CALCUTTA AND ITS NEIGHBOURHOOD

History of people and localities from 1690 to 1857

By Reverend Father James Long

Edited with an introduction and bio-bibliographical notes
by Sankar Sen Gupta

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Dedicated to Shri Shalil Kumar Ghosh (Padmashree) Bombay and to Shri Subhashchandra Sarker Dy. Editor “Commerce”, Bombay as a token of respect and admiration for their love for Calcutta.
Introduction by the editor
Sankar Sen Gupta

This is a collection of three papers of Reverend James Long which he contributed more than a century ago in "Calcutta Review" and are now rare. In these papers there are such information which are interesting in knowing Old Calcutta, her people, her development and growth.

We could serve the purpose better, if we include, according to our original plan, three more papers of Reverend James Long and two papers of J. C. Marshman in the appendix. We wanted to incorporate Long's (i) "Grand Trunk Road, its localities", Calcutta Review, v 21, n 41; (ii) Peeps into the Social Life of Calcutta a Century ago, a pamphlet, 1868 and (iii) Calcutta and Bombay in their social aspect, a pamphlet, 1870 together with J. C. Marshman's (i) "Notes on Calcutta in the Olden Times", Calcutta Review, v 18 & 25, and (ii) "Notes on Calcutta: Bank of Hughly", Calcutta Review, v 3, n 6 & 8. But these are missing from the present work. This is the result of an adjustment with time and desicion of a second thought. We have also missed a Bengali poem composed by Rupchand Pakshi, a native bard, in the appendix, for the same reason as stated above.

We are forced to cut our plan to size owing to scarcity of papers, continued power crisis and sudden

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2. Rupchand Das Mahapatra, the son of Gaurharidas Mahapatra, migrated to Calcutta from Orissa. He was born on 1221 B.S. and was a student of Hare School, a pupil of Rev. K. M. Bandyopadhyaya. He was adept in composing poems and music and in course of time he organised a party which was popularly known as 'Pakshir Dal' or the association of birds. He was a genius of nineteenth century who kept busy many extravagants and evil-doers of his time with his pun and satire. His "Kalikatā Barnan" (The Description of Calcutta) is a masterpiece which appeared in the book Sangeét Rasa-Kaliol.

—A
rise in production cost. Keeping in tune with the time in mind we have decided to bring out the book in the form it has now been published. Thus the title of the book may appear to some little ambitious for which the editor seeks the indulgence of readers because the responsibility of the title of the present book is his.

Of course, the title is not without reason. In the papers of the present book many pieces of information about Calcutta, its neighbourhood and the people are available. A few points and expected items of some neighbouring places like Howrah, are left out from this study. Particularly, in a book that concerns to Calcutta and the places close to it, one reasonably expects some discussion about the people and localities situated on the banks of the Hooghly. But these are wanting here.

Even though what have been said here about different places and people of the bank of the Bhagirathi, in addition to “Calcutta in the olden time—its localities,” and “its people” are of great significance. Here the author had touched many such things with minute details which sons of the soil generally neglect for obvious reason. The description here serves the purpose of more than a map and by reading this even a foreigner can penetrate with the natives. This help us to know Calcutta, Calcuttans, and such people and places close to it which are found around the Bhagirathi. Therefore, the title of the book is justified.

2

Calcutta—Past and Present

In 1822, Iswarchandra Gupta wrote “Pestered by the fly whole day, and plagued by the mosquito at night, such is the Calcutta citizen’s plight.” This condition, in relation to fly and mosquito at least, has not changed.

3. তারা বলে বিদে লাইঙি, এই তাড়াতাড়ি কলকাতার আছি।
very much even after the lapse of a century and a half. Macaulay said that one lives in a constant vapour bath in Calcutta. We Calcuttans, in 1974, cannot say that this is much exaggerated considering the present power cut. Even though the city has been eminently blessed with unstinted love from her sons and daughters.

Calcutta is the nerve-centre of Bengal, if not India as a whole. In the process of general development of India Calcutta and its people have significant role.

Calcuttans love Calcutta not for its palaces and buildings or because it is the first and foremost city in India. He loves Calcutta, and that is that. Nothing strange in it. It is said that everybody who passes three nights here falls in love with Calcutta. But why? Is it because during this period he will discover the contrast between the different parts of the city? He will, during his stay, find in the natural way different communities in different areas who have their own ideas and way of life and have different domestic architecture. As for example, the middle class Hindus of Bagbazar and Shambazar prefer houses with courtyards which separate the outer room meant for menfolk from the inner where it is a shame for a man to be seen in day time. The Marwaris of Burrabazar, the Anglo-Indians and Musalmans of Wellesley-Ripon Street, the Bangals of Ballygunge-Dhakuria-Jadavpur, all have their preferences for house-types and designs. The classical style was the favourite one when the public buildings of the Company's regime were built. But the the Classicists did not yield place easily so the Senate Hall of the University of Calcutta was demolished.

Besides, there are other variety. Here one can have genuine Chinese delicacies from China Town, dishes from menu cards printed in French from Chowringhee, idle dossi from South Calcutta, the little Dravidasthan north of the Vindhyas, and any other dishes in Dalhousi-

4. By courtesy of All India Radio, Calcutta Centre, Asim Kumar Datta's broadcast. "This is Calcutta," on March, 1960,
Esplanade-Park Street hotels and restaurants. There are numerous wine bars, cabaret on the one side, and foot-path restaurant, Fuskawalla etc. the other, and what not. The person who will not like these or the hurry and bustle of the Dalhousie Square or the jingle of money in the Stock Exchange, may come along to College Square—there are intellectuals in the Coffee House who with a cup of plain coffee go on chatting with world's problems.

If these suit not one, he may drive to river-side for a different experience. If one lost his faith in the present generation, for him also there is a place in Calcutta. He can pass his days with the dead in the archaeological museum and can also widen his knowledge about man seeing anthropological museum. If one is fond of reading, for him, there is National Library and other institutions. Being disgusted with those one can switch off his affection to the inmates of zoo. For a further avenue, he can go to Botanical Gardens at Shibpur, and can also join in boating. A religious minded one can visit Buddha-Jaina temples, can also visit Kalighat temple or Sikh Gurudwara or in a Church or a Masjid according to his taste.

If one prefers stage or screen, Calcutta will not disappoint him also. There are the professional theatres, amateur theatres, cinema-halls and others. There is a Planatorium, there is Rabindra Sadan, there is Academy of Fine Arts, there is Birla Institute of Arts, and different cultural soires. There is Birla Technological Museum, and other centres of occasional visit for knowledge. Then there are three universities and students agitation and inquisitab-wallas, dhanna-wallas, processions, demonstrations, political meetings, seminars, conferences, elections, and what not!

Again, there are barwari pujas, majlis, and others which provide plenty of fire works. The fire works are present in any jovial gathering or festival—be it religious or secular. Then there are East Bengal, Mohun Bagan,
Cricket Board, IFA and others where fifty thousand people on an average flock to Maidan every afternoon. About six lakhs of people come and go daily from Calcutta who too are Calcuttans in the restricted sense. These people by joining their hands with the citizens can manage for an extra holiday by offering anti-this or anti-that day. There are also extravagant persons with plenty of resources, there are call-girls, rigid conservatives, prostitutes, film-stars, refugees, old-settlers and new-comers—there are multimillionaires and street beggars. For all these Calcutta is an extremely friendly place. It is a micro cosm of the world. It retains its essential unity of character behind all diversity. For all these Calcuttans love Calcutta.

II

To-day this Calcutta is faced with many handicaps, and to overcome these Calcuttans will have to uproot many things which have far-reaching implications. It is here we must take the progressive and a far-sighted view. If the outlook of the Calcuttans for better and healthier way of living and a dynamic urge for environmental hygiene is not created, we will not be able to make our Calcutta beautiful. Mere routine work or lying the foundation of a socio-economic programme will not help us much if the basic factors in human relation and co-ordinated endeavour to better living are not fostered.

Calcutta has all the symptoms that are great in other cities and in other countries. Its palatial buildings and glamour, its glory and greatness, its wealth and grandeur are well-known. Along with these, there are worst filth and squalor, acute poverty and unemployment, hunger and disease, complete chaos in absence of order and discipline, the gloom, untidy and unhappy state of affairs along with power crisis, high price, hovels and bustees, smokes and khatalas, market and footpath-shops. All these are intermixed in such an incongruous manner that makes one wonder and suspicious that something
must be wrong somewhere. In order to find out or diag-
ognise the disease and to prescribe medicines for remedy
of the wrong, Calcutta Improvement Trust, Calcutta
Metropolitan Development Organisation, Calcutta Met-
ropolitan District, Calcutta Metropolitan Development
Authority etc. organisations are established one after
another after the advent of independence but they too
have not yet been able to set up things properly. The
service of the Corporation of Calcutta which was esta-
blished in 1923 for amenities for the citizens have
gradually become inadequate. No doubt, Calcutta now
accommodates many times the population which it was
intended to cater for, and obviously the arrangements
which were made for service many years ago have become
impasse these days.

Crowding in a city has now become a common feature
by reason of the amenities which it provides and the
possibility of securing employment there. A thoughtful
man possessing initiative and urge to improve the city
is, therefore, a need.

Calcutta has grown up as necessity demanded. She
was never fashioned after a plan. Hence she is so much
disorderly, so much untidy. The pressure of demand
has shaped city’s destiny. But it is not an ancient city.

Of course, the mention of Calcutta is found in
‘Kabikankan Chandi’ of Mukundaram and ‘Manasa
Mangal’ of Bipradas of the Middle Age. In ‘Ain-i-Akbari’
of Abul Fazal also the word Calcutta is found. But
these Calcutta is not the same Calcutta which Job
Charnock, coming to Calcutta in 1690, founded in 1698.

It is to be remembered that Job Charnock perhaps lan-
ded in Calcutta on August 24, 1690 and in 1698 he pur-
chased the three villages—Suttanutty, Govindpur and
Calcutta from Osman, the grand-son of Emperor Alamgir,
at a sum of Re. 16,000 but the Government of the day
was paid a sum of Rs. 13,000 only as recorded. It is
thus supposed that a sum of Rs. 3,000 was therefore
paid to a middle-man. The area of these three villages were three miles in length and one mile in breadth. It had a yearly tax of Rs. 1,282.60 only.

At present the municipal area of Calcutta is 23,629 acres or 36'92 sq. miles. In 1951 it was 29'48 sq. miles. Owing to Tollygunge's inclusion with the Calcutta Corporation the municipal area of Calcutta was increased. For this inclusion it was necessary to the amendment of the Calcutta Municipal Act of 1951. Even today Canal and Fort areas are excluded from the central municipal or Calcutta Corporation area. The following is the present area of the Corporation of Calcutta:

Calcutta up to 1951       ... 18,868 acres or 29'48 sq. miles
After the Amendment

\[
\begin{array}{ccc}
Add & Tollygunge & \ldots \ 4,761 \text{ acres or } 7'44 \text{ sq. miles} \\
\hline
Total & \ldots & 23,629 ,, \text{ or } 36'92 \text{ sq. miles} \\
Add & Canal area & \ldots \ 278 ,, \text{ or } 43 \text{ sq. miles} \\
Add & Fort area & \ldots \ 551 ,, \text{ or } 86 \text{ sq. miles} \\
\hline
Total & \ldots & 24,458 ,, \text{ or } 38'21 \text{ sq. miles} \\
\end{array}
\]

It is interesting to note that in 1701, the estimated area of Calcutta was about 1700 acres and the population about 10,000. The area was much increased by 1717 when the English were permitted by the Emperor Farrukhshiyar to purchase thirty-eight villages close to Calcutta. This purchase is responsible to the making of the Calcutta as we know it today. The name of these villages, it should not be forgotten, still very much survive in the name of different streets and localities. As for example, Sintithi, Cossipur, Chitpur, Paikpara, Belgachya, Bagmari, Narikeldanga, Kankoorgatchi Beliaghata, Pagladanga, Gobra, Topsia, Beniapookur, Tiljala, Beltala, Monoharpukur, Ghooghoodanga, Sahanagar etc. By 1801, the area of Calcutta came to 5000 acres, with a population of 1,40,000. A hundred year later, in 1901, the popula-
tion had swollen to 10 lakhs. In 1951, the acreage was 18,868 and population 25 lakhs and in 1971, the acreage was 23,629 and the population of 31,41,180 according to 1971 census.

III

The Etymology of Calcutta

Calcutta or Kalikātā is a name of uncertain etymology. The first mention that we are aware of occurs in Kabikankanchandi of Mukundaram and Manasa Mangal of Bipradas of the Middle Age and then in the Ain-i-Akbari of Abul Fazal which have already been stated. It is well to note that in some early charts, such as that in Valentijn, and the oldest in English Pilot, though Calcutta is not entered, there is a place on the Hoogly Calcula, or Calcuta, which leads to mistake. It is far below, near the modern Fulta. Sir H. Yule and A. C. Burnell in their "Hobson-Jabson" inform that in Hedges, Diary, Hak. Soc. ii. xvi: "In Orme's Historical Fragments, Job Charnock is described as 'Governor of the Factory at Golgot near Hughley'. This name Golgot and the corresponding Golghāt in an extract from Muhabhat Khān indicate the name of the particular locality where the English Factory at Hugli was situated. And some confusion of this name with that of Calcutta may have led to the curious error of the Frenchman Luiller and Sonnerat, the former of whom calls Calcutta Golgouthe, while the latter says: 'Les Anglais prononcent eecriven Golgota'. Job Charnock, in 1698, "obtained his permission to purchase from the Zemindar......the towns of Sootanutty, Calcutta and Goomopore, with their districts extending about 3 miles along with the eastern bank of the river". A. Hamilton writes: "The Company has a pretty good Hospital at Calcutta, where many go in to undergo the Penance of Physic, but few come out to give an account of its Operation ......One Year I was there, and there were reckoned in August about 1200
English, some Military, some servants to the Company, some private Merchants residing in the Town and some Seamen belong to Shipping lying at the Town, and before the beginning of January there were 460 Burials registered in Clerk's Books of Mortality". A. Karim Khan, in Elliot, VII, 127, writes: "I had occasion to stop at the city of Firashdanga (Chandernagore) which is inhabited by a tribe of Frenchmen. The city of Calcutta, which is on the other side of water, and inhabited by a tribe of English who have settled there, is much more extensive and thickly populated." The present area of Calcutta is very various. That is to say, that the Calcutta of the census people is not the Calcutta of everyone. And for the matter of that, Calcutta's boundary differs from person to person. As for example, "The lawyer in the High Court knows city as circumscribed by the Letters Patent of 1774, and that today is only a third of what the Mayor knows to be his city. The Commissioner of Police takes a slightly more up-to-date view than the lawyer does, but he disclaims responsibility for quite a number of localities that worry the Mayor. The area for which you can draw the special Calcutta allowance of the Central Government probably does not correspond with any of them. And the statistician draws his boundaries where he likes in order to make his figures fit his theories. The fact remains, whichever way you look at it, Calcutta is big, and what is far more important, it is great."5

Here one may be interested in the etymology of the name Calcutta. Different scholars have different views about this. Reverend Long in his paper titled: "Calcutta in the olden time—its localities," in Pp 155-56, said that "in Europe various cities received their names from the circumstances of monasteries and castles having first erected on a spot which formed the meleus of a town..."
why may not the name Calcutta be a corruption of Kalighat?" But Dr. Sunitkumar Chatterjee thinks the name Calcutta is derived from Kalichun. He says that there was a time when fisher-folk of the area used to produce quick lime from jhinuk or oyster-shell and shamuk or shell of snail. This lime is called Kalichun in Bengali. It was produced in plenty then, and was stored like heap or mound in different parts of Calcutta. From the Kata or heap of Kalichun or quick lime the name Calcutta is derived. There are some places in the neighbourhood of Calcutta which have got their names as Kalikatā from Kalichun. This we know from a recent controversy about the etymology Calcutta.

IV

Calcutta of the present day is a queer admixture of good and evil of beauty and ugliness. There are in Calcutta the narrow and pitch-dark bye-lanes like Amratala and long stretching and spacious boulevards like Southern Avenue. Here darkness and light, beauty and ugliness go together. Many of the big cities of the world do not have those special features that are in Calcutta.

The outlook of the Calcuttans

The outlook of the Calcuttans of the day has greatly changed. Now Calcuttans look for living a new life with newer ideals. Many of them are keen to make the city tidy, beautiful and charming. For doing so, the citizens shall be pleased to cultivate an aesthetic outlook befitting time. Materials of beauty are scattered all over. Natural loveliness may be found in every nook and corner. All that one need is an aesthetic bent of mind of the people to place them aright which are wanting here.

For doing this, if necessary, Calcutta will have to fight against odds—the greatest, the most heart-breaking

6. Chatterjee, Suniti Kumar Kalikata namer byotpatti, Bangiya Sahitya Parishat Patrika, 45, 1, 1345 B. S.
and demoralising of all is poverty. This poverty is both economic and aesthetic.

Poverty is there. Majority of Calcuttans are living in below poverty level. They are growing with poverty. Poverty cannot stop population growth in Calcutta. It should be noted in this connection that throughout the history man sought to control his own fertility. But famine, disease and wars decimated his ranks in earlier centuries and caused him to regard the birth of many children as a necessary investment in his own future. Today, that investment has become a liability.

Excessive population growth find its acute expression in the poverty and malnutrition which denies to so many human beings the chance of a decent life. Let us bear in mind, as a matter of fact, that in 1972, there were 3,800 million people on earth and the population of the world will reach an estimated of 6,500 million by the year 2000 according to an estimate of UNO even if there is a considerable decline in fertility.

One result of this rate of growth has been a dramatic increase in the number of young people. Approximately 40% of the world population is now under the age of 15, and most of them are dependent and unproductive. For these people millions of new jobs will have to be created or unemployed youth will add to the already heavy burden on the productive members of the society. Besides, additional food will have to be produced to feed many more hungry mouths. The rate of unemployed young people and the hungry mouths in Calcutta are getting increased day by day.

Calcuttans are conscious about this problem so comparing to the other parts of the country their fertility rates are getting down. They have an increase of 19.7% in

population for 1961-71 when in Bombay, it is 42.9% for the corresponding period. But the population growth in the neighbourhood of Calcutta is several times more than what is in Calcutta. The following is the figure according to 1971 census.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Density per sq. km</th>
<th>Rates of Population increase in 1961–71</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calcutta</td>
<td>31,41,180</td>
<td>19,17,501</td>
<td>12,23,679</td>
<td>30,497</td>
<td>7.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Howrah</td>
<td>24,20,094</td>
<td>13,18,270</td>
<td>11,01,825</td>
<td>1625</td>
<td>18.72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>24 Parg.</td>
<td>85,81,743</td>
<td>45,65,777</td>
<td>40,15,966</td>
<td>623</td>
<td>36.63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hooghly</td>
<td>28,73,779</td>
<td>15,12,728</td>
<td>13,61,051</td>
<td>913</td>
<td>28.86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For restricting this growth knowledge of family planning is necessary. It is necessary for happiness, prosperity and peace and to make the lives beautiful.

What is a need today is the collective development and improvement of the people. There is need for a newlook to do things good. Even if it is not possible to beautify the whole of Calcutta and its neighbourhood at a time, effort may at least be made there to tackle thoroughly in part of it with a long-term scheme, keeping in mind every fundamental factor that comes within the scope of environmental hygiene, to make the city congenial for growth not only for a few but for all who are, by sheer necessity, compelled to live together. After all, amenities or environment cannot be restricted, and even if it can, it cannot be congenial for the growth of all.

In fact, those who are fortunate, if they are enveloped with uncongenial surroundings, their growth will be hampered. And this is not only true for Calcutta and its neighbourhood but also true for other parts of the country. So is the importance of Long's type study, because it supplies us our past history ready at hand. By reading these pages we will know what we had in our past and how we have come to this position. Thus it is an opportunity of paying our homage to Rev. James Long.
V

Previous writings on James Long

James Long was a versatile genius. It is unfortunate that for this reason or that he had not receive as much attention of ours as he should. There is no full-length biography of his, when there are biographies of persons of less talent and who had less sympathy, than Long, for the Bengalees. Here we will once again get a chance to speak of Long’s love for Calcutta and Calcuttans, his versatility, erudition and learned contributions to humanities, folklorology, sociology and library science.

still remains the need of a full-length biography of Long. In order to do our part to that regard we will endeavour to provide available materials ready at hand and the sources, in one place for the future biographer. M. P. Saha has informed us that Long’s letters, journals, reports, papers, cover the period from 1842 to 1872 are preserved in Church Missionary Society Office at London. “Let us hope some enterprising scholar will someday bring out a full-length study of this unique man”.

3

Long, in India, won the heart of the native for his love of humanity and service to the suffering community. For this quality of his, he suffered an imprisonment in 1861 and a fine of a thousand of rupees. But it is curious that after 1861, he began to lose his popularity. Why? It is very difficult to reply because Long was an admixture of many dull and many many good qualities.

Before we make an assessment on J. Long, let us remember, the educational policy of the British because Long had a definite contribution to the spread of India’s native education. His allotted field was Thakurpukur. After ten years of his coming to India, in 1850, he took the charge of Church Missionary Society’s school at Mirzapur. He was very actively connected with and promoted several important educational and literary organisations in India.

Educational Policy of the British

It should be remembered that much earlier than Long’s arrival in India, School Book Society was established in Calcutta. This was controlled by the British Orientalists and administrators along with highly

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placed natives. It was established with a view to provide books in native language for the native students. This is one of the main points for which James Long stood by his predecessors like H. T. Prinsep, H. T. Willson and others. It is on this point that they differed with T. B. Macaulay and others. The defeat of the Orientalists to Macaulay is the seeds of ambivalence and the beginnings of Indian nationalism. With whatever motive there is no denying the fact that Long had a great hand in inspiring Bengali intelligentsia for vernacular education.

On May 6, 1817 in a Special Meeting at the Fort William College, the School Book Society was established. A year before, in 1816, there established Hindu College in Calcutta and a year later, in 1818, Calcutta School Book Society was founded with the effort of the elite of Fort William—W. B. Bayley, Hold Mackenzie, W. H. Macnaughten, George Swinton, Thomas Fortesque H. T. Prinsep and others. The motto of the Calcutta Book Society was to supply lessons and books in the Native language to indigenous schools of Calcutta and intellectual improvement of the natives by diffusion among them of usual elementary scientific works proposed for the benefit of young men.

For the translation work a committee was formed under the leadership of William B. Bayley. Thomas Roebuck, William Carey, Anthony Locket, Mrityunjay Vidyalankar, Radhakanta Deb were honoured members, and Tarinicharan Mitra, who was then the Chief Munshi of Fort William College, in the Urdu Department, was designated as Native-Secretary.

The Society decided that religious books (whether Hindu or Christians) would be prohibited, although

works on inculcation of moral duties were permitted. The Society paid for translation of British text-books into Indian Languages and sponsored new edition of indigenous works as well as some original composition in the vernaculars. It was through the publications of the Society that Indian students first became acquainted with Western science, history and literature.

II

James Long, in his time, had a great hand in the translation work for a long period from 1850 to 1861. His "Question of Natural History," "Life of Mahammad," "Bengali Etymology" etc. were widely prescribed. Prior to Long, in 1818, W. H. Pearce translated a geography text into Bengali (Bhugol brittanta), the book was used in Bengali School until 1840's. A year later J. C. Marshman wrote in Bengali Jyotish-o-goladyaya (Astronomy and Geography) for the Society. Felix Carey, son of William Carey, published an abridged version of Goldsmith's "History of England." He also brought out the "Bengali Encyclopaedia" vol. I. William Yeat's brought "Padartha-bidyasar" or The Essence of Natural Science in 1824.  

This book was popular for decades.

These books and many others indicate that the Orientalists did not restrict their support to traditional works but also made recent western learning available in the language of the people. But the then powers did not like this. They wanted to produce clerks and sycophant for the need of their administration. Thus Lord Macauley was summoned for recommending to the Government of the day an educational policy, in the line of thought of the powers, for their consideration. In doing so, their first effort was to stop vernacular education and to introduce English. This decision was not unanimous. The Institutions had to face contrariety not only from a section.

of the natives but also from a portion of the influential persons who were their own countrymen. The difference of opinion on this point, between the two groups, was not ephemeral. When this air was blowing then Rev. Long came to India and joined Orientalists. In course of time he became member of Calcutta Book Society. Prior to his becoming a member of the Calcutta Book Society, the School Book Society had ceased to exist. It functioned well until 1829.

III

It should be remembered that "under Bentinck's administration the Fort William College was dismantled, the Asiatic Society experienced grave financial difficulties, the Calcutta Madrasa and Sanskrit College, Calcutta came precariously close to extinction, the Calcutta School Book Societies were rendered impotent. Serampore College anglicised its curriculum after the College Council was dissolved by Bentinck in March 1, 1831. It lost its attractiveness to Indians." It is during this movement, the Brahmo Samaj is to begin their long drift to cultural nationalism in India. The victory of Anglicist faction caused Calcutta intelligentsias submission of petition against Macaulay's Minute which was signed by no less than 10,000 people. It is after the submission of this petition the actual debate between Orientalists and Anglicists, Extremists and Traditionalists—began in the educational committee.

According to Prinsep, the immediate public reaction to the Macaulay's resolution saved Sanskrit College from total abolition. Bentinck however, remained unmoved in 1835. He supported Macaulay's Minute, which was prepared on the basis of his own resolution. Macaulay said Indian vernaculars as 'poor and rude'. But he got

14. ibid.
15. ibid.
16. ibid.
stormy replies not only from the natives but also from his own countrymen. Meanwhile, William Carey who dedicated his life to the cultivation of India’s languages, and who might have led the struggle against Macaulay had died on June 9, 1834. The man who stood in Carey’s place was Brian Hodgson, Resident in Nepal and Carey’s student at Fort William. In a series of letters to “The Friend of India” he advocated a middle way between the Anglicists and the Orientalists, Extremists and Traditionalists. Like the Serampore missionaries, he advocated a popular education programme through the medium of vernacular languages.

British Orientalist move died during Bentinck’s administration. The Bentinck-era which many historians have viewed as an extention of British reformism to India was rather, when regarded in another light, a highly disruptive, confusing period that was marked by a crisis of identity among the intelligentsia” said David Kopf in his research work titled: “British Orientalism and the Bengali Renaissance,” 1969.

From the time of Derozio to the Indian intellectuals of the nineteenth century, there has been a highly articulate intellectual tradition of extreme Westernisation and accompanying cultural alienation. “Originally nurtured by Derozio at Hindu College during his brief but influential tenure as instructor of literature between 1828 and 1831, the group representing this tradition, often known as Young Bengal, devised a new solution to the problem of revitalizing Indian culture. Though most of them eventually returned to the indigenous cultural fold, a small number either espoused Christianity and adopted the European Reformation as their model for regeneration or remained faithful to Derozio’s secular spirit and promoted the new idea of man’s perfectibility or progress in a hopeful future...the popular impression
that a new era opened at Hindu College with Derozio's appointment there seems to be confirmed by historical fact. In the eleven years that preceded 1828, Hindu College had not produced a single known graduate who completely rejected his own culture and sought to identify himself with the alien West. What Derozio actually imparted to his students was not so much the components of modernity as the cultural components representing a Western style of life...The pathetic absurdity of confusing cultural trapping with modernization is apparent in the following contemptuous definition of the Anglicized Bengali which appeared in a Calcutta periodical of 1851: 'He has smattering of English...is ultra fashionable in dress and unceremoniously drags poor Shakespeare and Milton from their repose and misquotes the most familiar passages...sensual delights are the goddess of his idolatry. He eats beef, cracks and whole bottle of cognac at Spencer's or Wilson's (Quoted in M. M. Mukhopadhyaya, "Young Bengal and Translation Work" Calcutta Review, Vol X, new series, June 1924)...As a result, one of the chief reasons for taking the extraordinary action of dismissing Derozio was that, for the first time in the history of Hindu College, irate parents were withdrawing their children from the institution."

One year before Derozio's discharge from the Hindu College, in 1830, Alexander Duff founded General Assembly's Institution (Mod. Scottish Church College). Duff had less appreciation for Derozio. His purpose from the beginning was to direct the minds of the Young Bengalees away from Derozio's influence. He was further interested in bringing them into the blessed realm of Christian religion and culture.

Duff was Macaulay's religious counterpart. Like Macaulay he violently attacked Oriental language and

18. ibid.
19. ibid.
culture while praised, the usefulness of English. He did so as an evangelization. Derozio's death favoured him and many a Derozians like K. M. Banerjee, Mohesh Chandra Ghosh, Gopinath Nundy embraced to Christianity one after another. When this was the picture, and when Young Bengalees were ridiculing Hindu religion, custom, manners and behaviours, Kashi Prosad Ghose, a brilliant Hindu Collegian, launched an attack in the opposite direction, he bitterly criticised in his essay James Mill at the annual examination at Hindu College for his 'History of British India' for Mill's indictment of the ancient Hindu polity. Mill wrote that the Hindus had 'no idea of any system of rule, different form of will of a single person, appears to have entered the minds of them, or their legislators'. Kashi Prosad argued that in the past the Hindus were very much civilised and said that the power of a Hindu king was never absolute. "The monarchs of Hindusthan...was...to be mild and observant of the law. The allurement of wealth and power on one side, and the terror of religion and law on the other, secured the peace of the kingdom." He also defended the ancient Brahmans whom Mill 'charged with a tyranical priestly caste.'

H. H. Wilson was also disturbed by such comments of Mills and he was much satisfied to what Kashi Prosad had written. When such was the condition and when there were different views of the Anglicists, Orientalists and others, then, in December 1830, orthodox Hindus-founded Dharma Sabha.

"It stood for Hindu way of life and culture." It represented a definite polarization in the ranks of the intelligentsia vis-a-vis Westernization. The Dharma Sabha became the earliest organised group of Indian

"slavophiles", while the Derozians who supported Bentinck's policies by means of their own societies became the 'Westerners'. Second, because the Dharma Sabha organised its defence of Hindu society and culture against alien intrusion and used all collective political means (such as petitions to the Crown) to articulate its position, this association became the earliest protonationalist movement in modern India."

But it was the general belief that Dharma Sabha was organised simply to defend Sati, this is inaccurate according to David Kopf and we too believe so. The Sabha called for Indianization of Civil Service, a hands off policy on the Permanent Settlement, a warning about the evil effects of colonization, a defence of Sati, a plan for aiding the rural poor and proposed for aiding Calcutta's poor by building charitable institutions and hospitals. With these spirit similar other organisations too came into existence where Rammohan's ideals got priority. Rammohan's image as a Hindu Reformer can probably be traced to Devendranath Tagore, who, while revitalizing the idea of Brahmo Samaj, in 1840-42, promptly re-edited the Raja's works and popularized his message on reformation from within. Keeping this in view we will look to further back for a perspective of Long's role.

IV

It should be noted here that East India Company came to India for trade. Soon the Company realised that their trading interest could be safeguarded only by becoming ruling power. In Bengal, the Company came into conflict with the Nawab which resulted the Battle

22. ibid.
23. ibid.
of Plassey in 1757. By nine years, in 1765, Company's control over the province was established. It was Warren Hastings and Cornwallis who firmly laid the foundation of Company's power in Bengal.\textsuperscript{25}

The Company in its early days, was unwilling to show any interest in the educational matters of the natives. The British Parliament in 1813 compelled the Company to take interest in native education, but even then, it was far from being wholehearted in its endeavour. Education had fallen to a very low level by the time the Company's Government had established.\textsuperscript{26}

The Government took interest for education for the first time in 1833, when it made a grant of £20,000 to aid schools maintained by charitable and church organisations. In 1839, the amount was increased to £39,000 and a Board of Education was constituted.\textsuperscript{27} Since then different educational organisations made their debut one after another with the encouragement of the then Government. Thus Hindu College, School Book Society, Calcutta Book Society came into force. The Governor General in India in Council considered "that all the funds...at the disposal of the Committee hereafter be employed in imparting to native population a knowledge of English literature and science through the medium of English language".\textsuperscript{28} Government declared itself in favour of English education but had decided to tolerate, for the time being, the study of oriental literature. Since this decision of the Government the demand for English in Education had increased.

In 1835 Bentinck's resolution finally decided between oriental and western education, but it did not lay down

\textsuperscript{25} Mukherjee, R. K. \textit{The Changing Face of Bengal, A Study in Riverine Economy}, University of Calcutta, 1938

\textsuperscript{26} Sinha, D. P. \textit{The Educational Policy of the East India Company in Bengal to 1854}, Punthi Pustak, Calcutta, 1964.

\textsuperscript{27} ibid.

\textsuperscript{28} ibid.
any comprehensive policy. This resolution with modification guided the educational policy of the Government until 1839, when Auckland after due consideration of past developments and actual working of Bentinck's system laid down, a comprehensive scheme of education.²⁹

The authorities was in favour of confining education to the higher and middle classes since they thought that the limited funds at their disposal should be spent that way and that it would not be possible to provide education to the masses with this shortage of funds. It was decided in 1835 that who received higher education in the Government Seminaries would in time be able to act as teachers to their countrymen and to that way educational expenses will come down. But in order to do that it was necessary to raise a special body of trained teachers and publish suitable text-books. The Government, during the administration of Auckland and Hardinge, tried to tackle this problem. In fact, they laid the foundation of modern education in India.³⁰

4

Reverend James Long

It is roughly during this time Rev. Long came to India in the service of the Church Missionary Society, when he was twenty-six years old, in 1840. Within a short span of time he endeared himself to the people of his educational and charitable activities. He was actively connected with and promoted several important educational and literary organisations like Vernacular Literature Society, Good Fraternity Sabha, Calcutta Book Society, Bengal Social Science Association, Asiatic Society, Bethune Society, Society for the Promotion of Industrial

²⁹. ibid.
³⁰. ibid.
Art, Family Literary Club, Christian Tract and Book Society, Folk-lore Society, London, and in many others, besides, being a member of different committees of the Missionary Societies.

Very little is known about his early life except that he came of a very respectable family and from pious parents. He, as a brilliant student, was educated in Islington College of Church Missionary Society, London. He left London for Russia in 1834. In 1839 when he was twenty-five, he was ordained a decon in the Church of England and a priest in 1840. This was the year he came to Calcutta.

In Calcutta, he studied Bengali, Sanskrit, Persian and other languages of India. Within three years of his stay he contributed a lengthy paper in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in 1843, where he had proved his capability. The title of this paper was “Table of Comparative philosophy, shewing specimens of the affinity of the Greek, Latin and English languages with Sanskrit, Persian, Russian, Celtic, Welsh, Lithuanian, German, Hebran and Anglo-Saxon.” In 1848 he compiled “A Hand Book of Bengal Mission in connexion with Church of England Together with An Account of General Educational Efforts in North India” and published it through John Farquhar Shaw. It fulfilled a longfelt need.

He was in his full bloom when he was in India and had contributed many papers on antiquity, archaeology, linguistic, local history, land and people of Calcutta and its neighbourhood, chronicle of Tripura, analysis of Raghuvamsha, Portuguese in North India, Kashmir in Olden times, Indian Buddhism, and on many other topics in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and Calcutta Review. Within ten years of his stay in Calcutta he acquired so much knowledge in Bengali language that he could brought out “Satyarnava”, an illustrated Bengali monthly, for preaching Christianity and spreading of native education.
A Proverbologist

It is at this time he realised the great importance of proverbs in mass communication or teaching and preaching work. Long, in course of time, considered proverb as an important medium of sociological study. 31 His first proverb collection entitled as “Bengali Proverb” came out in 1851. This was highly received. Shortly, he was considered as an important proverbologist of India and a pioneer worker in that field. It should be remembered that although Reverend Morton was the pioneer scholar on the proverb of Bengal, Long’s contribution in this field is more significant. Morton’s “A Collection of Proverbs” appeared in 1832 or eight years before Long reached India. After him, Long collected more than six thousand proverbs in his Probadmala: Two Thousand Bengali Proverbs Illustrating Native Life and Feeling. 1868 and Three Thousand Bengali Proverbs and Proverbial Sayings Illustrating Native Life and Feelings Among Riots, Tenants and Women,” 1872. In his work Long received the help of Pandit Nabin Chunder Bunerjea and many other native helpers including poet Rangalal Bandyopadhyay.

The inspiration of collecting Bengali Proverb came to his mind when he realised that the great is the importance of proverbs in sociological studies. In his sociological works, he was convinced, that, proverbs can throw much light on many aspects of folk society. He writes—“I found the services of Pundits, teachers, and inspectors of village schools, of great value in collecting them. The editors of native newspapers also lent me aid by advertising their willingness to receive and forward to me any that might be sent to them. As the best collections of proverbs are among the women, who interland their

discourses plentifully with them, I paid women to collect them from zenanas (women quarters)." Even though he did not print the names and addresses of his informants, nor had he said anything about the place of collection which is a great defect, according to the social scientists of the present day, for such a collection.

Further, some proverbs appeared in Rev. Morton's work were included in Long's, or the proverbs appeared in both the collections are very much identical. Here also he has not referred Morton. Yet it should be said that he was successful in influencing a generation of native scholars to collect and study proverbs systematically.\(^23\)

**An Educator**

It was for his wide knowledge in native literature and dialects, he was entrusted with by the then Government of the country and Missionaries alike to render into English from and among the native literature such items which he thought was necessary for them for their knowing the natives. Besides, he was also an Executive member of the Calcutta Book Society and for this Society he had translated a number of text-books. He was so trusted by the establishment and so faithful, yet as bad luck with him, he had to face a trial where he was convicted. Further, he got the admiration of the sons and daughters of India—they loved him and had regard for him, yet, when he left the country, he was forgotten. In order to suggest why this happened or the reason for this we will quote a few words from a statement of his. This statement he made in the Court room where he was tried, to support his stand which actuated him in arranging for the translation and publication of "Nil-Darpan."

It is from this statement we know that "thousands of Bengali books were submitted by me during the last ten years to the notice of the Europeans of influ-

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ence". He also said that "my time has been spent chiefly among Natives, engaged in Vernacular teaching, in the charge of a body of Native Christians, and in the promotion of Christian Vernacular literature". He said "I have aimed for the last ten years in my leisure hours to be an exponent of Native opinion in its bearing on spiritual, social and intellectual welfare of Natives of this land; as for instance, when applied to, on the part of the Court of Directors, seven years ago, to procure for their Library copies of all original works in Bengali, or as when lately, I sent to Oxford by request copies of all Bengali translation from Sanskrit; or when I have procured for missionaries, Government, Rajas &c. vernacular books of all kinds I should have been a strange person indeed, had my opinion harmonised with all the chaos of opinion in those various publications. Why! At the request of missionaries I have procured anti-Christian works for them, as they wished to know what was written against Christianity... Almost every week I receive new Vernacular books, and I make a point bring them to the notice of Europeans on various grounds. Sir F. Halliday honoured my 'Reports on Vernacular Press' by publishing them; so did the present Government in the case of publishing my Sketch of Vernacular Literature; so did the Vernacular Literature Religious Tract Society, Christian Tract and Book Society, shew their confidence in publishing various works of mine." The motive behind rendering native literature into English is said by Long himself. He declares "Many felt then, as I had long felt before, how unsafe it was for the English to reside in India in ignorance of

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23. Long's Statement to the Supreme Court on July 24, 1861 before the sentence was passed. Reprinted in the book "Nil Durpan or the the Indigo Planting Mirror". Trans. from the Bengali by a Native Ed. with an introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta, Calcutta, Indian Publications, 1972.

34. ibid
and indifference to the current of Native feeling. The mutiny, in common with the Afgan War, has, showed that the English in India were generally unacquainted with it, so a short time previous to the mutiny the Santhal War burst but unexpectedly to the public. For a long period Thuggee and torture were prevailing in India, without the English knowing anything of them. Had I, as a missionary, previous to the mutiny, been able to submit to men of influence a Native drama which would have thrown light on the views of sepoys and Native chiefs, how valuable might the circulation of such a drama have proved, although it might have ensured severely the treatment of Natives by Europeans; the indifference of sepoys officers generally towards their men; and the policy of Government to Native States. Such a drama might have help to save millions of money and torrents of human blood... Has Calcutta forgot the lessons taught by the mutiny?.....As a clergyman and a friend to the peaceable residence of my countrymen in India, I beg to state the following as motive for my editing such work as the Nil Darpan. I for years have not been able to shut my eyes to what many able men see looming in the distance. It may be distant, or it may be near; but Russia and Russian influence are rapidly approaching the frontier of India.... Could I, then, as a clergyman have watched with apathy measures like those in connection with the Indigo system which were furthering this Russian policy, and which might lead to war and dissensions that would retard for a long period the progress of religion, education and peaceful commerce... As a missionary, I have deep interest in seeing the fault of my countrymen corrected; for after a residence of my 20 years in India, I must bear this testimony—that, of all the obstacles of the spread of Christianity in India, one of the greatest is the irreligious conduct of many of my own countrymen... I have circulated many pamphlets in England on 'The ryot, his teachers, and tortures' and
on the evils resulting from the ryots not having a sound Vernacular education. When I have not shrunk from exposing many social evils to which the ryot is subject, I beg to submit, 'could I have avoided, in my position, exposing his suffering from the Indigo system?'

This lengthy quotation speaks of Long’s philosophy. He was essentially a religious worker and a humanitarian. He wanted good for his own countrymen, and was equally interested for such ryots who might take interest in the religion. Again, he was anti-Russians perhaps because of its approaching to irreligious outlook. He was very much active and diligent. He collected from the natives their opinions and ideas etc. for the Europeans and their agents—the Rajas. By doing these, he rendered the unofficial service of an Intelligent Personnel. Long could convince the Government of the day the importance of this work and he advocated for the appointment of a permanent official to review Indian publications—books, journals, pamphlets, records, etc. and it is for this he collected proverbs and published them in book form. In the absence of an official, James Long was advised to carry on with the work. He took this responsibility on his own shoulder with interest and to inform the concerned people about socio-political view of the sons of the soil.

It is from this statement one can deduce how much he was interested for the affairs of the Bengalees as well for the wellbeing of his own countrymen and for the religion he belonged to. Definitely he was not as much interested for the natives as he was for his own countrymen. His services for the natives, in the initial stage, was conditioned as with other missionaries of his time and so we see a large number of missionaries in India in the service of the natives. But, in course of time, he developed
a love for the natives, as a matter of fact, and for this love he got his prize and censure both.

A Social Scientist

Long was closely connected with many socio-cultural-literary organisations of Bengal. When Vernacular Literature Religious Tract Society was established in 1850 with a view to translate good English books into Bengali, he was not only a member there but also was one of its founders. It is reported in the first year's Proceedings of the Society, published in 1853, that Long was busy in preparing an index of native newspapers and annotated note on the articles etc. published there. In the next annual report of the Society it was mentioned that Long's report has already been published. This report was enlarged in the next year and he published it as a full-length report with the title: "A Return of the Names and Writings of 515 persons connected with Bengali literature, either as Authors or Translators of Printed works, and a Catalogue of Bengali Newspapers and Periodicals which have issued from the Press from the year 1818 to 1855" (Selections from the Bengal Government, 1855, No. XXII). Among the list of donors of the Society, one finds Long's name. Here he donated a sum of Rs. 50.

It is not only that, Rev. Long was also entrusted with some projected work, in addition to his official duty, and he was the only recognised person on whose recommendation, the Society undertook the publication of vernacular books. In order to do justice to the cause, when the translated manuscript was submitted to Rev. Long for his opinion, he tested the work taking the help of his pupils at Thakurpukur in the following way: He read the manuscript in the presence of his pupils and if they could understand the language, he thought the translation was perfect and up to the mark. Then he recommended it for publication. If it was found that
the translation was stiff, and his pupils could not understand the language, he advised for revision or a lucid translation. This was his method. This method he also followed while selecting Bengali proverbs. Collected proverbs were tested through the natives by him again and again before inclusion. This method of checking, he again followed, when English translation of "Nil Darpan" was published by him. Completing the translation of the drama from Bengali to English, it was submitted, it is presumed, to Michael M. S. Dutt for verification and opinion. Perhaps M. S. Dutt hurriedly gone through it in a single night without consulting the original Bengali work. It might be, for this some scholars ascribe Madhusudan as the translator of "Nil Darpan" which is not justified by facts. This point we had thoroughly discussed in the introduction of the book "Nil Durpan or the Indigo Planting Mirror," Indian Publications Edition, Calcutta, 1972. An interested reader may look at to that for further clarification of this point.

Long was also responsible for the establishment of the Society for the Promotion of Industrial Art in Calcutta. In March, 31, 1854 it was established. It was the nucleus of the Government College of Arts and Crafts, Calcutta. The Society was formed with a seventeen men committee. Prior to this full-length committee, there was a preparatory committee with seven men. In this committee also Long was a member. Government Art College was established on 16th August, 1854. 36

When the Family Literary Club was established in 1857 in Calcutta, Long took active part there also. He was the President of this Club for many years. When he left India for good, this Club gave him a farewell. In his farewell address, on 20th March 1872, he stressed the need of sociological studies in India.

Here he delivered a lecture on "Social Science—its

Utility for India” in 1866 just after his return from London where he went in 1862 immediately after his release from the imprisonment.

Long felt the necessity of establishing Social Science Association in Bengal in the line of the National Association for the Cultivation of Social Science in Great Britain. An opportunity came when Miss Marry Carpenter, its President, came to visit India, for the first time, in November, 1861. On 17th December, 1861, in a meeting of the natives and foreigners at the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Social Science Association was formed with Rev. James Long as the most active member. Later, he was the President of this Association. After more than a century of this Association, for point of information, a central organisation for conducting researches on social sciences was established in India in 1967. This organisation, no doubt, has many plans and programmes for the development of social sciences. Bombay claims its pioneer position for sociological studies in India but it is not corroborated by facts. The seed for such an organisation came a century ago from Calcutta. Of course, the modern development and methodology are new orientation but the idea of social sciences research are not new. It is thus with the recommendation of the Planning Commission, Government of India appointed a Committee on Social Science Research under the Chairmanship of Prof. V. K. R. V. Rao in 1965. The Committee submitted its Report in November 1967 and made several important recommendations for the development of social science research in India. Accordingly Indian Council for Social Sciences Research was established.37

However, Long was closely connected with the Bengal Social Science Association. In fact, he was one of the founders and the key-men there. The Association endeavoured to collect, arrange and classify series of facts bearing on the social, intellectual and moral condition

of the people of Bengal at the initiative of Reverend James Long. The missionaries of Calcutta also made an application with the instigation of Long, to the Government for a Royal Commission to enquire into the social condition of the rural population of Bengal. They got inspiration for doing so through the works in the Bengal Social Science Association. We regret, we are unable to place before our readers the petition, but the substance of application may be had from the following:

Para. I. Certain Missionaries belonging to various religious societies, and residing in and near Calcutta, presented a Memorial to the Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal in the month of September last, in which they set forth, in strong terms, the deplorable condition, in its social aspect, of the rural population of Bengal. In their specification of evils, which press most heavily upon the people, the Missionaries advert to the inefficiency of the Police, and of the judicial system now in operation in the Bengal Presidency; to the prevalence of gang robberies and affrays respecting disputed boundaries; to the frequency of torture in order to extort confessions; to the demoralizing influences of contentions between landed proprietors, and of the corruption of the Police, as tending to pauperise and enslave the peasantry; to the existing zemindari system (in connection with the general character of both zemindar and ryot), which emboldens the rich to set the law at defiance, and leads the poor to despair of obtaining redress; to the extortion of the zemindars; to the want of a survey of the country; and to the absence of a Registration Act to settle titles and of laws against secret trusts.

2. The above is a brief summary of the social evils, which the memorialists allege, not only to be in active operation, but which they regret to declare, appear on the increase. They feel themselves bound to declare that they view with alarm, as well as sorrow, the continuance of the evils which they have so long declared, and the effects
of which are seen in the demoralization and the sufferings of the people; they believe that measures of relief can with safety be delayed no longer, as from the information they have acquired, they fear that the discontent of the rural population is daily increasing, and that a bitter feeling of hatred towards their rulers is being engendered in their minds; and they close their memorial with the prayer, that a Commission may be appointed, consisting of men of independent minds unbiased by official or local prejudices, to institute a searching enquiry into all the causes, that now affect the condition of the population; especially into the state of the Police and the judicial system, the powers and influence of the zemindars and planters, and how those powers are used; the resources and earnings of the labouring classes, and the proportion which these bear to the rent they are compelled to pay; the harassing exactions and oppressions to which the poor are subject; the landed tenures; the extension of the Government sales of ardent spirits and intoxicating drugs people once celebrated for temperance; the actual extent to which education is provided for the masses, and the best means of alleviating the sufferings and elevating the condition of the people."

We also quote below an informative letter that Rev. James Long wrote to Major Lee, L.L.D., at the time of the second print of Major Lee's book "Land and Labour of India." Dr. Lee writes in connection with this letter that "The following letter reached me too late to make any use of the contents. Indeed my review had been sent to England about a month or six weeks before I received it. As the Rev. J. Long, however, is more intimately acquainted with the condition of the peasantry of Bengal than perhaps any European in it; as he has ever shewn

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a deep and sincere interest in their welfare, I append his remarks in extenso. The Rev. Gentleman has lately made a tour in Russia, where he had an opportunity of acquainting himself with the results of the emancipation of the serf; and his opinions, though many may differ from them as widely as they will from my own, as those of an honest, earnest, and sincere Christian Missionary who has spent the better part of a long life in good works among the poor of Bengal, are worthy of every respect.” Below we quote the letter of Rev. J. Long.

“My Dear Major Lee—As I hear that you are sending for republication in England, an extract from your valuable work relating chiefly to the important question of ‘The Indian Ryot,’ I take the liberty of offering some remarks on what is at the present time a deeply interesting subject.

The time is favourable for considering the state of the agricultural classes of India—it is the era of conciliation, planter and cooly, zemindar and ryot, are feeling that they must work in harmony, that it is the case of the belly and the members. Whether we look to the defence of India against foreign or internal war, to the development of its resources, or the moral and intellectual improvement of the country—all must mainly depend on one arrangement, a people contented because their rights in the soil are secured—even by the ancient law of India the ownership of the soil was vested in the cultivator.

In Europe also a new era is dawning on the agricultural and working classes, the boors are walking from degradation of ages to feel that they have rights as men and corresponding emotions of sympathy are being excited among the higher classes. Early examine ragged schools, aldermen form associations of shoe-blacks, and titled ladies may be seen trudging down narrow lanes with tracts and ‘doctor’s stuff’ for the dirty inmates. Unless our Indian Empire is to be based on bayonets, we must ‘condescend to men of low estate.’ Even Russia, which
is so far behind England in almost everything, in the case of securing the rights of the peasantry; sets a bright example to India. The heroic conduct of the Czar, who, in spite of the determined opposition of the nobility, emancipated 23,000,000 of serfs, who enjoy peasant proprietorship, village municipal institutions, and representative provincial assemblies, thus laying broad and deep the foundations of the true greatness and prosperity of Russia. The Czar risked his throne to secure the rights of the peasantry, and he rested the whole superstructure of the Empire on the ten pillars—the land is the peasant’s own—and self-government is administered by peasant Magistrates elected from among their own class. I have been in Courts when the Russian peasant sat along with the noble in the administration of justice. Arising from this is the tendency to decentralized administratson. Open Courts, trial by jury, a greater freedom of the press, and a desire for education, are among the fruits, that are springing up. Soldiering is not as popular as it was in Russia.

Ample illustrations of the benefit of peasant proprietorship might be drawn from Switzerland, Norway, Belgium, and France. But one of the most striking instances is the case of Prussia. After the expulsion of Napoleon’s troops, it was felt, there was no security for the national independence as long as the peasant had not his rights; accordingly, under the firm hand of Baron Stein, that system of peasant rights was secured, which has led to so many social and moral blessings in Prussia. and which was the main cause of enabling Prussia to take the position of leader of Germany.

