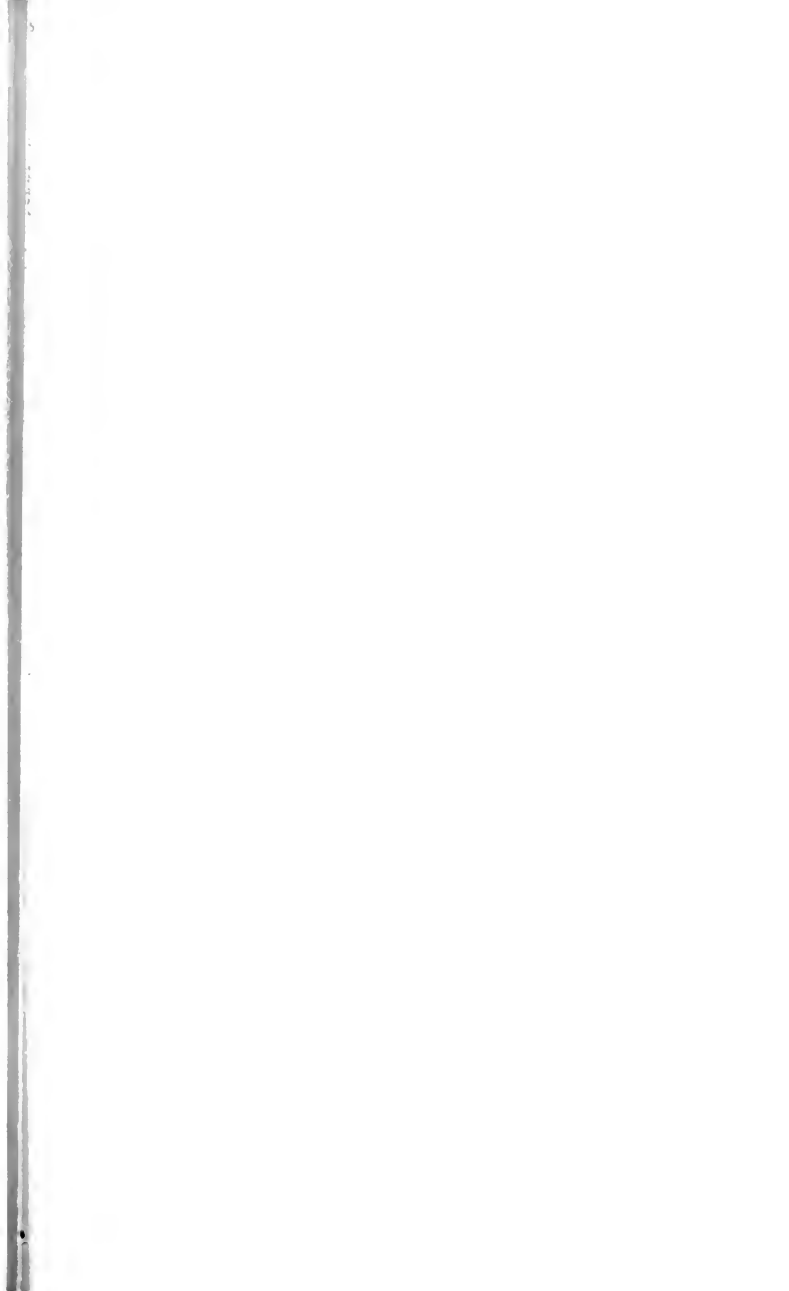
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