With this awakening up of million in Russia and America to a consciousness of their dignity as men, how long is the Bengal ryot to remain a helot, a semi-serf, a mere machine, a blot on the fair fame of England. In 1793 he was handed over bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of land-jobbers. Even now the ryot
receives no education from the state; 97 per cent cannot read intelligently, his ignorance renders him the victim of superstition, the prey of the usurer, and the petty lawyer. The late (Orissa) famine has filled up the cup of his misery, one million and a half at least have fallen victim to famine and its consequence. Were the authorities found napping?

Now is the time to urge these points, as the Bombay Gazette’s admirably remarks, “The great dumb multitude, who have no art or part in the Government of India, save meekly to contribute twenty millions of land revenue to its exchequer, without daring to ask Government to spend a single rupee in the improvement of the land, or dreaming of enquiring in what manner it appropriates the enormous tax it levies on them, has hitherto been dumb and uncomplaining through mere excess of ignorance; “and the martyrdom of one-fourth of the population of the province seems to have been required to convince Government, that it has duties to discharge towards the ryots of India as important as those of an English esquire or an Irish landlord.”

Surely if the tenant right is about to be established in Ireland, England will not hold back a similar measure from the ryots of Bengal, when she was the instrument by the Act of 1793 of reducing them to their present condition, when she framed them out, body and soul, to men, who were originally collectors, but whom by a strange act, she constituted proprietors of the soil.

What is the remedy for the condition of the Bengal ryot? I feel it will not be found in India; of late years feudal notions regarding land have been in favour with the high class of Government officials, European non-officials, and native gentry. The reform, therefore, must come from England, where the interest of the working classes have been of late years regarded; and a Reform Bill is sure to pass Parliament, which will give greater power to the friends of the working man and of peasant proprietorship, will react on this country, and secure
better friends to the peasant than exist at present when the Governors of all the local Presidencies are feudalists in their notions of land. Sir J. Lawrence is one of the few friends to peasant proprietorship in India.

A reformed Parliament might give the leverage for Reform in Bengal in the following points: irrigation and canal works, rural savings' banks etc. are what all are agreed on. The following subjects are deserving consideration:

1. Peasant proprietorship or Poor Law—this may seem to interfere with vested rights on some points, but I believe, landholders, on due consideration, may come to the conclusion, that it is better to sacrifice a few of their own rights in order to preserve the remainder. It is too late to imagine that in the 19th century the welfare of the masses shall be subordinated to the selfishness of an oligarchy. The greatest good of greatest number is the cardinal principle. The ryot of Bengal lives from hand to mouth, he has no provision for a rainy day—this can be met either by making him a peasant proprietor, or if not, by a tax on land, securing him a legal recourse against starvation. The laws both of heaven and earth are opposed to the idea, that the destitute shall be dependent on precarious and fitful alms giving—the land must secure against destitution; it is so in England and Ireland, and it makes it the landholders' interest that the peasant should be well off.

2. Compulsory Vernacular Education—the expense defrayed by local rates. The ryot now, through his ignorance is victimized by the usurer in the courts, and in all cases where documentary evidence is resorted to. He puts his mark to legal deeds, the contents of which he is unable to read, his land is measured for him, but he has no means of checking the measurement. His educated countrymen have done little to remedy this state of things.

3. The appointment of a Minister of Agriculture and
Commerce.—There are plenty of well-paid Government agents for collecting the revenue, but there is not one whose special function would be to attend to the vital question of Agricultural Statistics of the state and prospect of the crops, model farms, and agricultural education, all of which tend to increase the revenue. The Association of Zemindars, called the British Indian Association, has petitioned to appoint a Minister of Agriculture. The famine showed the need of such official; what was everybody’s business was no one’s, one man in that office might have saved Bengal from much of the evil consequences of the famine.

4. Officials should see more of the people and peasantry—the tendency at present is to load officials with red tape, leave them up in office, where all information regarding the masses reaches them through cooked up reports, or from the ignorant surmisings of native clerks, who have no means of knowing the actual state of the district; book-learned they may be, but little acquainted with the people, this is a crying evil, it was one of the causes of the mutiny. I throw out the above hints, the discussion of them can do no harm; if they be found impracticable, the ventilation of the question may suggest other modes of action.

March 8, 1867

Yours faithfully,

James Long"39

A Humanitarian

As a clergyman he wanted to stand for morality and truthfulness. He also wanted fair deal from everybody and was prepared to invite clash even with his countrymen if these things were wanting in them. A typical

Irish indeed! In course of his work he came in close contact with the natives. So when he saw indigo troubles he sided with the natives for obvious reason. But this was not liked by the Indigo Planters. He ignored them as he saw that the British Indigo Planters treated ryots or natives as ‘nigger’ and tortured them like beasts. Lord Kinnaird, in 1858, brought many misdeeds of the Planters before the Parliament. But the agitation against the oppression and exploitation did not stop. The ryots began to gather round and broke out in an open revolt.

In consequence to that a Commission was appointed with five members. Two of them belonged to the Civil Service; one was a prominent merchant of Calcutta and a nominee of the Indigo Planters’ Association; the fourth was a baptist missionary; and the fifth, an Indian gentleman of high caste and position representing the British Indian Association. The report of the Commission was a painful reading, and rare was a man who could help shedding tears, reading the inhuman and brutal treatment of the Planters. Dinabandhu came out with his Bengali drama *Nil-Durpan*. It was the first realistic presentation of the life and agonies of the oppressed folks—a bold step whose import on the evolution of the Bengali literature as a whole has been tremendous. This drama was translated into English which ‘burst like a cyclone over society.’ A raging campaign was started by the British owned press against its English translation.

The Planters failing to get the name of the translator prosecuted the Printer, Mr. C. H. Manuel, who gave out the name of Rev. James Long at his own request. A libel suit was instituted against James Long for libelling

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40. The Commission was composed of W. S. Seton-Karr, C. S. as President, and R. Temple, Esq. C. S., Rev. J. Sale, W. F. Fergusson Esq. and Chandra Mohan Chatterjee, as members.

Editor of the Englishman, and libelling the indigo planters of Lower Bengal. In the judgement, Long was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 1000 and suffered imprisonment, in the common jail, for one month.

Sisir Kumar Ghosh of "Amrita Bazar Patrika," one of the visitors of Jail, wrote in later days: "The writer of this note was quite a young lad when the late Rev. J. Long was sent to imprisonment by Mordaunt Wells for having translated Nil Darpan. There was a great deal of commotion in the country and the writer took it into his head to pay a visit to Mr. Long in prison. Mr. Long was put in the only third-stories room and his wife had been permitted to live with him...There was a great demonstration on the day of his release."42 It was because Long had a sincere concern for the native people.

A Library Scientist

In the foregoing pages we have discussed Long's role as a humanitarian, a proverbologist, a sociologist, an educator, an organiser and a man of dynamic personality. Now we will see his role as a pioneer worker of library science in India. Of course, it should be noted in this connection that during the time of Long, Library Science has not as developed as now. It is a new and developing science. The collection, selection, preservation of library materials through catalogues, bibliographies or other scientific medium did not come to force in Long's time. Yet, Long realised that, for the development of knowledge, education and culture, documentation of library materials was a necessary thing. He was also aware of the work of library service and of procurement of books. Thus he wrote to Pearychand Mitra, the then Librarian of the Calcutta Public Library in 1851 that the Vernacular Literary Religious Tract Society of which he was the President had established libraries for the English books at Calcutta, Agarpara, Burdwan, Krishnagar and Ratanpur.
and for the Bengali books at Thakurpukur, Sole, Chapra,
Ballavpur and Kapasdanga. He also informed that in
the Library of the Calcutta Centre of the Society, there
were about 800 books and as soon as they came across of a
new Bengali book, they purchased that for their libraries.
Jaikissen Mookerjea of Uttapara donated to the Vernacular
Literary Society all his Bengali collections which
were about 800 in number.

Long was considered an authority of vernacular
literature and culture by the powers so as per his recom-
mandation India Office Library of London was organised
and books were procured from India. On the request of
Professor M. Williams of Oxford University, he procured
Bengali translations of Sanskrit works for him. This he
divulged in his statement at the Supreme Court.

All these are generally the works of Library personnel.
It should remembered that before the enactment
of Book Registration Act of 1869 there was no systematic
catalogue of books and journals published in Bengali.
Long fulfilled this need with the publication of (1) A
Return of the names and writings of 515 persons connected
with Bengali Newspapers and periodicals from 1818-1855.
(2) Return relating to publications in the Bengali language,
in 1857 to which is added, a list of the native presses, with the
books printed at each, their price and character, with a notice
of the past condition and future prospects of the vernacular
presses of Bengal and (3) Descriptive catalogue of vernacular
books and pamphlets forwarded by the Government of India to
Paris Universal Exhibition of 1867 to which is added a list of
vernacular works sent from Agra Presidency and a list of works
published in 1865 in North-Western Provinces.

Of course, in these three books one may come accross
some overlapping information but that was inevitable for
such works and these were necessary for obvious reason.
These three books are indispensable, even these days, for
the study of Bengal's socio-literary history and culture of
that period.
How he was interested in this documentation work or in library method may also be known from "A Hand Book of the Bengal Missions in connexion with the Church of England."

Shortly after his arrival in India he felt the necessity of such a book that bears the accounts of various activities of different missions. The book, we have already mentioned, appeared in 1848. It is a work of bibliographic nature. Next, we have seen his descriptive catalogue. This catalogue was the first bibliography of Bengali works. Of course, Bengali words or dialects were not used there, these were printed in *roman script*.

Let us give a more detail look to the Descriptive Catalogue of Bengali works. This work contains about fourteen hundred books of which only four hundred and eighty-eight were serially numbered. Long also utilised abbreviations. He had recorded the names and addresses of the printers and printing presses along with the publishers. This was followed by the information—whether the work is original or a translation, if translation, from which language, that is to say, in English? in Sanskrit? etc. Then was given the price. The work was divided into three parts such as (i) Education, (ii) Literary and Miscellaneous and (iii) Theological. In the first part, following sub-divisions were made: Arithmatic, Dictionary, Ethics, Geography, Moral-tales, Geometry, History and Geography, Pharmacy, Economic, Education etc. Literary and Miscellaneous part was divided into Law, Periodical, Almanac, Encyclopaedia, Newspapers, Poem, Drama, Popular song and others. Third part is divided into Books of the Serampore Mission—old and new,—Research and out-of-print works, Transactions of Associations, Trust Society etc., Ancient literature of the Muslims, Puranas, Saivism, Vaishnavism etc. In all, there were thirty-three sub-divisions in three main parts and one-fifth of the book was devoted to Theological works.

It is a very important and useful work from the point of view of history of the books published in Bengal in the
early period. Through this catalogue we know many foreigners were interested in Bengali language and literature and have contributed their writings for the development of Bengal.

His name will also be remembered in connection with a law against the obscene books and literature. It is at his effort that a law was passed by the Legislative Council to stop obscene books and literature.

An Indologist

Long’s lifelong interest on India continued unabated. Many Indians who went to London from 1872 to 1887 paid their visit to Long to pay their respects. One of these visitors was T. N. Mukharja, the then Curator of Indian Museum, who was deputed by the Government there in connection with the Colonial and Indian Exhibition. T. N. Mukharja, who is popularly known as ‘Trailakhananath, was the architect of humourous literature and nonsense rhymes and famous for his ‘Kankayati’ and other Bengali works. Mukharja writes that “Long was never tired of the theme and every time he came, he had some new points ready on which he sought to be enlightened, and which was evidently in his mind during the week.” This means, all the time Long gave thought of India and whenever any question arose in his mind, he jotted that down in paper and as soon as he could meet an Indian, he asked those questions to them for answers. In this way even when Long was out of India, he kept contact with Indians for keeping him well informed.

Mahadeva Prosad Saha writes that “Before his death Long gave bulk of his property and a sum of £ 2000 to Church Missionery Society (at London) to endow a Long Lecturship on Oriental Religion”.

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44. Saha, M. P. op. cit.
Regarding the collection of proverbs he wanted that the Bengal Social Science Association "should issue a circular to the leading Oriental and Ethnological Societies in Europe, Asia and America, asking their co-operation towards the collection, interpretation, and publication of proverbs, especially in reference to India, acting through the Asiatic Societies of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras, as well as through the Director of Public Instructions in the local Governments and the editors of Native journals and newspapers. ... This subject I brought before the Oriental Congress at their last (2nd) session in London (1875). There was no time to have it discussed there; but perhaps the question of Oriental proverbs may be submitted again in the next Congress to be held at St. Petersburg (in 1876). Long pursued the case thus and on April 13, 1880, he could read a paper titled: "Proverbs: English and Celtic, with their Eastern Relation" at the meeting of the Folk-Lore Society, London. It was printed in Folklore Record, III, 1880, with a tentative introduction to the subject. In this introduction it was written: "The work began a quarter century ago in the jungles of India for the instruction of the peasants and women... (for) proverbs will very often serve to rouse the slugging attention of a congregation...... proverb will very often serve to produce a smile of good nature in an apparently ill-tempered audience, and so to call forth a kindly feeling which did not seem to exist."

VI

We must bear in mind in this connection that Long's...

45. The International Congress of Orientalists owes its origin to the conception of the enterprising French scholar De Rosny who presided over the first session held at London in 1874. The second session, too was held there in 1875 and 1876 third session was held at St. Petersburg. See Ashraf, Siddiqui also op. cit.

deeper qualities of head and heart came to him from the environments of his living, from his religious-minded parents whose disciplined habits and orderly life left an indelible impression on him. He believed, his missionary work could be done with the spread of religion and for that purpose he had adopted his own methods. He had an intense interest in self discipline and introspection.

Having developed a keen appetite for different language, he had acquired fair knowledge in several European languages other than English, and learnt different oriental languages like Sanskrit and Bengali.

He was, in fact, a prolific writer and a man of diverse interests. He had contributions in proverbology, sociology, bibliography and many other branches of knowledge. With all these it can be said that he was a student in the real sense of the term.

He advocated intimate relationship between the teacher and the taught, affected, preferably through a personal discussion carried on individually or in a small group. Leading a disciplined life, ever devoted to intellectual pursuits and to imbibing and imparting of knowledge, his was a life of ideal dedication to the service of Church Missionary Society.

Even though there were great conspiracy against him and the Church Missionary Society in Calcutta, before the Indigo trial in 1861, considered expelling him from his service but this was stopped by the intervention of Lord Canning.47 Reverend Frere wrote to Mr. Wood, Secretary of State, London, about Long that "Though sincere and honest, Long was a narrow-minded partisan who had seen little of the world and that entirely from an ultra-Irish Protestant point of view"48 so he may be excused 'by cautioning to leave politics to secular people' and a wholetimer in his missionary service.

48. Ibid.
From 1840-62 and 1866-1872 Long was in India. This was a time when the country saw many ups and down. He was connected with every development work then and was equally liked by the rich and the poors, sophisticated and unsophisticated people alike.

It was for his intimate knowledge about the people of his area of study, scholars like Max-Muller and Monier Williams sought his help. Long complied with their requests with a smile in his face.

VII
Conclusion

From the above discussion it is clear that Rev. James Long loved Calcutta, Calcuttans and the people of rural Bengal and India because he was a great humanitarian. Although he was entrusted with a number of works for the administration as well as for the missionaries, he did social work out of his own interest. He also collected a large amount of folklorological materials out of zeal which he thought was necessary for the spread of education. Thus he rendered the work of an unofficial librarian. He rendered social works in his leisure hours or after completing the scheduled works of the Mission. He received patronization of the powers and missionaries along with the co-operation and assistance of the natives for many years. But after the libel suit, in 1861, a large number of his friends, both Indian and foreign, withdrew their support and co-operation to him. This pained him the most. So he wrote a pamphlet “Strike But Hear” in 1862. In order to keep all informed about indigo affairs, he left India for London in 1862 and stayed there up to 1866. He could plead his case successfully, yet there were some who said, as a priest Long should not be involved in the local politics as he had done by the publication of the English translation of “Nil Darpan”.

As many other works of Long the present book is also remarkably useful and a sound piece of work. Consider-
ing usual standard of the book it can be said that it is a distinct contribution of knowledge. Long could do so partly due to his close acquaintance with the place and the people of his study and partly of his ability in selecting from the mass of materials what are important. Long tried his best to establish his stand. But his opposition was strong enough to ridicule him since 1861. Since the influential group of the powers was anti-Long, the so-called natives whose opinion would have matter then, did not side with him. As a result he had not received his due. It is high time when we should assess the role of such missionaries and foreigners as Long who rendered valuable service for the cause of India.

He was concerned with the natives. So he had to write the history of Calcutta and Calcuttans. He was not only the 'father of sociology in India' as has been said, but also a 'pioneer scholar of folklore' and the 'father of library science' as well.

In short, he set out to give an account not only of the social condition of the natives, but also to give background of the struggle of the natives with the then powers. He, therefore, continued to set before his countrymen a picture of India, its various problems, customs and backgrounds for their having an idea of real India. As a writer, he received tribute from many and as a humanitarian, or an educator he received praise from natives and of his countrymen alike. His style of writing is noted for its originality, simplicity as well as its naturalness which will be evident from the pages ahead.

He died on March 23, 1887 at London when he was 73 years of age, when he was fairly old indeed!
Among the many writings of Reverend James Long, we have been able to locate the following. We regret for omission, if any.

A. PROVERBS

2. Two Thousand Bengali Proverbs Illustrating Native Life and Feelings, Calcutta, 1868.
3. Probod Mala or the wit of Bengali riots as shown in their Proverbs, Calcutta, 1869.
6. Europe and Asia Khandastha Probod Mala : Proverbs of Europe and Asia Translated into Bengali, Calcutta, 1868.
8. Russian Proverbs, Illustrating the social condition of the peasants and women in Russia, Calcutta, 1868, a booklet.
9. Proverbs : English and Celtic, with their Eastern Relations, read at the meeting of the Folk-Lore Society, London and printed in Folklore Record, III, part 1, 1880.
10. "Popular Bengali Proverbs illustrating the social condition and opinion of the riots, working classes, and women of Bengal." (Transc. of Bengal Social Science Association, 1868, pt. II.), Calcutta 1868.

B. SOCIOLOGY


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15. Village Communities in Russia and India, a leaflet Calcutta, 1870.
17. Calcutta and Bombay in their social aspects, Calcutta, 1870.
19. “Calcutta in the olden time—its people” Calcutta Review, V. 35, no. 69 (reprinted in “Human Events” in August-September, 1973 and included in the present book);
20. “Grand Trunk Road, its localities,” Calcutta Review, V. 21, no. 41.
21. Central Asia and British India, 1865.
22. Kirlof’s Fables translated from Russian, 1869.
24. The Eastern question in its Bangla-Indian aspect, 1877.
26. Questions of Natural History, Calcutta (n. d.)
27. Life of Mohammad, Calcutta (n.d.).
31. Notes of a tour from Calcutta to Delhi, 1853.
II, 1866, re-issued from Calcutta by Indian Publications in 1966, ed. by M. P. Saha with an introduction by Sankar Sen Gupta. This was published with slight alteration in the title as "500 questions on the subjects requiring investigation in the social condition of the People of India."


34. "Calcutta and Bombay in their Social Aspects," (Transc. of Bengal Social Science Association), Calcutta, 1870.


C. LIBRARY SCIENCE


38. A return of the names and writings of 515 persons connected with Bengali literature, either as Authors or Translators of Printed works, and a Catalogue of Bengali Newspapers and Periodicals which have issued from the Press from the year 1818 to 1855 (Selections from the Records of the Bengal Govt. 1855, No. XXII), Calcutta, 1855.

39. Returns relating to the Bengali Language in 1857 with a list of the native Presses, the Books printed, their price and character with a Notice of the conditions of the Vernacular Presses of Bengal and Statistics of the Bombay and Madras Presses (Selections from the Records of the Bengal Govt., 1859, No. XXXII), Calcutta, 1859.

D. MISCELLANEOUS

40. "Analysis of the Bengali poem Rajmala, or
Chronicles of Tripura," Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, XIX, 1850.


42. "The Indigenous Plants of Bengal with Notes on peculiarities in their structure, functions, uses in Medicine, Domestic Life, Arts and Agriculture," Journal of Indian Agricultural Society, IX, 1857, & X, 1859.

43. Strike But Hear, Calcutta, 1861. (Published in connection with Nil-Darpan case).


45. Table of Comparative Philosophy shewing specimens of the affinity of the Greek, Latin and English Languages, with Sanskrit, Persian, Russian, Celtic, Web Lithuanian, German, Hebru and Anglo-Saxon, Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1843.

E. EDITOR

46. Editor, Nil Darpan or the Indigo Planting Mirror, Eng. tran. ed. and pub. by J. Long, Calcutta, 1861


48. Editor, Satyarnava, a Bengali Monthly Journal. Estd. in July 1850. (Converted to bi-monthly—six times a year—in 1852). The journal ceased to exist in 1855. It was devoted to Christian religion, thoughts and ideas.

Monograph Association of India,
Calcutta, June 11, 1974
The Banks of the Bhagirathi

The question of statistics is one that has engaged of late years the attention of some of the most scientific minds in England, France, and Germany; in England a Statistical Society is in active operation and publishes a Journal since 1837. Statistics are now classed as a science and as such occupy a place in the list of subjects that come before the British Association; in France the Archives of Government are thrown open to the researches of the members of La Societe de Geographie, a body which has contributed more to the advancement of the science of Geographical Statistics than any other throughout the world. But in India how different is the case; it would, at times at least, almost seem to be as easy to get access to the records of the Inquisition as to many of the Statistical documents of the Bengal Government, which are often permitted to become the food of white ants, or perhaps to be sold in the Calcutta Bazars as waste paper, while they are virtually sealed to the investigation of the learned! Yet, in spite of every such discouragement, much light has been thrown on the History of India by individuals.

We feel strongly that the present is the time for collecting information on the condition of India—Hindu Society is in a transitional state—the old Pandits and Natives whose heads are stored with traditional lore, are passing away, and their successors feel little interest
in the past local events of India—unless therefore, "these fragments from the wreck of time" be preserved in print, we shall lose one means of noting the progress of the natives of India. Todd's Rajasthan, Maloolm's Central India, and the Mackenzie Miss., compiled at a period when Central India was in a transition state, have snatched from oblivion a number of valuable facts, which will serve hereafter as landmarks to indicate the march of improvement among the Rajput and South Indian Tribes.

In former numbers of this Review two papers appeared, "Notes on the banks of the Hugly," which gave an account of the places between Calcutta and Chinsura; we propose continuing the "Note" as far as Suti near the mouth of the Bhagirathi, with the exception of Chinsura, Hugly and Bandel. Chinsura with its Dutch associations and Hugly with its stirring events in days of yore, afford ample materials for a distinct article; Bandel we have noticed in "The Portuguese in North India." The Banks of the river between Tribeni on the South and Gaur on the North teem with local associations of various kinds—Tribeni, famous as a place of pilgrimage since the days of Pliny—Satgan, a grand emporium of trade in the time of the Romans—Ghoshpara, the cradle of the Karta Bhojas—Dumurda, notorious in the annals of dacoity, Sukhasagar and the river encroachments—Chagda, once infamous for human sacrifices and dacoity—Sibpur, formerly a residence of the illustrious Raja Krishna Chandra Ray—Guptapara famous for its monkeys and Brahmans—Santipur, the strong-hold of Ghosains—Kalna, with its trade and temples—Dhoba, and its sugar manufactory—Nadiya, in old times the capital of Bengal and still a Brahmanical metropolis—Agradip, the scene of a famous mela—Katwa, the port of Birbhum, well-known in the days of the Mahratta—Plasi, the Indian Marathon—Rangamati, with its spur of the Birbhum hills—Behrampur, 80 years ago the frontier Cantonment of the East India Company—Kasim Bazar,
the former seat of the English, French, and Dutch trade—Murshidabad, and all its recollections connected with the Mussalman dynasty,—Jangipur, famous for its silk trade—Suti, where Mir Kasim met his defeat and his visions of independence vanished and Gaur the metropolis of Bengal, long before the days of Alexander.

To the mere stranger the banks of the Bhagirathi present little calculated to afford interest;—so would the plain of Troy to the person ignorant of Grecian history: but for those who love to dwell on the past, there are few parts of India, except Rajputana, which are crowded with a series of more interesting associations. The trade carried on by the Romans during the Hindu dynasty of Lakhmanasena—the scenes where British ascendancy was established in this country—the influence of Mahommedan sway, the development of the resources of this country by Indigo, Silk and Sugar factories, the former prevalence of gang robbery;—ideas connected with these and kindred subjects crowd on the mind of the intelligent traveller in passing various places on the banks of the Bhagirathi. In consequence of the local associations he has called up, Sir W. Scott has given "a charm to Scottish scenes and barren heaths". Dr. Johnson has made the often quoted remark, in which he condemns the man whose patriotism would not glow on the plains of Marathan, or piety grow warm amid the ruins of Iona. In India where Europeans generally feel so little interest in the country, know so little of its past history, and sympathise so little with the natives, it is specially important that the principle of local association should as far as possible be called forth. We must know something of the past history of a people in order to understand their present condition—what a stimulus did the recollections of Grecian History afford some years ago to the exertions of philanthropists in the cause of the modern Greeks, who were crushed under the yoke of Turkish tyranny. We trust the progress of English education and Christian Missions along the banks of the Bhagi-
rathi during the next fifty years, will afford a brilliant contrast to the gloomy recollections of past times—to the profligate rule of Kulinism—to Satis, Infanticide—Musal-
man despotism and Hindu stagnation of thought.

The banks of the Bhagirathi are likely to afford scenes of the noblest triumphs to missionary and educational operations, because the principle of concentration and mutual co-operation will be carried out, by a chain of missionary and educational posts at Hugly connected with the London Missionary Society; Ghoshpara with the Established Presbyterian Church; Kalna with the Free Church of Scotland; Nadiya and Krishnaghur with the Church Missionary Society; Katwa with the Baptist; and Berhampur with the London Missionary Society.

Besides Herber's Journal and "Robert's Scenes" there are scarcely any journals of travellers worth notice on Bengal; in a recent work, "Bacon's First Impressions," it is stated, that after leaving Barrackpur "a few hours track-
ing brought us to Serampore"; the author gives a drawing of a fakir's serai on the banks of the river near Hugly with a hill in the vicinity! This resembles Carne's description of Kiernander, the first Protestant Missionary to Bengal, visiting his mountain villages near Calcutta! No Sanskrit work gives any topographical information respecting those localities, except the Sri Bhagavat and some other Puranas which notice Tribeni, and the course of the Ganges. Arrian, Pliny and Strabo write incidentally of a few places. As for authorities on these subjects little information can be given, since in the Bengali language no book of any description was compiled before A.D. 1500. The poem of Kobi Kankan was written in Bengali 300 years ago (the author lived in Burdwan and is said to have been born at Damini near Tarakeswar in Burdwan; Kirti Bas is also said to have been born in Burdwan). It describes the journey of a merchant from his own residence 150 miles from the sea, down the Bhagirathi to the port in which he embarked for Ceylon, he enumerates the places at which
he lagoed on the banks of the river. The Sandesabali and Timir Nasak notice a few towns; but the written or printed materials are very scanty; "the Musalan invaders of Bengal thought Hindu writings to be full of mantras or charms, and they deemed them harm or sinful, and not worthy to be seen; hence on entering a town in Bengal they burnt every ancient Mss. as well as Hindus also were in the practice where invaded, to destroy every thing which was of value to the invaders and particularly all "Mss. that would give information of the country;" hence no Mss. exist which give any information of Gaur or Pali-bathra. The Hindu writings were of an anti-historical character. The remarks of Taylor in his "Historical Manuscripts" are applicable here,—"Generally speaking, Indian princess, purely such as distinguished from foreign invaders, have been less addicted to warring with each other, than those of almost any other ancient nation. Hence, in a great degree, arises the paucity of materials for Indian history; but, happily periods most barren of historical incident, have always been most prosperous for the people. We must therefor have recourse, occasionally to oral testimony and current traditions, which are the only sources in the absence of written testimony, and which have been resorted with so much success by Tod in his Rajasthan; the discoveries however of Ventura in the topes of the Punjab: of Princep in Pali Medals of Hodgson in Nepal, and of Remusat in Chinese Mss. give hope that future researches may throw a flood of light on the anti-Muhammedan history of Bengal; a translation of some Persian Mss. mention in Stewarts Catalogue would afford information of Bengal History; even legends are of value for as Wilson remarks, "Hindu tales are faithful records of the state of popular belief many ages ago." Legendary lore is compared by Troyer to a chronometer, which though it gives not the true time, yet presents errors which we know how to correct. Dr. Buchanan, though he undertook at the command of the Marquess of Wellesley, a
survey of Eastern India, which occupied him seven years and cost the Government £30,000, yet has not thought it beaneath his notice to embody in the report he presented to the Government the legends and local traditions of the districts he passed through.

We name this paper 'The banks of the Bhagirathi', though some Europeans call the river as far as Nadiya the Hugly,—but Hugly is a modern name, given to it since the town of Hugly rose into importance: the natives, call it Bhagirathi, because they say it was the channel Bhagirathi cut in bringing the Ganges from the Himalaya to Ganga Sagar. This name recalls what is believed to be a fact—that the Ganges itself formerly ran by Katwa Tribeni, and not as it does now into the Padma; our reasons are—the natives attribute no sanctity to the waters of the Padma, thinking the Bhagirathi to be the true bed of the river, hence the water following by Bishop's College is not esteemed holy, as they say that the site of Tolly's Nala was the ancient bed—there are no places of pilgrimage along the banks of the Padma, while on the Bhagirathi and Tribeni, Sagar, Nudiya and Agradip. Dr. Buchanan states on the subject: 'I think it not unlikely that on the junction of the Kosi with the Ganges, the united mass of water opened the passage now called Padma, and the old channel of the Bhagirathi from Songti (Suti) to Nudiya was then left comparatively dry. In this way we may account for the natives considering that insignificant channel as the proper continuation of their sacred river, as they universally do, a manner of thinking that unless some such extraordinary change had taken place, would have been highly absurd'—the names of places near the Bhagirathi ending in dwipa island, danga upland, daha abyss, sagar sea, seem to indicate that a large body of water formerly flowed near them.

We begin our notice with the Saraswati Khal, which flows by Tribeni down to Satgan, and which in former days was a mighty stream, when the Bhagirathi, instead of
flowing as now past Hugly rolled its mighty waters down by Satgan. Rennel states, "In 1566 the Satgan river was capable of bearing small vessels and I suspect that its then course, after passing Satgan was by way of Adampur, Omptah and Tamluk: and that the river called the old Ganges was a part of its course, and received that name, while the circumstance of the change was fresh in the memory of the people. The appearance of the country between Satgan and Tamluk countenances such an opinion". The banks of the Saraswati and Tribeni formed the ancient boundary of the kingdom of Orissa, extending as far west as Bishenpur in the time of the Ganga Vansa princes from the 10th to the 14th Cent A.D. Akbar annexed Tribeni to the Bengal government and separated it from the powerful kingdom of Orissa or Kalinga, which flourished at the same period as the Ujayin and Malwa monarchies, and was next to Magadh in greatness, stretching from the Godavary towards the Ganges; the king of Kalinga in Pliny's time could bring into the field 100,000 foot; at the beginning of the Christian era. Salivahan ruled the country between the Godavary and the Nermada. By progress of emigration and conquest the Orissan nation carried their name and language over vast space of territory, including, besides Orissa proper, part of Bengal, and Telingana". In 1243 the rajah of Jangipur, 35 miles N. E. of Katak, besieged Gaur the capital of Bengal. The Orissan monarchy sunk into decay about the same time that the Saraswati river, owing to a silting process, dried up; in 1845 an inundation tore up the soil in the bed of the river near Satgan and exposed to view the masts of a ship. In Rennel's Maps, drawn over 70 years ago, the Saraswati joins a river which flows by Duma, Nishipur and Chanditala into the Hugly at Sankral near Bishop's College: this probably was the old bed of the Bhagirathi, which passed from Sankral up to the site of the Tolly's Nala, via Gurea, Barripur and Rajganj to Diamond Harbour, and so on to Ganga Sagar; the ground west of Hauria and
from thence on the Hugly is low and marshy, indicating the course of a former river. Ptolemy however states that the Saraswati flowed into the mouth of the Jellasore river: this view corresponds with that of Rennel's and may be reconciled with our's by supporting a branch from the Saraswati i.e., Ganges to have joined the Damuda or Rupnarayan.

Satgan, the royal emporium of Bengal from the time of Pliny down to the arrival of the Portuguese in this country, has now scarcely a memorial of its ancient greatness left; it has furnished a native proverb indicative of its fall, "Compare not yourself to a man of Satgan". Wilford thus describes it, "Ganges Regia, now Satgang, near Hugly. It is a famous place of worship, and was formerly the residence of the kings of the country, and said to have been a city of an immense size, so as to have swallowed up one hundred villages, as the name imports: however, though they write its name Satgan, I believe it should be Satgram or the seven villages, because there were so many consecrated to the seven Rishis and each of them had one appropriated to his own use". Satgan is said to have been one of the resting places of Bhagirath. One of the Puranas states that Pryabasta, king of Kanauj had 7 sons, who lived in Satgan i.e., Saptagram, and whose names were given to seven villages, viz. Agnidra, Romanaka, Bhopisanta, Sauraiban, Barra, Sabana, and Dutimanta, they were munis. Kusagrass is said not grow in Satgan, as it was cursed by the seven rishis. Dr. Barrows writes "that Satgaw is a great and noble city, though less frequented than Chittagong, on account of the port not being so convenient for the entrance and departure of ships". Purchas states it to be "a fair citie for a citie of the Moores, and very plentiful but sometimes subject to Patnaw". Fredericke, who travelled in Bengal 1670, and visited Satgan mentions that it "the merchants gather themselves together for their trade": he describes a place called Buttor, "a good tide's rowing before you come to Satgaw, from hence upwards the ships do not go, because that upwards the river is
very shallow and little water, the small ships go to Satgaw and there they lade”: he writes that “Buttor has an infinite number of ships and bazars; while the ships stay in the season, they erect a village of straw houses, which they burn when the ships leave and build again the next season: in the port of Satgaw every year lade 30 or 35 ships great and small with rice, cloth of bombast of divers sorts, lacca, great abundance of sugar, paper, oil of zezeline and other sorts of merchandize”. The Shah Jehan Namah, part of which is translated in Stewart’s Oriental Catalogue, mentions that “while Bengal was governed by its own princes a number of merchants resorted to this place (Hugly) and having rendered this agreeable, obtained a piece of groud, and permission to build houses, in order to carry on their commerce to advantage; in the course of time owing to stupidity and want of attention of the Governors of Bengal, a great number of Portuguese assembled here, who erected lofty and solid factories which they fortified with cannon, muskets, and other implements of war”: he then states that the Portuguese settled at Hugly, “which drew in a short time all the trade from Satgan, which in consequence fell into decay.” In 1632, being made a royal port, all the public officers were withdrawn from Satgan which soon sunk into ruin. The Mogul governor of Hugly brought a charge against the Portuguese before Shah Jehan of “having drawn away the trade from the ancient port of Satgan”. The silting up of river there, was another cause of its decay: similarly we find that Kambay, which was a famous port when the Portuguese came to India, is now choked up owing to the sea having retired several leagues: it is said the Muguls deepened the present channel which flows in front of Hugly, and this would serve to draw off the current which before flowed down by Satgan.

Warwick, a Dutch Admiral, notices that Satgan in 1667 was a place of great trade for the Portuguese. The foundations of a fort built by the Musalmans remain near
Satgan bridge; the fort was pulled down to build houses in the town. The old Dutch residents at Hugly had their country seats at Satgan, and were in the habit of walking from Chinsura in the middle of the day to it and returning after dinner. Near Satgan bridge stands an old temple in which is interred one of the officers of Shah Sufi. The people of Satgan were famed for wit and often contended for the palm of wit with the inhabitants of Mahmud Shah, in the neighbourhood.

Opposite Tribeni at the mouth of the Saraswati Khal, stands a famous Mosque, containing the tomb of Jaffir Khan; it was once a Hindu temple. Jaffir Khan was the uncle of Shah Sufi, he was a zealous Musalman and made proselyte of Rajah Man Nriput. He was killed in a battle fought with Rajah Bhudea. Jaffir’s son conquered the Rajah of Hugly and married his daughter, who is buried with the precincts of the temple, and to this day Hindu votive offerings are presented at her tomb on Musalman festivals; Jaffir Khan himself, though a Musalman, worshiped the Ganges. This temple must be at least 500 years old, as Shah Sufi came to Bengal A.D. 1340 (he fought a battle near Pandua, which rendered the country entirely subject to the Musalmans); the stones in it are very large, the temple was probably erected when the kingdom of Orissa was in its glory and stretched its sceptre as far as Tribeni, and when ships floated on the waters of the Saraswati—across with a child can now leap. A civil servant at Hugly is said some years ago to have pulled down part of this temple to make a ghat.

South of this temple is the village of Bansbaria or Bansbati i.e., the place of bambus, famous for the temple of the goddess Hansheshari, with its 13 pinnacles and 13 images of Shiva, erected 50 years ago by Rani Sankari Dasi, the wife of Nrisinga Deva Ray, a Zemindar: it cost a lakh of rupees, and had a house there surrounded with a trench and four pieces of cannon mounted on it; when Mahrattas came near Tribeni the people fled to this house
for protection. On the festival of Hansheshvari the Rani used to invite Pandits from all the neighbouring country, Calcutta and Nadiya. This temple occupies 15 acres.

At Bansbaria there were formally 12 or 14 Tolas, where Nyaya or logic was read, but Sanskrit studies are on the decline there. The Tatwabodhini Sabha had formerly a flourishing English School of 200 boys at Bansbaria established in 1843, but some of the boys embracing Vedantism, their parents became alarmed lest they should forsake Puranism and they withdrew many of them; the members of the Sabha thought that Bansbaria being an eminent seat of Hindu learning presented a more favourable opening for schools than Calcutta; but Puranism and Vedantism being antagonistic the success of the school has been retarded. A tiger was seen near it in 1830; he killed four ryots; old persons still remember the time when the Satgan district was infested with tigers and when rewards used to be offered from the Collector's office at Hugly for killing them. Tarachand, a native Christian, resided at Bansbaria, he was led to inquire respecting Christianity from simply reading a New Testament. The first native Church under a native minister was formed at Bansbaria under Tarachand, was a well-informed man, spoke English, French, and Portuguese with fluency.

On the opposite side of the river facing Bansbaria is Malikbag, of which Ramkomul Sen gives the following account in his able Preface to his Bengali dictionary: "The Musalman invaders of the west of Hindustan, who afterwards established themselves on throne of Delhi, considered this country (Bengal) to be Dojakh, or an infernal region, and whenever any of the Amirs or Courtiers were found guilty of capital crimes, and the rank of the individuals did not permit their being beheaded, while policy at the same time rendered their removal necessary, they were banished to Bengal. Of those individuals one, named Mullik Kassim, had his residence immediately west of Hugly, where there is a Hut or market, still
held, which goes by his name. Ahmid Beg was another person of that description; his estate is still in existence; opposite to Bansbaria; and there are a Hut, Gunge, or mart, and a Khal or creek, still called after his name; Meer Beg also had a fort, with a mansion opposite to Hugly, which is called Mir Beg ka Gur.” These lands were given on a kind of military tenure; as the Government of the Afgans in Bengal, bore a close resemblance to the feudal system of the Goths. The air and water of that part of Bengal were then considered so bad as to lead almost to the certain death of the criminal. The whole of Malikbag was formerly a large garden, but the trees have been cut down for fuel. In the time of Malik the site of Serampore was a jungle. The site of the city of Jessore, which is considerably to the north of Malikbag, was, when founded 300 years ago by Sivananda Majumdar, the uncle of Rajah Pratapaditya, “a forest on the borders of the sea.” A little to the south of Malikbag is Halishar, famous for the Smriti Colleges, established there by Rajah Kṣ Ray of Nudiyā; he assigned to them endowments of land, the Rajah is said to have come here to visit Balaram Tarkabhusana, a very learned pandit; who would not enter a Sudra’s house, nor even take money from his hand, nor receive a present on the banks on the Ganges: the Rajah saw a Kumbhakar or potter at the place and asked him in Sanskrit, Kastam (who are you), the man replied, Kumbhakara Ahang (I am a potter). The Rajah was surprised that a low person knew Sanskrit. He said it is a fine place, and he made a bazar in it called Kumarhatta, i.e., the bazar of the potter. Great quantities of broken pottery are dug up, the pandit still call Halishar by the name of Kumarhatta. Balaram Tarkbhusan, a pandit skilled in Nyaya, lived there. There are still twelve Sanskrit Colleges in Halishar and its neighbourhood. Law and Logic are the chief subjects taught. Halishar is noted for its drunkards, and particularly for drunken women: one reason ascribed for it is, that many Brahmans from
the East of Bengal reside here, and follow the Tantra system which encourages drunkenness. At Halishar, Ram Komul Sen had his country seat; he was of low origin, his father was a native doctor; Professor Wilson patronised him and gave him an employment in his printing office, afterwards in the mint, where he studied English and Sanskrit, and subsequently became Assistant Secretary to the Sanskrit College, Halishar formed a Zillah last century: it has a population of about 30,000. 4,000 of whom are of the bhadralok or Hindu gentry.

To the North of Malikbag flows the Jamuna river, called by Ptolemy, the Diamuni, "the blue daughter of the sun", by Jaydeva it is named the Kal Yamany, because Kanya destroyed the Hydra Kalya which infested it: the villages along the Jamuna are scattered and thinly populated. Crops are thrown into it in order to float into the Bhagirathi, which they sometimes do after the lapse of a year. In 1813 the Government survey fixed the Jamuna as the Northern boundary of the Sunderbans. The Jamuna joins the Ishamati (so called from its being noted for its ikhhu sugarcanes). The Jamuna, though now a Khal, was a large river at the period when the whole stream of the Ganges flowed down by Tribeni and along with the Saraswati formed the Dakhin Prayag; the ghat manjis on the route from Orissa to Tribeni are guilty of great oppression. To the North of the Jamuna is Ghoshpara, famous for being the birth place of the Karta Bhoja sect.

We now came to the far famed Tribeni, the Muktabeni of Bengal, as the Tribeni at Prayag is the Yukta Beni. Tribeni is said in the Padma Purana to give virtue and salvation to all those residing near it; a famous mela is held here in January: in 1838 over 100,000 persons attended it; of these 24,000 were from Orissa. The Siva Purana states that the place where the Ganges unites with the Jamuna is capable of destroying the sin of murdering a Brahman, particularly in the month of Magha. Stavironus, an old Dutch traveller of the middle of last century,
described the mela as attended by an immense concourse, who carried home Ganga water for the use of their relatives. Tribeni is one of the four Samajis or places famous for Hindu learning; the others are Nadiya, Santipur and Guptapara. Tribeni was formerly noted for its trade: Pliny mentions that the ships assembling near the Godavary sailed from thence to Cape Palinurus, then to Tentigale, opposite Fulta, than to Tribeni and lastly to Patna. Ptolemy also notices Tribeni. The Portuguese, Ptolemy, and the natives now call it Tripina, but incorrectly. There were 30 tolas in Tribeni; Jagannath Pandit lived here in the time of Lord Cornwallis; he took an active part in the publication of the Hindu Laws. Some years ago a Sanyasi who lived for 50 years near the bazar, was attacked by dakoits; 2000 Rupees were stolen from him, and his ears were cut off. A bridge was built over the Saraswati by Prankissen of Chinsura, but it was nearly destroyed in the great storm of 1242 B.S. by an over-flow of the Damuda. Jagannath presided 50 years ago over a large college in Tribeni: he was considered the most learned man in Bengal, and died at the age of 109 years. Several persons have become rich here from selling the clothes of the dead. Stavorinus writes in 1763 that about 3 miles north of Tribeni near the river, he came to a wood, in which was "an ancient large building of large square stones as hard as iron, 30 feet long and 20 broad, the walls 13 or 14 feet high, no rood, 3 tombs of black stone which were Persian characters." The Bengalis believe it was built by a magician in one night without the assistance of any mortal. In June 1837 an alligator 12 feet long with the arm of an adult female in his belly, was caught here at the ghat.

Nya Serai or the New Serai, is situated on a bank of the Damuda river, called the Kanah Nadi; its mouth is so choked up with sand at Salimpur that it is unable to receive much of the Damuda, and is therefore called the Kanah Nadi; attempts have been unsuccessfully made to
cut through the sand, but it has filled up again; it has been proposed to cut a canal to draw the water from Bundipur to Bali Khal or to make a canal from Gopalanagar to Bidyabati. A bridge was built here by a Zemindar; but a few years ago it was washed away by the inundation in 1839, it was ordered to be rebuilt, by the court of Directors. Through Nya Serai lies the line of traffic to Burdwan and the Jangal Mahals. Stavorinus in 1768 describes the country about Nya Serai thus, "We met with pleasant plains arable and pasture lands, intermixed with groves of cocoanut, mango and other trees: the sugarcane was likewise cultivated in many places and flourished excellently." Stavorinus walked from Nya Serai to Tribeni,—"the way first led through a wood which was filled with the notes of birds and afterwards over a lovely plain mostly consisting of pasture grounds." The Banks of the river between Nya Serai and Serampore are mostly elevated, which shows it was a remnant of the ancient elevation of the land like that at Rangamati. There are a Munsif at Nya Serai and a Chokey station for the Salt Department. The Nya Serai Khal is named in Rennel's Maps as the old Damuda; on it is Magra, so called from a goddess of that name; it is on the high road to Lahore, has 4 talas, and furnishes quantities of sand fit for plastering.

North of Nya Serai is the village, Damurdaha; its affix daha, an abyss indicates, like Khal, Sagar, daha,—that it is alluvial land gained from the water. There is an English school here. A Zemindar Iswar Babu is said to have lived here 40 years ago and to have been in the habit of inviting travellers to his house at night and then strangling them while they slept; a pilgrim discovered it at night and gave information to the thana at Bansbaria; the Zemindar was arrested and hung; men were found sunk in a tank near his house with stones tied round their necks. Many natives still are afraid to go in Damurdaha by boats. Dacoity reached its height in this neighbourhood and the Krishnagthur district, about 1807; the dakoits had
the village watchmen under their influence and used to go with the greatest indifferent to gallows: their cruelties were most atrocious, slashing with sabres, scorching all the skin off with blazing grass burning off the most tender parts of the body with oil and tow, violating girls, extorting confessions by rubbing hot irons over the body &c.

On the opposite side of the river is Sukh Sagar, placed in Rennel’s Map a considerable distance from the river, which has of late made fearful encroachments and has left a vestige of the magnificent house of the Revenue Board that cost a lakh and a half originally. The Marquis of Cornwallis and suite, used often in the hot weather to retire to it, as it was the Government country seat before Barrakpur. The house of Mr. Barretto and a Roman Catholic Chapel erected by him in 1789, at a cost of Rs. 9000 have also been washed away. Mr. Barretto was suspected by the natives, from his being a rich man, to have known the art of turning metals into gold. These encroachments of the river, together with Pal Chaudhuri, a rich Zemindar, making a bazar in Chagda, have led to the decay of Sukh Sagar, which owed much of its prosperity to Mr. Barretto who made many roads there planted with nim trees on both sides, which remain to this day: he had a rum distillery in 1792, as also Sugar works; in his time the place was called Chota Calcutta. On Clive passing Sukh Sagar, a small battery there gave him a salute he imagining it to be an enemy’s entrenchment, ordered it to be dismantled. On the courts being removed from Murshidabad to Calcutta in 1772, the Revenue Board was fixed there, as it was thought more suitable than Calcutta, from being the country. Bissenpur, Srinagar and Bhagda near Sukh Sagar were noted formerly for dacoity. The Zemindary of Sukh Sagar belonged to Rajah R. C. Ray of Nudiya, who made a bazar in it; there are still remaining the ruins of several fine houses built in his time, he also erected a temple to Agru-Chandy in which sacrifices were offered. Froster in 1782 gives the following description of
Sukh Sagar:—“Sukh Sagar is a valuable and rising plantation, the property of Messrs Crofts and Lennox; and these gentlemen have established at this place a fabric of white clothes, of which the Company provide an annual investment of two lakhs of rupees; they have also founded a raw silk manufactory, which as it bears the appearance of increase and improvement, will, I hope, reward the industrious, estimable labors of its proprietors.” A pathshala was established by Government in 1845; a Zemindar gave as a school room a chaubari, formerly built by Mr. Barretto to enable the Hindus to read the Puranas and Mahabharat. An English pay school was founded in 1844 by the Munsif under the patronage of the Vedantists; in 1846, at the annual examination 150 respectable babus were present. Pitambar Sing, an eminent native Christian convert, and a Sanskrit scholar, was stationed as a catechist, in 1802, at Sukh Sagar, “a pretty large place and very populous neighbourhood”; he was a match in argument for the pandits; a tract was the instrument of his conversion. In 1804 he left the place, on account of sickness, as also because of “his house being out of town and surrounded with robbers”. Bishop Heber writes in his Journal in 1824, “I saw (near Sukh Sagar) a sign of a civilized country, a gibbet with two men in chains on it, who were executed two years ago for robbery and murder in this neighbourhood. The district bears a bad name;” he remarks that Mr. Corrie saw near it the prints of tigers’ feet; at Palpara, near Sukh Sagar, lived Nandakumar Vidyalankar, who was deeply versed in Nyaya and the Tantras, he published a book called Kularnuba: the river has washed away twelve bighas and a great part of Palpara; near it, is Monasapota, respecting which Ram Komul Sen relates the following legend:—“Bengal was once governed by Asurs, Demons, one of whom called Sambarasura, was King of lower Bengal: he was killed by Pradyumna, the son of Krishna, and his corpse was thrown into pits near Sukh Sagar in
Monasapota, which was thence named Pradyumnahrad or Pradyumna’s pit.

North of Sukh Sagar is Chagda (notorious for ghat murders) fabled to derive its name from Bhagirath, because when bringing the Ganges from the Himalaya to Ganga Sagar to water his forefather’s bones, he left the traces of his chariot wheel, chakra, there. Chagda as well as Bansbaria and Ganga Sagar were formerly noted for human sacrifices by drowning; the aged and children were thrown into the river; 1801 in November some pilots saw 11 persons at Sagar throw themselves to sharks; and that month, 29 persons were devoured by them; it is still a famous place for burning the dead and for bathing; corpses are brought there from all parts of the country, often from great distances, when they become putrid ere they reach Chagda; the persons carrying corpse are not allowed to enter a house, must pay double farryfare, and must take fire with them as none will give it. Tavernier mentions seeing corpses brought to Chagda, from a place twenty days distance, all rotten and smelling dreadfully. It is singular that in former times and particularly near Calcutta, persons were burnt on the Western bank of the river, because the true channel was considered to be there as the river was said to have made a new channel on the Eastern side, this seems to favour an opinion held by some, that the Ganges is gradually tending to a more easternly direction. Chagda is the route taken by people North of Calcutta for Dhaka, and Assam via Jessore; as the road is better and higher than that via Baraset. A road has been made from Bangaon to Chagda 20 miles, planted with trees on both sides, by Kali Prasad Poddar of Jessore. As this Babu stands out conspicuously from his countrymen by his public spirit, we give the following notice of him. “He has indeed proved himself an example to many Roy and Chaudri Zemindars of greater opulence and higher respectability. Report of the Babu’s liberality having been made by the Judge and Collector of the district, the
Governor of Bengal has presented him with the title of Roy, and a Khetab consisting of a pair of rich shawls, a Kaba, and a crested turban embroidered with gold and pearls. On Monday, the 30th of March last (1846) the judge of the district invited the most respectable European and native gentlemen of the station, including Vakils and Muktiars and presented him with the honorary dress and a suitable address. On which the Babu felt himself much affected at the kindness of the British Government, and after returning his heartfelt thanks, gave four hundred Rupees to the Jessore Government School, one hundred Rupees to the Jessore Charitable Hospital, and three hundred Rupees to the beggars that crowded on the occasion. Afterwards, Mr. Seton Karr delivered an eloquent speech in eulogy of the Babu. He was followed by Roy Lokenath Bose and Babu Nilmadhub Ghose, who all spoke to the same effect, after which the meeting dispersed. The following is a statement of the several liberal acts of the worthy Babu:

1st. A staircase to the hill of Chundernath.

2nd. A stone built Dhuramshala or alms-house at the Ghat Attara nullah.


4th. A brick-built bridge over the Dytolla Khal.

5th. A brick-built bridge over the Bhyrub Nadi at Nilgunge.

6th. A Dhuramshala and a house of charity at Nilgunge.

7th. A road from Bongah to Chukra Dha on the banks of the Ganges extending over nearly twenty miles, and planted on the both sides with trees.

8th. A road from Chura Maukati to Agradip extending over nearly 30 miles, and planted on both sides with trees.

9th. An iron bridge over the Kobotoka river at Jhikargucha with the joint assistance of Government.
10th. A brick-built bridge over the Betna river at Jadubpur.

11th. A brick built bridge at Kaintpur.

12th. A brick built bridge at Naudanga Huridashpur. 

Chagda has been notorious for Ghat murders: there are various persons now living there, who have been taken to the river to die, but have recovered and are outcasts. Great numbers of people bathe here at the Baroni festival in March; many persons come as far as from Orissa. The Baruari puja is celebrated with great pomp here, this puja was established in 1790 by a number of Brahmans of Guptapara, who formed an association to celebrate a puja not noticed in the Shastras; it is named baruari, because they chose 12 members as a committee; they collected subscriptions in the neighbouring villages, but this not being sufficient, they sent men into various parts of the country, and having obtained Rs. 7000 they celebrated the worship of Jagatdhatri Durga with such pomp, as to attract the rich to it from a distance of 100 miles around; they procured the best singers in Bengal; and spent the week in festivity: in consequence of the success of the first baruari, they determined to celebrate it annually; which is done in various parts of Bengal, and particularly in Ula, Guptapara, Chagda, Shripur; one-fifth of the money is devoted to the idol, the rest to singing and feasting. In 1845 an English school was established here, under the patronage of the Brahma Sabha. Stavorinus, 1786, writes; "the village of Chagda, which gives its name to the channel, stands a little inland, and there is a great weekly market or bazar here: the channel terminates about three Dutch miles inland, and on its right has many woods in which are tigers and other wild beasts; on entering the woods a little way, we soon met with the traces of tigers in plenty, and therefore we did not think it prudent to venture farther; we met in the way the remains of a Bengali who had been torn in pieces by a beast of prey."
Walking near Chagda when it was dark, Stavorinus was warned by the natives that there were many tigers who had their haunts near, and who in the evening went to repair to the river-side. In 1809, Hanif and eight other dacoits were hung here. In 1808 at 9 o'clock in the evening 45 dacoits attacked the house of a man in Chagda, took his brother and burned him with lighted torches and straw taken from the thatch of the house which was in the bazar; they then rolled a bambu across his breast, he died the next day; they were torturing him during 4 gharis: it was as light as day in the bazar from the blaze of the dacoits' musalchis and torches; they plundered eight houses besides in Chagda: one witness stated on the trial, "the country is in the hands of the dacoits, they do not scruple to plunder in broad day-light." In 1809, one Ganga Ram Sirdar deposed before the magistrate, to having been a dacoit since his twelfth year and to having committed dacoities to the number of thirty-six, east of Chagda, in the Jessore and Burdwan districts and particularly at Bagda; in 1815 the dacoits in Burdwan used to go in great pomp to the villages under pretence of a wedding procession and then plundered them. In 1845 an English school was opened here by an Indigo Planter of the neighbourhood: it is conducted by two students of the Chinsura College, and has about 40 boys in daily attendance. Chagda has two Sanskrit Colleges containing 20 pupils, they study Hindu Law, under the tuition of two Professors of Law. There are 40 Brahman families in Chagda, in the bazar there are about 200 shops.

The Matabhanga river lies north of Chagda; it was formerly much deeper and was the channel of trade between the East of Bengal and Calcutta; its banks 40 years ago were infested by thieves and tigers. A survey was made of it in 1795, by Colonel Colebrooke, as government wished to keep it open all the year round: it is sometimes dangerous to cross on account of the torrents which suddenly come down. The Matabhanga has many
interesting associations in connection with one of the greatest men in Bengal, Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray of Nudiya; an interesting life of him has been published at the Serampur Press, in very pure Bengali. At Anunda Dam, near the Matabhanga, the Rajah had a fine Garden, and used often to go there to bathe; it is now over a mile inland Shibnibas, some distance up the river, was the favourite residence of the Rajah; it was a princely pile and fortified, but is now surrounded with jungle; the Rajah to make Shibnibas equal to Kasi, i.e., Benares, and as in Benares there is a great image of Shiva named Bisheswar, so he put one in Sibnibas named Bhura Sib, hence those well known lines—

Sib Nibasi tulea Kasi
Dhoneoa nadi Kankana
Dhoneoa Ragu Nandana.

A very good account is given of Shibnibas in Herber's Journal, Vol. I. pp. 120; the Rajah built here 108 temples of Shiva and endowed them richly with land for the maintenance of the officiating priests. Ranighat, so called from the Rani of Krishna Chand, is the abode of many rich Zemindars and particularly of the Chaudris. Human sacrifices were offered here in the time of Krishna Chand; some of the Zemindars there have been very oppressive, and were in the habit of rubbing a hot iron over man's body and making him then sign stamped papers. Chandi-Bhattacharjya died here in 1841; he had 40 wives. Rangananda, the dewan of Krishna Chand, lived here, he was noted for his inhospitality, and the following lines were composed on him:—

Rajbari ghorı baja tantana
Dui prahare atit gele,
Muktu mare chatkana.

Dakoits swarmed here when Tytler was Magistrate in 1809. Not far from Ranighat, is Ula, so called from Ulia goddess, whose festival is held here, when many presents are made to her by thousands of people who come from
various parts: there are a thousand families of Brahmans, many temples, and rich men living in it. As Guptapara is noted for its monkeys, Halishar for its drunkards so is Ula for fools, as one man is said to become a fool every year at the mela. The Baruari Puja is celebrated with great pomp; the headmen of the town have passed a bye-law that any man who on this occasion refuses to entertain guests shall be considered infamous and shall be excluded from society. Saran Siddhanta of Ula had two daughters, who studied Sanskrit grammar and became very learned: in 1834, the babus of Ula raised a large subscription and gave it to the authorities to make a pakka road through the town.

On the opposite side of the river is Guptapara; the people of which are famous for their activity and wit and the purity of their Bengali: there are 15 tolas and many pandits who study the Nyaya Shastra; it is also notorious for thieves and Brahmans. In 1770, Cherinjib Bhattacharjya of Guptapara composed in Sanskrit, the Vidyanmodu Tarangini: it treats of Hindu philosophy, and is in high repute among the natives, it was translated into English in 1832 by Rajah Kalikissen of Calcutta. There is a temple of Radha Ballub; the sons of the founder have an endowment for supplying travellers with food and drink. Guptapara is noted for its monkeys, which are very large and very mischievous, they sometimes break the women's kalsis; it has become a native proverb that, to ask persons whether they come from Guptapara, is equivalent to inquiring—are they monkeys? Rajah Krishna Chandra Ray is said to have procured monkeys from Guptapara and to have married them at Krishnagthur, and on the occasion to have invited pandits from Nudiya, Guptapara, Ula and Santipur: the expenses of the nuptials cost about half a lakh: though there are many monkeys on the east side of the river, there are no hanumans, or apes among them. The Rajah of Bishenpur was formerly so annoyed with monkeys who used to come into his place and steal
his provisions, that he at last requested a body of sipahis to destroy them. Stavorinus mentions seeing a great number of monkeys in a wood at Guptapara. There is a celebrated mela here; in 1845, in consequences of the boat swamping 40 women were drowned as they were crossing over to the mela. At Sumuru village human sacrifices were offered in 1770—Ballaghr is the abode of many kulis, in the temple of Radhagovinda 12 Brahmins and 50 beggars are daily fed; it has an English school:—Jirat is the residence of many Vaishnavas and Vaidyas; there are two tolas in which law and logic are read: there are 30 families of Ghosains, who have a hospice there for the entertainment of all castes: Sudam, Radakanth and Swarup, notorious dakoits, lived there. Gokal Ganj is so called from Gokal Ghose, who 30 years ago made a bazar there; in 1882 the Government erected a bungalow for the occasional residence of their then superintendent of schools.

Santipur has long been famous for its learning: it was the residence of Adwaitya, born 400 years ago, one of the friends of Chaitanya, a Hindu reformer. There are still over 30 tolas, though they are much fewer than in former times: one-third of the people are Vaishnavas, several of the descendants of Adwaitya live at Santipur, there is a temple which cost two lakhs, erected by Chaudri Babu, it is called Shamachand. A Kulin, Chandra Banerji, was killed here 30 years ago; he was married to 100 wives and was murdered by the brother of one of them on account of his profligate conduct towards his sister; eight of his wives performed satis on his funeral pyre. Satis were numerous here formerly: out of 56 Satis in 1816, in the district of Nudiya, 20 were performed at Santipur. Human sacrifices were also frequent; even as late as 1832, a Hindu, at Kali Ghat, Calcutta, sent for a Musalman barber to shave him: he asked him afterwards to hold a goat while he cut off its head as an offering to Kali, the barber did so, but the Hindu cut off the barber's head and offered
sit to Kali; he was sentenced by the Nizamut to be hung. A few years ago a number of Brahmans assembled at Santipur for puja and began to drink and carouse after it; one proposed a sacrifice to Kali, they assented, but having nothing to sacrifice one cried out, where is the goat, on which another more drunk than the rest exclaimed, I will be the goat, and at once placed himself on his knees; one of the company then cut off his head with the sacrificial knife, the next morning being freed from their drunken fit, they found the man with his head off, they had the corpse taken to the Ghat and burned and reported the man died of cholera. Suicides are on the increase, women think little of hanging themselves for any trifling domestic disturbance; Ghat murders are also of occasional occurrence: an old woman was found lately dead at the Ghat with her mouth stuffed with mud; a man came sometime ago to the magistrate, he was 45 years old and requested leave to be burnt, as he said he was tired of life and burning would be a blessing; the magistrate offered him money which he refused, that night he was burned. The obscene rites of the Tantra Shastra are sometimes celebrated there; one of them is the worship of a shamefully exposed female. A Brahman of Santipur in the time of Rajah Krishn Chand was accused of criminal intercourse with the daughter of a shoe-maker; the Rajah forbade the barber to shave him or the dhobi to wash for him, he applied to the Rajah for pardon and afterwards to the Nawab, but in vain; subsequently the Rajah relented and allowed him to be shaved, but the family have not regained their caste to the present time. Bribery is very common; false witnesses charge two annas a day, for which they will swear to anything. Santipur has a great number of brick houses; it is noted for its ghosains, ("Gentoo bishops" as Holwell calls them,) tailors and weavers: fine clothes called urini are made; there is a Sugar Factory 2 miles from the town, 700 persons are employed in it, and 500 mds. of sugar refined daily. The
river has made great changes a century ago it flowed behind the Sugar Factory 2 miles away from its present bed. Rennel's map marks Santipur at a considerable distance from the river. In 1845 a grant of Rs. 20,000 was made by the Government for the repair of the road leading to Krishnaghur.

The Commercial Residency of the East India Company was maintained here up to 1828; clothes to the value of 12 or 15 lakhs were purchased every year by the Company from the weavers: the commercial resident had a salary of Rs. 42,351 annually, and lived in a magnificent house with marble floors, built for him at the cost of a lakh; it was sold for Rs. 2,000. In 1822, the East India Company cloth manufactory gave employment to 5,000 persons: 1802, the Marquess of Wellesley spent two days at the Residency: and 1792, there were shipped for England from the Santipur factory 14,000 mds. of sugar. Marjoribanks was the last resident and his plans failed. We have an account of Indigo factories near it in 1790; in the vicinity of Santipur are the Indigo Factories of Gangadharpur, Kali Ghat, Nanda Ghat and Hurni Khal under the management of Europeans Mr. May, the Superintendent of the Nudiya rivers, was engaged in 1836 in surveying a line of a proposed still water canal from the Hugly near Santipur to Mangra on the Nabaganga river, which, if cut, would have afforded a certain communication with the great river at all times of the year. No place on the river was so infested with dakoits as Santipur until the appointment of a Deputy Magistrate who is resident there: even Zemindars and respectable babus were in league with the dakoits; no native would formerly venture to pass Santipur at night; guard boats are now employed which sail swiftly and put a great check on river dakoity.

There is an English School at Santipur: 1822, Messrs. Hill, Warden and Trawin of the London Missionary Society, preached in Santipur; they remark that "the people have much simplicity and received the truth more:
earnestly than Bengalis generally." They examined whether Santipur would not make a suitable mission station: they reported that "Santipur has 50,000 inhabitants at least and 20,000 houses many of which were built of brick and exhibit evident marks of antiquity—that it had a vast population—was contiguous to other large and populous villages, being only 3½ miles from Guptapara, which contains 10,000 people, about 4 miles from Ambika and Kalna, two adjacent villages the aggregation of whole population is 45,000—"the favourable disposition of the moral feelings of the people, which we conceive has been cherished materially by the general instruction which has been diffused by the Company's schools"—the opportunity of obtaining medical assistance from Krishnaghar, 12 miles distant—the situation of the place to the river with every facility for intercourse with Calcutta—induced them to recommend it as a mission station. Here Holwell was landed as a prisoner on his way to Murshidabad, after surviving the misery of the Black Hole: he was marched up to the Zemindar of Santipur "in a scorching sun near noon, for more than a mile and a half, his legs running in a stream of blood from the irritation of the irons." From thence he was sent in an open fishing boat to Murshidabad, "exposed to succession of heavy rain or intense sunshine." He was lodged in an open stable; he experienced however every act of kindness from Messrs. Law and Vernet, the French and Dutch chiefs of Kasimibazar; as also from the American merchants. He was led about the city in chains as a spectacle to the inhabitants, to show the condition the English were reduced to.

Kalna (Culna) lies on the opposite side and is noted for its great trade, being the port of the Burdwan district, the bazar has 1000 shops, the houses are chiefly of brick. Great quantities of rice bought from merchants of Rangpur, Dewanganj, Jaffirganj, are here stored up, grain, silk and cotton also from a large staple. Kalna must have
been a place of some importance in Musalman times, as the ruins of a large fort are still to be seen near the Mission House, which commanded the river: great numbers of snakes are brought to it from various parts of the country, the village of Ambika is situated near it, so called from Ambika, the goddess Durga. Kalna is said to have 60,000 inhabitants, the chief part of whom come from different parts of the country to carry on trade here, "they have not the simplicity which villagers generally have, but are more deceitful." The Raja of Burdwan has a magnificent mansion here, in which is Dhatri or alm's-house, where several hundred beggars are daily fed on flour, ghi, rice and dal: there is an attithishala for travellers; close to it is a place called a Somaj Bati, where a bone of every deceased member of the Rajah's family is deposited, while a bone of the last Rajah is exposed wrapt up in cloth; the Rajah belongs to the Khatriya tribe, who bury the ashes of the dead; inside of the Rajbari are 108 temples of Shiva ranged in two circles, one within the other, above 50 priests are employed to serve them: the buildings must have cost a large sum of money, but it is to be observed that the zamindary of Burdwan is the only great estate which has suffered no diminution since the English Government was established, while the estates of Krishnghur, Rajshahi, Dinajpur, and Vishnupur, formerly equal to the patrimony of princes have been broken up and sold for arrears of revenue. In 1832 the old Rajah of Burdwan died at Ambika: the succession was afterwards disputed, and one Pratap Chand came forward to claim the property, stating that he was the real Rajah and had not been really burnt; the trial lasted a long time and was sent down to the Sadar, the decision filling 100 reams of foolscap,—as if the Sadar Judges could have either leisure or inclination to wade through such a mass of documents,—in order to come at the truth. The editor of Darpan remarked of the trial, "such a scene of villainy has been brought to the light by this trial, as has never,
we believe, been exhibited in Bengal. If the prisoner be the real Pratap Chand, the villainy by which the present Rajah has been seated on the gadi to the injury of the rightful heir is most surprising. If on the contrary, the real Pratap Chand did actually die and his body was burnt the pretender will stand unrivalled for roguery." 10,000 persons assembled on the first day of his trial at Hugly: the popular feeling was in favour of Pratap Chand.

The river formerly flowed behind Kalna, where old Kalna now is; it passed by Pyagachi, the remains of deep and large jils are still to be met with there. Old Kalna is deserted as a place of trade, but is the residence of many respectable natives. Tieffenthaler states that at Kalna the Ganges forms a bay. At Baydapur near Kalna about 1820 there were two Raths kept at a short distance from the town, near an unfrequented road; many persons were murdered by robbers who concealing themselves there, sprang out, killed the travellers and hid their bodies among the wheels of the Rath; the people suffered much, but could not find out the murderers, at length some said the Rath was the cause: they buried it to the ground and then the murders ceased. Some of Sleeman's approvers told him that Pungus or river Thugs lived near Kalna and also near Katwa. Many persons were formerly killed at Kamardanga Khal near Kalna, so that it was unsafe to pass through it even by day. West of Kalna is a tank occupying eight bighas, where a mela is held: near it are two fine ruins of mosques, one of which has layers of stone running through the building, ornamented with tracery; it contains the tomb of the founder. A good road was made between Kalna and Burdwan in 1831, with bungalows, stables, and tanks every 8 miles, by the Rajah of Burdwan chiefly with the design of enabling him to bathe in the Ganges. Kankar is found near this road; the country to the west of Kalna is high ground, richly wooded. In 1837 property to the value of a lakh was consumed in the bazar, the fire lasted three days. In
1822 Messrs. Hill, Warden and Trawin visited Kalna and found that numbers of the boys could read. Kalna now forms in a station of the Free Church Mission, and has an English school there containing 120 boys. A mela called Grachemi is held in March, attended by numbers of Musalmans and Hindus. A Muselman Zemindar here holds a grant of 160 bighas made to him by Sultan Suja 200 years ago, and continued by the Rajah of Burdwan; at the village of Chaga is an image of Shiva which is fabled to produce images of itself and immersed in water for ten months every year: Kulti is said to produce roots which cure spleen, as Kukutpur has roots which are said to cure the bites of dogs.—Holwell states that in his time (about 1760) there was a Amborah near Kalna a college of Brahmins supported by the people for the purpose also of maintaining the monkeys in the adjacent groves.

Mirzapur Khal lies north of Kalna, and was designed to be the terminus of a canal to lead from the Hughly at Kalna to Rajmahal. The Military Board in 1844 reported that no permanent improvement can be made in the channels of the Nudiya rivers owing to the shifting of the channels: they recommended a canal from Kalna to Rajmahal 130 miles long, 50 feet broad, and 5 deep, which would cost at the lowest 3,847 rupees; boats going to the Ganges from Calcutta would save a round of 326 miles by it, they calculated on a profit of $14\frac{1}{2}$ per cent by it: the Government had surplus of 3,235,950 rupees from the tolls of Bhagirathi, Circular and Tolly’s canals and the Nudiya rivers. The Dhoba factory owes its origin to the enterprising spirit of Mr. Blake, who risked his fortune in it; Colonel Sleeman very justly proposed that the Agricultural Society should give him a gold medal for advancing the Sugar manufacture in India, he established it under the most unfavourable circumstances, and on his arrival in England he was offered four lakhs for the concern, but he formed a Joint Stock Company, which purchased the works from
him for 4½ lakhs, and he retained 300 shares for himself; in 1836 they manufactured 800 tons of sugar. There are four Europeans and 250 natives employed. It has a number of factories as Tremoni in Jessore on the Kabbadak; Kissapur, Jessore; Chandput near Chaugachha; Rari Khali; Narikalbari; Sudpur; Bonmari; Kanchanagar; Surui; Santipur. We find that in 1801 one Mr. Gordon lived at Santipur as Superintendent of rum and sugar works belonging to the E.I.C. He then introduced the China cane which he describes as not liable to the ravages of white ants and jackals; the E.I.C. had a sugar plantation farm at Santipur. Mirzapur is described by a traveller of 1822 thus, "this village is situated on a beautiful arm of the river, and presents some of the most rural enchanting scenery which we have seen in India.

We next come to the far famed Nudiya, Nabadwip; all its early history however, like that of Gaur, is buried in the wreck of time: we need not be surprised that we have few records of Nudiya, when we find that we have scarcely any of Gaur, though as late as 1556 Gaur was a flourishing city three leagues long; though the streets were wide, yet the people were so numerous that they were sometimes trodden to death: it was 20 miles in circumference and the rich people used to eat their food from golden plates. The earliest fact we know about Nudiya is that in 1203 it was the capital of Bengal and was surrounded with a wall, that Lakshman Sen, its last sovereign, was at dinner when news reached him that Bhaktiyar Khilji, the Musulman General, was marching into the city, on which he made his escape to Vikrampur in a small boat, his nobility apprehending a Muhammedan invasion, had sometime before deserted the city. Nudiya was plundered and sacked by Bhaktiyar and the seat of empire was transferred to Gaur. In Lakshman's time Bengal became independent of the Magadh empire, to which it was subject before. As to how long Nudiya was the capital, or what Kings lived in it, or why that place was selected, not a single
ray of light is furnished either from tradition or Mss. "Sic transit gloria mundi"—the condition of the people at that time was probably semi-barbarous, as they very likely used the Bengali language, which was then in a very poor idiom, as it has had no grammar until within the last sixty years; the upper classes and priesthood spoke and wrote in Sanskrit. Even the Bengal Brahmans were so illiterate in the days of Adisur that he procured the services of certain Brahmans of Kanauj who had gone to Ganga Sagar to bathe. Bhaktiyar was the first Musalman invader of Bengal. The caprices of the river have not left a fragment of any old buildings: in Lakshan's time it flowed at the west of the present town near Jehannagar; and old Nudia, which was swept away by the river, lay to the north of the existing Nudia. The old town was on the Krishnaghar side of the river, hence when Bengal was divided into zilahs, the district of Krishnaghar was called the district of Nudia; Government lately intended to annex Nudia to the Burdwan district on account of its being on the other side of the river in 1840, a gentleman of Krishnaghar dug up the remains of fish 12 feet beneath the ground in Nudia.

Nudia drives much of its celebrity from its having been the birthplace of Chaitanya, the great Hindu heresiarch; hence the Chaitanya Bhagabat writes, "No village is equal to Nudia in even earth or hell, because Chaitanya was there incarnated, no one can tell the wealth of Nudia, if the people read in Nudia they find the rasa of learning, and the number of students is innumerable". Chaitanya born at Nudia A.D. 1346, his father was a Baidik Brahman: at 44 years of age he was persuaded by Adwaitya to become a mendicant to forsake his wife and go to Benares; he then formed a sect, teaching them to renounce a secular life, to eat with all those who are Vaishnavas, he allowed widows to marry; the Ghosains are his successors; one-fifth of the population of Bengal are followers of Chaitanya; his disciples are on the
increase. Todd thinks the worship of Krishna succeeded that of the simple form of Hindu worship, viz. of the Jains, who adore Jin or spirit. Nityananda, a coadjutor of Chaitanya, resided in the midst of Nudiya; his image is there still and is worshipped. The era of Chaitanya, formed the commencement of Bengali literature.

The settlement of Chaitanya and his followers at Nudiya (Chaitanya died A.D. 1396) together with the Court of Bengal having been held there, were probably the chief causes of its having become a seat of learning: tradition however states that a learned devotee settled there, when it was a dense jangal, who attracted a number of learned men to the place: probably Nudiya derived its original supply of Pandits from Tirhut. The Ayin-i Akbary mentions that in the time of Lakshman "Nudiya was the capital of Bengal and abounded with wisdom;" in 1819 there was a handsome temple of Krishna finely ornamented.

Human sacrifices used to be offered in the temple of Durga at Brahmanitala near Nudiya: in 1799 at Bagna Para 37 widows were burnt with their husbands, the fire was burning 3 days; on the first day, 3 were burnt, on the second, 15, and on the third day, 19; the deceased had over 100 wives—in 1807, the Tapta Mukti or ordeal by hot clarified butter was tried before 7000 spectators on a young woman accused by her husband of adultery:—a meeting of Brahmans was held in 1760 at Kishnagthur before Clive and Verelst, who wished to have a Brahman restored to his caste which he had lost by being compelled to swallow a drop of cow's shup; the Brahmans declared it was impossible to restore him (though Ragunandan had decided in the Prayaschitta Tatva that an atonement can be made when one loses cast by violence) and the man died soon after of a broken heart. Nudiya was then the Head Quarter of Hindu orthodoxy, the place of Hindu retreat; Gunga Govind Singh, the dewan of Warren Hastings, after having acquired immense wealth,
retired to Nudiya with two or three hundred Vairagis, leaving all his money to his grandson Lalla Babu, who withdrew to Brindaban, where he expended 6 lakhs on temples, tanks &c.—Gunga Govind Singh erected a temple over 60 feet high, which was washed away 25 years ago by the river; it was at Ramchandrapur and supplied food to many fakirs and pilgrims of the Vaishnavas: he himself was a Sudra. At Bullal Digy, north of Nudiya, the house of the famous Bullal Sen stood, there were formerly many temples, but the river has swept them also away: Lord Valentia writes in 1805, of "a very handsome Musalman College at Nudiya which was for three hours in sight and bore from us at every point of the compass during this time." The bore came up to Nudiya in Sir W. Jones' time; beyond it cocoa trees do not flourish. In 1835 a Dharmasahla was established, called that the Ten Thakurs, they punished offenders by excluding them from caste, by sending them when they transgressed the Regulations, to the magistrate of Krishnaghur, or by prohibiting midwives attending their wives in confinement. An almanac has been published in Nudiya long before the time of Rajah Krishna, it is superior to that of Bali or that of Maula near Mushidabad: this almanac regulates the principal festivals. In May 1817, the cholera began in Nudiya, in 1818 it spread through India, then in 1820 to China, 1821 to Arabia and Persia, 1823 to Russia, Prussia, and in 1832 to London. The neighbourhood of Nudiya until recently was in a wild state, 80 years ago people were obliged when travelling to sound instruments to scare about the tigers away; about 1826 a tiger was killed at Dhogachea, 6 miles west of Nudiya. Dr. Leyden wrote in 1809 to Sri S. Raffles that he was for several months magistrate in Nudiya, where he was engaged bush fighting in the jungles". Jahanagar (the same as Brahmanitala) west of Nudiya has a great mela in July, the tradition is that Jahn Muni there swallowed up the Ganges. A cow called Ramdenu is worshipped in Nudiya. Another Ramdenu is worshipped in
The Banks of the Bhagirathi

Benares; it must be one of an age to give milk, which yet has never been capacitated to do so; when one dies another is selected: she is chiefly worshipped by the person in whose house she is. There are over 30 temples in Nudiya and about 100 tolas, it is a finishing school for those pandits who wish to know logic thoroughly as Ranhor Burdwan is for Grammar students, and Kamakhya Krishnagur for law students; there are students here 45 years old, many come to study from the distance of Assam, so that the remark of Dr. Carey, who visited Nudiya 1794, is perfectly just, "Several of the most learned pandits and Brahmans much wished us to settle there: and as this is the great place of Eastern learning we seem inclined, especially as it is the bulwark of heathenism, which, if once carried, all the rest of the country must be laid open to us". Lord Minto wrote a very able minute, recommending that two Sanskrit Colleges should be established, one at Tirhut, the other at Nudiya; he encouraged learning there, giving two chief pandits Rs. 100 monthly each, prizes were awarded to the best native scholars, in the first class Rs. 800, in the 2nd Rs. 400, 3rd Rs. 200, 4th Rs. 100, besides a khetab to the one most proficient. The C. M. S. have had an English school here during the last eight years. The Rev. Mr. Deer, of the C.M.S., founded schools 16 years ago in Nudiya.

Agradip is called by Wilford, Aganagara, and is famous for the mela called baroni held in April, established for three centuries; these melas also answer commercial purposes like the fairs of Germany (ferioe); at Ganga Sagar mela in 1838, goods to the value of 12 lakhs were sold. In 1823 Agradip mela was attended by 100,000 persons; in 1813 two women cast their children into the river, but the fathers took them out again and paid a certain sum to the Brahmans for their ransom: People from Dhaka and Jessore used to throw their children to the Ganges there. At Katwa two mothers did the same, one of the children was taken up, but the mother seized it again,
broke its neck, and cast it into the river. The great attraction here is the image of Gopinath or Krishna; its history is the following—Ghosh Thakur was sent as a disciple of Chaitanya and Nityananda to Agradip, to take a certain stone and make out of it an image of Gopinath to set up there as an object of worship: Ghosh Thakur did so, it became famous; after his death the image fell into the hands of the Rajah of Krishnaghum, who sent a Brahman to perform the ceremony before the image and receive the offerings: the offerings to the image yield an annual profit to the owner, the Rajah of Krishnaghum, of about Rs. 25,000; Rajah Nabakissen seized it 30 years ago on account of a debt due to him, the lawful owner however regained it by a law suit, not however before a counterfeit one had been made exactly resembling it: the image is fabled to reveal many secrets; different castes eat together at this mela: Gopinath means Lord of the caves, as Krishna was worshipped formerly in caves chiefly at Gaya, and Jalindra near the Indus. The Temple in which Gopinath is placed was endowed by Rajah Krishna Chand with lands to the annual value of Rs. 7,000; in 1828 the old temple was washed away by the river and the present temple is erected one mile from the river, built in the European style of architecture. Forty years ago there was a cloth manufactory here. In Rennel’s time Agradip was situated on the left bank of the river, it is now on the right; it was on the left bank when Henry Martyn visited it in 1806; he saw there a wild boar of a very large size walking on the hill of the river: we find that in 1769 the Bengal Government paid Rs. 1,918 to Bildars and Kulis for cutting down the “the tiger jungle” at Pattehāh in Agradip; in 1771 the charge was Rs. 873—A storm occurred here in 1832 which sunk the boats of a regiment of soldiers.

Dewanjang Indigo factory established 53 years ago, lies north of Agradip, it gives employment to a number of Bunuas, a class of aborigines like the Bagdi, Poda, Harin, Dhangars who came from Gaur and retired to the hills.
Pliny mentions Indigo being brought from India; it was formerly called in Germany “the Devil’s dye” and the use of it was prohibited: the Elector of Saxony in Queen Elizabeth’s time describes it as a corrosive substance, not fit food for man or devil”. In 1783 the attention of the East India Company was directed to the cultivation of it in Bengal. There are twenty-nine Indigo Factories between Nudiyia and Mursidabad. At one of these, Dr. A. Rogers tried experiments of the flax cultivation, having brought out a Belgian for that purpose. Chamberlain, a celebrated Missionary of Katwa, used often to visit this place, and placing himself beneath the shade of a large tamarind tree, “preach to successive congregations from sun-rise to sun-set”.

Katwa (Cutwa,) called by Arrian Katadipa, raises up a host of associations connected with stirring scenes in Bengal history; here Clive arrived in 1756 on his route to Plasi, expecting to meet Mir Jaffir, but on his not arriving, he saw that the fate of the English hung on a hair—should he wait two or three days at Katwa, the French under Law would by that time arrive and join the Nawab’s 50,000 troops;—should he fight, the river was only fordable in one place and if defeated, “not one man would have returned alive to tell the tale”: in this crisis he called a Council of War, in which every member voted against coming to an immediate action, except two captains: Clive afterwards remarked this was the only Council of War he ever held, and that if he had abided by that Council it would have been the cause of ruin of the East India Company: after twenty-four hours’ consideration, Clive took on himself the responsibility of breaking the decision of the Council, and ordered the army to cross the river. Coote was in favour of immediate action, on the ground that delay discourages soldiers, and that the arrival of Monsieur Law, (to whom the Nawab allowed Rs. 10,000 monthly) would give vigour to the counsels of the Nawab, that many French and English soldiers would desert to Law,
besides "the distance from Calcutta was so great that all communication from thence would certainly be cut off". Katwa was formerly regarded as the military key of Murshidabad within six miles round it there is a population of 100,000. Pere Tieffenthaler describes it as a place where "they make much fine stuffs of cotton and silk", it is still the great port for the Birbhum district. In the Gola Ganj there are several hundred shops which sell sugar, cloth, iron; in 1836 the Raja of Kewgang in Birbhum offered to make a pakka road from Suri to Katwa, a distance of forty miles, provided he should be allowed the service of convicts on the road; the Judge of Burdwan remarked in 1802, "commerce has been much extended by the opening of the three grand roads leading to Hugly, Kalna and Katwa, which have been lately put into a state of repair by the labour of the convicts, and nothing can more forward the commerce of this district which has not the advantage of land navigation, or more coduce to the general convenience of the inhabitants than good roads". There is a temple of Maha Probhu frequented by numbers of Vairagis and travellers, they are fed there at the cost of the shopkeepers who contribute one pice out of every Rs. 100 to defray the expenses. In 1812 a leper was burnt alive here, he threw himself into a pit 10 cubits deep, there being fire at the bottom; the leper rolled himself into it, but on feeling the fire he begged to be taken out and struggled to get free: his mother however and sister thrust him in again and he was burnt to death; he believed by so doing he should be transmigrated into a finer body: in Calcutta a few years ago there were 531 lepers, of whom 118 were beggars: lepers have burnt themselves alive in Katwa as recent as 1825. About 1810 the headless corpse of a man was found in the temple of a certain goddess at the village of Serampur near Katwa, it had been offered as human sacrifice. Murshid Kuli Khan erected at Katwa guard-houses for the protection of travellers; one of his officers had charge of it, and whenever he caught a thief,
used to have his body split in two and hung upon trees of the high road. Katwa was the scene of various battles between the Musalmans and Mahrattas, those hardy warriors, "who deserted the plough for the sword, and the goatherd made a lance of his crook: various parts of Bengal verify the remark of Todd, "the Mahrattas were associations of vampires, who drained the very life blood wherever the scent of spoil carried them; where the Mahrattas encamped annihilation was ensured; twenty-four hours sufficed to give to the most flourishing spot the spectacle of a desert"; "these very Mahratta scrupled to kill the most noxious animals, while they eagerly employed their tulwars in the destruction of man: Ali Verdy Khan retreated in 1742 before the Mahrattas from Midnapur to Katwa during 7 days, through a miry country, and incessant showers of rain, with no bed for the soldiers but the bare earth and no food but grass and leaves of trees—one of the most enterprising achievements in history, exhibiting a power of endurance which somewhat reminds us of the celebrated retreat of the ten thousand Greeks. The Mahrattas invaded Burdwan as late as 1760. Chaitanya paid a visit to Katwa about 1370 to see Kesab, a Sanniasi who lived there.

The Aji river lies to the north of Katwa, it is said to have been formerly a deep stream, but be now silted up; Wilford calls it the Ajamati or shining river, it is the Amystis of Megasthenes; Arrian mentions it; it is named the Ajaya in the Galava Tantra, which states that however bathes in it becomes unconquerable. Jaydeva, the great lyric poet of Bengal, was born on the banks of the Aji near Kenduli in the opinion of Lassen, and the Vishnuvites; though others assign his birth place to Tirhut or Orissa. The Gita Gobinda was translated by Sir W. Jones into English, by Lassen into Latin, and by Ruckert into German. The great Akbar was an enthusiastic admirer of the mystic poetry of Jaydeva, so like the Sufism of the Persians, his poetry, is studied very much at Nathuwara near
Udyapur: Jaydeva lived according to Todd 300 years ago, according to Lassen A.D. 1150, his tomb is at Kenduli near Ilambazar, and there is an annual festival held there resorted to by numbers of Vaishnabs, as Jaydeva strongly recommended in his writings the worship of Krishna, particularly in his Gita Govinda, which he composed at Katamkhandi, a village 12 miles north of Ilambazar, the place is still called Jaydevpara. L. S. a poet, lived on the banks of the Aji, 12 miles from Katwa, people travelling are fond of singing his poems, there is an account of him in the Dharma Puran, are also a description of Katwa. The Dhoba Company have coal stores at Katwa, they bring their coals down the Aji, which is a very dangerous stream as the boats are often swamped by sudden rushes of mountain torrents. The Aji and Babla sometimes flow down with such violence from the Birbhum hills as to cause the Bhagirathi to roll back its waters. To the north of the Aji is the Fort of Katwa, which was half a mile in circumference, taken by Coote in 1757; it had 14 guss mounted then: in 1763 Captain Long took it from Kasim Ali: the walls were of mud, it commanded the river; Major Coote with 200 European and 500 Native troops and 2 guss, came to the banks of the Aji and called on the garrison to surrender, the shipahis crossed the river and fired on the garrison under shelter of the bank, when the garrison saw the Europeans crowd the river, they set fire to a shed of mats which had been made to protect the walls from the sun and escaped to the north; within the fort and in several granaries in the neighbourhood the English found as much rice as would support ten thousand men for a year. At the close of the rains of 1742 Ali Vardy had 600 of his soldiers drowned on the breaking of a bridge of boats as he was crossing the Aji to attack Bhaskar Rao in Katwa: the Mahrattas had then in possession of all the country west of Murshidabad, so that the inhabitants of the city were obliged to remove their property across the Ganges, as the enemy in the dry
season had plundered all the country about Plasi and Daudpur.

Following the tedious shifting and windings of the river we come to the field of Plasi (Plassey) so called from Palasa, a tree counted very holy; Sir W. Jones states that there was a grove of those trees at Plasi formerly, they were to be seen at Krishnaghor in Jone’s time. Of the famous mango grove called Lakha Bag, from there having been a lakh of trees in it, (this tope was about a mile to the east of Ramnagar Factory), all the trees have died or been swept away by the river, excepting one under which one of the Nawab’s generals, who fell in the battle, is buried; the place is called by the natives Pirha Jaga, and is, held sacred by the Hindus and Musalmans, but particularly by the last. This grove was 800 yards long and 300 yards broad, it existed at the time of the battle, there is only one tree left; the river has so changed its course as to have swept away everything which was on the surface at the time the battle was fought; as late as 1801 there were 3000 mango trees remaining and the place was notorious for dacoits who lurked in jungles there. An English traveller of 1801 thus writes about Plasi, “the river continually encroaching on its banks in this direction, has at length swept the battle field away, every trace is oblitered, and a few miserable huts literally overhanging the water, are the only remains of the celebrated Palasi”, Murders and dacoits were formerly very common in the neighbourhood of Plasi, the jungly state of the country affording shelter to marauders of every description, it is now a cultivated plain. Important as the battle of Plasi was to the English interests, there was another equally so, the battle of Biderra near Chinsura, for as Holwell remarks, had the Dutch gained the victory they would have been joined by the Nawab, “and not an individual of the Colony would have escaped slaughter.” Clive is said to have fallen asleep, amid the roar of the cannon in the battle when he awoke he found
the enemy retiring, but he put Major Kirkpatrick under arrest for advancing without his orders—while he was asleep, one cause of the defeat of the Nawab’s troops was that their matchlocks did not fire owing to the rain having wetted the powder. A life of Clive was published by an Italian in 4 vols. It was compiled by a deadly enemy of Clive, who wrote it with the intention of damaging his character. We mention the following few notices of him which are little known and are not recorded in Malcolm’s Life of Clive—Clive was called by Pitt in the Senate “the heaven born general”—he learned dancing at Paris 1763, in order to please the French ladies—many of the French nobility, who despised all the mercantile class, condemned Clive for having been a mercantile office—he forbade all the Company’s servants in India the use of a palankins, and the junior servants the use of even an umbrella—he rose early and then executed a good part of his business; afterwards breakfasted and then took exercise :—he was rather reserved in company—he was a great enemy to interlopers, when leaving India in 1767 he issued orders that all free merchants should be recalled to Calcutta and should not quit it.

Clive knew nothing of the vernaculars—Clive the warrior of India and Orme his historian were appointed writers the same day after the battle of Plasi he proposed to the authorities the conquest of China, in order to pay off the national debt :—Mir Jaffir (nicknamed Clive’s ass) sent a massage after the battle to offer Clive several hundred of Siraj-ud-daulah’s women which were taken in the camp—an East India Co. Director once asked Clive whether Sir Roger Dowler (Suraj-ud-daulah) was not a baronet—this is as good as Lord George Bentinck’s stating that if the price of sugar be raised, the hundred million of Hindus will not be able to sweeten their tea—Clive’s voyage from England to Calcutta in 1765 cost the East India Company Rs. 73,489. He used all his influence and power to get Benodoram, a native favourite of his restored to
caste, but failed—when he went home he was exposed to various insults from civilians or military men whom he had offended in India, once he was obliged to disguise himself three times in one day to avoid the pursuit of some of his enemies. Clive suggested a plan to Pitt for establishing a mighty empire in India extending from the Ganges to Kambay, he proposed in 10 years to pay off the national debt from the diamond mines, and to divide the country into ten provinces with deputy governors in each. The people of Murshidabad expected to be plundered after the battle, and were therefore greatly surprised when no contribution was levied on them,—Clive remarked that when he entered Mushidabad at the head of 200 Europeans and 500 sipahis, the inhabitants, if inclined to destroy the Europeans, might have done it with sticks and stones. Ramnagar silk factory is opposite to the field of Plasi, the river formerly ran behind it. Saktipur near Ramnagar is noted for an annual mela of Shiva in March, when many visitors and shop-keepers repair to it from Calcutta and Murshidabad, 30,000 people assemble, silk is produced chiefly on the west bank of the river, as the soil there is dark and more suitable for it. Near the village of Munkirra not far from Ramnagar, Ali Verdy treacherously assassinated Bhaskar Pandit with 19 of his officers. The troops of Siraj-ud-daula, when driven from Plasi, were pursued by the English to Daudpur nine miles distant. The Nawabs of Murshidabad then kept a stud of 300 of elephants there, they still keep them; it was a hunting seat, there is a large bil called Kalantar near it, where abundance of Chera called dal is procurable for elephants; from this place Mir Jaffir sent word to the English that he was coming to join them, when the Nawab went to Murshidabad and offered large sums of money to induce the soldiers to fight for him, but they would not; at night he escaped from the palace windows with two or three attendants. Mangan Para lies north of Plasi, and is famous for the Kacheri of the Berhampur Rajah.
Rangamati next presents its bluff cliffs, forty feet high the only elevated ground in that neighborhood, it being either a spur of the Birbhum hills or else rock decomposed in situ, the remains of the original level of the country: the earth is red, Rangamati, and of the same kind with that found near Rampur Baulea and Midnapur, the intervening soil of a similar description being probably washed away by a process of denudation; Parasnath hill is 5,000 feet high, while all the surrounding country is a low table land; red clay, like that of Rangamati, encompasses the Delta of Bengal and is found in Dinajpur, Rajshahi, Dhaka, Goalpara; Dr. McClelland observes, "this clay has long appeared to me like the remnant of the ancient continuous surface, through which the rivers have cut their channels for ages, so as nearly to have effaced it altogether. "The legend respecting Rangamati is, that Bibisan, brother of Raban, being invited to a feast by a poor Brahman at Rangamati, as a token of gratitude rained gold on the ground, and hence the earth is red; by others it is ascribed to Bhu Deb, who through the power of his topasya, rained gold. Wilford writes that Rangamati was formerly called Oresphonta, Hararpunt or Hararpana, i.e., ground arpana consecrated to Hara or Shiva. "Here was formerly a place of worship dedicated to Mahadeva or Hara, with an extensive tract of ground appropriated to the worship of the God; but the Ganges having destroyed the place of worship, and the holy ground having been resumed during the invasions of the Musalmans, it is entirely neglected. It still exists however as a place of worship, only the image of the Phallus is removed to a great distance from the river", it is called by the poets Kusumapuri, an epithet applied to favourite towns of theirs as Patna, Burdwan, Rangamati. The remains of pottery, which have been dug up, show that there was a large population here once: in the Mogul times there was Fauzdar; and in 1767 the Zemindar of Rangamati receiv ed a Khelat at the Puna of Mutjil to the value of Rs. 7,278
Rangamati was one of the ten fauzdaries into which Bengal was divided; it is resorted to as a sanitarium, and is a favourite place for picnic parties; the undulations of land and scenery remind one of England; it abounds with partridge and snipe, and shooting excursions are often made there. It was once selected, instead of Berhampur, for the erection of barracks, as being a high and healthy spot. In 1835 the Company's silk factory here was sold for Rs. 21,000, it had 1,500 bigas of land attached to it; the high land is not so well adapted for the growth of the Mullberry as that of the low alluvial soil in the neighbourhood; in 1784 Warren Hastings spent a few days here with Sir John D'oyly—Hastings' name suggests various points—he was the first Governor-General who patronised Oriental and Statistical studies, as the inquiries on Tibet, Cochin China and the Red Sea show; he supported, at his own expense, pandits in Calcutta to translate from the Sanskrit, poems and mythological works, and yet Burke could say of him: "he never dines without creating a famine in the land!" His trial lasted seven years; two hundred Lords marched in procession on the opening of it to Westminster Hall. Hastings was accessible to all natives.

Berhampur, so called from a Musalman officer Brampur, who was in one of the Nawab's armies, is noted for its fine barracks. Our military frontier is now at the Sutlej, 80 years ago Berhampur was the northern frontier station. In 1763 one detachment of the English troops occupied Birbhum, another Krishnaghur, while the body of the army was between Ghyretty and Kasimbazar. The barracks cost in 1765-7 the sum of £302,270; articles for them cost three times as much as in Calcutta. In 1768 the chief in Council of Kasimbazar appointed a committee to investigate into the exorbitant charges made, they suspended three covenanted Government officers for over-charges, amounting to two lakhs, the difference between the cost and charges of the East India Company. It was proposed to surround the barracks with a ditch to prevent
the soldiers going to Murshidabad and getting drunk, but it was found it would have cost a lakh. The Seir Mutakherim in 1786 states, “the barracks of Berhampur are the finest and healthiest any nation can boast of; there are two regiments of Europeans, seven or eight of sipahis and fifteen or sixteen cannon placed there, and yet I heard men say that the Musalmans were so numerous at Murshidabad, that brick bats in their hands they could knock the English down”. In 1771 Berhampur, Chittagang, Dinapur and Allahabad were regarded as the four head-quarters in Bengal. The English in letter to Suraj-ud-daula in 1768 stated they did not wish to have any troops beyond the Karamnassa. George Thomas, who came out to India from Ireland as a common sailor, and became afterwards a general in the service of the Begam Sumru and master of the province of Hurriana, died here in 1802 on his way to Calcutta to embark for Europe, and is interred in the burial ground. Creighton of Gaur, one of the first he established native missionary schools in this country, is also buried here; he lived for twenty years with the late Charles Grant at Goamatly, without a single instance of a painful difference: he published a plan of the best mode of establishing native schools and supported several at his own expense, he connected schools with his factories and gave daily instruction to his factory servants. He died at the age of forty-two, and his friend W. Grant, a kindred spirit, was buried the next month, in the same graveyard with him.

“Little Henry”, the subject of Mrs. Sherwood’s beautiful tale “Little Henry and his bearer”, is also buried here. Mrs. Sherwood lived to the east of the burial ground. At the time of the great famine of 1771, travellers were found dead here with money bags in their hands, as they could not purchase corn with them. In 1810, consequence of an earthquake the water of the tank here turned a dark green colour, and an immense number of fish, many of them weighing from 10 to 18 seers, floated
dead on the surface, they were taken away in carts by natives, some were buried and some used for manure. A gentleman lived at Berhampur in 1813, who was very anxious to improve the country, and seeing the natives carrying the earth in baskets on their heads, he procured six wheel barrows instead, which the natives used constantly before him, but one day congratulating himself on advancing their improvement, he saw them carrying the wheel barrows on their heads. A theatre was established at Berhampur in 1821. A Bible Association was established in 1830 and an Agricultural Society in 1837. To the south of Berhampur is Gora Bazar inhabited by Musalmans or people from the North West, who speak Urdu: to the south east of Berhampur two miles the Cheltia Mela is held in honour of Roganath, it is attended by about 20,000 people. Berhampur was forty years ago the residence of General Steward, who used to offer puja to idols and worship the Ganges, he lived to an advanced age, was well acquainted with the manners of the natives; his Museum in Choringi was opened to the public during the last years of his life, he fed one hundred destitute beggars daily: he was called "Hindu Stewart". Like Job Charnock he married a Hindu, and she made a Hindu of him. At Vishnupur human sacrifices were formerly offered.

Kasimbazar is so named from Kosim Khan who founded it: it gives its name to the island, of Kasimbazar, included between the Bhagirathi from Nudiya up and the Jellingi; tigers and boars abounded in the neighbourhood thirty years ago, as also birds of beautiful plumage; Lord Valentia however states that there were no tigers there in 1802, owing to the increase of population and the rewards of ten Rs. per head for every tiger, offered by Government. At different periods, Government spent a lakh and a half in Bengal in rewards for killing tigers; it was a regular charge at the Kacheri of Hugly. Kasimbazar is now three miles from the river. The Decennial Settlement brought much land into cultivation: an Indian
traveller of 1811 writes:—"Kasimbazar is noted for its silk hosiery, coras, and inimitable ivory work, but as to the greater part of its surface, it is a wilderness inhabited only by beasts of prey, at twelve or eleven miles from Berhampur, an almost impervious jungle extends for a considerable space denying entrance to all but tigers". Bolts, a factor, at Kasimbazar, made nine lakhs by trade between 1760 and 1767. Burton in 1632 writes of "the city of Kasimbazar where the Europeans have their factories, the country affords great quantities of silk and muslins". Kasimbazar was a great mart, in former days, for trade. Reynal remarks, "Kasimbazar is grown rich by the ruin of Malda and Rajmahal: it is the general market of Bengal silk, a great quantity of silk and cotton stuffs are manufactured here, they are circulated through part of Asia of the unwrought silk 3 or 400,000 lbs. weight is consumed in the European manufactories". The cotton trade is almost extinct there now, owing to the cheap importations from England, but 500,000 pieces of Koras are manufactured there at present, amounting in value to thirty lakhs. In 1677 Mr. Marshall employed in the factory here was the first European who learned Sanskrit, he made a translation of the Sri Bhagavat into English which is preserved in the British Museum. A melancholy instance of Sati was witnessed here in 1742 by Holwell in the time of Sir F. Russel's chiefship, in the case of the widow of Ram Chand Pandit, a Mahratta; her friends, the merchants and Lady Russel, did all they could to dissuade her: but to show her contempt of pain, she put her finger in the fire and held it there a considerable time, she then with one hand put fire in the palm of the other, sprinkled incense on it and fumigated the Brahmans, and as soon as permission to burn arrived from Hoseyn Shah Fauzdar of Murshidabad, she mounted the pyre with a firm step. In 1681 out of £230,000 sent by the East India Company for investment to Bengal, £140,000 of it was sent to Kasimbazar, that year Job Charnock was chief there. In 1620
the English had commercial agents at Patna, and in 1658, they had them at Kasimbazar, Hugly and Balasore: 1767, one of the members of Council was appointed to be chief of the trade at Kasimbazar. In 1753 Warren Hastings was a commercial assistant here and devoted much of his time to Persian in 1757 on the place being taken by Suraj-ud-daula, who encamped with his whole army opposite to it, he was made prisoner and sent to Murshidabad: the English had a fort then here, which at the time of the battle of Plasi was more regular and tenable than that of Calcutta, it had four bastions; in that year Suraj-ud-daula came before the fort with his whole army, and Mr. Watts recommended that a fortification should be erected at Murshidabad: the court of Directors in reply stated, that in subordinate settlements they could not bury the Company’s capital in stone walls, that their servants were so thoroughly possessed of military ideas, as to forget that their employers were merchants and trade their principal object. The Commercial Resident here had a salary of Rs. 50,160; the filatures and machinery of the East India Company were worth twenty lakhs; in 1768 it was recommended that European troops should not be brought nearer to Calcutta, than Kasimbazar, on account of the climate of Calcutta being so unfavourable to European health.

The French had a factory at Kashimbazar, as also at Malda, the one at Kasimbazar is now marked only by ruined walls and an old flagstaff, it is called Farasdanga the native population have deserted it for the more profitable settlement of Khagra and Gora Bazar. The French still own Farasdanga, though they make no use of it; the site is occupied by native distilleries. They had a factory at a Saidabad, where Dupleix lived a long time, he was the Louis Philippe of the French interest in Bengal, as his great aim was to raise French power through the influence of French commerce. Dupleix gained twenty lakhs in India and originated the French private trade therein:
with all his attention to business he indulged in frivolity, he has been seen in the streets of Chandernagar with a fiddle in his hand and an umbrella over his head, running naked with some other young fellows and playing tricks at every door. Saidabad has an Armenian church built about 1757 and in Tieffenthaler's time, a great number of Armenian merchants lived in beautiful houses here and carried on trade. From Saidabad Clive wrote the memorable letter to the Council on the 6th May, 1766, apprising them of the conspiracy among the officers, and their determination to lay down their commissions since the Company had reduced their batta. From Saidabad embankments extend to Bhamenea ten miles distant, they used to cost annually for repairs over a lakh: 1767 Murshidabad was near being washed away in consequence of the embankments breaking down. In 1838 a meeting of natives was held at the house of the Hon'ble W. Melville, Governor General's Agent, to establish an English School, they subscribed Rs. 6000: the school flourished for a year; English, Bengali, Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit were taught; but when those Europeans, who took an interest in it left the station, it dwindled away.

Murshidabad is of earlier date than the time of Murshid Kuli-Khan, its reputed founder, but rather embellisher; he made it the capital in 1714 as being a central place. Akbar, writes Tieffenthaler, founded Murshidabad and had sent a body of troops to a place East of it, called Akbarpur. Every part of Murshidabad suggests ideas connected with a fallen Musalman dynasty; in 1759 it was 5 miles long and 2½ miles broad. Since the removal for the revenue courts and capital from it to Calcutta in 1772, Murshidabad has been in a state of rapid decline. The reason of the removal was—that appeals were thus made to Calcutta direct, and only one establishment kept up—the records and treasure were insecure in Murshidabad, which "a few dakoits might enter and plunder with ease". Hastings also assigned a reason that thereby Calcutta
would be increased in wealth and inhabitants, which would cause an increase of English manufactures and give the natives a better knowledge of English customs. The palmy days of Murshidabad have passed away—the times when the Koran was the only code, when the Nazim decided in all capital cases, and when a court held on Sunday was the only appeal from the provinces;—when the despotic principles of Moslem Governments rendered the courts rather instruments of power than of justice—when all eyes were turned to Murshidabad at the centre of Government and source of favour. The splendor of a court has faded away and also the outlay of money connected with it; we find that on the marriage of Siraj-ud-daulah, Ali Verdy kept a continued feasting for a month in his palace at Murshidabad: all comers were welcome, every family in the city rich and poor partook of his hospitality, by receiving several times tables of dressed victuals called turahs none of which cost less than Rs. 25 and thousands of them were distributed in Murshidabad.

On the golden principle of "the greatest good of the greatest number for the greatest length of time," we think the English rule preferable to the Moslem in Bengal, though we do not attach so much value to the tranquility, which is the result of English sway, for as an author remarks, "We have given the Hindus tranquility—but it is the tranquility of stagnation, agitated by no living spring, ruffled by no salutary breeze." It cannot be questioned that even an imperfect native government may be much better for a country on the whole than a foreign one, though the latter be theoretically better constituted: we do not however apply this remark to India; the Hindus have by the English Government been delivered from the caprice of such monsters as Siraj-ud-daulah, who did not scruple to bury one of his mistresses alive between walls at Murshidabad, and was so profligate that no woman's virtue was safe. Golam Hussein gives a faithful and lively picture of the licentiousness and despotism that prevailed
at Mushidabad. Murshid Kuli used to compel defaulting Zeminders to put on loose trowsers, into which were introduced live cats. Siraj-ud-daulah murdered persons in open day in the streets of Murshidabad. There are, however, some bright features in this dark picture, and which it would be well were the English Government to imitate. The Musalman sway in the Murshidabad reminds us that among the results were—wealth was scattered over the country; the courts of the Rajahs formed the centre of influence within their respective domains: the Musalmans made India their home, they forgot the country whence they came, and made themselves part of the people; though they plundered the people, they did not send away the money to foreign lands; their wealth chiefly circulated in India, in which they invited their countrymen to settle and increase the population: the Nawabs mixed with the people and allowed them access. The Seir Mutakherim (written 1786) remarked—"of all the English that have carried away princely for tunes from this country, not one of them has ever thought of showing his gratitude to it, by sinking a well, digging a pond, planting a public grove, raising a caravanserai or building a bridge". The revenue collected from the people circulated among them: large jagirs were granted to nobles, on which they settled; armies of horse were maintained for show; the buildings in Bengal now are not equal to the old ones in magnificence, the remains of stupendous causeways, ruins of bridges, and of magnificent stairs on the banks of rivers not replaced by similar undertakings of modern date, suggest melancholy reflections on the decline of the country;" this observations are not so applicable now, however. Numbers of learned Arabic scholars came from Persia and received endowments and patronage. Forster in his travels remarks on this subject, "the native princes and chiefs of various descriptions, the retainers of numerous dependants offered constant employment to a vast number of ingenious manufactures, which
supplied their masters with gold and silver stuffs curiously flowered, plain muslins a diversity of beautiful silks and other articles of Asiatic luxury”. In 1742 the court was removed from Rajmahal to Murshidabad by Ali Verdy Khan, in order to watch the English better as also to be enabled to contented to more advantage with Mahrattas.

The great Famine of 1770 caused dreadful havoc at Murshidabad; in April 1770 desolation spread through the provinces; multitude fled to Murshidabad; 7000 people were fed there daily for several months; but the mortality increased so fast that it became necessary to keep a set of persons constantly employed in removing the dead from the streets and roads. At length those persons also died and for a time dogs, jackals and vultures were the only scavengers. The dead were placed on rafts and floated down the river, the bearers died from the effluvia, whole villages expired, even children in some parts fed on their dead parents, the mother on her child, Government has been blamed by a certain existing society as the cause of this famine: how could they prevent the effects of the rains of heaven and the overflowing of the rivers which caused a deficiency of crops? It is vividly described by Macaulay, “the whole valley of the Ganges was filled with misery and death. The Hooghly every day rolled thousands of corpse close to the porticos and gardens of their English conquerors;” Murshidabad is memorable as the residence of the Seats, the bankers of the Bengal Government; respecting whom Burke remarked in the House of Commons “that their transactions were as extensive as those of the Bank of England”. The emperor of Delhi conferred on one of them the title of Jagat Seat, i.e., the banker of the world: Jagat Seat kept all the revenue of Bengal in his treasury at Murshidabad; he was the Rothschild of India, and though plundered of two millions of money by the Mahrattas, when they luted Murshidabad, the loss seemed scarcely to be felt by him; we find in 1680 the Seats were a great family end employed in supplying piece goods to
the English Merchants. Jagat Seat helped Murshid Kuli Khan to purchase the continuance of his office as Nawab of Bengal after the death of Aurangzeb. Clive proposed Jagat Seat as arbiter of the dispute between him and the Nawab; he was one of Council of three to the Nawab in Clive’s time, and had charge of the receipts and disbursements of the Government. The Seats were great friends to the English, in whose integrity in commercial transactions they had the strictest confidence; there is a tradition that they in common with many other natives were so indignant with Siraj-ud-daulah for his cruelties, ripping open pregnant women through curiosity and drowning persons in order to see their dying struggles—that they lent money to the English to enable them to carry on the war with the Nawab, and though their money and influence they contributed very much to the transfer of the supreme power from Siraj-ud-daulah to Mir Jaffir. They used to lend Government a crore at a time. In 1717 there was a family of the Seats in Calcutta, who were very instrumental in bringing it into the form of a town: but the transfer of the seat of Government from Murshidabad to Calcutta led to their decay; a descendant of Jagat Seat lives at Murshidabad, he occupies the residence of his ancestors which is in a dilapidated state; for some time the members of the family subsisted by the sale of the family jewels, but lately Government has granted the representative of the family a pension of Rs. 1200 monthly; all the family papers were destroyed sometime ago by a fire. The Seats were Jains and built several Jain temples in Mushidabad. Todd states, “more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity; the majority of the bankers are the Jains from Lahore to the Ocean”.

There are now few ancient edifices in Murshidabad, though a tax of Rs. 8,000 annually was levied for permitting bricks to be brought from Gaur for buildings in Murshidabad. These bricks were enamelled and the
natives of Bengal now cannot make bricks equal to those that were manufactured at Gaur. The greater part of nobles have gone to Delhi or have return to Persia, there is not a nobleman there now, who is not connected by blood or marriage with the Nawab Nizam, excepting Muhammed Reza Khan, who is independent and possesses a respectable competency: he is a descendent of the famous Muzaffir Jang, who lived in the time of Warren Hastings. There was a mint here, where silver was coined in the name of the Emperor; it yielded a revenue of three lakhs annually, and was erected by Murshid Kuli Khan in 1704. "The East India Company in 1746 paid Murshid Kuli Rs. 25,000 for permission to establish a factory at Kasimbazar, for the convenience of having the bullion, which they sent from Europe, coined into rupees at the mint," which reminds us of what Zelim Sing said to Colnel Todd "the time will come when there will be but one sikka throughout India". On the right bank of the river in former times there were many houses, the Nawab's palace stood there. The Sadak Bag was famous in 1800 for the Nawab's garden and the College of Fakirs near it called Akara Munsaram. The palace of Mir Jaffir stood on the right bank of the river, and had accommodation enough for three European monarchs. That of Siraj-ud-daulah was on the left; both were fortified with cannon. There are many Karta Bhojas to the east of Murshidabad. Forster in 1807 remarks that at the entrance to the town was a large and magnificent gateway and a parapet pierced with embrasures for cannon, it was probably the remains of a fortification erected in 1742 against the Mahrattas, who in Ali Verdy's time plundered the suburbs of Murshidabad. In 1839 when a meeting was held at Berhampur in favour of steam communication between England and India, twenty members of Nawab's family were present, and the first resolution passed was—that every Mahommedan was interested in its success, as shortening the period of going to, and returning from Mecca,—and
yet when the first river steamer passed Murshidabad the native thought it was bhut or goblin breathing out flames, that was come to devour their children.

Mutijil or the lake of pearl (favourite name applied to a lake in Kashmir and another in Lahore), is a lovely spot south of Murshidabad; there are only a few arches now left of the magnificent palace erected here of black marble brought from Gaur; it was built by Siraj-ud-daulah at an enormous expense in order "to indulge his vicious pleasures beyond the reach of control;" he quitted this palace in order to fight the battle of Plasi; and from the same place in 1766 Clive wrote a letter making over five lakhs bequeathed to him by Mir Jaffir, to a fund since called Clive's fund. Hamilton states the Mutijil was "one of the windings of the former channel of the Kasimbazar river:" others however think it was commenced for the purpose of making bricks for the houses, which at one time covered the piece of land surrounded by the Mutijil: some years ago the Nawab was induced at the recommendation of the Hon. W. Melville, the resident; to establish an experimental agricultural garden there. Tieffenthaler writes; "The Governor of Bengal resides at Coleria and one mile from it is a great and magnificent palace called Mutijil from the clearness of its waters". When the building was nearly ready, Siraj-ud-daulah invited Ali Verdy to see it, he locked up Ali Verdy in a room and refused to release him unless the Zemindars there paid a fine from their lands: Ali Verdy was obliged to grant it as also to give Siraj-ud-daulah the privilege of erecting a granary, which the inhabitants called Munsurganj or the granary of the victorious, i.e., of Siraj-ud-daulah who outwitted his grand-father. The piece of land, surrounded by the Mutijil in the form of a horse shoe, was formerly covered with houses. In its neighbourhood Lord Teinmouth once lived, he devoted his days there to civil business and his evenings to solitude, studying Urdu, Persian, Arabic and Bengali, after dinner when reposing, an intelligent native
used to entertain him with stories in Urdu: he carried on
an extensive intercourse with the natives and superin-
tended a small farm: he writes of it, "here I enjoy cooing
doves, whistling black birds and purling streams, I am
quite solitary, and, except once a week, see no one of
Christian complexion." He amused himself in improving
the Nawab’s grounds and enjoying the recreation of music
during the years 1771, 2, and 3. The Puna was the annual
settlement of the revenue of Bengal, when the principal
Zeminedars and all the chief people of the country
assembled at Mutijil in April and May: it was abolished
in 1772, because it was found that the amils or contractors
rack rented: the Zemindars used to come to the Puna with
the state of amrahs, it was viewed as an act of fealty or
homage to the Nawab of Murshidabad and the annual rent
roll of the provinces was then settled; Khelats were distrib-
uted each year; in 1767 the Khelat disbursement amoun-
ted to Rs. 46,750 for Clive and his Council: Rs. 38,800
for the Nizamat: Rs. 22,634 for people of the treasury:
Rs. 7,352 to the Zemindar of Nudiya: Rs. 1,200 to the Raja
of Birbhum and Rs. 734 to the Raja of Bishenpur: the sum
expended on Khelats that year amounted to Rs. 216,870.
The practice of distributing these Khelats was of long
standing, as they were given to Zemindars on renewal
of their sunnuds and as a confirmation of their appoint-
ment; to the officers of the Nizamat they were an honorary
distinction; the people held the Puna in great esteem,
and Clive, regarding it as an ancient institution, raised a
special revenue collection to defray the expenses of it;
but in 1769 the Court of Directors prohibited the giving
presents at the Puna. In 1767 at the Puna the Nawab was
seated on the Musnud, Verelst, the Governor-General,
was on his right, and recommended it in the strongest
manner to all the ministers and land-holders, to give all
possible encouragement to the clearing and cultivating of
lands for mulberry. It must have been a splendid sight
when amid all the pomp of oriental magnificence Khelats
were presented to the Rajahs or Nawabs of Dhaka, Dinajpur, Hugly, Purnea, Tippera, Silhet, Rangpur, Birbhum, Bishenpur, Panchete, Rajmahal and Bhaglipur; a form like the Puna is still kept up at each Zemindar's Kacheri. Newish Mahommed, nephew of Ali Verdy is buried at Mutijil in a mosque built by him; at his funeral there was great lamentation of the people, as he was very charitable, he could not bear to be on bad terms with any one. Ecra-med-Daula, the brother of Siraj-ud-daulah, is also buried here, "on his death the city of Murshidabad looked like an immense hell filled with people in mourning". The East India Company's Political Residents lived at Mutijil and several of them made large fortunes there; one of them returned to Europe in 1767, having, as is said, during his three years of Residency, accumulated property to the amount of nine million of stivers.

On the right bank of the river opposite Mutijil is the burial place of the Nawabs; here Siraj-ud-daulah and Ali Verdy are buried side by side. Forster in 1781 mentions that mullahs were employed here to offer prayers for the dead, and that the widow of Siraj-ud-daulah used often to come to the tomb and perform certain ceremonies of mourning in memory of her deceased husband the expenses of the burial ground are defrayed by Government; the river, two miles south of Mutijil, formerly took the shape of a horse-shoe until the neck was cut through at considerable expense to the North-East of Mutijil is the Kuttera described by Hodges, a traveller of 1780, as "a grand seminary of Musalman learning, 70 feet square, adorned by a mosque which rises high above all the surrounding building; near it is the Topikhana where the Nawab's artillery was kept, it formed one of the entrances to Murshidabad a cannon was placed between two young trees, they have grown up, and their branches have lifted the cannon from the ground. It has two splendid minarets 70 feet high, Jafir Khan was an humble man, and is buried at the foot of the stairs leading up, so as to be trampled
on by people going up:" this mosque was constructed after the model of the great mosque at Mecca.

At Kalkapur, a long struggling village to the south of Mutijil, are the few remains of what was once the Dutch factory, and the scene of gaiety. In 1757 Vynett was the chief of it, he was very kind to the English when the factory of Kasimbazar was taken by the Musalmans: the burial ground still remains. The river formerly flowed by Kalkapur, now it is at a considerable distance it also ran behind Beharampur, the Dutch had a mint there. A visitor to it 1825 writes, "Kalkapur is now in a neglected state the courtyard is overrun with jungle, and the barking of the paria dogs were our only greeting on entering a place which for many years was a scene of gaiety in the evening and of incessant application to business during the hours of every returning day". Stavorinus describes the Dutch in 1770 as rising at 5, then breakfast, then business until noon, after which dinner, and the afternoon siesta or nap until 4 o'clock, from that to six business again, from six to nine relaxation, when supper was taken and they went bed at 11. Tavernier, in 1666, visited Kasimbazar and was well received by Van Wachtendonk, Director of the Dutch factories in Bengal; the Nawab then lived at Murshidabad: the present Nawab’s family is of Arab origin. The Dutch had intercourse with Bengal at an early period; Warwick, the founder of the Dutch East India Company, made an alliance with several Rajahs of Bengal in the beginning of the 15th century; they settled in Bengal about 1625. In Tavernier’s time the Dutch kept up to 800 natives employed in their factory at Kalkapur.

Tieffenthaler, 1770, describes Murshidabad as having an immense number of brick stucco houses, adorned with a great number of gardens and fine buildings, and that the Ganges there had an astonishing number of barks and boats on it. Even as late as 1808 Mr. Ward thus writes of it, “Murshidabad is full of Moors, very populous, very
dusty, except a few large brick houses and a few mosques, the rest of the town consists of small brick houses or huts into which an European creeps; for near two miles the river was lined with trading vessels”. Now all is in rapid decay and the chief object to attract the traveller is the New Palace, which is 425 feet long, 200 feet wide, 80 feet high; it has a splendid marble floor, the banqueting hall is 290 feet long, with sliding doors encased in mirrors. Colonel Macleod was the architect of it, and the only European engaged, the natives executed the work. The trade of Murshidabad was formerly very great; the Pachautra or custom office books state, that, as late as Ali Verdy’s time, 875,000 lbs. worth of raw silk were entered there, exclusive of the European investments which were not entered there, as being either duty free or paying duty at Hugly. Murshidabad is now famous for the manufacture of ivory toys and chessmen; in 1838, an English Newspaper was begun there called the Murshidabad News, it met with a good circulation, the Court of Directors subscribed for 10 copies of it, but afterwards it became scurrilous and indulged in personal abuse, the consequence of which was that it became extinct in 1839.

Murshidabad was noted in former times for the profi- gacy of its court, we dare not pollute these pages with a description of the vile impurities of Serferez Khan. The Seir Mutakherim describes the court of Murshidabad as a kind of Sodom; the women of the court talked publicly of subjects which should never pass the door of the lips. A regard to the feelings of survivors prevents us from referring to the orgias of late occupants of the Musnud. We trust the present Nawab will set a different example; the length of his title “Mantizam Ul Malak Moshen Ud Daula Fardau Jan Syad Munsur Ali Khan Bahadur Narset Jang”, fully rivals Spanish titles. May be imitated the example of a former Nawab, Suja Khan “who supported at Murshidabad all travellers of intellectual and moral worth, and encouraged merit in every way”. Ali Verdy also is a
worth object of imitation in the attention he paid to developing the resources of Bengal.

The present court has about 50 eunuchs attached to the Nazi and the female relatives living within the Kela or the enclosure; inside which the authority of the civil officers of Government does not extend; these eunuchs come from different places in Abyssinia, from Tigra, Dancali, Nubia and the Galla country.

Siraj-ud-daulah kept in his seraglio a female guard composed of Tartar, Georgian, and Abyssinian women, armed with sabres and targets. Murshidabad is noted on account of the festival of the Beira which was introduced by Siraj-ud-daulah, who used to have boat large enough to hold 100 men, filled with earth and flowers, and floated down the river with lamps, while the shores were illuminated—little could be expected of him, his mother was a notorious adulteress, and himself, when governor of Kattak, plundered the rich and shocked all decency, so that a conspiracy was formed against him.

Teretikona lies on the right side of the river facing Murshidabad; it has an image of Cintua, a goddess worshipped there in the temple of Kriteswari or Durga; it has declined after the withdrawal of Government patronage; it is mentioned in the Bhabishya-Purana, Debpara opposite to Murshidabad had a Mosque and Mausoleum erected by Shuja Adin, in which he was buried, A.D. 1739. He was a man of general philanthropy and unbounded liberality. He made a beautiful garden at Debpara, which he called Ferreh Bag (the garden of happiness) to which he retired in the summer with his seraglio in order to indulge in every luxury.

Azimganj is also opposite Murshidabad, the city formerly extended on the west bank of the river from this to Siraj-ud-daulah’s tomb. De Perron describes the river as dividing the city into two parts. There are several fine Jain temples here: the Jains are a most enterprising mercantile race and many of them here emigrated from Jaud-
pur, Marwar and Hariana; some have settled as far as Assam: the north of Murshidabad is occupied chiefly by Jain merchants, who speak Hindi; the middle is occupied by Musalmans, and the south by Bengalis.

Bhagwangola is divided into old Bhagwangola and new Bhagwangola, twelve miles distance from each other; the former was the port of Murshidabad in Ali Verdy's time, and supplied the city with provisions from the districts to the east of the Ganges. The Ganges anciently flowed to the west of it; now it is five miles west of the river. In 1760 Clive sailed down the Ganges to Bhagwangola and then crossed to Murshidabad. Oats, gram and rice are brought to it from Rangpur, Dinajpur, &c. &c. Surup Dutt, the ghat mangi here, was for many years the leader of the Thugs of Dhaka, Furidpur, &c. &c. He used to embark travellers in the boats of his comrades and then have them murdered. In former times the neighbourhood of Bhagwangola must have been exceedingly populous, as there are evident remains of a very extensive town or a series of large villages now overgrown with forests, and dotted with numerous tanks and other signs of population. Several English officers were buried here, but their tombs have been swept away by the river.

Jangipur or Jehangirpur, because founded by Jehangir the Emperor, was long a seat of the silk manufacture of the East India Company: the company's factory was sold to a Mr. Larulletto in 1835 for Rs. 51,000 the silk filatures were erected in 1773. The first attempt of the East India Company was at Budge Budge, which did not succeed. Grant in his Essay on India adduces the silk manufacture as an instance that the Hindus are not unchangeable; the East India Company introduced the Italian mode of winding silk, and the natives have altogether dropt their own method; in 1757 the East India Company sent out to Bengal, a Mr. Wllder, well acquainted with the silk manufacture, to examine into the different qualities of the Bengal silk; he resided at Kasimbazar,
then the Company's chief silk manufactory, where he died in 1761: in 1765 Mr. Ponchow was appointed to Kasim-bazar to carry on the improvements begun by Mr. Wilder: Italians were sent out first. Lord Valentia, in 1802, describes Jangipur as the greatest silk station of the East India Company and employing 3,000 persons. The west bank of the river is best for the mulberry cultivation, as it requires a black soil. The East India Company's filatures did not extend beyond 26° N. Lat., as in a more northerly direction the soil and air become too dry for the mulberry and silk worms. Napoleon's Berlin Devrees, prohibiting the exportation of silk from Italy to England, gave a great stimulus to the cultivation of the Silk trade in Bengal: a meeting was immediately held in London and a request was made to the East India Company to supply England with silk direct from India. Mr. Williams was resident here and died in 1822, he was a great friend to education. Jangipur was formerly famous for 'its pretty English garden;' in 1808 the river near it was dried up so that gharis crossed it, owing to chur at the mouth of the Bhagirathi, which caused the Ganges to flow into the Jellinghi, the lowest depth of water here in the dry season is about two feet: in the Jellinghi, in 1832, a thousand boats were waiting at the mouth to be lightened before they could proceed on account of the shallowness of the water—and yet Government levy a tax of Rs. 150,000 per annum on boats passing up this river in order to keep it clear, the same sum on the Matabanga and Jellinghi, while little trouble is taken by Government officer: to keep the river clear. Allowing Rs. 3 as the average toll for each boat, this shews that on an average above 50,000 boats pass Jangipur annually.

Suti is memorable for the battle of Gheria fought near it, 1740, in which Ali Verdy defeated Serferez Khan at the head of 30,000 cavalry and infantry and a numerous train of artillery; and for a battle in 1763, which lasted 4 hours, and in which Mirkasim was defeated, though at the head
of 12 battalions of sipahis 15,000 horse and 12 cannon; had the English lost this battle they would have been driven out of Bengal, as Mir Kasim's troops were drilled according to European discipline. Three Thags were arrested here in 1836 by Capt. Louis, two were father and son, one man confessed that in one expedition he and his gang had committed fifty murders between Murshidabad and Bar. Near Suti an excavation has been made to join the Ganges and Bhagirathi; when first made it was only a few yards wide, but the stream was no sooner admitted than it quickly expanded to as many hundred yards: in the year after its completion not a trace of its existence remained, the middle of one of the principal streams of the Ganges is now pointed out as the spot where the excavation was made; between Suti and Kalgang forty square miles of land have been washed away by the river in a few years. Siraj-ud-daulah alarmed at the capture of Chandernagar and afraid that the English would bring their ships up the Padma and into the Bhagirathi, sunk vessels near Suti to prevent it. In 1839 it was proposed to Government to form a new zillah, of which Suti was to be the capital, six thannahs from Murshidabad and eight from Bhagalpur were to form it. Tavernier, the celebrated traveller, who visited Kasimbazar in 1665, mentions that there was a sand bank before Suti, which rendered it impassable in January, so that Bernier was obliged to travel by land from Rajmahal to Hugly. In De Perron's time Suti was famous for the tomb of a Fakir, Morte Zeddin.

The extent to which this article has reached forbids us to take notice now of Gaur with all its interesting associations connected with the history of 2000 years. The banks of the Bhagirathi in 1864 present widely different scenes from what they did in 1746. Since that period the crescent has waned and Moslem pride has been laid low—the Sati fires have been extinguished and Ganga' stream is no longer polluted with infanticide—the fame of Nudiya and its Sanskrit Colleges is passing away and yielding the palm-
to the superior influence of western science and literature—there are no longer Kazis to sentence men to death for abusing fakirs, or governors like Murshid Kuli Khan to send Korans of their own writing with valuable offerings to Mecca and Medina—travellers now pass the banks of the Bhagirathi by night and defenceless women may travel from Calcutta to Delhi without fear of molestations. The future opens out a bright scene on the banks of the Bhagirathi—when Brahmanism will be in Bengal, as Buddhism is now, “a thing of the past”—when Gospel light and its handmaid the English language and literature shall be diffused far and wide,—when Municipal institutions, Colleges, Agricultural Societies, Zillah and town Libraries shall have dispersed the terror of Mofussil life,—when railroads intersecting the country shall have helped to scatter to the winds all local prejudices—and when the banks of the Bhagirathi, like the banks of the Rhine or Tames, shall be ornamented with villas, country seats, and all the indications of a highly civilized state of society,—when the upper classes of English Society in Calcutta—instead of being crowded together in their aristocratic mansions in Chowringi, the hot bed of Anglican prejudice and the focus of all those who cherish their irrational exclusiveness towards the natives of this land—shall enjoy the quiet and retirement of their dwellings along the course of the sacred stream, living thirty or fifty miles from Calcutta, but coming daily to it to do business through the wonderful facilities of travelling which will then be afforded.
Calcutta in the olden time—its people

The present paper: "Calcutta in the olden time—its People," will refer in a cursory way to the various classes of inhabitants of last century (eighteenth century), their social status, dress, food, recreations, manners, and diseases.

Late year have witnessed the annihilation of that mighty East India Company, "the Empire of the middle classes" which so long ruled with absolute sway over the East, and whose name was everything in Calcutta last century, which survived all the shocks to trade under which the Dutch, French and German East India Companies sank. It is a question whether it has yet been succeeded by a better form of Government, one that will guard Indian interests and finances so faithfully and which will not allow the rights of natives to be sacrificed in order to swell the coffers of Mammon. The Company invariably resisted, as far as they could. The spirit of political and military aggression, they might have been reformed, but destruction was not the remedy: and now we fear in spite of themselves and their better principles, the Queen's Government is imperceptibly drifting into a policy like that of Anotria in Italy, whose main points were unity, and centralization to the sacrifice of local Government, a foreign agency to administer as conquerors, and an entirely foreign army to back their views out. We know the result now in Italy, in spite of Austrian cannons and soldiers,—nationalities will have their sway and so it will be in India.

The East India Company won India, the problem is will the Queen's Government keep it. Without the Company's influence at one time it could not have been
secured, as Cromwell found when in 1654 he abolished the Company, but discerned that the Dutch made such way in India and Ceylon that he was obliged to restore the charter. The following lines were often quoted on old books in reply to people who argued that the best remedy for Indian chills was to transfer the Government to the Crown—

I was well,
I would be better,
I took physic
And here I lie.

The remedy was worse than the disease and the victim of empiricism idea.

St. Petersburg was founded by Peter the Great at the same time that Calcutta was by Job Charnock, both were erected in swamps, amid an unhealthy climate, both became the capitals of mighty empires. How little could either of the founders have anticipated that by the year 1860 both the Anglo-Indian and Russian Empires would nearly meet in Asia, separated only by a few hundred miles and that Kossacs would have done for one what sepoys have effected for the other.

We want in this antiquarian article to avoid all reference as much as possible to questions of the day, which now unhappily divide Europeans from natives. Looking at the past we have great reason to thank God and take courage. The Europeans have greatly improved in morals and socially, the natives also have better houses and are higher in the social scale: The millionaires of Calcutta among the natives are men who have realised their property by trading, like Mutty Lall Sil who rose from being a seller of bottles at 8 rupees monthly to be the Rothschild of Calcutta; last century had such men as Kanta Baboo, Hastings’ Dewan, who made such enormous sums by bribes. In contrasting Calcutta now with the Calcutta of last century we must take into account the progress of things everywhere; when we find so low a state of things
among the Europeans in Calcutta last century. Should we have found them much higher in London, talk of Barwell’s and Francis’ profligacy, what was it to the Court of George the Fourth or that of Versailles; debaring pleasures were common to England and Calcutta—each had its Ranelagh.

The reader of this paper will, we trust, see in compairing the present with the past, that in various points we have improved, not merely the 

\textit{nous changeous rout cela}: the hand of God ought to be seen in social changes as well as in his Revelation or his Book of Nature; our own spirits have been often cheered when discouraged by existing evils, in reviewing the past.

One of the difficulties of dealing with Old Calcutta is the danger of taking instances as examples instead of exceptions. Thus any one having known Calcutta would have been surprised at the statement of Sir J. Royd to the Grand Journey of Calcutta in 1812 that “not a single instance of depredation on private property has occurred during the last six months of magnitude sufficient to be brought before you and this Court”. As exculpatory on the side as Sir M. Wells on a recent occasion was condemnatory on the other.

We profess to give only a very brief sketch here of Old Calcutta, to enter into the subject fully would fill the whole of this \textit{Review}. We shall as far as possible avoid repeating things which are generally known, or drawing from the ordinary books which treat of India. Our materials are derived from reminiscences of conversation with the late Mrs. Ellerton, who saw Warren Hastings carried away bloody from his duel with Francis; of Mr. Herkloz, who has fiscal of Chinsurah in Dutch times, of Mr. Blaquiere, &c. &c., and from books of which copies now in India are rare, such as Hartly House, the East India Chronicles, Sketches Voyages, Williamson’s \textit{Vade Mecum}, Kidirley’s and Fay’s Letters, and above all a collection of 510 pamphlets on the East Indies and
China filling 95 volumes. These are invaluable and contain many statements of great importance relating to Calcutta last century. Old Libraries are few, one of the best of them was the late Hurkara one, but at an auction of books this year rare old volumes were sold for a few annas to sirkars, and thus a valuable collection has been scattered; it contained some of the Calcutta newspapers of last century which are not now to be had.

Calcutta in a regular colluvies gentium—the Jew that excels the Bengali in cheating—the American with his semi-Asiatic habits—the rich Mogul—Marwari merchant—the black Portuguese—the muddy-looking East Indian—have all made it their residence, but our object in this article is chiefly to give a glance at the English in their social life. Many estimates have been made at different times of the actual population of Calcutta. We give the following for 1850 as a standard, and with exception of Europeans who have increased, it might stand as an average for last century; this must be borne in mind that 100,000 Hindoos daily enter and depart from Calcutta.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Male.</th>
<th>Female.</th>
<th>Total.</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Europeans</td>
<td>4,848</td>
<td>2,686</td>
<td>7,534</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eurosians</td>
<td>2,472</td>
<td>2,188</td>
<td>4,660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Americans</td>
<td>499</td>
<td>393</td>
<td>892</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinese</td>
<td>699</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>847</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hindoos</td>
<td>1,65,817</td>
<td>1,08,689</td>
<td>2,74,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muhammedans</td>
<td>72,476</td>
<td>38,694</td>
<td>1,11,170</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Asiatics</td>
<td>8,225</td>
<td>7,229</td>
<td>15,454</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>4,15,063</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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The names of residents in Old Calcutta will be known best by consulting the monumental inscriptions, for comparatively few then to be returned to their own land to ease and competence—death intervened, and the shattered, mouldering monuments in Chowringi, great burial ground, "city of the dead", are the only memorials left of
them. Let us make a pilgrimage to the tombs there, the well-known Indian names of Becher, Barwell, Reed, Sykes, Law Jackson, Hayes, are to be met with. Sir William Jones lies buried on it, of whom it is recorded on his tomb;—Here lies “The mortal part of a man, who feared God, but not death, and maintained independence, but sought not riches: who thought none below him but the base and unjust; none above him but the wise and virtuous”—a statement new to the Calcutta people of his day though, if we are to believe those marbles “the inhabitants of ancient Calcutta were a race of virtuous, industrious, and honourable men: of pious and beautiful women, enlivened society in general, and afforded every domestic and social comfort to husband far distant from the house of early consanguinity and the joys of England.” The oldest monument is of Job Charnock, who in 1692 “Mortalitatis suoe exuvis deposit reversus est domum suoe oetemitats;” Then of his daughter, “Qui per elapsa tot annorum millia culpam primaevae luit Parentis, et luet usque dum enternum stabit”. “In delore paries filios,”—here lies Captain Poyning, who most bravely defended the Resolution of India-man against thirty sail of the Mahrattah fleet. Those were days when Indiamen mounted 20 guns, the crew and the passengers were all trained to arms. Cleveland who “accomplished by a system of conciliation what could never be effected by Military coercion”. Oldham who died in 1788 was an undertaker who erected several monuments in the different burial grounds in Calcutta, and particularly in the ground where he himself lies interred, “he was the first undertaker who settled in Bengal; Tomb stones before his time came as bespoke from Madras, he first cut stones from the ruins of Gour”. There is an inscription over the wife of an Attorney, Jones.

“Through low in earth your virtuous from decayed, My faithful wife my loved Nancy’s laid, In chastity you kept a husband’s heart, To all but him as cold as now thou art”.
Justice Hyde was one of the Puisne Judges of the Supreme Court in which he spent 21 years, longer than those Judges ordinarily stay now.—Colonel Kyd distinguished for his botanic researches and William Chambers, Prothonotary of the Supreme Court noted for his Persian studies and Biblical translation. In the Mission Burial Ground the oldest tomb is of 1773; in the New Burial Ground of 1793; in Tirettas Burial Ground 1796; the Hospital Burial Ground “On the bank of the Gungah” 1786; the Church of the Virgin 1712; the inscriptions Latin, Portuguese, and English; Bytakannah 1787; Greek 1777; inscriptions in Greek; Orphan Ground, Howrah 1791. Out of Calcutta the oldest tombs are Dum-Dum 1790; Barrackpore 1783; Serampore 1745; Chandernagore 1729, viz. that of Monrient Blanchatiere, Director of the French East India Company, Chinsurah 1743; and Bandel 1756.

We know not when Calcutta\(^1\) first got the title “City of Palaces”, though last century it was a misnomer in a place having no glass to its houses and few verandahs to shade off the heat; in whose streets dead animals were to be seen putrifying, and sometimes even human beings. Defective as are still the municipal arrangements of Calcutta, it is a great improvement on last century, when drains three feet deep were reservoirs of filth, sending out annually their three hundred and sixty stenches; the receptacle of rotting animals; even human corpses have been known to be two days in the streets, before being taken away by the police, and thrown into the canals.

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1. The native name of Calcutta (Kalikatta), we believe, was given it from Kalighat, but the English metamorphose native names sadly thus—Mannakali point is called melancholy point.—Suraje Daula was called Sir Roger Daula; they called all natives Gentoo, according to Voltaire a contraction of gentiles.—Kedjeri pots were so called from Kedjeri where crockery was abundantly supplied to the shipping.—A native went by the name in 1780 of Sam Chakrabarti! Where is this to end? We have Dover Village and Shrimp Channel marked on the old maps South of Calcutta—where are these? How much better to keep to permanent native names.
In some cases they were left for the jackals to make a two days’s meal of them.

The following verse, taken from Atkinson’s Poem, the City of Palaces, well describe its then state:—

Calcutta! What was thy condition then?
An anxious, forced existence, and thy site
Embowering jungle, and roxious fen,
Fatal to many a bold aspiring wight:
On every side tall trees shut out the sight;
And like the Upas, nor some vapours shed;
Day blazed with heat intense, and murky night
Brought damps excessive, and a feverish bed;
The revellers a eve were in the morning dead.

"Worse than Batavia, thou west then, a tomb;
What are thou now, amidst thy various brood?
Though unincumbered by forest’s gloom,
Thou robbes beauty of its eloquent blood,
Youth of its lustre, and the opening bud
Of infancy is blasted in thy view,
Fell us the vampire in its thirstiest mood:
All ranks alikes thy direful influence rue:
Thou bane of lovely looks and health’s inspiring hue”.

No wonder that the Europeans, gradually migrated from the Belgravia of that day—Tank Square,—and took up their abodes in Chowringi “out of town”; The common sobriquet was “the settlement”, and its inhabitants called themselves, “the exiles”—though never did live in such luxury, and in so many cases forget home and all its associations.

Viewing the rapid succession of residents and the “Voice from the tomb” we need not be surprised at Europeans being deterred from coming to Calcutta last century—at its being regard as a land of exile and death. Gladwin gives the following view as entertained even by the Mussalmans of Bengal. “In former reigns the climate
of Bengal on account of the badness of the water, was
dee med in imical to the constitution of Moguls and other
foreigners; and only those officers who laboured under
the royal displeasure were stationed there, so that this
fertile soil, which enjoys a perpetual spring was considered
as a gloomy prison, the land of spectres, the seat of desease,
and the mansion of death. The ministers of state and
the Dewans appropriated the greatest past of these valu-
able lands to tankahs for the jaigeers of the mansibadars, so
that the amount collected in the khalsa was so inconsiderable,
as to be inadequate to the demands of the Nizamut troops;
which deficiency was supplied from the treasury of Delhi
and by tankhas on other Soobahs”. But we find in 1757
the subsequent of “the terrestrial paradise” was applied to
it, this certainly could not be stated of it by Europeans,
—but they had chiefly to blame themselves; with tables
groaning under the weight of heavy joints of meat, washed
down with Arrack-Punch, it is not surprising to find that
one-third of the cases in hospital arose from liver com-
plaint. We do not quite understand what is meant by
“the hot winds of Calcutta”, a fertile source disease so
often referred to by old writers there. “When the hot
winds are abroad the angel of death is busy in all quar-
ters; and though numbers survive, the devastations are
aweful. There is existence only supportable in the morn-
ing and evening; and the whole European people droop
the head and dissolution solely occupies their thoughts”.
In reading old accounts of heat in Calcutta, such as that
it was usual to throw water on the wheels of carriages an
hour before going out, also to pour water on stones for
coolness, we must remember the heat was not greater then
than now, but persons had no means of alleviating it,
excepting charming their linen, as the Judges of the
Supreme Court did three or four times a day during
Omichand’s trial; it was doubtless the air that blew hot
when the houses were all opened, no punkhas, no tarries,
to escape from the horror of which our predecessors rented
houses at the so-called healthy villages of Baraset and Chinsurah, where, seated behind the felted canvas, which in early times served purpose of *cuscus tatties*, they refreshed themselves with gallons of *Arrackpunh* and country beer, to keep off the effects of the climate, and remedy the debilitating influence of copious perspiration.

Ives gives the statistics of the Calcutta hospital from the ships in 1757 between February 8th and August 8th of that year 1140 patients were received, of those 54 were for scurvy, 302 bilious feners, and 56 bilious cholie; 52 men buried. Between August 7th and November 7th, 717 fresh patients were taken in, of those 147 were in putrid fevers, and 155 in putrid flexes, 101 were buried. No wonder for in the same year Dr. Bogue remarks of the fevers in Calcutta—"*bleeding was commonly used in fever cases*". The rains were the deadly time in Calcutta, and particularly for new arrivals. Ship’s crews in the river then used to lose one-fourth of their crews, or 300 men, chiefly owing however to their exposure to night fogs, and to the punch houses, though the stoppages at Diamond Harbour, laid the foundation of the disease of the majority; survey was almost universal, there were no Agri-Horticultural Societies in those days to supply vegetable seeds.

For improving the *Sanitary condition* of Calcutta, the Lottery Committee did much. We find that as early as 1794 there were Lottery Commissioners: in that year they advertised for a benevolent charitable purposes a lottery of 10,000 tickets at 32 Rupees each, and some of our best

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2. This is an important point in connection with the amalgamation of the armies; all the old medical writers on Calcutta state that *new* comers are most liable to the diseases of the country. Dr. Lind in his celebrated work in tropical diseases published in 1776 affirms, that "by length of time the constitution of Europeans becomes seasoned to the East and West Indies climates, if it is not injured by repeated attacks of sickness on the first arrival". Still the fact remains the Europeans cannot bring up a healthy offspring in the plains of India. An old soldier 44 years in India told us that he considered one soldier seasoned after three years was equal to two recruits.
streets are owing to their funds. The English knew nothing sanitaria last century, Barasat, Chittagong and St. Thom at Madras were the places for change of air. W. Hastings, Sir R. Chambers and others used to go to Bircul near Hijli for sea-bathing; the remains of their Bungalows are still to be seen there; Sukhsagar was another retreat.

Much of the disease in Calcutta and in other parts of India has been owing to the English not conforming their mode of living, dress, &c. to the climate. Anglo-Saxon in every part of the world has wished to carry his home system in with him, he is the Topi-wala in Calcutta as in London; he is like the Dutch at Batavia, who in the swamps made canals or fetid ditches run through their capital because Amsterdam had them,—the results were pestilential fever, hence the canals have slain more Dutch in Java than the swords of the natives. We find Calcutta people warned in 1780; "from the many sudden deaths 'which have happened lately, gentlemen should be cautious not to eat too freely during the continuance of the heat (June;) the Surgeon of an India man expired in the street after eating a hearty dinner of beef, the thermometer was at 98°".

But last century tropical countries were generally unhealthy Jamaica formerly buried to the amount of the whole numbers of its white inhabitants once in five years; Batavia lost one-fifth of its Dutch population annually, the Portuguese lost all their European Missionaries in Guinea, and found it necessary to raise up a class of black prints; one-third of the Europeans died annually in the African factories.

No wonder fever was prevalent in Calcutta. People slept on the ground floor; few houses had upper stories, though the first floor was raised and was approached by a flight of steps. There was a disease common to the lower classes of Europeans called the Barbers, a species of palsy, owing to the exposure to the land winds after a fit of intoxication. Abscesses of the liver were very fatal—one
of the charges advanced against Comte Lally was, "of causing himself to be treated as if he had an abscess of the liver before an abscess was formed, which, had it ever happened, would have caused his death" though this is absurd—it shows the view entertained then of abscess.

Dr. Lind writes of the fevers of the middle of last century in Calcutta. "The distempers are fevers of the remitting or intermitting kind; sometimes they may begin under a continued form, and remain several days without any perceptible remission, but they have in general a great tendency to a remission. They are commonly accompanied with violent fits of rigorous or shiverings, and with discharges of bib upwards and downwards. "If the season be very sickly, some are seized with a malignant fever, of which they soon die; the body is converted with blotches of a livid colour, and the crops in a few hours turns quite black and corrupted. At this time fluxes prevail, which may be called bilious or putrid, the better to distinguish them from others which are accompanied with an inflammation of the bowels. In all those diseases at Bengal, the lancet is cautiously to be used. It is a common observation, both at Bengal and Bencoolen, that the moon or tides have a remarkable influence there on intermittent fevers. I have been informed by a gentleman of undoubted veracity, and of great knowledge in medicine, that in fevers at Bengal, he could foretell their precise time when the patient would expire, it being generally about the hour of low water. This much is certain, that in the year 1762, after a great sickness of which it was computed 30,000 Blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of Bengal, upon an eclipse of the moon, the English merchants and others, who had left off taking the bark, suffered a relapse. The return of this fever was so general on the day of the eclipse, that there was not the least reason to doubt of the effect".

Respecting the mortality of Europeans in Calcutta, it is
difficult to get accurate statistics. Hamilton states that in 1700, there were about 1200 English men in Calcutta, but in the following January 460 were buried, higher than any year up to 1800, excepting 1760 when 305 died; the last century gives an average of 164 annually—but we doubt its correctness. 3

Strong has made elaborate tables in which he calculates the mortality among natives in Calcutta in 1831-40 at four and three-fifths per cent annually.

The adventurers (a term applied in the days of the company's commercial monopoly to every man who came out not in the service of the Company; India was designed to be a pet preserve of the civil service) cannot be omitted from the sketch of Old Calcutta,—they were few a despised. 4 The "Eonats" a poem in ridicule of "free

3. "Respecting that disease which has proved such an awful scourge in Calcutta—Cholera, it is a commonly received opinion, that is broke out first in the Marquies of Hastings' Army, and made its appearance in the Nudda District in 1813, but by reference to old writers we find, that if not known as an Epidemic something very similar prevailed in Calcutta, but as an Endemic. Lind mentions "that in the great sickness of 1762 in which 30,000 Blacks and 800 Europeans died in the province of Bengal, it was marked that a "constant vomiting of a white, though, pellucid phlegm accompanied with a continental diarrhoea, was deemed the most mortal symptom". Cholera was called Morte de Chien. "Very frequent, and fatal;" and the treatment was emetics opiate. hortshorn, and water, it took the patient off in a few hours. Monsieur Eallon in 1698 writes of a disease called, the Indian Mordecoi, which kills people in a few hours time, accompanied with vomiting and looseness. The remedies reckoned effectual, are applying a red hot iron to the feet across the anestes, and taking kanji water with pepper. When cholera as an Epidemic first broke out in the Marquis of Hastings' grand army natives were first attacked, in the case of Europeans it accompanied by spasms, caused intense thirst, but the Doctors did not allow a drop of water; though some men that got water by stealth rapidly recovered. Besides brandy and landanum, one of the remedies was placing the patient in a hot bath, and bleeding him white there in the arms—provided blood flowed. The doctors contagious; the camp followers were cut off so rapidly that the Marquis of Hastings was obliged to pitch a standing camp near Gwalior".

4. The following extracts from the pamphlet show the feeling. Thus it describes the importations to India.
trade and empty speculation;" published in 1813, gives a frontispiece in style of Punch; close in the background, is the India House to be let, one man holds a scroll on which is written "since the loss of the slave trade our Liver has become a pool of grief to us dissolved in woe—moreover our port (Liverpool) stands so sung for smuggling that the free trade need not go North about for that purpose". Another "Cork jackets for Indian Divers, salted pork for Fakirs", then a Scotchman "Your petitioners request that leaving to the Company the Hull, you would give us the Kernel of the East Indian Commerce" then to barter "for converting Scotch pearls into orientals, show boots, fire screens, warming pans in visible petticoats, tragedies for worm weather:" then the ship "Venus receiving her cargo of white and willing nuns' for the consumption of East Indies, which from the intended schemes of speculation, will naturally become Bankrupt in Morlas as in Trade."\(^5\) The writer, to show how little demand there is for the interloper to trade in Calcutta, states that of a

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Pale faded stuffs, by time grown faint
will brighten up 'through art;
As British gives their faces paint
For sale at India's mart.
* * *
Another in his bark receives
coffins for undertakers
For Brahmins, cassocks and lawn sleeves
And feather beds for Fakirs;
* * *
This packs up ice in earthen Jars,
And happily creates
For Sheffield manufacturers,
A large demand for skaites.
* * *
And lo! to mend the sunburnt breed
Of Asia's fawny sons,
what a vast foresightage is decreed
Of white and willing nuns.

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5. Yet in the 1823 the King of Japan styled Sir T. Smith and others in "the honourable and worshipful adventures to the East Indies".
labouring man, wife and two children, can live on 2½ rupees monthly, what an overplus he must have to expend on articles of foreign luxury—he overlooked young Bengal.

Any one found without a license 10 miles from the Presidency was liable to be marched under a guard on board ship and sent back to England forthwith.

While the settlement of *European Capitalists* having a good moral character, and willing to treat the natives kindly and justly, would be a great boon in the Mofussil, the indiscriminate admission of Europeans was always considered bad; the East India Company have never had justice done in their views with regard to interlopers in this point; one of the best exposed of them however was given in a speech of the Right Honourable H. Dundas in the House of Commons in 1793, and which called forth the decided approbation of Pitt. He states on this point, "An indiscriminate and unrestrained colonization would destroy that respect or rather eradicate that feeling which is general among the natives, of the superiority of the European character. It is a fact, that upon this feeling of the superiority of the Europeans the preservation of our empire depends, and it is owing to the limited number of them, and to their being the connected servants of the company, or licensed inhabitants, that the idea of the superiority is so general, or that is effectual as a means of administering the government of our provinces. I cannot illustrate these observations better, than referring to the correspondence between Meer Cossim and Mr. Vansittart; the Nabab complained to this Governor, that the natives were oppressed and harassed by numbers of *Vagrant Europeans*; thinking, perhaps, that the Nabab was alarmed without reason Mr. Vansittart replied, that these Europeans were too contemptible to deserve notice. 'They may be contemptible' answered the Nabab, 'in your opinion, but the dog of an European is of consequence among the limited natives of this country'. If then, the superiority of the European character must be maintained
in India, it is impossible for us to think of authorising an unrestrained emigration”.

Griffs, though so abundant of late in India and particularly old Griff's, were not unknown formerly. Captain Williamson states regarding them in 1800. "Nothing can be more preposterous than the significant sneers of gentlemen on their first arrival in India; meaning thereby, to ridicule or despise what they consider effeminacy or luxury. Thus, several may be seen annually walking about without chattahs (i.e. umbrellas,) during the greatest heats, they affect to be ashamed of requiring aid, and endeavour to uphold by such a display of indifference, the great reliance placed on strength of constitution. This unhappy infatuation rarely exceeds a few days, at the end of that time, sometimes only of a week (may I have known the period to be much shorter) we too often are called upon to attend the funeral of the self-deluded victim. The first attack is generally announced by cold shiverings and bilious vomiting, delirium speedily ensues, when pure—faction advances with such "hasty stride, as often to render interment necessary so soon as can possibly be affected." The Colonel of a King's Regiment was considered the beam ideal of an old Griffin. An anecdote is detailed of one who sent to the office of the Commander-in-Chief of request that a "cool station" might be selected for his crops; and of the commandant of a brigade who hearing continually of the allowance for doolees (Palanquins), enquired what short of "animals" they were since they seemed to eat so much.6

An old writer of 1808 thus describes a griff officer of the Royal Army on his arrival in India.

"On his arrival in India, it is, somehow or other, a natural bias which prompts him, (and I may say every European, King's or Company's) to feel a sensation of

6. Not as bad as Lord Hardinge's ordering Chaprassies to be cooked for breakfast—he meant Chappatees.
repugnance, nay, little short of abhorrence, to the natives in general. Whether this has been born with us, or is the effect of education I know not; but I can appeal to the truth of it, to the breast of any person who has been into India, everything a native does is executed exactly contrary to European ideas; and these people are so addicted to telling the most barefaced lies, that a stranger falling into the hands of the most villainous post of them (the Madras dubashes) on his first arrival, is naturally confirmed in the abhorrence he has felt for them at first sight. I have seen many sensible persons who could not conquer their aversion, for a length of time, so far as even to touch the skin of a native "Blackey"; 'black fellows', and 'black scoundrels', are the opprobrious terms generally used 'in speaking of them, amongst every class of Europeans.'

The King's troops were all noted for their griffinage—The following anecdote is recorded of one at the period of the Vellore Massacre:—"The arrogance of a reply to a Lieutenant Colonel, of '25 Years' standing, who commanded a corps of sepoys, had asked 'a King's Colonel (commanding the station) leave for his sepoys to attend an annual Hindoo festival; urging, when this was denied, that it had been an invariable custom to grant the leave, for 25 years he had been in the service."—Then, replied the commandant (who was not three years old when the Lieutenant Colonel entered the Army) "I, Theodosius Pam Padore Mount Razor, Colonel, commanding the *** do now abolish, and put a stop to the said custom, in its 26th, years! turning upon his heel on finishing the sentence". This griffinage was near costing the loss of India, as the Vellore Mutiny was mainly caused by king's officers interfering ignorantly with the prejudices of the sepoys, requiring them to wear peculiar kind of turban like a hat and to shave their whiskers: the principal conspirator going to execution declared at his last words that "he would rather suffer death than wear the hat"—Yet people in
English in that day Pooh-poohed it. Saying "what is the matter it is a turban or a whisker?" A young Griff in the hands of native servants was always an object of the deepest pity, about 1810 he is graphically described thus: "His clothes disappear first—his money goes next, he knows neither the coins of the country, for their value—for the worth of two pounds he is lucky if he obtains one—and so on. Without a soul on whose recommendation for servants he can rely, he beholds himself the prey of sharpers of whose villainy he is well aware, thought utterly at a loss how to supply their place with others in whose fidelity he has confidence. Those servants who ply at ghtas, or landing places are usually of the very worst description; and it is truly to be lamented, that these men by speaking English, become so useful to the stranger, unacquainted with a single word of Hindoo-stancee, that all confidence is vested in them, of which, as may be supposed, they fail not to take every advantage".

In direct opposition to the Griff was the Old Indian of whom so much has been written; here are the descriptions of one of last century. "Having lost all affections for, and all remembrance of the land of their nativity, they settle down to some engrossing employment, and vegetate in dulness and obscurity, perfectly satisfied with the gratification which a regular supply of European eatables and drinkable can afford, never desiring to change their situation, or to enter into a larger or higher sphere. A vast number of strange notions may be acquired by those who, confined to a narrow circle, contract their minds within the same boundary, and are as little fitted to mix with the world as if their faculties were benumered by the wand of the enchanter". Or again "Amorous in the extreme, possessed of nice sensibility increased by the climate and passionately devoted to a luxurious and idle life, the generality of Indians find too many resources in their Zenanas to exchange them voluntarily for the cares of Cutchery or the tumuts of camp".
But with improved religious and literary tastes the old Indian is passing away and men are inclined to go to the other extreme and remain "Everlasting Griffs"—ever learning.

With the exception of Buchanan, Thomson, Martyn, Browne and few others, the India Chaplaincy has been bear of men distinguished either for pulpit eloquence, pastoral visiting or theological knowledge. David Browne who came out in 1786 was the first men of any note; previous to that period and 1756 there were 13 Chaplains of these 2 died, one in the Black Hole, another at Fulta among the fugitives, 5 died after about 3 year's service, none of them "studied the language of the Gentus." The first Chaplain we have mentioned of in Calcutta is the Rev. S. Brienciffe in 1714. Seeing the want of schools, the Portuguese "having none, but bringing up their slaves in their own faith", he propose to establish one, but met with no encouragement. Mr. Bellamy perished in the Black Hole. Butler and Cape were Chaplains in 1758 and assisted Kiernander in raising money for missionary operations, they died there in 1761. Stavely succeeded but was carried of by an epidemic in 1762. Dr. Burns, Hulser, Chaplain to Sir E. Carter, Owen, Blanshard and Johnson were subsequent Chaplains. Large fortunes were made by them in days when 16 or 20 gold-mohurs were a common fee for a marriage and 5 gold-mohurs the smallest fee for a baptism. "Goldmohurs are dealt about in Calcutta as half-crown in England". We in vain search for traces of any of the Chaplains of last century having been distinguished for oriental scholarship. Valentia writes of them in 1802 "as noted for the unedifying contests that prevail among them even in the pulpit, which tent to lower the religion and its followers in the eyes of the natives of every description". The late Bishop Wilson's opinion, regarding Chaplains was similar; he once declared publicly, that half his time was spent in settling their quarrels. Major S. Waring recommended in 1807 that
Chaplains should in future confine themselves to the souls of their own countrymen,—there was little occasion for that advice, as the Chaplains have never been over zealous in "teaching the Gentus".

The name of Doctor will ever be dear to Calcutta, in connection with Surgeon Hamilton who cured of a malignant distemper the Great Mogul, and was allowed by him as a mark of gratitude a piece of ground for his countrymen. Surgeon Kerr who died in 1782 was distinguished as well by his medical knowledge, as by his "improving the Arts, and enriching science by his discoveries in India". Dr. Wade died in 1802, he published various medical tracts and had finished a large volume on the History of Assam,—where is it? Hartly House states last century of the Doctors—"Physic, as well as law is a gold mine to its professors to work it at will. The medical gentlemen at Calcutta make their visits by palanquins, and receive a gold-mohur from each patient for every common attendance, extras are enormous. Medicines are also rates so high, that it is shocking to think of: in order to soften which public evil as much as possible, an apothecary's shop is opened at the Old Fort, by the Company, in the nature of your London Dispensaries where drugs are vended upon reasonable times. The following charges are specimens of the expenses those Europeans incur, who sacrifice to appearances. An ounce of bark, three rupees; an ounce of salt, one rupee; a foul, one rupee; a blister, two rupees—and so on in proportion, so that literally speaking, you may ruin your fortune to preserve your life. But then to balance this formidable account, every profession has its amazing advantages: accordingly, as I am told, that is no uncommon thing to clear a hundred and forty per cent by merchandise on many European articles and particularly the ornamental for ladies or men's hats".

In 1780 the following squib on some of the doctors appeared in one of the Calcutta papers—we fear it was too true:—
CALCUTTA IN THE OLDEN TIME—ITS PEOPLE

Such Doctors who never saw Leyden, or Flanders,
Run counters to reason, and bleed in the jaundice.
If your wife has a headache let Sangrado but touch her
And he'll jobb in his Launcet live any Log Butcher
Tho' in putrid complaints, dissolution is rapid,
He'll bleed you to render the serum more rapid.
But consider the cause sure, 'twill give one the hip man,
To see dubb's a doctor, a special good midshipman,
Who handels your pulse as he'd handel a rope,
And conceives your complaint, Just as clear as the Pope.

_English ladies_ in Calcutta in last century were few and
were very expensive. Stavorinus thus describes them in 1770:
"Domestic peace and tranquility must be purchased by a
shower of jewels, a wardrobe of the richest clothes, and
a kindly parade of plate upon the sideboard, the husband
must give all these, or according to a vulgar phrase 'the
house would be too hot to hold him,' while the wife never
pays the least attention to her domestic concerns, but
suffers the whole to depend upon her servants or slaves.
The women generally rise between eight and nine o'clock.
Dinner is ready at half past one; they go to sleep till half
past four or five; they then dress in form, and the evening
and past of the night is spend in company or at dancing
parties, which are frequent during the colder season. They
are fond of parties of pleasure, which are frequently
made, both upon the delightful banks and upon the
pleasant waves of the Ganges. Yet these and all other
amusements, are here peculiarly expensive". Up to the
close of the century they amounted to not more than 250 in
Bengal and its dependencies, while the European male
inhabitants of respectability, including military officers,
were about 4000. Besides few comming out through dread
of the climate, no lady could be landed in Bengal at a less
cost than 5000 rupees; freight was high, a monopoly of
the Company—£25 a ton paid for goods, now to be sent
at £5; a good lebel was kept during a long voyage, which
then as now afforded leisure and scope for fiery hearts and
gossiping tongues. Hickey's *Gazette* states of this in 1780: "In my last I sent you an account of the number of ladies which has arrived in the late ships, there came eleven in one vessel, too great a number for the peace and good order of a Round House. Millinery must rise at least 25 per cent, for the above ladies, when they left England were well stocked with Head Dresses of different kinds, formed to the highest ton. But from three last months of the passage they had scares a cap left when they arrived".  

The *marriage question* is one that occupied an important place in Old Calcutta, in the days when Edinburgh was called "the flesh market for the marriage mart. London supplies out too. Grand Pre states of this. "From a knowledge of this general predilection in favour of matrimony in India, the English, who are inclined to every sort of speculation, send thither annually whole cargoes of females, who are tolerably handsome and are seldom six months in the country without getting husbands. These
cargoes were impatiently expected by such as not liking the orphans, are tired of celibacy, and on the look out for the arrival of the ships they were eager, as in other places, for a freight of merchandise to make purchases of goods. What is more extraordinary, these marriages are in general happy. The women, removed from Europe from a situation of mediocrity, often of unhappiness, to distant country where they pass suddenly into a state of opulence, feel as they ought the sentiments of gratitude due to the men, who share with them their fortunes. They become both good to the natives, who are continually wishing for the luxuries in which they were brought up. These matrimonial ventures afford the means of keeping up the white race, at Bengal, and prevent the Portuguese caste from increasing fast as on the coast. This caste is called here *topas*, from the word *topi* which signifies in the Portuguese language a hat. The name is given to such Indians as change their own for the European dress and wear a hat instead for a turban”.

On a young lady landing the church itself was made a place for courtship, and the first three nights after landing the young lady—who came to see her aunt, remained up all right to receive visitors who crowded the house of some lady of rank, as if at on fresh wake—the rule being “strike the iron while hot” Marriages were accordingly as quickly got up as these at Kidderpore but the Governor-General’s licence to be married was necessary to constitute it a legal one. Many matches were concluded even before the third night of exhibition but in special cases a fourth night was required for the banquet of bachelors from the interior. There were no punkahs in those days—with tight lacing, mosquitos and a crowd, the lady must have suffered much—and she had to return all the visits. About 1780 the practice began to fall into disuse owing to the increase of people and of houses, some of which were at a great distance from others. There was great competition then for marriageable
ladies, as the following notice of Hickey's *Gazette*, 1780 illustrates!

"It is said that the Captain H—was last night or will soon be married to Miss P—, a lady of merit and gentle accomplishment. We are told here that several other happy unions of the same nature are now meditating and will soon take place in Calcutta. Happy people! who have the opportunity of rendering yourselves to the fair, a blessing seldom experienced by us poor fellows in this remote part of the country. Make the most of your present situation, I advice you; for the gentlemen out of the provinces, believing that forestalling is contrary to law, as they are assured it is repugnant to equity, are determined to apply to the Judges for an order of Court, that an equal division of beauty may be made, and they hope to have the support of Government in this and their prayer as remits are no less necessary than civilians to the welfare of the state."

The consequences of hasty marriage were often deplorable, Calcutta having been noted for its *Affairs de Court* almost as much as the Court of Versailles, and a husband was often regarded by the lady as an Italian lady generally views hers. On the slightest attack of illness the wife found a pretext for leaving for Europe a husband to whom she had scarcely reached kedgiri, before the husband had supplied himself with "a seraglio of bloc damas." Cases have been even known, when the doctor was bribed by the husband to give an order for a change of climate. Men old enough to make a girl guilty of a breach of the canonical articles which positively forbid your marrying your grand-father, were wedded to girls in their teens with little or no attraction. No wonder it was remarked of those marriages "Hymen in Calcutta is seldom attended at the nuptial ceremony by Cupid". Marriages were celebrated in the evening we find it is in 1778—how much earlier we do not know. Weddings here are very joyous things to all parties
especially, I should suppose, to the Padre or clergyman, who frequently receives twenty gold-mohurs for his trouble of performing the ceremony. The bride and and bridegroom’s friends assemble, all elegantly dressed, at one or other of the young couple’s nearest relations, and are most sumptuously entertained; and the congratulatory visit on the occasion put the whole town in motion.”

Notices of marriage were written in a curious style, this is one of 1780. “Married last Saturday at Cossimbazar the Honourable David Anstruther a Lieutenant & the yellow, to Miss Donaldson of that place, a young lady of beauty and infinite accomplishments. In those days all ladies were considered beauties, ‘tritons among the minnows,’ but few ladies of good education or good family would venture out of England. Scotland sent a supply and of them it is observed in 1800. “The generality of ladies who came annually from Europe though doubtless of unsullied virtue, are by no means such as a person at all scrupulous in the connexions he formed, would select form, for a partner for life.”

The establishment of the Supreme Court in Calcutta last century introduced the lawyers into Calcutta, to the great loss, and sorrow of the natives, who have found English law the dearest and worst of all law. Asiaticus writes thus in 1774: “The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new Commander-in-chief of the forces, will of course be appointed to all posts of any emolument, and we must do those gentlemen the justice to observe that both in number and capacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth.

Hartley House mentions—“No wonder lawyers return from this country rolling in wealth, their fees are enormous, if you ask a single question on any affair, you pay down your goldmohur, and if he writes a letter of only three lines twenty-eight rupees! I tremble at the idea of coming into their hands, for what must be
the recoveries, to answer such immense charges! you must, however, be informed, that the number of acting attorneys on the Court roll is restricted to twelve, who serve an articulated clerkship of three years only, instead of five, as in England. The fee for making a will is in proportion to its length, from goldmohurs upwards and as to marriage articles I should imagine they would half ruin a man, and a process at law be the destruction of both parties. A man of abilities and good address in this line, if he has the firmness to resist the fastible contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life in Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances, but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connection, and having for a time complied with the humour of their company from prudent motives, they become fained and prosecute their bane from the impulses inclination.

About 1820 a Tirhoot planter published a work on India and gives the following views which corresponds with other statements, of the Mercantile Houses last century. "The Calcutta agents from a very prominent part of the community and from their extensive mercantile connexions, occupy a large space in the public eyes. These gentlemen, according to bombastic mode of expression usual in India, are called, by way of eminence, the princely merchants of Calcutta. Indeed the princes of the desk and ledger are very fond of adulation, and take pride in the high-sounding epithets applied to them, by persons some twenty or fifty thousand rupees minus in their books. People in the East are addicted to pompous title; the emperor's court around in "lights of the world, invincible swords, and supporters of the throne". I dare say these ledger princes, whose insignia should consist of a bale of cotton for a crown, and an indigo chest for a sceptre, by and by will be metamorphosed into ornaments of our Indian and "mighty lords of the quill"—high in dignity. But a trace to levity, and let us examine what the-
princely merchants are. During the war Calcutta agency houses consisted of old establishments which engrossed a great part of all commercial transactions, and might be termed a mercantile aristocracy, possessed of large factories and numerous constituents through India, the trader was entirely depended upon them, and an agent dictated his terms, from which there was no appeal. At present the case is different; inferior houses of agency have started up, new establishments have been formed, and an agent cannot dictate terms to persons possessed of some property, as they may have recourse to these inferior houses, so that the aristocracy is fast losing its domineering ascendancy; they act no agents to civil servants, in the army, &c., and lend money to merchants or traders upon terms very favourable to themselves, so that it often happens, when these are losers by a speculation, the agent is a gainer. During the war, when the commercial men sometimes made their fortune by a happy incident, they charged forty, fifty, and ninety per cent for money advanced; however, at present, that trade is dull; they are compelled to be moderate and content themselves with thirty. This exorbitant percentage, they make out in the shape of interest for money, commissions, charges, godown rents, &c., which often startle and gall an unwary constituent. I have heard of cases where this letter has sat down full of satisfaction, and calculated a pretty little balance in his own favour, after allowing for the common interest of money; but this was reckoning without his host. He goes to his agent, requests his account, and start at a debt which stares him in the face, more frightful than Hector's ghost was to pious Aeneas. The agents have indigo factories, cotton factories, and other possessions in the interior, over which they appoint manager, and allow them a share in the concern, also a salary for their trouble; with these they adopt the same system as with speculators, to that managers are often involved in debt, whilst the agent is a gainer. This was the case with indigo-
planters for many years; they laboured, they sweated, and
found themselves in the end playing a sowing game; how-
ever for the last two years, fortune has been propitious,
and owing to the great rise in the price of that article they
are getting rich in spite of incumbrances. Constituents,
with an independent property, are neither more nor less
than servants to agents, related, recommended, or other-
wise connected with these latter; who possess establish-
ments which must be superintended by somebody, and
into which these gentlemen are doubled as managers, con-
stituents or servants. When a constituent is deeply in
their books, and has no assets sufficient to pay them, they
insure his life to the amount; so that his death, which
may not be very distant in a climate like India, discharges
all arrears. They are associated with persons of the highest
rank, with whom they are concerned in business, and
receive numerous visitors, in order to draw the ties of
interest closer and arbitrary, not the moderation of an
English merchant, but the loftiness of an Indian; so that
young men, who would come in their employments,
should have a flexible back, and be skilled in the art of
fooing. How much the merchant was in the power of the
Banyan last century we may judge from the following de-
scription of that functionary.

"Banyan is a person either action for himself or as the
substitute of some great black merchants by whom the
English gentlemen is generally in transact all their business
He is interpreter, head book-keeper, head secretary, head
broker, the supplier of cash, and cash-keeper, and in
general also secret-keeper. He puts in the under-clerks,
the porter or door-keeper, stewards, bearers of the silver,
slaves, running footmen, torch and franch light-carriers,
palanquin-bearers, and all the long tribe of under ser-
vants, for whose honesty he is deemed answerable, and
he conducts all the trade of his master, to whom, unless
pretty well acquainted with the country languages, it is
difficult for any of the natives to obtain access. In short
he possesses singly many more powers over his master than can in the country be assumed by any young spendthrifts, steward, money-lender, and mistress all together, and farther serves very conveniently sometime in public discussion to farther such acts or proceedings as his master darest not avow. There is a powerful string of connection among these Banyans who serve all the English in the settlements of Bengal, as well in all public officers as in their private offices. Since the great influence acquired there by the English, many person of the best Gentoo families take upon them this trust of servitude and even pay a sum of money for serving gentlemen in certain posts; but principally for the influence which they acquire thereby, and the advantage of carrying in trade which they could not otherwise do and which in this situation they frequently do, duty free, under cover of their master's dustucks. There have been few instances of any European acquiring such a knowledge in speaking reading and writing the Bengali language (which is absolutely necessary for a real merchant) as to be able to do without such Head Banyan."

In 1833-34 the great crash came on merchants of Calcutta who lived as princes—but with other people's money. The newspaper press of Calcutta was silent but the London *Times* told the truth in the following plain language. "The mite of the widow, the hard earnings of the military servant, the collected accumulations of the civil servant, the funds of the capitalist, and the realized treasure of the retiring pensioner, on its way from India to Europe, have all been involved in one common deterioration or ruin. They have been occasioned solely by the mode in Calcutta agency houses have been transacting business for the last ten or fifteen years, in other words since the charter of 1814; the range for speculation or inordinate gains, on the part of the directors, and too eager or confident cupidity of their customers. Over-trading, improvident enterprise, extravagant miscalculation and
excessive expense in living have no doubt been the cause of the recent failures”.

We give the following lists of failures of a few houses which show the ruin and dismay that were then spread in Calcutta, but this effect was little among merchants as some of the old partners of the agency-houses seeing the storm coming had retired with part of their fortunes, and peniless adventurers took their place.

Calcutta.

1830—Jany., Palmer & Co., reported; ... £5,000,000
1832—Dec., Alexander & Co., admitted, ... 3,440,000
1833—Jany., Mackintosh & Co., do ... 2,700,000
,, —May, Calvin & Co., do ... 1,120,000
,, —Nov., Fergusson & Co., do ... 3,562,000
1834—Jany., Crutenden & Co., do ... 1,350,000

At Calcutta ... 17,172,000

Bombay.

1833—April, Shotan & Co. ... ... 207,000

London.

1833—May, Plekrads & Co. ... ... 950,000
,, —Augs., Firlie & Co., ... ... 1,044,000

Grand Total ... £19,373,000

Missionaries were looked on last century, and past of this, by the Government, as dangerous class of men; hence originated the following despatch of the Governor General in December, 1807 of the court. “The late prohibition of Public preaching in the native languages at Calcutta, was rendered indispensable by ‘some actual indications of solicitude, and incipient irritation in the minds of the native public, an in this city, in consequence of those provocations, in India more than in any other country, ‘the control of religious publications is indispensable for the ‘public safety’”. Yet last century the stores for the Danish Missionaries were sent freight and duty free, by the Court of Directors, and in Lord Minto’s time they
were lent 300 pagodas monthly to be repaid. Missionaries in the Madras Presidency rendered great service to the cause of Natural History, such as Keéning a pupil of Linnaeus, Martine, Klein, Roftler, John. Swartz, at the earnest request of Government negotiated with Hyder who would just no one else. Governor Clive stood sponsor to the child of Kiernander, the first Protestant Missionary in Calcutta. But the Vellore Massacre had about 1808 roused Calcutta people to a sense of the slight tenure of their power in this country; as a consequence, in a letter to the Court in 1813, we have the following alarm expressed in a pamphlet of the day at the proposal even to have a Bishop.

"Even names often have a great effect among the multitudes. The Bishop, on his arrival in India, will probably be called Lord Padre Saheb, perhaps Lord Padre Burra Saheb, and the Archdeacon Lord Padre Chota Saheb. These appellations and the very appearance of the dignified divines will excite curiosity, and curiosity produced injury. For what purpose these great Padres come? may be asked among each other. The answer will be obvious, alarm be excited and the recent irritations be renewed, and widely spread. The principal Mahomedans, or their adherents, many of them as enthusiastic as any of our zealots for the propagation of their faith, will, as they did at Vellore, eagerly seize the opportunity and unite in flames with the Hindoos against the Christians."

There was no ground however for alarm as friends of Missions then did not advocate State interference in missions; thus in 1813 Wilberforce in a famous speech in the House of Commons recommended the sending Missionaries to India, but added, "that the missionaries should be clearly understood to be armed with no commission from the the governing power of the country. In the work of conversion, I abjure all ideas of compulsion: 'I disclaim all use of the authority, nay, even of the influence of
government. I would trust altogether to the effects of reason and truth.

Kiernander, the first Missionary to Bengal, was we believe, the first who did any thing in native education. We find that in 1758 Mr. Kiernander had a school of 175 children, 78 of whom were instructed at the expense of the Christian Knowledge Society. Mr. Kiernander's colleague, Mr. Sylvester, was then occupied in translating a Catechism and prayers into Bengali; at that day it was brought by many as absurd a thing to give high introduction to a native as to teach dancing to a cow. We have an account of a Mr. Reuben Barrow, an able mathematician in India at the close of last century, who was asked by several natives to instruct them in astronomy and algebra. He began, but he was so deficient in suavity of manner as to drive the natives away and to gain for himself the little of the Mathematical Hottenot.

Sailors in Calcutta have always been noted for their recklessness and speedy death. The mortality of sailors in the Port of Calcutta was fearful, chiefly owing to their intemperance, and no means adopted to check it; in fact in the early days of the East India Company, such as in 1750, the charge was made by a proprietor against the Captains of Indiamen, "of the constant practice of making their crews drunk, and mad with the spirituous liquors they trafficked in, and the Commanders in the military swallowing the whole pay of your soldiers in the same trade; which was one great cause of the few there was, and of their ill-behaviour and desertion at Madras, when the enemy came before it". About 1780, Sobha Bazar was frequented by sailors, as Lal Bazar is now, "the noted place of residence of the black ladies of pleasure". In that year a great fire is recorded to have happened there, when Jack rescued all their property from the mat huts.

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8. Major Scott Waring who had been Secretary to Warren Hastings, came out at this time with a pamphlet which he recommended "the immediate recall of every Indian Missionary".
Sailors in 1780 were in Calcutta loafers, "occasionally railing over the country, disgracing the British name and weakening the hands of Government". We have an account of a press gang going after them to the punch houses, "pressing a considerable number of men who had no visible means of their support", thus ridding the settlement of great numbers of idle fellows "who may be useful to their king and country, by lending their assistance to chastise the enemies of Old England in this part of the world". The following is an advertisement to sailors in 1780 to engage in privateering, which was then reckoned a favourable opening to men seeking their fortune.

To all gentlemen, seemed and lads of enterprise and true spirit, who are ambitious of making an honourable independence by the plunder of the enemies of their country, the "Death or Glory" privateer, a prime sailing vessel, commanded by James Bracey, mounting six 22-pounders, 12 coehorns and twenty swivels and carrying one hundred and twenty men—will leave Calcutta in few days on a five month's cruise against the Dutch, French and Spaniards. The best treatment and encouragement will be given.

Last century when European were few, food and houses cheap and salaries high, Calcutta was pre-eminently the shine of hospitality; a new comer found his host's house, servants and money at his disposal; spare covers were laid out at dinner and at supper for any friends that might drop into tea pot luck, merchants then had regular hot tiffins open to all their friends, and to those who wished to see them on business there was the freeness of French life; the increase of prices and multiplication of unknown adventurers necessarily placed restrictions on this open table system, and boarding houses gradually sprang up. Public breakfasts were customarily given by the Governor-General, and members of Council—A Preface to alevee "good and bad were to be seen around the same teapot. This occasioned a native of some
consequence to remark that among Europeans all who wore a hat and breeches were gentlemen.” Lord Cornwallis however discontinued the practice—it has of late years been observed in Madras.

Hotels were not established in Calcutta till about 50 years ago, previous to that there were traverns in the Lal Bazar and Cossitollah: the Wilson’s of 1800 was at Fulta where large establishment was maintained for families and single ladies who had to embark and disembark there on account of the tide. On the increase of strangers and temporary residents in Calcutta the cost and comfortlessness of furnishing a whole house led to the setting up of boarding houses. The increase of rent of late in Chaurungi is leading many now to adopt the Paris fashion of having a suite of rooms in a house. In 1780 however we find an advertisement of an hotel in Calcutta to be kept by Sir E. Impey’s late steward and Sir T. Rumbold’s late cook—“turtles dressed, gentlemen boarded and families supplied with pastry.”

Commercial pursuits were not very consistent with literary tassels in Old Calcutta; the jingling of rhyme was discord to the ratting of rupees, and the shaking the pagoda tree was preferable to every other pursuit. War and the Muses were equally at variance. One Johns kept a public library in the—Old Fort about 1770,—new books came out only yearly, and there were few periodicals to tempt the literary loungers. Mr. Andrews who opened a circulating library, complains in an advertisement in 1780 of the loss he has sustained—“owing to gentlemen going away, and in their hurry not recollecting their being subscribers to the library or having any books belonging there to.” Another advertisement of his in 1780 states, “books are kept too long, one month is allowed for a quarto, he alleges that many sets were detained by individuals, cuts, leaves are torn out.” The old Hurkaru circulating library stood many years. Printing was high, 500 per cent higher than now, Asiaticus
Hickey's *Bengal Gazette* was the first Calcutta newspaper, it was published weekly, and started Saturday, January, the 29th 1780. The early number announced it to be "an antibilious specific." No I contains advertisement of "the comedy of the 'Beaux Stratagem.' to be performed at the Calcutta Theatre", foreign intelligence from the Liege *Gazette* of March the 8th, 1779—News received from Bombay Via-Bussora dated September 15th, 1779—Calcutta races the subscription plate value 2000 Sicca Rupees. "Stewards of the racing club invite the ladies and gentlemen of the settlement to a ball at the Court House"—Madeira wine at 13 Sicca Rupees per dozen. At Williamson's Auction Room, Old Play House, houses offered for sale—West India sweetmeats, Chariots horses, ships. The Poet's Corner—Nicol's advertisement of tavern south east of the China Bazar—a house for sale at Ducansore—to let a Garden House situated at Bread and Cheese Bungalow opposite the great tree. Government has given to Mr. John Princep an exclusive patent for coining copper pice." The investments used to be auctioned; among the lists of things occur swords and phactons. Thefts are advertised in a way not to give offence, thus—as lost or supposed to be taken away in a mistake from the house of Mr. Brightmann in the Moorgy Hattah, a gold cane belonging to Mr. De Conti—borrowed last week by a person or persons unknown out of a private gentleman's house a very elegant pair of candle shades; 40 rupees reward was offered. Scurrilous as the Calcutta press has always been; it was out done by Hickey's *Gazette*. The editor, thought it teemed with all kinds of obscenity, thought like subsequent editors that he could say what he liked; he advocated the liberty, i. e. licentiousness of the press, "the birthright," as he called it "of every Englishman though not of venal Scotchmen. There was great jealousy of Scotchmen. Hickey writes
"Scotchmen rule every thing in India, monopolise every post. In connexion with the newspaper press, subsequently occur the names of Greenlaw, Grant, Sutherland Bryce, Buckingham, Richardson, Horaca Hayman Wilson—they gave many brilliant articles but little Indian news, while the censorship prevented their criticising either Government or Bishop. The pens of Dr. Grant, Meredith Parker and Calder Campbell, the Oriental Pearl was also well done.

The Calcutta press being long under censorship could not express its views, as soon as public opinion enabled it to shake off those restrictions, which were useful perhaps in a country like India, where we cannot expect the natives to respect the English Government when the European press is constantly abusing it, the Calcutta press became, generally, the advocate of class-interests i.e. of a handful of European in opposition to views of an imperial policy, which would include both European and natives; hence the Calcutta press became the mere organ of the mercantile houses of Calcutta. But in 1833 attention was called to the disgraceful silence of the Calcutta press, on the public exposures excited by Palmer and Company's insolvency.

Calcutta is the child of trade, Charnock founded it with mercantile views on the eastern bank of the Hooghly, thought the western was the more healthy; but there was a great number of weavers living at Suttanatee, and there was deep water. Yet it is curious there was a strong party in England opposed to trade with India, who raised clamorous complaints loud and general.

Calcutta has never had any European merchant's like Jagut Set, the Rothschild of them were capitalists—except on money borrowed from native. They were agents, and opposed by the Company, whose London employers preferred sending dear things out from London to finding them in India: last century castor oil used to be sent out from England, reminding one of the directors
forwarded during the mutiny by the medical authorities in England, apprising the Queen's Surgeons of the recent discovery of the virtues of the best fruit,—such things may be, as we have it on record that a cargo of skates were once sent out to Calcutta from Liverpool for winter recreation.

A brisk trade was springing up with China last century, merchants used to go from Calcutta every season to bring goods from it for the Calcutta market. One John Jones advertises in 1780 for orders as he is going to China. In the Gentlemen's magazine for 1784 the following notice occurs of the Indian trade.

"There is no branch of European commerce, that has made so rapid a progress as that to East Indies. The whole number of ships sent to Asia by all the maritime powers of Europe, at the beginning of the present century, did not amount to fifty sail, of which England sent 14, France 5, Holland 11, the Venetians and Genoese together 9, Spain 3 and all the rest of Europe only 6; neither the Russian or imperialists at that period sent any. In the year 1744 the English increased the number of their ships to 27, the Vinetians and Genoese sent only 4, and the rest of Europe about 9. At this period 300 sail of European ships belonging to the several powers are employed in the East India traffic of which England alone sends 68 being the whole of the East India Company's shipping. The French last year employed 9, the Portuguese 18, the Russians and Spaniards make up the remainder. But neither the Venetians nor Genoese now send one single ship to India."

In the present day when the mercantile interest of Calcutta is of such vast consequence, it is interesting to look back at the objects that were once made against it. From a pamphlet published in 1621 we give the following objections to trade with India.

1. It was a happy thing for Christendome (say many men) that the navigation to the East Indies, by way of the
Cape of Good Hope, had never been found out; for in the fleets of shippes, which are sent thither yearly out of England, Portingall, and the low countries, the gold, silver, and coyne of Christendome, and particularly of this Kindome, is exhausted, to buy unneccesarie wares.

2. The timber, plancke, and other materials for making of shipping, is exceedinglie wasted, and made dearer, by the building of so many great shippes, as are yearly sent to trade in the East Indies; and yet the state hath no use of any of them upon occasion. For either they are not here; or else they come home verie weake and unserviceable.

3. The voyages to the East Indies do greatly consume our victuals, and our marriners leaving many poore widdowes and children unrelieved. Besides, that many shippes are yearely sent forth to the East Indies, and few we see as yet returned. Also this trade hath greatly decaied the traffique and shipping, which were wont to bee employed in to the streights. And yet the said Trade of the East Indies, is found very unprofitable to the Adventurers. Neither doth the commonwealth finde any benefit by the cheapenesse of spice and Indico, more than it times past.

It is generally observed, that His Majestie's Mint hath had but little employment ever sitthence the East India Trade began; wherefore it is manifest, that the only remedie for this, and so many evils, besides, is to put downe this Trade. For what other remedy can there been for the good of the commonwealth?"

In some thoughts on the present state of our trade to India, by a merchant of London in 1758, it is thus mentioned.

"Tea mean dirty drug, established by luxury, is become a necessary of life. Ridiculed by the Chinese our hardy seamen brave all climates, difficulties, herbs and baked earthenwares. Infatuation!"

Ship Building began to be risk after 1770, teak wood
being chiefly used; we have an account of the launch of a ship, built by Captain Watson at his dockyard Kidderpore. Warren Hastings and his lady were present at the launch and subsequent entertainment. After this, Indian ship building was viewed with enormous jealousy in London by all the dockyard men and shipwrights connected with Leadenhall Street. Even as late as 1813 a writer in England states—"is it not a matter to be deplored, that the Company should employ the natives of India in building their ships, to the actual injury and positive loss of this nation, from which they received their charter. Mistaken as the Company have been in this particular, it is not very difficult to divine what will take place, if an unrestrained commerce shall be permitted: if British capital shall be carried to India by British speculators, we may expect a vast increase of dockyards in that country, and a proportional increase of detriment to the artifices of Britain". The selfishness of English landowners was invoked that teak should give place to oak.

Taylor's formerly made a rich harvest by their trade, at the beginning of this century; but not so great, as one Martin, who went out a Taylor in the Lord Clive Indiaman in 1763. He found his trade so profitable that he refused to exchange it for an Ensign's commission, and in ten years he gave his friends a dinner served up on silver plate, and shortly after retired to Europe with a fortune of 2 lacs.

Undertakers drove a more profitable trade, and the good-will of a rainy season was worth half a lakh of Rupees to them.

Milliners settled early in Calcutta "to the great dismay of husbands who are observed to turn pale as ashes on the bare mention of their wives being sent to enter milliners, shops for control in not an article of matrimonial rule at Calcutta". White gentlemen conformed in dress to the requirements of the climate, the ladies of Calcutta dressed like the Indies of London, except that their fashions were some 12 months old. But these were days when "Nawab-
ism was stumbling block of their ambition, and flattery the daily incense of their sex”. In 1780, appears in the Calcutta papers the following notice, stating the complaint of the ladies, “that the retailers of China cargoes, more particularly of silks and other articles proper for their wear, would be more consistent with mercantile fairness, to display their good to the ladies and gentlemen of the town in general before they permit. Taylors and other shopkeepers (at hours too early for them) to select all the choice assortments in order to dispose of them hereafter, at an enhanced and exorbitant rate. Ladies and Gentlemen giving as good a price for their purchases as taylors, are rather preferably entitled to the prior choice; and also to observe to them that if this unfair practice be continued they are determined not to give themselves that trouble of attending their sales”.

Gentlemen’s dress is different from last century. Williamson writes of it before 1800. “In many instances, these evening visits are paid in a very airy manner: coats being often dispensed with the gentlemen wearing only an upper and an under-waist coat both of white linen and the former having sleeves. Such would appear an extraordinary freedom, were it not established by custom, though it generally happens that gentlemen newly arrived from Europe, specially the officers of His Majesty’s Regiments, wear their coats and prefer undergoing a kind of warm bath of the most distressing description both to themselves and to their neighbours; but in the course of time, they fall in with the local wages, and, though they may enter the room that cumbersome habit, rarely fail to divest themselves of it, so soon as the first ceremonies are over, in favour of an upper waistcoat which a servant has in readiness”.

Lord Valentia in 1804 states that English cloth as being more fashionable was superseding White. It was gradual, white so suitable to the climate was eventually superseded only by Alpaca. There was one singular article of dress,
however, Grand Pre states to be secure from the attacks of mosquitos, it is the custom to wear within doors, of one stays any time, whether for meals or any other purpose, paste-board round the legs. The change from white to black became very profitable to the tailors.

Grand Pre represents the English as trying the cultivation of the sugar-cane about 1794. “Messrs. Lambert and Ross were the first who engaged in the speculation. I visited their plantation, and had the pleasure of seeing that their fields looked well, and were in good order, and the canes promising, though smaller than those of the Antilles; this disadvantage however is compensated by the quantity of juice they yield, which is owing to the peculiar quantity of the soil in which they are planted. The only thing that dissatisfied me was that misplaced economy seemed to have presided in the establishment of the manufactories. The buildings were good, the copper extensive and the mill well executed, but it was worked by oxen, which have neither the strength or perseverance of the mules in the West Indies. A water mill certainly would be much more simple and preferable and Ganges is rapid enough to afford a fall of water that would set any wheel in motion. At the period of which I speak, the natives were too little acquainted with business of this kind to be capable of conducting it, and workmen were accordingly brought from China for the purpose”.

We find the reward offered for returning a very elegant pair of candle shades, in 1780 was 40 Sicca Rupees. About 1780 the rent of an upper-roomed house, consisting of a hall and two small rooms amounted to 150 Rupees in Calcutta; in fashionable part it was 300 to 400 Rupees. The Bungalows of the day were equally dear. Food stood thus in 1778: “A whole sheep costs about two Rupees; a lamb one Rupee; six good fowls or ducks ditto,—two pounds butter ditto,—twelve pounds of bread ditto—and a pint of veal ditto,—good cheese two months ago sold at the enormous price of three or four Rupees per pound, but
now you may buy it for one and half. English claret sells at this time for sixty Rupees a dozen. Housewives now must envy past time when they read the following account of Captain Williamson. "The average price of a sheep fit for fattening, is about a Rupee: but that price has only existed for twenty years. Before that date, the common value of a coarges (or score) was from six to eight Rupees; and I recollect, about twenty-nine years back, when marching from Berhampore to Cawnpore with detachment of European recruits, seeing several coarges brought for their use by the contractor's sircar, at three and three and half Rupees: At the latter rate six sheep were purchased for a Rupee; which in British currency would be five pence each"! About 1780 salt was one Rupee a maund brandy 2 Rupees 8 annas a gallon, rum 1 Rupee 8 annas a gallon, porter 100 Rupees per cask, Bandel sugar 7½ Rupees a maund.

We give the rate of wages, recommended by Messrs. Beacher, Frankland and Halwell, Zemindars of Calcutta, to the President, and Council for their approbation and concurrence in 1759. And also what in the month of February 1787, at a general meeting of a committee of the principal inhabitants of Calcutta, was fixed on and shortly after transmitted to the Right Honourable the Governor-General for his approval. We also append that for 1801. Hadley, about 1780, mentions the following as the expenditure. "A Captain in garrison requires about thirty servants, namely a cashier at 20 rupees per month; a house-steward, 10 rupees; a market man, 4 rupees two pice; two running footmen, 8 rupees; a messenger, 4 rupees; 8 bearers for the palanquin, 33 rupees; pipe bearer, 4 rupees; woman to clean the house, 4 rupees; porter at the door 4 rupees; linkboy, 4 rupees; necessary man 2 rupees; broomman, 6 rupees; and grass cutter 2 rupees. Whether wages arose? we cannot say. But this establishment about 20 years ago would have cost monthly 113 rupees, (about 141). If he keeps a female house-
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keeper and a carriage his expenses will be more. In the field he will want thirty porters (kooles), as everything is carried by hand, at 4 rupees each monthly. So little were they acquainted with these matters in Leadenhall Street fifty years ago, that an order went out limiting.
the Commander-in-Chief to fifty koolees; when in fact he can hardly carry his baggage with three times that number.

The distinctions of rank among Europeans were rigorously insisted on in Calcutta last century, as strictly as at the Court of Lisbon. People were few, and the Anglo-Indians were equally noted on the banks of the Hoogly as of one Thames for social despotism, though boasting of political equality. This led to many quarrels. Stavorinus states the following with regard to the Dutch, which is equally applicable to the English.

The ladies are peculiarly prone to insist upon every prerogative attached to the station of their husbands; some of them, if they conceive themselves placed a jot lower than they are entitled to, will set in sullen and proud silence, for the whole time entertainment lasts.

It does not unfrequently happen, that two ladies, of equal rank, meeting each other, in their carriages, one will not give way to the other, though they may be forced to remain for hours in the street. Not long before I left Batavia, this happened between two clergymen's wives, who chancing to meet in their carriages in a narrow place neither would give way but stopped the passage for full a quarter of an hour, during which time, they abused each other in the most virulent manner, making use the most reproachful epithets, and whose and slave's brat were bandied about without mercy: the mother of one of these ladies, it seems had been a slave and the other, as I was told, was not a little suspected, of richly deserving the first appellation: they, at last, rode by one another, continuing their railing till they were out of sight: but this occurrence was the occasion of an action which was brought before the Council, and carried on with the greatest virulence and perseverance.

Lord William Bentinck was the first man in high position to break through "the unjust and aristocratical distinction which have for so long period festered the
feeling of those in the less elevated grades in Indian society, by extending the invitations in Government-House to persons, who, previous to his appointment, had not been considered eligible to so high an honour. He opened his levees at Government-House to a lower grade, much to the displeasure of Civilians of Big Wigs.

Breakfast is described as "the only degage meal, every one ordering what is most agreeable to their choice, and in elegant undress chatting a la volonte; whilst on the contrary, dinner, tea, and supper are kind of state levees". Business was despatched in the morning. Europeans then did not work as hard in offices as they do now, and when Lord W. Bentinck arrived here he was surprised at the laziness even then prevailing. The Europeans were eased by the Keranies of a great part of the little work they would otherwise have to perform. The dinner hour last century was about 2 o'clock; it gradually became later. Lord Valentia states, in 1803 "at 12 o'clock. Calcutta people take a hot meal which they call tiffin, and then generally go to bed for 2 or 3 hours. The dinner hour is commonly between 7 and 8, which is certainly too late in this hot climate, as it prevents an evening ride at the proper time, and keeps them up till midnight or later, the viands are excellent and served in great profession to the no small satisfaction of the birds". They partook much of highly seasoned grills and stews; a particularly favourite one was the Burdwan stew, made of flesh, fish, and fowl, a short of Irish stew, it was considered not very good unless prepared in a silver sauce-pan. Hartley House thus describes the dinner:

"At twelve a repast is introduced, consisting of cold ham, chickens, and cold shrub, after pertaking of which, all parties separate to dress. The friseur now forms the person anew, and those who do not choose to wear caps, however elegant or ornamented have flowers of British manufacture (a favourite mode of decoration) intermixed with their tressed, and otherwise disposed so as to have..."
an agreeable effect. Powder is, however, used in great quantities, on the idea of both coolness and neatness; though, in my opinion, the natural colour of their would be more becoming: but the intense heat, I suppose, renders it indigible. At three, the day after my arrival, as in usually the case, the Company assembled, in the hall or saloon, to the numbers of four and twenty; where besides the lustres and girandoles already mentioned, are sofas of Chinese magnificence; but they are only substituted for chairs; what is called cooling in the western world, being here unpractised, and during the whole period of dinner, boys with slappers and fans surround you, procuring you at least a tolerably comfortable artificial atmosphere. The dishes were so abundant and the removes so rapid, I can only tell you, ducks, chickens, fish (no soup, take notice, is ever served up at Calcutta)"

_Supper_ was light, at 10 o'clock, a glass or two of a light wine, with a crust cheese, then the hookah and bed by 11. Lord Cornwallis, on New Year's day in 1789, invited a party to dinner a 3½ at the Old Court House. Turtle and Turkey courted the acceptance of the guests, a ball opened at 9½ in the evening, supper at 12, they broke up at 4 in the morning.

People sat a long time after dinner, enjoying stillness in the heat of the day, "It is no infrequent thing for each man to despatch his three bottles of claret, or two of white wine, before they break up; having the bottles so emptied, heaped up before them as trophies of their prowess". Nor was this confined to the gentlemen. Hartley House mentions,—"Wine is the haviest family article; for, whether it is taken favourably or medicinally, every lady even to your humble servant, drinks at least a bottle _per diem_, and the gentlemen four times that quantity".

In Stavorinos' time 1768, "peas, beans, cabbages, were to be had in Calcutta only during the cold season; in the hot season nothing was to be had but some spinach and
-encumbers", but about 1780 potatoes, peas and French beams were in high repute. The Dutch are said to have been the first to introduce the culture of the potatoes; which was received from their settlement at the Cape of Good Hope. "From them the British received annually, the seeds of every kind of vegetable useful at the table, as well as several plants of which there appears much need, especially various kinds of pot-herbs. They likewise supplied us with wines from which innumerable cuttings have been dispensed to every part of Bengal and its upper dependencies". The Dutch seemed to have communicated the taste for gardens to the English, they have on three stone terraces raised one above other with groves trees behind. The French also at Gyretta had a magnificent garden. "In 1780 appear notices and advertisements in Hickey's Gazette of Garden Houses in Baitakhanah, Baligunge, Tannah near Holwell Place opposite Murkesh thannah; Commodore Richardson's, delightfully situated at Ducansore, Russapagla; John Bell's eastward of the Sepoy Barracks at Chowringhee, a piece 400 yards from the main road leading to the salt water lakes; one with a hall, three rooms, and two verandahs on the Culpi road near Alipore for many years past. Mr. Crofts entertains the Governor-General (W. Hastings) and his Lady with several other persons of rank and quality, at his plantation at Sook Sagur", now in the river's bed.

With respect to drinks, beer and porter were little used being considered bilious,—the favourite drinks were madeira and claret; cider and perry also formed part of the beverages; ladies drank their bottle of claret daily while gentlemen indulged in their three or four, and that at five rupees a bottle! This was far inferior to the beer drinking propensities of various men 20 years ago, when a dozen a day was thought little of in Mofussil districts. A drink was in use called country-beer. "A tempting beverage, suited to the very hot weather and called
'country beer', is in rather general use, though water artificially cooled is commonly drank during the repasts: in truth nothing can be more gratifying at such a time, but especially after eating curry, country-beer is made of about one-fifth part porter, or beer with a wine glass full of toddy or palm-wine which is the general substitute for yeast, a small quantity of brown sugar, and a little grated ginger or the dried peel of seville oranges or of limes; which are a very small kind lemon abounding in citric acid, and to be had very cheap".

The houses in Chowringhi which now form a continuous line, were last century wide detached form each other and out of town. Asiaticus states—"Calcutta is near three leagues in circumference, and is so irregularly built, that it looks as if the houses had been placed wherever chance directed; here the lofty mansion of an English chief, there the thatched hovel of an Indian cooly. The bazaars or markets, which stand in the middle of the town, are streets of miserable huts, and every Indiaman who occupies one of these is called a merchant". It was a love of retirement, country quiet, and to be removed from the pesidential air of Calcutta, which led about 1770 the English in Calcutta, like the Dutch at Batavia, to reside in Garden Houses, such were Sir William Jones' House at Garden Reach, Sir R. Chambers' at Bhowanipore, General Dickenon's at Dacansoor. Very old houses were built in Calcutta much on the plan of ovens, the doors and windows very small; they had however, spacious, lofty, and substantial verandahs. In old drawings few verandahs are placed to the houses, the Governor's house and a few others had arched windows. But it is singular that they should have deserted the basement story, and occupied only the upper one, which is much warmer; the buildings were much stronger, it was with great difficulty, the Old Fort and Tanna Fort were pulled down, the bricks were cemented together as if they were rock.

The substantial build and isolation of the houses secured
them against fire. Fires have been frequent in Calcutta among natives, but never to the same extent as at Rajmahal, in 1638, when whole city was burnt to the ground. The bazars century were not pukka as now. The Mussulmans however dealt in a summery way with incendiaries. Thus in 1780, a native was convicted at Moorshidabad of setting fire to houses, by throwing the tikka of his hookah on the choppers; having been the practice of it, he was sentenced by the Phousdar to have his left hand and right foot cut of in public. In April 1780 we have an account of 700 straw houses burnt down in Bow Bazar. Another fire in the same month in Kuli Bazar, and in Dhurumtolah when 30 natives were burnt to death, and a great number of cattle. Machooa Bazar about the same time was on fire, as also the neighbourhood of the Hurringbarry. "The alarm the fire occasioned was the means of rousing several foreigners from their lurking places in that neighbourhood who did not belong to the militia". In March 1780 a fire occurred in Calcutta, in it 1,5000 straw houses were consumed, 190 people were burned and suffocated; 16 perished in one house. In the same month it is stated "A few days ago a Bengali was detected in the horrid attempt to set fire to some straw houses, and sent prisoner to the Hurringbarry, and on thursday last he was whipped at the tail of a cart, through the streets of Calcutta—tooo mild a punishment for so horrid a villain". The plan of incendiariam adopted was to fill a cocoanut shell with fire covered over with a brick, and tied over with a string, two holes being left in the brick that the wind may blow the fire out. A fellow was caught in the act in Dhurumtolah in 1780, but he slipped away his body being oiled. It was recommended that those owning straw houses should have a long bamboo with three hooks at the end to catch the villains.

The furniture in houses was much less last century than now, as besides the expense of European furniture in those days, it was considered as heating the house, and affording
shelter to vermin which were then more abundant from the swamps near Calcutta. Chinese was therefore used. Mrs. Kindersley states on this point: "Furniture is so exorbitantly dear, and so very difficult to procure, that one seldom sees a room where all the chairs are of one sort; people of first consequence are forced to pick them up as they can either from the Captains of European ships or from China, or having sets made by blundering carpenters of the country, or send for them to Bombay which are generally received about three years after they are bespoke; so that those people who have great good luck generally get their houses tolerably well equipped by the time they are quitting them to return to England". Glass windows were very dear. Warren Hastings was one of the few that have them. Mrs. Kindersley states,—"many of the new built houses have glass windows which are pleasant to the eye, but not so well calculated for the climate, as the old ones which are made of cane". Venetian blinds were used instead of verandahs. Cocoanut oil was not much used by Europeans; they lighted up the room with wax candles placed under glass-shades to prevent their extinction from the free admission of the evening breeze. Pankhas were not much in use as late as in the beginning of this century; even in the time of the Marquis of Wellesley who was fond of style, fans or chouries made of palm leaves only were used, which must have been very disagreeable in large panes. A class of natives was employed for this purpose called Kittesaw boys "dressed 'in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered sleeves in England, with white turbans, bound by the same coloured ribband". But people moderated the heat by sleeping in the afternoon, and drinking their tea in the airy verandahs. They certainly wanted cooling when they began, like the people of St. Petersburg, to build in the Grecian style of architecture with high pillars admitting heat, glare, and damp. Pankhas are said to
have originated here by accident, towards the close of last century. A clerk in a Government office discovered accidentally that the leaf of a lable, suspended to the ceiling and waved, cooled the room; he worked out the idea and hence the punkah.

Wealth, leisure, and the climate brought in habits of drinking and debauchery—but Calcutta people never seem to have had such drinking bouts as were common in Ireland 70 years ago among the squireens. Concubinage was prevalent. Captain Williamson writing of 1800 states, "The mention of plurality of many concubines, may possibly startle many of my readers, especially those of the finer; but such in common among natives of opulence and is not unprecedented among Europeans. I have known various instances of two ladies being conjointly domesticated; and one, of an elderly military character, who solaced himself with no less than sixteen of all sorts and sizes! Being interrogated by a friend as to what he did with such a number. Oh! replied he, I give them a little rice, and let them run about. This same gentleman, when paying his addresses to an elegant young woman lately arrived from Europe, but who was informed by the lady at whose house she was residing of the state of affairs, the description closed with 'Pray, my dear, how should like to share a sixteenth of Major?'". He puts down the cost of a mistress as a regular item of expenditure at 40 rupees monthly "no great price for a bosom friend, when compared with the sums laid out upon some British damsels". Such a remark of his showed the morality of the day. A man in a Calcutta paper of 1780 recommends the Christians to follow his example of seeking the society of a mistress in the heat of the day. The author of Sketches in South India 1810, states, "Concubinage is so generally practised in India by Europeans, at the same time so tacitly sanctioned by married families, who scruple not to visit at the house of a bachelor that retains a native mistress (though were she an European they would avoid
it as polluted) that when, setting aside the married man, I calculate three parts of those who remain as retaining concubines, I fancy I shall be only confining myself within the strictest founds of truth and moderation”. Civilians and Military went out as mere lads, before their understanding was ripened. We need not look for a high toned morality in Calcutta a century ago, when we find such men as Drake, the Governor, and Clive bargaining with a traitor to sell his country, they themselves sharing in the spoil, while those dealers in treason and rebellion pocketed each some 20 lacs sterling. Force and fraud were the morality of the day. Nummums quocunque modo! What an example set to natives, when Clive, by counterfeiting or forging Admiral Watson’s signature to a treaty, defrauded the merchant Omichand of 250,000/. Omichand became insane, Clive was made a peer, though he committed the same crime for which Nundcomar was hanged by English laws. Nor were they worse than elsewhere, such as at Pondicherry of which Count Lally wrote to the Governor—“I would rather go and command the Coffers of Madagascar than remain in this Sodom of yours, which it is impossible but the fire of the English will destroy sooner or later, should escape that of heaven”. No wonder with such examples of morality in high places, than that first Engineer of Fort William, Boyer, cheated Government out of some 20 lacs; he afterwards entered the service of the Dutch East India Company. The following advertisement from an old Calcutta newspaper of 1781 shows what the prevalent vices were:

Wanted
A Resolution not to bribe, or a determination not to be bribed.
Lost.—The dignity of the high life, in attention to trifles.
Stolen.—Into the country—the inhabitants of the Esplanade.
Strayed.—Sincerity and common honesty.

Found.—That the idea of liberty is first verging to slavery.

To be sold.—A great bargain—the reversion of modern honour.

To be let.—Unfurnished—several heads near the Esplanade.

Missing.—The advice of two able men retired from Public business.

On Sale.—For ready money—whatever ought to be purchased by merit only.

Scavengers' Contracts.—Any person willing to oppress the poor, many hear of full employment.

European Mercantile Morality has never been in high repute in India, nor were the English worse than others. A Dutch writer, Mossel, thus states of the Directors of the Dutch East India Company—"For a service of years they have been guilty of the greatest enormities, and the foulest dishonesty; they have looked upon the Company’s effects confided to them as a booty thrown open to their degradations; they have most shamefully and arbitrarily falsified the invoice prices". Nor was the fault solely the want of principle on the part of merchants, it was owing to laziness; Grand Pre what writes of Madras, applies to Calcutta also. "The trade of Madras is still more completely in the hands of Blacks than that of Pondicherry, the concerns being more extensive and more increative, and the sales more brisk. The European merchant entirely neglects the minute details, and looks only at the abstract of the accounts given him by his dobachi: a negligence perfectly suited to the manner in which he lives, at a distance from the spot where his affairs are conducted, which he visits only once a day, and that not regularly, and bestows upon them two or three hours attention".

Atkinson in his "City of Palaces" thus alluded to this state of things.
"Calcutta! nurse of opulence and vice,
Thou architect of European fame
And fortune, fancied beyond earthly price,
Envy of sovereigns, and constant aim
Of kin adventures, art thou not the same
As other sinks where manhood rots in state?
Sparkling with proper brightness—
There stood proud cities once, of ancient data,
Close parallels to thee, denounced by angry fate".

Nor was Civilian Morality higher. Clive, Sumner and Verelst, appointed Commissioners of Inquiry into the conduct of Civilians, thus report to the Court in 1765: "Referring to their conduct, their transactions seems to demonstrate that every spring of the Government was smeared with corruption, that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, that every spark and sentiment of public spirit was lost and extinguished in the abandoned host of universal wealth. They state that the residence of Europeans and free merchants away from the Presidency, had frequently given birth to acts unsuit and oppression".

Dwelling was not very common, except occasionally on account of "ladies of a sooty complexion". Two trees called trees of destruction, near the Calcutta Race Course, lent their shades for this purpose; Under them Hastings and Francis fought. Quarrelling however was very common, just as in small towns in England where people have little to do, and little news, hence the remarks of Asaticus in 1778 were applicable all along Calcutta;—"The infernal spirit of dissension perpetually stalks abroad, and the joys of social intercourse the ties of consanguinity, and the endearments of private friendship, are swallowed up in the undistinguishing rage of all-destructive faction". Those remarks apply especially to the divisions in Calcutta society owing to Hastings' and Francis' quarrels.

The following poem published in Calcutta in 1780 on slander, illustrates the feelings towards it.
What mortal but slander, that serpent, hath stung,
Whose teeth are sharp arrows, a razor her tongue?
The rank poison of asps her livid lip loads,
The rattle of snakes, with the spittle of toads;
Her throat is an open sepulchre, her legs of vipers
and cockatrice eggs;
Her sting is a scorpion’s like a hyena’s shrill cry,
With the ear of an adder, a basilisk’s eye;
The mouth of a monkey, the leg of a bear,
The head of a parrot, the chat of a hare;
The wings of a magpie; the snout of a hog,
Her claw is a tiger’s; her forehead is brass,
With the hiss of a goose, and the bray of an ass.

_Hicky’s Gazette, August 1780._

Voltaire sarcastically remarks on the quarrels of Europeans:—“To relate the various dissensions of the Europeans in India, would make a larger work than the Encyclopaedia. People cannot enough extend the limits of science, or confine the bounds of human weakness”.

Religion was at a low ebb in Calcutta last century, but so it was throughout England, and particularly among the middle and lower classes. We fear Montgomery’s lines applied to the Spaniards, were only too applicable to the English of India.

“The cross their standard, but their faith the sword;
Their steps were graves, o’er prostrate realms they trod;
They worshipped mammon, while they vowed to God.

_Talk of religion_—there was not even common morality in high quarters. Tippoo styled the English of his day “the most faithless and usurping of mankind”. David Brown was the first evangelical Chaplain that came to Calcutta in 1786, but his hearers were chiefly the poor; it was reckoned _unfashionable_ to attend his Church. In religion the contrast between the last century and this is in some points marked. Compare Lord Hardinge’s Sabbath
Observance Proclamation with the horse racing practices of Barrackpore, half a century before; even as later as 1820 when Buckingham started the first daily paper in Calcutta, it was published on Sundays also. Half a dozen palanquins or carriages about 1790 were sufficient to convey persons on Sunday to St. John’s Church: days when persons proceeded from Church direct to join the Company at a Durga Puja Nautch; “there was only one service, though the Padri’s salary was liberal and his requisites immense”.

An anecdote is recorded of Lord Wellesly’s travelling up the country. He halted for a Sunday at a Civil station when he requested the judge to read the Church service,—but he was informed there would be some difficulty as there was not a Bible in the station;—last remnants of the days when Europeans “left their religion behind them at the Cape of Good Hope to be resumed when they returned from India”. No wonder that respecting the treaty the English made with Jaffier Khan, Voltaire sarcastically remarks;—“We do not find that the English officers were to this treaty on the Bible, perhaps they had none”. These were days when we find a Colonel submit to be circumcised in order to get possession of a Mussulman woman who would no other terms submit to be his mistress.

Notwithstanding the number of Scotch in Calcutta, Merry Christmas was kept up. Mrs. Fay writes of it:—

“Keeping Christmas, as it is called, prevails here with all its ancient festivity. The external appearance of the English gentlemen’s houses on Christmas day, is really pleasing from its novelty. Large plantain trees are placed on each side of the principle entrances, and the gates and pillars being ornamented with wreaths of flowers fancifully disposed, enliven the scene. All the servants bring presents of fish and fruits, from the Banian down to the lowest menial; for these it is true we are obliged in many instances
to make a return, perhaps beyond the real value, but still it is considered as a compliment paid to our burrahdin (great day). A public dinner is given at the Government House to the gentlemen of the Presidency, and the evening concludes with an elegant Ball and supper for the ladies. These are repeated on New Year’s Day and again on the King’s birth-day. No doubt the influence of Portuguese servants, who like pomp and show connected with religious festivals, contributed to this feeling. On Christmas 1780, the morning was ushered in with firing of guns; the Governor General gave a breakfast at the Court House, and a most sumptuous dinner at noon, several Royal salutes were fired from grand battery at the Loll Diggy, every one of which was washed down with Lumba Pealas of Loll Shrab; the evening concluded with a ball’.

Calcutta Europeans led not a very busy life last century, Little time was taken up, as now, in correspondance, business was despatched early in the morning or in the evening for an hour or two while the Keranis did the rest. There was not much need then of relaxation, for the bow was not much bent, but vive la bagatelle was the order of the day. Notwithstanding complaints of the heat, and no punkhas to relieve it, dancing was an amusement that was kept up with great Zest Asiaticus affections ready;—“imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections already to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and every feature distorted with fatigue, and her partner with a moslim handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand imperiled upon her forehead”. This will enable us to understand the force of Lordd Valentia’s remark in 1803:—

“Consumption is very frequent in Calcutta among 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 verandah, and expose themselves to the cool breeze and damp atmosphere”.

At the close of practice ladies were occasionally retreated to an exhibition of the wanton movements of the nautch girls, who exceeded, in stimuli to the passions, any performances in the bullet of the Italian Opera. At the Durga Puja time Europeans used to attend Pujah houses to witness nautches; we have on account of one at Raja Rajkissen’s where the head nutch girl, Nikkie, got 1200 rupees and two pair shawls of the same value for attending three nights.

At the Subscription Balls for the cold season etiquette and seniority of service were strictly instead upon. Moore’s Rooms were famous for the suppers after the ball—subscription 100 rupees for the season. The following is a curious advertisement about a Subscription Assembly.

“The tavern keeper’s charge of 1997 Sicca Rupees for the entertainments of two hundred persons at first assembly appearing to the stewards too extravagant a charge to be passed without the approbation of the subscribers at large, they request a meeting may be held on Monday morning at the Harmonic House at 11 o’clock to take the above into consideration”.

Billiards were a favourite game, thus described in 1780.

“The sums won and lost must keep the blood in a perpetual fever, even to endangering the life of the parties. In private families, the billiard is a kind of state-room. At the Coffee houses, you are accommodated with lables and attendants for eight annas, or half a rupee, by candle-light, a certain number of hours—every coffee-house having at least two tables: so that men of spirit have as many fashionable opportunities of themselves here, as

9. Ladies’ dancing makes a curious impression on natives. One of them many years ago gave a description of an English dinner party; he ends with—“after dinner they danced in their licentious way, pulling about each other’s wives”.
your Europeans can boast". Selby's Club was a famous gambling one; but Lord Cornwallis put down public gambling with a high hand. Mrs. Fay writes of Card playing: "After tea, either cards or music fill up the space till ten, when supper is generally announce. Five card too is the usual game, and they play a rupee a fish limited to ten. This will strike you as being enormous high, but it is thought nothing of here. The dille and whist are much in fashion, but ladies seldom join in the latter; for though the stakes are moderate, bets frequently renders those anxious who sit down for amusement, lest others should loose by their blunders.

Boating, in long handsome boats, called snake boats, are practiced, in the evening particularly, with bands of music. Gentlemen kept their pleasure yachts, and went occasionally in them with their friends to Chandernuger or Shuk Sagur on pleasure trips. English as well as Dutch, fond of parties of pleasure, frequently made both upon "the delightful boats and upon the pleasant waves of the Ganges". Europeans now do not call the treacherous Ganges "pleasant waves". Stavorinus states in 1770: "Another boat of this country which is very curiously constructed is called a Maurpunkey; these are very long and narrow and sometimes extending to upwards of a hundred feet in breadth, they are always paddled, sometimes by forty men, and are steered by a large paddle from the stern, which is either in the shape of a peacock, a snake, or some other animal; the paddles are directed by a man who stands up and sometimes makes use of a branch of a plant to regulate motions, using much gesticulation and telling history to excite either laughter or exertion. In one part of the stern is a canopy supported by pillars, on which are seated the owner and his friends, who partake of the refreshing breezes of the evening. These boats are very expensive, owing to the beautiful decorations of painted and gilt ornaments, which are highly varnished and
exhibit a considerable degree of taste". It is mentioned
of Warren Hastings' friends when he was leaving Cal-
cutta, "their Budgerows were well stored with provisions,
and every requisite, &c., so with pendants flying, and
bands of music, to the last man and instrument to be
found in Calcutta, they attended him to Saugur, the extre-
mitv of the river". Lord Valentia in 1803 mentions—
"He came up the river in Lord Wellesley' state barge,
richly ornamented with green and gold, its head spread
eagle gilt, its stern a tigger's head and body; the centre
would convey twenty people with ease". The fact is the
only drive was the dusty course—there was no Strand
Road, and no country drives; they had then to be take
themselves to their river.

Racing was always popular in old Calcutta. An old
race course was at the foot of Garden Reach on what is
now the Akra farm; there was another however in the
maidan. In 1780 a subscription plate of 2,000 rupees was
advertised, and it was stated that at the close of the race
the stewards will give a ball to ladies and gentlemen of
the settlement. Allied to Racing is Sporting, which be-
sides the exercise it gave to inactive Ditchers, was of great
use to the natives, numbers of whom used to full a prey
wild animals, at the time when leopards infested the
suburbs of Calcutta. Hog-hunting was the favourite
sport, and Buckra, 15 miles south of Calcutta, was last
century the chosen spot. Mundy gives us the following
vivid sketch of a party there which will give an idea of the
social enjoyment connected with hunting last century.

"At Calcutta there is—or rather was, the
paucity of game has obliged them to give it up—a
hog-hunting society styled the Tent Club; who, not
having the fear of fevers and cholera before their
eyes, were in the weekly habit of resorting to the

10. The Director of Chinsurah's Budgerow could accommodate
36 persons at dinner.
jungles within fifty miles of the city in pursuit of this noble sport. Each member was empowered to invite two guests; the club was well provided with tents, elephant, and other sporting paraphernalia; nor was the gastronomic part of the sport neglected. Hodgson's pale ale, claret, and even champaign have been known to flow freely in those wild deserts, unaccustomed to echo the forster's song, or the complacent bubble of the fragrant hookah. Gaunt bars were vanquished in the morning, their delicate steaks devoured in the evening, and the identical animals thrice slain again with all the zest of sporting recapitulation. How often has the frail roof of the ruined silk-factory at Buckra rung to the merry laugh of the mercurial S—, trembled with the Stentorian song of the sturdy B—and the hearty chrous of a dozen jolly fellows, who on quitting Calcuta left a load of care behind, and brought a load of fun. The abovenameed deserted edifice is situated far from the busy hunts of men, in the midst of an extensive forest, and was a favourite resort of the Tent Club on these occasions. The ground floor was occupied by the horses of the party; a large smaller apartments formed the dormitories of those who had come unprovided with tents. Some of the pleasantest days of my life were passed in these excursions, and I shall ever look back to them with the most greatful recollections.

To the ardent sportsman and the admirer of nature, these gypsy parties were replete with excitement and interest—the busy preparation in the morning—inspection of spear-points and horses' girths—instructions and injunctions to syces and bearers—the stirrup-cup of strong office—and the simultaneous start of the lightly-clad sportsmen, on their elephants, to the covert side. Then the marshalling of the beating elephants, the wildness of the scene and
richness of the foliage, the mounting of impatient steeds, the yells of the coolies, ratting of fire works; and finally, the ruck of the roused boar, and the headlong career of the ardent rider. Next follow the return in triumph to Camp—the refreshing bath and well earned breakfast. The sutry hours are employed by some in superintending the feeding, grooming, and hand-rubbing of their faithful steeds; lounging over the pages of some light novel, repainting spears, or rattling the backgammon dices, and by others who, perhaps the day before where driving the diplomat quill, or thundering forth the law of the land in the Courts of Calcutta—by others (frown not, ye bettle-browed contemners of frivolous resources)—even in that recreation in which unlike most other sciences, the last experienced is often the most successful, namely the game of pitchfarthing!

Natives of Calcutta have seldom joined Europeans in the sports of the field. In the times of the Nawab of Moorshidabad it was different; Kassem Ally Khan a century ago used to go with a train of 20,000 attendants and a body of Europeans to hunt.

**Shopping** was another pastime, but for the ladies. Asiaticus writes—"European shops, which are literally magazines of European articles, either of luxury or convenience, early in the morning are the public rendezvous of the idle and the gay, who here propagate the scandal of the day, and purchase at an immoderate price the toys of Mr. Pinchbeck, and the frippery of Tavistock Street". Though sometimes great disappointments took place when, owing to strong freshes, the Indiamen could not make in time to Diamond Harbour—no new dresses for the season.

The practice of **Walking** was greatly in vogue last century, and in the absence of roads and vehicles was a matter of necessity. We find that Sir William Jones made a regular habit of walking from his house at the bottom of Garden
Reach to the Supreme Court every day, and that in the beginning of last century the Governor and Members of Government walked in solemn procession to the Church every Sunday. Now use of the legs in walking is considered vulgar. But the great place of exercise, i.e. lolling in a carriage, was a very good race ground at a short distance from Calcutta, a place of vanity fair for morning and evening airings, where people “swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one mouthful of air;” the course was not wanted is those days. People went there after dinner “lolling at full length,”—it required a strong stomach to digest the heavy meat dinners that were then taken.

There were few roads. A correspondent of the papers in 1780 expresses a willingness to pay a cess as “the roads so far from affording a recreation were a nuisance, and the exhibition of invalids in carriage afforded a lively portrait of St. Vilus dance; what may be termed taking an airing or pleasing at Chandernagar, or Chinsurah may with equal propriety be termed taking dusting or jolting when at Calcutta”. Writers just arrived from Europe might then be seen dusting away four in hand,—a speedy way to sink themselves in the gulph of debt, gentlemen carried on a flirtation with the ladies.

Musical parties were occasionally resorted to, sometimes in the afternoon. There was the Harmonic supported by gentlemen who each gave in turn a ball, supper and concert during the cold weather, once a fortnight; Lady Chambers occasionally played on the harpsichord at those meetings. Pianos were very dear, 2,000 rupees being frequently paid for a ground; they were not seasoned for the climate.

The Theatre, built new, where the Scotch Church, was erected by subscription shares of 100 rupees each, about the year 1760 at the cost of a lac of rupees. Amateurs performed, though sometimes laughed at; box-tickets were a gold-mohur each. Yet it soon got into debt though amateurs, all males, good suppers after every
rehearsal, and tickets for their friends. The doors opened at 8; the door-keepers were Europeans, "as natives would not have sufficient authority". The Marquis Cornwallis-evinced marked displeasure against any Government servant who took part in the performance, and it gradually declined; its locality about 1790 was becoming unfashionable, as Calcutta is now. Calcutta was moving out of town" towards Chowringhi. The theatre has never succeeded in Calcutta, not even in the days Horace Wilson and Henry Torrens.

As a sequel to the hookah came the Sivesta, or mid-day rest, so common in Italy and all tropical countries, so refreshing to early-risers; it succeeded to dinner and the hookah. It has almost disappeared from Calcutta; but last century "after dinner every one retires to sleep, it is a second right, every servant is gone to his own habitation, all is silence; and this custom is so universal, that it would be as unreasonable to call on any person at three or four o'clock in the afternoon, at the same time in the morning. This custom of sleeping away the hottest hours in the day is necessary even to the strongest constitution. After this repose, people dress for the evening and enjoy the air about sun-set in their carriages, and the rest of the evening is for society". Many ladies now think it too luxurious to take siesta, but last century, when it was taken by ladies generally, morning drives were in fashion, very healthy and more cheerful than a drive in the evening Calcutta streets, now so busy between 4 and 5 when men are returning from office, were then as still as the grave—all were asleep.11

11. The siesta was however sometimes fatal under circumstances like those Hadley states—"Having ate heartily of meats, and drank a quantity of porter, they throw themselves on the bed undressed, the windows and doors open. A profuse perspiration ensues, which is often suddenly checked by a cold North West Wind. This brings on what is called a puicka (Putrid) fever which will often terminated in death in six hours, particularly with people of a corpulent, plethoric habit of body. And we have known two instances of dining with a gentleman, and being invited to his burial before supper time".
The *Hookah* was the grand whiler away of time in the morning. East India ladies were said to have been much dedicated to its use, while gentlemen, instead of their perusal of a daily paper, “furnishing the head (with politics and the heart with scandal), indulged themselves with the hookah’s rose water fumes, while under the hands of the perruguir in the days when pig-tails were in fashion. We have seen a portrait of the late Mr. Blaquiere dressed as a young man when he landed at Calcutta in 1774, with the pig-tail forming part of his head gear.

Grand Pre states of the hookah-burdar; —“Every hookah-burdar prepares separately that of his master in an adjoining apartment, and, entering all together with the dressert, they range them round the table. For half an hour there is a continued clamour, and nothing is distinctly heard but the cry of silence; till the noise subsides and the conversations assumes its usual tone. It is scarcely possible to see through the cloud of smoke, which fills apartment. The effect produced by these circumstances is whimsical enough to a stranger, and if he has not his hookah he will find himself in an awkward and unpleasant situation. The rage of smoking extends even to the ladies; and the highest compliment they can pay a man is to give him preference by smoking his hookah. In this case it is a point of politeness to take off the mouth-peace he is using, and substitute a fresh one, which he presents to the lady with his hookah, who soon returns it. This compliment is not always of trivial importance; it sometimes signifies a great deal to a friend and often still more to a husband”.

Old Calcuttans paid no visits in hot weather between 11 and 2, it was deemed unhealthy. Mrs. Fay writes of visiting in 1778—“Formal visits are paid in the evening; they are generally very short, as perhaps each lady has a dozen to make and a party waiting for her at home besides, gentlemen also call to offer their respects, and if asked to part down their hat it is considered as an invita-
tion to supper. Many a hat have I seen vainly dangling in its owner's hand for half an hour, who at last has been compelled to withdraw without any one's offering to relieve him from the burden." But when the dinner hour was changed to sun-set, about 1800, forenoon visits took place. However, as but as the beginning of this century evening visits were kept up. "After tea on the chabutra or terrace, or after a puff of the hookah, some gentlemen went to office to finish their business, others to a family supper and same to a visit". Captain Williamson writes on this subject;—

"When I first came to India there were a few Indies of the old school still much looked up to in Calcutta, and among the rest the grand-mother of the East of Liverpool, the old Begum Johnstone; then between seventy and eighty years of age. All this old ladies prided themselves upon keeping up old usages. They used to dine in the afternoon at four or five o'clock—take their airing after dinner in their carriages, and from the time they returned, till ten at night, their houses were lit up in their best style, and thrown open for the reception of visitors. All who were on visiting terms came at time, with any strangers whom they wished to introduce, and enjoyed each other's society; there were music and dancing for the young, and cards for the old, when the party assembled happened to be large enough; and few who had been previously invited stayed supper. I often visited the old Begum Johnstone at this hour, and met at her house the first people in the country, for all people, including the Governor-General himself delighted to honour this old lady, the widow of a Governor-General of India, and the mother-in-law of a Prime Minister of England.

Gentlemen who purpose visiting the ladies, commonly retire to their houses between eight and nine o'clock in the evening; ordinarily under the
-expectation of being invited to stay and sup, on invitation that is rarely declined. Among ladies who are intimately acquainted, morning visits are common but all who wish to preserve etiquette, or merely return the compliment by way of keeping up a distant acquaintance, confine them to the evening; when attended by one or more gentlemen, on a tour devoted entirely to this cold exchange of what is called civility.

Colonel Sleeman states that in 1810 Calcutta being more compact visiting was easier, as the European part day between Dhurmtolah and the China Bazar, the neighbourhood of Writers' Buildings: the great tank was the Belgharia of that day. Men wished to be near the Fort in case the Mahrattas or Moguls should again come, and permission was given to entry inhabitant of Calcutta to build if he chose a house in the Fort, but none availed themselves of it. Well they did not, for it was dreadfully unhealthy; as a specimen of it until within 30 years the privies there were within 10 years of by the soldier's mess table. Sir R. Chambers lived within eight of the present Cathedral, but it was far out of town, and dangerous at night for the visits of tigers; but the retreat was suitable to the habits of that learned orientalist whose manuscripts the King of Prussia has purchased.

There were few carriages in Calcutta in the beginning of this century; ladies and even doctors paid visits in palanquins. How changed are the emblems of rank—we find that among the Dutch. The Director of Chinsurah was the only man allowed to be carried in a palanquin sitting upon a chair. In 1780, Coach-makers named Oliphant, Mitchell and Simpson were in business in Calcutta. One of their advertisements was:—“Just imported, a very elegant neat coach with a genteel rutlun roof, ornamented with flowers very highly finished, ten best polished plate glasses, ornamented with few elegant medallions enriched with mother-o-pearl”.
There few excursions made from Calcutta last century. There were no roads outside of Calcutta, the road of Benares via Bankura was made about the beginning of this century, and was not furnished with Bungalows till about 1824. The previous road to Benares lay through Rajmahal to Benares along the Ganges, costing in a palkee or portable coffin, 1 rupee 2 annas a mile, or 700 miles=870 rupees—now to be performed for 80 rupees. The roads were infested with tigers. Captain Williamson states that when at Hazareebagh about 1,1800, “during some seasons, the roads scarcely to be considered passable; day after day, for nearly a fortnight in succession, some of the dark people were carried off either at Goomoah, Kaunchitty, Katcumsundy or Dungaie—four passes in that country all famous for the exploits of those enemies to the human race”.

Budgerows were available, but time spent was enormous. Thus officers were allowed one month to go Berhampore by budgerow, 2½ months to Benares, 3½ to Cawnpoor. Tigers were met on the route in the Cossimbazar island, Rajmahal and in the Sunderbunds where “they used to swim after the boats, climb up the rudder, cheep over the room of the barges, and carry off the sentry, if sleeping on his post. They have been known, when one paw has been cut off, to endeavour to get up with the other”.

European settlers with their hospitable roofs were few and far between.

Dacoity was common in the outskirts of Calcutta. We have heard the late Rudhaprasaud Roy, Ram Mohun Roy’s son, state that when a boy no native would go out at night with a good sawl in the neighbourhood of Amherst Street, for fear of being robbed. In 1780 in a Calcutta paper it is stated “a few nights ago four armed men entered in house of Moorman near Chouringhi and carried off his daughter”.

Of Race Antagonism, so fearfully on the increase in India. Since transference from the Company of the Crown,
there was not much last century in Calcutta; the invariable principle laid down by the Company that European should come early to India in order to adopt themselves to the coventry, and the severe punishments they inflicted on Europeans who maltreated natives, checked the disposition to “wallop niggers”. However India has been one of the few countries held by England, where English rule has been one of the few countries held by England, where English rule has not tended to the extirpation or enslavement of the native, and the East India Company were generally coming round to the opinion advocated by Lord Glenelg and many other high officials “that the English mission in India was to qualify natives for governing themselves”. The terms applied to natives last century commonly “black fellow”, and “black”. An advertisement in 1780 thus runs:—“found by a black a gold headed cane”. The term nigger used of late in this country, seems modern, probably imported from the slave states of America, as the increase of American Captains in the port of Calcutta is introducing their views relating to the nigger”.

A native in former days in various cases was obliged, if when riding he met an European, to dismast until the latter had passed. The Dutch however carried this principle further; thus when the Director of Chinsurah was carried through the town (in a palanquin) the natives in certain localities were obliged to play upon their instruments of music.

In Ireland the English Government minimized race antagonism, by introducing a strange religion, as a political objects; in India it was different. In 1650 an incident occurred which had nearly endangered the permanency of the Portuguese establishment, but showed the tolerant principle of the English. At Fort Thome, near Fort St. George, a Portuguese Padre had refused to allow a procession of the Hindoo natives to pass his Church. In this dispute the English most wisely avoided interfering, and
after relating the transaction gave an opinion in following words of the Court of Directors, of the small hope and great danger of attempting to convert the people of India.

"By this you may judge of the lion by his paw, and plainly discover what small hopes, and how much danger we have of converting these people. They are not like ye naked Americans.\(^\text{12}\) but a most subtle and politique nation, or rather superstitious that even among their mere different castes, is grown an irreconcilable hatred which often produce very bloody effects".

The vernaculars, the great agents to lessen race antagonism and to link Europeans in sympathy with the natives were little attended to, except the common boli. Dr. Carey found it difficult to keep up his class at Fort William College, owing to this indifference, but another cause was that Portuguese was much spoken by table servants. Bolst was among the first Europeans in Calcutta who knew Bengali, and as Alderman of the Mayor's Court it must have been of signal use to him. He mentions an anecdote, illustrating this;—In 1776 a Vakil of a Zemindar presented himself before the Collector, with some serious charges as if from his master. In order to substantiate those complaints he pulled out from his turban and began to read very fluently a complaint in the Bengali Language, translating it into Urdu for the benefit of the Collector, with some serious charges. But Bolst looking over his shoulder saw there was not a word written in Bengali, and what he pretended to read and translate was his own invention. Captain Williamson in a later day, 1800, remarks of some men 20 years in the country, who could not even take their accounts in the consequences were invariably, that he was rich, and master ever in distress! Even Klearnader, the first Missionary that came to Calcutta, did not study Bengali; he was occupied,

\(^{12}\) See Letter of the Agent of Fort St. George, to the Court, dated 18th January, 1850, and of Agent at Masilipatam to the Court, dated 28th February, 1850-51.
with English and Portuguese services, and ministering to Europeans, though greatly to his own regret, for he found, as Missionaries subsequently saw, that the only real medium to get the masses was the Vernacular.

The Nawab of Chitpore seems last century to have held an important position in native society and as a member of the Native Aristocracy appears to have been a connecting link between the European and native. Of him it is mentioned—"Formerly his residence was at a distance from Calcutta and his intercourse with the Europeans restricted to embassies, but now his Palace of Chitpore (for well does it deserve the name of a palace) is only four miles; and on such friendly terms does he live with the military gentlemen, that he gives them entertainments of dinners, fire works &c. &c., at an immense expense; but always eats alone. According to the customs of the Asiatic Mahometans, seated on the ground which is over-spread by superb carpets (by the way, the only carpets I have heard of in India—the fine matting being, for coolness, substituted in their place); and what will surprise you is, that the Captain or the Commanding Officer of the Nabob's guard, which consists of a whole battalion of black troops, is an Englishman, a younger brother of an ennobled family and who paid Rs. 80,000 (acquired in this world of wealth) for the appointment. The uniform of this battalion is the same worn by the Company's troops—red turned up with white,—with turbans to distinguish the division thereof. The exterior of Chitpore in some degree bespeaks the granders of its owner, but I am informed things exceed the magnificence of its interior architecture and ornaments. The apartments are immense—the baths elegant—and the seragoli, though a private one, suitable in every particular to the rest of the building: nor must the gardens be unmentioned; for they not only cover the wide extent of ground, but are furnished with all the beauties and perfumes of the vegetable kingdom. When he rides out a detachment of his back troops ascend him".
After the East Indian and native noble the next link between European and native in the Portugues—a class of people of whom we know little. We give the following as a faithful of the picture of them in marriage: "Previous to the important day, each party chooses a bridesmaid and a bridesman, denominated the madreea and padreea, who, in addition to the duties which bridesmaids perform among us, are charged with the superintendence and arrangement of the procession and entertainment. They often contribute something towards the marriage feast, either a few dozens of wine, the wedding dress of the bride, or the flowers which are used on the occasion. All the friends of the parties are expected to send some gifts, in the shape of trinkets, or gilded betelnuts and kuth; those who give nothing, lend their personal assistance; indeed, the following in an established formula, by which the old women acknowledge the little services rendered them by children:—"May I die! I promise to cook your wedding pillon!" Friends are invited by a notable woman, who goes about from house to house, repeating a set form in invitation. A large house is hired for three days, and filled up, magnificently or otherwise as the madreeas and padreeas have friends and influence the gateway is adorned with an arch made of the trunks of plantain-trees and the leaves of palmyra, &c., and similar arch is thrown across the street, a short way from the house, along which the procession is to pass to and from the church.

"The important day having arrived, the friends who meet at the house proceed to the church. The bride is generally carried on a chair, called the bocha palkie. She is covered with as much jewellery, chiefly gold, as her friends can muster. Her department throughout the day is a model of maiden reserve and modesty, according to the etiquette prescribed and handed down. Arrived at the church, the person meets them at the entrance, and ties the hands of the man and woman, is taken of the bond
of matrimony. The return of the procession is met by a party of native singers, who chant the immemorable strain "Shaddee mobaruck", or propitious union. At this moment, the mother of the bride is expected to lament bitterly her separation from her daughter; and at the nick of time, the voice of song is interrupted and drowned by her lamentation and outcries. Peace, however, being restored, the celebration of the marriage commences.

"The bride sits in state, supported by the madreeas, under a canopy of bamboo sticks and gilded paper. The friends as they come in are presented with a rosegay and garland, and presented to the bride and bridegroom, the former of whom is tenderly kissed by all females. When a superior relative comes in, such as a grandmother or an aunt, bride kisses her hands and asks a blessing, which is bestowed by making the sign of cross. All being seated, tea and sweetmeats are brought in and handed to each guest, while the byes performed evolution and chant their melodies in a corner of the hall, until it is time for them to come forward. The byes then sing and dance before the bride, and receive from her a rupee or sikkee in recompense: in this manner they parade round the hall and receive similar gratuities, till the morning dawns and the company disperse.

"Should the madreeas and padreeas so determine, the byes retire to another room, and preparations are made for a ball. The bride and bridegroom stand up at the head of the ball; it often happens that either one or both cannot dance, or the severity of one or other of the parties will not allow of the bride's accepting any other than the bridegroom for a partner; in such cases, the fiddles and clarionets sound of flourish; they commence, the bride curtsies and the bridegroom makes a bow, and both resume their seats, amid the plaudits of the whole company. The ball then proceeds. "When this Old Cap was New", reels and country dances were in vogue to the tunes of "Drops of Brandy" and "Charlie
Over the Water"; a hornpipe was sometimes performed midnight, and was deemed a special wonder. The times may have changed since then. While the young "trip it on the light fantastic toe", those who have no relish for such amusements regale themselves with wines and liquors, which are served out in an adjoining room, smoke, and chat until supper is announced. The whole company sit around tables arranged in one length, if there be room for the whole; if not, the men very gallantly stemed and eat behind their female friends, off plates which they hold in their hands. The bride and bridegroom sit at opposite ends of the table and at a proper season the bridegroom drinks to the health of the bride across. Then some friend, who is deputed for the service and has courage and words at command, proposes the first at least toast—the health of the newly married pair. Dancing it again renewed, till the heap of dawn, or till some riot-living soul get fuddled, kick and cuff each other, and so disperse the company. Before the one or the other takes place, no egress is allowed; the doors are double-locked, and every one is made happy inspite of himself. When departure is authorised by the superintending madreas and padre's, a search is commenced for hats and shawls: and many a beak, who had entered with a span new Borradaile or Moore, returns minus a chapean, or takes up the shabby concern which has generously been left as a substitute for his superfine beaves".

The Portuguese last century were the propagators of the slavery system, as the ruins of many fine places in the Sundarbunds bear testimony to. We find that as late 1760 the neighbourhood of Akra, Budge Budge, was infested slave ships belonging to Mugs and Portuguese.13 The

13. So great was the dread of the Mugs that about 1770 a Chain was run across the river at Mukwhah Fort (where the Superintendent of the Botanical Garden resides) to protect the Port of Calcutta against pirates.
East India Chronicle for 1758 gives following statement showing the origin of this slave system.

"February 1717, the Mugs carried of the most Southern parts of Bengal 1800 men, women and children, in ten days they arrived at Arracan and were conducted before the sovereign, who choose the handicrafts men about one-fourth of the number as his slaves. The reminders were returned to the Captors with ropes about their recks to market, and sold according to their strength from 20 to 70 rupees each. They were by their purchasers sent to cultivate the land and had, 15 seers of rice each allowed for their monthly support. Soon after this the Sovereign, Duppung Gerce, was deposed by his Cutwal, Kuddul Porse; 25 men and a woman of the Captives took advantage of the disturbances, fled and arrived at Chittagong in the following June. Almost three-fourths of the inhabitants of America are said to be natives of Bengal or descendants of such who pray that the English may deliver them, and they have agreed among themselves to assist their deliverers. From time immemorare the Mugs have plundered the Suothern parts of Bengal and have even been so hostile as to descend on the coast of Chittagong and proceed into the country, plunder and burn the villages, destroy what they could not carry away, and carry the inhabitants into slavery. But since the cession of the province to the Company, the place for the most part has enjoyed quiet".

Slavery was at one time very prevalent in Calcutta as advertisement in 1780 show, thus:—

Wanted

Two Coffrees who can play very well on the French Horn and are otherwise handy and useful about a house, relative to the business of a consumer, or that of a cook; they must not be fond of liquor.
Any person or persons having such to dispose of, will be treated with by applying to the printer.

Wanted

A Coffee slave boy; any person desire of disposing of such a boy and can warrant him a faithful and honest servant, will please to apply to the Printer.

To be sold

Two French Horn men, who dress hair and shave; and wait at table.

From the service of his mistress, a slave boy aged twenty years, or thereabout, pretty white or colour of musty, tall and slender, broad between the cheek bones and marked with the small pox. It is requested that no one after the publication of this will employ him, as a writer, or in any other capacity, and any person or persons who will apprehend him and give notice thereof to the Printer of this paper shall be rewarded for their trouble.

Strayed

From the house of Mr. Robert Duncan in the China Bazar on Thursday last, a Coffee boy about 12 years old named Inday; who ever brings back the same shall receive the record of the gold mohur.

To be sold

A fine Coffee boy that understands the business of a butler, kitmugar and cooking. Price four hundred Sicca Rupees. Any gentleman wanting such a servant, may see him, and be informed of further particulars by applying to the Printer.

East Indians, alias Eurasians, a class, were then as now in a peculiar position. They ought to have been the opponents of race antagonism, they despised the natives and
the natives despised them yet the latter giving them such contemptuous names as *chichi matia feringee*, i.e. *mud*. Europeans also had strong enmity with them and called them half-castes, country-born, demi-Bengalees. Captain Williamson in 1800 opposes their admission to offices of authority on the ground that “their admission could not fail to lessen that respect and difference which ought most studiously to be exacted on every occasion from the natives of rank”. The men of those days feared the East Indians, would mutiny and join the natives. The author of “Sketches of India in 1811” gives the following, which embodies the view of Europeans last century.

“Characterized by all the vices and gross prejudices of the natives, by all the faults and filings of the European character, without its candour, sincerity or probity; a heterogenous set; some by Hindoo, others by Mahametan and Malay mothers, as Wills the caprice of the fathers; what is not in time to be apprehended from the union of so large a discontented body? Why may we not expect the scenes of South America to be displayed in India?” A body who have neither riches, honour, nor any advantage to sacrifice must ever pant for a revolution. It is a theatre from while they have every thing to hope, and from which, if unsuccessful, they can but return to their original insignificance”.

Lord Valentia writes in his time of the fear ententiated of the East Indies lest they “should become politically

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14: There was a class of East Indians at Chinsurah of whom Grand Pre writes thus: “Here as in all the Dutch establishments, some Malay families have settled, and given birth to a description of women named Mosses, who are in highest estimation for their beauty and talents. The race is now almost extinct, or is scattered through different parts of the country; for Chinsurah in its decline, had no longer sufficient attraction to retain them, and at present a few only, and those with great difficulty, are here and there to be found”. We have not learned of these of late years.
powerful and be beyond control. They were in Calcutta clerks in every mercantile house, though not permitted to hold office under the East India Company”. Lord Valentia was in great alarm lest they should follow the example of the Spanish Americans, and of St. Domingo; he recommends a law to be passed requiring every father of a half-caste to send them to England and prohibit their return in any capacity. Little was done last century towards educating the East Indians who were generally left under the tutelage of their native mothers—we may judge what morals they imbibed. A Mrs. Hodges set up a school for East Indian and European girls about 1760, in which she taught dancing and French. The girls married of quickly, but then their character was said to have been “childish, vain, imperious, crafty, vulgar and wanton”. Mrs. Hodges however retired in 1780 with a fortune. A Mr. Whithead advertised in 1781 that he had opened a boarding school for boys, opposite the Avenue which leads to the Nawab’s Garden, Chitpore, Rs. 50 monthly for boarders. Mrs. Kindersly remarked in 1767 “neither Mahamedans nor Hindoos ever change in their dress, furniture, carriages or any other thing”. Her remarks are still applicable to the Mussulmans. But Young Bengal with his Chop House and Champagne bills at Wilson’s did not live in her day, though the dawn of such a character appeared, it is stated in 1780.

The attachment of the Natives of Bengal to the English laws, begins now to extend itself to English habitiment. Rajah Ramlochun, a very opulent Gentoo of high caste and family, lately paid a visit to a very eminent attorney, equipped in boots, Buckskin breeches, hunting frock and jockey cap, the lawyer who employed in studying Coke upon littleton for improvement of the revenues of Bengal was with the smack of a half hunter worked from his half reveries in great astonishment at the lively transformation of his grave Gentoo client, who, it
seems was dressed in the exact hunting characters of Lord March and had borrowed the fancy from one of Dardy’s Comic Prints.

The Nabab Sidest Alley, when lately at the Presidency, employed Connor the tailor to make him the following dresses; viz. two suits of Regimentals, Do, of an English Admiral’s Uniform, and two suits of Canonicals. At the same time he sent for an English Peruke maker, and gave him orders to make him two wigs of every denomination according to the English fashion, viz. scratches, cut wigs curled obbs, Queens, Majors and Remilies; all of which he took with him when he left Calcutta”.

The Portuguese Padris never own knowledge, or did any thing of the vernacular, and their own moral conduct was very defective; however the Anglican Church had an exception; Kierorder had some good men among his Native Christians; we have the following account of one of them in 1780:—

“Among the adult persons who have been baptized, is one Thomas of the Bengal natives, aged 24, who has made so good a proficiency in the Portuguese tongue and in the knowledge of the fundamental further of religion, that he has, since the month of October 1769, been made use of as a catecist to those of the Bengal caste to whom he is able from the Portuguese to explain the doctrines of Christianity in their own language.”

15. While the Portuguese Missionaries in India were different to the natives and were more political tools of the mother-country there is another classes of Roman Catholics, who though in Bengal they did little, yet elsewhere were great friends to the natives—we refer to the Jesuits of South America, and we give the following statement from a man who was no friend to the order or to priestcrafts, W. Howitt, in his work colonisation, writes thus:—

“The Jesuits, once admitted by the Indians, soon convinced them that they could have no end in view but their good; and the resistance which they made to the attempts of the Spaniards to enslave them, gave them asylum a me amongst all the surrounding natives, as was most favourable
The native Christians of Calcutta were few last century, and are now, after 40 years of mission work, little better as a class than the old Portuguese; ignorant and socially degraded, few have embraced Christianity from conviction, but either to get food or employment. They resemble in many points, the Portuguese Native Christians, but are not so bad as the Portuguese described thus, by Mrs. Kindersly:—

to the progress of their plans. When they had acquired in influence over a tribe they soon prevailed upon them to come into their settlements, which they call Reductions, and where they gradually accustomed them to the order and comforts of civilized life. The Spaniards hated them for presuming to tell them that they had no right to enslave, to debanch, to exterminate them. They hated them because they would not suffer them to be given up to them as property—mere livestock—beasts of labour, in their Encomiendas. They regarded them as robbing them of just so much property, and as setting a bad example to the other Indians who were already enslaved, or were yet to be so. They hated them, because their refusing them entrance into their Reduction, was a standing and perpetual reproof of the licentiousness of their lives. They foresaw that if this system became universal the very pillars of their indolent and debased existence would be thrown down, for says Charlevoix the Spaniards here think it beneath them to exercise any manual employment—those even who are but just landed from Spain, with every stitch they have brought with them, upon their qanks—and set up for gentlemen, above serving in any menial capacity.

One those Jesuits, Anshiota, established himself among the Indians as a second Tellenbury; of him at it is recorded:—

"Day and night did this indefatigable man labour in discharging duties of his office. There were no books for the pupils; he wrote for every one his lesson on a separate leaf, after the business of the day was done, and it was sometimes day-light before his task was completed. The profane songs that were in use, he parodied into hymns in Portuguese, Castillian, Latin, and Tupinambun. The ballads of the natives underwent the same travesty in their own tongue". Here the final remarks of an impartial observer, "The final expulsion of the Jesuits; deprived the Indians of the only body of real friends that they ever knew. Finer Materials than those poor people for civilization, no race on the earth ever presented. Had the Jesuits been permitted to continue their peaceful labours, the whole continent would have become one wide scene of peace, fraternity, and happiness".
"The Harri or Hellicore caste are the dregs of both Mussulmen and Hindoos, employed in the meanest and vilest offices; people whose—selves or parents have lost caste. But there is a resource for even the worst of these, which is to turn Christians—I mean Roman Catholics—and such as are the chief, if not the only proselytes, the Missionaries have to boast of in the east being mostly such as have committed some very great crimes, or have been made slaves when young, which prevents their ever returning amongst those of their own religion. If any woman has committed a crime so great as to induce her husband or any other person to cut off her hair, which is the greatest and most irrecoverable disgrace, she, live a thousand others, is glad to be received into some society, and becomes a Christian, so that most of the black Christians are more so from necessity than from conviction. The Portuguese priests, of whom there are many in India, receive all, baptize and give them absolution; as soon as they are made Christians they call themselves and wear something like a jacket and petti-coat; and the man mostly affect to dress like Europeans. Their language is called Pariar Portuguese, a vile mixture of almost every European language with some of the Indian. This is however a useful dialect to travellers in many parts of Hindustan, particularly on the sea coast, and is called the Lingua Franca of India.

They are mostly in mean situations and are looked upon with great contempt by all the other Indians for the reasons mentioned. With these natives efforts were made to plant in ground not properly prepared or manured, baptism was regarded as a talisman. No wonder it was said of them "the whole of the European vices were engrafted upon the rich and fruitful tree of Eastern liberalism", and hence "that thief, drunkard, dog, and Christian became synonymous".

Some of the Portuguese were soldiers or topasses, i.e. topee hat wearers, but they were not much better than the
late Christian Police Battalion formed in Bengal at the
time of the mutinies, who soon backed out of their work.
Of these topasses it is mentioned:—“they are a black,
degenerate, wretched race of the ancient Portuguese, as
proud and bigotted as their ancestors, lazy, idle and
vicious with all and for the most part as weak and feeble
in body as base in mind. Not one in ten is possessed of
any of the necessary requisites for a soldier”.

Respecting the Native Servants in Calcutta last century
there is little worthy of note. Travellers describe them
as “lazy, lustful and pusillanimous, one European is
enough to put 50 of them to fight, very intelligent, and
dificient in imitative genius”. The Banyans were the most
noted, very wealthy, and very miserly. Europeans were
very lazy, much given to revelry and sleep in the day,
leaving all their pecuniary affairs in the banyan’s hands
who knew how to charge their dustoori or costomeado.
The European was more in the power of his servants, his
bearer dressed, undressed and washed him, while his
banyan managed all his money matters, some of the rupees
sticking in their transit. Mrs. Kindersley remarks of the
influence of caste among them:—“The bearer’s business,
besides carrying the palanquin, is to bring water to wash
after dinner, &c. one brings an ewer with water pours it
over your hands, another gives you a towel, but it must
be a Musalchi or a slave who holds the chillumchee, for
the bearer would be disgraced by touching anything
which contains the water after one has washed with it”.
Servants in Calcutta were very extortinate last century,
as now. Mrs. Fay writes in 1780:—“My Khansama (or
house steward), brought in a charge for a gallon of milk and
thirteen eggs, for making scarcely a pint and a half of
custard; this was so barefaced a cheat, that I refused to
allow it, in which he gave me warning. I sent for another,
and after I had hired him, ‘now’ said I take notice, I
have enquired into the market price of every article that
enters my house and will submit to no imposition, you
must therefore agree to deliver in a just account to me every morning. What reply do you think he made? Why he demanded double wages, you may be sure I dismissed him, and have since forgiven the first, but not till he had salamed me to my foot that is placed his right hand under my foot. This is the most object taken of submission (alas! how much better should I take a little common honesty). I know him to be a rogue, and so are they all, but as he understands me now, he will perhaps be induced to use rather more moderation in his attempts to defraud. At first he used to charge me with twelve ounces of butter a day for each person; now he grants that the consumption is only four ounces. The Durwan had formerly on duty invariably to perform in Calcutta; during meals the doors were kept shut by him and not opened till notice was sent by the head servant that the plate was all safe."

It is difficult to account for it that in Madras, where feelings of caste are very strong, with respect to servants it gives little inconvenience; in Calcutta it has been the opposite. Mrs. Fay writes, none of the Mussulman servants would touch a plate on which pork had been laid; this proved very inconvenient to the settlement, but people finding that the officers of the Fort had overcome that prejudice the whole of the "European inhabitants agreed to insist upon their servants doing the same as those of the officers at the Fort, or quitting their places. They chose 'the latter alternative' and in about four days came back 'again requesting to be reinstated; and acknowledging that the 'only penalty incurred by touching was the necessity of bathing afterwards."

The Kerani, or quill driver of last century, was not so exclusively a native as he is now. Education has enabled the natives to supplant the Armenians, East India and Portuguese topiwalla or topasses from their office, as he can do the same work for one-third the cost, but Keranidom then was as mechanical as now. A writer in 1778
remarks of the Bengali Kerani:—"Though they profess to understand English and are tolerably correct in copying what is put before them, they do not understand the meaning of anything they write; a great convenience to such a conduct affairs that require secrecy, since the person employed, cannot, if they were so disposed, betray their trust."

"Keranis were found formerly, as now, big words. Here is a letter of the last century, on occasion of an outer window having been blow down by a North-Westener. Honourable Sir,—Yesterday vesper arrive great hurricane; value of little aperture not fasten; first make great trepidation and palpitation, then precipitate into precinct. God grant Master more long life and more great post.

"P. S.—No tranquillity in house since value ad-journ—I send for carpenter to mark reunite".

Keranidom and education in Calcutta were then as now confined to Brahmns and Kayasthas; of the former Holwell, who presided 5 years in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta writes:—"We can truly aver, that during almost five years that we presided in the Judicial Cutcherry Court of Calcutta, never any murder or atrocious crime before us, but it was proved in the end a Brahmin was at the bottom of it".

The Burra Bazar seems from an early period to have been the nucleus of native trade. The Marwari and other merchants found there are all over India, and even beyond it. Forster in his travels in 1782-83 met with 100 Hindu merchants at Herat carrying on a brisk commerce, another 100 men at Tarshish, and others settled at Baku Mushid, Yezd, and a long parts of the Caspian and Persian Gulfs. Mr. Forster met at Baku a Sanyasi, recommended by some Hindus to their agents in Russia, he was willing to go even to England. Hindoos have been settled at Astrachan as at Calcutta, without their families.

The remark of the first Judges—'hoping for the day
when all natives would wear breeches', seems to have trickled the fancy of Calcutta people. An article appeared in 1780 on this subject. "The poor oppressed natives are providing themselves with bear skin breeches instead of buck skin; they are however prejudiced against the wings".

There was a class of native servants in Calcutta formerly, which now scarcely exists, peons to run before the palanquin and carry the master's chatta or message; the chattaburdar who bore a large umbrella over those who walked on foot; the Abdar of water cooler,—the Musalahis or flame bearers, whose business was to run with flaming torches before the carriage when returning from the drive at dusk. To follow the palanquin, a set of bearers were necessary for every person,—the hookah-burdar to dress the pipe and attend while his master smoked it—the Chubadar or mace bearer i. e. Chapdhar, keeper of the peace, with his emblem, a long staff plated with silver, to deliver messages. Sometimes four were in attendance, but every man in Calcutta of consequence must have one. The Dutch Director at Chinsurah was allowed six, but the next to him only two. The Dutch were so particular about this mark of dignity that only the Governor of Chinsurah was allowed to have the mace all of silver; the other functionaries were to have them plated. The late Bishop Wilson was one of the last Europeans who employed a Chubdar. There was one inferior to him, Sontaburdar, who bore only a baton. The bearers of that day dressed and undressed their masters; the Europeans having such a horror of the climate as to think every exertion injurious, like various ladies in Chouringi now, who though in health, are so lazy as its require being carried up-stairs by their servants. The Uriah-Bearers were an old class in Calcutta; as in former days pagris were chiefly used. We find from a computation made in 1776, they carried three lakhs of rupees to their own country made by their business.
Another servants of the olden time, gradually disappearing, is the Portuguese ayah, of whom Captain Williamson thus states:—

"Many Portuguese ayahs affect to be in possession of genea—gies, whereby it should appear they are lineally descended from most illustrious characters; most of whom would, no doubt, it indeed abashed, could they now take peep at their ill-fate—and degenerated posterity. It is scarcely to be conceived how much pride is retained by women of this class; they are found at adulation and love the dear word 'Signora', even to adoratives. To see one of them costume being, as nearly as circumstances will admit, that of the days of royalty in France with a dast of the antique Vera Cruz: to remain them, I suppose, of that eclipse which a gradual intermixture with the natives, has cast upon their once tawny, but now stable countenances. One would think that the humiliating reflections attendant upon such a comparison, should prompt them to burn their pedigrees, and to avoid whatever could induce to retrospection! But, no, the ayah prides herself on that remote affinity, to which her records give the claim; she retains all the offensive hauteur of her progenitors, which, being grafted upon the most obnoxious qualities of the Hindoo or Mussulman characters, makes a tout ensemble as ridiculous as it is despicable!"

Calcutta in last century was the scene of the triumph of caste and superstition. Naked fakirs paraded the streets—the Aghori could be seen eating the flesh of dead men at the ghats—holy water in which a Brahmin's feet had been washed was highly treasured as a drink—space fires blazed in the neighbourhood, as late as 1800, within a space of 30 miles round Calcutta, and in six months of that year 275 women were burnt. Brahmin bells, fearless of the police, roamed at large to the annoyance of palki-bearers and confectioners. Human sacrifices could occasionally be witnessed at Kalighat. The monkey however, so troublesome at Benares, was not so here, though it is
recorded of the Rajah of Bisonpore, the Rajah of last century, that "he requested a guard of sepoys to destroy them, though against his religion, which holds the transmigration of souls, to do it himself they would come into his house, and carry the meat of the table, and steal whatever they could find. They often terrify the girls, assembling round them if alone, making the most odious noises".

As an illustration of the power of superstition the following is the relation of an occurrence which took place in 1670:—The English had at this time a factory at Batacola (a sea-port next to the southward of Once) when a ship came too late, the Captain of which had a fine English bull dog, which he presented to the chief of the factory. After the ship was gone the factory, which consisted of 18 persons, were going a hunting and carried the bull dog with them, and passing through the town, the dog seized a cow devoted to a Pagod and killed her. Upon this the priests raised a mob, who murdered the whole fiercely; but some natives who were friends to the English, made a grave and buried them all on it. The chief of Carwar sent a stone to be put on the grave with his inscription. This is the burial place of John Best and seventeen other Englishmen who were sacrificed to the fury of a mad priesthood and an enraged mob. The English did not renew their factory there.

The practice of Dhirna, or a Brahmin in order to extort money or secure a demand sitting opposite a house until it was complied with, the Brahman meanwhile fasting as also the person against whom the demand was made, was very common at Benares, but it occurred occasionally in Calcutta. Mr. Fay states: "A Hindu beggar of the Brahman caste went to the house of a very rich man, but of an inferior tribe, requesting alms, he was either rejected, or considered himself inadequately relieved and refused to quit the place. As his lying before the door and obstructing the passage was unpleasant,
one of the servants first entreated, then insisted on his retiring and in speaking pushed him gently away; he chose to call this push a blow, and cried aloud for redress, declaring that he would never stir from spot till he had obtained justice against the man, who now endeavoured to soothe him but in vain. Like a true Hindu he sat down, and never moved again, but thirty-eight hours afterwards expired, demanding justice with his last breath; being well aware that in the event of this the master would have an enormous fine to pay—which happened accordingly”.

The Mussulmans of Calcutta though adopting various Hindu practices, have never amalgamated with the Hindus. They seem to retain towards them the views of Timur who said—“The Hindu has nothing of humanity but the figure. Ambition characterised the Moslem here last century as much as avarice did the Gentoo, but the days are gone for ever when a Mussulman like the Foujdar of Hoogly had Rs. 6000 Monthly salary and when the kora or whip was hung up in every Mofussil Court for the Mussulman officials to fayellate the Hindus in 1804 the Muslims of Calcutta memorialised the Marquis Wellesley because a thesis was proposed at Fort William College ‘on the utility of translations into the vernacular of works on different religions.’ But they are in the script and in yellow leaf and even Tippu was obliged to employ Hindus in the revenue as he lost so much by the ignorance of Moslem revenue officers”.

We might make any other observations of Calcutta in the olden time—its Greek, American and Jewish inhabitants—its French and Dutch neighbours—its river ever-changing its course and fraught with reminiscences of the past. But the length to which we have already extended this article forbids our saying more.
Calcutta in the olden time—its localities

The rapid changes that are taking place in Calcutta, owing to the increasing European population, and to the facilities of intercourse afforded by steam,—the spread of English education and of English habits among natives,—together with the more extensive changes that are likely to occur, when railways may make Chaurungi as the city of London is now, a residence for kheranis, and mere offices for merchants,—suggests to us, that for the information of future residents, as well as for the pleasure derived from contrast,—it may be useful to jot down here, in a cursory way, the glimpses of the past that we have obtained, through old and rare books, as well as from conversation with the few that still remember the "days of ould long syne". There yet survive two residents in Calcutta, who remember Sir W. Jones and Warren Hastings, who have heard the tiger roar adjacent to the spot where now a noble cathedral and episcopal residence near their heads, who remember the period when Chaurungi was out of town, when shots were fired off in the evening to frighten away the dakoits, and when servants attending their masters at dinner parties in Chaurungi left all their good clothes behind them, lest they should be plundered in crossing the maidan—the Hounslow Heath of those days; and when purliens of China Bazar formed the aristocratic residences of the "big-wigs" of Calcutta—but these things have been.

Let not the city of palaces, like another Babylon, be too proud, basking in the sunshine of prosperity: she may be hereafter as Delhi and Kanauj are now. Macauley
vividly depicts to us the supposed meditations of a New
Zelander gazing, in some after ages, from a broken arch
of London bridge, on the ruins of the once mighty English
metropolis. A similar fate may await Calcutta.

Calcutta is the sixth Capital in succession which Bengal
has had within the last six centuries. The shifting of the
course of the river, which some apprehended will be the
case in Calcutta, contributed to reduce Gaurs to ruins
though it had flourished for 2,000 years, though its popu-
lation exceeded a million, and its buildings surpassed
in size and grandeur any which Calcutta can now boast
of Rajmahal, "the city of one hundred kings", favourably
located at the apes of the Gangetic Delta—Dhaka famed
from Roman times—Nuddea, the Oxford of Bengal for five
centuries—Murshidabad, the abode of Moslem pride and
seat of Moslem revelry (for vivid painting of which, consult
the pages of the Seir Mutakherim). These were in their
days the transient metropolitan cities of the Lower
Provinces; but they have ceased to be the seats of
Government as Centres of Wealth.

There have been other leading towns. Malcondi, on
west bank of the Hugli, is mentioned by one writer as the
Capital of Bengal, in 1632, and Rennel refers to the city
of Bengala at the eastern mouth of Ganges. Calcutta,
"the Commercial Capital of Bengal", is now in the ascen-
dent, though its political influence on India, happily for
welfare of the peasantry is on the wane, and late events in
the Panjub have given more their due influence to the
North-West and to Mofussil interests. A hundred and
fifty years ago, Calcutta was like St. Petersburgh, when
Peter the Great laid his masterhand on it—the New Or-
bans of the East—a place of mists, allegators and wild
boars, though now it has a population of 500,000 of which
100,000 came in and pass out daily. Were Job Charnock
to rise from his lofty tomb in St. John's Churchyard, and
survey the spot where once he smoked his huka, and had
"the black fellows" fagged during dinner to serve as his-
music, he would probably not be more surprised than would a denizen of Chaurangi, who has never seen the rice grow, and is much surprised at the sight of an Indian pig as at a shark, should be a century hence wake from the tomb and find Bombay the commercial port of India, Calcutta a town of the size of Patna, a residence only for those who are not able to enjoy the comfort of willas the neighbourhood of Hugli, Pandua, &c. &c.

Opinions differ as to the etymology of the name Calcutta,—called Galgotha by an old Dutch traveller, (and not amiss in the days when one-fourth of its European inhabitants were cut off by the diseases arising in the rainy season). We find that in Europe various cities received their names from the circumstances of monsteries and castles having been first erected on a spot which formed the meleus of a town, as English words ending in Chester (castra) show: in the middle ages this occurred very frequently. Now as tradition, existing rites, Puranic authority, &c. indicate that the Ganges formerly flowed over the site of Tolley's Nala, and as Kali Ghat, one of holiest shrines in Bengal, has, from ancient times, been a place celebrated as one of the Pithasthans, why may not the name Calcutta be a corruption of Kali Ghat? Holwell writes, in 1766:—“Kali Ghat, an ancient pagoda, dedicated to Kali, stands close to a small brook, which is, by the Brahmins, deemed to be the original course of the Ganges”. When Job Charnock landed, on the 24th of August, 1690, fifty years after the first settlement of the English at Hugli, and smoked his pipe probably under the shade of the famous old tree that stood at Baitakhana, Chaurungi plain was a dense forest, the abode of bears and tigers: a few weavers' sheds stood where Chandpal Ghat is now; there was, consequently, no object of interest nearer than Kali Ghat. It is not likely then that the old patriarch called the locality after the most conspicuous object—the same as the field of Waterloo is named from the largest village near it, and not from St. Jean, which is
still nearer? We throw this out merely as a conjecture—quantum valeat.\textsuperscript{1} However, the author of Sketches of Bengal sides with us: he states "Calcutta takes its name from a temple dedicated to Caly". Another derivation has been given from the Maharatta ditch or Khal Khatta, which served as its boundary; before 1742, when this ditch was dug, we have not seen the name given.

The Dutch, the French and the Danes chose the right bank of the river, fully exposed to the river breezes, but the English selected the left: three reasons have been assigned, the deep water ran at the left side—numbers of weavers lived there, members of the patriarchal family of the Sets, who dealt with the Company,—and the Maharattas never crossed the river. Job Charnock left Ulubaria on account of its unhealthiness, but he did not gain much by the change.

We shall, in the present article, limit our research of the branch of the subject—the localities of Calcutta. Our remarks will be simply gleanings. Many causes render it very difficult to pierce into the darkness of the past. Natives themselves give little to the aid: they show no lively interest in antiquarian or historical research, as the Records of the Asiatic and other Societies envince; but the maxim of Cicerr holds good now as when penned—"Nescire guid antiquan natus six accideritidest semper esse puerum".

We call our article "Calcutta in the olden time;" some men say how can you call a city of a century and a half, old? We have only to say,—Reader, such is the state of the British in India so crowded has been the succession of important and shifting events, and so shifting have been the actors on the scenes that what would appear in England quite modern, bears here as in the United States of America, the air of the antique, and we look back on

\textsuperscript{1} Though allowed by the Mogul the choice of any site below Hugli, the most unhealthy spot on the whole river: the Salt-water like to the east left masses of putrid fish in the dry season, while a dense jangal run up to where Government House stands now.
our predecessors to Calcutta last century with a similar interest to that with which a Bostonian reads the Wanderings of Pilgrim Fathers, or a Scotchman, The Tales of Border Life, and The Adventures of Prince Charles. Our descriptions are only Fragments drifted from the Wreck of Time.

A few books have survived the destruction which so certainly awaits old works in India, from apathy, frequent removals, or the climate: as of some of these, only one or two copies exist, and as they are not accessible to the generality of our readers, we shall occasionally make some extracts to illustrate various points in connection with Calcutta as it was in the last century. Though the books be old, the information may be new to many of our readers, and even to other may be useful in recalling their thoughts on a busy and bustling age, to the dim visions of the past, the twilight of Calcutta history.

One of the earliest works that presents itself to our notice, is The Genuine Memories of Asiaticus. The author was Philip Stanhope, an officer in the first regiment of dragoon guards; his pamphlet, containing 174 pages, was published in London in 1785; he came to India in 1774, the victim of disappointed love the lady of whom he was attached not being allowed by her father to go to India. He touched at Madras, dined with Governor, and mentions in p. 38—"we retired soon after dinner, according to custom of the country, to take our afternoon's nap, which the heat of the climate renders absolutely be weakened by a continual perspiration".

In October of that year he arrived at Calcutta. It was the one when the huka, with its long pipe and rose-water, was in vogue:—

Even the writers, whose salary and prequisites scarce amount to two hundred pounds a year, contrive to be attended, wherever they go, by their huka-burdar, or servant, whose duty it is to prepleniath the huka with the necessary ingredients and to keep up the fire of huka, their equipage, and
their table, yet as this is absolute parsimony, when compared to the expenses of the seraglio: a luxury which only those can enjoy, whose rank the state horses of a monarch, is considered as a necessary appendage to Eastern grandeur.

He had been promised a situation by Warren Hastings, but hailed, from the opposition given to all Hastings's recommendations by the new members of Council:

The numerous dependants, which have arrived in the train of the Judges, and of the new commander-in-chief of the forces, will of course be re-appointed to all posts of any emolument; and I must do those gentlemen the justice of observe, that both in number and rapacity, they exactly resemble an army of locusts sent to devour the fruits of the earth.

He left Calcutta, after a few months' stay, for Madras, where he spent three years in the service of the Nowab of Arcot. In 1778 he visited Bombay, where "the settlement not being divided by factions, there is more society than at Madras, and the sources of wealth being fewer, there is less of luxury and parade than at Calcutta". The same he arrived in London.

In 1780 Mrs. Fay, the authoress of Original Letters from India, presented herself on the stage. She was one of the first who tried to the overland route; she was made prisoner at Calicut by Hydar Ali, and was imprisoned there: she arrived in Calcutta, and mentions her visiting Mrs. Hastings at Belvidere House, "a great distance from Calcutta". Her husband was a barrister, but joining himself to the party of Francis against Hastings, and uniting with others in resisting a proposed housetar, he was obliged, through want of briefs, to leave Calcutta in debt, his wife being deprived by the creditors of everything except her clothes. She separated from her husband, and found refuge in the house of Sir R. Chambers, noted for his "immense library". After twelve months' residence
she left Calcutta for England in May, 1782, and arrived in England in February, 1783 experiencing the discomfort of hard drinking gentlemen on board, with a "large gun" in the port-hole of her cabin. She returned, however, to Calcutta, in 1784, and engaged in the millinery line—she failed, returned to England, but made another voyage to Calcutta.

We have lately met with a work called *Hartley House, Calcutta*, printed in London, 1789, which, under the guise of fiction, paints the manners and customs of Calcutta as they existed in Warren Hastings's days, when Calcutta was "the grave" of thousand, but a mine of "inexhaustible wealth". The general varissemblance of them is occasionally from this book.

A book called the *East Indian Chronologist*, published in 1801, by a Mr. Hawks worth, throws much light on various occurrences: it is a compilation with India, gathered by white-ants and damp: the facts are arranged in chronological order, and present, in 100 pages quarts, an assemblage of many rare subjects.

A work was published in Calcutta called *Historical and Ecclesiastical Sketches of Bengal*, which gives the fullest notice we have seen of the early establishment of the English in India, a particular account of the Black Hole, the re-taking of Calcutta, the history of St. John's Church, the Old Church, Kiernander's mission, the Portuguese of Calcutta, the Americans of Calcutta.

Old Zaphania Holwell, who rose, from being an apothecary, to the Governorship of Calcutta, published, in 1784, the third edition of a curious and interesting work, *India Tracts*, which, besides giving various details respecting our progress to power after the battle of Plassey, presents us with a minute account of the sufferings in the black hole. He was Zemindar of Calcutta for some time, and in this work gives a graphic picture of the cheating and over-reaching of the native servants of Government of that day. Holwell was born in Dublin, in 1711, and like
other survivors of the Black Hole, he lived to a green old age: he died in 1798.

Upjohn, an ingenious artist, published a map of Calcutta in 1793: he died in 1800—this map is very valuable, as affording a contrast with Calcutta at the present time, and thus indicating the immense additions since made in buildings and streets.

*Mrs. Kindersley’s letters* through light on different points in Calcutta life about 1770. Grose wrote his *Travels to the East Indies* about 1750—Grandpré, a French officer, visited Calcutta towards the close of last century, and has written an interesting account of his travels.

Stavorinus, a Dutch admiral, visited India in 1768. An account is given of his travels in the East, in a work of three volumes. We have some lively sketches of the times in Calcutta. He and the Dutch Governor of Hugli went to a formal dinner to Government-house at half past 12 P.M.—visits of ceremony were then paid at 9 A.M. Seventy covers were laid, and the service was entirely of plate; after dinner, the huka was served to each person, and after smoking half an hour, they retired to their respective dwellings. At six in the evening they rode to Governor. Cartier’s country-seat at Belvidere, where they suppered. The next morning, at nine O’clock, the English Governor paid a ceremonial visit to the Dutch Governor—that seems to have been a fashionable hour for calls, probably, to avoid the mid-day heats. On the installation at that period of a New Dutch Governor of Chinsurah, there was a public breakfast given at seven, and the ceremony took place at 9; it was in the month of March.

The principle of the association of ladies has a strong hold over the men: man wishes to connect the present with the past:—it is pleasing for a stranger, when traversing the streets of a city, to be able to observe the places identified with various events in the days of yore. We have *The Traditions of Edinburgh; The Recollections of London*, why should we not have a pamphlet to put into the lands of
strangers, to be called "An Antiquarian Ramble through Calcutta?" Some of our pleasantest hours have spent in this pursuit in Calcutta, in endeavouring to "conjure up the shots of departed days" we shall now jot down some of our gleanings collected from fool and conversation; some of these facts, though apparently trivial have cost us considerable search—but all bear, more or less on the point of Calcutta, as it was in respect of its localities.

We shall begin with Kidderpur, then proceed to Chaurungi, thence to Tank Square and its neighbourhood, then to Chitpur, and conclude with the Circular Road; noticing, as we go along those places which call up associations of the past, the dim visitor of the years that are no more, which remind us of the thoughts and actions of the buried generations of English who figured on the stage of events in Calcutta during last century.

Kidderpur is approached from the plain, by Hastings' Bridge. Not far from Hastings' Bridge was another of brick, called Surman's, after a Mr. Surman, a member of Council—he was a member of the embassy to Delhi in 1717—his residence was, probably, to the south of it, in place called Surman's Gardens, which will be ever memorable as the spot where the Governor and his party stopped, when they cowardly and treacherously deserted the Fort in 1757: this led to Catastrophe of the Black Hole. Immediately to the south of these gardens, was the boundary of Govindpur, the limit of the Company's Colony of Calcutta, marked by a pyramid. Close by were situated Watson's Docks, so called from a Colonel Watson, the Chief Engineer, who built the first ships in Calcutta in 1781: an enterprising man, he obtained a grant from Government of the land for the purpose of making docks, on which he spent ten lakhs. Near those docks the Colonel erected a wind-mill; but as it commanded a view of a natives zeanah, the native went to law and obtained a decree that the wind-mill should be pulled down! This was a suit of wind-mill versus nuisances. Previous to this,
two vessels were launched, in 1769 and 1770, but Calcutta had, heretofore, been dependant on Surat, Bombay and Pegu for its ships. However, famine gave an impulse to ship-building! Good out of evil—the ravages caused by Hyder in the Cornatic, in 1780, roused the Government to a sense of the importance of the shipping interest: they could not supply ships in sufficient numbers to convey food to the famished population of the south Bombay had docks in 1735, but Kidderpore, not for sixty years later, which Waddel made in 1795. Trade advanced: between 1781 and 1880, thirty-five vessels, measuring 17,020 tons, were built: from 1781 to 1821, the total was 237, which cost more than two millions sterling: this trade of ship-building is not, however, so brisk now. It was not however, confined to Calcutta, as at Fort Gloucester, between 1811 and 1828, twenty-seven vessels, measuring 9,322 tons, were built, and as early as 1801, a vessel of 1,445 tons, the Countess Sutherland, was built at Titaghur, near Barrackpur: the river is so shallowed since, that, probably, the experiment could not be tried now.

To the North of Hastings' Bridge lies Kuli (Coolie) bazar, once occupied, like many other places, by a handsome Musalman burial-ground, but which was pulled down to erect the present buildings. On a platform erected to the south-west of it, Nanda Kumar once Dewan to the Nawab of Murshidabad, was executed, August 5th, 1775—the first brahman hanged by the English in India: his death excited as great a revulsion of feeling among natives as did the execution of Louis XVI, among the French royalists. The foremost amongst the Mahapatak, crimes of the highest degree, or mortal sins of the Hindus, is killing a brahman—the other four are stealing gold from a priest, adultery with the wife of a Guru, drinking spirits, and associating with persons who have committed any of those offences. Immediately after the execution, the Hindus rushed to the river to wash away the offence committed in seeing it, by bathing in Ganges water. During three
days they ate nothing; and subsequently, the excitement was very great; menaces was held out to the judges that if they proceeded to court, their lives would be sacrificed as victims to popular fury; but regardless of menaces, they marched in procession to the Supreme Court, attended by all the paraphernalia of justice, and the threats of all the Hindus were as effective as those of the Calcutta Babus, on the passing of the Lex Loci Act. There is a native still living in Calcutta, whose father told him, that on that day the Hindus went to the other side of the river to eat, considering Calcutta to have been polluted by the execution of a brahman.

The Diamond Harbour Road terminates at Kidderpur: from Kidderpur to Bursea it was lined with trees: this road extends thirty-nine miles, to Diamond Harbour, while the river route is fifty-six miles: it must have been an immense convenience in former days for speedy traffic, when cargo boats, from March to September, occupied from five to seven days in taking goods from Calcutta to Diamond Harbour, or when a ship has been three weeks beating up to Calcutta from Diamond Harbour: the splendid old tanks near Diamond Harbour show the traffic that existed. Stavorinus, in 1768, gives the name of the village of Dover to Diamond Harbour, "where the English have built some ware-houses and a factory much frequented by ships: close to it is a canal called the shrimp canal". There is no mention of the Diamond Harbour Road in Upjohn's map of 1794, though there existed the Budge-Budge High Road to Calcutta in 1757. Two miles south of Kidderpur is Manik Chand's Bagan. Holwell writes of it—"The family of the Rajah of Burdwan formed lands to the amount of four lakhs, contiguous to the bounds of Calcutta, and had a place at Byala: the fort of Budge-Budge, on the Ganges, was also their property".

2. In the Memorial of Sir E. Impey, by his son, a different statement is given; but parties on the spot can give a more correct opinion.
This Bagan was once the residence of Manickchand, a Hindu, who was appointed Governor of Calcutta, when the English were expelled from it. During his recum-bency he was noted for his rapacity, for though 50,000 of the Hindus returned to their dwellings in Calcutta after Siraj Daula left, yet no man of property would trust himself under Manick Chand. Bengali like he did not present an example of much courage; he ran away from Budge-Budge, when the English attacked it, a ball striking his turban having put him to flight, and he never stopped till he reached Murshidabad. Ali Verdy Khan, who appointed him to his office, found him so treacherous and cowardly, that he trusted the Patans chiefly on active service. The Musalman promoted the Bengalis the high office, but on the principle that they become excellent sponges which he could squeeze when he liked. On Ali Verdy’s memorable retreat from Burdwan, 18,000 Bengali troops ran away.

Kidderpur was called after Colonel Kyd, an enterprising European, the Chief Engineer on the Company’s Military establishment; his two East Indian sons were the famous ship-builders, and in 1818, launched from the dock there the Hastings, a seventy-four gun ship, which lately anchored at Sagar. He, with Bowley, Skinner and others, has shown what genius could effect in spite of the depressing influence of European caste, and the feeling which in Calcutta formerly regarded East Indians as a kind of pariahs.

To the East of Kidderpur lie the Calcutta militia lines. The soldiers are all natives, certainly not on the original

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3. East Indians, alias Eurasians, alias country-borns, were a class that excited great alarm in the last century, some writers conjecturing that they would, like Americans, combine with the natives and drive the English from Calcutta. Hence various projects were entertained for neutralising their influence. There was only one their class were fonder of the huka than of letters; they loved the theatre, dressing magnificently and “affording by their sparkling eyes as marked contrast with the paleness and languor of the European ladies”.
plan of the militia; for in the earlier days every European was expected to be a militia man, the same as every passenger in an Indiaman was trained to take part in the defence of the ship. In 1759 the Europeans of Calcutta, which enabled the Company to send the soldiers into the field against the Dutch, who came up the Hugli with a strong force; again, in 1763, all the regulars were sent away from Calcutta, the militia garrisoning it: however, a body of free merchants and free manners, not content with standing on the defensive, took the field and marched to Patna. In 1801 there was a European as well as a Portuguese and Armenian militia.

The road from Kidderpur to Bursea, in last century, presented a picturesque appearance, being planted with shady trees on both sides—a fine old practice.

The Kidderpur Military Orphan School was established in 1783, by Major Kilpatrick, and was located at first at Haura, but about 1790, the present premises were taken. The front room of this building, the ball room, calls to mind the state of society in former days, when European ladies were afraid to face the climate of India—even Lord Teignmouth’s lady refused to go out to India with her husband: in consequence, Kidderpur was a harbour of refuge, where men in want of wives made their selection in an evening, at balls given expressly for that purpose, travelling often a distance of 500 miles down the country to attain that object. But tempora mutantur.

Garden Reach is one of the oldest places of residence “out of town,” and is mentioned in a map drawn up by General Martine in 1760, as containing fifteen residences: but these were only fine bungalows. Previous to the battle of Plassey, the English were cooped up in the neighbourhood of the Old Fort, enjoying the evening air in the Respondentia walk, lying beyond Chandpal Ghat, or in the fish-pond near Laldigi—beyond, there was too wholesome a dread of thieves and tigers, to induce them to wander into the grounds of the neighbouring zemindars, who
were the Robin Hoods of those days. But when peace and security dawned, it is to the taste of the Ditchers, they preferred garden-houses, ornamented occasionally with statuary, which were their favourite abodes during the hot weather. Mrs. Fay writes in November—"My time has passed very stupidly (in Calcutta) for some months, but the town is now beginning to fill—people are returning for the cold season"—doubtless, from their country villas. We find that Warren Hastings had a place of this description of Sukh Sagar; and another Governor, Cartier, one in 1763 at Baraset. The retirement of the garden, and the boating parties on the river, "the oars beating time to the notes of the clarionet", formed more the objects of relaxation then than now. "Kittysol-boys, in the act of suspending their kitesans, which were finely ornamented, over their heads—which boys were dressed in white muslin jackets, tied round the waist with green sashes, and gartered at the knees in like manner with the puckered, sleeves in England, with white turbans bound by the same coloured ribband—the rowers, resting on their oars in a similar uniform—made a most picturesque appearance".

Sir W. Jones lived in a bungalow in Garden Reach, nearly opposite to the Bishop's College—we have not been able to ascertain the site: here shunning Calcutta and its general society; he indulged in his oriental studies; and in the morning, as the first streak of dawn appeared on the horizon, he walked up to his lodging in the Court House, where he occupied the middle and upper rooms. He must have travelled via Kidderpur, as there was then no direct road from Garden Reach to Calcutta.

At the bottom of Garden Reach is Akra, marked off in Martine's map of 1760, with salt moulds: after that it was used as a powder depot, and subsequently as a race-course. A little south of Kidderpur bridge, near the old Garden Reach, is Bhu Kailas, founded by the late Joy Narayan Ghosal: two of the largest lingas in India are
to be seen in two Saivite temples here, which were erected in the last century.

Alipur seems to be a Musalman name, and of the same signification as Alinagur (the city of Ali), which Siraj Daula, after the Moslem fashion of altering native names, gave to Calcutta, on its conquest in 1757.

Nearly opposite Alipur bridge stood two trees, called "the trees of destruction", notorious for the duels fought under their shade: here Hastings and Francis exchanged shots, in the days when European women were few. Had Hastings fallen in that duel, the stability of British Power in India might have been shaken, with such a plæton as Francis guiding the chariot of the State. Jealousy often gave rise to these "affairs of honours".

Facing Alipur bridge is Belvidere. Once the favourite residence of Warren Hastings, but latterly he erected another house further south—he is said to have hunted tigers in its neighbourhood, and we think it probable, considering the state of other places at that time: as late as 1769, Stavorinus writes of the country in the vicinity of Chagda:—"Having many woods, in which there are tigers, we soon met with their traces in plenty". Lord Valentia states, that the Company gave in premiums for killing tigers and leopards, in Kashimbazar island, up to 1801, Rs. 150,000. Mrs. Fay describes Belvidere in 1780:

The house is a perfect bijon; 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 circumstance of not being obliged to search for effect without much cost, which those but moderately rich find to be indispensable. The grounds are said to be very tastefully laid out.

Stavorinus mentions visiting Belvidere in 1768, where the then Governor of Bengal resided there; it may have probably served as Barrackpore does now, as the country residence of the Governors for the time being.
The General Hospital reared its head, as early as 1768, over the then solitary Chaurangi, “far from the city;” previous to 1768, it was garden house of an individual, and was purchased by Government. 4

To the north of Alipur flows Tolly’s Nala, called after Colonel Tolly, who also gave his name to Tollyganj; he excavated a portion of it in 1775—the old name given to it was the Govindapur-creek, being the southern boundary of Govindapur, which was formerly the chief residence of the natives, the seta, who, along with the Baysaks, constituted the oldest Hindu families of Calcutta; they lived in the neighbourhood of the old pagoda and on the site of Fort William, the whole district being called Govindapur—a name derived from a deity called Govinda. Colonel Tolly made the nala at his own expense, in the bed of what was called Surman’s Nala. Government granted him the tolls on it, exclusively; for twelve years, and it soon yielded a net profit of Rs. 4,300 monthly. The Colonel died soon after its completion. This canal, in the course of thirty years, up to 1820, had silted up six feet—its native name is Burhi Gunga. 5 On its banks is Kali Ghat Temple,

4. Hamilton in 1709, mentions a pretty good hospital in Calcutta, which “many go into undergo the penance of physic, but few come out to give an account of its operation”. In these days doctors were not well qualified or well paid. Ex uno omnes discat: an anecdote is mentioned of one of the Governors of Bombay, who wishing to gain the favour of his Honourable Masters in England, by retrenchment, found the Surgeon’s pay to be forty-two rupees monthly, on which he said there must be some mistake, that the figures were transposed, and saying, with one stroke of his pen he wrote twenty-four instead of forty-two! However, in Calcutta, there was a difference. Thus in 1780—“Physic, as well as law, is a gold mine to its professors, to work it at will;—The medical gentleman at Calcutta make their visits in palanquins, and receive a gold-mohur from each patient, for every common attendance—extras are enormous”.

A disease called “a pocka fever” was prevalent in Calcutta last century, probably owing to the mass of jungle which extended in every direction, and the fatid jills. Mrs. Kindersley writes of it as “Illness of which most persons die in Calcutta; it frequently carries off persons in a few hours—the doctors esteem it the highest degree of putridity”.

5. Our readers may deem it incredible, but we have a firm conviction, that the Ganges itself, which now flows by Bishop’s College, once
built about sixty years ago by one of the Sabarna Choudarises of Barsi Byala.

We next proceed to Ohaurangi. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, describes the European houses “as built so irregular, that it looks as if the houses had been thrown up in the air, and fallen down again by accident as they now stand”. The people of Calcutta, in fact, preferred, like the Madras people, garden-houses, were they could enjoy some privacy. The town was considered unhealthy and hot, and Chaurungi was chosen for a garden retreat, as people now select Kasipur and Titaghur, and as they will, ere long, on the opening of the rail-road, choose the neighbourhood of Bandel. How times change! The Sunderbunds were healthy and populous places, eighty years before Charnock founded Calcutta, were then the site of flourishing cities, but are now the abode of the rhinoceros and the tiger.

Ohaurangi (Chowringhi) is a place of quite modern erection. Be not surprised, reader, it originated from “the rage for country houses”, with their shade and flowers, which prevailed equally at Bombay and Madras, at the beginning of this century—but how century houses? Why, Chaurungi was then out of town, and even palki-bearers charged double fare for going to it; while at night, servants returned from it in parties having left their good clothes behind through fear of dakaits, which infested the outskirts of Chaurungi! There is a lady still living, who

took its course on the site of Tolly’s Nala, with the natives to the south of Calcutta, Tollygunj is a sacred place for cremation, and so is Baripur, where there is now not a drop of water, because they believe the streams of the Ganges rolled there once; the traveller never seen any funeral pyres smoking near the Hugli, south of Calcutta, as the natives have a notion that this is a 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 boring made at Kiderpur in 1822, it was found, there were no vegetable remains or trees, hence there must have been a river or large body of water there.
recollects when there was only two houses in Chaurungi—
One Sir E. Impey's, the very house now occupied as the
nunnery, a third story only being added. On the site of
the nunnery church was a tank, called the Gol talao; the
surrounding quarter was Sir E. Impey's park, which streth-
tched to Chaurungi-road on the west and to Park-street on
the north, an avenue of trees leading through what is now
Middleton street into Park street from his house; it
was surrounded by a fine wall, a large tank was in front,
and plenty of room for a deek park, a guard of sipahis was
allowed to patrol about the house and grounds at night,
occasionally firing off their muskets to keep off their dakaits.
The other house was the present St. Paul's school. Chau-
ringi houses increased towards the close of the last century.
Upjohn, in 1794, placed twenty-four houses in Chaurungi,
between Dharmatala and Brijitalas, the Circular Road and
the plain. Lord Cornwallis in his day remarked that
one-third of the Company's territories was a jungle, in-
habited only by wild beasts, and in Chaurungi the few
houses were scattered over a great extent of ground. Let
those who are warm friends of the centralising system of
Calcutta, and who look on the Chaurungi places as ever
enduring, reflect a little on the past—to conjecture what
the future may be. Surat, three centuries ago, had a popu-
lation of half a million, now its grass-grown streets and
tomb-covered squares show the desolating hand of time.
Sagar island, the abode of the tiger and the snake, con-
tained two years previous to the foundation of Calcutta a
population of 200,000, which, in the one night, in 1688,
was swept away by an inundation.

Park-street, so called because it led to Sir E. Impey's
park, is mentioned in Upjohn's map of Calcutta, 1794, by
the name of Burial-ground road. Being out of town last
century, it was the route for burial from town (i. e., the
part north of Tank Square) to Circular-road burial ground,
and hence it was dreaded as a residence. "All funeral proces-
sions 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. Mondesely, 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 a little before they came to the ground.

Chawringi-road is spoken of by Holwell in 1752, as "the road leading to Collegot (Kali Ghat) and Dee Calcutta",—a market was held in it at that time.

In a house in Wood Street, occupied lately by the eye infirmary, Colonel Stewart lives, surnamed Hindu Stewart, from his conformity to idolatrous customs, &c.,—he was one of that class, now almost passed away, who looked with equal regard on the worship of Christ and Krishna.

At the corner of Park Street is the Asiatic Society's House, built on a piece of ground granted by Government; it had been previously occupied as a manege, and was favourably located for that purpose. The Society was founded January 15, 1784—the same year which gave Calcutta the first church erected by the public since battle of Plassey: religion and literature thus went together.

The Course, so called, as being a cross or two miles in length, is described in 1768, as being "out of town in a sort of angle, made to take the air in, "though an old song states that those who frequented it, "swallowed ten mouthfuls of dust for one of fresh air". Hamilton makes no mention of it in 1709: the recreation then was "in chaises or by palukins, in the fields or to gardens". Boating and fishing seem to have been favourite amusements. Certainly those who took their evening sail in a pinnace enjoyed more exercise than the modern lollers in a carriage in the Course.
Of the Race Course mention is made in 1780, though the present one was commenced in 1819. There was formerly an old Race Course at Akra, but "Lord Wellesley, during his administration, set his face decidedly against horse-racing and every other species of gambling:" his influence threw a damp on it for many years, though last century a high value was attached to English jockeys, and the races were favourite subjects of expectation with the ladies. With the amusement of the turf came the spirit of betting.

Dharmatala was formerly called the avenue, as it led from town to the Salt-Water Lake and the adjacent country. Last century it was a "well raised causeway, raised by deepening the ditch on either side", with wretched huts on the south side; while on the north a creek ran through a street, still called Creek-Row, through Wellington Square Tank, down to Chandpal Ghat. Large boats could come up it—if it had been kept clear and had been widened, it might have been very useful for the drainage, as Colonel Forbes, in his memoranda to the Municipal Commissioners in 1835, recommended the digging a similar creek in that direction. The road was, according to an old useful Hindu practice, shaded with trees on both sides, as we find was the practice in other parts at that period. Dharmatala is so called from a great mosque, since pulled down, which was on the site of Cook’s stables; the ground belonged with all the neighbouring land, to Jafir, the jamadar of Warren Hastings, a zealous Musalmān. The Karbela, a famous Musalman assemblage of tens of thousands of people, which now meets in the Circular road, used then to congregate there, and by its local sanctity, gave the name to the street of the Dharmatala or Holy Street.

The bazaar, about half way between Wellington Square and Government House, occupies that site of the residence of Colonel De Glass, Superintendent of the gun manufactory, which has since been removed to Kashipur.
David Brown, the eminent minister of the Mission Church, subsequently occupied the building, which had a large compound. He kept a Boarding School, and had among his pupils Sir R. Grant, late Governor of Bombay, and Lord Glenelg.

*Wellington Square Tank* was 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 formerly run through it.

The *Native Hospital* owes its origin to the suggestion of the Rev. John Owen, a chaplain; the plan was proposed in 1793, when the Marquis Cornwallis granted it Rs. 600 per month; the private subscriptions amounted to Rs. 54,000. Lord Cornwallis gave Rs. 3,000, each Member of Council Rs. 4,500. The Nawab Vizier gave Rs. 3,000. It was established at first in the Chitpur Road, and opened September the 1st, 1794; but in 1798 the managers purchased ground in "the open and airy road of Dharmatala". At that time there were three or four houses in the Street. During the last century disease must have made

6. Calcutta, in former days, had justly an ill name for its insalubrity, "the grave-yard to Europeans"—but the Doctors also were in fault, as Dr. Goodeve, in his able paper "On the progress of European Medicine in the East" shows, when all agreed that was strength must be supported in dysentery, wine and soil animal food were the most appropriate diet. Patients were ordered in these cases, "pillos, curries, grilled, fowls and prepared chicken broth *ad libitum*, with a glass or two of medicine, or a little brandy and water, and a dessert of ripe fruit". Native doctors had their hot and cold remedies for hot and cold diseases, their mantras and philtres, while Lind states that the Portuguese doctors prescribed as the grand cure, "the changing all the *European* blood in their patients' bodies into *natives*. This they endeavoured to accomplish by repeated *venesections*, till they conceived that the whole mass of this circulating fluid had been abstracted. And then by a diet consisting exclusively of the productions of the country, they hoped to substitute a liquid entirely Indian, which would render their patients proof against maladies under which they had previously laboured".
fearful ravages among the natives. Small Pox was a dreadful scourge; "inoculation is much practised by the natives; but they convert the contagious matter into powder, which they give internally, mixed with some liquid. Adjoining the Dharmatala is the Free School on the site of a house, which was occupied by Mr. Justice Le Maitre, one of the judges in Impey's time. The Free School was engrained on the Old Charity School, founded in 1742, and settled "at the garden house near the Jaun Bazar, 1795". The purchase and repair of the premises cost Rs. 56,800. On the proposal for forming the Free School, the public at once subscribed Rs. 26,082 and Earl Cornwallis gave Rs. 2,000. It is the oldest educational institution in Calcutta, it is said that its funds arose chiefly from the interest of the restitution money granted by the Musalmans for pulling down the Old Church near the Writers' Buildings in 1756.

Cossitola, leading from Dharmatala 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 Kali Ghat, as seventy years ago Hindus would not sell an ox when they knew it was designed for slaughter. Like Government House, it was then "in the suburbs of Calcutta; this may account for the late C. Grant, father of Lord Glenelg, having taken up his residence in Grant's Lane, which received its name from his circumstance. He afterwards built a handsome house, opposite to Lord Clive's, where he resided several years before he left India. In 1757 Cossitola was a mass of jangal, and even as late as 1780, it was almost impassable for mud in the rains. In Upjohn's map only two or three houses are marked in it, so that Mr. Grant might enjoy his rus in urbe in the neighbourhood of his favourite Lal Girja. In 1788 a Mr. Mackinnon advertises for a school to be opened to contain 140 pupils.

Lal Bazar is mentioned by Holwell, in 1738, as a famous
bazar. Mrs. Kindersley, in 1768, states it to be the best street in Calcutta, "full of little shabby looking shops called Boutiques kept by black people", it then stretched from the custom house to Baitakhana. Bolst mentions a case of Governor-General about 1770, who, finding that Europeans there related "paria arrack to the great debauchery of the soldiers", sent a guard of sipahis and gave them lodgings for several day in the dungeon of the new fort. Sir W. Jones, in 1788, refers to the nuisance there of low taverns, kept by Italians, Spanish, and Portuguese. In the house west of the Police Office, were formerly placed hamam or warm-baths. It is singular that in the metropolis of an Oriental country, no encouragement has been given to these speculations, while every Overland traveller can testify to the beneficial effects of the Cairo hot-baths, and even the mechanics of London now avail themselves of rapid baths. Facing this, on the opposite side of the street, stood an old play-house. The Police Office formed the residence of John Palmer, one of the "merchant princes" of Calcutta. His father was secretary to Warren Hastings; when a youth he was a prisoner of war in France, where he was treated most kindly by La Fittle, the famous banker, who instructed him in commercial subjects. He came in 1789 to Calcutta, where he established himself in business, which he conducted on a most extensive scale; he had for his first partner Henry St. George Tucker, who was afterwards in the Civil Service, and subsequently Chairman of the Court of Directors. Palmer was called the prince of British merchants, and was equally renowned for his princely generosity. He died in 1836. On the opposite side of the street, stood the Old Jail of Calcutta which also served as the Tybumb of Calcutta, all the executions also on that spot. There is a man still living in Calcutta who underwent the punishment of the pillory there. The Calcutta papers of 1800 give us an account of one Brajamohun Dutt, a watchmaker, having been hanged there for stealing a watch.
privately from a dwelling-house. The same period this wit-nessed five Europeans hanged there together. At the siege of Calcutta, in 1757, it served like another Hongo-mont, as point of defence.

Calcutta in early days, in 1780, had French and English confectioners. Opposite the Old Jail in Lal Bazar, was the famous Harmonicon Tavern, now the sailor’s Home; it was the handsomest house then in Calcutta and proved a great comfort to the poor people in Jail, to whom supplies of food were frequently sent from thence. It was founded in the days when strangers considered that “every house was a paradise and every host an angel”, where youngmen stayed as long as they liked; but this system began to give way to that of hotels about 1823. Mrs. Fay writes of it in 1780:

I felt far more gratified some times ago, when Mrs. Jackson procured me a ticket for the Harmonic, which was supported by a select number of gentlemen, who each in alphabetical rotation gave a concert, ball, and supper, during the cold season; I believe once a fortnight.

We had a great of delightful music, and Lady C— who is a Capital performer on the harpsichord, played, amongst other pieces, a Sonata of Nicolai’s in a most brilliant style.

Mr. Hastings attended his party. The Harmonicon Society, previous to 1780; had a house in Lal Bazar, so that punch houses were, probably, its successors. Hawks-worth mentions—“I was also shown, en passant, a tavern called the London Hotel, where entertainments are furnished at the moderate price of a gold-mohur a head, exclusive of the dessert and wines. “At the coffee-houses your single dish of coffee costs you a rupee (half-a-crown); which half-crown, however, franks you to the perusal of the English newspapers, which are regularly arranged on a file, as in London; together with the Calcutta advertiser, the Calcutta Chronicle, &c. &c.—and, for the honour of Calcutta,
be it recorded, that the two last named publication one, what the English prints formerly were, moral, amusing, and intelligent". The chief-strangers that came to Calcutta were the complains of the Indiamen, great personnages in their day, the lords of those splendid ships, the Old Indiamen, and whose position was often a stepping stone to a seat in the direction. In fact one of the charters provided that six members of the Court of Directors should always have been commanders of their ships, but the Company rented accomodation for those magnates by hiring houses during their stay at Rs. 500 per month.

A little to the north of this, in the Chitpur road, is the Tiretta Bazar, so called from a Frenchman named Tiretta, who established it about 1788; he was Superintendent of Streets and Buildings. It yielded 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.

Opposite the Tiretta Bazar stood the house of C. Weston (after whom Weston's Lane was named); when he lived there in 1740, the house was in the midst of a large garden, which could have borne witness to many benevolent deeds. C. Weston here gave away Rs. 1,600 monthly to the poor with his own hand, and at his death he left one lakh of rupees as a legacy.

The road from Lal Bazar to the Old Church, called Mission Row, was formerly named the Rope Walk, and was the scene of hard fighting at the time of the siege of Calcutta, in 1757. The Old or Mission Church was so called, because it is the oldest church in Calcutta, having been built in 1768, eleven years after the demolition of first church by the Musalmans. Kiernander, the first Protestant Missionary to Bengal, erected it at a cost to himself of half a lakh. He not only did this, but gave the proceeds of the sale of his deceased wife's jewels to the building; in 1774, a large school-room was added to the present Church. During his life-time Kiernander gave away of
his own property in charity at least £12,000 Sterling. This school and the church were built in a way then unusual in Calcutta, without any Sunday work! Kiernander died in 1799, in his eighty-seventh year, forty-eight of which he spent in India; with him died all very active efforts for the benefit of the Portuguese. The subsequent exertions were merely desultory.

David Brown, the first Chaplain of this Church, was the man for the middle classes. His congregation was chiefly composed of "Europeans, East Indians and Portuguese",—the only recompense he would consent to receive from Christian Knowledge Society, was "some valuable packages of books". The Church is still known among the natives by the name of the Lal Girja, from the repainted bricks of which it was made; but Lal Bazar was a name in existence long before this church—perhaps it may have been called Lal from its vicinity to the Lal Bazar? The premises now occupied by the senior chaplain were once the abode of Obeck, a well-remembered name. The residence of the junior chaplain is adjacent to the site of the first mission school began in Calcutta by Kiernander, in 1759. It contained 135 boys, American, Bengali, English and Portuguese were taught in it. Kiernander entertained sanguine hopes of the conversion of the brahmans in the school; but his prospects were doomed, as many subsequently has experienced in similar cases, to vanish into air. The minister of the Mission Church paid more attention to the spiritual condition of that much neglected class, the Portuguese, than any other persons in Calcutta, and some of the best members of the church were Portuguese: even as late as 1789, the Rev. T. Clarke, who came out as a Missionary, but who afterwards renounced his profession and became a chaplain "under the orders of the Commander-in-chief", began to study Portuguese, as "a fundamental principle of the Mission was to have the native population everywhere addressed in their own language".
This church is inseparably connected with the name of Charles Grant, who paid Rs. 10,000 to have it redeemed from the Sheriff’s gripe. He contributed liberally to the missionary objects of it, and afterwards, as Chairman of the Court of Directors, selected the chaplains to be there. In the last century, the Old Church was in a state of feud with the New (St. John’s) Church, the chaplains of the former were evangelicals, of the latter, high church; the middle class and the East Indians attended the former, the fashionables and "big wings", the latter,—so far did the spirit of odium theologicum reach, that the chaplain of the New Church requested the Government in close the Old Church!

Tank Square, last century, “in the middle of the city”, covers upwards of twenty-five acres of ground. Stavorinus states: It was dug by order of Government, to provide the inhabitants of Calcutta with water, which is very sweet and pleasant. The number of springs which it contain makes the water in it nearly always on the same level. It is railed round, no one may wash in it”, when this tank was dug, we never been able to ascertain. Hamilton wrote in 1702, that the Governor had a handsome house in the Fort, “the Company has also a pretty good garden, that furnishes the Governors with herbage and fruits at table, and some fish ponds to serve his kitchen with good carps, callops and mullet”. Perhaps the tank was dug to serve as the fish-ponds, and the garden may have formed the Park, Lal Bag or in modern times, Tank Square. The tank was formerly more extensive, but was cleansed and embanked completely in Warren Hastings’ time. Its first name was “the Green before the Fort”. No doubt, it was the place of recreation and shooting wild game for the Company’s factors, and in the middle of last century it was the scene of many a moonlight gamboll of young people, and elderly ones, who, rigged out in

7. For full details regarding Kiernander, see an article in Calcutta Review, No. XIII,—“The First Protestant Missionary to Bengal”.

stockings of different colours, yellow coat, green waistcoat, &c. &c., amused themselves on the banks of the "fish-pond in the park", inhaling the evening breezes, and thinking of the friends of whom they had heard nine months before!

Old Court House Street, parallel with Mission Row, is so-called from the Old Court House, or Town Hall, which stood at the northern extremity of the street, on the site of St. Andrew's Church. The charity boys were lodged and fed here previous to the battle of Plassey—this was the first charity school,—feeding and educating twenty children for Rs. 2,400 annually. It was erected about 1727, by Mr. Bourchier, a merchant, who was afterwards appointed Governor of Bombay. In 1734 he gave it to Government, on condition of their paying Rs. 4,000 annually to support a charity school, this money goes to the Free School, and is still paid by Government. In 1765, it was considerably enlarged by private subscription, in consideration of the Government agreed to give Rs. 800 monthly to the school. Omichand, a native merchant, gave Rs. 20,000 towards this subscription. Lectures were occasionally given in it; we find that Dr. Bell in 1788 read a course of twelve lectures on experimental photography there. Stavorinus writes of it, in 1770: "Over the Court House are two handsome assembly rooms. In one of these are hung the portraits of the King of France, and of the late queen, as large as life, which were brought by the English from Chandernagore, when they took that place". These assembly rooms were used, as the Town Hall is now, for holding balls, meetings, &c. We have an account of a grand ball given here in 1769, in honour of the Dutch Governor, by the English Governor Cartier, "the ladies were decorated with an immense quantity of jewels".

Sir W. Jones occupied rooms in the present Court House, where he had to attend to Police cases twice a week; to issue warrants to pick up the drunken sailors, as-
all the Judges in those days took it by turns to do. In the
Court only four attorneys were allowed to practise; an
appeal was permitted to the Governor and Council.
Another Court, founded in 1753, called the Court of
Requests, existed, composed of twenty-four Commissioners,
selected originally by the Government from among the
principal inhabitants of Calcutta, but who subsequently,
elected their own members. They sat every Thursday,
to determine matters for forty shilling value—three for-
mimg a *quorum*. Daniel gives a drawing of this Court
House—with elephants walking in Tank-Square,—for in
the last century elephants were freely permitted to per-
meable the town. As early as 1727, a corporation consisting
of a Mayor and nine Aldermen, and a Mayor’s Court, was
established of which the famous Zaphania Holwell was
once President; but it was considered too much under
the influence of Government, cases having occurred
where trials were suspended at the dictum of the Gover-
nor, who by his patronage, greatly influenced the
members. Owing to this and the want of an enlarged
jurisdiction to control the gigantic abuses which had grown
up among the servants of Government, the Supreme
Court was constituted in its stead in October, 1774. The
Mayor’s Court had jurisdiction in Civil Cases between
Europeans. The judges were the Aldermen, mercantile
men, who had a liberal allowance of twenty-two rupees
monthly for their services! Holwell sat in this Court,
and states, he heard natives confess to the most atrocious
crimes, pleading they should be acquitted, since it was
the *Kali Yug* and therefore it was in the nature of things
to commit sin. *Asiaticus* states, that the abolition of the
Mayor’s Court, in 1774; was not a very popular measure:

The attorneys, who have followed the judges in
search of prey, as the carrion crows do an Indian
army on its march, are extremely successful in sup-
porting the spirit of litigation among the natives,
who, like children, delighted with a new plaything,
are highly pleased with the opportunity of harassing one another by vexations suits; and those pests of society, called bailiffs, a set of miscreants hitherto little known in India, are now to be seen in every street, watching for the unhappy victims devoted to legal prosecution. Even the menial servants are now tortured to breathe that insolent spirit of English licentiousness, which teaches the slave to insult his master, and then bring his action of damages at Westminster, if deservedly chastised for his impudence. Arbitrary fines are daily imposed on gentlemen who presume to correct their slaves; and the house of the Chief Justice of Bengal resembles the office of a trading magistrate in Westminster, who decides the squabbles of oyster women, and picks up a livelihood by the rate of shilling warrants.

As an illustration of the state of justice in the Mayor's Court, we give an anecdote with which the name of Tagore is mixed up. The Party referred to was a relative of the late Dwarakanath Tagoor:

A gentleman of the Council of Calcutta became indebted to one Mr. Wilson, a sail-maker, for work done in the way of his profession, amounting to Co.'s Rs. 75-9-7; for payment of which the sail-maker sent in his bill, with a receipt annexed. The Councillor, who happened at the same time to be zeminder, alleged the charges in the bill were exorbitant and unreasonable, and would neither discharge nor give up the bill; threatening the sail-maker, that he would get him turned out of the Company's service, or sent to Bencoolen, if he persisted on his demand. The sail-maker, not intimidated, filed his bill in the Mayor's Court against the Councillor, who, rather than expose the affair to a public discussion, more prudently agreed to pay the bill and the expenses of suit, by which it was, consequently, swelled. The complaints solicitor or attorney at law (as they are:
called in Bengal) sent his banyan, Radhoo Tagoor, a black merchant of Calcutta, to receive the amount of the bill. This was repeated several times without success; till at last the said Radhoo Tagoor desired the wanted, and if it was not paid, some bad consequences might ensue from the case going on in the regular course of law, and the charges being told to the councillor and zeminder, he grew angry and ordered the merchant, Radhoo Tagoor, to be immediately seized by his peons, and carried to the cutchery, where he was without any examination, inquiry, or from whatever, tied up, severely flogged, and beat on the head with his own slippers, by order of the said zeminder, who wrote a letter to the attorney at law upon the occasion, of which the following is an exact copy:

Sir,—I have ordered your demand to be complied with. It is so extravagant, that I intend laying it before the Court. Your banyan was so insolent as to tell me that, unless I discharge it directly, you would increase your demand, for which insolence in him I have sent him to the cutchery, where he will meet his deserts.

Your most humble servant

Calcutta, the 22nd February, 1765.

Near the Old Court House, in the north-west corner of Lyon's Range, stood the theatre, in the seige of 1757, was turned into a battery by the Moors, and annoyed the fort very much. The theatre was generally served by amateur performers, and was frequented by the authorities; a ball room was attached; respecting the dancing there, Asiaticus gives us a lively description:

For my own part, I already being to think dazzling brightness of a copper-coloured face infinitely preferable to the pallid and sickly hue, which banished roses from the cheeks of the European fair, and
reminds me of the death-struck countenance of Lazarus risen from the grave. The English ladies are immoderately fond of dancing, an exercise ill calculated for the burning climate of Bengal; and in my opinion, however admissible in cooler latitudes, not a little indelicate in a country where the inhabitants are covered with no more clothes than what decency absolutely requires. Imagine to yourself the lovely object of your affections ready to expire with heat, every limb trembling, and feature disorted with fatigue, and her partner with a muslin handkerchief in each hand employed in the delightful office of wiping down her face, while the big drops stand impearled upon her forehead.

_Fort William College_ or _Writers' Buildings_ was appropriated for the residence of writers, or Young Civilians. Originally Civilians, during their first years in India, were employed in copying. Sir C. Metcalfe "wrote section" himself, a work now done by Keranis at the rate of 1,400 words for a rupee—they at first lived in the foot, but, subsequently, in the present buildings, which were rented by Government from the Barwell family. Mr. G. Barwell himself retired to England on a fortune of eighty lakhs, he was member of Council in 1780, these eighty lakhs melted away in manner no one could account for. Old Barwell was Governor of Calcutta in 1750, and for a century the family has commanded the first appointments in the Civil Service. The location of it in Calcutta was most infavourable for the young man,—could the past unfold its tale, what a picture would be presented to young men fresh from school, lavishing large sums on horse-racing, dinner parties, who contracting large loans with Bania who clung to them for life-like leeches, and quartered their relations on them throughout their Indian career. Mention is made of the Writers' Buildings in 1780, as being "a monument of commercial prosperity",—could the walls tell of the past, how many
scenes would be unfolded—lamp shades used as champagne glasses, &c. &c. In the houses now occupied by the Exchange and the Hurkaru office, Fort William College was first located on its establishment in 1800, by the Marquis of Wellesley. Dr. Buchanon, the Vice-Provost, but it was then a part of the Old College of Fort William, and was connected with the other portion of the building, now the Hurkaru office, by a gallery that ran across the street. This building reminds us of a few points about the former status of civilians. Orders come from the Court in 1675, that civilians should serve five years as apprentices, receiving, however, ten pounds per annum for the last two years, and then to rise to the respective grades of writer, worker, merchant, and senior merchant; they were also directed to learn the military exercise, so that, if found better qualified for the military than the civilian, they might receive a commission and have military pay. Their honourable masters had strange ideas of a civilian’s duties, for, in 1686, ten ships of was being sent to Bengal, and in Chittagong forty ships, without captains, as the Members of Council were designed to act as such! Job Charnock, a civilian, was appointed Admiral and Commander-in-chief. But as early as 1600, the East India Company requested in their petition for a charter, “that no gentleman might be employed in their charge!”

To the west of Writers’ Buildings, thirty yards east of the fort, stood the first church of Calcutta, called St. John’s, at the suggestion of the Free Masons, who were liberal contributors to it.8 It was built in 1716, days when “gold was plenty and labour cheap” by the piety of sea-faring

8. We have accounts of a Free Mason’s Lodge in Calcutta in 1744; in 1789, they gave at the Old Court House a ball and supper to the members of the Company’s service in Calcutta; and they seem to have a local habitation and a name there from the days of Charnock—their institution tended to mitigate the exclusiveness of European Caste in former times.
men. The Christian Knowledge Society took an active part in its establishment, and the Gospel Propagation Society sent a handsome silver cup in commemoration of its opening. As they were sometimes without a chaplain, owing to death, the service was performed by merchants, who were allowed Rs. 600 annually, for reading the prayers and a sermon on Sunday,—the oldest chaplain we have notice of, is Samuel Burton, in 1709. The steeple of this Church, "the chief public ornament of the settlement", fill or sunk down in the earthquake of 1737, and the church itself, which commanded the fort, was demolished by the Moors in 1756. Calcutta then remained without a church, until the Missionary Kiernander erected one at his own expense in 1768, service in the interval being performed in a temporary room fitted upon a ground floor in the old fort, though little at Fort William. Even in church no great decorum was observed.

Where all ladies are approached, by sanction of ancient custom, by all gentlemen indiscriminately, known or unknown, with offers of their hand to conduct them to their seat; accordingly, those gentlemen who wish to change their condition, (which are chiefly old fellows, for the young ones, either choose country-born ladies for wealth, or, having left their hearts behind them, enrich themselves, in order to be united to their fairs—write dulcineas in their native land) on hearing of a ship's arrival, make a point of repairing to this holy home and eagerly tender their services to the fair strangers: who, if this stolen view happened so captivate, often, without undergoing the ceremony of a formal introduction, receive matrimonial overtures, and becoming brides in the utmost possible splendour, have their rank instantaneously established, and are visited and paid every honour to which the consequence of their husbands untilted them.
In *Hurtley House* mention is made of the foundation of a new Church laid about 1780, in the new fort. Could any of our readers throw light on this subject?

In the north-west corner of Tank Square, stood the *Black Hole*, its site was commemorated by an obelisk, fifty feet high, inscribed with the names of thirty victims who perished in the Black Hole, on the 20th of June, 1757. It was erected at the expense of Mr. Holwell and the survivors, "the bodies of the 'victims were thrown into the ditch of the fort." 9 This moment, though by the order of the Marquis of Hastings, on the ground, that it served to remind the natives of our former humiliation. 10 As the remark often been made, that Indian patronage has a family one, and that the same names occur year after year, we append here the names of those as inscribed on the monument, which was erected to them, who perished one century ago in the Black Hole; but few persons are in the Company’s service now, of the same name, which seems to indicate that patronage has taken another channel:—

Edwd. Eyre; and Wm. Baillie, Esqrs.; The Revd. Jervas Bellamy; Messrs. Jenks, Reevely, Law, Coats, Nalicourt, Jebb, Terrians, E. Page; S. Page, Grab, Street, Harod, P. Johnstone, Ballard, N. Drake, Carse, Knapton, Gosling, Dod, and Dalrymple; Captains Clayton, Buchanan, and Witherington; Lients. Bishop, Hays, Blagg, Simpson, and J. Ballamy; Ensigns Paccard, Scott, Hastings, C. Wedderburn,

9. 150 were crowded into a room 18 feet by 14, 22 of these came out and drew a full account of the Black Hole. See Holwell’s Tracts or Broome’s History of the Bengal Army, a work of sterling value.

10. Suraj-ud-Daula has, we think, been too severely blamed for the catastrophe of the Black Hole; the incarceration was the work of his underlings; his orders, there simply to keep the prisoners secure, and when they complained no man ventured to break the step of an Eastern despot. After all, Calcutta suffered for less injury from its capture by the Moors, than Madras did in 1746, when taken by Lally, and the French, who totally demolished all the public buildings.
and Dumbelton; sea Captains Hunt, Osburn, and Purnel; Messrs. Carey, Leech, Stevenson, Guy, Porter, Parker, Caulker, and Bendol, and Atkinson, who, with sundry other inhabitants, military and militia, to the number of 123 persons; were by the tyrannic violence of Suraj-ud-Daula, Suba of Bengal, suffocated in the Black Hole prison of Fort William, in the night of the 20th day of June, 1756, and promiscuously thrown the succeeding morning into the ditch of the Ravalin of this place. This monument is created by their surviving fellow-sufferer, J. Z. Holwell.

The Old Fort was called Fort William, because built A.D. 1692, in the reign of William the Third, the year in which the French at Chandernagore, and the Dutch at Chinsurah, built theirs. Two years previously the Governor and Members of Council at Bombay were made to walk through the streets of that city with irons round their necks. The Burdwan insurrection of 1696 originated it. The walls were very strong, being made of brick, with a mortar composed of brick-dust, lime, molasses, and hemp, a cement as strong as stone in 1819, when the fort was pulled down to make way for the Custom House, the pick-axe or crow-bar was of no avail, gun-powder was obliged to be resorted to, so strong were the buildings. In early days it was garrisoned by 200 soldiers, chiefly employed in escorting merchandise, or in attending on Rajahs, who, like the chieftains in the castled erage of the Rhine, levied tolls on all boats ferrying up or down river! The Old Fort extended from the middle of Clive Street to the northern edge of the tank. About 1770 it was used as a church and a jail, and as the depot for the Company's medicines. There is a sketch of it in and old Number of the Universal Magazine. Doubtless the foot itself is correctly delineated, although the artist must have drawn upon his imaginations for the hills in the background.
The Old Fort served like the feudal castles, to form the nucleus of the town (as in England all these towns, whose names in caste, were originally Roman Camps) the natives meeting with protection, and enjoying privilege in trade, soon settled down in Suttenutty and Govindpur.

*St. John's Church alias the Old Cathedral, was opened on Easter Sunday, 1787. Previous to Bishop Middleton's arrival, it was called the New Church, to distinguish it from the Old Church, which is the oldest Anglo-episcopal church in Calcutta. With this building may be dated the commencement of the era of church building. Calcutta was rising to its title of a City of Palaces; the Supreme Council had called for plans of a church, and Warren Hastings felt, that the metropolis ought to have a suitable place for religious worship. As in 1774 Calcutta had "a noble play-house—but no church", service was held in a room next to the Black Hole. A Church Building Committee was organised in 1783; its first Committee Meeting was attended by its zealous patron, Warren Hastings, and his Council; they found Rs. 35,950 had been subscribed, Rs. 25,592 additional were given by a resource then popular in Calcutta—by lottery. A Hindu Nabakissen, presented in addition to assigning over burying ground, a piece of ground, valued at 30,000 rupees: the Company gave 3 per cent, from their revenues; the rest was raised by voluntary contributions. We have never had in India such an inauguration of a Church. On the day when the foundation stone was laid, the acting Governor gave a public breakfast, and then, along with the chief Government servants, went in a procession to the scene of the ceremonial. 11 Charles Grant deployed Gaur of some of

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11. This Church called out the voluntary principle very rapidly—Mr. Davis undertook the ornamenting the Church; a barrister Mr. Hall, drew up the contracts gratuitously. Wilkins, the orientalist, superintended the moulding of the stones prepared at Benares,—the East India Company gave Rs. 12,000 for providing communion plate, velvet, bells; and besides Rs. 14,394 subsequently from the Government
its finest and freestone, the new church took three years in building, and Earl Cornwallis opened it on the 24th of June, 1787, thus wiping away the reproach. The Mussalmans, during the short period they held Calcutta, in 1757, showed a different zeal, for they erected a mosque within the Old Fort, having pulled down other buildings to make room for it. Previous to 1787, divine service was performed in a small room of the Old Fort, "a great disgrace to the settlement; the site was occupied by the old burial ground which had exited there for a century previously; when the bones were rooted out of the graves to make a site for this Church, it created a strong indignation among the Musalmans, who would not do it to their bitterest enemy". The bones were, we believe, removed of the new burial ground; the "house of prayer was not the house of sepulture", and toe tombs of the following persons were preserved—Hamilton, Charnock and Watson. The oldest burial recorded is that of Captain Barton, 1693. Charnock's widow was interred in the tomb built by himself, before which he used to sacrifice a cock on the anniversary of her death.

This burial ground was once "in the environs of Calcutta, as the new burial ground is now without the boundaries of the town". In 1802 the old lottery tombs were removed. Most of the old tablets were cut from stone procured at St. Thome, near Madras.

The vestry meeting of St. Thom's was long looked upon as a scene, where the laity gave their opinion and votes on church matters. The Governor-General Earl Cornwallis, attended the first vestry meeting, in 1786. This vestry has charitable funds at its disposal, arising from legacies left by General Martine, Baretto and Weston, yielding an interest of Rs. 15,000 annually.

of Bengal, Earl Cornwallis gave Rs. 3,000. Zoffani painted the altar piece for it gratis. All the Apostles were taken from life, and represented persons then living in Calcutta. Old Tulloh, the Auctioner, who came out in 1784, sat as Judas without knowing it.
We seldom see in the compound the train of carriages, palki-gharis and palanquins, without thinking on the revolution that has taken place in manners. When the foundation stone was laid in 1784, the Governor and the principal inhabitants of Calcutta walked from the Old Court House to take part in the solemnity; at the consecration they contributed Rs. 3,943 to a chariable object, that a Free School; and previous to this period, the Governor and heads of Government, used to walk in solemn procession every Sunday to the first Church, erected at the west end of the Writers' Buildings, which was demolished in 1756. While we are adopting the absurd custom of dressing in black in hot weather, we have almost renounced the good old English habit of working. Certainly, the exercise of lolling in a carriage, benefits the doctor and the coachmaker, but whom else? And yet people complain of the climate! We know the case of ladies in Chauringi who, through, indolence, are carried up-stairs; no doubt they loudly exclaim what a dreadful place is India, where they must sit still so long!

West of St. John's in the premises now occupied by the Stamp and Stationery Committee, was formerly the Old Mint, where the Company coined its rupees from 1791 to 1832. In the latter year the New Mint was established; previous to 1791, the coinage was executed by contract; the copper coin, chiefly by Mr. Prinsep, the father of the late James Prinsep, who conducted an establishment for that purpose at Fulta. The coining their own names (though with the Moguls head and a Persian inscription) was an object of early ambition with the English and other European powers; hence even the Dutch had a mint of their own, at Murshidabad, in 1757. On the site this Old Mint stood, in 1790, the flourishing ship-building establishment of Gillets. As late as 1770, no copper coin was to be seen in Bengal, no pice were in use, change under a rupee had to be given in cowries. This is strange. As early as 1680, a Mr. Smith was sent out from England
as an assay master, on a salary of sixty pounds per annum, but it was the time when the Commandant of Bombay had six shillings daily as his pay: in 1762 the first money was coined in Calcutta.

The site of the Old Government House, in 1780, was covered with squalid native huts "out of town"; but in Upjohn's map, the Government House and Council House occupy the spot covered by the present Government House. The building of the latter was commenced in February 5, 1799 and the first brick was laid by Timothy Hickey. Its projector, the Marquis of Wellesley, may be called the Augustus of Calcutta,—a man fond of Oriental pomp,—the ground cost Rs. 80,000, the building itself thirteen lakhs, the furniture half a lakh. Previous to that period the Governor lived in a small house now forming part of the Treasury. His views were, that "India should be governed from a palace, not from a counting-house, with the ideas of a prince, not with those of a retail-dealer in muslins and indigo". While with its spacious lawn, in which 120 carriages have been at times drawn up, and the Dutch Governor resided in the beautiful terraced gardens of Fort Gustavo, in Calcutta there was no place to receive visitors in. The Dutch Governor of Chinsura, on his visit to the Governor, in 1769, was accommodated in a house belong to a native. Opinions differ as to the precise locality of the old Government House, some say it was where the Treasury is now, and others, at the south-east corner of Government Place. Warren Hasting's town-house was a very small one on the site of the present Government House, but Mrs. Hastings lived in one in Hastings-street, now occupied by Messrs. Burn and Co.\(^\text{12}\). In the house at the

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12. The following account is given by Grose, Vol. II, P. 249, of the sufferings in 1787 of the then Governor of Bengal and his suite. What a contrast presents to the present regal style of magnificence with which the Governor-General is received:

The Treasury included the building first created by Sir E. Coote, as a residence, in Council House Street. We have heard that the Council was formerly held in the house which still stands between Mackenzie's and Holling's offices, the scene of many stormy discussions between Hastings and Francis.

In Old Post Office Street was the Post Office, in a house opposite to Sir J. Colville's residence.

The Town Hall occupies the site of a house in which Justice Hyde lived, and for which he paid Rs. 1,200 rent per mensem. In 1792 the Old Court House being in a ruinous condition, was pulled down by order of Government, and as it was used as a Town Hall, a meeting was

They embarked in a Wollock, or large boat, on the 24th, and were thirteen days in their passage to Muxadabad, which is about two hundred miles up the river from Calcutta. The provision was only rice and water; and they had bamboo to lie on; but as their fever was come to a crisis, their bodies were covered with boils, which became running sores, exposed to excessive heats and violent rains, without any covering, or scarce any clothes, the iron on their legs consumed the flesh almost to the bone.

Mr. Holwell, as a prisoner of state, was estimated and valued to Bundo Sing Hazary, who commanded the guard, at four lakhs of rupees, or £ 50,000 Sterling.

They arrived at the French factory on the 7th of July, in the morning, and were waited on by Mr. Law, the French Chief, who generously supplied them with clothes, linen, provisions, liquors, and money. About four in the afternoon, they landed at Muxadabad, and were confined in an open stable, not far from the Souah's palace. This March drew tears of despair and anguish of heart from them thus to be led like felons, a spectacle to the inhabitants of this populous city. They had a guard of Moore placed on one side, and a guard of Gentus on the other. The immense crowd of spectators, who came from all quarters of the city to satisfy their curiosity, so flocked them up, from morning until night, that they narrowly escaped a second suffocation, the weather being excessively sultry.
held in 1792, at which Sir W. Jones presided, in order to raise subscriptions to erect another Town Hall. Sir W. Jones subscribed 500 rupees to the object.

The Supreme Court sitting were first held in the Old Court House, and as the Old Court House was pulled down in 1792, the present building must have been created about that time: for particulars respecting the early history of the Supreme Court, consult The life of Sir E. Impey by his Son. Mrs. Fay gives an anecdote which throws light on the state of things in her day:

On Mr. Fay's expressing some apprehensions lest having come out without love of the E. I. Company, might throw obstacles in the way of his admission to the Bar here, Sir E. Impey indignantly exclaimed, "No, Sir, had you dropped from the clouds with such documents, we would admit you. The Supreme Court is independent, and will never endure to be dictated to, by any body of men whose claims are not enforced by superior authority. It is nothing to us whether you had or had not permission from the Court of Directors, to proceed to this settlement; you came to us as an authenticated English Barrister, and as such, we shall, on

13. The Supreme Court calls up many association. Here the sentence of Nandkumar was pronounced, here Impey bravely maintained the independence of the power of justice against the E. I. C. then supreme over every other power.

Enormous fortunes were made by its lawyers in early days when the Attorneys were limited to twelve in number, to share the spoils gathered from fostering the litigious propensities of the natives. "A man of abilities and good dress in this time, if he was the firmness to resist the fashionable contagion, gambling, need only pass one seven years of his life at Calcutta, to return home in affluent circumstances; but the very nature of their profession leads them into gay connections, and having for a time complied with the humour of their Company prudential motives, they became tained, and prosecute their ban from the impulses of inclination".

We have an account of a Portuguese who, in 1789, carried on a law-suit with an Armenian, which cost him Rupees. 40,000
the first day of the next Term, admit you to our Bar." There exists a strong jealousy between the Government and the Supreme Court, lest either should encroach on the prerogatives of the other. The latter not since committed Mr. Naylor, the Company's Attorney, for some breach of privilege, who being in a weak state of health at the time, died in confinement.

The Esplanade formed a favourite promenade "of elegant walking parties," in moonlight evenings. The five chief streets of Calcutta abutted on it—to the south of it was the maidan covered with paddy field, while the course led the ladies down to see an occasional launch at Watson's works.

Facing Government and Council House, stands Fort William, commenced shortly after the battle of Plassey, in 1757. The works were planned by an engineer named Bayer. It was evidently designed to hold the inhabitants of Calcutta, in case of another siege, as permission was originally given to every inhabitant of "the settlement,"—the name by which Calcutta was designated during last century,—to build a house in fort. But interlining versus of domestic comfort, different from those held at Bombay, the people did not avail themselves of this privilege. They preferred the plan of living in garden-houses. In 1756 the site of it and the plain were occupied by native huts, the property chiefly of the Mittre family, and by salt marshes, which afforded fine sport to buffalo hunters. The borings made in the fort, in 1836-40, under the superintendence of Dr. Strong and James Prinsep, have shown that the ocean rolled its waves 500 feet beneath the surface of the present fort, and in 1682 an ancient forest existed in that locality.

During the building of the fort, the great famine of 1770 occurred, which caused great difficulty in obtaining food for the workmen—a sad time—children died at their mother's breast—the Gange's stream became
corrupt from the corpses—and even its fish were poisonous from feeding on corpses,—76,000 natives perished in the streets of Calcutta, between July 15th and September 4th, 2,000 Europeans perished in Bengal. Two millions of people died in Bengal and some natives in the neighbourhood of Patna fed on human flesh.

This fort cost two millions of money, of which five lakhs were for pillage, to keep off the encroachments of the river; but the Company was cheated in their accounts, both by Europeans and natives. The amount may be estimated by the fact, that when Holwell, Governor of Calcutta, was about to prosecute certain defrauders, some party unknown sent a lakh of rupees to his house on the eve of the trial, to induce him to drop the prosecution; but he, as an honest man, handed it all over to the Company’s treasury. Unhappily, in these days, he had few imitators, John Company was viewed as a lawful subject of spoliation, Dutch and English ran a race in making what money they could quocumque modo. The Company designed that only a fort, capable of being garrisoned by 1,000 men, should be erected, as if it required a much larger garrison they could keep the field. Much interesting and curious information respecting the building of the first may be obtained in the Reports of the House of Commons on Indian Affairs for 1770-2.

It is only in recent years we have had any road outside the fort; the Respondentia walk extended little below Chandpal Ghat, the resort of those fond of moonlight rambles, and of children with their train of servants—as no horses were allowed to go on it. Of the Strand Road we shall state little, as such an ample account has been given of it in Calcutta Review, No. X., Pp. 430—55.

The Respondentia walk joins on with what is now the Strand road, the creation of the Lottery Committee in 1824, along with Cornwallis and Amherst streets. The Strand road was formerly a low sedgy bank, and the river near it was shallow, as the deep channel was formerly on
the Haura (Howrah) side; but owing to the formation of the Sumatra sand (as called from a ship of that name sunk there, whose wreck formed the nucleus of a mass of mud) "the deep channel has been thrown to the Calcutta side, from the projecting angle at Haura Ghat."

Babu's Ghat, next to it, was named from Raj Chandra Mir, who built it. The Bankshall, the hall on the banks of river (?) was the site of the first day dock in Calcutta, made here by Government, in 1790, but removed in 1808. Bankshall seems to have been an old name, given to stations for ships or pilots, thus Fulta was called the Dutch Bankshall, as their ships, owing to the strong currents, sometimes could not ascend the river to Chinsura, but anchored there. This gave rise to the Pilot Service, which was established in 1669, the men were to be furnished from the Indiamen, to man one pinnacle Police Ghat is so called from the Police Office having been there formerly. The embankment in front of the Custom House was begun in 1800. Nimtola was named after a Nim tree, which protected the weary with its shadow. The Strand district is the oldest settled in Calcutta, its sedgy shores called Suttanutty, were occupied by Job Charnock, in 1689, when he landed from Uluberia; they presented the only cleared spot, as jangal extended from Chandpal Ghat all to the south.

In 1823 the Strand road was formed, which led to a great sanitary improvement, but injured the ship-builders, who had docks in Clive Street, and were obliged to remove to Haura and Sulkea. This road has been widened at the Metcalf Hall stands, there were, forty years ago nine fathoms of water.

Clive Street, parallel with the Strand, was once "the grand 'theatre of business, and there stood the Council House, and 'every public mart in it;" near where the Oriental Bank is now, was the residence of Lord Clive.

Jessop's foundry was established by Mr. Jessop, of the Buttery Iron Works, in Shropshire. He was sent out in
1820, by the East India Company, to make an iron suspension bridge for the King of Lucknow, he remained five years in Lucknow, then came to Calcutta and commended a foundry.

The Mint, of modern erection, was built below high water mark, two-thirds of it is under ground, cropped up an mud and peles.

The Bao-bazar is of long standing, it was in 1749 one of those formed out by Government, along with Sova-bazar, Sambazar, Hat Kola, Jaun-bazar, Burtalla, Satanutty Hat.

We come now to Haura, an the opposite banks, but as we wish to confine our remarks to points not generally known and not easily accessible to the public, we refer our readers for an account of the Botanic Gardens, Bishop's College, Haura, &c., &c., to an article in Calcutta Review, No. VIII Pp 476—484.

We merely notice that Haura, in 1709, had docks and a good garden belonging to the Armenians, that the ground to the north-west of the Church is marked off in Upjohn's map as practising grounds of the Bengal Artillery. The Old Fort of Tanna, built to protect the trade of the river, was situated a little to the south of the residence of the Superintendent of the Botanical Gardens: mention is made of it in 1686, when its garrison endeavoured to hinder an English sixty-gun ship from passing down the river. In 1783 the Orphan House, now the Magistrate's Kachari at Haura, was erected, of which David Brown was the first chaplain, but he resigned this lucrative port in 1788, and devoted himself to the gratuitous service of the Mission Church.

Sutkia, a densely populated suburb, containing 73,446 inhabitants, in 1835, formed the terminus of the Benares road, which, by its narrowness and roughness, reminds up of the difficulties dak 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 Zemindars along the road for supplies of beares and food: the Zemindars supplied them, but quickly indemnified themselves by debiting it to the Expenses of the revenue collection or else marking the rayats pay for it. It was not until 1765 that a regular dak 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 to sets of tents on before them.

Opposite Sulkea, on the left bank of the river, is the Nawab of Chitpur's palace, which was a favourite resort of Europeans in the last century. The buildings and gardens were magnificent; and the Nawab Rezah 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 Serampur, Chandernagore, Chinsura, they landed at Chitpur, where a deputation received them, and they then rode in state up to Government House—the Nawab was a descendent of Jaffir Ali.

Beyond his palace, in the house now occupied by Mr. Kelsall, and known by the name of Kasipur House, lived Sir R. Chamber, noted for his oriental learning.

South of this is the Chitpur road, which may be called the cheapside of Calcutta, at Lalbazar is its Wapping, being thronged constantly with native vehicles. Various wealthy native families, who lived in this street formerly, have now deserted it on account of its noise and dust. It received its name from the goddess Chitreswari, who had a splendid temple here, where human sacrifice were formerly offered. Chitpur road is the oldest road in Calcutta, forming a continuation of the Dum Dum road, which was the old line of communication between Murshidabad and Kali Ghat.

Mutsyea Bazar was formed for the sale of fish, in last century: the native merchants lived on the river banks,
while behind them were the seats of trade. The ground here is the lowest in Calcutta, and only eight feet above the sea level.

The Bara-bazar is mentioned in 1757. A native friend has communicated to us some anecdotes of natives, who resided in this and the neighbouring a century ago: we give them:—

The oldest inhabitant of Calcutta, of any note, was Baishnavcharan Set, who lived at Bara-bazar about a hundred years ago, and was reckoned one of richest and most honest merchants of his time. As an instance of his honesty, it is said that Rāmrājā prince of Telengānā, would use no Ganges water for his religious services, unless consigned to him under his seal. Once the Set bought a quantity of zinc in the name of his parter, Gauri Sen, which afterwards turned out to contain a large admixture of silver. He attributed the transmutation of the metal to the good fortune of his partner, and, accordingly, made over the whole profit of the bargain to him, unwilling to share the good fortune of another. Gauri Sen became very rich from his wind-fall, used to spend large sums of money in liberating prisoners who happened to be confined for debts, and pay fines for such poor people as happened to fight quarrel for a good cause, and were punished by fines: hence the adage, "লাগে টাকা হেরে গৌরী সেন।"

Of this Set is also said, that once he contracted to buy 10,000 maunds of sugar from a merchant of Burdwan, a tambuli or pān-dealer by caste, named Gobardhan Rakshit. When the sugar arrived at Kadamtola Ghat, at Bara-bazar, the people of the Set, in order to extort money from the consigner, reported to their master that the goods were not equal to muster. This, in due course, was communicated to the consigner, and he was requested to make a proportional deduction in the price. The
Rakshit, rather than abate in his price, and submit to the stigma of attempton to deal unfairly, ordered the whole cargo to be thrown into the river. When this intention was carried out in part, the Set interposed, and offered to take the remainder, paying for the whole invoice. Gobardhana, not to be out-done by the Set’s honesty, would only take for what remained at the invoice rate, and the bargain was settled accordingly.

বনমালী সরকারের বাড়ী।
গোবিন্দরাম মিত্রের ছড়ি।
আমীর চাঁদের বাড়ি।
 হৃদুরি মল্লের ছড়ি।

Of four individuals named in the above stanza, all contemporary, of the middle of the last century, Banamali Sircar, the party noted for his fine house, was a Sudgopa by caste, and used to serve as a banian to European merchants. The ruins of his house still exit near Bag-bazar. His son Radha-Krishna Sircar held a high position in Hindu Society, and Raja Navakrishna, even in his better days, is said to have paid him court.

Gobindaram Mittra was a zeminder, and had held large farms from the Nawabs of Murshidabad. He was notorious for his devotion to club-law, and his lattice was an object of universal dread. A temple (the oldest in Calcutta) and a Navaratna on the Chitrapur road still exist.

Huzurimall was a Sikh merchant; he lived at Bara-bazar, in a very large house, had a large establishment of clerks, and sixteen sets of singers and musicians to sing the praise of Akāl. A lane near Baitakhana is still known by his name.

14. He was “the black banian” of the Mayor’s Court for twenty-five years, and amassed an immense fortune.
Dewān Kāshināth was a parvenu. His widowed mother used to serve a Mohammadan Fakir named Shāh Jummah, who lived in a reed bush on the bank of the river near Bara-bazar. On the death of the Fakir, Kāshināth came to some fortune (it is said), through the blessing of the saint, and, subsequently, much improved it by his connection with the Rājā of Kāshijora, to whom he was introduced by Baishnavacharan Set.

The Faujdari Balakhana formerly the town-house of the Faujdar, or Governor of Hugli; under the Mussalmans, he was an important personage, and one of the chief officers in Bengal.

We come next to an ancient quarters of Calcutta, the part occupied by the Armenians, Portuguese, Jews, and Greeks. The appearance of the houses tells their own tale, and remind us of the compact buildings in the garrison towns of the continent.

The Armenians are among the oldest residents and their quarter attracts by its antique air contrasted with conspicuous modern buildings in Calcutta. The Armenians, like the Jews, were famous for their mercantile zeal, and in early days, were much employed by the English as Gomastahs—they are to be commended for their always having retained the oriental dress—they have never had much social intercourse with the English. They had a Church here as early as 1724, the present St. Nazareth; previous to that they had a small chapel in China-bazar, and their burying ground was on the site of the present church, while the East India Company made a regulation that, in whatever part of India the Armenians should amount to forty, the East India Company would build a church for them, and pay the minister's salary for seven years. The Armenians had settled in this quarter as early as the days of Job Charnock.

The Portuguese quarter of Murgi Hata, or the fowl market, is equally interesting: we have given an account of
it in an article in *Calcutta Review*, No. X. "The Portuguese in North of India," we therefore need not repeat with is stated there. As the Portuguese were such ancient and influential inhabitants of Calcutta, we make a few general remarks respecting them.

It presents a singular contrast to present time when 4,000 natives are receiving an English education in Calcutta, that in the middle of last century, the Portuguese language was a common medium of intercourse. The Portuguese had, for two centuries previously, carried on a flourishing trade, and many of them were employed to topazzas, table servants and slaves (last century the generality of Europeans in Calcutta kept slave-boys to wait at table.) On this subject we extract from a Calcutta paper of 1781 the following advertisement:

"TO BE SOLD BY PRIVATE SALE:

Two Coffree boys, who play remarkably well on the French Horn, about eighteen years of age: belonging to a Portuguese Paddrie lately deceased. For particulars, enquire of the Vicar of the Portuguese Church."

Mrs. Kindersley, in her letter, states, that the Dutch at the Cape imported slave from the East Indies which were easily procurable, as it was a practice of the Portuguese, in their early navigation in the East, to land on the coast, rob and plunder the defenceless inhabitants, and then carry them away as slaves, which they reconciled to their consciences, by making Christians of them, in giving them a black hat, trousers, coat and stocking, an European name, teaching them to repeat so many Pater Noters and Ave Marias. Those Natives who apostatised, were burnt at Goa. Slaves were regularly purchased and registered in the Kacheri, and in 1752, we find each slave paid a duty of four rupees four annas to the East India Company, while at that period, the Charge for a marriage license was only three rupees. Hamilton, in 1702, speaks of a place twelve leaque above Sagar, "Commonly known by
the name of Rague's river, which had that appellation from some banditti Portuguese, who betook themselves to prey among the islands at the mouth of the Ganges, and committed depredations on those that traded in the river of Hugli." In other points morals were not better, the same writer states: "The Bandel deals is no sort of commodities, 'but what are in request at the Court Venus.'

The Portuguese came in 1530, into this country, as mercenaries in the service of the King of Gour, and acted as a kind of pretoriam guards to the native Rajahs; at the period the chief emporia from the Cape to China, an extent of 12,000 miles of sea coast, were in their position,—in all this in short space of fifteen years under Albuquerque.

We must allow the Portuguese full credit for a sincere desire to propagate their faith. "Wherever the Portuguese prevailed or gained a settlement, one of their first points was to stock the place with the missionaries," but, like the French missionaries in North America, they were in various cases, the panderers to ambition, so that the English at Bombay would not allow Portuguese missionaries to settle there, though they permitted French, German or Italian ones.

Hamilton writes in 1708, respecting their language: "Portuguese is the language most Europeans learn to qualify themselves for general converse with one another, as well as with the different inhabitants of India." How fallen now! There are, perhaps, not three Europeans now in Bengal, well acquainted with it, and even few of the so-called Portuguese can read it intelligently. The Portuguese language has now fallen through India. In 1823 it was complained of in Calcutta that "the priests preached in high Portuguese, while the people only understood the language of ayahs." Even traces of it now are left, except in such words as caste, compound, jangal, and a few others. The Portuguese conquests, by the
temporal advantages conferred on convert, spread the system, but chiefly among the lower classes, who became their servants and soldiers. The epithet “Riece Christians” applied to Native Christians, was handed down from the Portuguese, who called such persons Christians de Arroz. But what could have been expected from converts, when their teachers were a set of ignorant men, taken out of common sailors and soldiers, who could scarcely read? No wonder that such men professed to show at Goa, the model of a ship which sailed in one night from the Cape of Good Hope to Goa, “the devil holding the helm, and the Virgin Mary acting as quarter-master.” At Goa was everywhere to be met the image of the Virgin, described as “a woman gorgeously dressed like a courtesan, with a friz bob wig, with a crown on it, and a large hoop petticoat reaching down to her feet, tied round the neck instead of the waist, and a child on her arms”. These priests were famous legacy hunters, and thoroughly profligate, as the people were completely subject to their will.

The name Portuguese, in the last century, was a byc-word of reproach, the name Portuguese ayah was synonimous with femme de plaisir, while the men who boasted to be countrymen of Abouquerque and the De-Casts, became petty keranis or cooks—what fall for, persons, whose ancestors, as early as 1563, used to send thirty ships annually from Bengal to Malabar Coast, laden with pepper, sugar, cloth and oil.

With all their faults, the Portuguese, in the point, set an example to the English, they made India their home,—the word so correct among the English last century of “the Exiles” they swormed, they could not have called Calcutta a settlement, but a city.

This native part of the town, east of the Chitpur road, is comparatively modern; though we find the names of Mirzapur and Simla mentioned in 1742, yet, down to the commencement of this century, their site was occupied
chiefly by paddy fields, with stagnant tanks sending out their malaria, while at night no native would venture out with any good clothes on him—there was just dread of robbery and murder. Of Simla it was stated in 1826, "no native for love or money could be got to go his way after sunset." The site of Cornwallis Square and of the Circular Canal was long noted for the murders committed there. Soba Bazar is a building of last century, and reminds us of Naba Krishen and the days of Clive.

Near the Circular Road when the Marquis of Wellesley, whose influence gave a great stimulus to the improvement of the roads, came to Calcutta, was "the deep, broad Mahratta ditch," which chiefly filled up by depositing the filth of the town in it. "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, this constituted the most frequented and fashionable part about the town." An old witness states: "Now (1802) on the Circular road of Calcutta, the young, the sprightly and the oppulent, during the fragrance of morning, in the chariot of health, enjoy the gales of recreation." In 1794 there were three houses, in its length of three miles. The ditch was dug in 1742 to protect English territories, then seven miles in circumference, the inhabitants being terrified at the invasions of those modern Vandalis, the Mahrattas, who, the year previous, invaded Bengal to demand the Chauth or fourth part of the revenues; they were fierce invaders, called by Aurangzeb "mountain rat;" but it is to be remembered they were Hindus, who claimed, by treaty, a share in the revenues of the country! The Moguls broke their promise, and the Mahrattas had to collect by main force. But the Mahrattas, in 1742, were not a more atrocious than were the Orangemen and Romanists in Ireland towards each other in 1798. The Mahratta power was a pure Hindu revulsion against the Musalman, and rose rapidly
on the decline of the latter, extending its sway from Surat to the confines of Calcutta, and from Agra to the Kistna, collecting a revenue of seventeen crores, and numbing 300,000 cavalry, all under the guidance of brahmans. Like the French national guard, they were soldiers and peasants, and noted for the keen sword blades wielded; they used to say English swords were only fit for cutting butter. Owing to the defeat of 200,000 Mahrattas at Panipat, 150,000 Musalmans of Bengal became free from any apprehensions of invasion. The Mahratta ditch commenced at Chitpur bridge, but was not completed, as the panic subsided. By the treaty of 1757 with Mir Jäffir Ali, the latter agreed to give up to the English "the Mahratta ditch all round Calcutta, and 600 yards all round about the ditch; the lands to the southward of Calcutta as low as Culpi, should be under the Government of the English Company." The country on the other side of the ditch was, at the time, infested with bands of dakaits, but there was a high road which ran along side the ditch, probably made from the excavation in 1742.

Omichand Garden, now Halsi bagan, was the head-quarters of Suraj Daula, and a military post fortified with cannon, in 1757. Here, at the Durbar, Messrs. Watts and Scraffon saw there was no prospect of making peace with the Nabab, and that the sword was the ultima ratio. The garden was so called from Omichand, the Rothschild of his day, a merchant of Patna, who possessed great influence over Ali Verdi Khan; he gained much money by usurious practices with the troops. The names of Omichand and Manikchand occur, who, as Hindus, held high appointments under the Musalman dynasty, but Gladwin, in his history, gives us the key to this policy. Omichand was the great millionaire of his day who, by his influence, could sway the political movements of the court of Murshidabad. During forty years he was the chief contractor...
providing the Company's investments, and realized more than a crore of rupees. He lived in this place with more than royal magnificence, most of the best houses in Calcutta belonged to him, hence, merchant like he was an enemy to war. Omichand stipulated with the English to obtain thirty lakhs for betraying Suraj Daula, but on finding he was deceived by a fictitious treaty, he lost his reason.

The ground to the east of Omichand's garden was the scene of hard fighting, when, in 1757, the English troops marched in a fog through Suraj Daula's camp, to the East of Halsi bagan, and marched down the Baitakhana. In the skirmishing which took place, the English lost more men than they did at Plassey.

Baitakhana street, now the Bow-bazar, received its name from the famous old tree that stood here and formed a Baitakhana or resting place for the merchants who traded to Calcutta, and whose caravans rested under its shade. Owing to the dread of the Mahrattas, who plundered in the districts west of the Hugli, the Eastern side, as being protected by the river, was selected for their route of trade from the North-west, Job Charnock is said to have chosen the site of Calcutta for a city, in consequence of the pleasure he found in sitting and smoking under the shade of a large tree. This tree was, probably, the Baitakhana tree, "here the merchants met to depart in bodies from Calcutta, to protect each other from robber in the neighbouring jungle, and here they dispersed when they arrived Calcutta, with merchandise, for the factory." This tree is marked on Upjohn's map of 1794. Baitakhana was called in 1757, the Avenue leading to the eastward, the greater part was then surrounded by jungle. A rath of Jagannath, seventy feet high, formerly stood here, and a thana was located under the shade of big tree.

Opposite Baitakhana, in the south corner of Scalda, 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. Let our readers remember that last century there were no pakka building in Dum-Dum, the artillery merely went there in the cold weather from the fort. An anecdote is related of an officer named Tiger Duff, noted for his athletic Highland form. During, some seventy years ago, at the bungalow mess-room in Dum-Dum, he found his servants retiring quickly from the room, when rising up to see what was the matter, he came in collision with a huge Bengal tiger, who had made his appearance within the compound. He had presence of mind to thrust the arm of his right hand into the tiger’s throat, and seize hold of the root of his tongue, the enraged beast twisted and lacerated the other hand, but still he held his grip until he had seized a knife, and with his left hand cut his throat, when the animal fell in the agonies of death on the floor.

The house next Baitakhana is occupied by Mr. Blacquire, the oldest resident in Calcutta, now in his ninety-second year, seventy-eight of which have been passed in Calcutta, where he arrived a fortnight after the execution of Nandkumar. He has seen the maidan a rice field.

Sealdah is 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.” It was the scene of hard fighting in 1757, when there were thirty-nine English and eighteen sipahis killed, eighty-two English and thirty-five sipahis wounded. The English guns had to be dragged through Sealdah, then rice fields. At Baitakhana was a Musalman battery commanding the ditch, which inflicted great slaughter on the English.

To the North-West of Baitakhana is the Portuguese burial ground, the fifth of Mr. Joseph Baretto, one of the Portuguese “merchant princes” of Calcutta, who purchased it in 1785 for 8,000 rupees.
The Baitakhana Church was founded in 1109, by a Mrs. Shaw.

The Old Madressa, founded by Warren Hastings in 1781, in the first instance at his own expense, still remains; the collegiate establishment was removed to Wellesley Square in 1824; the buildings have been improved,—but not the Musalmans; now, as then, "they despise the sciences and hold trade in contempt."

Of the Calcutta Musalmans of last century little can be said; they were fierce and haughty, and paraded the streets with daggers in their gridles. On the decline of Murshidabad the best families went to the North-West; the commercial influence of Calcutta not being liked by men whose ascendency lay in the sword. In fact, Bengal was never thoroughly incorporated into their empire, and all their conquests in the south were slow; thus the Carnatic was not entirely reduced under their sway until 1650. They were never very zealous here in propagating their religion, and the case of Jafir Khan, who pulled down all the Hindu temples within four days' journey of Murshidabad, in order to build his own Mausoleum, and a mosque with the materials, stands as a solitary case. They were severe collectors of the revenue however. Murshid Kuli Khan used to oblige defaulting zeminders to wear leather long drawers, filled with live cats—to drink buffalo's milk mixed with salt, till they were brought to death's door by diarrhoea. With all this cruelty, the Musalmans gave speedy decisions, which were preferable to the tardy, and therefore almost useless decisions of our existing courts. The Chora or whip, and sipaha or triangle of bamboo, with a rope suspended for tying up the culprit, were formerly common in their Kacharis. The zeminder presided, and Europeans have been known to send their servants with a chit to the zeminder, politely requesting him to flog them!

Sealdah leads to the Circular Canal; Circular Canal branches off from the Circular-road, the north part of
it was once the Maharatta ditch, through which a stream ran; it was begun in 1824 and finished in 1834, at a cost of 1,443,470 rupees but its increasing trade soon brought in a large profit; in three years 23,109 boats passed through it.

On its site Suraj Daula's army was encamped in 1757, the part near Chitpur bridge is on the site of the old Maharatta ditch, which formed here a strong defence of Calcutta, against Suraj Daula's army.

Though, for sometimes, this canal was the cause of unhealthiness, it has contributed very much to the clearing of country. Baliaghat, now the scene of such a busy trade, was seventy years ago called the "Baliaghat passage through the wood." A branch of the canal a mile long called the Entally Canal, excavated in 1809, serving as a large mud trap, contains 722,065 cubic feet.

The Circular Canal begins at Chitpur, a little beyond is the village of Baranagar, i.e. Barahanagar, or the place of boars, once abundant there; it was formerly a Dutch settlement, and the half way station between Fulta and Chinsura. Stavorinus writes of it as having a house for the temporary accommodation of such of their servants as land here in going up or down the river.

The Salt-water lake seems, former days, to have been deeper and wider than now, running probably close to the Circular Road. Holwell states, that in this time, about 1740, the lake overflowed in the rains, an occurrence which seldom takes place of late years. As late as 1791, Tarda was on the borders of the lake, but the lake is now at a considerable distance; its greatest depth does not exceed 2½ feet, and it seems to be gradually silting up; charred and peaty earth, found twenty feet below the surface, indicates that here, as in Dum-Dum, were the remains of an ancient forest, and that it was the resort of wild buffaloes. These marshy land are not now wholly useless, as they yield to the zemindars, by the fisheries and reeds, a profit of 16,000 rupees annually.
It is about three feet lower in level than the banks of the river. Dr. Stewart, in his interesting "Notes on Calcutta," written in 1836, states that: Not more than forty years ago, the salt-lake was much nearer to Calcutta than at present.

On a road leading from the Circular-road to the lake is the Chinese burial ground, on another road the Parsi's and on a third the Jew's the latter teems with Hebrew inscriptions.

The Circular Road might have been justly called the Valley of Hinnom, in former days, as it was lined to the north in various places with burial grounds, which were then "some miles from the town," though now situated in populous neighbourhoods, but "the temple of the divinity was not made a charnel house." 16

The Mission burial ground, called Kiernander's was originally made by that eminent missionary and opened in August 25, 1767, on the old burial ground near Tank Square being ploughed up and its monuments levelled. Few names of note occur here. Few call up historic associations, as Ghajipur does of Cornwallis or Tanjore of Swartz, or Goa of St Xavier. The name of Jones almost stand out alone, *maynum et venerabile nomen*; his monument has been repaired at the expense of the Asiatic Society. The ground yielded large profit, 500 rupees last century being charged for opening graves for the respectable classes,—days when undertakers fattened on the spoils of death. The small square on the

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16. Among the most flourishing trades, that of an Undertaker was the foremost. As late as thirty years ago, an undertaker about to sail for Europe, demanded 20,000 rupees for the goodwill of his business for the month of August and September,—memorable months in Old Calcutta, when as late as Hastings' administration, those who survived them used to congratulate each other on having a new lease of life; and at an earlier period, the 15th of November was an equally memorable day, when the survivors met to rejoice in their deliverance from death.
opposite side was opened in 1773 for interring Kiernan-
der's wife, the square to the east was opened in 1796; the monuments chiefly record the names these "born just to bloom and fade." There is, however, the monu-
ment of Colonel Stewart, disfigured by the emblem of Hindu idolatry, which in life he so warmly cherished. Few tombs of the old times occur, though Park-street burial ground is the *Pere Le Chaise* of Calcutta; there are, however, the tombs of General Clavering, the great opponent of Hastings, of *W. Chambers*, the first person in Bengal who translated any portion of the Bible, and of *Cleverland*, the benefactor of the Rajmahal Hill tribes.

*Tiretta's* burial ground was opened in 1796, taking its name from the same Mousieir Tiretta who established the bazaar already spoken of.

The *French Burial Ground* contains few monuments of any antiquity, though the French seemed at one time in a fair way to have contested for the prize of Bengal with the English,—when Colonel Clive took Chandernagore in 1757. Their fort mounted 183 pieces of cannons, many of large calibre, and they had previously a greater number of European troops than the English,—but England was the "Ocean Queen."

The Muhammadans have burial grounds along the road; Narikeldanga, Gobra, Kasiabagan, Tangra and Karbela.

Respecting the native part of Calcutta, little is to be gleaned. We find in Holwell's account, that in 1752, the names of the following places are mentioned:—Patrea Ghat, Soba-bazar, Bag-bazar, Hatkhola, Simla district, Mirzapur district, Hogulkurea district, Doubapara, Jaun Nayore, Baniapuker, Tangra and Dollond.

We have thus taken a glance at the chief points of interest in the different streets,—but the European popula-
ration change here so rapidly, that the events of the past soon become buried in oblivion, and this was particularly the case before the newspaper press sprang up, which
is such a mirror of the events of the day. Few of the streets bear any marks of antiquity, and the English, like the Americans, lane had the bad taste to give them European names, instead of euphonious expression drawn from native associations, yet there is not a single street which perpetuates the name of the founder of Calcutta, Mr. Charnock. The natives have not been so neglectful, as Barrackpur still retains the sobriquet of Charnock. Of the native ones some are called after things which were sold on the site of the existing streets, as Suriparah (wine sold); Harikatta (bones for combs); Kulutala (oil); Chuturpara (carpenters); Chunam (lime); Molunga (salt); Aharitola (curds); Kumartala (potters' lane).

The names of old native proprietors are recalled by Hidaram Banerjea Guli, Bihma Banerji Guli (Bihma was noted for inviting large parties of natives, and giving them scanty fare.); Jay Narayan Pakrasi Guli, (Jay Narayan is said to have had a compact for building a part of the fort, having received several lakhs in advance, he fled); Tulsi Ram Ghose Guli, (Tulsi Ram gained much money as a ship banyan).

Louden Street recalls the name of the Countess of Louden, in whose time it was built. Russell Street was called after Sir H. Russell, Chief Justice, who built the first house there, now occupied as a boarding establishment. Middleton Street was named after its first resident a civilian: it was formerly a part of Sir E. Impey's park. Grant's lane, in Cossitolla, so called from the late Charles Grant, father of Lord Genelg, who resided in the first house on the right hand side as you enter from Cossitala. He came out to India, poor and penniless, but by the force of integrity and religious principle, he rose afterwards to be chairman of the Court of Directors. What a contrast his original position was,—that of an "interloper" or private trader,—a class to which the Court was so hostile, that in 1682 they sent out orders that none of
their servants should *intermarry* with them. *Clive Street*, so called from Lord Clive, he lived where the Oriental Bank is now located.

The Musalmans have given few names to places, those chiefly from *pirs* such as *Maniktala*, which was called a Musalman *pir* or saint, named Manik.

The Portuguese had *Baretto Street* (the name Baretto occurs, as that of a Viceroy in India, in 1558). Joseph Baretto was a Portuguese merchant, who came from Bombay and settled in Calcutta as a merchant, and was a man of the same generous stamp as Palmer.
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—SSG